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in Macao

O Sincretismo
RELIGIOSO
em Macau

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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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A globalização do conhecimento começou em Macau no século XVI quando os *saberes* do Oriente e do Ocidente se cruzaram nesta terra singular do Sul da China.

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A NOSSA CAPA
Um dia, numa conferência em boa hora realizada entre nós, Umberto Eco referiu-se, com entusiasmo, ao que chamou de "espírito de Macau". Aceitação da diferença. Tolerância entre gentes, culturas e credos; ecumenismo.
O espírito de Macau é isso, mas o barro de que esta terra é feita é mais. As gentes, as culturas e os credos acabam por se encontrar, algures, no altar cimeiro onde a tolerância dá lugar à comunhão. Numa fusão subtil, insidiosa e lenta, quase imperceptível, por vezes indesejada (?), mas imparável como no processo de sedimentação das terras: sincretismo.
Foi através desse processo de "sedimentação" que Fernanda Dias construiu a nossa capa. São camadas de materiais e símbolos que nunca se sobrepõem uns aos outros, antes se fundem, forjando novas (ir) realidades.
Sobre o fundo – um escrito budista envolto numa textura inspirada em trabalhos artesanais de *ex-votos* das zonas rurais de Portugal – sobressaem a piedosa Kun Iam (em pose que desde sempre evocou, no imaginário católico, a imagem de Nossa Senhora) e, na contracapa, um letrado tauista do século XVII.
Um dia, queremos crer, terá recebido discípulos de Ricci ou Semedo na corte do Império Celestial.

OUR COVER
One day, in a conference held here in Macao, Umberto Eco referred enthusiastically to what he called the "Macao spirit": an acceptance of difference; tolerance among peoples, cultures and beliefs; ecumenism.
The Macao spirit is this, but there is more to the clay from which this land is made. Peoples, cultures and beliefs ultimately come together somewhere on the supreme altar where tolerance evolves into communion. It is slow, subtle, insidious fusion, almost imperceptible and at times unwanted (?). Yet this syncretism is as relentless as the sedimentation of the earth.
In creating this issue's cover, Fernanda Dias used this process of sedimentation, layering materials and symbols that never overlap but rather fuse together, casting new (un)realities.
Laid over the ground – consisting of a Buddhist text enveloped in a texture inspired by crafts and *ex-votos* from rural Portugal – there is the merciful Kun Iam (adopting a pose that, to the Catholic mind, has always suggested the image of the Virgin Mary), while the back cover features a 17[th] century Taoist scholar.
One day, we would like to believe, he may have received disciples of Ricci or Semedo in the court of the Heavenly Empire.

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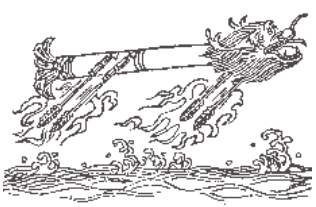

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CUM INDICIBUS NECESSARIIS
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Ex Typographia Balleoniana.
SUPERIORUM PERMISSU, AC PRIVILEGIIS.

An Exploration of Documents from Catholic and Buddhist Sources in Macao Libraries

Helen Ieong Hoi Keng*

INTRODUCTION

Macao has always been a special region for both the Chinese and the foreigners. It is always seen as a cultural meeting-place of communication between the East and the West in which freedom of religious beliefs exists. Although Macao is a small city of 24 square kilometres with a population of about 430,000, there are numerous religions followed by the residents of Macao. The deep impact of religious culture on Macao is illustrated by the 86 percent of the total population of Macao that follows one religion or another.[1] Macao people mostly believe in Buddhism and Catholicism. The former is due to the fact that Macao is a society chiefly formed by the Chinese community, so it is natural to focus mainly on the oriental and conventional religion; the latter, being the state religion of Portugal and closely related to the founding of Macao, its social development, its cultural exchange between the East and the West and so forth has a tremendous historical value.

Here we launch the discussion of documentary resources that resulted from Catholic and Buddhist cultural activities in Macao, among which are many invaluable documents that are worth uncovering and researching. For instance, the western classical publications left by the missionaries as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the dictionaries in the mid-eighteenth century, the encyclopaedias in the early nineteenth century, the scriptures and epitaphs in the Buddhist temples and so forth have all marked a marvellous chapter in the special documentary resources of Macao. The author attempts to investigate and analyze the patterns of the creation and development of the documentary resources influenced by the religious activities observing the differences between the respective documentary records of the two religions.

CATHOLICISM AND MACAO

The earliest historical information on Catholicism can be traced back to the arrival of the Jesuits in Macao in 1555 and the establishment of the Diocese of Macao in 1576, the history of which has already been more than four hundred years. After the Jesuits came the Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, and others from the East. All of these established Macao as their base for preaching in the Orient. They encountered innumerable difficulties, prosperity, and decline.

The Catholic missionaries in Macao engaged themselves enthusiastically in varied social activities, including education, social welfare, medicine, and so forth. Nowadays, there are more than 20 churches of a comparatively bigger scale in Macao. There are about 30 secondary and primary schools run by Catholic institutions, which together comprise 47 percent of the total number of secondary and primary schools in Macao and teach 52 percent of the secondary and primary students in Macao.[2] Apart from that, the Catholic institutions also run welfare institutions such as nurseries, orphanages, homes for the elderly, convalescent hospitals, sanatoriums for the handicapped, and youth centres. The first Portuguese

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newspaper in Macao, *A Abelha de China,* was published in 1822 with the participation of Dominicans. From this, we can see that the impact of Catholicism on Macao can be considered overwhelming.

Religious activities had a great impact on the development of the documentary resources. At the same time, the religious activities stimulated social action, which in turn influenced other cultural activities. Thus, various influences and purposes affected the formation and development of the documents. The constant expansion of the various activities that were promoted by Catholicism in Macao either intentionally or unintentionally gave rise to the production of pluralistic and many-faceted documentary resources. In fact, apart from making an effort in preaching, the missionaries also spread Chinese culture to western countries and brought western civilization and science to China. During this process, they brought loads of documents from the West and started to print books in Macao, which helped establish important and remarkable documentary resources in Macao. Apart from the crucial religious documents, the other documentary resources are also very rich. They include the textbooks used by the students of the monastery, reference books, materials for learning Chinese culture and language, western classical academic works, archives of the Church, pictures, and letters that are of considerable historical value, especially those western publications published from the late sixteenth century to the mid-twentieth century that reflect the developmental circumstances of Catholicism in those centuries, and are still preserved in the libraries of the Church in Macao. One of the functions of the spread of documents is to serve as a tool for the spread of ideology. The original objective of the missionaries who came to China was to preach, not to build libraries, but in documenting their activities and in preparing and collecting teaching materials, they helped Macao establish a documentary treasure. Thus, scholars consider missionaries to be the main agents of the mutual exchange between the East and the West at the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing dynasty.

DOCUMENTS RELATED TO CATHOLIC ACTIVITIES

Many resources on the history of Macao are recorded in documents, and these are a priceless heritage. As some of the documents that resulted from Catholic activities have been preserved, they should be effectively used and spread. For this, the author feels honoured to have received the support of the Bishop of Macao and of many other fathers so that she could gain access for an interview and data collection to a few of the most representative libraries that are run by Catholic institutions and which contain the greatest number of books. An initial survey of the related documents has been launched. These libraries include:

- The archives of the Macao Diocese in the palace of the Bishop, D. Domingos Lam[3]
- The D. Policarpo Library under the supervision of the Macao Diocese
- The library of the St. Joseph's Seminary[4]
- The library of the Macao Jesuits[5]
- The library of the Macao Ricci Institute[6]

The documentary records have become very rich owing to their growth over a long historical period and because Catholic preaching activities were based on practical considerations and subordinate factors of the time. The majority of the eighteenth and nineteenth century publications are still preserved. Only a few documents belonging to the seventeenth century and before are kept. Some of these documents have not been catalogued and have been hidden away for hundreds of years, and they are so worn out that they are in great need of repair. According to scholars who are studying the problems of Macao, these documents must not be neglected. Surveying the contents of these libraries, the author categorized the different types of documents. The allocation of materials in each library is shown in Table 1, and the number of books on different subjects is shown in Figure 1.

These records can help us explore the link between documentary resources and the development of Catholicism. To analyze chronologically, the formation and development of documentary resources originated from particular social activities, criteria and needs. From the end of the Ming dynasty when Ricci arrived in China until now, the spread of Catholicism through Macao to China can generally be divided into three stages: 1) the starting period, 2) the period of the ban on the Church, and 3) the reviving and developing period. The documentary resources were much affected by these periods. Their development was closely connected to periods of prosperity and decline in the development of Catholicism in the East. Besides, exploring the causes of the production and development of the Catholic

TABLE 1. DOCUMENTS PRODUCED BY CATHOLIC ACTIVITIES IN MACAO

Topics of Documentation	Types	Percent	Total	Libraries				
				Diocese	Jesuits	St. Joseph's Seminary	Ricci Institute	D. Policarpo
Religion	Total	39.62	30,563	8,900	8,242	9,501	320	3,600
	Foreign Languages	28.43	21,930	4,900	7,380	6,000	150	3,500
	Chinese	11.19	8,633	4,000	862	3,501	170	100
Western Academic Studies	Total	6.27	4,840	1,480	1,660	400	300	1,000
	Foreign Languages	3.97	3,062		1,562	200	300	1,000
	Chinese	2.31	1,778	1,480	98	200		
Chinese Civilization	Total	15.96	12,310	3,000	165	665	2,300	6,180
	Foreign Languages	4.14	3,197	300	117	300	300	2,180
	Chinese	11.81	9,113	2,700	48	365	2,000	4,000
Reference Books	Total	6.58	5,078	1,470	392	1,450	566	1,200
	Foreign Languages	5.67	4,376	1,170	340	1,450	416	1,000
	Chinese	0.91	702	300	52		150	200
Others	Total	31.56	24,343	2,550	1,031	3,962	3,300	13,500
	Foreign Languages	24.40	18,822	2,350	972	2,000	2,000	11,500
	Chinese	7.16	5,521	200	59	1,962	1,300	2,000
Magazines	Total		427	100	70	157	80	20
Grand Total		100.00	77,134	17,400	11,490	15,978	6,786	25,480
	Foreign Languages	66.62	51,387	8,720	10,371	9,950	3,166	19,180
	Chinese	33.38	25,747	8,680	1,119	6,028	3,620	6,300

documents, we can see that they were produced for several purposes: 1) missionaries came to the East to preach, so they established religious documentary resources; 2) western technology and civilization was a tool to open the door to China, so they produced western academic works; 3) missionaries tried their best to learn the Chinese culture to integrate into the Chinese community, so they created books on the Chinese cultural classics and the Chinese language; 4) they were trained in Macao, so they formed reference books and textbooks; 5) they left important data such as files and pictures for dealing with other affairs. The development of documentary resources was thus encouraged under the influence of historical circumstances. In addition, the documents and the history mutually affected each other. Taking this as the cue, we can explore the relationship between the production of these documentary resources and the development of Catholicism in the past four hundred years.

RELIGIOUS DOCUMENTS AS THE CHIEF TOOL OF PREACHING

The formation of documentary resources always originates from a specific society, community and individual for a specific purpose. The main purpose of

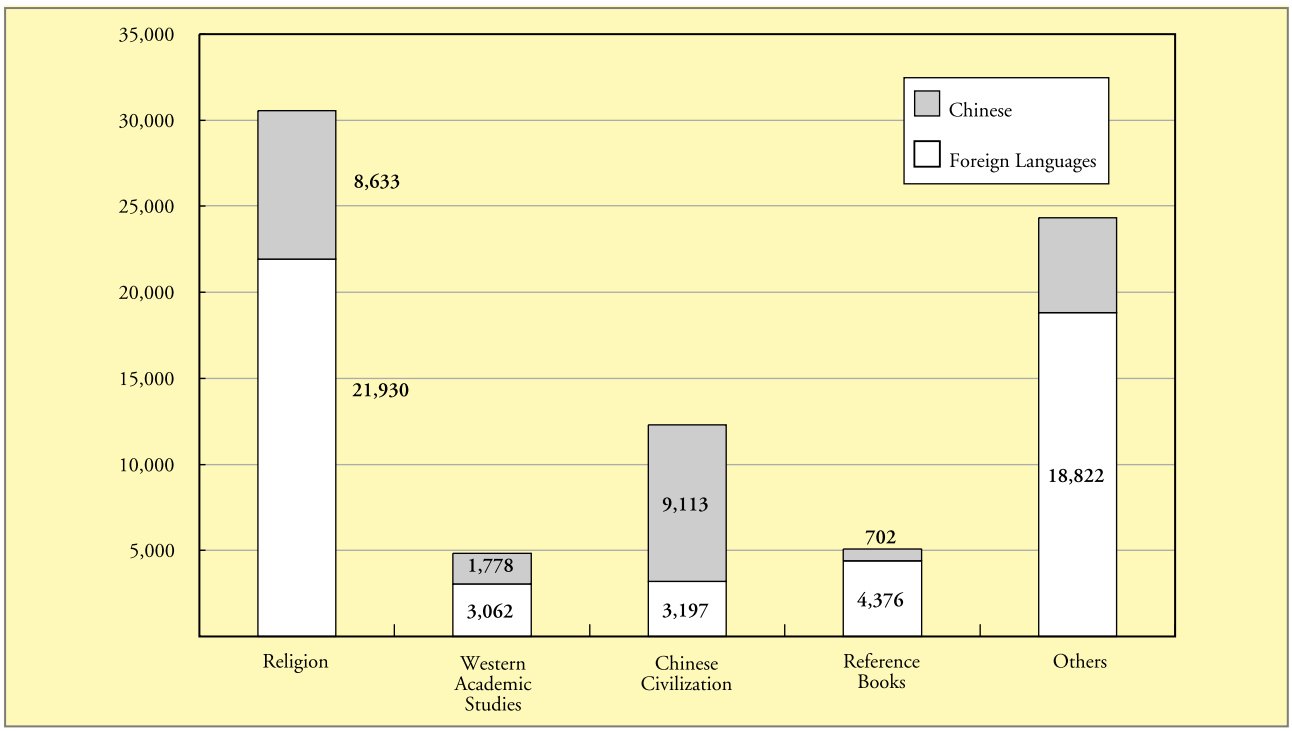


Figure 1. Documentary resources resulting from Catholic activities.

the arrival of the Jesuits in the East was to preach, and the use of documentation to spread spiritual messages then served as an important tool for them to achieve their goal. With the founding of Macao in the early sixteenth century, this small place became the base for the allocation of missionaries by the Catholic orders to mainland China. At the same time, when the Church was banned during the reigns of Kangxi and Yongzheng, Macao became the refuge for missionaries expelled from China, thus accumulating a wealth of religious documents in Macao. These documents were mainly written in European languages like Latin, Portuguese, French, and Italian. Most of these documents are printed in old-fashioned script and language. There are also many Chinese documents written in modern language. In the collections of the libraries, there are approximately 30,000 volumes about religion and dogmas, which occupy approximately 40 percent of the documentary resources created by Catholic activities (Table 1). From Figure 1, it is conspicuous that the percentage occupied by the Catholic activities is the highest. Thus, most of the collection is of religious documents. Undoubtedly, this was intentional. According to the understanding of the author, 8,000 of the volumes were published during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The contents of the religious documents crucially include the study of the Bible, dogmas, ascetic theology, etiquette, the laws of the Church, theology, explanations of Catholic beliefs, religious history, the procedures of the mass, legends of the saints, etc. These documents are mainly for helping believers in their studies of theology and for the use of carrying out the preaching activities.

RELIGIOUS DOCUMENTATION IN WESTERN LANGUAGES

It is believed that the Catholic religious books written in western languages and collected and preserved in Macao are the richest in Asia.[7] Among them, books about rites are comparatively more numerous. For example, the *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum* (Thesaurus of Religious Doctrines) was collected by the missionaries. This book was written in Latin by Gavanto and published in Venice in 1740. The Mass and other rites of the Church are explained in detail. One of the most important religious activities of Catholicism is the religious service. The contents of the prayers and the ways in which they are said are very formal. For instance, *De la Oración y Consideración*, Vol. I and II published in

Spain in 1880, explains the rules for praying. *Tesoro del Sacerdote* published in 1864, and three volumes of *Meditações dos Atributos Divinos* published in Lisbon in 1796, are books about religious activities.

The earliest Catholic document that the author found in the libraries is a Latin publication about the Ecumenical Council – *Vera Concilii Tridentini Historia*, in three volumes, published in 1670 (Figure 2). The Catholic Church Ecumenical Council requires the assembly of the cardinals from all over the world to discuss the affairs of the church in different countries. The book is edited Joanne Baptista Giattino, and the place of publication is given as Antverpiae (Antwerp, Belgium).

The whole set consists of three volumes, each volume consisting of approximately nine hundred pages, and is kept in good condition. These volumes relate the history of the Ecumenical Councils and discuss religious doctrines. Among these documents, important minutes such as the doctrines, observances, dogmas, etc. of the churches all over the world are used as the guidelines for the parish activities in different countries and are considered authoritative Catholic documents. Although this set of books is somewhat worn out, the words in it are still clearly readable. It is kept in the library of St. Joseph's Seminary, which has existed for more than three hundred years, and has great value for the research of Catholic history. From this, we can see that the missionaries who were in Macao at that time were constantly aware of developments in Catholicism in the world.

The spread of documents is a means of spreading social customs. However the different criteria of its spreading structure are positioned, they will fuse into one body with the social structure and will adjust themselves in order to be adaptable to each other. Dissemination of documentation has completely fulfilled different kinds of special and common needs of society.[8] The rich classical publications of Catholicism reflect the spread of documents, the application, the needs and the social phenomena of their time. Regarding the existing Catholic documents collected in Macao, there are numerous documents about theology and the learning of the Bible, most of them published during the eighteenth century, such as Augustino Calmet's *Commentarius Literalis in Omnes Libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti Tomus III* (Literal Comments on all the books of Old and New Testament) published in 1770, which is one of the textbooks for

Figure 2.

the missionaries. Also, there is a series about Catholicism entitled *Novo Mensageiro do Coração de Jesus* (from 1882 to 1908), and another series of *Mensageiro do Coração de Jesus* (from 1918 to 1965), both published in Portugal and containing Catholic propaganda regarding the story of the practice of the faith in God and about the miracles performed by Jesus.

Apart from that, the ways of learning and teaching of the missionaries can be seen in some early documentary records. Since the teaching aids in the early period were inadequate, they placed pictures between plates of glass to project them by light. There are about three hundred of these old-fashioned glass slides stored in St. Joseph's Seminary, the subjects of which are mainly religious topics. These are considered important resources for us to trace religious activities.

CHINESE RELIGIOUS DOCUMENTATION

In order to spread their religion and to expand their influence in such a big country as China, missionaries ought to use Chinese documents to convey the messages. For this, we have found almost 9,000

volumes of religious documents in Chinese, which comprise 11.2 percent of the total collection (Table 1). Some translated documents are considered classical texts, such as the complete set of *Chao Xing Xue Yao* 超性学要 (*Summa Theologica*) of St. Thomas Aquinas, interpreted by Ludovico Buglio and Gabriel de Magalhães, the first edition being issued in 1654 and re-published in the fall of 1930. The set contains: Catalogue, Theories about Birth, Theories about Catholic Noumenalism, Theories about the Trinity Hypostasis, Theories about God, Theories about the Holy Spirit and Theories about the First Man. A prelude is written in every roll, with the first two volumes as the catalogue, and examples are provided for every view or theory. The *Yong Fu Tian Qu* 永福天衢 (God Blessing Forever) published in 1873 is a set of comparatively complete Chinese Catholic documents written by a Franciscan. This book also has examples and a preface, which is principally about the depiction of rationality, the advocacy of trusting in Jesus, and ethical and moral thinking. The majority of the documents are modern publications mainly on the Bible, preaching, and rationality.

THE RICHNESS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS

The arrival of the Catholic missionaries in the East was objectively based and systematically organized for the purpose of carrying out activities for the spread of their religion and western culture. Therefore, they published periodicals so as to spread their religious spirit in Macao. The periodicals about Catholicism published in Macao are perfectly kept, such as the *Boletim Eclesiástico*, published monthly by the Diocese of Macao, but suspended from 1903 to 1992; *Ao Men Chen Xi Yue Kan Quan Ji* 澳门晨曦月刊全集 (The Monthly Corpus of Macao Twilight), which was suspended from 1955 to 1959; *Ao Men Chen Xi Zhou Kan Quan Ji* 澳门晨曦周刊全集 (The Weekly Corpus of Macao Twilight) from 1978 until the present; *Rally Magazine* the publication of which stopped from 1948 to 1989. These periodicals describe activities in the Diocese of Macao. Some of them have already been published for almost ninety years with detailed contents and contain psalms and prose. These periodicals also describe the religious activities of the faithful in Macao, diocese activities and so forth. They also list some accounts of the Church's expenses and the states of some diocese activities. These periodicals can serve as important references for studying Catholic activities and the relationship between twentieth-century Macao and nearby dioceses.

Some other religious periodicals, which were published overseas and are preserved somewhat better, are the church bulletin published by the Vatican *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* the whole set from the twentieth century; *Xianggang Shen En Shuang Yue Kan Quan Ji* 香港神恩双月刊全集 (The Hong Kong Bimonthly Corpus of Blessings) from 1989 until the present; *Tai Wan Shen Xue Lun Ji Quan Ji* 台湾神学论集全集 (The Taiwanese Corpus of Theology) from 1969 until the present; *Tai Wan Duo Sheng Yue Kan Quan Ji* 台湾铎声月刊全集 (The Taiwanese Monthly Corpus of The Voice of The Priest) from 1955 until the present; and *Tai Wan Jian Zheng Yue Kan* 台湾见证月刊 (The Taiwanese Monthly Corpus of Witness) from 1965 until the present.[9] There also are complete sets of the monthly magazines published in Portugal, such as *Lumen*, and *Brotéria*. *Jiao Yu Cong Kan* 教育丛刊 (The Education Series), an early twentieth century periodical, mainly in English, Italian, and French, chiefly published articles about the conditions of preaching Catholicism in China, among which the conditions of the Catholic activities in the mainland in the 1940s can easily be found.

Among the periodicals in the libraries collections, *Chuan Jiao Xue Zhi* 传教学志 (Missiology), *Shen En* 神恩 (Blessing), and *Shen Xue Nian Kan* 神学年刊 (The Annual Magazine on Theology), are contemporary magazines published in the late 1970s for spreading religious activities, and for describing the rational ethics of the Christians. Periodicals teaching ascetic theology, human relations, theological information, the Confucian ethical code, etc. include the *Zhong Guo Tian Zhu Jiao Wen Hua Za Zhi* 中国天主教文化杂志 (Periodical on the Chinese Catholic Culture), *Duo Sheng* 铎声 (The Voice of The Priest), *Shen Xue Lun Ji* 神学论集 (Magazine on Catholic Titular Issue), *Tian Zhu Jiao Shen Zhi Za Zhi* 天主教神职杂志 (Periodical of Catholicism Priesthood), *Apostolicum: Periodicum Pastorale et Asceticum Pro Missioniis*, etc.

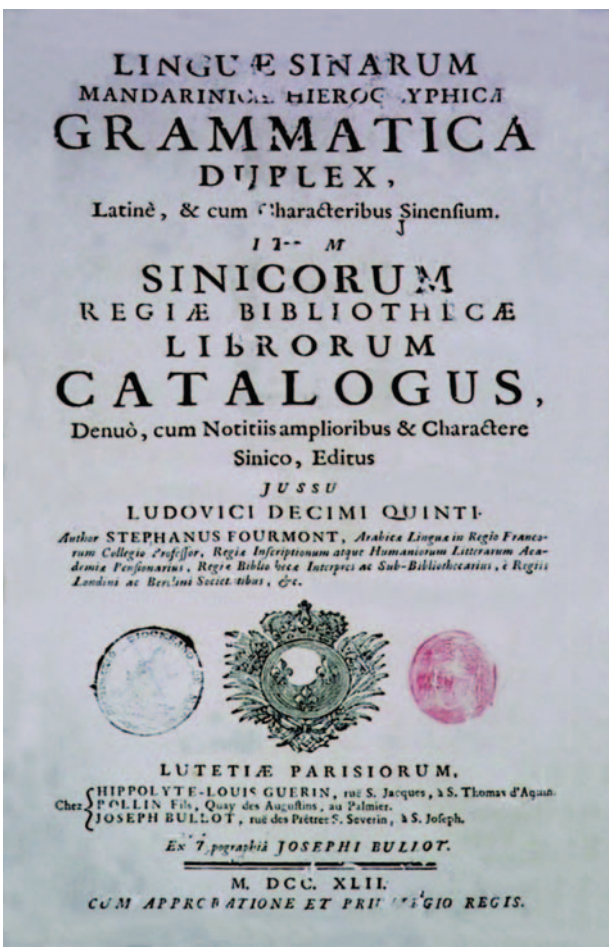
Obviously, the religious documents that have been preserved for hundreds of years reflect the determined spirit of the missionaries for preaching and their determination to open the door to China. Being

the followers of their God and having the duty to work for the Lord and rescue the souls of people, they were duty-bound in their actions. For this reason, the Catholics formed many documentary resources.

DOCUMENTARY RESOURCES OF MISSIONARIES INVESTIGATING CHINESE CULTURE

Missionaries who wanted to open the door to China needed to thoroughly comprehend Chinese traditional and ethical thinking in order to integrate into Chinese society. In fact, we cannot deny that their success in preaching in China was partly due to their understanding of the concept of "when in Rome, do as the Romans do" and their policy of following the ways of the upper classes. When St. Francis Xavier travelled from Goa to Malacca in 1542 and then to Japan, he saw that many people in Japan were believers in Buddhism. He realized that he first needed to convert the Chinese if he really wanted to preach in Japan, as China was the place of origin of the Japanese culture and thinking. Hence, he was determined to open the door to China and to put forward to the King of Portugal the plan of preaching in China. Although he had considered many plans, he could not enter Canton to preach. Nevertheless, he helped to consolidate the important foundation of Catholicism for its further development in China. Thus, Catholic missionaries later called him the founding father of the faith in the Far East. It was exactly based on his faith in converting the Chinese through reason that the missionaries worked hard to learn Chinese culture.

The missionaries perceived that the Chinese language was useful for preaching, and the Chinese officials also realized that the knowledge of the Jesuits


LINGUÆ SINARUM
MANDARINICÆ HIEROGLYPHICÆ
GRAMMATICA
DUPLEX,
Latinè, & cum Characteribus Sinensium.
IN-M
SINICORUM
REGIÆ BIBLIOTHECÆ
LIBRORUM
CATALOGUS,
Denuò, cum Notitiis amplioribus & Charactere Sinico, Editus
JUSSU
LUDOVICI DECIMI QUINTI
Author STEPHANUS FOURMONT, Arabicæ Linguæ in Regio Francorum Collegio Professor, Regiæ Inscriptionum atque Humaniorum Litterarum Academiæ Pensionarius, Regiæ Bibliothecæ Interpres ac Sub-Bibliothecarius, è Regiis Londini ac Berolini Societatibus, &c.
LUTETIÆ PARISIORUM,
Chez HIPPOLYTE-LOUIS GUERIN, rue S. Jacques, à S. Thomas d'Aquin.
POLLIN Fils, Quay des Augustins, au Palmier.
JOSEPH BULLOT, rue des Prêtres S. Severin, à S. Joseph.
Ex Typographiâ JOSEPHI BULLOT.
M. DCC. XLII.
CUM APPROBATIONE ET PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Figures 3 and 4.

in science could be useful to the imperial court after they had learnt the Chinese language. Therefore, during the reign of Kangxi in the Qing dynasty, missionaries who could not speak Chinese had to be taught the Chinese language in Macao if they wanted to enter China. During the reign of Qianlong, the missionaries were also required "to shave off their hair and to change their clothing, to go to the Macao Catholic Church in Canton and to live there for two years to learn the Chinese language".[10] This made Macao the place for missionaries to learn Chinese, and it also became the main cause of the creation of the relevant documentary resources. Among the collections that are being investigated, there are approximately 12,000 volumes of documents that are about Chinese culture, comprising 16 percent of the total (Figure 1), and which include aspects like the Chinese language and regional customs. Although documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on these topics were lost for various reasons, we can still explore the missionaries' persistent determination to open the door to China and their way of learning from the existing library collection published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

LEARNING MANDARIN AND CHINESE DIALECTS

First, the missionaries needed to learn the official language of China–Mandarin. Most of the missionaries who came from Europe knew Latin. For studying the Chinese classics and for learning the Chinese language, they wrote and edited grammar books and dictionaries of the Chinese language in Latin, and sent them back to European countries for publication so as to provide scholars in Europe a convenient means of studying Chinese culture. For instance, *Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae*, written by Etienne Fourmont and published in Paris in 1742 by Hippolyte-Louis Guerin, is a document based on Latin as the main language for teaching people how to read and write in Mandarin (Figures 3 and 4).

Besides, they also learnt the dialects spoken in different regions and transliterated the Cantonese vernacular prose, the Shanghainese dialect, and so forth with translations for reference. Canton was the door for westerners to enter China. During the period when Qianlong adopted the closed-door policy and foreigners were basically forbidden to enter China, Guangzhou, apart from Beijing, still remained the sole place in which the residence of western missionaries was permitted. Expulsions started to be carried out until the Guangdong official received a reprimand from the emperor. As this was their last line of defence and the region where their activities took place most frequently, they put all their hearts into learning Cantonese, which was seen as an important tool for communication. The existing documents of this type are principally about the learning of Cantonese, such as the seventh edition of *Selected Phrases in the Canton Dialect*, collected by Dr. J. G. Kerr and published simultaneously in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Yokohama and Singapore in 1889 by Kelly & Walsh Company Limited, with a prologue written in Guangzhou. The contents of the whole book are common Cantonese words that are used in our daily lives, their Romanized transliteration, and their explanations in English:

English Explanation	Phrase	Romanized Transliteration
Pour it full	斟 滿 渠	*Chum Mum K'u*
Eaten sufficient	吃 饱 咯	*Yak Pau Lok*
What are you doing now?	你而家做乜野?	*Nei I Ka Tso Mat Ye*

Such very intimate and authentic colloquial expressions used in Macao and Canton are the best means of communication. The writer delicately observed the rich authentic linguistic peculiarities. The enthusiasm and careful attitude revealing the missionaries' desire to integrate into Cantonese society are fully manifested in the phrases used.

Shanghai was also one of the important cities where they aimed to spread their preaching in China. Hence there are a lot of documents regarding the learning of the Shanghainese dialect. For instance, in the *Leçons sur le Dialecte de Shanghai,* which teach the Shanghainese dialect, the words and phrases are transliterated and explained in French:

1 ère personne:		
Mon, le mien	'ngou-ke'	我个
2 ème personne:		
Ton, le tien, le vôtre	nong'-ke'	侬个
3 ème personne:		
Son, sa, le sien	I-ke'	伊个

Since Macao was the base for nurturing the missionaries who entered China, fairly standardized Chinese language textbooks thus became part of the collections that could not be neglected. A guideline for teaching Cantonese, *Bússola do Dialecto Cantonense*, written and edited by the famous Macanese educator, Pedro Nolasco da Silva, is an example. There are altogether seven volumes kept in Macao, which were published from 1906 to 1922. These are mainly textbooks written in European languages and Cantonese words for assisting learning through Romanized spelling. The book entitled *Ying Hua He Bi* 英华合璧 *Kuoyu Primer: Progressive Studies in the Chinese National Language*, published in Shanghai in 1938, is one of the textbooks written in Chinese. It was written by R. H. Mathews and is chiefly for teaching Putonghua. *Introducción al Lenguage Hablado Chino* (Introduction to Conversational Chinese) published in 1931, and *Sermo Sinicas Vulgaris* (Introduction to Spoken Chinese), published by Chong De Tang 崇德堂 in 1938, are textbooks for the teaching of Chinese through Latin published for the European missionaries to learn spoken Chinese. These sorts of documents are numerous.

They had experienced many difficulties travelling to the East to arrive in the treasured land of Macao, and they put their hearts into learning Chinese to prepare themselves to enter China. Then, after they had got hold of some basic linguistic skills, they needed to learn how to use the Chinese language as the medium of preaching to the Chinese. For instance, *Examen de Conscience: Cantonais-Français à l'usage des Nouveaux Missionnaires,* published in Hong Kong in 1918, combines French pronunciation with Cantonese syllables.

Entire passages of some books give Cantonese with Romanized spelling for reference so as to make it more convenient for the missionaries to read to the Chinese when they were preaching.

The sincerity the missionaries showed in their learning of the Chinese language and in their absolutely insistent enthusiasm for preaching, their forbearance, and their industriousness are revealed in these publications. This is exactly where their success came from. Although they experienced difficult times, they continued to work hard in preaching.

EXPLORING CHINESE CULTURE

Missionaries like Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri, became the first group of foreigners who deeply understood the Ming dynasty. They were different from their predecessors, who were either missionaries or businessmen in the sense that they had a good command of the Chinese language. Owing to this advantage of theirs, they could often associate with high officials and notables and could travel to different places. In fact, many missionaries who had stayed in China for years had a good command of the Chinese language. Apart from speaking and writing in Chinese, they could also read ancient Chinese books. Hence, some missionaries who stayed in China were explorers of the Chinese culture who wrote and translated many reports and special books.[11] The more important point is that they developed a keen interest for the Chinese culture. Apart from providing them with convenience in their preaching activities, their interest also motivated them to introduce Chinese ideas and traditional customs to western countries, arousing the interest of European intellectuals. All of this is reflected in the documentary resources, such as *Padre Matteo Ricci Saggio d'Occidente: Un grande Italiano nella Cina impenetrabile 1552-1610,* written and edited by Fernando Bortone in Italian. It recounts the life of the Italian priest, Matteo Ricci, during the period 1552 to

Ko kai, pan shing koung K'ao shan fou kong fouk ngo tsoi yan ko kai	告解，办圣工 求神父降福我罪人告解	*Se confesser* *Je viens confesser et prie le Père de me benir, moi pêcheur* (I make my confession and beseech the Father to bless me, a sinner)

Examen de Conscience: Cantonais-Français à l'usage des Nouveaux Missionnaires combines French pronunciation with Cantonese syllables.

1610 in China. The book shows a strong interest in the Chinese imperial system, oracle-bone inscriptions, the Book of Changes, the development of Buddhism, Confucius, traditional customs, architecture, scenery, folk playthings, etc. A study of festive Chinese ornaments is also in the book. Enthusiasm for Chinese culture thoroughly reveals itself in this book.

The Jesuit decision-maker and Church affairs observer of the Far East, Alexandre Valignano, proposed that the sole way to open up China was to change the method of preaching and become familiar with Chinese protocols, customs and the condition of the people. In this way it would be possible to break the ice. Under the influence of this deliberate plan, the missionaries who came from Europe to China worked hard to investigate Chinese culture. A set of books on Chinese folk beliefs named *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* is a model example that reflects their attitude of doing profound research on the Chinese culture. This series, written in French, was published in Shanghai, and contains eight of the volumes. This set of books depicts the conditions of the Chinese culture in the past thousands of years, including customs, history, emperors, religious superstitions, medicine, etc. in the form of folklore-telling in great detail. The meaning of "The Child-giver, Guanyin in White" is explained in the book, and the story "Daili Goujing" in *Fongshun Yianyi* 封神演义 (A Historical Novel of Deified Beings) and fabled characters like Nezha and Yang Jian were also described in detail. At the same time, they also explored the academic knowledge of China, and that was why *China Journal: Science, Art, Literature – Travel, Shooting, Fishing* became one of the documents collected by missionaries.

As a matter of fact, a big reaction was created when Confucianism was brought to the West. Some philosophers and enlightened thinkers welcomed the idea. The German philosophers, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646-1716) and Christian Wolff (1679–1754), the French economist François Quesney (1694-1774) and the French enlightenment thinker François Marie Voltaire (1694-1778) appreciated Chinese philosophy and culture.[12] The following books collected by the missionaries serve as examples showing why they were known as "Confucianized" believers. The whole set of *Zhuzi Jicheng* 诸子集成 (A Collection of *Zhuzi*) with calligraphy by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, eight volumes in total, published by Guoxue Zhenglishe 国学整理社 in 1935 is preserved in the Macao Catholic Libraries. This set of books was once in Guoxue and in the library of the Jesuits in Taiwan but was finally brought back to the Macao Ricci Institute of the Jesuits in Macao. The movement of the books between various libraries reflects the great changes experienced by the missionaries. Confucian classics were included in the compulsory curriculum of those Catholic schools. They started with *Sanzi Jing* 三字经 (The Three-Character Classic), and *Si Shu* 四书 (The Four Books or the Great Learning) was also a must before the students could grasp how to read and write Chinese. Therefore, missionaries kept on collecting Chinese literary works. The following were among the Chinese classical books that were moved from the library of the Catholic Church in Zhaoqing, Guangdong to Macao: the *Shiyun Jicheng* 诗韵集成 (A Collection of Poetry), a new edition published in1854, Yangcheng Gujing Ge Cang Ban 羊城古经阁藏版 (version of Guang Zhou Ancient Sutra Hall); the *Xinshi Biaodian. Sishu Baihua Zhujie Zhongyong* 新式标点・四书白话注解中庸 (Zhongyong of Modern Punctuations and Sishu Colloquial Glossary), a book published by the Shanghai Jinzhang Library; the *Jiqi Yijing Duben* 机器易经读本 (Yijing Textbooks of Machinery) (3 volumes), Guangzhou Chengnei Xueyuan Qian Bowen Tushu Ju Cang Ban 广州城内学院前博文图书局藏版 (The Library Collection of the Former Doctoral Dissertation of Guangzhou Chengnei Institution); the *Hanwentang Chunqiu Liju Duben* 翰文堂春秋离句读本 (Writing Hall Spring and Autumn Leaving Sentences Reading Book); the *Shuowen Jiezi Gulin* 说文解字诂林 (Explaining Characters); and the complete set of *Shuowen Jiezi Gulin Buyi* 说文解字诂林补遗 (Explaining Characters – Supplement) from 1 to 66 written (arranged) by Wu Jingheng 吴敬恆署 in 1931 were published by The Commercial Press.

The influence of the research done by missionaries on Sinology is still felt. At present, the Association Ricci in Paris and in Taipei have compiled a *Dictionnaire Français de la Langue Chinoise* and a *Dictionnaire Ricci de Caractères Chinois* to spread Sinology and the Chinese culture.

The propagation of such documents served as a means of sharing knowledge and information among people. The documents existing in Macao show the deep feelings those missionaries had for the Chinese culture. Their dogmas and doctrines were influenced by Chinese culture and the concepts of that time. They put forth a great effort for the sake of their mission.

Owing to continuous socialization, systematization, changes in supply and demand, and the development of the market, documentary resources were accumulated and built up for the promulgation of spiritual messages and the propagation of knowledge.

OPENING THE DOOR TO CHINA WITH WESTERN ACADEMIC DOCUMENTATION

People have always been in pursuit of knowledge. Documents of all types have been used as tools to spread knowledge and spiritual messages and to exchange ideas. In fact, the exchange of information and knowledge is a factor contributing to the formulation of documents. Matteo Ricci started to learn Chinese when he arrived in Macao in 1582. He then went to preach in Zhaoqing with Michel Ruggieri in the same year but was soon expelled. When they returned to Macao, they began to realize that they must win people's hearts, especially the recognition and respect of the higher classes, before they could preach in China. Therefore, in order to open the door to China successfully, they needed to make use of Europe's achievements in the scientific and academic fields in addition to having a good command of the Chinese language and culture.

Macao was their base, but China, the "big market", was their real target, so the majority of academic works from the West that were brought to China came through Macao. Those academic works were the "capital" for them to set foot in China, and the limited number of books remaining in Macao were used for teaching. From Table 1, we can see that the fewest documents are those related to western academic studies. There are only a little more than 4000 volumes, contributing to 6.27 percent of the total.

In 1641, the Macao Diocese had taken the place of the Malacca Diocese as the preaching centre of the Catholic Church in the Far East. The Catholic Church ran medical centres and schools in Macao, and all kinds of training was given for the development of individuals in preparation for their involvement in various kinds of social activities. Western academic documents, including medical books, atlases, western literary works, and encyclopaedias, which are still kept in Macao, were used for the training.

Medical documents include the *Xiao'erke* 小儿科 (Paediatrics), which was printed by the Shanghai

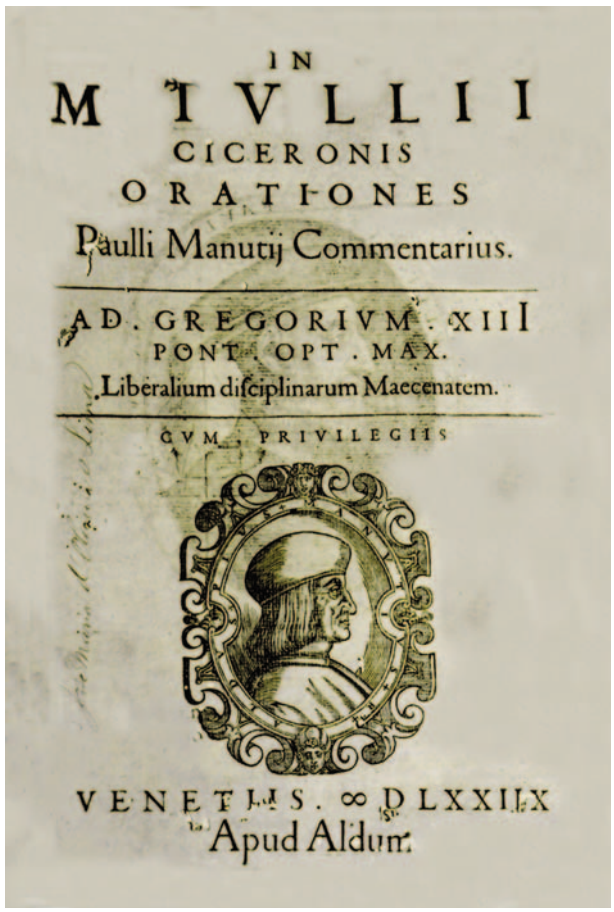

IN
M TVLLII
CICERONIS
ORATIONES
Paulli Manutij Commentarius.
AD. GREGORIVM. XIII
PONT. OPT. MAX.
Liberalium disciplinarum Maecenatem.
CVM PRIVILEGIIS
VENETIIS. M D LXXIIII
Apud Aldum.

Figure 5.

Tushanwan Library. A summary of the effects of the western medicines is given, and the author Liang Weiyi 梁卫遗 has recorded the effects of more than sixty kinds of western medicines. *A Mulher Médica na Família: Encyclopaedia de Hygiene e Medicina Prática* is a comparatively more special medical periodical dictionary because of its combination of the periodical format and the dictionary format. The publications from No. 120 to No. 159 are still well kept. They are about household health care, medical science, and physical hygiene. Portuguese explanations of some medical terms and daily medical knowledge are arranged in alphabetical order.

Although the purpose of the missionaries coming eastward was to preach, they had actually opened up the curtain for another period of western learning in China. The return of documentary activities, after a halt during the reigns of Qianglong and Jiaqing, won the missionaries a place in the history of East-West documentary exchange.[13] They

introduced conditions in the West to widen the horizons of the Chinese. The *Archivo Pittoresco: Semanario Illustrado* published in Portugal from 1857 to 1868 is a set of Portuguese documents about the conditions of Portugal. Scenery is included in the book, and the local conditions, customs and arts of the West are brought to the East.

According to information supplied by relevant libraries and collected by the author, the oldest books derived from Catholic activities found so far are Latin publications of 1578 and 1602. They are now kept in the richly historical library of St. Joseph's Seminary. Pictures of the covers of these two precious volumes have been taken by the author with permission from the Rector of the Seminary, Father Luís Xavier Lei. The *M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes. Paulli Manutij commentarius* was published in 1578 (Figure 5). The book is mainly about the social affairs, national politics and economy of the ancient Roman republic. Speeches made by Cicero in the Senate are annotated and commented on. Although seriously damaged after 400 years, it is still undoubtedly valuable.

The other book is *Auctores Latinae Linguae*, which was edited by Dionysius Gothofredus and published in 1602. It is a western academic work mainly on the study of Latin language and literature. The difference between the layout of this book and that of modern documents is that the columns, instead of the pages, are numbered. There are two columns on each page, and there are altogether 201 columns in the book. Apart from that, the rest of the layout is similar to that of ordinary modern documents, with a table of contents, a preface before the main body, and indexes after the main body. The bibliography is also given in detail. The delicate classical pattern of the West can be seen in Figure 6. The word "China" was written by hand on the lower part of the cover. It is believed that the book had been carried to the mainland and used before it came to Macao.

Matteo Ricci believed that "No powerful fleet or strong army or human violence shall enable successful preaching in China… Preaching has to be respected by the Chinese, and the best way to do it is to gain people's hearts through the academic tools. Once trust is built, faith follows."[14] Relevant documents have shown that the policies they adopted were faithfully carried out, and their goals were achieved as a result. The accelerating effect that the exchange and spread of documents had on social development and cultural exchange is seen from this as well.

Figure 6.

REFERENCE BOOKS, DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

Like other documentation, the documents derived from religious activities were not formed nor developed merely on their own. They were influenced and accelerated by many factors in their long development. Missionaries were dedicated to introducing western learning and modern science to the Chinese in the hope that they would acknowledge the superior advanced science and political organization of the West in every aspect. Indeed, even the emperor Kangxi attended their lessons.[15] Through the introduction of western learning, and with the prerequisite respect for Chinese customs and rites, they started their preaching work and were able to keep their foothold in China. The missionaries travelling eastward were

generally very educated, and many of them were famous scientists and scholars. Aside from Matteo Ricci, there were Niccolò Longobardo, Diejo de Pantoja, Sabatino de Ursis, Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Ferdinand Verbiest, Jean Terrenz, Giulio Aleni, Nicolas Trigault, and others. They introduced the relatively more advanced western technology to the Chinese through translations and lectures. Refreshing scientific knowledge in the areas of astronomy, geography, mathematics, mechanics, map-making, drawing, and architecture was brought in. Therefore, we find that textbooks, ranging from primary school books to dictionaries and encyclopaedias, account for 6.58 percent of the total collection.

The formation of these academic documents was mainly due to the Qing government's high regard for western technology. The attitude of the Chinese government toward the missionaries was: "The way to protect ourselves is to equip ourselves with new knowledge."[16] The government's intention was to draw western technology in through the missionaries, whereas the intention of the missionaries was to carry out their missions through the western education they had received.

In fact, among the documents derived from the preaching activities, there are still a lot of reference books that are worth studying. Surveys have shown that the earliest dictionary kept in Macao was the *Dictionnaire universel d'agriculture* (The Universal Dictionary of Agriculture). It was published in 1751 by David le Jeune in Paris. It is a French dictionary with annotations on agriculture. There are also quite a lot of periodical dictionaries, and the comparatively more well-preserved ones include the *Diccionario Universal Ilustrado: Linguistico e Encyclopedico* (Universal Dictionary for Languages and Encyclopaedias). This set of periodicals was published in Lisbon, Portugal. The publications from No. 1 to No. 159 are kept (of which Nos. 120-159 are professional medical dictionaries), and they are mainly language dictionaries and encyclopaedias. *Portugal-Dicionário Histórico* published in 1904 is another set of periodical dictionaries about the history, geography, art, and people of Portugal. *A Mulher Médica na Família: Encyclopedia de Hygiene e Medicina Prática* mentioned above is also a periodical dictionary that has been well preserved.

Because the missionaries came from Europe, many dictionaries used by them in European languages and on European history are kept in Macao. The earliest existing European language dictionary is the second edition of *Nouveau dictionnaire Français-Italien, composé sur les dictionnaires de l'Academie de France et de la Crusca,* a French and Italian dictionary published in 1778 in Nice, France. It contains a rich supply of scientific and artistic expressions that are very practical for translators and readers. Literary catalogues and geographical catalogues are included in it.

According to the research done by the author, *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* is probably the earliest existing encyclopaedia kept in Macao. It was published in London in 1819 and is an encyclopaedia with a total of forty volumes on arts, sciences, and literature. Engraved illustrations are included. It is indeed a very precious set of encyclopaedias for the study of early nineteenth-century history and comparative studies.

Owing to continuous socialization, systematization, changes in supply and demand, and the development of the market, documentary resources were accumulated and built up for the promulgation of spiritual messages and the propagation of knowledge.

For textbooks, the *Xiao Xue Sheng Wen Ku* 小学生文库 (Primary Students' Library) in 205 volumes, published by Commercial Press, is still well kept. It is an encyclopaedic sort of textbook for primary schools. A variety of subjects such as astronomy, history, geography, opera, and agriculture are included in it. Furthermore, lively techniques are applied to introduce the basic functions of children's libraries: items like the reading room, catalogue, circulation, etc.

Apart from being valuable sources for historical reference and study, these rich western academic documents also reflect the great effort made by the missionaries in coming to China. Indeed, the religion of the West is a symbol of civilization. Their religion had been successfully brought to China during the Tang dynasty and the Yuan dynasty. However, the influence was purely religious, and no new civilization was brought into China. The reason for their not being able to get a foothold and disappearing so quickly was that feudalism and civilization were more developed in China than in the West at that time. However, western society had undergone great changes before their religion was once again brought into China for the third time in the sixteenth century. Ideas had become active, and concepts had been renewed with the Renaissance, the birth of capitalism, and the advancement of technology. Western civilization had made a step forward and had thus left the ancient eastern civilization behind.[17] As a result, western civilization was used as a way to open up China, and western academic documents served as an important tool. From the contents of the collected documents, we can see the close link between their development and the demands of the social environment.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF ARCHIVES AND PHOTOGRAPHS

The Diocese of Macao had governed the Catholic churches in China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Laos, Siam, and Malaysia, since becoming the governing centre in 1576. Archives and photographs are also among the products of Catholic cultural activities. They honestly show the conditions and the important events of Catholic activities as they were. The archives of the districts governed by the Diocese of Macao are kept in the Bishop's palace. They can be dated back to 1717, and they contain a large number of early records. Official correspondence with the subordinate churches and records of all the Catholics such as their backgrounds, baptisms, marriages, and deaths are included. Since there were neither formal consulates nor formal personal data archives for identification like those of today in Macao, the archives kept in the Bishop's palace were then regarded as legitimate references for property inheritance, marriage certification, etc. In addition, owing to the fact that Macao had become the centre for the propagation of Catholicism in the Far East, Catholics from different places filed their personal data in Macao as a protection against forged documents. Thus, information issued by the Diocese of Macao was recognized by other districts.[18] As time went by, a considerable quantity of authoritative files was accumulated, and those files were approved by the Macao Government as official files.

Those files are kept in order in the Filing Section of the Diocese of Macao. They have become our historical reference tool for investigating data on all baptized people who registered in Macao. These records have inadvertently had a great effect over Catholic social activities. In 1980, after seeking the advice of the churches, the Macao Government copied the data of all those records, made them into microfilms, and stored them in the Macao Historical Archives as well as in relevant government departments. The Macao Government promulgated decrees confirming the records from before 1985 as official.

Apart from the archives, around 500 valuable pictures of missionaries preaching in Macao and in mainland China in the early twentieth century were discovered by the author. They are extremely important historical documents reflecting the history of Catholicism in Macao and the mainland. For example, "A Zhaoqing priest Preaching to Ladies with a High-school Girl during a Retreat" on 29 August 1937; "A Memorial Picture Taken during the Return Visit Paid to the Members of the Chamber of Commerce by the Archbishop, João de D. Ramalho" was presented to a Father as a present by all the members of the Chamber of Commerce on 8 April 1932; and "The Catholics of Zhongshan Shiqi Welcomed the Archbishop, João de D. Ramalho's Visit to Perform the Confirmation Service" on 6 May 1948. These precious photographs will become important reference documents for investigating the history of the Catholic Church if they can be fixed and published as a photo album with annotations.

BUDDHIST DOCUMENTARY RESOURCES

Compared to Catholicism, the development of Buddhism in Macao was steadier and smoother as the population is mainly Chinese. The majority of Chinese are influenced by their family and friends, and there was an inborn respect towards Buddhism in them that makes Buddhism the traditional religious persuasion in the East. Although Buddhism has already built up a very solid

foundation and has the largest number of followers in Macao, the documentary resources it has created are very limited and are mainly on religious teachings. The development of Catholic documentary resources is far more diversified and richer than that of the highly influential Buddhism; thus a great contrast is formed that is worthy of study. The contrast shows that the origin and development of the documents are based on the motivation and needs created by their ulterior purpose. In other words, the existence of documents is like a mirror reflecting the social conditions of each period in history.

The three traditional Chinese religions, Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, mingle well in Macao. The majority of Macao residents are Chinese, and anyone going to temples for worshipping or burning joss-sticks is regarded as a Buddhist. There are many Buddhists in Macao. According to the census done in 1991, there were 59,669 Buddhists in Macao, comprising 16.8 percent of the total population.[19] Existing historical data shows that the Pou Tchai Temple (commonly known as Guanyin Tang) at Mong Ha was the earliest centre for Buddhism in Macao. Its origin can be dated back to the 7th year of the Daoguang Reign of the Ming dynasty (1627). There are more than forty Buddhist temples (excluding wayside shrines) in this territory with an area of little more than 24 square kilometres. Those temples are of several sects, like the Zen Sect 禅宗, the Pure Land Sect 净土宗, the Rilian Zhengzong 日莲正宗, the Cangchuan Mizong 藏传密宗, and others. The Daoist A-Ma culture derived from folk belief also developed a solid foundation in Macao.[20]

The author has checked the main libraries and has visited several famous temples in Macao only to find that they contain only a very limited number of Buddhist documents. Most of the things found in those temples are books, drawings, relics and stele inscriptions on the promulgation of Buddhism. Of course, some of them are of great historic value. For instance, the Great Master Xu Yun's *Kaishi Guijie* 虚云大师 (Master Xu Yun) at the Macao Pingan Cinema 澳门平安戏院开示归戒,[21] Pou Tchai Temple's 普濟禪院 precious collections – *Dan Gui He Shang Dan Xia Ri Ji* 澹归和尚丹霞日记 (Diary of Dangui and Shangdanxia),[22] *Xitian Dongtu Lidai Zushi Pusa Lianzuo* 西天东土历代祖师菩萨莲座 (Name Boards of Founders), and *Aomen Lianfeng Miao Zutang Lianzuo* 澳门莲峰庙祖堂莲座 (Name Boards of Founders of Macau Lian Feng Temple), are important reference documents verifying the history of Buddhism in Macao. Buddhist societies also publish some periodicals and books on their belief for free. Examples are the early *Wujindeng* 无尽灯 (The Perpetually-Flaming Lamp), the *Aomen Fojiao Zonghui Huikan* 澳门佛教总会会刊 (The Periodical of Macao Buddhist Federation), the *Aomen Fojiao Qingnian Zhongxin Jikan* 澳门佛教青年中心季刊 (The Seasonal Periodical of Macao Buddhist Youth Centre), and the *Renjian Fotuo Jiqi Jiben Jiaoli* 人间佛陀及其基本教理 (The Worldly Buddha and His Basic Creeds) published by the Macao Buddhist Youth Centre, and sermons like *Ruhe Wanjiu Shehui Fengqi* 如何挽救社会风气 (How to Rescue the Common Social Practice) made by monks.

As a result, western civilization was used as a way to open up China, and western academic documents served as an important tool.

Among the temples visited by the author, the Gongdelin 功德林 Temple built in the 1970s near the St. Laurence Church has the richest collection. Most of the 5,000 Buddhist books kept in it nowadays were published in the early twentieth century and are purely religious documents. According to what the *shitai* (senior nun) said, those documents were mainly left by the blessed masters. The collection is mainly made up of various kinds of Buddhist sutras like the *Yaowang Yaoshanger Pusa Jing* 药王药上二菩萨经 (Medicinal Sutra) printed with donations from a disciple called Li Zinong 李子农, the cover page of the *Dabei Hejie Changyi* 大悲合节忏仪 (Regret Instrument of Sadness) of 1920 was printed with the following information: "Republished by the disciples of our abode in autumn 1920, printed and circulated by the Huikong Sutra Store-room at Xihu, Zhehang"; the *Jin Gang Jing Wu Shi San Jia Zhu Jie* 金刚经五十三家注解 (Diamond Sutra with 53 annotations) and the whole set of *Dacangjing* 大藏经 (Tripitaka) in 43 volumes. There is also an abundant supply of Buddhist sutras and works on traditional Chinese moral principles, like Song Qi's

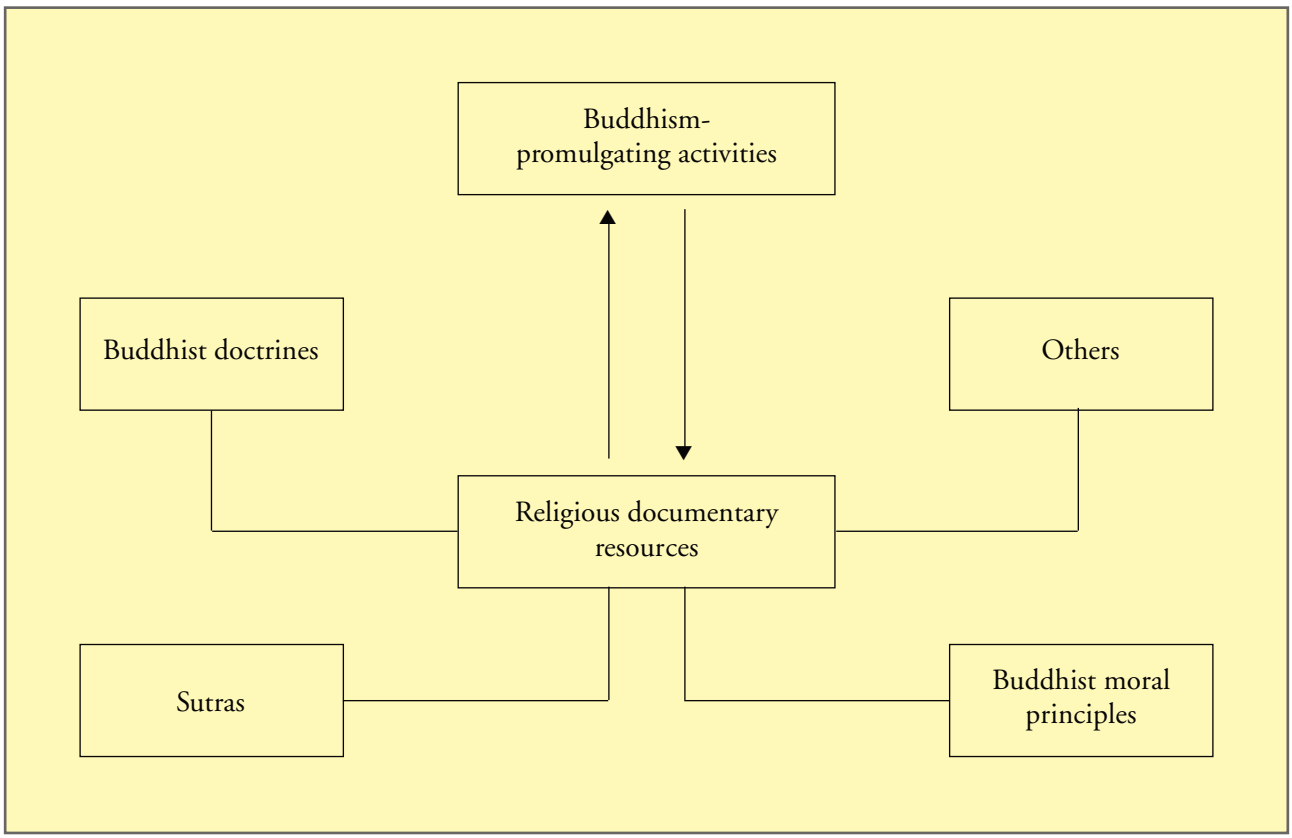


Figure 7. The macroscopic pattern created by Buddhist activities and documentary resources.

宋碛 *Shacang Jing* 砂藏经 (Sand Tripitaka Sutra), *Fangang Jing* 梵钢经 (Brahmajala Sutra), *Lianhua Jing* 莲华经 (Lotus Sutra), *Shiliuguan Jing* 十六观经 (Sixteen Views Sutra), *Yiyin Jing* 义音经 (Dogma Sutra), *Chanshiyulu* 禪师语录 (Buddhist Masters' Analects), etc. Apart from collection of sutras, there is also a batch of books on Buddhology. The *Dacheng Qixinlunkejing* 大乘起信论科经 (Awakening of Faith), a thread-bound textbook on Buddhology for higher education, was published during the reign of Guangxu (1904) and printed at Wuchang. The sixteen rolls of *Fo Xue Da Ci Dian* 佛学大辞典 (Buddhology Dictionary), the eight rolls of thread-bound *Gao Seng Zhuan* 高僧传 (Biographies of Eminent Monks), the Yijingchuan 义净传 (Biography of Pure Dogma) of the *Tangjingzhao-dajianfusi* 唐京兆大荐福寺 (Temple of Tangjing Zhao Da Jian), and the *Jingangzhichuaner* 金刚智传二 (Biography of Adamantine Wisdom II) of the *Luoyang Guangfusi* 洛阳广福寺 (Temple of Luoyang Guang Fu) are used by the Buddhist monks and nuns to cultivate their beliefs. In conclusion, the majority of the documentary resources derived from the Buddhist activities in Macao are on Buddhist sutras or doctrines.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERN OF DOCUMENTS FROM THE TWO FAITHS

There is obviously a great difference between the documentary resources formed by the Catholic activities and the Buddhist activities. Let us analyze the origin and development of the documentary resources created by the two religions. From Figure 7, we can see that Buddhist documents concentrate on the belief itself. As a result, the documentary resources created are mainly on sutras, doctrines and moral principles related to Buddhism. The documentary resources help to spread the belief. We can say that the promulgation of Buddhism has been done smoothly for it has required less assistance from other factors than has Catholicism, which had to make a great effort before succeeding in obtaining a position in Asia. The Buddhists could focus on their own activities as they

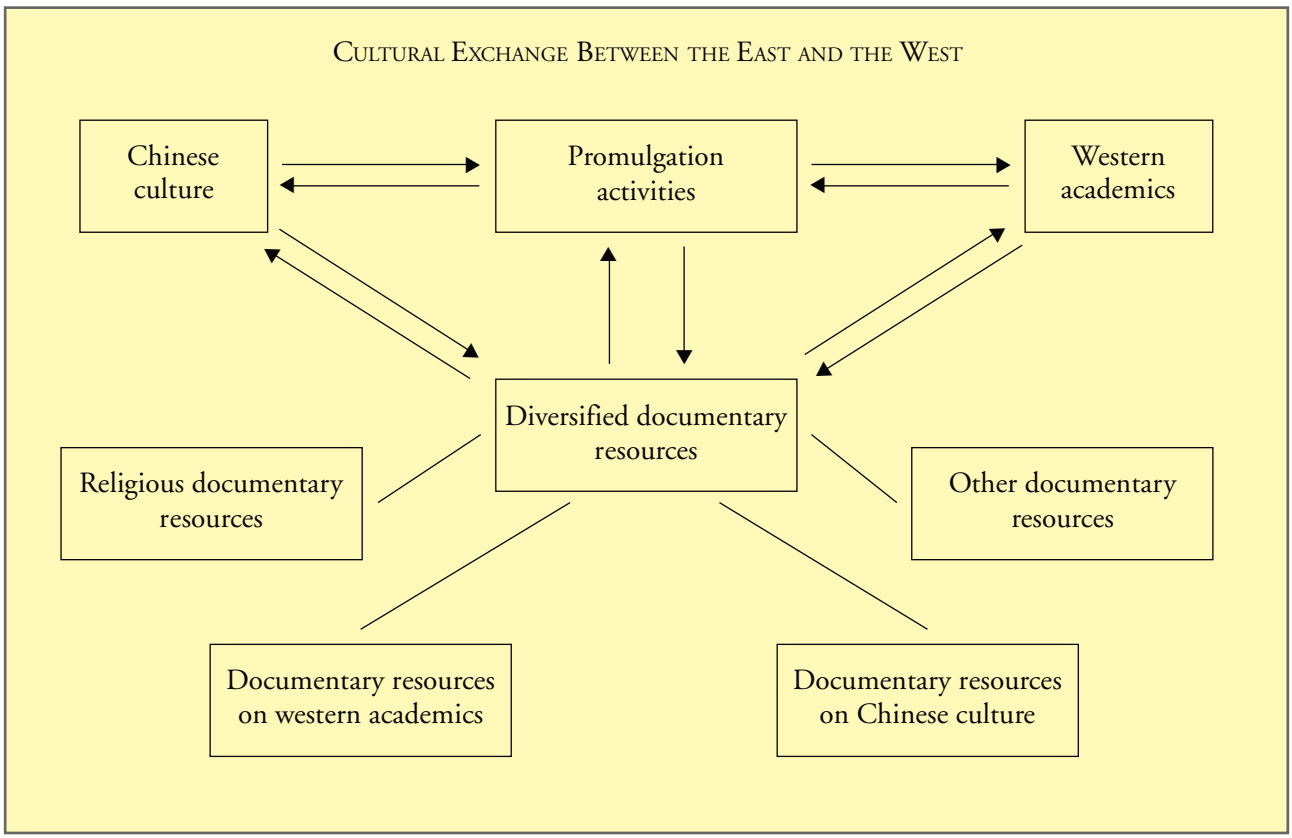


Figure 8. The macroscopic pattern of documentation created by Catholic activities.

did not have to face the risk of being banned, nor did they need to do a lot of extra work, like the Catholics did, to strengthen their position. The fact that the documentary resources derived from Buddhist activities are more homogenous than those from the Catholic activities reveals their relatively smoother development.

On the other hand, we shall also use the macroscopic point of view to determine the pattern of the documentary resources created by the Catholic activities (Figure 8). The missionaries coming eastward needed assistance from other factors before they could start their promulgation activities. In return, the various kinds of relevant activities contributed to the richness and the special peculiarities of the documentary resources. Complications appeared throughout the whole promulgation process, and the diversified activities led to a variety of documentary resources since they were both closely linked. Preaching was the main mission and purpose of their coming eastward, so preaching was also the focus of the whole developmental pattern. Then, academic tools were used for entering China, whereas learning Chinese culture was for mingling with Chinese society. All these were done for the purpose of carrying out their spiritual mission, but in the process, those actions led to a wider cultural exchange between the East and the West. As a result, a variety of documentary resources were created and developed, and the spread of knowledge led to new types of social activities.

CONCLUSION

The Catholic missionaries travelled to the East to preach with a purpose and with a system. A series of social activities was started by the Catholics so as to expand their religious power, to promote loyalty to the Roman Holy See, and to satisfy the political ambitions of certain European countries. Joachim Bouvet once said: "At first, the Portuguese sent priests from the Jesuits to China to satisfy their political ambitions through their religious influence when, at the same time, the Catholic Church was also thinking of expanding its religious power through the political power of the Portuguese."[23]

Nevertheless, they had a great influence on China and established special documentary resources with historical value to achieve their primary objective.

In conclusion, there is a close relationship between cultural activities and the formation of documentary resources. The larger the area of the activities, the more the coverage of the content, and the more complicated the involvement of the activities, the richer the documentary resources become. The formation and development of documentary resources in each area were closely connected to social factors such as politics, economics, education, historical background, international status, etc. As a matter of fact, owing to the special role of Macao in history and the amazing research value of its documentary resources now being recognized internationally, many scholars specializing in Macao studies have suggested doing research on the historical documentation of Macao. Therefore, we should study the factors leading to the formation of documentary resources in Macao from a variety of views and analyze their developmental pattern as well as their social value more comprehensively so as to fulfil the needs of society for further development.

The author began her study of the religious documentary resources and their respective developmental patterns not long ago. Therefore, criticisms and corrections made by experts or scholars are appreciated. The writer also hopes to raise the interest of others to engage in discussions and more in-depth studies together. RC

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Translated by Betty Lam.

NOTES

1 Zheng Weiming 郑炜明 and Huang Qichen 黄启臣. *Ao Men Zong Jiao* 澳门宗教, Preface.
2 Li Xiaojiang 黎小江 and Mo Shixiang 莫世祥编, eds. *Ao Men Da Ci Dian* 澳门大辞典, p. 29.
3 On 23 January 1575 (reign of Wang Li in the Ming dynasty), Pope Gregory XIII, issued the papal bull *Super Specula Militantis Ecclesiae*. The Diocese of Macao has existed for more than 400 years. At present, there is a filing room for storing the historical documents of the Catholic Church. In it can be found classical records, old paintings, hand-copied documents of the eighteenth century, and many magazines, which are all immensely representative.
4 The Seminary, known as "San Bazai", was established in 1727 especially for cultivating the missionaries who were preaching in China. Contains the "Room of Historical Museum Pieces" (in preparation status) and the "Library of Historical and Classical Books", in which paintings and books of the eighteenth century are kept. Thus, the books kept in the library are extremely rich and are worthy of study. The library is not open to the public.
5 The Jesuits have a long history. Catholicism was brought to China in the mid-sixteenth century. The approach was developed by the Jesuits, who were the most influential Catholic propagandists at the time. There is a library that is not open to the public.
6 The Xinjian Institute is affiliated to the Jesuits, and does research mainly on Chinese studies. Prepared in 1999 and formally opened to the public in October 2001, it was still in the process of preparation and was not yet formally opened during the period when the writer was doing her interviews.
7 Interview with the Prior of St. Joseph's Church, Father Luís Xavier Lei.
8 Zhou Qingshan周庆山. *Bo Shi Jian Jiu Sheng Xue Wei Lun Wen: Wen Xian Chuan Bo De Ren Wen Yan Jiu* 博士研究生学位论文: 文献传播的人文研究, p. 37.
9 Interview with the Bishop of Macao, Domingos Lam.
10 Zheng Weiming 郑炜明 and Huang Qichen 黄启臣. *Ao Men Zong Jiao* 澳门宗教, p. 36.
11 Zhu Qian Zhi 朱谦之. *Zhong Guo Zhe Xue Dui Ou Zhou De Ying Xiang* 中国哲学对欧洲的影响, p. 71.
12 Talks on the Chinese Culture by World Celebrities. Quoted from: Zhang Dainian 张岱年, "Zhong Xi Wen Hua Zhi Hui Tong" 中西文化之会通, pp. 29-31.
13 Pang Yutian 潘玉田 and Chen Yonggang 陈永刚, *Zhong Xi Wen Xian Jiao Liu Shi* 中西文献交流史, p. 66.
14 Father Luis Pfister 费赖之, *Ru Hua Ye Su Hui Shi Lie Zhuan* 入华耶稣会士列传, p. 42.
15 An Tianpu 安田朴 and Xie Henai 谢和耐, *Ming Qing Jian Ru Hua Ye Su Hui Shi He Zhong Xi Wen Hua Jiao Liu* 明清间入华耶稣会士和中西文化交流, p. 3.
16 Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chou Ren Zhuan* 畴人传 45. p. 588.
17 Huang Hongzhao 黄鸿钊, "Ao Men Zai Zhong Xi Wen Hua Jiao Liu Zhong De Di Wei – Lun Ji Du Jiao De Chuan Ru Yu Ao Men De Guan Xi" 澳门在中西文化交流中的地位 – 论基督教的传入与澳门的关系, p. 295.
18 Interview with the Bishop of Macao, Domingos Lam.
19 That was the last investigation on religious beliefs by Macao because it intruded into people's privacy. After that time, that question was not asked when the Population Census was carried out. Hence, only the statistic from 1991 can be given.
20 The exact date of the arrival of the cult of A-Ma in Macao is uncertain, one source claiming its establishment in the first year of Hongzhi in the Ming dynasty (1488), another claiming its establishment in the thirty-third year of Wan Li (1605).
21 Zheng Weiming 郑炜明 and Huang Qichen 黄启臣. *Ao Men Zong Jiao* 澳门宗教, p. 18.
22 Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, *Ao Men Pu Ji Chan Yuan Cang Dan Gui Jin Bao Ri Ji Yan Jiu* 澳门普济禅院藏澹归金堡日记研究, pp.19-36.
23 Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhong Guo Tian Zhu Jiao Shi Ren Wu Zhuan* 中国天主教史人物传, vol. II, p. 269.

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Religious Syncretism
The Harmonization of Buddhism and Daoism
in Macao's Lian Feng Miao (The Lotus Peak Temple)

Christina Miu Bing Cheng*

INTRODUCTION

Vacillating between two political entities and two dominant cultures at the periphery of South China, Macao's unique Sino-Portuguese identity has given rise to an interface of various religious beliefs. Since the arrival of the Portuguese some four hundred years ago, they had ardently and incessantly introduced Christianity in the guise of a "civilizing mission", but they failed to replace or erase the Buddhist and Daoist faiths. Apart from being a "Holy City" for Judeo-Christian tradition,[1] Macao is also a Chinese religious bastion where multitudinous deities proliferate. In particular, the polymorphism of Buddhism and Daoism allows a variety of religious experiences and liturgical traditions among the élites and the masses. There seems to be no invariable sectarian rule governing the Chinese temples in Macao, or distinguishing the religious attachment of one from another. The Chinese, at least in the instance of the lived experience of Macao, apparently advocate a pantheistic spirit through religious inclusion, compromise and syncretism. Syncretism[2] and toleration of disparate beliefs have been central to the religious life of the Chinese since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), a period when the harmonization of the Three Teachings (*san jiao he yi* 三教合一), zealously advocated by Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (1517-1598), flourished to an unprecedented degree. This paper seeks to trace the syncretic practices in Lian Feng Miao 莲峰庙 (the Lotus Peak Temple), and to illustrate the polytheistic tradition of the Chinese belief systems. As Lian Feng Miao transgresses religious boundaries to enshrine a whole gamut of divinities regardless of doctrinal differences, can we classify it as a Buddhist or a Daoist temple? How does its spiritual dimension lie for Buddhism and Daoism? The focus then shifts to examine the plethora of gods and goddesses dedicated in Lian Feng Miao. These mythological, legendary and historical characters have been systematically and "euhemeristically"[3] represented over time so as to become immortals. One may wonder how Daoism incorporates and appropriates, if not speculates on, ancient Chinese beliefs, and how classical literary texts are made to serve as a vehicle for Daoism to consolidate its status as the Chinese autochthonous religion.

DAOIST MOVEMENTS

Daoism is purely of Chinese origin and a truly native movement of thought oriented to mysticism. The entire body of its doctrines has emerged from indigenous sources. There are essentially two different movements: philosophical Daoism and religious Daoism.[4] The former is held to be founded by Laozi (c. 604-531 B.C.)[5] and Zhuangzi (c. 369-286 B.C.), and the latter by Zhang Daoling (active in the mid-second century A.D.). While philosophical Daoism views Dao 道 (meaning the Way), or divine intelligence of the Universe, as the great cosmological principle that governs the operation of man and nature, religious Daoism consists in their teachings on how to practise alchemy in order to attain immortality. Philosophical Daoism is regarded as rational, contemplative, and non-sectarian, whereas religious Daoism is magical, cultic, esoteric, and sectarian. Daoism as a philosophy lasted only a few hundred years (up to the third century B.C.). It was not until Zhang Daoling founded a sect, which issued charms and talismans to protect the

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faithful, that Daoism flourished and achieved considerable success during the Han and Three Kingdoms periods (from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.). At the beginning of the fifth century, flourishing Buddhism[6] began to eclipse Daoism. In 845, however, an imperial edict was issued proscribing Buddhism (and Nestorianism 景教), Daoism thus revived and thrived. It has been called the religion of the masses since the Tang dynasty (618-907), and is described by Holmes Welch in *The Parting of the Way: Lao Tzu and the Taoist Movement* as 'the most popular religious work in China' (Welch, 1958: 140). The powerful influence of Daoism is evidenced in Chinese popular culture.

Though Daoism is Chinese, it has been much influenced by Indian Buddhism. As Daoism borrowed the Buddhist system of organization, it also drew upon ancient animism and nature-worship, thus shaping a phenomenon of polytheism and allowing a myriad of mythologies. Keith Crim has pointed out that Daoism, by emphasizing spontaneity, intuitional understanding, and the acceptance of the natural world, was actually able to bring Buddhism closer to the matrix of Chinese thought (Crim, 1989:741). In contrast to Confucian dislike of the fantasies and occultism of mythology, Daoists have speculated on ancient myths and beliefs and embraced mythical stories to create immortality legends. It is in Daoism that most of the mythological characters of early China were incorporated and appropriated. Like Greco-Roman mythologies, Daoism established a "divine" hierarchy for a vast and complex system of gods. These Daoist divinities were given responsibility for every conceivable aspect of human life, and each locality had its own particular "official" deity. Not only did they play the role of intermediaries between man and heaven, but they also constituted a system of bureaucratic hierarchy in the supernatural world that was in fact modelled on this world. Despite the popularity of Daoism, one should disabuse of any misconceptions that China is an exotic and arcane land of Daoist mysticism. Rather, it is a cradle for the confluence for disparate religious beliefs.

Apart from being a "Holy City" for Judeo-Christian tradition, Macao is also a Chinese religious bastion where multitudinous deities proliferate.

RELIGIOUS SYNCRETISM

The religious systems of Confucianism,[7] Buddhism and Daoism have long been known in China as the Three Teachings or Three Great Religions, which dominated almost the entire spectrum of religious history in China. While the Three Teachings formed the mainstream of what anthropologists would refer to as a culture's "great tradition", folk religion[8] constituted a "little tradition" (Redfield, 1956:67-104). These four "traditions" came to represent the wholeness of Chinese religion.

It was not until the Ming dynasty that a period of spiritual breakthrough and syncretic forces in religion was ushered in. Religious practices, beliefs, and traditions tended to react to and absorb into themselves appropriate elements from other philosophies and sects. The most noted syncretist was Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (1517-1598), who was born in Putian 莆田, Meizhou 湄州, in Fujian 福建 province.[9] Having attained enlightenment and achieved insight into the understanding of the Three Teachings, he advocated and manifested religious syncretism. His main contribution was the re-moulding of religious ideas in the clearest and most detailed form. He developed a well defined system of study and practice for spiritual cultivation through a process of toleration, interaction and change in order to unite and harmonise conflicting beliefs. He was not only a syncretic thinker (integrating the ideas and doctrines of the Three Teachings to form his own philosophy), but he was also a syncretic teacher (combining believers in the Three Teachings into a single Way). His disciples believed he was the equal of the sages of the Three Teachings.[10]

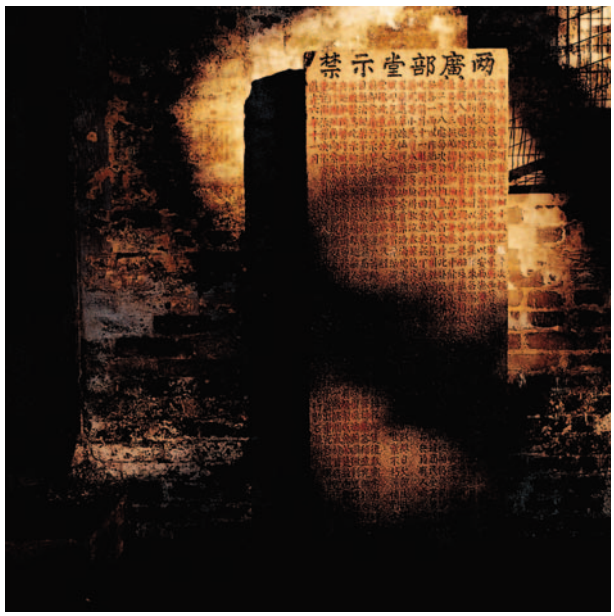
Being central to the religious life of the Chinese, syncretism assumes an indispensable role. It attempts to reconcile and incorporate diverse elements selectively from a variety of religious praxes into an acceptable tradition. Believers are often eclectic,[11] and

Lian Feng Miao (Lotus Peak Temple). All photos by Wong Ho Sang, 1998 (IC Archives).

they try to advocate syncretism as a principle to attain the essence among different doctrines and ideas. One should bear in mind that syncretism is neither religious treason nor does it shatter traditions. Judith A. Berling has defined religious syncretism as 'the borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation' (Berling, 1980:9). In this way, the dynamics of syncretism allows a reformulation and substitution of traditions in religious experience. The religious syncretism, or harmonization, of the Three Teachings has thus fostered a new religious tradition,[12] and the unity of the Three Teachings became the mainstream of Chinese culture's "great tradition".

Unlike Christian hostility towards "pagan beliefs" (as evidenced in the Crusades and the Inquisition), Chinese religions clearly articulated a synthesis of differing doctrinal elements and embraced a bricolage[13] of beliefs. While western Christianity laid a strong emphasis on its transcendent, exclusive and universal nature, Chinese religions espoused syncretic sentiments and engendered toleration, compromise and respect among one another's belief systems.

This syncretic phenomenon, as pointed out by Christian Jochim, is buttressed by a number of sociological factors. First, the Chinese tend to lay emphasis on practice over doctrine. Secondly, the traditional family remains the *fundamental social unit* within Chinese religion, thus keeping other forms of religious groups from evolving to a high degree. Thirdly, the Chinese state, headed by the emperor, constituted another basic unit of religious organization in China, outshining the relatively minor role played by other religions, whether indigenous or foreign (Jochim, 1986: 21). As such, the delineation of the boundary of religious faiths does not dominate the common people's consciousness, but a functionally oriented religious view prevails. The question of religious identity is often relegated to an unimportant place. The following section examines the syncretic impact on Lian Feng Miao, which exhibits a syncretic pantheon in its full complexity.



Lotus Peak Temple construction dates back to 1592.

TRANSGRESSION OF RELIGIOUS BOUNDARIES

Lian Feng Miao is believed to have been first built in 1592. Expanded and reconstructed in the late nineteenth century, the present structure was renovated in 1980. It is located near the Barrier Gate leaning against Lotus Peak Hill (also known as Lotus Flower Hill) at northern Wang Xia, and strategically sits on the narrow isthmus that connects the Macao peninsula to Zhongshan county 中山县, in Guangdong province. This temple is among the best of the extant models of "formal" temple architecture in Macao. Its façade is resplendent with intricate clay bas-reliefs which were carved in the nineteenth century, and which depict stories from history and mythology. Just like most temples dedicated to sea deities in Macao, it once commanded an excellent sea view before massive land reclamation. It is a "sacred space" where the deities are asked to calm the roaring sea.

Formerly called Tian Fei Miao 天妃庙 (the Temple of the Celestial Concubine), it was dedicated to the Daoist goddess of the sea. By the name of the temple, it was unmistakably a Daoist temple. With regard to the appellation of Tian Fei, it is believed that 'Heaven is regarded as the Emperor, because he is the greatest and noblest; after Heaven comes the Earth, and the Spirit of the Earth is the Empress, who ranks immediately after the Emperor. The Third dignity is reserved for the Spirit or Spirits of the Waters, and these female Spirits are the concubines of the Emperor, or of Heaven' (Werner, 1932:503). In light of this divine hierarchy, Tian Fei—being a sea deity—was raised to a celestial position and considered a consort of Heaven.

Tian Fei has been looked upon as a symbol of coastal pacification and is the patron goddess of fishermen, sailors and maritime merchants.[14] This water deity was the spiritual representation of a living maiden, Lin Mo 林默 (960-987), who was a native of Putian, Meizhou, in Fujian province. She first emerged as a minor and regional spirit during the eleventh century. She was officially recognised as a sea deity in 1123 in the Song dynasty. Since then she has been given a number of appellations, such as Sheng Nu 圣女 (Holy Maid) and Fu Ren 夫人 (Madame). It was not until 1278 that she was "ennobled" as Tian Fei 天妃 (the Celestial Concubine). The Qing dynasty Emperor Kangxi granted her an illustrious title, Tian Shang Sheng Mu 天上圣母 (Heavenly Saintly Mother) in 1680. In 1684 she was eventually "canonised" as Tian Hou 天后 (Empress of Heaven). Through a series of systematic apotheoses, Lin Mo was transmuted from a mortal to a celestial consort and climbed the imperial hierarchic ladder from concubine to empress. In this way, the myth of Tian Hou was

A stone lion guarding the Lotus Peak Temple entrance.

integrated as an official cult and incorporated into the Daoist pantheon of the state religion. She is regarded as a leading sea goddess of national importance.

Located at a peripheral region in South China, the temple was appropriately named after Lin Mo's ennoblement as Tian Fei when it was first built in the last decade of the sixteenth century. However, after she was elevated to the exalted position of Empress of Heaven, the name of the temple remained fixated on her concubine status. Her new "canonisation" as Tian Hou was apparently not celebrated.

In 1723 Lian Feng Miao was expanded, and a hall dedicated to Guan Yin 观音, the Buddhist goddess of mercy, was built at the rear of the temple. Guan Yin (literally, one who perceives the cries of the world) is generally considered a Bodhisattva,[15] and is looked upon as an incarnation of Avalokitesvara,[16] or the Lord Looking Down with Pity. Because of enshrining Guan Yin, the name of the temple was changed to Ci Hu Gong 慈护官 (the Palace of Mercy and Guardian). Given this re-naming, the temple transgressed a religious boundary to be consecrated to both Guan Yin and Tian Hou. The name Ci Hu Gong had a direct reference to Guan Yin's mercy and the attribute of her compassionate providence—*da ci da bei* 大慈大悲 (great compassion, great mercy). It also spoke for Tian Hou's guardian role and the honorific rubric bestowed on her—*hu guo bi min* 护国庇民 (guarding the country and protecting citizens). Ci Hu Gong thus straddled Buddhism and Daoism, and exemplified a syncretism of both.

As both Tian Hou and Guan Yin are often venerated as the saviours of shipwrecks and quellers of disorder on the seas, some commentators maintain that Tian Hou has been consciously created to "offset" Guan Yin (Watson, 1985:298). Perhaps due to increased sea transport and maritime activities, they were construed to share similar supernatural power, and hence became more or less identical counterparts.

The cults of Tian Hou and Guan Yin share certain similarities. There is a popular image of Guan Yin portrayed as a beautiful young woman carrying a child in her arms. This representation is known as *Guan Yin song zi* 观音送子 (Guan Yin sends a child), and undoubtedly suggests her role as a giver of children and goddess of fertility. Similarly, Tian Hou is endowed with the power of divine intercession for gynaecological and childbearing problems. In a study of the cult of Tian Hou in the region of Fujian, it is observed that there is also a ritualistic performance called *Tian Fei song zi* 天妃送子 (Tian Fei sends a child) (Dean, 1993: 222).[17] These two virgin goddesses are thus perceived as child-giving deities apart from their roles associated with the sea. As we can see, the Chinese religious systems have developed a syncretic matrix allowing differences in beliefs (and rites) to complement one another. Actually religious similarity is expressed as if it were religious difference as exemplified in the roles of Tian Hou and Guan Yin. This is the reason why they are enshrined in the same temple without religious friction.

After a lapse of thirty years, Ci Hu Gong was completely renovated in 1752. Given its new facelift, the Chinese called it *Xin Miao* 新庙 (New Temple). After a hundred years, the new temple became somewhat shabby, and in 1875 the temple complex was extensively refurbished and expanded. To commemorate the occasion, Magistrate Xu Nailai 许乃来 of Xiangshan county 香山县 (now called Zhongshan), bestowed an honorific tablet (dated 1876) with three well-written Chinese characters: 莲峰庙 Lian Feng Miao (the Lotus Peak Temple). The gilt wooden tablet bearing its official name has since been put up on the lintel of the door.[18] This name has a direct reference to Macao's cartographic shape and its location. It is because Macao is likened to a lotus flower;

the peninsula itself resembles the bud or flower and the isthmus the stem. The summit of the hill just behind the temple is called Lotus Peak.

In view of the naming and re-naming, it is not easy for the general public to distinguish whether it is a Buddhist or a Daoist temple. The name Lian Feng Miao is often mistaken for a Buddhist temple, chiefly because the lotus flower—denoting serenity and transcendence from mortality—is a salient identification of Buddhism. In fact, the temple embraces a double dedication to the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy and the Daoist Goddess of the Sea. In this spirit, the demarcation of Buddhism and Daoism is blurred due to religious syncretism. Because of the syncretic sentiments, most of the Chinese in Macao would not insist on their specific religious identity, but they patronise this "sacred space" where a whole assortment of deities are ready to lend their ears.

Apart from transgressing Buddhist and Daoist boundaries, Lian Feng Miao specifically honours the Qing imperial commissioner Lin Zexu 林则徐 (1785-1850). Lin was an undaunted magistrate during the first infamous Opium War (1839-1842). Appointed by the faltering Qing government to curb the lucrative opium trade, he visited Macao seeking cooperation from the Portuguese officials. Given his tough measures and zealous drive, he antagonised the British, and war broke out. This first Opium War led to the ceding of Hong Kong to the Union Jack. The Treaty of Nanjing signed in 1842 between Britain and China was the first in a series of unequal treaties that forcibly opened China to the West. Later, Lin fell out of favour and was sent off to a less important post in Xinjiang.

Courtyard of Guan Yin (Goddess of Mercy) Pavillion.

The temple was the historic venue of a conference between Lin and his entourage with the Portuguese officials. Standing near the entrance courtyard, Lin's statue was inaugurated on 10 December 1989, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of his visit to Macao on 3 September 1839 and his patriotic contribution. In addition, the Lin Zexu Memorial Hall, built in the courtyard, was opened on 5 November 1997 commemorating the return of Hong Kong to China in July 1997. It exhibits photographs and memorabilia relating to opium trafficking during the peak era of western imperialism and colonialism. While thirteen friendship monuments built by the Macao Government during the last seven years of Portuguese rule are to stake their cultural legacies,[19] Lin's statue and the memorial hall serve to arouse the collective memory of shameful foreign humiliation and to ensure the collective immortality of the Chinese people.

THE ABODE OF THE DIVINE

Lian Feng Miao is the abode of multitudinous divinities. To the right of the courtyard, there is a small shrine dedicated to Tu Di 土地 (literally, Soil-Earth), the Earth God, or the Protecting Spirit of Rural Places. Tu Di is in fact very low in rank in the hierarchy of the Daoist spirit world, and his supernatural power is limited. Adjacent to Tu Di is a guardian stone, Shi Gan Dang 石敢当 (the Stone that Dares to Undertake). Being commonly represented by the aniconic form[20] of a stone as an antidote to malign and inauspicious influences, Shi Gan Dang shares the same function as a stone carved lion in playing a guardian role. Both Tu Di and Shi Gan Dang are actually very minor Daoist deities[21] attributed with minimal supernatural powers.

The temple complex consists of three blocks of inter-connected buildings. Each entrance of the three buildings is guarded by two stone lions.[22] Just inside the entrance are two images of deities flanking the door, and each of them is put on a small altar. Unlike the four demon-like guardian gods in most Chinese

temples, the guardians here are human-like and scholarly. The central main building is comprised of a pavilion and two successive halls. The pavilion is enhanced by a raised stone platform (like an atrium), which is called the Four-cornered Pavilion. It is surrounded by tall pillars with stone railings, where there are a total of eighteen decorative lions serving to ward off malignant spirits. It was on this very stone platform that Lin Zexu met the Portuguese officials on 3 September 1839 in order to curb opium trafficking.

The first hall, spacious and magnificent, enshrines the image of Tian Hou, which is set on an elaborate altar. Her seated statue glows with golden colour, and a golden halo-like mandala is at the back. She holds a ceremonial blade, which is called a *gui* 圭, an auspicious object. Two attendants, Qian Li Yan 千里眼 (Thousand Mile Eye) and Shun Feng Er 顺风耳 (Fair Wind Ear), are flanking the altar. These two folk deities 'are credited with the possession of abnormally sensitive ocular and auricular perceptions' (Williams, 1988:338). They are portrayed in a fierce form and with a third eye. In Buddhism, the third eye is the eye of knowledge. While Thousand Mile Eye is holding an axe as his attribute, Fair Wind Ear is carrying a thunderbolt.

The second hall is dedicated to Guan Yin. Her golden image is seated on a lotus flower with a golden phoenix on each side. She is bedecked with three strands of pearls, and a halo topped by a lotus flower is meant to indicate her sainthood. Two Buddhist tutelary deities are flanking the altar: Di Cang Wang 地藏王[23] on the right and Wei Tuo 韦陀[24] on the left. Di Cang Wang (the King of the Subterranean Kingdom) is the Chinese manifestation of Kshitigarbha, the Buddha of Nether Regions. He visits Hell on errands of love and mercy and has an immense compassion for suffering souls. Wei Tuo is commonly known as the God of Justice. He is the Chinese manifestation of Veda (divine knowledge), a Hindu deity regularly invoked by the Chinese Buddhists as defender of the Buddhist faith and protector of monasteries. In the Buddhist world, Wei Tuo is the Prime Minister of Di Cang Wang, and this "political" relationship may explain their co-presence as guardian deities flanking Guan Yin. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the fearful and terrifying image of Wei Tuo with the pacific and calming forms of Guan Yin and Di Cang Wang may point to a

A detailed view of the temple's façade.

counteracting principle—harsh justice tempered by mercy and compassion.

What is special in this hall is that there is a "Guan Yin safe" near the altar. Every year, on the 26th day of the first lunar month, the safe is opened. On that day, believers flock together as early as possible and enter the temple with joss sticks in order to "borrow money" from Guan Yin. If they can make a profit during the year, they will come back and "repay" her by making offerings. Thus, Guan Yin's role as a "money-lender" is invented.

On both sides of the central main building, there are semi-detached wings. On the right, the lintel carries the name Wu Di Dian 武帝殿 (the Hall of the God of War). Inside the first hall, moreover, there is a tablet with an inscription Guan Sheng Di Jun Dian 关圣帝君殿 (the Hall of Guan the Saint King). This hall is dedicated to Guan Yu 关羽 (162-220 A.D.) a historical hero of the Three Kingdoms era (220-265 A.D.). He is better known as Guan Gong 关公; "Gong" is a ducal title bestowed on him. In 1594, Guan Yu was ennobled as Guan Di 关帝 (Guan the King), a title that honoured him as supporter of Heaven and protector of the kingdom. In 1813, he was grandiloquently canonised as Wu Di 武帝 (the God of War),[25] in recognition of his military prowess to defend the country from external threat. In 1856, he was given another title—Guan Da Fuzi 关大夫子 (Guan the

A general view of the elaborate altar to Tian Hou goddess, flanked by the attendants Shung Feng Er (Fair Wind Ear), on far left, and Qian Li Yan (Thousand Mile Eyes).

Great Sage and Teacher).[26] Besides, he was deified as Wu Cai Shen 武财神 (the Military God of Wealth).[27] He is also one of the patron deities of literature, and in this respect he holds a book as an attribute. Guan Yu is venerated by the literati chiefly because he was traditionally credited with the ability to recite The Spring and Autumn Annals *Chun Qiu Zuo Zhuan* 春秋左传[28] from beginning to end.

After numerous steps of glorification, Guan Yu became a "divine human" and was eventually raised to "godhood". He is taken as tutelary guardian of all brotherhoods, secret societies, and the police force. He is not only looked upon as the very personification of integrity, but he is also the embodiment of righteousness, loyalty, courage, justice, and generosity. The historical mortal gained recognition from Daoism,

Buddhism and Confucianism and eventually attained full stature as a supernatural protector and a symbol of Chinese national culture. By and large he is one of the most popular folk deities.

Guan Gong is flanked by Liu Bei 刘备 on the right and Zhang Fei 张飞 on the left outside the altar,[29] both are historical personages. Liu Bei (162-223 A.D.) was the emperor of Su 蜀 during the period of the Three Kingdoms, and Guan Gong was only his official. Given Liu's vocation in his youth of making baskets, he was deified as the God of Basket-makers. Zhang Fei (191-223 A.D.) is an assessor of Guan Gong. He is described as being eight feet in height, with a panther's head, round sparkling eyes, a voice like thunder, and a swallow's chin. After Guan's death, he became an itinerant pork-seller. He was thus defied as one of the gods of butchers.

This triadic group[30] represents three popular characters in the Chinese classic novel, The Romance of the Three Kingdoms (*San Guo Yan Yi* 三国演义), written around 1394 by Luo Guanzhong 罗贯中. In the novel, they swear to treat one another as brothers, and to offer mutual assistance in order to fight against the intruding Yellow Turbans. This famous scene is known as the "Oath in the Peach Garden". In the hall dedicated to Guan Gong, however, his two "brothers" are not treated with the same brotherly equality, but they just stand flanking their deified brother, like acolytes or attendants.

The second hall houses the spirit tablets of the deceased, arranged along the walls in tiers. The tablets bear the names and dates of birth and death. The Chinese revere their ancestors by putting their tablets in a temple. Only those who pay a certain sum of money can acquire a place there.

On the left of the central main building, the entrance bears the name Ren Shou Dian 仁寿殿 (the Hall of Benevolence and Longevity). The first hall is called Yi Ling Shen Nong Dian 医灵神农殿, which is dedicated to the Spirit of Healing and the God of Agriculture. Their golden statues, each with a halo at the back, are put side by side on the altar. They are flanked by two divine attendants: Cai Yao Tongzi 采药童子 (Herb-picking Lads). While Yi Ling is represented with two horns on the forehead, Shen Nong is portrayed with a long beard. Yi Ling is simply a collective name honoured to dispel epidemics. Shen Nong 神农 (2838-2698 B.C.) is the legendary second

Qian Li Yan (Thousand Mile Eye).

Emperor,[31] and the divine farmer. Legend has it that he was eight feet seven inches in height and had the body of a man surmounted by the head of a bull. He represents the age of agricultural pursuits during which permanent settlements were established. He is said to have invented the cart and various kinds of agricultural tools, and established markets for the exchange of products. In A Record of Researches into Spirits (*Sou Shen Ji* 搜神记), a fictional and imaginary narrative of short stories compiled in about A.D. 317 by Gan Bao 干宝 (born c. A.D. 285), Shen Nong is described as both the God of Agriculture and of Medication. He is credited to have found ways of cultivating land for agriculture, and of using herbs for medication.

The next hall is called Wen Chang Dian 文昌殿 (the Hall of the God of Literature),[32] but there is

Shun Feng Er (Fair Wind Ear).

no Wen Chang statue. This Daoist deity is believed to have lived as a man named Zhang Ya 张亚 (A.D. 755-805). Born in Sichuan during the Tang dynasty, he was a brilliant writer and held an appointment in the Board of Rites. He was apotheosised in 1314 as Wen Chang and took his place among the gods of China. In Wen Chang Dian, two golden statues—Cang Jie 仓颉 and Ju Yong 沮诵—are honored on the altar. Both are the Gods of Writing. Tradition maintains that they invented the art of forming ancient Chinese characters by imitating the footprints of birds, which were known as "bird foot-prints writing".[33] History relates that Cang Jie was appointed by Huang Di 黄帝 (the Yellow Emperor) (2698-2598 B.C.),[34] as the president of a commission of learned men to continue and complete the labors of Shen Nong on natural history and the medicinal properties of plants (Werner, 1932:518). Cang Jie was given the title Shi Huang 史皇 (Prince of Scribes). The statue of Cang is put on the right side of the altar, and Ju is on the left. This placement indicates that Cang is the "Right Official", and the right hand man of Huang Di, whereas Ju is the "Left Official". Unfortunately, the Chinese inscriptions wrongly label Cang as the "Left Official" and Ju the "Right Official".

Daoism used to appropriate ancient mythological lore in order to consolidate its status as the Chinese autochthonous religion. It even claimed that its original inspiration came from Huang Di. This mythical third emperor has been upheld as its primordial founder, thus going far back beyond Laozi in point of time and prestige. Hence, Huang Di comes to represent the starting point of Daoism.

The third hall is called Jin Hua Dou Mu Dian 金花痘母殿, which is dedicated to two Daoist deities: the Goddess of Child-bearing and Fecundity, and the Goddess of Smallpox and Child-disease. On the altar, the two golden statues are put side by side. Jin Hua is also known as Jin Hua Furen 金花夫人 (Madame of Golden Flower). Folk tale maintains that she was the wife of Hua Tuo 华陀. She is usually flanked by twelve midwives, six on each side. The midwives are portrayed in different postures taking care of babies[35] such as nursing a baby, putting a baby on her lap, playing with a baby at her knees, etc. There are, however, two postures depicted without babies: while one midwife holds a mirror and combs her hair, the other is engaged in sewing. Women who are desirous of babies will pray to the goddess and use their hours and dates of birth (as a base for calculation) to count on these twelve midwives in order to augur whether they can have offspring or not. If the count stops at one of the last two postures, it may suggest a mere chance. It is because the midwives are simply "idling" without taking care of babies.

Dou Mu 痘母 (Mother of Smallpox) is also known as Dou Shen 痘神 or Dou Mu Niang Niang 痘母娘娘. Legend has it that she had four sons; all were afflicted with the disease of smallpox. She was then granted the power to protect humankind against this scourge. She is believed to be a contemporary of Jiang Ziya 姜子牙 (will be discussed in the following section) and is one of the specialists appointed by Huang Di in Tian Yi Yuan 天医院 (the Celestial Ministry of Medicine).[36] She is sometimes represented

wearing a large shawl to protect her from cold. On the altar, there is a baby on her lap, an image mirroring the Holy Mother and Child. Her role is generally extended as the protectress of all kinds of child diseases, such as polio, diphtheria, measles, tetanus, etc. She is, however, rarely regarded as an important deity.

The glamour and popularity of the divine are susceptible to change. A few decades ago, it was a common phenomenon for a Chinese couple to bear six to ten children. Towards the end of the twentieth century, however, parents preferred minimizing childbearing even though there was no state policy (i. e. the one-family-one-child policy launched in 1979 on mainland China) to govern the birth rate in Macao. Even though the aura of the goddess of child-bearing and fecundity is eclipsed, she is still worshipped by women who seek to solve gynaecological problems or by those who wish to have a male heir for the continuity of the family tree. The goddess of smallpox and child-disease shares the same fate because advanced technology in medicine and improved hygiene have almost stripped the deity of her lustre. In particular, chicken pox is no longer regarded as the most fatal disease to children.

In every hall, there is a bronze bell and a wooden drum. In Hinduism the drum represents the first sacred sound "Om", hence the drum alludes to the beginning of life. In Buddhism the bell symbolises sound, and is intended to call hearts to the Awakening. Since the sound is generally very brief, the bell represents the belief that everything is of short duration, that all is fleeting (Frédéric, 1995:65). The bell and the drum used to serve as ritual instruments, but now they have become merely decorative motifs.

This page and overleaf, some aspects of the temple.

A BRICOLAGE OF POPULAR DEITIES

Lian Feng Miao also enshrines a plethora of euhemerised divinities. Some of their names are simply written on the tablets, while others are placed *en masse* as adjuncts near the altars. In spite of their unimportant placement, they never fail to attract a considerable number of worshippers. These deities are mostly drawn from Chinese classical texts, i.e. Creation of the Gods *Feng Shen Yan Yi* 封神演义,[37] The Romance of the Three Kingdoms *San Guo Yan Yi* 三国演义, and The Record of a Journey to the Western Paradise *Xi You Ji* 西遊记.[38] Such literary works provide abundant inspiration for the making of popular cults. We now turn to trace their origins.

Jiang Ziya 姜子牙 (1210-1120 B.C.) is also known as Jiang Taigong 姜太公 because he was given an honorific title as 太公望 Tai Gong Wang in 1129 B.C. Jiang is the pivot of Chinese mythology and one of the most fascinating characters in *Feng Shen Yan Yi*.[39] In this mythological novel, he is a warrior and a counsellor, being brave and magnanimous. He is given the Investiture Roster and assigned to euhemerise a total of three hundred and sixty-five good and evil spirits (corresponding to the days of a year) into the Daoist pantheon. This celestial, bureaucratic system consists of eight departments in charge of mundane world affairs. He thus eliminates the polarity of good and evil and creates the mythic theme of ultimate harmony between heaven, earth and man. In this way he is *de facto* the God of Chinese gods.

Legend claims that he practised Dao (the Way) on Mount Kunlun[40] for forty years. At the age of 72, he was sent by his master, the Heavenly Primogenitor *Yuan Shi Tian Zun* 元始天尊 (the Grand Master of Daoism), to descend the mountain to assist the sage Emperor Wu 武. At the age of 80, he was appointed Prime Minister and helped overthrow Emperor Zhou 纣 (1154-1121 B.C.). One of the most notorious tyrants in Chinese history, Emperor Zhou was the 28th

descendant and the last ruler of the Shang dynasty (1523-1027 B.C.). Jiang Ziya is also worshipped as the god of fishermen because he used to angle not with a hook but with a straight needle, indicating that he would achieve success with straightness but not crookedness. His picture is often pasted on the walls of houses to ward off inauspicious spirits.

Xuan Tian Shang Di 玄天上帝 (the Lord of Black [Pavilions of] Heaven) is believed to have been active in the time of Emperor Zhou. He is also popularly known as Zhen Jun 真君 True Master. At the feet of his image as the true master, a tortoise and a serpent are placed. He is believed to have been born on a ray of light. At fifteen years of age, he left his parents and went to Tai He Mountain 太和山 in pursuit of magical charms. On an elevated peak of this mountain, he practised some wonderful exercises for forty-two years and acquired the ability to float in the air.

Tai Sui 太岁 is the minister of time and also known as the god of the annual cycle, being in charge of fortune and misfortune. His name is Yin Jiao 殷郊, the elder son of Emperor Zhou. In *Feng Shen Yan Yi*, he is only a minor character. Given his filial piety and bravery in a battle against demons, Jiang Ziya canonised him with the title Tai Sui. (His younger brother Yin Hong 殷洪 was made God of Five Grains [Wu Gu Shen 五谷神] being in charge of agricultural affairs.) The worship of Tai Sui was first noted in the reign of Shen Zong 神宗 (1068-1086) of the Song dynasty. Being a stellar god, he travels across the sky, passing through the twelve sidereal mansions. He is also a dangerous spirit, and whoever offends him (*fan tai sui* 犯太岁) is likely to get into trouble. He can cause injury to people. In order to avoid calamities and to take precautions against his evil influence, he must be appeased, and a talisman is hung.

Cai Shen 财神, or Cai Bo Xing Jun 财帛星君, is the god of wealth. Lu Xing 禄星 (the Star-God of Affluence) is also looked upon as Cai Shen. The wealth god is a much-adored deity, who often holds an ingot as his attribute. Almost no god in Chinese culture is more universally worshipped than this giver of wealth. His images and portraits are to be found in nearly every household and temple. Like many other Chinese gods, the proto-being of the god of wealth has been ascribed to several persons. The original one is considered to be the deified spirit of Bi Gan 比干. In *Feng Shen Yan Yi*, Bi Gan is the uncle and Prime Minister of the tyrant Emperor Zhou. He committed suicide by pulling his heart out in order to show his loyalty and immense indignation to Daji 妲己, Emperor Zhou's notorious concubine.

Zhao Gong Ming 赵公明 of the Three Kingdoms period (220-265 A.D.) is another god of wealth (Werner, 1932:515). He was the younger brother of the famous hero Zhao Zilong 赵子龙. In addition, Lui Hai 刘海, a child often depicted with a mystic three-legged toad from a Daoist legend, is worshipped as a money-giver. Other acolytes of the god of wealth are a pair of Daoist deities called He He Er Xin 和合二仙 (Twin Genii of Harmony).[41] They were two historical figures called Han Shan 寒山 and Shi De 拾得 active around the mid-seventh century. As attributes, one holds a lotus flower 荷 and the other a box 盒. The two Chinese characters (荷 and 盒) are the homophones of their names (和 and 合), which carry the rebus of "harmony and union bearing wealth".

Hua Tuo 华陀 (active at the end of the 2nd century A.D., died 220 A.D.) is the most celebrated member of the Chinese apotheosised medical profession.[42] In *Sou Shen Ji*, his healing skills are exaggeratedly dramatised by his pulling a snake out of a sick girl's body. A historical figure, he is the Chinese surgeon specialist *par excellence*, and the patron deity of surgeons and physicians. In *San Guo Yan Yi* he is a key character who cured Guan Gong's

arm, poisoned by an arrow wound, by opening the flesh and scraping the bone.

Lu Zu 吕祖, also known as Lu Tongbin 吕洞宾 (755-805), is popularly dubbed as Lu Chunyang 吕纯阳, meaning the pure essence of the universe. He is believed to have attained to immortality at the age of 50 and was deified as one of the Daoist Eight Immortals.[43] It is said he acquired the mysteries of alchemy and the magic formula of the elixir of life. He generally carries a sword across his back and holds a flywhisk as his symbol. The flywhisk alludes to his ability to fly at will through the air and to walk on the clouds.[44] He is worshipped as a fertility deity and honoured by scholars as the god of ink-makers. He is also regarded as the patron of barbers.

Pao Cheng 包拯 (999-1062 A.D.), better known as Pao Gong 包公, is a brilliant scholar and political critic of documented history. In the Song dynasty, he was appointed magistrate in the capital at present-day Kaifeng 开封, in Henan 河南 province. In his lifetime, he was dedicated to public service and became known as a champion of justice. He stood out as an honest, stern and upright official. He was respected for administering the law without partiality. Hence he was called Pao Qing Tian 包青天 (Pao the Blue Sky) alluding to his uncorrupted character. He eventually assumed legendary, even mythic proportions. Pao is the embodiment of impartiality, courage, severity, sympathy, sincerity, generosity, and good faith. His moral qualities as magistrate are the requisites for an attribute that would play a crucial part in the development of a tradition to respect law and order. Stories of magistrate Pao being the courtroom judge are favourite topics of storytellers, chanteurs, and actors.[45] He has become an icon to satisfy people's hunger for justice in law, and is venerated as the god of justice.

Hua Guang Tai Di 华光大帝 (Great Ruler of Glory and Light) is one of the principal disciples of Sakyamuni. It is said he died with Sakyamuni but is destined to return under the name of Hua Guang Buddha 华光佛. He is often referred to as She Li Buddha 舍利佛 (Padmaprabha). A protecting deity of temples, he is also one of the gods of goldsmiths and silversmiths.

Xuan Zang 玄奘 (602-664 A.D.) is a saintly Buddhist monk. He is also known as Tang San Cang 唐三藏 (meaning Tripitaka, the three holy treasures of Buddhism). Under the patronage of the Tang Emperor Tai Zong 太宗 (627-650 A.D.), he travelled in 629 A.D. from Xi'an, China to Nalanda, India. He spent sixteen years (629-645 A.D.) in India where he studied Buddhism. On his return from the "Holy Land" he brought back many Buddhist scriptures and relics to the Middle Kingdom. He laid the foundations of a re-interpreted Confucianism. He is regarded as the great Chinese master of law. His adventurous account of his journey to India was novelised, and he became the protagonist in the mythological work, *Xi You Ji.*

Sun Wukong 孙悟空 is the Monkey King. Wukong is a philosophical-religious name, which means aware-of-vacuity (or emptiness). This Buddhist-oriented name implies satiric allusion to his witty antics and foolish pranks. He is the animal-turned-god, who is dramatised as the chief mythic character in *Xi You Ji.* In the novel, Sun Wukong is the self-proclaimed King of the Monkeys in Hua Guo Shan 花果山 (the Mountain of Flower and Fruit). He possesses transcendental powers of seventy-two metamorphoses into human or animal forms. He then becomes proud, fun-loving, restive, rebellious and even antagonistic to the immortals. In order to make use of his supernatural power and to suppress his Prometheus-like mischief, the Jade Emperor in Heaven assigns him, together with Sha Seng 沙僧 (the River Genie) and Zhu Bajie 猪八戒 (the Pig Fairy), to accompany and protect Xuan Zang all

through the arduous journey to India. The Monkey King's unchallenged magical powers eventually overcome the most adverse circumstances during the mission, which is rife with all sorts of hindrances, obstacles, misfortunes and pitfalls. He has, therefore, long been honoured in temples and often in Chinese households for his unusual ability and agility in averting undesirable situations, and overcoming all kinds of hardships in the journey of human life. Being a prankster, he is the very emblem of the queller of tribulations and an iconoclastic fighter against hypocrisy and pomposity.

Unlike Confucianism's hostility to the so-called fantasies and occultism of mythology, both Daoism and Buddhism go hand in hand with popular beliefs and Chinese classical texts, out of which these two religions incorporate historical, mythological and legendary characters, many of which can be found in Lian Feng Miao.

CONCLUSION

The Gods and goddesses enshrined in Lian Feng Miao are numerous. No Chinese temple in Macao has ever been dedicated to such a mélange of divinities from Buddhism, Daoism and folk religion in order to serve the needs of worshippers. The idea of belonging exclusively to one particular spiritual organization or religion is not common among the majority of Chinese. Most of them are polytheistic, and they would go to temples to pray for blessings from certain deities according to situational need rather than permanent religious affiliation. Lian Feng Miao best illustrates the syncretic idioms advocated by Lin Zhaoen in the Ming dynasty. The dynamics of syncretism has effectively harmonised, reconciled and incorporated diverse religious elements. As such, worshippers from both Daoism and Buddhism, and even those without a clear idea of what religion they belong to, will gather there to pray for divine blessings. While earthly values, such as wealth, happiness, righteousness, longevity, and loyalty are projected to particular deities, economic prosperity and health care are ascribed to specialized patrons. The whole pantheon of deities thus offers a potpourri of beliefs and provides people from different social strata with chances to select and adopt what suits best their fancy or meets their requirements in the mundane life.

Lian Feng Miao succinctly demonstrates the eclectic complexity of Chinese religious culture, which embraces myths, legends, history and folklore. In the legends and history of early China, there were plentiful sources about heroes, fairies, and devils. These mythological and historical accounts are a central component in the development of popular cults in China. History can then be conceived as not at all separated from but a continuation of mythology. Moreover, history and mythology are juxtaposed and textualised in classical literary works, from which a myriad of supernaturals is created. In this way, ancient texts are made to serve as a vehicle for Daoism to consolidate its status as the Chinese autochthonous religion.

Like the Grecian notion of euhemerism, the multitudinous Chinese divinities are almost all mortals who have been deified. The interpretation of Chinese myths hence cannot ignore traditional accounts of historical personages and events. In contrast to Confucianism's rejection of ancient myths and legends, Daoism thoroughly confounds mythological lore with real history and espouses the practice to euhemerise historical characters. The deification, depending on the recommendation of the people, takes place in the Cheng Huang Miao 城隍庙 (the Temple of the City God),[46] which is more or less like the Vatican, the centre of power in religiosity.

In Lian Feng Miao we can trace a rich repertoire of Chinese myths and religious symbols. These mythic and religious memories are enduring cultural forces that serve to buttress social institutions and are crucial for the continuing hold of national cultures. Anthony D. Smith argues that myths and symbols are seen as cultural attributes, which inspire and sustain collective experiences of a sense of dignity, solidarity, and identity for human populations; hence the "myth-symbol" complex is vital in social and cultural processes (Smith, 1986:13-31). Bronislaw Malinowski has even emphasised that myth is not rooted in ignorance; it is neither an idle rhapsody nor an aimless outpouring of vain imaginings, but an indispensable ingredient of human civilization (Malinowski, 1954:97-101). He contends, 'The function of myth, briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural reality of initial events' (Malinowski, 1954:146). Lian

Feng Miao enshrines legendary emperors, mythological deities and historical characters, and traces them back to the initial Chinese history. They are believed to have lived in the third millennium B.C., a period of "primordial" nobility and pristine purity. They are held to be founders of the ancient Chinese Empire and presented as the country's heroes. The Chinese myth-symbol thus binds the ages together and becomes part of the daily life in Macao. Lian Feng Miao apparently reflects a nostalgic longing for Chinese myths and rituals in the distant past.

Macao is a unique urban receptacle able to celebrate its religious toleration and various cultural infusions. The harmonious coexistence of a mélange of religious faiths, such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Daoism, Islam,[47] and Bahá'í,[48] not only indicates its 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, 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. RC

NOTES

1 After the Diocese of Macao was formally established in 1576, Macao was believed to have built more churches and chapels for its size than any other country. It was soon bestowed with a sanctified name, "City of the Name of God", and prided itself as the "Christian City"and "Holy City".

2 The word "syn-cret-ism" derives from a historic incident in which the citizens of Crete overcame internal disputes and united against a common enemy. See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Hence, "syncretism" denotes the reconciliation or fusion of conflicting religious beliefs or principles.

3 The term "euhemerism" was named after the fourth century B.C. Greek mythographer and philosopher, Euhemerus. He advocated a theory that the gods of mythology were merely deified mortals.

4 On philosophical and religious Daoism, see Keith Crim (ed.), *The Perennial Dictionary of World Religion*, pp. 738 –745.

5 Laozi is the reputed author of the Daoist masterpiece *Dao De Jing* 道德经 (Classic of the Dao and Its Virtue), written in 550 B.C.

6 Buddhism entered China from Central Asia in 67 A.D. It was not until under the reign of Wu Di (502-550 A.D.), the founder of the Liang dynasty, that it flourished.

7 It has been argued that Confucianism is not a full-fledged religion in the theistic sense, since it set up no god as the premise of its teachings, and its basic principles were developed mainly from pragmatic considerations. Confucianism is only regarded as a socio-political doctrine having religious qualities. See C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, pp. 26-27. See also Xinzhong Yao, "Chinese Religions" in Jean Holm (ed.), *Myth and History* (London: Pinter Publishers Ltd., 1994).

8 Folk religion is the unwritten religious beliefs and practices of average people within traditional Chinese society. See Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization*, pp. 5-6.

9 Lin Zhaoen shared the same surname and birthplace as Lin Mo, who was deified as Tian Hou in 1684. Unlike Lin Mo, Lin Zhaoen did not become a figure of national importance in his own time or after his death.

10 On Lin Zhaoen's contribution to religious syncretism, see Judith A. Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), Chapter VIII "The Legacy of Lin Chao-en."

11 Similar to the term syncretism, eclecticism denotes the selection of doctrines or elements from various and diverse sources for the purpose of combining them into a satisfying or acceptable style.

12 On the harmonization of the Three Teachings, see Judith A. Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*, Chapter III "The Heyday of Syncretism."

13 The term "bricolage" is defined as the assembly of heterogeneity.

14 On the origin of Tian Hou, see Wolfram Eberhard, *Local Cultures of South and East China*, p. 402. See also Li Xianzhang, *Mazu Xinyang Yanjiu*. On Tian Hou in Macao, see Zhang Wenqin 章文钦, *Aomen yu Zhonghua Lishi Wenhua* 澳门与中华历史文化, pp. 248-62.

15 In Sanskrit, *Bodhi* means "enlightenment", and *sattva* means "of essence". "Bodhisattva" embraces the idea of grace, and is the image of perfect compassion and perfect knowledge, which is virtually the emblematic representation of human ethics. A Bodhisattva can be considered an "apprentice Buddha" or "Buddha-in-the-making".

16 In Sanskrit, Avalokitesvara means "all-seeing one and all-hearing one". *Avalokita* means "looking on", and *svara* means "sound".

17 It has been argued, however, that the effigies of Guan Yin shown with a child on the knees are probably the Buddhist transposition of the Daoist "child-giving" deity, namely Tianxin Songzi 天仙送子. See Louis Frédéric, *Buddhism: Iconographic Guides*, pp. 178-9.

18 Despite its official name, the Portuguese used to call it *o Templo das Portas do Cerco*, or the Temple of the Barrier Gate, because it was located near the Barrier Gate.

19 On the Friendship Monuments, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, "Macao: the Farming of Friendship."

20 The term "aniconic" used to refer to a depiction in which the Buddha's presence is indicted by an "absent signifier", such as a *bodhi* (pipal) tree, a wheel, a golden deer, etc. It now denotes a representation of an image through symbols or emblems, while the anthropomorphic (human) form is absent.

21 On various Daoist deities honoured in Macao, see Huang Zhaohan 黄兆汉 and Zheng Weiming 郑炜明, 香港与澳门的道教 *Taoist Religion in Hong Kong and Macao*.

22 Originated in Iran, lions serve as the symbol of strength and courage throughout Asia. In Buddhism, the lion is regarded as guardian of the Law, and its roar represents the "voice of the Law". In China, it is considered a beneficial animal and called the "Buddha's dog". See Louis Frédéric, *Buddhism: Iconographic Guides*, p. 249. Apparently the lion transcends religious designations but is adopted widely as a motif to guard against evil forces.

23 Di Cang Wang is held to be Over-Lord of Hell and is senior to Yan Lo Wang 阎罗王 (Yama), God of Hell. Yan Lo Wang and his ten

judges are in a subordinate position under him. See E. T. C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, p. 498.

24 Wei Tuo, a tutelary *deva* (spirit of heaven) borrowed from India and Tibet, is a military Bodhisattva.

25 Guan Yu is no bellicose war-mongering god. It has been argued that the translation of Wu Di to "God of War" is not very accurate. Rather, it should be "God who defends the state, civilization and morality". See Jonathan Chamberlain, *Chinese Gods*, "Kuan Ti: God of War".

26 On Guan Yu's posthumous titles since 220 A.D., see Edwin D. Harvey, *The Mind of China* (New Haven, p. 264.

27 On the various Gods of Wealth in Chinese folk beliefs, see Basil M. Alexéiev, "The Chinese Gods of Wealth," a lecture delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, the University of London (published by the School of Oriental Studies in conjunction with the China Society, 1928).

28 It covers a time span from 722-468 B.C. recording historical events of some 250 years by a number of writers.

29 Guan Yu is often represented in a group of three, sometimes flanked by Zhou Cang 周仓, his bodyguard, and Guan Ping 关平, his adopted son.

30 A triadic group is different from a trinitarian group. The former consists of heterogeneous elements and lacks the essential homogenous element of a trinity (e.g. the Greek mythological triad of Zeus, Poseidon, Hades). The latter appears in three distinct manifestations but embodies one spiritual power (e.g. the Christian Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost—three persons in one substance).

31 Fu Xi 伏羲 (the God of Hunting), Shen Nong 神农 (the God of Agriculture) and Huang Di 黄帝 (the God of Architecture) are known as San Huang 三皇, the Three Emperors. This ancestral triad may rightly begin an account of the primordial myths of China, and has been arranged in such a way as to explain the development of early Chinese civilization. On the Three Emperors, see Canon J.A. MacCulloch (ed.), *The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. III, Chapter II.

32 Formerly, at the back of the hall of Guan Yin, there was Wen Chang Garret, but it was demolished for urban development.

33 From early pictographic symbols, Chinese written characters evolved to highly abstract ideographic writing.

34 Huang Di's given name is Xuan Yuan 轩辕, so he is also known as Xuan Yuan Huang Di 轩辕黄帝. Legend maintains that he was a great inventor. He helped improve upon agricultural work and studied the properties of various herbs, which he made into medicines. He is taken as the starting point of all miraculous and fabulous national events and a source of the early myths of China. He reputedly founded the Chinese Empire after defeating the aboriginal chief Chi You 蚩尤. He is the only one (among the Three Emperors) to whom a distinct personality is assigned. In him there is a semblance of human individuality associated with great achievements that brought about the beginning of Chinese civilization. Being the last mythical character at the dawn of the historical period in China, he represents the central point of departure from mythological fancy.

35 As I cannot gather any written source on Jin Hua Furen, I turn to a knowledgeable informant, my mother.

36 Fu Xi, Shen Nong and Huang Di are a sort of ancestral triad of medicine gods, superior to the actual god or king of medicine. See E. T. C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, p. 505.

37 *Feng Shen Yan Yi* was developed over the centuries as a folk tale. According to historical documents, it first appeared in book form in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). It is believed that a Daoist named Lu Xixing 陆西星 is the most plausible author. See Pin Pin Wan, *Investiture of the Gods ("Fengshen Yanyi"): Sources, narrative structure, and mythical significance*, p. 3. The author wove the tale of Emperor Zhou's downfall from historical fact and popular folklore images of fairies, sprites, gods, goddesses, and their feudal rulers. It is an interplay of myths, legendary sources and historical accounts. On the English translation, see Zhizhong Gu (Trans.), *Creation of the Gods*.

38 *Xi You Ji* by Wu Chengen 吴承恩 was first published in 1592. Like *Feng Shen Yan Yi,* it also had a long historical growth from the folk art of storytelling before it assumed its written form.

39 There is a supplementary short story extolling Jiang Ziya's virtue as a magistrate. See Gan Bao 干宝, *Sou Shen Ji* 搜神记, pp. 27-9.

40 In Chinese mythology, Kunlun Mountain is a paradise where immortals dwell.

41 The Twin Genii of Harmony are also patron deities of merchants. They are mostly worshipped by merchants because they 'understand the value of union and peaceful harmony in business, and the dependence of wealth upon happy partnership.' See Basil M. Alexéiev, "The Chinese Gods of Wealth," p. 5.

42 Other famous gods of medicines or remedies are Bian Que 扁鹊 (active during the first quarter of the 6th century B.C.) and Sun Simao 孙思邈 (died 682 A.D.)

43 The "Eight Immortals" are legendary beings of the Daoist sect. The eight represent all kinds of people—young, old, female, male, civil, military, poor, rich, afflicted, cultured and noble. Only three of them were historical personages; the others are mentioned only in fables or romances. They are said to have lived at various times and attained to immortality through their studies of nature's secrets. Having been deified, they dwell in mountains and hills; to whom no temples are consecrated. See C. A. S. Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, p. 151.

44 The fly-whisk represents obedience to the Buddhist law and a symbol of the compassion of Avalokitesvara towards all beings. However, it transgresses religious boundaries and becomes the typical accessory of Lu Zu.

45 Most Chinese probably know of Pao Cheng, not as the minister and political critic of documented history, but as the courtroom judge of popular drama and fiction. On Judge Pao plays, see George A. Hayden, *Crime and Punishment in Medieval Chinese Drama* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978).

46 Cheng Huang is the guardian divinity of the walls and ditches, who is equivalent to the celestial mandarin of a city or town in human life. He is held responsible for peace and order in the territory he governs. Cheng Huang was claimed to be of Daoist creation, but this deity was mentioned in the Zhou 周 dynasty (1122-221 B.C.), long before Daoism became a religion. See C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society* , p. 25.

47 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 for local and visiting Muslims in 2004. See *South China Morning Post,* October 18, 2002.

48 The Bahá'í Faith, founded in 1844, is based upon the teachings of the Persian prophet Bahá'u'lláh, and was recognised by the United Nations in 1948. He is regarded by his faithful as God's latest divine messenger after Buddha, Jesus and others. In Macao, the Bahá'í Faith has attracted about 2,000 followers since it was introduced in 1953. Macao's first international school—the School of the Nations—is run by Bahá'ís, though not as a Bahá'í school.

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A Garganta

The China Jesuits and the College of Macao, 1579-1623[1]

Liam M. Brockey*

Both pages: Details of 17th century *nanban-byobu*: "náo de trato" and some missionaries in Japan.

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The city of Macao, wrote João Fróis in 1622, was an "emporium, from where many go to various parts winning souls for Heaven."[2] Referring to the large numbers of Jesuit missionaries assembled there for service in the kingdoms and empires of Asia, Fróis stressed the importance of the Portuguese colony for the apostolic endeavours then underway in Japan, China, and Southeast Asia. Another commentator described the city as "the throat by which one passes" to Japan and China.[3] For the Society of Jesus, the

colony—and more specifically their headquarters, the Colégio de Macao—was a communications nexus, an administrative and financial centre, and a safe haven in times of persecution. Nevertheless, the college's position with relation to the two great East Asian empires was a difficult one, especially given mutual antagonism between China and Japan and the Jesuits' ambitions in both.

While scholars have long explored the connections between the Colégio de Macao and the Japan missions, little has been written about its role in the shaping of the China mission.[4] Located quite literally at the doorstep of the Ming empire, the college was to play a decisive role in organizing and supporting the Society's enterprise beyond the *Portas do Cerco*. As an administrative, staffing, and training centre, the Jesuit headquarters at the farthest outpost of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* was crucial to effective management of the China mission, but the changing fortunes of the Japan Jesuits during this time impacted heavily on its resources and capacities, as well as its utility to the China mission. During the first decades of the seventeenth century, a series of events in Japan, China, and at Macao itself dictated the nature of the Jesuits' connections with the college and the colony. Despite the fact that the college was especially well situated to support the China mission, its close links to Japan forced the missionaries inside the Ming empire to rely on themselves rather than on institutional support from Macao. The following examination explores the relations between the Jesuit China mission and the Colégio de Macao during this pivotal period at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.

Members of the Society of Jesus first established themselves at Macao as a result of their initial hopes for the successful evangelisation of Japan. Following the footsteps of Francis Xavier (1506-1552), missionaries from the Society of Jesus headed across the China sea after being barred from access to the Ming empire. Borne east by Portuguese trading vessels plying the seas between the rich fairs at Canton and the markets in Kyushu, the missionaries established themselves at mercantile centres in Southern Japan. Eight years after the Portuguese were granted authority over the spit of land known as Macao in 1557, Francisco Pérez established the Society's first residence on the China coast—*huma pobre caza*—a way station for the missionaries heading to Japan from India.[5] As the missionaries in Kyushu began to report numerous conversions and more men rallied to join in the effort, this residence grew in importance as the marshalling point for Jesuits bound for the expected conversion of the Japanese empire.

Such a glorious enterprise necessarily required considerable financial investment if it was to succeed. In Europe, the Society of Jesus relied on land revenues and pious donations to continue its apostolic work, but in Asia, such sources of income were not available. After securing as much royal support as they could gain from the crown and rich Luso-Asians, the Jesuits began to establish very close connections to the merchant community at Macao. These connections helped them to garner further donations, and even permitted them to trade on their own account to support their growing missionary enterprise. In the second half of the sixteenth century, a combination of large numbers of in-transit missionaries and financial necessity therefore required the Jesuits to invest heavily in Macao, building impressive physical structures that reflected their intellectual and spiritual presence in the colony.

While the Jesuits' efforts in Japan grew more intense in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, they virtually ignored China as a mission territory. Nevertheless, the difficult relations between Portuguese and Chinese and the local prestige of the Society of Jesus made the Jesuits the most likely intermediaries between the colony and imperial officials. Realizing the importance of establishing good relations between the wary Ming mandarins and the colonial authorities, the highest-ranking Jesuit in East Asia, Visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), appointed Michele Ruggieri to begin studying spoken and written Chinese at Macao in 1579. Created as part of the Japan mission and subordinate to its superiors, the Jesuit mission to China began as an attempt to ensure the safety of the trade entrepôt via strategic diplomacy. During his three years of study, Ruggieri (1543-1607) accompanied the periodic Portuguese trade expeditions to the Canton fairs, and eventually secured an invitation from the Vice-Roy of Guangdong province to reside within the empire in 1582. Assisting Ruggieri and building on his successes, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) firmly established the China mission by opening four residences at Shaozhou (Guangdong), Nanchang

"Jesuit Convent". Engraving with hand color. Drawn by W. Heine, c. 1857. In *Os Cursos da Memória,* Leal Senado, Macao, 1995.

(Jiangxi), Nanjing, and Peking within two decades.[6] During these first years, the China mission was very small and only required a handful of missionaries to staff its residences. However, as Ricci became a respected figure at the imperial court, the prospects for the mission's expansion grew brighter and increasing numbers of capable Jesuits were required to staff new mission stations and begin the work of converting both mandarins and plebeians. Likewise, it was necessary for the Jesuits at Macao to devote part of their revenues from the silk trade to the financial support of the China effort. The Colégio therefore was responsible for sending trained men and money into China if the Jesuit endeavour there was to be as successful as their work in Japan.

By the early 1590s, the Macao Jesuits had begun an ambitious construction programme designed to meet the needs of the expanding mission to Japan and the fledgling China enterprise. After the Japan mission began to show significant increases in numbers of converts in the early 1580s and the trade based on the annual voyages of the *náo de trato* was institutionalised, the Jesuits began to feel the need for larger facilities at their hub on the Guangdong coast. The factor that finally forced their hand, however, was a persecution in Japan that began with the first anti-Christian edicts promulgated by Toyotomi Hideoshi in 1587.[7] Knowing that their situation was potentially unstable in Japan, the Society's superiors decided to erect a larger building in Macao, hoping that the familiar civic structures and the protection of the Portuguese crown (and army) would ensure them a safe haven beyond the reach of their temporal foes. In 1594, the Colégio de Madre de Deus was opened to serve as both a seminary for East Asian missionaries and a standard Jesuit school for the local colonial community. Its first rector, Duarte de Sande (1547-1599), claimed that the college's first goal was to educate the Japanese brothers who had been admitted into the Society, permitting them to "live among the Portuguese where temporal as well as spiritual government belonged to Christians."[8] Besides providing a taste of Catholic civilization, the Colégio was explicitly designated as

Álvaro Semedo (1586-1658). In Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. III.

a language training facility for arriving Europeans. Sande noted that it could "supply the Japanese enterprises and those that in the future could open in China, where besides other sciences, our men can also learn the languages and customs of these kingdoms so that when they are sent to them they will find themselves apt and ready to be able to serve, and not newly-arrived Portuguese as they have been until now."[9]

In order to accommodate the stream of men bound for the Japan missions, as well as a handful for the China enterprise, and to provide the material supplies required for promoting Counter Reformation Catholicism, the physical structures were necessarily large. The college buildings were situated near the top of a high hill, "in such as way that the college [remained] very cool," with upper and lower patios surrounded by cubicles, classrooms, and workshops.[10] The new facilities, wrote Sande at its inauguration, were "capable of housing forty members of the Society very well accommodated because besides the four schools, above there [were] nineteen cubicles, two rooms, two chapels, and a very large infirmary, and downstairs another seven cubicles," along with a refectory. Envisioning a further expansion, the rector noted that there was "a large site for more building if necessary." This empty lot, where the present *fortaleza do monte* stands, was later to be crucial to the relations between the China mission and the college. Nevertheless, when these structures were completed in 1595, they were spacious enough to house both the East Asian mission headquarters and a standard Jesuit college, where prospective missionaries kept company with humanities rhetoric teachers and hundreds of students.

Given the prosperity of the colony during this exceptionally affluent period, there was considerable demand from the local secular populace for the Jesuits to provide their standard curriculum to the *filhos de Macao*—Portuguese, Asian, and mixed blood. The spacious establishment had room for the same types of classes offered at the Society's minor colleges in Portugal: Reading and Writing, Latin grammar and Humanities, and Moral Theology. When it opened its doors in 1594, the college had over 250 children learning the elements of reading, writing, and counting, as well as a number of local clergy and Jesuits pursuing their study of casuistry in preparation for pastoral or missionary work.[11] The college also had retained a faculty capable of reading the philosophy and theology courses required of all of the Society's missionaries.[12] Many of the first missionaries to serve in China including João da Rocha (1565-1623) and Manuel Dias Sr. (1574-1659) completed their theology studies at the college before penetrating into the Ming empire. Likewise, several Jesuit brothers who served in China as couriers, catechists, and baptisers had originally been students at the college.

The two decades that followed the opening of the Colégio de Madre de Deus were its most prosperous years. Its fortunes linked to the booming silk trade, the college grew to attain a degree of social prestige that no other religious establishment could rival. Educationally identical in many respects to the colleges at Porto, Funchal, or Braga, the Society's East Asian headquarters was well staffed, yet still much

smaller than the three main Portuguese colleges at Lisbon, Évora, and Coimbra. By 1604, ten years after its foundation, the college had eight priests and four brothers studying theology, eight brothers in the *casos de consciencia* class, five scholastics in the *curso das artes,* and three in the humanities classes.[13] Besides these internal students, there were also significant numbers of outsiders studying Latin grammar and reading and writing. Academic life during these years also included the same sort of public philosophy and theology disputes found in European colleges. "On the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins" (October 21), wrote Diogo Antunes in the college's 1603 annual letter, "some general theology conclusions were defended in our church…with the *Capitão-Mor* of the city present, and the governor of this bishopric with other Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans."[14] Likewise, the students at the college were frequently actors in public drama performances such as the festivities described by Duarte de Sande that took place on February 2, 1595, the feast of the Purification of the Virgin. "The subject was a triumph of the faith over the persecution in Japan," he wrote, [and was] "put on in front of the gates of the college with so many people from the whole city in attendance, that the streets were filled."[15] Written mostly in Latin with some Portuguese for the benefit of the audience, the play was "so well done that, without exaggeration, it could be put on in any university with much satisfaction."

Motivated by the hundreds of thousands of converts claimed by the Japan Jesuits, the expansion of the training and educational facilities at Macao became integral to the maintenance of this new *christandade* across the sea rather than the one close at hand. Since the vast majority of those missionaries who arrived in the colony endeavoured to be expedited to Nagasaki, they devoted little time to interacting with the local Chinese population of the city. While providing pastoral care and education to the sons of the Luso-Asian community and the Japanese immigrants, the Society's members in Macao flatly ignored the Fujianese fisher folk who comprised the colony's Chinese community. This divide is evidenced by the fact that it was not until Lazaro Cattaneo (1560-1640) came back to the city in 1603—over fifty years after Francis Xavier had died on the China coast—that the Jesuits attempted to convert the city's local Chinese residents. Until this veteran missionary returned to Macao, there had not been any *padre* "who spoke the language or could deal with them in their manner."[16] This implied that there was no one present who had a familiarity with Chinese culture and courtesies, and could preach the Christian message with sufficient decorum. The college's superiors hoped that Cattaneo would "also draw fruit in [the] city's neighbouring villages, …[where] there will always be great difficulty in conversions due to the proximity that they have to this city where the Portuguese live, whose servants and African slaves scandalize the Chinese villagers." As the first *Pai dos Christãos,* this missionary returned from inside the Ming empire to preach the gospel in Chinese to the inhabitants of a Portuguese city.[17]

One of the key obstacles blocking the Jesuits' successes among the Chinese at Macao was the college's intimate connections to Japan. Relations between the Portuguese at Macao and the mandarins at Canton had always been tense due to the open trade the Europeans carried on with the Japanese—a nation of "dwarf barbarians" according to popular and official Chinese conceptions. The Portuguese were therefore suspicious in both mandarin and plebeian eyes since not only did they frequent Japan, but they permitted a large group of Japanese to reside on Chinese soil at Macao. After the Japanese invasion of Chinese vassal-state Korea in 1592 and the expansion of coastal piracy with ties to Japan, the prospect of a southern invasion of the Ming empire appeared more real than illusory to many concerned mandarins. This growing Chinese suspicion of the Portuguese made it increasingly difficult for would-be missionaries to enter the empire, requiring them to stealthily evade border patrols and watchmen in Guangdong province. Álvaro Semedo (1586-1658) and Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649) were even required to grow long hair and beards, and don mandarin robes to attempt passing into China unnoticed. Niccolò Longobardo (1565-1655), Ricci's successor as mission superior, told his Roman superiors that "all of China is scared of the Portuguese."[18] His confidant, Imperial Grand Secretary Xu Guangqi (1562-1633) warned him not to tell anyone within China that the missionaries were connected with Macao. However, since they relied on Macao for their yearly salaries, the missionaries had reason to fear a Chinese

backlash—that the Chinese would "close the door on us."[19] In order for the mission to advance, therefore, the Jesuits had to find some way to maintain their financial links to the colony while attempting to convince their hosts that they were not "men of the same nation as the Portuguese at Macao."[20]

Another central problem was the fact that just as Longobardo and his colleagues began to require the Society's facilities available at Macao to support their growing enterprise, the Japan mission was reaching its greatest extension and was effectively monopolizing the college. This created an administrative conflict among the East Asian missions that required resolution by the Jesuit hierarchy in Rome or its representative, the East Asian missions Visitor. Although Visitor Valignano had removed the China mission from the direction of the rector of the Colégio de Macao in 1604 and made it semi-autonomous, it was still dependant on the Macanese resources, especially for its highest administrators, college structures and financial support. With Valignano's death in 1606, the office of Visitor transferred to other important Jesuits of the Japan mission. These influential administrators, however, remained mostly in Nagasaki, meaning that the China mission would experience extensive delays in dealing with any administrative matters. Not content to live forever in the shadow of their colleagues in Japan, in 1612 the China Jesuits began to insist that their mission be run wholly by Jesuits drawn from their numbers only. When Longobardo dispatched Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) to petition the Society's General in Rome for a decisive split between the two missions, relations between the Japan Jesuits and their China counterparts soured.

Nicholas Trigault by Peter Paul Rubens at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (from MMOA website: www.metmuseum.org).

While the Colégio de Macao had originally been instituted as a training facility for all of the Society of Jesus' East Asian missions, it had been built and dedicated with the Japan mission in mind. Precious few of those who passed through the college, either as students or as missionaries, headed north into China during the first years of the seventeenth century. For instance, in 1599 alone more than 10 Jesuits were sent to Japan while only one went to China.[21] Larger numbers were sent from Macao shortly after—four in 1603 and 3 in 1611—but they were mainly sent at the insistence of influential figures such as Alessandro Valignano.[22] The initial successes of the China Jesuits, although miniscule in comparison to those of the Japan Jesuits, nevertheless gave Ricci and his followers the impulse to set up more concrete administrative structures at Macao to provide a regular flow of missionaries fully prepared for preaching, converting, and administering the sacraments.

The most important type of instruction that new missionaries destined for China required was language training in Mandarin Chinese. The Jesuits created a system of learning Mandarin that largely followed the educational model used to teach contemporary Chinese schoolchildren. This complicated task meant that arriving missionaries would need several years' worth of classroom teaching with experienced masters in specially dedicated facilities. While the Japan Jesuits had established training facilities such as the Arima

seminary in Kyushu to instruct their missionaries in the spoken and written language of their mission territory, their counterparts in China had neither the resources nor the manpower to carry out such projects. During the first three decades of the mission, when few new recruits were needed, the China mission instructed its new recruits in Mandarin during a period of apprenticeship with their fluent (or well-versed) brethren at their inland residences. Nevertheless, as they prepared to expand after 1610, the China Jesuits agreed that new missionaries should gain a basic knowledge of spoken and written Chinese in Macao before heading into the empire. To them, there was no better place to hold such classes than at the Colégio de Macao, where there was both the space and seclusion necessary to expedite the learning process. Surely, the China missionaries thought, either part of the spacious college, the old missionary house, the Ilha Verde, or the *monte* located next to the college could be put to use in service of their promising mission.[23]

By the time that the China Jesuits had prepared the foundations for their planned expansion, however, a series of events occurred that forced their projects for using the Colégio de Macao into the background. The forced exile of the Japan Jesuits to Macao that began in 1614 effectively crushed all of the China mission's hopes (and possibilities) for exploiting the college's resources. Just as this mission was subordinate to the Japan mission at its glory, so was it overshadowed in its collapse. While both missions were fully functioning, the college and its dependant properties housed between forty and sixty Jesuits, comprised of missionary-students, teachers, missions procurators, and priests for the Portuguese community.[24] Months after Tokugawa Ieyasu's expulsion edicts in 1614, 75 Jesuits had returned to Macao, doubling the numbers of men for whom the college needed to provide.[25] This sudden influx of priests and brothers brought their numbers to 105, far beyond the college's capacities, forcing men to live "in the corridors."[26] To compound the Society's troubles in Japan, a persecution began at Nanjing as well in 1616. Four Jesuits were exiled from Nanjing and Peking to Macao, while the other China missionaries were forced into hiding at the residence of an important Christian mandarin in Hangzhou. Overcrowding at the Colégio soon led to disease and death, since the persecutions in Japan did not die down and there was no chance for the Jesuits to return to their former missions. By 1620, with 80 Jesuits at the college, the author of the annual letter would declare that "since this college has little shelter, and the men are many, they suffer some discomfort, which seems to have been the cause for having many diseases, and some serious ones, this year."[27]

Despite the persecutions in both Japan and China, members of both missions thought their trials would only be temporary. They therefore moved to continue training new missionaries at Macao in preparation for an eventual return to their communities of neophytes. The China Jesuits, knowing that their persecution was caused by one specific individual, were very optimistic that they would soon be re-established at their mission stations.[28] While the persecutions had been erupting in East Asia, however, Nicolas Trigault had been in Europe recruiting new men for the China enterprise. He had returned to Macao in 1619 with a relatively large number—8—of new missionaries who required language training. Distracted by the numbers at the college, the Jesuits moved to build teaching structures on the Ilha Verde, an island situated in the colony's harbour, "so that there, outside of the commotion and business, [the missionaries] could study what was so important for them."[29] This move, as Jorge dos Santos Alves has shown, was blocked by both Chinese authorities who had recently banned any new constructions in the colony and the Portuguese residents who feared for their trading privileges at Canton.[30] The buildings that the Jesuits had erected for teaching purposes and the island were soon

During the first decades of the seventeenth century, a series of events in Japan, China, and at Macao itself dictated the nature of the Jesuits' connections with the college and the colony.

destroyed by a Chinese military detachment sent to enforce the law. For the Jesuit annual letter writers however, this loss of teaching facilities was purely the work of the devil. "The enemy of humankind," wrote António Leite, "understanding that we were arming ourselves against him to make war with the sword of the word of God, made the Chinese take up arms against us, with such force and fury that they knocked down our houses and made us retreat to the city."[31] Driven back to the overcrowded college, the China Jesuits were forced to return to the midst of the despairing Japan missionaries. Writing to the General in 1622, exiled China Jesuit Alfonso Vagnoni (1568-1640) lamented the decadent state of the overwrought establishment by denouncing "the great liberty and debauchery of this college, which…was open in many parts to seculars and heathens, who went around the corridors and even the cubicles as they please unobserved and without prohibitions."[32] Since the recent persecutions prevented the China missionaries from passing into China, they had little choice but to accept this situation, furthering their resolve to separate themselves from the control of the Japan mission.[33]

Barred from the Ilha Verde and the college facilities, the China Jesuits opted to move their language classes to the top of the *monte*, the empty hill situated next to the college. Establishing themselves on the last of the Society's unoccupied real estate holdings in the colony, they held language classes to prepare the future missionaries for their apostolic task. However, their residence on top of the *monte* was just as short-lived as their time spent on the Ilha Verde. The resumption of hostilities between the Portuguese and the Dutch after a twelve-year truce (1609-1621) meant that the governors of Macao needed to reconsolidate the city's defences in preparation for an imminent attack.[34] Realizing that the safety of Macao depended on this strategic spot, the Jesuit hierarchy ceded the *monte* to the city and allowed the construction of a set of fortifications. It was by artillery shot from these hastily-build ramparts that the June 24, 1622 Dutch attack was repulsed.[35] One witness claimed that when the enemy was on the field "many *padres* from the *Companhia* came out armed, with the servants from the college, some with crucifixes in their hands inciting and gathering the people, and others with harquebuses and

A Jesuit priest with a *dojuku*. Detail from a *nanban-byobu*.

arms fighting, others bringing water for the tired, and powder and munitions for the war…"[36] More importantly, however, was that the China Jesuits were forced to cede their last training facility in Macao, the *monte* where the Jesuits had "houses and a chapel where those going to…China studied language."[37]

In 1623, the end of the Nanjing persecutions and the establishment of the China mission as a separate Jesuit administrative unit, marked the end of the China Jesuits' reliance on the Colégio de Macao as a training facility. Given the opportunity to head over the border alongside a contingent of Portuguese soldiers dispatched to help fortify and defend Peking from the Manchu onslaught, the China Jesuits abandoned their plans for teaching Mandarin at the colony.[38] Bad relations between the hierarchy of the Japan Province and the leaders of the new Vice-Province provoked the China superiors to move all of their operations into the empire, leaving little at Macao. Although it would continue to rely upon the Colégio as a way station for arriving Jesuits and a source of financial support, the China mission no longer sought to claim the defunct Japan mission's headquarters for itself.

Nevertheless, the strategic importance of Macao for the China mission did not disappear. One request by Visitor Manuel Dias Sr. (1559-1639) in 1623 petitioned the General for a separate college at Macao just for the China mission. He insisted that the renewed mission needed its own establishment "so that the *padres* of China will not be mixed with those from Japan in that city."[39] The Chinese officials knew of the college's links, he continued, and "because of the great hatred that they have for the Japanese, they will easily suspect us of being little trustworthy since we have such secret dealings with their enemies." Dias's request was rejected, along with a subsequent petition in 1635 to shift the college's focus from Japan to China, long after hopes for reviving the collapsed mission had expired. This final effort also failed because the hierarchy of the Japan province felt that such a shift would denigrate the memory of the Japanese martyrs.[40]

Located at the fringe of the Ming empire, the Society's Colégio de Macao was perfectly positioned to support a concerted missionary effort with the world's largest empire in the early modern period. Yet, from its inception, the Jesuit enterprise at the Portuguese city was aimed across the China sea at Japan. When the first missionaries to arrive on the coast of Guangdong found their path blocked, they headed to the rich mission fields of Kyushu. The slow growth of the China mission meant that it was soon overshadowed by the successes of the Japan Jesuits, and that the Society' resources in East Asia were soon brought to bear in support of the more glorious mission. However, when the China mission had grown large enough to require the support of a large training facility, the tragedy in Japan completely overshadowed their needs. Moreover, when expulsion and martyrdom brought the Japan mission to a dramatic end, the stigma of Jesuit involvement with the "dwarf barbarians" further tainted relations between Macao and the China mission. Ultimately frustrated in their attempts to exploit the Society's resources at the colony, the China Jesuits abandoned their despairing colleagues and furthered their own enterprise with minimal support from Macao. By the time that the college of Macao had recovered from the shock of the fall of the Japan mission, the China mission had already created autonomous administrative and training structures to handle its needs. Ironically, the neglected China enterprise lasted for almost two centuries after its founding, far longer than the Japan mission despite its considerable institutional support. By the late seventeenth century, when the Colégio de Macao had been reduced to a shadow of its former self and the Jesuit successes in Japan were distant memories, the China mission—as a result of being forced to sustain itself—was entering its period of greatest expansion. RC

While the Colégio de Macao had originally been instituted as a training facility for all of the Society of Jesus' East Asian missions, it had been built and dedicated with the Japan mission in mind.

NOTES

1 The author would like to thank the Cultural Institute (Macao) for its generous support of the research that went into producing this article.

2 João Fróis, *Annual Letter of the Colégio de Macao, 1622*, 4 November 1622, Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia* (Hereafter BA JA) Codex 49-V-7: fl. 358r. All translations in this article are provided by the author. All citations from early modern era Portuguese are given in the original spelling.

3 Duarte de Sande, *Annua Sinensis*, Macao, 28 October 1594 (attached to *Annua de Japão de Março de 93 até Março de 94,* Pedro Gomes, Nagasaki?, 15 March 1594), Archivum Romanun Societatis Iesu, *Japonica-Sinica* (Hereafter ARSI *Jap-Sin*) 52: fl. 42v.

4 The classic study of the Jesuit mission to Japan (and its connections with Macao) is Charles Boxer's *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1640* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1967). More specifically on the subject of the Japan trade is the same author's *The Great Ship from Amacon: The Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640,* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1959). More recently, works by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa have shed more light on the workings of the *Náo de Trato* during this same period. See J.P. Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo no Século XVI: Ensaios de História Luso-Nipónica,* (Lisbon: Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999).

5 Anonymous, *Memoria do Principio do Collegio de Macao, ou caza primero antes de ser Collegio…*, Macao?, n.d. BA JA Codex 49-IV-55: fl. 83.

6 This early period of the mission's history was first divulged to a large audience in Nicolas Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (first ed. Augsburg: 1615, many subsequent reprints). An English translation of this work can be found in Louis Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610.* (New York: Random House, 1942). Modern authors such as Jonathan Spence, George Dunne, and Jean-Pierre Duteil have also given versions of the key events in the mission's early years. See Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci.* (New York: Viking, 1984), Dunne, *Generation of Giants.* (South Bend, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1962), and Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel: Le Rôle des Jésuites en China, de la Mort de François-Xavier à la Dissolution de la Compagnie de Jésus (1552-1774).* (Paris: Éditions Arguments, 1994).

7 See João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "Aspectos do quotidiano dos Jesuítas no Japão na conjuntura de 1587-1593" in Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo*, pp. 159-188.

8 Duarte de Sande, *Annua Sinensis*, 1594, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 52: fl. 42r.

9 Ibid, fl. 42v.

10 Ibid, fl. 42r.

11 Ibid, fl. 43v.

12 Sande mentions that besides the public classes mentioned, "theology is read privately to two *padres* who are in this college on the account of the China mission, and we hope that this year others will come so they can read it with more fervor and profit." These two were those we have mentioned above, João Soeiro and João da Rocha. Ibid, fl. 43v.

13 Diogo Antunes, *Annua do Collegio de Madre de Deus da Companhia de Jesus de Macao 1603*, Macao, 27 January 1604, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 20v. The 1603 catalog confirms this data, noting that there were two *casos* professors, two theology professors, and a theology substitute as well. See *Catalogo das casas e residencias que tem a Companhia na Vice Provincia de Jappão e China em Outubro de 1603 com os nomes dos Padres e Irmãos que estão nellas.* Macao? October 1603, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 25: fl. 64v.

14 Diogo Antunes, *Annua do Collegio de Madre de Deus da Companhia de Jesus de Macao 1603*, Macao, 27 January 1604, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 23v.

15 Duarte de Sande, *Annua do Collegio e casa de Macau e residencias que estão no reino da China por a terra dentro que pertencem tambem a Vice-Provincia de Japão*, Macao, 16 January 1596, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 52: fl. 119r.

16 Anonymous, *Annua do Collegio de Macau*, Macao, 1603, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 23r. The office of the *Pai dos Christãos,* a standard feature in Portuguese colonies in Maritime Asia, would be instated after this initial ministry by Cattaneo. Literally the Father of the Christians, in Macao this office was usually held by a Jesuit who ran the parish of *Nossa Senhora do Amparo*, the Chinese parish. Among others, Alexandre de Rhodes, the famous missionary to Vietnam, served as *pai dos christãos* for ten years between 1630 and 1640. For a general description of this position and a set of contemporary documents relating to it, see Josef Wicki, *O Livro do Pai dos Christãos*, (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969).

17 It is very difficult to understand exactly what dialect or language was spoken to the Christians at Macao. Since Cattaneo had learned Chinese in Guangdong province while living with Ricci, perhaps he had become familiar with Cantonese. From the start of the mission, however, the Jesuits had realized the importance of learning Mandarin, and so devoted their studies to this "universal" form of Chinese speech. Given their widespread missionary efforts in the Chinese countryside, however, it stands to reason that the Jesuits had at least a passing familiarity with the various regional dialects and languages.

18 Niccolò Longobardo, *Informação da Missão da China,* Nanxiong, 20 November 1612, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 113: fl. 266r.

19 Ibid., fl. 268r.

20 Niccolò Longobardo?, *Annual Letter from the China Mission 1608*, Shaozhou, 21 December 1609, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 112: fl. 116r.

21 Jerónimo Rodrigues, *Annua de Colegio de Machao 1599,* Macao, 17 January 1600, in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Ana Fernandes Pinto, eds., *Cartas Ânuas do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627),* (Macao: Fundação Macau and CTMCDP, 1999), p. 88.

22 Ibid., pp. 117, 133. Diogo Antunes, *Annua de Colégio de Macau 1603,* Macao, 27 January 1604; and João Rodrigues, *Annua de Colégio de Macau 1611,* Macao, 1 November 1611.

23 Although recent studies of the city of Macao in the seventeenth century are few and far between, the colony has recently attracted the attentions of Portuguese scholars. With the exception of a few scattered articles by C.R. Boxer, the most important work on Macao is George Bryan Souza's *The Survival of Empire: The Portuguese in China, 1630-1753* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986). More recently, however, one particularly interesting study of the relations between the Jesuits and the Portuguese residents of the city is Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, "A 'Contenda da Ilha Verde,' Primeira Discussão sobre a Legitimidade da Presença Portuguesa em Macau (1621)" in Alves, ed., *Um Porto entre Dois Impérios: Estudos sobre Macau e as Relações Luso-Chinesas*, (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999), pp. 127-162.

24 In the Cartas Annua from the Colégio de Madre de Deus during the period from 1594 until 1614 the numbers would wax and wane depending on the numbers of Jesuits that arrived from India to sail to Japan. In 1594 there were 31 in the two Macao establishments; in 1599, 52 in total; in 1603, 62 Jesuits; in 1607, the numbers fell to 41; in 1611, there were 45; and finally in 1614, 42 (16 priests and 26 brothers). See Oliveira e Costa and Pinto, eds. *Cartas Ânuas*, pp. 56, 88, 114, 123, 127, 139.

25 Manuel Dias Sr., *Annua do Collegio de Macao 1614,* Macao, 2 January 1615, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 46: fl. 362r.

26 Ibid, fl. 362r.

27 Anonymous, *Annua do Collegio de Madre de Deos da Cidade de Macao 1620,* Macao, 1621?, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 286r.

28 See Edward Kelly, *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617 in Nanking* (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University: 1971).

29 António Leite, *Carta Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos em Macao 1621*, Macao, 30 December 1621, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 340r.

30 See Alves, "Contenda," especially pp. 147-159.

31 António Leite, *Carta Annua do Collegio de Macau, 1621*, Macao, 30 December 1621, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 340r.

32 Alfonso Vagnoni to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Macao, 1 November 1622, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fl. 65v.

33 News of this separation and the creation of the Vice-Province of China as a semi-autonomous mission reached Macao in 1619 with Trigault's return. While this administrative split was crucial for reinvigorating the China mission after the Nanjing persecutions, it did not permanently sever the contacts between the two missions since it retained the East Asian Visitor as the highest official both the China and Japan Jesuits.

34 The events mentioned here are discussed in more detail in Charles Boxer, "The 24th of June 1622, A Portuguese Feat of Arms" in C.R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau, Séculos XVI a XVIII.* vol. 1 (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1991), pp. 43-56.

35 Charles Boxer claims that it was Giacomo Rho, future China missionary, who fired the shot. See Boxer, "The 24th of June 1622," p. 52.

36 António Leite, *Petição, apontamentos, e concluzão Aprezentado pelo Padre António Leite da Companhia de Jesus Procurador deste Collegio de Macao, sobre pedir se lhe perguntem testemunhas pelo contheudo nos ditos apontamentos*. Macao, 29 August 1623, BA JA Codex 49-V-6: fl. 59v.

37 ["Residents and Citizens" of Macao], *Informação da Cidade (Macau) a Sua Magestade do que nella fazem os Padres da Companhia de Jesus,* Macao, 1626, BA JA Codex 49-V-6: fl. 268v.

38 See Charles Boxer, "Portuguese Military Expeditions in Aid of the Mings against the Manchus, 1621-1647." *T'ien-hsia Monthly* 7:1 (August 1938): pp. 24-50.

39 Manuel Dias Sr. to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Hangzhou, 21 August 1623, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fl. 85v.

40 António Francisco Cardim to the Society of Jesus' Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 4 April 1635, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fl. 170r.

Frontispício de *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines.*

Do *Método para Recitar o Rosário* à *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*

Sobre as gravuras católicas do último período da dinastia Ming

Mo Xiaoye*

Até aos nossos dias, a atenção do mundo das artes concentrou-se principalmente nas obras dos pintores ocidentais que trabalharam na corte imperial chinesa, desde o imperador Kangxi (1661-1722) até ao imperador Qianlong (1736-1796), para pôr em destaque o intercâmbio das belas-artes entre a China e o estrangeiro. Para isto contribuiu, por um lado, o facto de as obras de Giuseppe Castiglione e de outros pintores ocidentais se conservarem até hoje em bom estado sendo ainda muito apreciadas e, por outro, não serem as primeiras ilustrações concebidas para os livros católicos classificadas como arte, pelo que não são devidamente consideradas.

De facto, no período compreendido entre o final da dinastia Ming e os princípios da dinastia Qing, após o início da missão jesuíta na China, tanto os missionários como os chineses que tinham aceitado a doutrina cristã manifestaram grande interesse pela arte religiosa. Os missionários socorriam-se da beleza das obras de arte como meio de propagação do cristianismo junto dos funcionários da corte imperial e da população, não se poupando a esforços para que livros com ilustrações religiosas fossem enviados para a China. A partir destes, os chineses alargaram os seus conhecimentos sobre a arte no Ocidente e começaram a imitá-la. Ao mesmo tempo surgiam também antagonismos ao Cristianismo, mas, mesmo neste âmbito, a arte da gravura não foi esquecida. Por exemplo, Yang Guangxian 杨光先, um dos opositores à religião católica, na sua obra *Não Há Outra Alternativa* [*Budeyi* 不得已] incluiu três gravuras como testemunho da sua posição.[1]

O presente artigo debruça-se sobre o estudo da arte católica da gravura em chapa de cobre do último período da dinastia Ming, segundo pinturas e documentos publicados recentemente.[2]

PANO DE FUNDO DO APARECIMENTO DA GRAVURA CATÓLICA NA CHINA

A partir de 1581 Michele Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci e muitos outros jesuítas começaram a chegar à China e o primeiro problema que tinham de enfrentar era o de como ganhar a confiança dos chineses. Algumas dezenas de anos antes, outros missionários, incluindo o próprio S. Francisco Xavier, não tinham conseguido abrir a porta do império chinês. Mas estes pioneiros tinham, no entanto, chegado a uma conclusão: "Se o Evangelho puder ser propagado na China e conseguir

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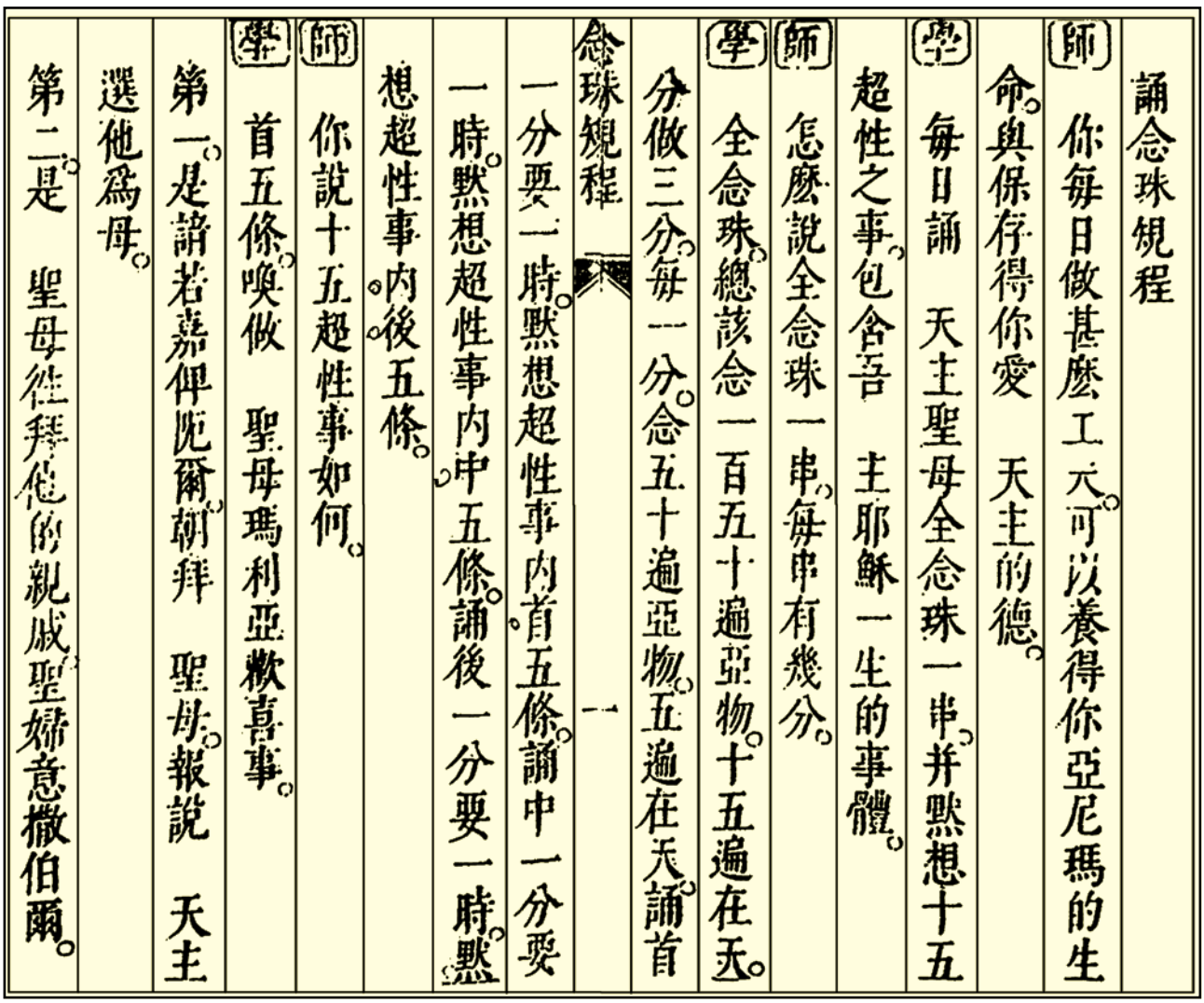

誦念珠規程

師 你每日做甚麼工夫。可以養得你亞尼瑪的生命。與保存得你愛 天主的德。

學 每日誦 天主聖母全念珠一串。并默想十五超性之事。包含吾 主耶穌一生的事體。

師 怎麼說全念珠一串。每串有幾分。

學 全念珠總該念一百五十遍亞物。十五遍在天。分做三分。每一分。念五十遍亞物。五遍在天。誦首

念珠規程 一

一分要一時默想超性事內首五條。誦中一分要一時默想超性事內中五條。誦後一分要一時默想超性事內後五條。

師 你說十五超性事如何。

學 首五條。喚做 聖母瑪利亞歡喜事。第一是諦若嘉俾爾朝拜 聖母。報說 天主選他爲母。第二是 聖母往拜他的親戚聖婦意撒伯爾。

Primeira página do *Método para Recitar o Rosário*.

render abundantes frutos, os chineses serão sujeitas à nossa doutrina e os Japoneses abandonarão a heresia introduzida da China."[3]

É certo que, na fase inicial, Matteo Ricci e os outros missionários encontraram grandes dificuldades, sobretudo na província de Cantão, sendo amiúde agredidos e chegando mesmo a ser expulsos. Mas, com a sua sabedoria e habilidade aos poucos conseguiram superará-las e conceberam, após anos de árdua exploração, um conjunto de métodos de missionação correspondentes às necessidades dos chineses, posteriormente chamado "linha missionária de adaptação".[4]

Estes métodos manifestam plenamente a ideia de Ruggieri de utilizar a língua chinesa para relatar os episódios bíblicos e aproveitar a criatividade da arte católica para ganhar a atenção e compreensão dos chineses. Na sua residência, quer em Zhaoqing, Shaozhou, Nanchang ou Nanquim, Ricci sempre tinha expostos, na sala de visitas, manuais católicos, relógios de sol, prismas, pinturas a óleo de Jesus e da Virgem Maria e outros objectos que tinha trazido do Ocidente a fim de despertar a curiosidade dos locais. Foi neste ambiente que começou a interpretar a Bíblia e a chamar os presentes à fé. Compreende-se, assim, o empenho com que os missionários pediam o envio de quadros e outros objectos do Ocidente, empenho este bem expresso na carta de Ruggieri ao seu Superior, de 25 de Janeiro de 1584:

"Desejo ardentemente que Vossa Reverência me envie um relógio, umas gravações em chapa de cobre

de Nossa Senhora e do Salvador, coisas de que os mandarins chineses gostam muito. Faça o favor de me enviar também alguns quadros católicos, de modo a que tenhamos facilidades ao interpretar a nossa doutrina junto dos chineses, porque eles se interessam imensamente pela nossa arte."[5]

Pouco tempo depois, foram enviadas para a China várias obras religiosas famosas na época, com belas ilustrações, assim como livros de outro género e diversos objectos interessantes.

Aos olhos dos missionários, a obra mais importante era *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*,[6] principal matriz dos manuais católicos ilustrados em finais da dinastia Ming.

Esta obra, em cujo frontispício se vê a imagem de Jesus Cristo, contém 153 gravuras em chapa de cobre destinadas a interpretar vividamente a Bíblia. Começa pela cena da Anunciação à Virgem pelo Anjo Gabriel, no momento da Divina Concepção, e termina com a Paixão de Cristo na Cruz, a sua Ressureição, a morte da Virgem e a sua Assunção e Coroação no céu.

Tive conhecimento desta obra clássica, assim como do resumo do texto "Influência sobre a alma dos entes humanos", publicado em 1593 para ser usado como manual religioso, através da *Exposição de Pinturas Chinesas de Estilo Estrangeiro* [*Zhong Guo Yang Feng Hua Zhan* 中国洋风画展]. No Ocidente, aquela obra era não só uma poderosa arma na luta contra a Reforma Protestante, como era também um eficaz instrumento de educação exemplar no mundo católico.

Para os missionários na China, a obra tinha o mérito de tornar acessível aos chineses a mensagem do catolicismo, muito embora a não soubessem ler. Tal como disse Matteo Ricci: "muitos princípios são dificilmente compreendidos pela palavra, mas podem sê-lo facilmente através da apreciação de quadros".[7]

Vê-se, assim, quanto esta obra contribuiu significativamente para a missão. Segundo dados históricos, todos os missionários que foram para a China por volta de 1600, antes da partida pediram autorização para levar consigo este importante livro. Crê-se que por volta de 1604, pelo menos, Matteo Ricci já o tinha nas suas mãos, tendo-o trocado mais tarde, com Manuel Dias, pela *Bíblia para a Corte Real*, que depois o levaria para Nanchang, na província de Jiangxi.[8] Ricci veio a arrepender-se desta troca já que as imagens desta última eram muito menos nítidas do que as do livro *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, razão pela qual escreveu ao Superior da Companhia de Jesus pedindo-lhe o envio de mais livros do género.

É de notar que, apesar de terem chegado à China centenas de missionários durante os séculos XVII e XVIII, era bastante dificil trazerem consigo livros do Ocidente, devido à longa e árdua viagem, desastres marítimos e frequentes doenças, pelo que muitos deles infelizmente, morriam no caminho.[9] Por outro lado, o número de fiéis chineses aumentava consideravelmente pelo que a exigência deste tipo de livros era cada vez maior. Neste contexto, os missionários precisaram de reproduzir obras religiosas na China. De entre as reproduções de gravuras

Frontispício de *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*.

católicas existentes, uma das primeiras é *Obras Caligráficas de Cheng com Gravuras Reproduzidas* [*Cheng Shi MoYuan* 程氏墨苑] de Cheng Dayue 程大约.[10]

Posteriormente outros manuais surgiram com reproduções de ilustrações. As províncias de Jiangxi, Zhejiang e Fujian desempenharam um papel impulsionsador neste domínio, devido ao seu superior desenvolvimento cultural e económico. No reinado do imperador Wanli, a qualidade das gravuras em madeira destas regiões estava na primeira linha de todo o país.[11] A maturidade da gravura chinesa e a proliferação de oficinas de gravura especializadas em livros asseguravam as condições apropriadas para a reprodução de gravuras católicas ocidentais.

SOBRE O *MÉTODO PARA RECITAR O ROSÁRIO*

Consideremos agora duas obras como representantes das gravuras católicas do último período da dinastia Ming. Apesar da referida *Obras Caligráficas de Cheng* já ter representado este tipo de arte ocidental, o certo é que só tem quatro páginas e, possivelmente, o intuito do seu autor não foi a divulgação do catolicismo, mas "adornar a sua caligrafia plástica original" e "atrair mais amadores para a sua arte".[12] Só a partir de *Método para Recitar o Rosário* [*Song Nian Zhu Gui Cheng* 诵念珠规程] foram impressas gravuras religiosas especialmente para cobrir as necessidades da Missão. A partir de então os livros deste género tiveram larga difusão entre os católicos chineses.

Porém, com o decorrer dos tempos e as vicissitudes históricas, desta obra restam hoje escassos exemplares. No presente artigo consideramos um exemplar existente no Vaticano[13] e também alguns estudos de académicos franceses e japoneses a ele respeitantes. O exemplar actualmente nas minhas mãos tem 33 páginas com 15 ilustrações. Na página de rosto lê-se "Iluminação da Santa Religião" e, na última página, "primeiro volume da Iluminação" e os nomes dos cinco jesuítas responsáveis "pela redacção, revisão e autorização". A primeira parte apresenta um diálogo conciso entre o mestre e os seus discípulos sobre o conteúdo dos quinze mistérios e sobre os métodos de recitar o Rosário, rezar e meditar. A segunda parte consta de ilustrações com legendas, ensinando aos fiéis as regras do Rosário e a ler a Bíblia Sagrada. Os quinze mistérios são na realidade relatos resumidos de

Nossa Senhora visitando Isabel (*Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*).

episódios da vida de Jesus. As primeiras cinco cenas são os Júbilos de Nossa Senhora, desde o Nascimento de Jesus até a sua maturidade. As seguintes cinco são as Angústias de Maria, Nossa Senhora, desde a vigília e sofrimento de Cristo, Paixão e Morte na Cruz. As últimas representam a Glorificação de Nossa Senhora, a Ressureição de Jesus e a Coroação da Virgem como Mãe do Céu e da Terra. A maioria dos estudiosos considera este livro o primeiro folheto com ilustrações católicas até hoje descoberto na China. Dado à estampa entre os anos 1619 e 1624, mede 24x15,7 cm, tendo cada prancha 21,2x12.5 cm. O livro, xilogravado e impresso em relevo, foi possivelmente distribuído em Nanquim.

O seu autor terá sido, segundo D'Elia, o padre João da Rocha.

No entanto, outros estudiosos consideram o padre Francisco Furtado como o seu mais provável

Nossa Senhora visitando Isabel (*Método para Recitar o Rosário*).

autor e que o terá redigido a partir da *Iluminação da Santa Religião Católica*, de João da Rocha.[14] De acordo com o exemplar que tenho entre mãos, os responsáveis pela publicação da obra terão sido cinco: os jesuítas João da Rocha e Gaspar Ferreira, autores do texto, Lazzaro Cattaneo e Álvaro Semedo, responsáveis pela revisão, e Manuel Dias, que deu a autorização.

O mais provável é ter sido João da Rocha o autor da *Iluminação da Santa Religião Católica* e Gaspar Ferreira o autor do *Método para Recitar o Rosário*. É também razoável acreditar-se terem sido Lazzaro Cattaneo e Álvaro Semedo os responsáveis pela revisão, por serem os mais antigos na Missão, e ter sido Manuel Dias a dar a aprovação eclesiástica, já que tinha assumido o cargo de Superior-Adjunto da Missão da China.[15] Todos conheciam bem a língua chinesa, condição fundamental para a sua redacção, e todos missionavam em Zhejian em 1620.

O valor e a importância desta obra centram-se no facto de, com as suas capacidades técnicas e inventividade, os gravadores chineses terem conseguido transformar habilmente as gravuras ocidentais em chapa de cobre em matrizes de gravura em madeira (xilogravura). Apesar de ainda não ter sido identificado o autor das ilustrações deste livro,[16] é possível terem sido obra de um ou mais autores de Anhui, porque as características da técnica de ilustração são muito semelhantes às da escola de pintores desta região. É fácil verificar que os títulos e as legendas dos originais desapareceram nas reproduções, que apresentam características próximas das ilustrações dos romances chineses. Também alguns objectos e acessórios presentes nos quadros originais foram substituídos por objectos chineses e a perspectiva neles representada sofre significativas alterações. De seguida apresento algumas das ilustrações mais representativas, tendo os respectivos temas sido por mim reconstituídos, tendo em conta os originais e a obra *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* [*Tian Zhu Jiang Sheng Chu Xiang Jing Jie* 天主降生出像经解].[17]

A primeira, "A Virgem Maria recebendo o anúncio da Concepção do filho de Deus", é a ilustração do primeiro Mistério do Rosário. Comparando-o com o original em *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* vemos que a casita de madeira que servia de principal cenário foi substituída por uma residência chinesa; no quarto espaçoso está uma cama grande e em toda a parede do fundo estão pinturas tradicionais chinesas de paisagens.[18] Também o forte contraste de claro-escuro foi substituído pelo desenho linear, carecendo de expressão tridimensional. O grafismo das nuvens, sobretudo, manifesta por inteiro a técnica usual nas gravações do último período da dinastia Ming. Mas a estrutura da sua composição é quase igual à do original e os movimentos de Nossa Senhora e dos anjos são também uma fiel imitação: Nossa Senhora ajoelha-se diante de uma mesinha de chá onde está colocada uma Bíblia, escutando a mensagem do anjo Gabriel. Em resumo, todo o ambiente foi achinesado. Além disso, Deus Pai, representado sobre as nuvens no quadro original, já não aparece na réplica, sendo apenas representada a pomba (Espírito Santo), símbolo da sabedoria de Deus. A cena de Jesus na Cruz que se via em fundo foi substituída por um pátio à chinesa. Este primeiro quadro tem, assim, um "sabor a China" provavelmente com o objectivo de diminuir

o impacto provocado nos chineses pelas imagens católicas.

A terceira reprodução, "Nascimento de Jesus", é mais próxima do original. Trata-se da cena do nascimento de Cristo num estábulo de madeira, pequeno e escuro, nos arredores da cidade. No estábulo do original há uma forte luz e a sua projecção, que deixa nos apreciadores uma impressão de profundidade, enquanto que a réplica do artista chinês não exprime nenhuma sensação de luz. Apenas uma reprodução perfeita das figuras sagradas e dos animais, com Jesus recém-nascido entre os pais. Em redor da sua cabeça foi acrescentada uma auréola, a fim de manter o centro visual produzido pelo contraste do claro-escuro do quadro original. Isto mostra que foi com base na compreensão profunda do sentido do original que o pintor chinês se esforçou por exprimir esse mesmo sentido à maneira chinesa.

Merece ainda especial atenção o facto de o artista chinês ter copiado quase todo o pano de fundo e as imagens dos anjos. Também os edifícios, incluindo um castelo ocidental, ao longe, foram copiados, mantendo-se quase como no seu estado original.

Vejamos agora o quarto quadro, "Apresentação do Menino no Templo". Nossa Senhora apresenta Jesus e Simeão toma-o nos braços. No original, não só se descrevem com pormenor o "santo pavilhão" (Templo) e as personagens em primeiro plano, mas também há descrições dos elementos em segundo

Nascimento de Jesus (esquerda, *Método para Recitar o Rosário;* direita, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*).

plano e em fundo. Na réplica, porém, estas últimas anotações já não existem e os pilares e o tecto do pavilhão apresentam adornos de estilo chinês. A imitação, não tendo já a perspectiva do original, possui o efeito plano que caracteriza a pintura tradicional chinesa. Se o pintor chinês o fez deste modo, foi sobretudo porque, se a gravura ocidental em chapa de cobre permitia gravar todos os pormenores, o mesmo não acontecia com a técnica chinesa da gravura em madeira.

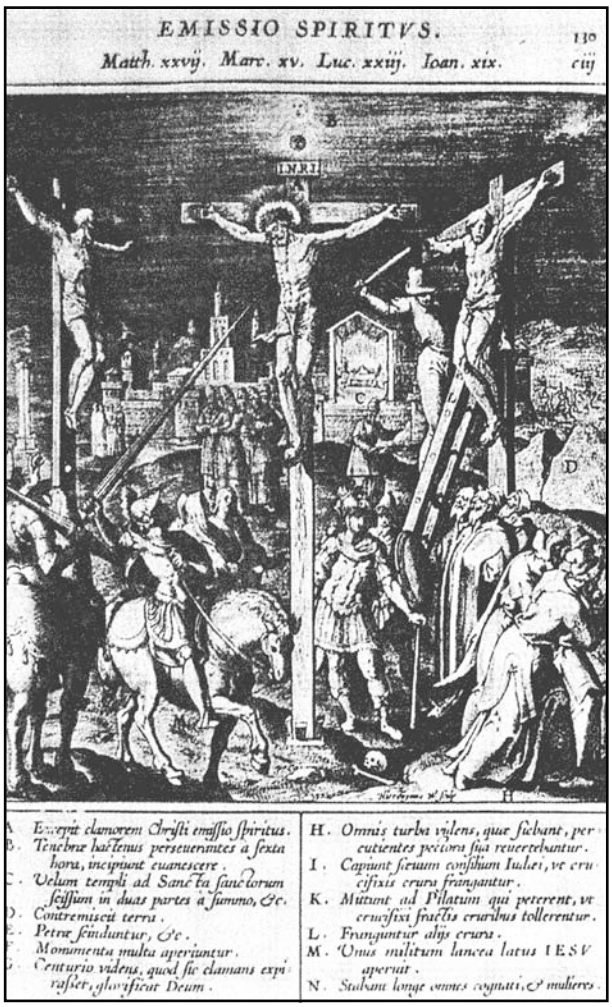
O mesmo se verifica no quinto quadro, "Jesus ensinando no Templo, aos doze anos". As ricas paisagens de fundo do original desapareceram na reprodução, restando apenas um espaço vazio. Também o número das figuras em primeiro plano foi reduzido, já que a técnica dos artistas chineses para representar figuras era evidentemente inferior à que tinham atingido na representação de paisagens naturais. Como desconheciam o uso da perspectiva para revelar a relação das figuras entre si, nos diferentes planos, algumas figuras presentes nos quadros ocidentais eram amiúde omitidas. Não obstante, os artistas chineses conseguiram reproduzir todo o dinamismo do original, o que reflecte a sua habilidade.

Nos quinze quadros há dois ou três cuja estrutura foi modificada pelos gravadores chineses. Por exemplo, o quadro "Jesus cravado na Cruz", foi obviamente tratado de novo no seu plano estrutural: a Cruz foi colocada num local mais visível; as posturas dos dois soldados sob a cruz foram escolhidas respectivamente dos originais n.ºs 129 e 130; o soldado a cavalo não usa a lança para ferir Jesus enquanto o soldado à direita empunha uma vara com a esponja embebida em vinagre e que oferece a Jesus. Apesar do movimento das figuras ser muito diferente do original, a relação entre elas é também bastante natural e a estrutura da composição bastante completa. O mesmo se passa no quadro "Nossa Senhora sobe ao Céu em corpo e alma três dias após a sua morte": a sua estrutura é constituída pela cena interior do original n.º 150 e pela cena exterior do original n.º 152.[19]

Nestas gravuras, parcialmente realizadas com técnicas ocidentais, os pintores e gravadores chineses não abandonaram por completo os pontos fortes da sua técnica tradicional de gravura em madeira. São vários os quadros que integram paisagens naturais pintadas com técnicas tradicionais chinesas e em que a estrutura de composição é também a da pintura

Jesus na Cruz (*Método para Recitar o Rosário*).

chinesa e a técnica da xilogravura muito semelhante à da dinastia Ming, como a conhecemos pelas estampas até hoje conservadas, como *Registo do Instrumento Musical Pipa* [*Pi Pa Ji* 琵琶记] e *Apontamento sobre o Pavilhão do Oeste* [*Xi Xiang Ji* 西厢记]. Neste aspecto, o quadro mais representativo é provavelmente o segundo, "Nossa Senhora visitando Isabel". A cena que se desenrolava no interior de uma sala foi transformada em cena num pátio exterior, com a adição intencional de uma árvore e de um cavalo, formando assim uma cena natural e vívida. É ainda interessante notar que as principais figuras no quadro, Maria e Isabel, foram deslocadas para trás de José e de Zacarias. Apesar disso, a dimensão dos



Jesus na Cruz (*Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*).

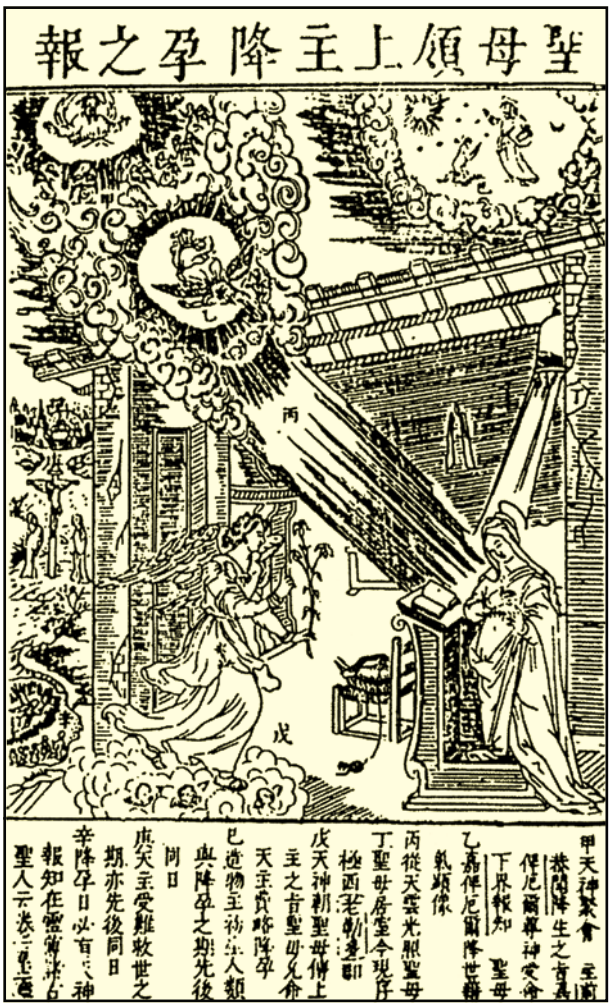
protagonistas não foi reduzida, o que faz com que os analistas chineses detectem o cariz chinês da obra. Baseados em tudo isto, podemos pelo menos chegar à conclusão de que os recriadores destas obras eram pintores e gravadores experimentados das regiões de Nanquim e de Hangzhou.

SOBRE A *VIDA ILUSTRADA DE CRISTO*

Ainda no último período da dinastia Ming, e treze anos após a publicação do *Método para Recitar o Rosário*, foi publicado um outro livro ilustrado – *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* – pelo jesuíta Giulio Aleni, chegado a Macau em 1610 e mais conhecido como "Confúcio vindo do Ocidente" pelos seus amplos e profundos conhecimentos das culturas Ocidental e Chinesa, sendo autor de uma vasta obra.[20] Mas, tal como Francesco Sambiasi, a sua preferência ia para as artes. Num outro seu livro, *Explicação Ilustrada da Geografia* [*Kun Yu Tu Shuo* 坤舆图说], estão ilustradas as Sete Maiores Maravilhas do Mundo e alguns animais raros. Recorria a mil um meios para praticar a Missão segundo os critérios de Matteo Ricci, aproveitando todas as oportunidades para mostrar os seus "quadros de coração" aos funcionários e homens de letras chineses, sendo que alguns lhe pediram o "Quadro do Julgamento" para copiar.[21] Estes factos demonstram que, antes de começar a redigir esta obra, já Giulio Aleni tinha feito muitos preparativos. Possivelmente, e por considerar não ser o referido *Método para Recitar o Rosário* suficiente para o desenvolvimento da Missão, terá começado a escrever este livro ilustrado no oitavo ano do reinado de Chongzhen (1635), concluindo-o no décimo ano de reinado desse imperador vindo a ser mais tarde gravado e publicado em Fuzhou.[22] Actualmente na Biblioteca Real de França, o livro, de 26x16,5 cm, tem capa de seda ornamentada a fio de oiro, medindo cada um dos seus cinquenta e seis quadros 23,8x14 cm.

Diz-se que uma vez publicado, o livro foi "altamente apreciado tendo-se esgotando rapidamente".[23] Inspirado igualmente em *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, as suas páginas têm uma dimensão quase 3 vezes superior às do *Método para Recitar o Rosário* e as suas ilustrações são mais próximas das do original. A disposição de cada uma das suas páginas é rigorosamente igual, ou seja, no topo de cada quadro insere-se o tema e, em baixo, a respectiva legenda, basicamente uma tradução do original. Embora ambas se tenham baseado na mesma obra e destinando-se ambas a satisfazer as necessidades da Missão, os respectivos conteúdos diferem bastante, porque os níveis de conhecimento da pintura ocidental dos recriadores eram diferentes. Eis alguns exemplos demonstrativos das características fundamentais da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*.

Em primeiro lugar, e no que respeita à organização do quadro, a sua composição é quase igual à do original: os recriadores chineses não introduziram a seu bel-prazer edifícios e paisagens de estilo chinês para ornamentar os quadros. Dos cinquenta e seis quadros, exceptuados seis cuja estrutura é apenas parte da do original, todos os outros são cópias quase fiéis. Enquanto no *Método para Recitar o Rosário* a réplica do quadro "Nossa Senhora visitando Isabel" tem uma estrutura reorganizada segundo o estilo chinês, neste



Anunciação (*Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* e *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*).

caso a sua estrutura é em tudo igual ao original: está representado um recanto de um edifício de tipo ocidental e as figuras permanecem no seu interior, conteúdos estes omitidos no primeiro caso. Apesar de o detalhe da parede do quadro original, no lado oposto à iluminação, não ter sido fielmente copiado, nesse local surge igualmente uma grande superfície sombreada sendo igualmente visíveis as paisagens através da janela e da porta. A única diferença reside no facto de na imitação se perder a relação claro-escuro e a projecção das principais figuras do quadro original, razão pela qual a diferença da representação tridimensional do espaço é bastante significativa.

Em segundo lugar, o autor da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* tinha um maior conhecimento das belas-artes ocidentais. Ao contrário do que se passa no *Método para Recitar o Rosário*, nesta obra vê-se a perspectiva dos edifícios tal como no original. O original da "Flagelação de Jesus", socorrendo-se da perspectiva, distribui os soldados que açoitam Jesus pelos dois lados de um grande pilar de pedra, rodeados por judeus e romanos que observam a cena, estando o Pretor (Pilatos) numa varanda, enfrentando a multidão. Ao reproduzir este quadro, o gravador chinês, por falta de domínio técnico, teve que omitir algumas figuras e paisagens, o que provocou uma perda de expressão tridimensional. Por sua vez, o autor da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* fá-lo já com um suficiente domínio da técnica de modo a que as figuras e paisagens fossem transplantadas respeitando a perspectiva. Embora a gravura em madeira não possa atingir o grau de pormenorização da matriz em chapa de cobre, a atmosfera é bastante similar à do original. Num outro quadro, e que retrata o antigo Templo na capital da

Judeia, já se manifesta claramente toda a relação de perspectiva, paralela à do edificio existente no quadro original, embora se tenha perdido o efeito de claro-escuro. Por tudo isto, podemos dizer que, quanto ao uso das técnicas da perspectiva, a *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* revela progressos em relação ao *Método para Recitar o Rosário*.

Através desta comparação podemos ver que, o autor e os gravadores chineses da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* se socorreram do *Método para Recitar o Rosário* e estudaram detidamente as suas ilustrações, mesmo que não tivessem consultado pessoalmente os autores. Por exemplo, a maior parte da sua última ilustração é uma cópia do 15.º quadro do *Método para Recitar o Rosário*, quadro este por sua vez baseado no quadro n.º 153 do original, que apresenta a legenda: Deus coroa Nossa Senhora como padroeira de todos os anjos das nove categorias, como Mãe do Universo e como Mãe de todos os Homens. Já na *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* a legenda é: A. A Santíssima Trindade coroa a Santa Mãe, estabelecendo-a imperatriz de todos os anjos e santos; B. Os anjos das nove categorias rendem culto a Nossa Senhora; C. Imperadores, reis, soldados e povo rezam a Nossa Senhora, Mãe e Padroeira de todas as gerações; D. Em todos os lugares debaixo do céu são construídos templos para venerar Nossa Senhora e implorar a sua protecção.[24]

Nascimento de Jesus (*Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*).

O elemento central deste quadro é o mesmo nas duas obras: Deus Pai e Deus Filho, sobre nuvens, tendo nas mãos respectivamente um globo e um ceptro, coroam Nossa Senhora. A seu lado estão ainda três figuras vestindo túnicas à chinesa e sobre elas está a pomba, representação do Espírito Santo, com as asas abertas, erradiando luz, o que provoca uma sensação de paz e protecção. A diferença é que na *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* foram acrescentados anjos das nove categorias em redor das figuras principais e, na parte inferior, figuras, chinesas e ocidentais, que rezam a Nossa Senhora. O edifício ocidental que se vê ao longe também tem alguns vestígios do estilo da arquitectura chinesa.

Em resumo, entre estas duas obras ilustradas, baseadas ambas nas *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, existem estreitas ligações, embora haja também certas diferenças.

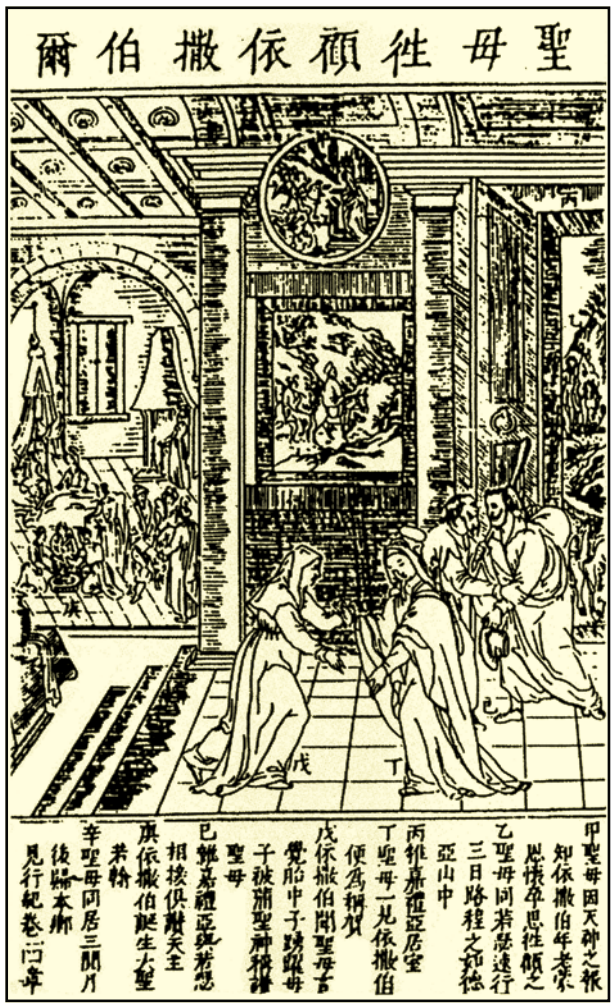
ACEITAÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO DA ARTE OCIDENTAL PELOS CHINESES

O nascimente da arte católica na China deve-se em parte aos Jesuítas, que não eram de facto experimentados em arte pictórica. Apesar de muitos ignorarem o impacto que as ilustrações religiosas poderiam ter sobre o desenvolvimento da arte chinesa, foi justamente com eles que teve lugar o verdadeiro encontro da arte oriental com a arte ocidental, tal como ocorreu em outros domínios da cultura.[25] Matteo Ricci, desde o primeiro dia em que pisou terras da China, sempre prestou grande atenção à arte chinesa, afirmando "a pintura tradicional chinesa está amplamente difundida, mas os pintores chineses não conhecem a arte europeia, desconhecem a pintura a óleo e não sabem aplicar a técnica da perspectiva à sua pintura, como se faz no Ocidente, pelo qual as suas obras carecem de expressão".[26] Esta opinião talvez represente o pensamento ocidental de então, ou seja, o de que uma arte sem a manifestação dos conceitos e técnicas do Renascimento, longe da teoria da

perspectiva e dos métodos de aplicação do claro-escuro, não era uma verdadeira arte. É certo que no fim da dinastia Ming e no início da dinastia Qing, quando o conhecimento dos chineses sobre o Ocidente ainda era bastante confuso, não seria de esperar que os artistas chineses conhecessem os novos métodos pictóricos.

A gravura sobre cobre teve origem na Europa, em Florença, no último período do século XV. Graças ao aperfeiçoamento desta arte por A. Mantegna (1431--1506), Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) e outros famosos pintores ocidentais conseguiram criar obras gravadas com linhas finas como cabelos e paisagens tão vívidas como verdadeiras. Assim, a gravura generalizou-se, correspondendo à grande procura. Até finais do século XVI, a arte cristã produziu gravuras em cobre de grande qualidade e maturidade, sendo disso um bom exemplo o nível atingido pela obra *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*.[27] Estas gravuras caracterizam-se pela aplicação das técnicas da perspectiva e do claro-escuro, que se baseiam em ciências como a matemática e a óptica. Se observarmos cuidadosamente cada quadro, descobriremos que a composição se desenvolve do perto para o longe, do grande para o pequeno; quer as figuras humanas quer os edifícios ou as paisagens são harmoniosamente colocadas conforme a mudança de linhas de perpectivas, oferecendo assim um campo visual amplo e profundo. Além disso, a luz é sempre uniforme, proveniente, na maior parte dos casos, de cima, à esquerda ou à direita, produzindo deste modo zonas de sombra e projecção, reforçando a sensação tridimensional de cada objecto e a gradação dramática do claro-escuro. Com o Renascimento, o conteúdo da reforma da pintura europeia incluía ainda a aplicação da anatomia, mecânica e arquitectura. Tudo ideias novas para os chineses que, quando viam os quadros religiosos ocidentais, ficavam admirados pela sua delicadeza e qualidade, embora não compreendessem a doutrina religiosa que expressavam. Apesar de nos finais da dinastia Ming a gravura chinesa já ter alcançado um novo nível de criação, não tinha ainda adoptado métodos de expressão científica como a arte europeia da época. A característica comum da gravura chinesa era então a não representação das distância e o desconhecimento do claro-escuro. Foi justamente no processo de imitação de quadros ocidentais que os chineses adquiriram conhecimentos sobre estas técnicas.

Que proporcionou, então, aos pintores chineses a reprodução de gravuras católicas em cobre em apenas



Nossa Senhora visitando Isabel (*Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*).

algumas dezenas de anos, no início de século XVII? Comparando as obras que tenho vindo a considerar, deduzo que foram as seguintes as áreas apreendidas:

1. O Princípio da Perspectiva

Desde então os chineses, em lugar da composição tradicional, que tinha como característica fundamental a passagem da linha do horizonte por um ponto acima e fora do quadro, progressivamente deslocaram o horizonte visual para o interior do quadro, mudança bem perceptível nos quadros 3, 4, 6, 9, e 10.

Assim, quanto às cenas interiores, é recriado um espaço determinado no solo, onde as figuras adquirem estabilidade. Quanto às cenas exteriores, a proporção entre objectos e figuras ao longe torna-se mais harmoniosa. Esta característica é especialmente evidente

nas ilustrações da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*. Por exemplo, na ilustração "Perdão dos pecados e cura do paralítico", como o autor aplicou a técnica da perspectiva e paralelismo do topo com a linha inferior, o cenário interior organizou-se em função de dezenas de figuras, em correcta harmonia. Até a técnica de perspectiva de formação angular aplicada não revela erros graves. A única deficiência perceptível consiste em que algumas linhas continuam traçadas ao estilo chinês, produzindo assim uma certa desarmonia no quadro.

2. A Relação Claro-Escuro

Até ao reinado do imperador Wanli, a gravura chinesa em madeira não considerava a fonte de luz e as gradações do claro-escuro. Apesar de aparecer em alguns quadros, a cor escura era utilizada exclusivamente para representar a cor do cabelo ou de um tronco de árvore, por exemplo. A partir do *Método para Recitar o Rosário*, em alguns quadros surgiram zonas escuras a representar uma parede na sombra ou o céu e em algumas ilustrações da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*, como a "Alegria da sementeira", "Bençãos dos pobres e bondosos e castigo dos ricos e pecadores depois da morte," "Perdão dos pecados e cura do paralítico"e "Perdão a Madalena arrependida" não só já aparecem largas áreas escuras, como surge também a projecção das zonas de luz. Apesar dos efeitos limitados e destes serem provenientes de imitações inconscientes, era já um progresso óbvio nas formas de expressão da gravura na China.

É ainda de notar que, no aspecto do grafismo, os artistas chineses já começavam a usar feixes de linhas paralelas ou cruzadas para representar superfície ou dimensão, em vez de linhas desenhadas a tinta-da-china e no estilo da pincelada tradicional.

Jesus na Cruz (*Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*).

3. Forma e Composição

Se dizemos que o *Método para Recitar o Rosário* ainda mantém muitas das características da composição própria da pintura tradicional chinesa, é evidente a ocidentalização na composição da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*. Por um lado, com a aplicação da perspectiva, a composição desenvolve-se através do primeiro plano, do segundo plano e até ao horizonte, permitindo assim uma rica gradação e uma maior amplitude do espaço no quadro. Anteriormente, os pintores chineses ignoravam a representação do segundo plano e, agora, nesta área, as representações surgem enriquecidas. Além do mais, o horizonte longínquo, omitido nas ilustrações do *Método para Recitar o Rosário*, já está adequadamente transposto para as ilustrações da *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*, tal como na cena da multidão no caso da "Flagelação de Jesus".

4. Proporção Corporal e Expressão do Movimento

Os chineses, no último período da dinastia Ming, usavam roupas largas e compridas, de amplas mangas, o que é naturalmente transposto para as obras de arte. Quanto às proporções do corpo, vêem-se frequentemente figuras com a cabeça grande e as mãos pequenas, sendo em regra o corpo do amo maior que o do servo. Porém, nestes dois conjuntos de gravuras católicas vemos que as proporções são normais, as

posturas das figuras são variadas e naturais e mesmo alguns movimentos geralmente difíceis de representar estão expressos de modo bastante adequado. Em alguns quadros, como "Jesus na Cruz" e "Dois soldados sepultam Jesus", aparecem até figuras de nus, com representações minuciosas dos músculos. Trata-se de progressos obtidos com a adopção de técnicas pictóricas ocidentais.

É claro que, tal como foi referido, no processo de transformação de gravuras ocidentais em chapa de cobre em xilogavura era inevitável surgirem diferenças de diversos tipos, quer pela mentalidade cultural dos gravadores e impressores chineses, quer pelas diferenças do meio ambiente e das condições materiais em que se desenvolviam as actividades artísticas. Além do mais, o objectivo principal da reprodução das impressões católicas era "fazer com que o estrangeiro servisse a China", razão porque, ao reproduzirem, os autores chineses utilizavam intencionalmente algumas técnicas da pintura chinesa e acrescentavam elementos tradicionais da sua própria cultura, nos aspectos da figura humana, vestuário e paisagem, etc. Consideramos que o tipo de tratamento adoptado pelos autores chineses, que se manifesta com mais evidência em quadros como "Jesus repreendendo severamente o demónio" e "Jesus rezando na prisão", faz com que as reproduções possuam um particular encanto.

Em resumo, o *Método para Recitar o Rosário* é o resultado da combinação inicial da arte chinesa e ocidental e que corresponde mais ao gosto chinês, e a *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo* é uma obra em que se manifestam mais técnicas pictóricas ocidentais com aceitação e aplicação flexível por parte dos pintores chineses da arte ocidental da pintura.

PONTO DE VIRAGEM DA ARTE DA GRAVURA CHINESA

Ao mesmo tempo que entra na China a gravura religiosa, entram também, gravadas em chapa de cobre, a *Colecção de Mapas Mundiais* [*Shi Jie Yu Tu Ji* 世界舆图集] e a *Colecção de Mapas das Cidades do Mundo* [*Shi Jie Cheng Zhen Tu Ji* 世界城镇图集]. Os chineses ficaram encantados com estas gravuras, com o seu grafismo de linhas finas como cabelos: "Como puderam reproduzir sobre papel e tão vividamente edifícios com corredores, varandas, janelas e portas, ruas e becos?"[28] O neo-realismo da gravura ocidental de então despertou grande interesse nomeadamente nos funcionários e homens de letras chineses, que tinham contactos com os Jesuítas europeus. Este interesse manifesta-se não só na sua admiração pela beleza das paisagens, mas igualmente na sua atenção à técnica da perspectiva e ao método do claro-escuro aplicado nas ilustrações dos livros, formando progressivamente uma poderosa força reformuladora da arte da gravura do período das dinastias Ming e Qing, "época de oiro" da antiga gravura da China.

Coroação de Nossa Senhora (*Método para Recitar o Rosário*).

Mas, como é sabido, nos períodos Ming e Qing, a pintura dos letrados era considerada a corrente principal da arte pictórica chinesa, enquanto a gravura de cariz folclórico era menosprezada. Além disso, existia do topo para as bases, um preconceito contra a religião

Jesus na Cruz (*Budeyi*).

católica, nomeadamente no século XVIII. Quando as medidas tendentes à proibição da religião se tornaram mais severas, a gravura católica introduzida nos finais da dinastia Ming desapareceu rapidamente.[29] Não devemos, no entanto, esquecer o papel particular que a gravura católica do Ocidente desempenhou naquele tempo na promoção do progresso da arte pictórica da China.

Em primeiro lugar, ajudou os chineses a criar as primeiras xilogravuras de estilo ocidental. São disso exemplo mais representativo os referidos dois conjuntos de gravuras, *Método para Recitar o Rosário* e *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*, obras verdadeiramente conseguidas por pintores chineses graças à orientação e ajuda dos Jesuítas e depois de terem vencido inúmeras dificuldades no seu trabalho. As ilustrações reproduzidas, minuciosas e delicadas, apresentam evidentes sinais de ocidentalização e tornaram-se, cerca de cem anos depois, na fonte do renascimento da estampa cristã em Tushanwan[30] e Xangai. Por tudo isto afirmamos serem os seus autores pioneiros do desenvolvimento da gravura chinesa, contributo que não só se manifesta na aceitação da arte pictórica ocidental, mas também na sua adaptação. A aprendizagem de qualquer arte é um processo que se desenvolve a partir da imitação até à criação. Não foi excepção a aprendizagem da arte da pintura católica pelos pintores chineses no fim da dinastia Ming e no início da dinastia Qing. A combinação organizacional da pintura tradicional chinesa com a pintura ocidental desempenhou um papel importante na promoção da variedade tecnológica da posterior gravura chinesa. Tanto na obra "Montanhas e Rios de Taiping" [*Tai Ping Shan Shui Tu*太平山水图], 1648, de Xiao Congyun 萧从云 e outros, como em "História Galante do Imperador Yang da Dinastia Sui" [*Sui Yang Di Yan Shi Cha Tu* 隋炀帝艳史插图],1631, ou em "Paisagens Pitorescas de Jinling" [*Jin Ling Tu Yin* 金陵图吟],[31] pode ver-se a aprendizagem e a assimilação criativa das técnicas ocidentais da gravura pelos pintores chineses. Por outro lado, a facilidade de reprodução e de transporte destas gravuras contribuíram para a sua maior divulgação, sendo possível que tenham também influenciado indirectamente outras formas de pintura chinesa nos finais da dinastia Ming. Certo é terem preparado a completa ocidentalização na criação de gravuras após o início da dinastia Qing. Desde as gravuras em madeira "O Agricultor e a Tecedeira" [*Geng Zhi Tu* 耕织图],1695, de Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉贞, "As 36 Paisagens da Vila Montanhosa de Veraneio" [*Bi Shu Shan Zhuang San Shi Liu Jing Tu* 避暑山庄三十六景图], 1711, de Shen Yu 沈喻, "O Jardim Poético de Yuanmingyuan" [*Yuan Ming Yuan Shi Tu* 圆明园诗图] até aos 8 conjuntos de gravura em chapa de cobre, "Cenas da Guerra contra as Minorias Bu e Zhun Bu" [*Ping Ding Zhun Bu Hui Bu Zhan Tu* 平定准部回部战图, 1770, a gravura da China saiu da etapa inicial dos finais da dinastia Ming, caracterizada principalmente pela imitação e entrou numa outra de forte desenvolvimento em que se combinam harmoniosamente as técnicas de gravura ocidentais e chinesas.[32] Trata-se de uma viragem histórica, que merece a atenção dos estudiosos da pintura chinesa. RC

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Tradução de Huang Huixian 黄徽现.
Fernanda Dias reformulou o texto.

NOTAS

1 Yang Guangxian 杨光先 (dinastia Qing), *Budeyi* 不得已 (Não Há Outra Alternativa), impressão em off-set, 1927.

2 Os quadros referidos no presente artigo foram escolhidos principalmente de *Zhong Guo Yang Feng Hua Zhan - Cong Ming Mo Zhi Qing Dai De Hui Hua, Ban Hua, Cha Tu Ben* 中国洋风画展——从明末至清代的绘画、版画、插图本 (Exposição de Pinturas Chinesas de Estilo Estrangeiro: pinturas, gravuras em chapa de cobre e ilustrações do período final da dinastia Ming à dinastia Qing). Colecção de Aoki Shigeru e Ohayashi Mitsuhiro, distribuição da Galeria de Gravuras Internacionais da cidade de Machida, do Japão, Outubro de 1995, pp. 66-106, 475-480. Ver também *Impressions de Chine*, Biblioteca Nacional de França, Paris, Outubro de 1992, pp. 110-115.

3 Xu Zongze 徐宗泽, *Zhong Guo Tian Zhu Jiao Chuan Jiao Shi Gai Lun* 中国天主教传教史概论 (Introdução à História Católica da China), Casa Editora de Tushanwan, edição em off-set, p.166.

4 Enoshita Takeshi, *A Civilização da Europa Ocidental e a Ásia de Leste*, Tóquio, Editora Taira Bom, 1971, pp. 218-219.

5 Luo Guangyi 罗光译, *Li Ma Dou Quan Ji* 利马窦全集 (Obras Completas de Matteo Ricci), Taipei, Editora de Guangqi, 1986, v. IV, p. 457.

6 O autor das suas notas foi J. Nadal, S. J. (1507-1580), Vigário--Geral da Sociedade de Jesus, que as concluiu cerca de 1575, mas a obra só saíu à luz 13 anos após a sua morte. Ver *Zhong Guo Yang Feng Hua Zhan* 中国洋风画展 (Exposição de Pinturas Chinesas de Estilo Estrangeiro), p. 71. Ver também Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art. II. From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day*, New York, Graphic Society, 1973, pp. 46-49.

7 Ver Luo Guangyi 罗光译, *Li Ma Dou Quan Ji* 利马窦全集 (Obras Completas de Matteo Ricci), v. IV, p. 301.

8 Quanto a Manuel Dias, pode ver-se *Zai Hua Ye Su Hui Shi Lie Zhuan Ji Shu Mu Bu Bian* 在华耶稣会士列传及书目补编 (Biografias dos Missionários na China e Sumário de Livros Bibliográficos Complementares), obra de um estudioso francês, traduzida para chinês por Geng Sheng 耿升, Casa Editora da China, 1995, pp. 186-187. Manuel Dias desempenhou a função de Superior da Missão no Sul da China e mais tarde trabalhou como mandarim responsável pela inspecção de todos os templos na China.

9 Por exemplo, na carta enviada por Jean de Fontaney para a Europa em 15 de Fevereiro de 1703 estão registados muitos naufrágios em princípios do século XVIII. Veja-se a versão japonesa da *Colecção de Cartas de Missionários na China*, Editora Taira Bom,1979, v. I, p. 121.

10 Cheng Dayue程大约,*Cheng Shi Mo Yuan* 程氏墨苑 (Obras Caligráficas de Cheng com Gravuras Reproduzidas), Livraria da China, 1988.

11 Ver *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Ban Hua Zhan* 中国古代版画展 (Colecção de Gravuras Antigas da China), na parte das gravuras do reinado de Wan Li, Galeria de Gravuras Internacionais da Cidade de Machida, Tóquio, 1988. As obras-primas daquele período, como *Hong Fu Ji* 红拂记 (Registos de Roupas Vermelhas) (1601, Nanquim), *Jin Lian Ji* 金莲记 (Registos de Lótus Dourados) (1606, Wulin) e *Bei Xi Xiang Ji* 北西厢记 (Registos do Salão do Noroeste) (1616), mostram-nos o novo nível da gravura do país naquela altura.

12 Michael Sullivan, "The Chinese Response to Western Art", in *Art International*, n.º 3-4, Novembro-Dezembro, 1980:8-31. Este artigo apresenta o *Método para Recitar o Rosário* e a *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*, dois livros com ilustrações como conteúdo principal. Também pode ver-se a obra coligida por Johann Adam Schall von Bell e publicada em 1660, *Jin Cheng Shu Xiang* 进呈书像 (Álbum de Quadros Oferecidos).

13 A este livro que me ofereceu o Dr. Wang Zhicheng 王志诚 só falta uma página. Apesar disso, depois da consulta de *Zhong Guo Yin Shua Zhan* 中国印刷展 (Exposição de Obras Impressas da China) e de *Zhong Guo Yang Feng Hua Zhan* 中国洋风画展 (Exposição de Pinturas Chinesas de Estilo Estrangeiro), podemos conhecer o seu conteúdo global.

14 Esta opinião foi apresentada segundo uma lista de doutrinas religiosas inserida num livro da colecção da Biblioteca Real de França. Nesta lista está registado que o autor do primeiro capítulo é Gaspar Ferreira e o do segundo, Francisco Furtado. Como aquelas doutrinas religiosas estão todas incluídas no segundo capítulo, ou seja, Capítulo "Método para Recitar o Rosário", pressupõe-se que o autor das legendas destes quinze quadros seja Francisco Furtado. Veja-se *Zhong Guo Yin Shua Zhan* 中国印刷展 (Exposição de Obras Impressas da China).

15 Quanto às biografias de João da Rocha, Gaspar Ferreira, Lazzaro Cattaneo, Álvaro Semedo e Manuel Dias, ver *Zai Hua Ye Su Hui Shi Lie Zhuan Ji Shu Mu Bu Bian* 在华耶稣会士列传及书目补编 (Biografias dos Missionários na China e Sumário de Livros Bibliográficos Complementares), pp. 554, 222, 120, 609, 184 e 251.

16 Ver *Zhong Guo Yin Shua Zhan* 中国印刷展 (Exposição de Obras Impressas da China), p. 110. Alguns ocidentais consideram que o autor das suas ilustrações terá sido um dos discípulos de Dong Qi Chang 董其昌.

17 Segundo o tema de cada quadro na *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*, dou agora as designações temporárias aos quinze quadros reproduzidos no *Método para Recitar o Rosário*: 1. Nossa Senhora recebendo de Deus o anúncio da concepção; 2. Nossa Senhora visitando Isabel; 3. Nascimento de Jesus; 4. Nossa Senhora apresentando Jesus no Templo; 5. Jesus, aos doze anos, professando a doutrina; 6. Jesus rezando na prisão; 7. Flagelação de Jesus; 8. Jesus coroado de espinhos; 9. Jesus subindo ao Monte da oliveiras com a cruz às costas; 10. Jesus na Cruz; 11. Ressurreição de Jesus; 12. Jesus subindo ao Céu; 13. O Espírito Santo descendo à Terra; 14. Assunção de Nossa Senhora ao Céu três dias depois da sua morte; 15. Nossa Senhora coroada como padroeira de todos os anjos e santos.

18 O estudioso Kawano considera-a como a janela. Ver *Zhong Guo Yang Feng Hua Zhan* 中国洋风画展 (Exposição de Pinturas Chinesas de Estilo Estrangeiro), p. 14.

19 Ver *Cong Shu Ji Cheng Xu Bian* 丛书集成续编 (Continuação da Colecção de Livros), vol. 100, Casa Editora Xin Wen Feng, Taipei, 1991.

20 Gu Ning 顾宁, "Xi Lai Kong Zi 西来孔子——艾儒略" ("Giulio Aleni, Confúcio Vindo do Ocidente"), in *Zhong Xi Wen Hua Jiao Liu Xian Qu* 中西文化交流先驱 (Pioneiros do Intercâmbio Cultural entre a China e o Ocidente), coordenação de Xu Minglong 许明龙, Casa Editora do Oriente, 1993, pp. 27-39.

21 Os chamados "quadros do coração" são de facto quadros para a divulgação da fé católica. Segundo o livro *Kou Duori Chao* 口铎日抄 (Cópias Diárias), Giulio Aleni levava amiúde este tipo de quadros e no quarto ano do reinado de Chongzhen (1632) mostrou, de uma só vez, dezoito "quadros" para expor a doutrina. Esta obra, trabalho de Giulio Aleni e de outros jesuítas durante o reinado do imperador Chongzhen, foi publicada pela Casa da Misericórdia de Xangai em 1922 e encontra-se na Biblioteca da Universidade de Pequim. Quanto à *Kun Yu Tu Shuo* 坤与图说 (Explicação Ilustrada da Geografia) e às *Hua Da* 画答 (Respostas com Ilustrações), de Francesco Sambiasi, pode ver-se Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, p. 53.

22 Quando da publicação deste livro, também saiu à luz uma outra obra com oito volumes: *Tian Zhu Jiang Sheng Yan Xing Ji Lue* 天主

降生言行纪略 (Registos Breves de Palavras e Actos do Filho de Deus) – que é de facto uma biografia de Jesus. Veja-se a obra de Xu Zongze 徐宗泽, *Ming Qing Jian Ye Su Hui Shi Yi Zhu Ti Yao* 明清间耶稣会士译著提要 (Resumo das Traduções dos Jesuítas que Viveram na China durante as Dinastias Ming e Qing), Casa Editora da China, 1989, p. 38. Mas na obra de Fang Hao方豪, *Zhong Guo Tian Zhu Jiao Shi Ren Wu Zhuan* 中国天主教史人物传 (Biografias e Histórias de Católicos na China), Casa Editora da China, 1988, há uma confusão entre *Registos Breves de Palavras e Actos do Filho de Deus* e *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*, dizendo-se que a primeira tem ilustrações e é também chamada *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*.

23 Ver "Sobre os quadros católicos", prefácio da obra *Dao Yuan Jing Cui* 道原精萃 (Essência dos Princípios da Doutrina), publicada pela Casa da Misericórdia de Xangai no 13.º ano do reinado de Guanxu e actualmente na Biblioteca da Universidade de Pequim.

24 Ver *Zhong Guo Yang Feng Hua Zhan* 中国洋风画展 (Exposição de Pinturas Chinesas de Estilo Estrangeiro), pp. 106 e 480.

25 De um modo geral, acho que o intercâmbio artístico entre o Oriente e o Ocidente deve ter tido o seu início na dinastia Han. A minha opinião no presente artigo significa o começo verdadeiro da influência mútua entre a China e a Europa no aspecto artístico, ocorrida depois do Renascimento europeu. Veja-se o meu artigo "Comentário sobre os estudos dos jesuítas e da introdução da pintura ocidental na China, desenvolvidos nos últimos anos", *Zhong Guo Shi Yan Jiu Dong Tai*中国史研究动态 (Boletim de Estudos da História Chinesa), n.º 11, 1996.

26 Citação da obra de Michael Sullivan,"The Chinese Response to Western Art".

27 As ilustrações desta obra foram na sua maioria gravadas pelos irmãos Wierix com base no desenho de Bernardino Passeri e Marten de Vos, famosos artistas duma oficina artística de Holanda. Ver Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art.*, p. 46.

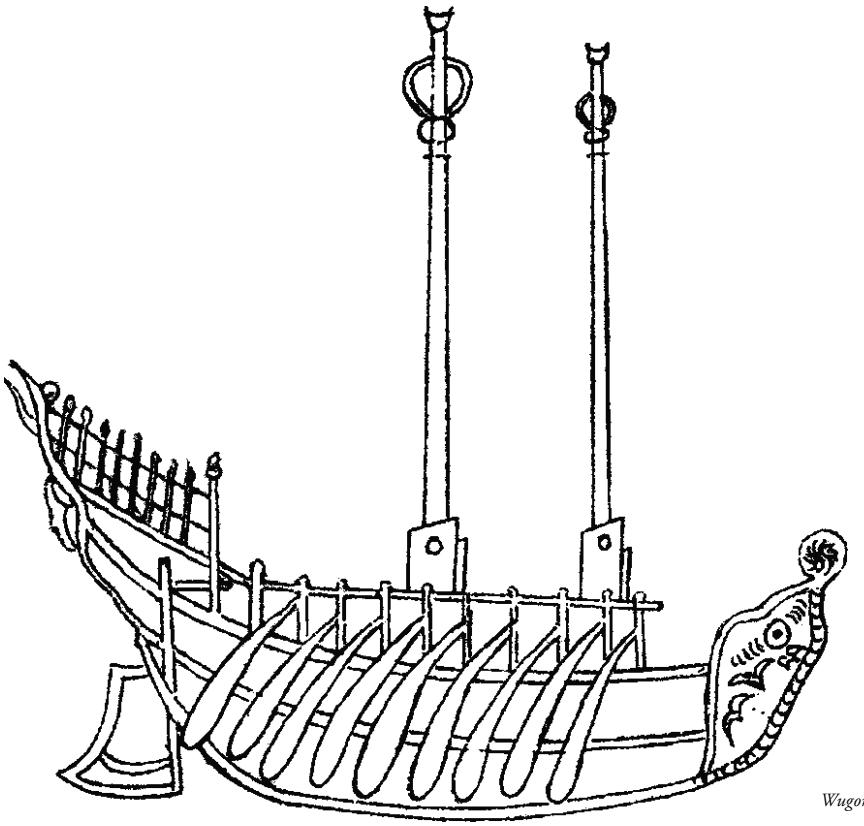
28 Palavras de Du He De 杜赫德 , in Michael Sullivan,"The Chinese Response to Western Art".

29 Alguns homens de letras chineses publicaram então trabalhos de pintura tradicional chinesa contra os jesuítas, facto que conduziu à "queima dos livros católicos que os europeus trouxeram ou compraram a alto preço". Por isso, até hoje não foi possível descobrir qualquer outra obra, como estes livros missionários ilustrados, publicada entre o fim do século XVII e o último período da vida do imperador Qianlong.

30 Quanto aos estudos de Tushanwan e *Da Dao Yuan Jing Cui* 道原精萃 (Essência dos Princípios da Doutrina), pode ver-se o artigo de Zhang Hongxing 张弘星, "Zhong Guo Zui Zhao De Xi Yang Mei Shu Yao Lan – Shanghai Tu Shan Wan Gu Er Gong Yi Yuan De Yi Shu Shi Ye 中国最早的西洋美术摇篮——上海土山湾孤儿工艺院的艺术事业" ("A causa artística da Oficina Artesanal de Órfãos de Tushanwan de Xangai, berço de primeiras belas-artes chinesas de estilo ocidental"), in *Dong Nan Wen Hua* 东南文化 (Cultura do Sudeste), n.º 5, 1992.

31 Ver *Zhong Guo Mei Shu Quan Ji* 中国美术全集 (Colecção Completa de Belas-Artes da China), capítulo Quadros, vol. XX, "Gravura", Casa Editora do Povo de Xangai, 1991.Ver também *Jin Ling Gu Ban Hua* 金陵古版画 (Antigas Gravuras de Jinling), redacção de Zhou Wu 周芜, Casa Editora de Belas-Artes de Jiangsu, 1993.

32 Quanto às gravuras sobre a Vila Montanhosa de Veraneio e o Jardim de Yuanmingyuan, ver *Shi Yin Ben* 石印本 (Colecção de Impressões Litográficas), publicada pela Casa Editora do Universo no reinado do imperador Guangxu; quanto às restantes, pode-se ver *Zhong Guo Yang Feng Hua Zhan* 中国洋风画展 (Exposição de Pinturas Chinesas de Estilo Estrangeiro) e *Zhong Guo Gu Ban Hua Zhan* 中国古版画展 (Exposição de Antigas Gravuras da China).



Wugongchuan (centipede-ship), from *Longjiang chuanchang zhi.*

The *Wugongchuan* (Centipede Ships) and the Portuguese

RODERICH PTAK*

I. Several Chinese sources associate the so-called *wugongchuan* 蜈蚣船, or "Centipede Ships", with early Portuguese trading activities in Central Guangdong, prior to the foundation of Macao. The present note is a comment on these ships and the texts which mention them.[1]

One of the earliest Chinese works describing the *wugongchuan* is Li Zhaoxiang's 李昭祥 famous *Longjiang chuanchang zhi* 龙江船厂志 (now *LJCCZ*), an account of the Longjiang shipyard in Nanjing. This work was printed in the second half of the Jiajing period (1522-1566). It carries a preface by Ouyang Qu 欧阳衢, dated 1553, and was thus written more or less at around the time when the Portuguese were about to settle on the southern part of the Macao peninsula. In 1999 Wang Lianggong 王亮功 prepared a fully

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punctuated edition of this text, which was also used for the present essay.[2]

According to the *Songjiang fuzhi* 松江府志, a local gazetteer, Li Zhaoxiang hailed from the Shanghai area. In 1537 he passed the provincial examinations as the top candidate, which enabled him to become a government official, and in 1547 he was also successful in the *jinshi* 进士 examination. From 1551 onwards he directed the Longjiang shipyard in Nanjing, his post being placed under the Ministry of Work (*gongbu* 工部). He wrote several works of which, apparently, only the one in question has survived.[3]

The *LJCCZ*, in eight chapters or *juan* 卷, contains detailed information on the internal organization of the Longjiang shipyard, the materials needed for the construction of different vessels, various descriptions of these vessels, a historical section with references to Chinese ships and shipbuilding in earlier periods, all kinds of illustrations, including a plan of the shipyard, and segments on many other relevant subjects. The illustrations and many descriptions, including the lists of the materials required for the construction of individual ships, are very similar to or identical with the ones found in an earlier work, namely Shen Qi's 沈启 *Nan chuan ji* 南船记, which carries a preface dated 1541. Since this last work is difficult to find, I shall mostly rely on the *LJCCZ* here, giving references to the *Nan chuan ji* only where needed.[4]

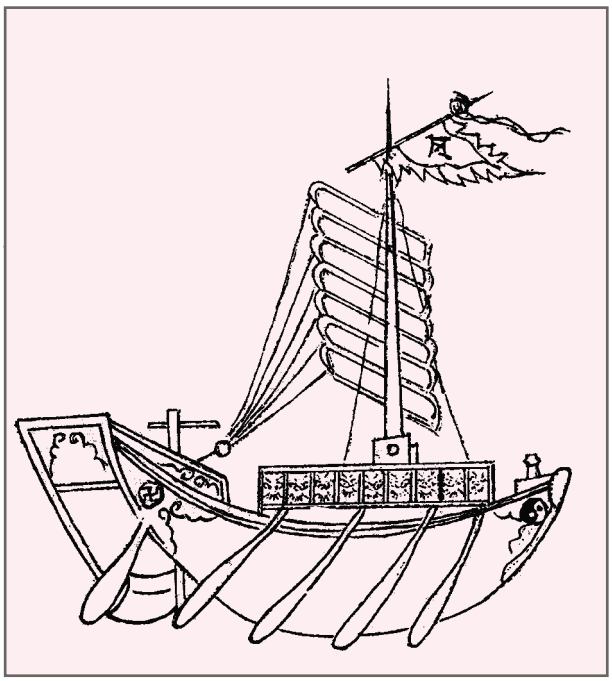
Chapter 1 of Li Zhaoxiang's book carries a large number of official regulations, imperial edicts and administrative guidelines related to the construction of ships. This also includes some statistically relevant data and information on individual types of vessels. One type of vessel is the *wugongchuan*. Below the relevant passages are paraphrased in English:[5]

> In the fourth year of Jiajing (1525) the garrison of Nanjing was allowed to construct one *wugongchuan* with six *folangji* 佛郎(朗)机 – or "Portuguese" – guns. According to a memorial by Wang Hong 汪鋐, the *anchashi* 按察使 [surveillance commissioner] of Guangdong, the ships of the Portuguese had a length of ten *zhang* 丈 and a width of three *zhang* [approximately 36 x 11 meters]. They had forty oars on each side, carried three to four guns, had a sharp-pointed keel and a flat deck and were thus safe against storms and high waves. Moreover, the crew was protected by breastwork [or bulwarks] and therefore had no need to fear arrows and stones. There were two hundred men altogether, with many pulling the oars, which made these ships very fast, even if there was no wind. When the guns were fired and the gun balls poured down like rain, no enemy could resist. These ships were called *wugongchuan*. Their guns were made out of bronze, the heavier ones weighing more than one thousand *jin* 斤 [circa five hundred pounds], the medium ones over five hundred *jin*, and the small ones one hundred and fifty *jin*. Each gun was mounted on four iron "legs". The iron gun balls were covered by lead. The method of producing gunpowder, however, differed from the techniques current in China. The guns could fire over a distance of more than one hundred *zhang* [circa 350 meters], smashing wooden and stone structures to pieces. They were thus much superior to the guns produced in China since ancient times.

After this introduction the text continues by saying that in this same year (still 1525) Liang Yahong 梁亚洪, a ship carpenter, and three other specialists, all from Guangdong, were ordered to Nanjing and materials were gathered for the construction of one *wugongchuan* with a length of 7.5 *zhang* and a width of 1.6 *zhang* (these measurements can also be found in *Nan chuan ji*). Finally, the Nanjing ammunition depot made six *folangji* guns. All this was then handed over to the naval base in Xinjiangkou新江口 (along the Yangzi River, near Nanjing) for military experiments.[6]

Chapter 2 of the *LJCCZ* contains an illustration of a *wugongchuan* (identical to an illustration found in *Nan chuan ji*) and further text passages. The illustration shows a two-masted vessel with nine oars on one side, which means there were eighteen oars altogether. This is also confirmed through the *Nan chuan ji*. The colophon on the *LJCCZ* illustration says, however, this ship had a length of eight *zhang* and a width of one *zhang* and six *chi* 尺. The length is thus different from the one given in chapter 1 of the text. The prow is drawn in such a way that it appears to have been "flat" (a common feature of traditional Chinese shipping).[7]

The *LJCCZ* text itself confirms some of the details given in the first chapter: From 1525 onwards the *wugongchuan* were used with guns (the wording is ambivalent here). Wang Hong presented a memorial, thereafter Nanjing was instructed to build these ships



Qingqian libianchuan, from *Longjiang chuanchang zhi.*

(or one ship only?) for defensive purposes. The second part of the text adds some new aspects: The name of the ship was derived from its appearance. More important, in 1534 the construction of the *wugongchuan* was stopped (this is not clearly expressed in the *Nan chuan ji*). It was argued that warships of the 150 *liao* 料 category would be similar, if only they were equipped with oars.[8] After a few more technical changes one might no longer call them *wugongchuan*, but they would essentially fulfill the same functions and would also be very speedy. Therefore, why should the mighty imperial court bother to copy the models of "inferior barbarians" (*xiao yi* 小夷) and cling to an exotic name? The *Nan chuan ji* has many passages, which are partly similar, but different in tone. It praises the efficiency of *folangji* cannon saying they could be placed on ships. This is followed by some remarks on the excellent qualities of the *wugongchuan*. A further statement is cited which also confirms this view.[9]

Reading the above, several observations are of interest: (1) The technical knowledge of how the *wugongchuan* were made, was obviously brought from Guangdong to Nanjing. (2) The *wugongchuan*, with forty oars on each side, obviously some type of galley, was associated with the Portuguese. A smaller version was built in Nanjing, possibly with eighteen oars. (3) These ships carried modern artillery, considered more efficient than any other guns available at that time. Below I shall comment on these and other points, one by one. I shall begin by discussing further sources and by trying to reconstruct how the Chinese may have become acquainted with the *wugongchuan*.

II. The first text to consider is Shen Defu's 沈德符 *Ye huo bian* 野获编 (Wanli period). This work mentions a certain He Ru 何儒, who was a government officer in Guangdong. In 1533, the *Ye huo bian* reports, he obtained the "'method' of (producing) guns, *wugongchuan*, etc." (*wugongchuan, chong deng fa* 蜈蚣船, 铳等法). Obviously this was after the Portuguese had been defeated in a battle.[10] The incidence seems to refer to the well-known clashes of 1521 and 1522, in which the Portuguese had lost some men and vessels. These battles took place in the Pearl River area, especially near a place called Xicaowan 西草湾.[11] The *Ye huo bian*, however, is difficult to interpret. First, the hostile encounters occurred eleven years prior to 1533 and one must ask therefore, what had happened in the years between 1522 and 1533. Second, it is not clear whether "method" (technology) is restricted to the art of cannon making, or whether it refers to the ships as well. Furthermore, *wugongchuan chong* could stand for one thing – *folangji* gun(s) mounted on *wugongchuan* – or two separate "items", namely ship (s) *and* gun(s).[12]

Another text, the *Shuyu zhou zi lu* 殊域周咨录 (1574) by Yan Congjian 严从简, also mentions the *wugongchuan*.[13] This text is very similar to the above passages found in *LJCCZ*, although some numbers are presented differently. Thus, Li Zhaoxiang speaks of three to four guns, as we saw, while the *Shuyu zhou zi lu* has "thirty-four". Furthermore, in the *Shuyu zhou zi lu* "ten *zhang*" and "three *chi*" (not three *zhang*) are given as the size of the bulwarks, and not as the ship's length and width. From that source we also learn that He Ru had once encountered two Chinese on a Portuguese vessel while collecting duties. These men, Yang San 杨三 and Dai Ming 戴明, had spent many years with the Portuguese and knew their art of making ships, guns and powder. Arrangements were thus taken to obtain all relevant information from "Yang San and others" (Yang San *deng* 等) – essentially through He Ru, who had received instructions from Wang Hong, to collect these "secrets".

To accomplish his task, He Ru fitted out a small boat, which eventually took Yang (and Dai?) ashore in the middle of the night. Thereafter "they were ordered to manufacture [cannon] in accordance with this pattern". Later Wang Hong obtained a victory over the Portuguese, using these new guns.[14] During this battle he captured several large and small artillery pieces. Finally, in 1523, a memorial was presented to the throne, which drew attention to the efficiency of the *folangji* and the *wugongchuan*. It also suggested to make cannon for defensive purposes. This request was approved.

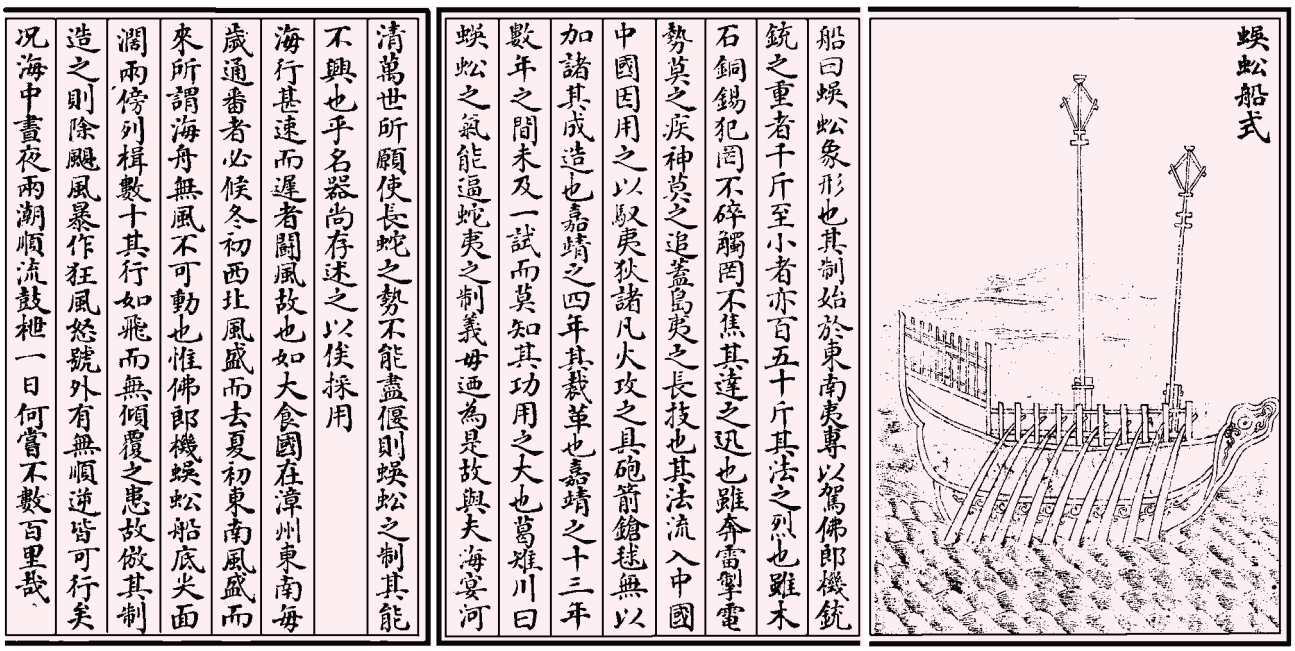
There is one important point here: The quotation in the last part of the text is usually related to the casting of *folangji* guns only (therefore only "cannon" appears in brackets), and not to the building of *wugongchuan*. Casting a gun could probably be accomplished within a short period of time, constructing a ship certainly required more preparation. In other words, the time span between Yang's and Dai's arrival and Wang Hong's victory may have been too short for the construction of a *wugongchuan*. Yet, it is quite obvious that Yang San and his colleagues must have told their countrymen how to make these ships.

Further evidence comes from the "Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty", the *Ming shilu* 明实录. An entry dated 25 May 1524 says this: "The Duke of Weiguo 魏国公, Xu Pengju 徐鹏举, commandant of Nanjing, and others memorialized a request to obtain the methods and artisan skills for making the *folangji* cannons, which had been obtained by Guangdong. The Ministry of War advised: 'The cannons cannot be mounted on other than the *wugongchuan*. Guangdong should also be instructed to obtain artisans from Nanjing to manufacture these.' This was imperially approved."[15]

A second entry, of 5 March 1530, tells us that – earlier – Cui Wen 崔文, a regional commander, had presented a memorial in which he had proposed to construct ships of the *wugongchuan* type that had then already been made in Guangdong, and to place *folangji* guns on these vessels.[16] The interesting part about this notice is that, if the text is correct, the Cantonese must have started to make their own *wugongchuan* prior to 1530.

A third entry, related to 7 October 1533, reads (in Wade's translation): "Previously, He Ru, a police officer in Guangdong, had repeatedly brought to capture *fan* persons from the country of the Folangji and thereby obtained their *wugongchuan* guns and other technologies. For his achievements he was promoted to assistant magistrate of Shangyuan 上元 County in Yingtian 应天 Prefecture (Nanjing), and was instructed to supervise construction in the River-Controller's Office, so as to provide for the riverine defence…"[17] Again, the text contains the same ambivalent phrase as the *Ye huo bian*, namely *wugongchuan chong deng fa*.

Putting together the above, the following picture emerges: He Ru got hold of Yang San and Dai Ming some time *before* the Portuguese lost ships and men in the battle of the early 1520s. Yang and Dai then told the Chinese how to make *folangji* guns, and possibly also how to construct a *wugongchuan*. Using the freshly-copied *folangji*, the Chinese won a victory over the Portuguese, capturing additional artillery. This was in 1522. One year later a memorial was presented, which praised the qualities of both the *folangji* and *wugongchuan* (*Ye huo bian*, *Shuyu zhou zi lu*). Nanjing thus became interested in the new technology and in 1524 a further request was filed to circulate the new methods of casting guns from Guangdong to the southern capital. At the same time, it was proposed that Nanjing should assist Guangdong in building *wugongchuan* (the first *Ming shilu* entry). This reads like a suggestion to start some kind of reciprocal "development program" involving both Guangdong *and* Nanjing. It also seems to presuppose that Guangdong did not have the skills yet to construct its own *wugongchuan*. The *LJCCZ*, however, conveys a different picture: In 1525 Guangdong artisans came to Nanjing to produce these ships. From this it follows that Guangdong had already acquired the necessary technology. Probably the last text is more reliable here, especially in view of the hostile encounters in 1521/1522, which had certainly provided local technicians with a good opportunity to study the enemy's military capacities. Indeed, the *Ming shilu* entry of 1530 confirms that Guangdong had begun producing "local" *wugongchuan* – possibly in around 1522, i.e., after Yang San (plus Dai Ming and others?) had transmitted the necessary "knowhow" to his colleagues in Guangdong. Given the date of 1525 in Li Zhaoxiang's text, one may then even narrow down the period in which Guangdong built its first *wugongchuan* to the years between Wang Hong's victory in 1522 and the said year of 1525. Considering that information about the availability of technical skills in Guangdong needed some time to reach Nanjing and the Longjiang


蜈蚣船式

船曰蜈蚣象形也其制始於東南夷專以駕佛郎機銃之重者千斤至小者亦百五十斤其法之烈也雖木石銅錫犯罔不碎觸罔不焦其達之迅也雖奔雷掣電勢莫之疾神莫之追蓋島夷之長技也其法流入中國中國因用之以馭夷狄諸凡火攻之具砲箭鎗毬無以加諸其成造也嘉靖之四年其裁革也嘉靖之十三年數年之間未及一試而莫知其功用之大也葛雄川曰蜈蚣之氣能逼蛇夷之制義毋迺為是故與夫海宴河清萬世所願使長蛇之勢不能盡偃則蜈蚣之制其能不興也乎名器尚存述之以俟採用

海行甚速而遲者鬬風故也如大食國在漳州東南每歲通番者必候冬初西北風盛而去夏初東南風盛而來所謂海舟無風不可動也惟佛郎機蜈蚣船底尖面濶兩傍列楫數十其行如飛而無傾覆之患故倣其制造之則除颶風暴作狂風怒號外有無順逆皆可行矣況海中晝夜兩潮順流鼓枻一日何嘗不數百里哉

Wugongchuan and description, all from *Chouhai tubian.*

shipyard, the second date could perhaps be pushed back further, to, say, 1523 or 1524.

Three further points need to be considered: First, the *Ming shilu* entry of 1530 could imply that earlier proposals to build *wugongchuan* for the imperial navy, in Nanjing or some other site (I exclude Guangdong), had not been carried out yet, or at least, that not too many ships of this type had been made by then. This could be in line with the the first chapter of the *LJCCZ*, which mentions the construction of only one vessel. Second, the *Ye huo bian's* claim that He Ru obtained the methods of producing *wugongchuan* in 1533, is wrong. The year in question refers to He Ru's promotion; this year is transmitted through the third entry quoted from *Ming shilu*. Third, according to the *LJCCZ* the construction of *wugongchuan* was stopped in 1534, obviously because it had been found out that other ships could easily be converted to vessels with similar qualities. Considerations of cost and time may have contributed to this decision.

III. The sequence of events as outlined above may be enriched by some additional facettes. The *Ming shi* 明史, which was compiled much later, under the Qing, says that a certain Pan Dinggou 番丁苟 and others seized several Portuguese in battle and captured two of their ships. Although these events are dated to 1523, they must refer to the clash in 1522. More important, Jin Guoping believes that Pan Dinggou was among those who had been attracted to work for the Chinese through the arrangements made by He Ru. More precisely, Jin argues that the reading "Yang San and *others*", found in Yan Congjian's *Shuyu zhou zi lu*, should be understood to include Pan Dinggou.[18]

Next, one of the Portuguese prisoners held in Guangzhou during the 1520s, reports the following (in the words of Ferguson): "…there came a Christian Chinese…, named Pedro. This man… took the opportunity, when he got security from the mandarins, to say that he would tell them the force that the Portuguese had in Malacca and in Cochim: that he knew it all; that he knew how to make gunpowder, bombards and galleys. He said that in Malacca there were three hundred Portuguese men, that in Cochim there were none; and he commenced in Cantão to build two galleys. He made two; and when quite finished they were shown to the great mandarins. They found that they were very lop-sided, that they were useless, that they had caused a great waste of wood. They ordered that no more should be made, discontinued the work of the galleys, and set to making *gelfas* at Nanto. They found that he knew something about gunpowder and bombards…"[19] Clearly, the above refers to the events of 1521/1522. However, whether

the Chinese man in question was identical with Pan Dinggou, Yang San or Dai Ming, is not known, but perhaps he should be equated with one of them.

The other surprising part about the Portuguese text is that, obviously, the Chinese were not at all fascinated about the idea of building galleys as too many materials were needed for their construction. If these ships were the same as our *wugongchuan*, then we are facing a dilemma, indeed, because all Chinese sources agree in the fact that these ships were excellent vessels, which should be copied. One solution would be to argue, that the Portuguese writer received wrong information or that he, perhaps deliberately, did not want to communicate the truth to his countrymen in Melaka and Goa. It must be considered here that the Portuguese prisoners in Guangzhou favoured a military move against southern China because they wanted to get liberated. Therefore, they portrayed China as a weak country, which could be defeated easily. Saying that China had not only succeeded in constructing Portuguese guns but also galleys, might have been a strong argument against a suggested attack, which would in turn explain the information quoted above.[20]

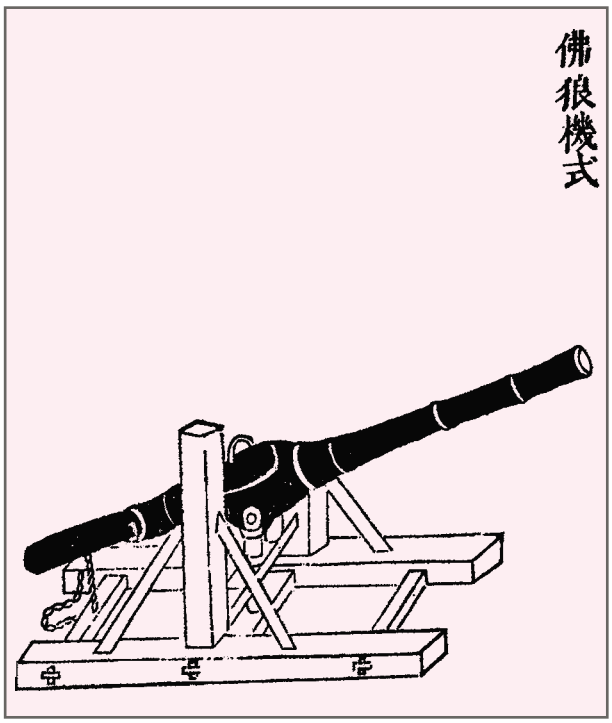
Be this as it may, the Portuguese text also tells us that the Chinese man in question began building two vessels in Guangzhou – certainly with the assistance of others. This is in line with the Chinese sources. As will be recalled from the above, they suggest that the knowledge of constructing *wugongchuan* originated in Guangdong and was then transferred to Nanjing. Unfortunately, however, no precise dates are given. All one may say is, that these two ships were probably made between 1522 and 1524, as was proposed in the previous segment. Whether they were ever finished remains unclear.

Finally, there are some details which were interpreted differently by modern editors and translators. "Cochim", for example, was either referred to as Jiaozhi 交址 (趾,阯) (Annam) or Cochin in South India. "Set to make *gelfas* in Nanto" does not give the full Portuguese version, which reads "Llevarão mão da obra das galés e botarão-nas em Nantó, à gelfa…" (Loureiro's text). The Portuguese text seems to imply that the two ships built in Guangzhou were moved to "Nanto", i.e., Nantou 南头, then a small but important port along the Guangdong coast. Moroever, they were called *galés*. This term was normally used for vessels with oars and often with two masts. It would thus seem very likely that our author was referring to *wugongchuan*. Next, "a gelfa" was understood as "chalupa" (d'Intino), or "ao abandono" (Loureiro).[21] The first version makes little sense, the second version would imply that the two ships in question, and perhaps the whole idea of constructing further vessels of this type, was given up. Again one may argue here that the information given in the original was not adequate because, contrary to what the text says, the Chinese may have continued the construction work, if not in Guangzhou, then in Nantou.

IV. The sources cited above suggest that China built its first *wugongchuan* in the early 1520s – in the Guangzhou region. Apparently, these were modelled after some Portuguese "prototype". However, a further review of the primary materials raises additional questions. Chapter 2 of the *LJCCZ* reveals, for example, that other ships could easily be converted to vessels looking similar to the *wugongchuan*, as had been said. Were these "adjustments" undertaken regularly? When did they occur first? Furthermore, which were the typical features of a *wugongchuan* that distinguished it from other "models"?

The last question can be answered rather straightforwardly. A *wugongchuan* carried *folangji* guns, unlike all or most other vessels then constructed in China. It had a large number of oars, probably more than any other ship combining sails and oars. The illustration found in Li Zhaoxiang's book suggests, however, that domestically-produced *wugongchuan* were reduced in scale, if compared to the Portuguese prototype, and that the number of oars was limited to eighteen. This difference may be explained by substituting "proper" oars through the so-called *yaolu* 摇橹 (or *yuloh*) system of "oars", which has been described, for example, by Needham.[22]

Furthermore, the proportion of the ship was also altered. If the figures are correct, the ratio (length / width) was about 3.5 / 1 in the Portuguese case, and 5.2 / 1 in the Chinese model. Both the change of ratio and the reduction in size may have implied that mounting small *folangji* on a Chinese *wugongchuan* was easier than installing large cannon. This in turn may have reduced the military potential of these vessels and could be one of the unnamed reasons for stopping their production in the 1530s. One might even go on speculating here: Perhaps the technical alterations had something to do with the bad experiences reported in



Folangji cannon, from *Chouhai tubian.*

the context of "Pedro's" efforts to construct two of these ships in Guangzhou. It will be remembered, they were "lop-sided". Could this be related to the change in proportions?

Chapter 2 of the *LJCCZ* also alludes to the fact that the prow and stern of a *wugongchuan* differed from the prow and stern of other ships.[23] No details are given, but this could refer to the construction of the rudder, the bowsprit, and other elements. Chinese vessels, it is well known, normally had a flat "front", quite in contrast to most European vessels. The alterations in design undertaken by the Ming – the illustration suggests a "flat" prow, as had been mentioned – may have entailed further difficulties in adjusting a European model to China's own shibuilding traditions.

Indeed, when the *wugongchuan* were first mentioned, China had already gone through a long history of building similar vessels, but under different names. Some of these are described in the *LJCCZ* and earlier works. Judging from the illustrations found in Li's book, patrol vessels of the Anqing type (*Anqing shi shaochuan* 安庆式哨船) and certain ships apt for shallow waters (*qingqian libianchuan* 轻浅利便船) had several oars or yulohs (to use Needham's classification) and one mast. Both types, however, were significantly smaller than the *wugongchuan.*[24] Earlier vessels, often called *haihu* 海鹘, may have been similar, but the illustrations included in the texts are poor and difficult to interpret.

The *Nan chuan ji* provides a few more details in a list of raw materials and basic constituents needed for the construction of a *wugongchuan*. Similar lists are also given for other craft. The *LJCCZ* offers comparable data, organised in different form, but it has no such list for the "centipede class", possibly because these vessels had already been deleted from the building program of the Longjiang shipyard when Li Zhaoxiang compiled his book. Here only a few entries from the *Nan chuan ji* table will be mentioned as many of the constituents listed there can be encountered in the lists for other ships as well. Thus, a *wugongchuan* had eighteen oars, was made of pine wood, and had a flat bottom (other segments below the water-line are also enumerated), bulwarks, various stern parts, all kinds of beams, a mainmast plus *dawei* 大桅 beam etc., a foremast plus *touwei* 头桅 beam etc., rudderpost and tiller, winches, flagpoles, bollards, and so forth. Cabin parts, materials for caulking and the sails are also recorded.[25]

Here we can return to the *LJCCZ*. Although Li Zhaoxiang's book remains the most important source

for our knowledge of the *wugongchuan*, later texts refer to them as well. Needham, for example, cites two cases: Qi Jiguang's 戚继光 *Ji xiao xin shu* 纪校新书 (1575) and Mao Yuanyi's 茅元仪 *Wu bei zhi* 武备志 (1628).[26] The *wugongchuan* are also mentioned in a section on shipping in the Ming annals and in the Qing encyclopedia *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* 钦定古今图书集成, where an illustration almost identical to the one originally included in Li Zhaoxiang's book is found.[27] Similar illustrations are reproduced in several Ming works, usually compiled after the *LJCCZ*, for example in *Chouhai tubian* 筹海图编 (1562), *Qiantai wozuan* 虔台倭纂 (1595), *Dengtan bijiu* 登坛必研 (not seen), *Sancai tuhui* 三才图会 (1609), etc. All these drawings go back to one and the same source, but they provide no new details. There are only two small "variations":

Indeed, when the wugongchuan were first mentioned, China had already gone through a long history of building similar vessels, but under different names.

the tops of the masts and the way in which the oars are tightened to the deck differ slightly. The same may be said in regard to the texts. They mostly follow the *LJCCZ* and the earlier *Nan chuan ji*. Only in a few cases are there any "additional" remarks. The *Qiantai wozuan* says, for example, that the *wugongchuan* were made after a Portuguese "model".[28]

Of the above texts the *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* is selected for a few more comments here because it is widely distributed and furnishes one or two additional aspects.[29] Among other things, it praises the speed of the *wugongchuan* and the efficiency of the *folangji* guns, but it also says that between 1525 and 1534 no further "experiments" were undertaken with these weapons and their qualities were ignored. The structure of the text is ambivalent here as some phrases were possibly taken from the *Nan chuan ji* and got "distorted" in that way. Thus "experiments" could refer to the usage in war of both the ships and cannon, or just to one of these.[30] This is followed by a quotation from some other text, which again praises the *wugongchuan*, arguing that "centipedes" would be stronger than "snakes", hence one might efficiently use "centipedes" – *wugongchuan* – to tame the seas. A similar passage can also be found in the earlier *Sancai tuhui* and – more elaborate in form – again in the *Nan chuan ji*. Finally we are once more told that *wugongchuan* would not depend on the pattern of winds and would rarely capsize; they would be able to move around fast under normal conditions, but of course not in stormy weather.

Several points in the description of the *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* deserve a comment. First, if between 1525 and 1534 no further "experiments" were conducted with *wugongchuan* vessels, this could mean that the ship ordered in 1525 (as indicated in *LJCCZ*) remained the only one of its kind ever constructed under the supervision of the central authorities (not Guangdong!), at least in the 1520s and 1530s – which may or may not be in line with the information found in chapter 2 of the *LJCCZ*, depending on the interpretation of that text. Second, we do not know what occurred after 1534. According to Li Zhaoxiang the *wugongchuan* "program" was stopped in that year. But most likely similar ships were built thereafter, which were classified differently, due to technical alterations (I was unable to find references to *wugongchuan* being produced after 1534). Third, the positive image given in *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* seems to contradict the pragmatic view presented in chapter 2 of Li Zhaoxiang's text. This points to some kind of internal debate on the qualities of the *wugongchuan*. Obviously those favouring their construction did not get through with their proposals. Fourth, the Portuguese text quoted above tells us that the *wugongchuan* built in Guangzhou were "lop-sided"; the *Qinding guijin tushi jicheng* reports they would not capsize. Could it be that initial technical difficulties were overcome in the course of time? Or did the Chinese text deliberately draw an overly positive picture to push production?

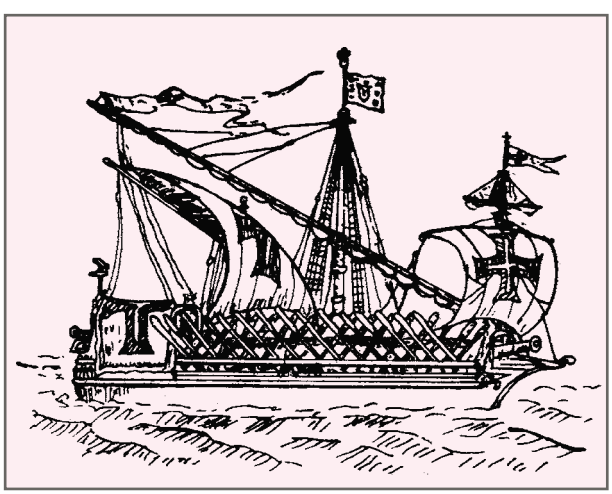
V. The *LJCCZ* contains one more passage, which does not go together with the above. In 1518, we are told, construction of war ships and patrol vessels was reduced to 254 units altogether – among these were two *wugongchuan*.[31] If this information and the date

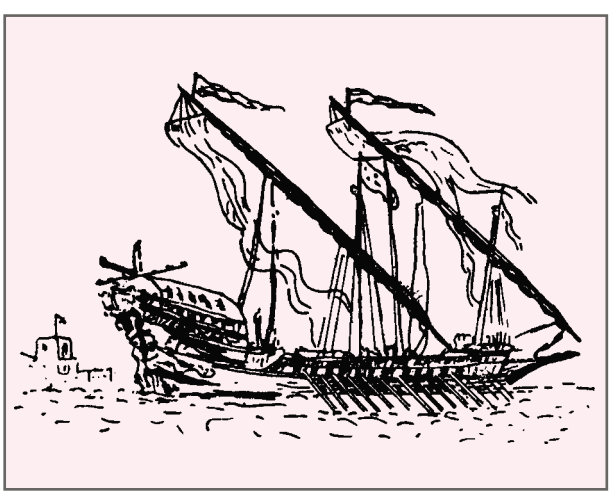
are correct, then China had already built *wugongchuan* before the events of 1521/1522. This is interesting because the term *folangji* – for cannon – also occurs prior to that date, as may be gathered, for example, from the material quoted in the Needham collection.[32] Obviously both expressions *folangji* and *wugongchuan* were in use earlier, possibly even before China was in direct touch with the Portuguese, via Melaka or through other channels.

Supporting evidence may come again from the *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* and related sources: The *wugongchuan*, it is reported there, originated from the "southeastern barbarians", in contrast, for example, to what we had learned from the *Qiantai wozuan*. The term "southeastern barbarians" is of course vague. It can refer to the Portuguese, but it can also stand for some other nation, or place, especially in South and Southeast Asia. Indeed, several modern authors thought that the *wugongchuan* came from there. The Portuguese, it was argued, had first encountered similar vessels in the Asian world. They had then installed guns on these ships. The term *wugongchuan* may thus refer to a vessel of Asian origin with Portuguese arms.[33] Whether this term was also in use prior to the conquest of Melaka, for ships without cannon, can no longer be established. If it was only invented after the coming of the Portuguese to Melaka, this must have occurred in the mid 1510s.

Nothing precise is known in regard to the possible Asian or Portuguese "prototypes" of the *wugongchuan*. Ships with sails and oars were common in many places. The *korakora* vessels, for example, which were mainly distributed in the eastern parts of insular Southeast Asia, could be related to the *wugongchuan* in some way, but similar assumptions may also be made with respect to other craft.[34] An examination of the *Lembranças das Cousas da India* (1525) reveals that various vessels with oars were available in Cochin, then under Portuguese control. These were the well-known *galés*, *galeotas*, and so forth. Both types, mostly with two masts, had fifteen to thirty oars on each side and carried guns. Larger vessels – sometimes called *galeacas* – had up to twenty or more pieces of artillery. How often such vessels were employed in the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea remains unclear, but there are references to *galés* in the Southeast Asian context and – even indirectly through Barros – in the context of events in China during the early 1520s.[35]

Finally, since guns of the *folangji* type were often associated with the *wugongchuan* in Chinese texts, the following must also be considered here: initially the name "Folangji" was not exclusively reserved for the Portuguese and this certainly had its implications for the *folangji* guns as well. Indeed, *folang-ji* may have meant something like the "machines of the Franks".[36] These were probably known to the Chinese not through the Portuguese, but through others, for example the Siamese or Malays. Small fire arms and guns were already distributed in Southeast Asia prior to the arrival of the Portuguese and used in local warfare, hence the word *folangji* – for cannon – was perhaps applied to several kinds of guns and only later, after the 1521/1522 incidents, became reserved for Portuguese artillery. By analogy, the term





Two *galés*, both from K. M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India,* Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1988.

wugongchuan was possibly related to native Asian vessels first before it was transferred to Portuguese *galés*.

There is one problem with the above, however: no source tells us of Southeast Asian guns being mounted on Southeast Asian ships similar to the *wugongchuan* type. Hence, the idea of putting cannon on a seagoing vessel could have originated in China herself – independently of external influence. Early in the fifteenth century Zheng He's 郑和 fleets had already carried "fire arms" (*huoqi* 火器) – either guns or other weapons.[37] From a technical point of view, installing cannon on a large ocean junk was "no big deal". Therefore, China was quick in responding to the new military challenge in the 1520s. Trying to copy a foreign *wugongchuan*, no doubt, was no major challenge, in spite of the meagre results mentioned in the Portuguese letter cited above. When Martim Afonso de Melo Coutinho wrote a lengthy report on what had occurred in the early 1520s, he mentioned, among other things, eighty "very large junks… armed with small artillery…", and he also referred to the usage of oars. These vessels, even if carrying small cannon only, could not have been built within one day. Some of them certainly stood in China's own naval tradition, others were perhaps similar to the Portuguese *galé* or the mysterious *wugongchuan*.[38]

Admittedly, the picture presented above is not very sharp. Too many details remain unclear. But on a general level the case of the *wugongchuan* shows that the first few Luso-Chinese encounters in the early sixteenth century set off an interesting discussion in China. In modern terms, this was a case of "technology transfer". The other, more famous and definitely much more important case was that of the *folangji* guns, which became a "hot" topic in Chinese military circles. RC

NOTES

1 For modern Western surveys of China's traditional navies and shipping, see, for example, José Ta-san Din and Francisco F. Olesa Muñido, *El poder naval chino, desde sus orígines hasta la caída de la dinastía Ming (siglos VI a. de J.C. – XVII d. de J.C.)* (Barcelona: Ediciones Ariel, 1965), or Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation in China*. Vol. IV: *Physics and Physical Technology*. Part 3: *Civil Engineering and Nautics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 379 et seq.. Some works refer to the *wugongchuan*, for example, L. Audemard, *Les jonques chinoises*, vol. 1: *Histoire de la jonque* (Rotterdam: Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde and Maritim Museum "Prins Hendrik", 1959), pp. 75-77, or Jacques Dars, *La marine chinoise du Xe siècle au XIVe siècle*, Études d'histoire maritime 11 (Paris: Economica, 1992), p. 107.

2 Li Zhaoxiang (author), Wang Lianggong (ed.), *Longjiang chuanchang zhi*, Ser. Jiangsu difang wenxian congshu (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1999). – Earlier the *LJCCZ* was included in the Xuanlantang congshu xuji collection (volumes 117-119; Nanjing: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1947). – The most important Western work on Li's text is: Hans Lothar Scheuring, *Die Drachenfluß-Werft von Nanking. Das Lung-chiang ch'uan-ch'ang chih, eine Ming-zeitliche Quelle zur Geschichte des chinesischen Schiffbaus*, Ser. Heidelberger Schriften zur Ostasienkunde 9 (Frankfurt: Haag und Herchen, 1987), 417 pages. Scheuring based his study on the Xuanlantang edition.

3 Scheuring, *Drachenfluß-Werft*, pp. 11-13; *LJCCZ*, pp. 275-276; L. Carrington Goodrich and Fang Chaoying, *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644. The Ming Biographical History Project of the Association for Asian Studies*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 804-805.

4 The *Nan chuan ji* is included in the series Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, shibu section, vol. 276 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1996).

5 Scheuring, *Drachenfluß-Werft*, pp. 33-34; *LJCCZ*, j. 1, p. 13. One part of this description, especially the sentences referring to cannon, can also be found in *Nan chuan ji*, j. 1, 83b (p. 779).

6 The Xinjiangkou base is frequently mentioned in the text, see for example, *LJCCZ*, p. 6. Also see Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉 et al., *Ming shi* 明史, 28 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), VIII, j. 92, p. 2268, and other works. – For the measurements: *Nan chuan ji*, 83b (p. 779).

7 Scheuring, *Drachenfluß-Werft*, pp. 66-67, 79; *LJCCZ*, p. 9 of Wang's modern preface, j. 2, pp. 78-79.

8 These ships are described elsewhere in the text; see, for example, Scheuring, *Drachenfluß-Werft*, pp. 53, 66-67, 71. – There are different explanations for the term *liao*. See there p. 65 n. 8, pp. 120-121 n. 4. Scheuring cites various sources.

9 *Nan chuan ji*, 83b (p. 779). This statement also appears, for example, in *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (see below).

10 Zhang Haipeng 张海鹏 et al. (eds.), *Zhong Pu guanxi shi ziliao ji* 中葡关系史资料集, 2 vols. (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1999), I, p. 329; Shen Defu, *Wanli Ye huo bian*, Mingji shiliao jizhen, 5 vols. (Taibei: Weiwen tushu chubanshe, 1976). – For bibliographical information on important Chinese texts related to the period in question, recently James Chin Kong, "A Critical Survey of the Chinese Sources on Early Portuguese Activities in China", in Jorge M. dos Santos Alves (coordinator), *Portugal e a China. Conferências nos Encontros de História Luso-Chinesa* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000), pp. 317-356 (here p. 348). – Several other modern collections of Chinese sources on Luso-Sino issues exist, similar to the one edited by Zhang Haipeng, but these are not listed here.

11 Details, for example, in Roderich Ptak, *Portugal in China. Kurzer Abriß der portugiesisch-chinesischen Beziehungen und der Geschichte Macaus im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert* (Bad Boll: Klemmerberg Verlag, 1980), pp. 25-26. The best and most detailed account is Jin Guoping 金国平, "1521-1522 nian jian Zhong Pu junshi chongtu – 'Xicaowan' shikao" 1521-1522 年间中葡军事冲突 – '西草湾'试考, in his *Xi li dong jian. Zhong Pu zaoqi jiechu zhuixi* 西力东渐. 中葡早期接触追昔, Ser. Haohai congkan (Macao: Fundação Macau, 2000), pp. 1-18. For the general background also see the comprehensive account in Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins. Portugal e a China no*

Século XVI, ser. Orientalia 1 (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000), chapters 9 to 11. For an annotated version of the relevant passages in *Ming shi*, see Zhang Weihua 张惟华, *Ming shi Ouzhou si guo zhuan zhushi* 明史欧洲四国传注释 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 16-21, and Dai Yixuan 戴裔煊, *"Ming shi Folangji zhuan" jianzheng* 明史佛郎机传笺正 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, 1984), pp. 19-25. For other Chinese sources on early Sino-Portuguese clashes, see Zhang Haipeng, *Zhong Pu*, I. pp. 202-208.

12 Zhang Haipeng put a comma between the two: "ship(s), gun(s), etc."

13 See Yan Congjian, *Shuyu zhou zi lu*, Ser. Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), j. 9, p. 233; Zhang Haipeng, *Zhong Pu*, I, pp. 331-332; Paul Pelliot, "Le Hoja et le Sayyid Husain de l'Histoire des Ming", *T'oung Pao* 38 (1948), pp. 107-108 n. 42; Ptak, *Portugal in China*, pp. 26-27; Geoff Wade, "The Portuguese as Represented in Some Chinese Sources of the Ming Dynasty", in Alves, *Portugal e a China*, pp. 271-272. Recently also Kazunori Fukuda, "The Relations between China and Portugal in the Early Sixteenth Century. Some Observations on the *Yue shan cong tan*", *Revista de Cultura* (internat. ed.) 1.1 (2002), pp. 100-105.

14 Obviously the Portuguese were then impressed by China's military power. See, for example, letter by Martin Afonso de Melo Coutinho to the Portuguese king, dated 25 October 1523, published, for example, in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "A coroa portuguesa e a China (1508-1531) – do sonho manuelino ao realismo joanino", in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves (eds.), *Estudos de História do Relacionamento Luso-Chinês, séculos XVI-XIX*, ser. Memória do Oriente 6 (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1996). There, on pp. 76 and 78, we are told the Chinese had strong guns and ships with sails and oars. For a Chinese translation see Jin Guoping, "1521-1522", pp. 3 and 4.

15 *Ming shilu* (Shizong) (Academia Sinica edition), j. 38, fol. 13b (p. 974); Zhang Haipeng, *Zhong Pu*, I, p. 332; Wade, "The Portuguese", p. 294.

16 *Ming shilu* (Shizong), j. 110, fol. 10a (p. 2604); Zhang Haipeng, *Zhong Pu*, I, p. 331.

17 *Ming shilu* (Shizong), j. 154, fol. 7b-8a (pp. 3494-3495); Zhang Haipeng, *Zhong Pu*, I, p. 332; Wade, "The Portuguese", pp. 295-296.

18 *Ming shi*, XXVIII, j. 325, p. 8431; annotated versions in the works by Zhang Weihua and Dai Yixuan, as quoted in n. 11, above. Also see, for example, Jin Guoping, "1521-1522", pp. 15-16.

19 Translation by Donald Ferguson, *Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton, Written in 1534 and 1536....* (rpt. from *Indian Antiquary*; Bombay: Education Society's Steam Press, 1902), pp. 116-117. Also see pp. 66-67 there. Furthermore: Raffaella d'Intino, *Enformação das Cousas da China. Textos do Século XVI* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1989), p. 19; Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Cartas dos Cativos de Cantão: Cristóvão Vieira e Vasco Calvo* (1524?) (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992), p. 38; Pelliot, "Le Hoja", p. 108 n. 42; Jin Guoping, "1521-1522", p. 16 n. 1, and *Zhong Pu guanxi shidi kaozheng* 中葡关系实地考证, ser. Haohai congkan (Macao: Fundação Macau, 2000), p. 159; Zhang Haipeng, *Zhong Pu*, p. 168.

20 For an analysis of the military "propaganda" in the texts, see, for example, Francisco Roque de Oliveira, "A China em três leituras europeias do século XVI. Das notícias de Cantão de 1534 e 1536 ao 'país visitado' em 1590", in *Garcia de Orta, Geografia* 15.2 (1996), especially pp. 22 et seq., and Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, pp. 351-355.

21 See sources cited in n. 19 above and Pelliot, "Le Hoja", p. 108 n. 42, where Dalgado and Yule are quoted. Details in Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 2 vols. (rpt. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), I, p. 428, and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (rpt. Calcutta: Rupa & Co., 1986), pp. 361-363.

22 Needham, *Science*, IV:3, pp. 620-627, especially p. 626 note e.

23 *LJCCZ*, j. 2, p. 79.

24 Scheuring, *Drachenfluß Werft*, for example pp. 75, 76, 191-195.

25 *Nan chuan ji*, 84a-85b (p. 780). Several technical terms can be identified through the tables in Scheuring, *Drachenfluß-Werft*, pp. 56-61, 162-163. But a special Chinese-German-English glossary of the terms in *Nan chuan ji* and *LJCCZ* would have to be established to identify all expressions beyond doubt.

26 Needham, *Science*, IV:3, p. 626 note e; Mao Yuanyi, *Wu bei zhi*, 22 vols. (Taibei: Huashi chubanshe, 1984), II, j. 18, 21a; XXI, j. 117, 5a-b, 12b-13a; Qi Jiguang, *Ji xiao xin shu*, Xuejin taoyuan collection in ser. Baibu congshu jicheng ed., tao 46.14, j. 18, 36.

27 *Ming shi*, VIII, j. 92, p. 2269; Chen Menglei 陈梦雷 et al., *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng*, Rongzheng dian (Zhonghua shuju ed.), ce 749, j. 97, 10a. – On Qi Jiguang's text also: Kai Werhahn-Mees, *Neue Abhandlung über den disziplinierten Dienst von Ch'i Chi-kuang* (Munich: W. und I. M. Salzer, 1977; dissertation).

28 The *Sancai tuhui* is perhaps the best known of these works. See Wang Qi 王圻, *Sancai tuhui*, 6 vols. (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), III, S. 1161. – For Xie Jie's 谢杰 *Qiantai wozuan* see the Xuanlantang congshu xuji edition (vols. 17 and 18; Nanjing: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1947), j. 1, 25b. – Also see, for example, the modern works by Wang Guanzhuo 王冠倬, *Zhongguo guchuan* 中国古船 (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1991), illustrations 206, 248, 272, 285, 315, 339, and same, *Zhongguo guchuan tupu* 中国古船图谱 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2000), pp. 187, illustration 20, pp. 256-257, illustrations 355-359.

29 The text is identical with that found in Hu Zongxian's 胡宗宪 *Chouhai tubian*, ser. Siku quanshu zhenben 5.92-94, 3 vols., here III, j. 13, 17b-18a, and in *Wu bei zhi*, XXI, j. 117, 12b-13a (pp. 4810-4812). The first part of the *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* text is also identical to the one in *Sancai tuhui.*

30 The corresponding passage in *Nan chuan ji* seems to refer to cannon only. See 83b (p. 779) there.

31 Scheuring, *Drachenfluß-Werft*, pp. 49-50; *LJCCZ*, j. 1, p. 28.

32 See, for example, Needham, *Science,* Vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*. Part 7: *Military Technology: The Gunpowder Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 369, et seq., where several sources are cited.

33 Scheuring, *Drachenfluß-Werft*, p. 33 n. 2.

34 For native craft in eastern Indonesia and the Philippines, some with sails and oars, see, for example, references in R. Ptak, "The Northern Trade Route to the Spice Islands: South China Sea – Sulu Zone – North Moluccas (14th to early 16th Century)", *Archipel* 43 (1992), n. 57 and 58.

35 Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (dir.), *Subsídios para a História da Índia Portugueza*, Collecção de Monumentos Inéditos...5, 1st. ser.: História da Ásia (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1868), "Lembranças", pp. 21 et seq. Also see, for example, K. M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India (1497-1600)* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988), pp. 284-288, 313, and documents in Oliveira e Costa, "A coroa portuguesa", p. 70, and Artur Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Insulíndia*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954), pp. 35, 52, 63, 73, 83, furthermore João de Barros, *Terceira Década*, VI.2.

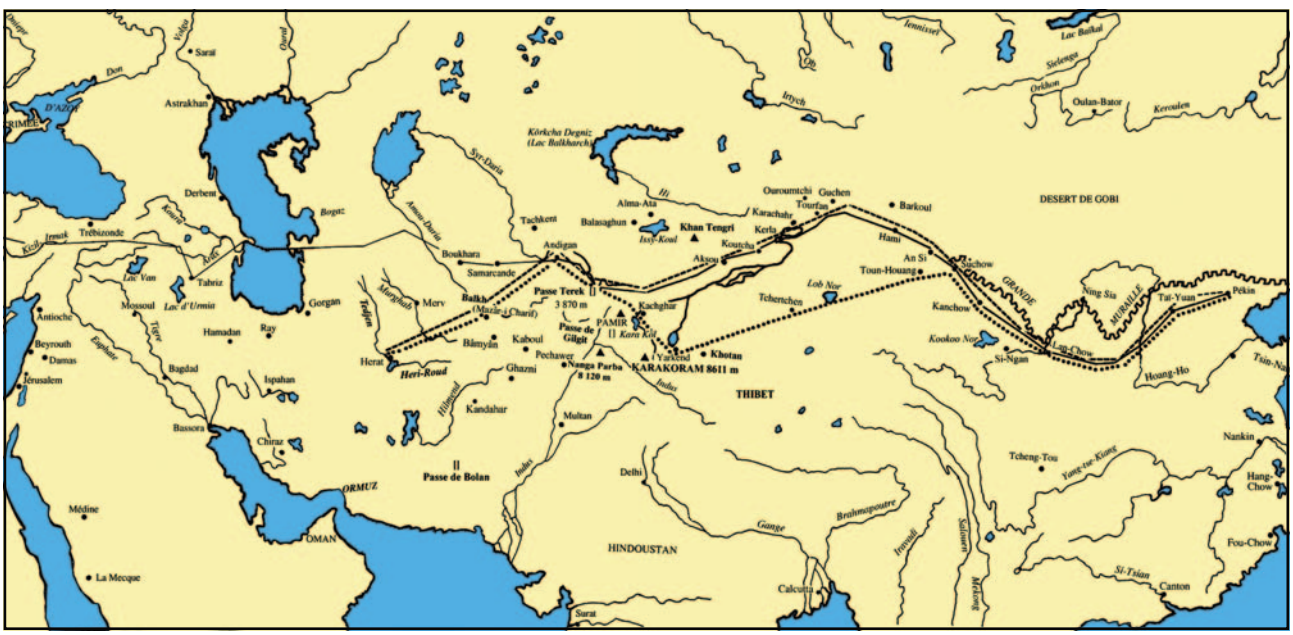
36 Needham, *Science*, V:7, pp. 372-373, and sources there.

37 See, for example, Gong Zhen 鞏珍 (author), Xiang Da 向达 (ed.), *Xiyang fanguo zhi* 西洋番国志, ser. Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), orders p. 10.

38 Oliveira e Costa, "A coroa portuguesa", pp. 76 and 78.

As Raízes Chinesas da Moderna Tecnologia Ocidental

ANA MARIA AMARO*



Rota da Seda. Itinerário de Ghiyâth ed-Dîn de Herat a Pequim, 1420-1421 – – – ida; · · · · · · regresso; itinerário de Khitayi de Constantinopla a Pequim, 1502-1523 ———.

"O bom mestre é aquele que, ao recuperar o antigo, é capaz de encontrar (algo) de novo."

Confúcio, *Analectos*, II, 11

É inegável que as civilizações chinesa e semítico-europeia são duas das mais importantes civilizações a nível mundial.

Contudo, até há pouco tempo, os historiadores e os etnólogos descuraram o estudo das relações entre estas duas macrocivilizações no respeitante à sua contribuição recíproca na dinâmica da cultura a nível ecuménico, nomeadamente no domínio da ciência e da tecnologia.

À medida que nos finais do século XIX / primeiras décadas do século XX começaram a surgir, na Europa, trabalhos de muito mérito acerca das civilizações orientais (sendo de referir, no que respeita à China, os padres Huc, Gervais-Eudore Colomban, Henri Dorée entre outros e os sinólogos Marcel Granet, Edouard Chavannes, Henri Maspero, John Dyer Ball, Parker, Dennys e o próprio Lin Yutang), que revelaram a contribuição das civilizações asiáticas no desenvolvimento da ciência ecuménica, nasceu e desenvolveu-se um verdadeiro movimento eurocêntrico apresentando novas teses que pretendiam defender a originalidade da ciência ocidental, exaltando, de modo por vezes exagerado, o papel dos gregos e defendendo que não só a ciência moderna mas a própria ciência como tal são específica e exclusivamente europeias, e isso desde o seu início.

Para estes autores, defensores da hegemonia científica europeia, a aplicação da Geometria dedutiva

euclidiana, à excepção do movimento planetário, tal como o apresentou Ptolomeu, constituíam, já, a Ciência por excelência e o Renascimento mais não teria feito do que desenvolvê-la. Por outro lado, as ciências não europeias não teriam passado do nível da tecnologia.

Mesmo quando, nos meados do século XX, surgiram novos trabalhos de grande envergadura e credibilidade, como os de Joseph Needham, que demonstravam a partir de fontes incontestáveis a procedência de muitas inovações chinesas e o indesmentível valor da sua ciência como tal, novos nomes surgiam, tais como os dos medievalistas Crombie (1959) e Price (1961) e o do próprio Albert Einstein (1953), por exemplo, que continuavam a defender a hipótese da Ciência ter tido o seu berço na Europa. Einstein chegou a afirmar numa carta datada de 1953, dirigida a J. F. Switer de San Maleo (Califórnia), que "o desenvolvimento da ciência teve por base duas grandes realizações: a criação do sistema lógico-formal (Geometria euclidiana) pelos filósofos gregos e a descoberta de que é possível encontrar relações de causa/efeito através de uma experiência sistemática, ideia que surgiu com o Renascimento e deu origem ao chamado método científico".

É irrefutável que o progresso da ciência foi acelerado pela aparição da dita ciência moderna que se apoia na observação e no método experimental, sendo inegável, também, que esta ciência moderna teve o seu berço na Europa Renascentista. A verdade, porém, é que, para que tal acontecesse, foi preciso que, nessa altura de fervilhante aculturação, as ideias e os conhecimentos vindos do Oriente tivessem sido absorvidos e analisados de acordo com as novas ideias científicas que então surgiam, dando origem ao que ficou conhecido por Revolução Científica com as suas três fases, nas quais a segunda corresponde à Época das Luzes (fins do século XVII – século XVIII).

Se é verdadeiro o aforismo "o camponês chinês usava arado de ferro quando o Ocidente ainda usava arado de madeira, mas continuava a usar o arado de soco em ferro quando no Ocidente se passou a usar o aço" também é verdade que o aço foi conhecido na China quinze séculos antes de ser conhecido na Europa. E não foi só o aço. A fundição do ferro é ainda mais antiga, por invenção do fole hidráulico com que se elevavam as temperaturas dos fornos, permitindo, assim, atingir-se o ponto de fusão daquele metal que, na Europa, era apenas trabalhado pelos processos de forja e têmpera. Além destas, muitas outras inovações precederam, no Celeste Império, a Europa em muitos séculos.

Assim, parece, de facto, pertinente, procurarem-se as razões pelas quais a ciência moderna não se desenvolveu na China, mas sim na Europa.

Alguns autores limitam-se a apresentar o peso da filosofia de Confúcio no pensamento chinês e na sua organização social para explicar um certo estatismo e, assim, a lenta evolução da ciência na China. Mas a verdade é que é na estrutura social chinesa que se deve procurar a explicação para o domínio do confucionismo durante séculos e não o inverso. Além disso, foi do século I ao século XIV, quando a ética confucionista e depois neo-confucionista dominava a sociedade chinesa, que a Ciência e a Tecnologia tiveram, no Império do Meio, os seus pontos altos.

J. Needham (1973) apresentou, para responder a esta questão da aparente paragem na dinâmica cultural da China nos séculos XIV e XV, quatro factores principais:

- de ordem geográfica e histórica
- de ordem social
- de ordem económica
- de ordem filosófica

Do ponto de vista geográfico, a China é um país continental, de economia essencialmente agrícola e não um pequeno continente recortado com abundantes cidades marítimo-comerciais como sempre foi a Europa.

As grandes dimensões do território chinês acentuam a continentalidade das regiões interiores, afectando o regime das chuvas e das cheias resultantes do degelo das altas montanhas da Ásia Central, o que

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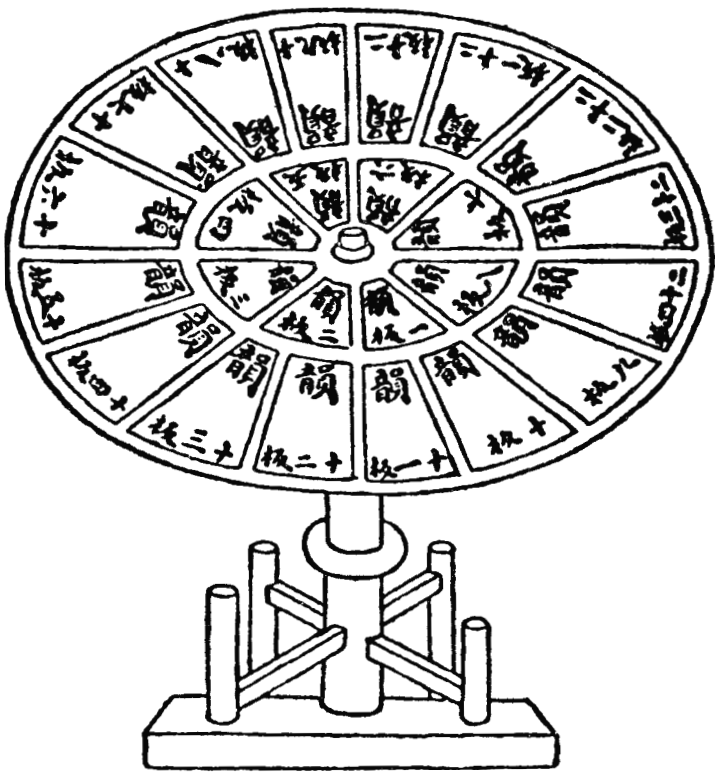


Caixa rotativa para caracteres móveis inventada por Wang Zhen (1271-1368). In *Ancient China's Technology and Science,* Foreign Languages Press, Pequim, 1986.

criou a necessidade precoce do trabalho de irrigação e de construção de diques, no sentido de um muito maior controle dos rios, não só para a sua drenagem mas também para a navegação, o que não foi necessário no Ocidente. Segundo alguns autores, entre eles J. Needham, para estas obras grandiosas era necessária a "burocracia asiática", à sombra de um poder totalitário. Contudo, o que sucedeu foi que este imperativo de irrigação em grande escala veio afectar o próprio feudalismo chinês e acelerar a sua queda, porquanto as grandes obras de engenharia ultrapassavam os limites dos domínios dos pequenos "senhores das terras", nesta altura em que o território chinês estava dividido em pequenos reinos apoiados no prestígio familiar de cada um dos senhorios. Este prestígio, aliás, apoiava-se no número de carros de guerra, de armamento, de peonagem e no relacionamento mais ou menos próximo com a família do rei.

O poder central quando passou a mobilizar e a controlar a mão-de-obra destes grandes empreendimentos sobrepôs-se, em breve, ao poder dos senhores dos pequenos reinos suseranos, o que veio a culminar com a unificação do território pelo imperador dos Qin em 221 a.C. De uma "burocracia feudal" que então dominava política e socialmente o grande Império do Meio, passou-se, assim, para um regime de "burocracia imperial" que assentava em três grandes pilares:

1. uma burocracia muito complexa cuja classe dominante era ocupada pelos funcionários civis recrutados através de exames de dificuldade crescente e que passaram a constituir a primeira das classes sociais, destronando os guerreiros que passaram a ocupar o segundo lugar na rígida hierarquia social de então;
2. um exército forte, bem organizado e bem armado;
3. uma codificação de leis punitivas muito duras.

Aliás, este "Sistema Legal" instituído pelo primeiro imperador dos Qin, é devido à Escola dos Legistas à qual se opunham os confucionistas, que advogavam que "o homem recto" deveria comportar-se de "dentro para fora" como tal e não por coacção de "fora para dentro".

Uma vez codificadas, estas leis foram mandadas gravar numa trípode de bronze para conhecimento de todos, o que, de certo modo, reduzia a arbitrariedade dos

juízos dos magistrados, os quais até aí eram os exclusivos conhecedores da legislação e os seus intérpretes.

Se, por um lado, esta unificação com a criação do Império fez cair o feudalismo, a "burocracia imperial" impediu, como é evidente, a ascensão ao poder da classe mercantil, aliás a última das quatro classes sociais em que a sociedade da China mandarinal estava estruturada. Não se assistiu, assim, na China, à formação de um Terceiro Estado como sucedeu na Europa nem, por isso mesmo, ao aparecimento de um capitalismo mercantil e menos ainda industrial.

Os comerciantes, aliás onerados com pesados impostos e limitados por leis sumptuárias, não desejavam, eles próprios, que os seus filhos os continuassem no ramo comercial, mas sim que estudassem e pudessem ascender aos cargos mais elevados do funcionalismo público e, assim, fazer parte das elites, o que enobreceria, por uma questão de "face"[1] toda a família.

Esta ascensão vertical era perfeitamente possível, porquanto não se pode negar a existência de pensamento democrático entre os chineses, uma vez que qualquer criança inteligente, mesmo pobre, a quem os vizinhos ou elementos da aldeia pagassem os estudos por quotização (pela "face" de ter um magistrado do seu apelido ou, pelo menos, do seu povoado), podia ter uma fácil ascensão social e o acesso a cargos importantes na magistratura chinesa e, daí, na "burocracia imperial". Qualquer um poderia, assim, tornar-se, também, num grande filósofo ou num grande cientista. Era igualmente de natureza democrática a não existência quer de títulos de nobreza quer de senhorios hereditários e, também, a possibilidade de se casarem entre si elementos das quatro classes sociais: letrados, agricultores, artesãos e comerciantes, o que conferia grande fluidez às fronteiras sociais na antiga China.[2]

Aliás, o tipo de democracia associado ao acesso dos comerciantes ao poder, a democracia revolucionária que muitos autores associam à mudança tecnológica na Europa e, enfim, essa democracia de carácter cristão, individualista e representativa que levou às grandes revoluções do Ocidente, e que do Ocidente acabaram por ser levadas para a China já no século XIX, nunca haviam sido ali conhecidas com o mesmo fundo ideológico.

No que respeita à economia, muitos autores apontam o imediatismo da aplicação da Ciência à tecnologia e daí à sua estagnação quando a China se tornou auto-suficiente na sua produção alimentar e artesanal.

O que sucedeu, porém, foi que a Ciência chinesa, eminentemente prática, desenvolveu uma tecnologia especializada no sentido da maximização da economia na utilização dos seus recursos naturais. Primeiro, foram os minérios, com uma técnica de fusão tão elaborada que conseguiu a fundição do ferro e do aço, mercê do uso de moinhos hidráulicos para accionar os foles quinze séculos antes da Europa, como atrás já foi dito. É, também, de notar a utilização precoce do carvão mineral, as "pedras que ardem", a que Marco Polo se referiu com assombro no século XIV.

Em 610 a.C. já havia também, na China, pontes metálicas suspensas por correntes de ferro e a perfuração de poços tinha igualmente atingido elevado grau tecnológico. A utilização da energia hidráulica motivou a descoberta da transmissão por cadeia, da biela e manivelas, e do pistão, mecanismos mais tarde usados nas máquinas a vapor e, ainda, do moinho rotativo (séculos IV-II a.C.).

A mais antiga carta do céu conhecida está pintada numa caixa de madeira lacada encontrada num túmulo na província de Hubei e datado de cerca de 433 a.C.. In *La Chine Ancienne,* Bordas, Paris, 1988.

SINOLOGIA

A utilização da energia dos mares e dos ventos foi também um motor de invenções, tais como o leme de cadaste, o sistema de velas múltiplas e a roda de pás (séculos V-VI), que só apareceu na Europa no século XVI.

A utilização da força animal motivou a criação da coleira de parelha de cavalos, que foi referida na Europa, por um irlandês, no século VIII, mas que já se usava na China nos séculos XV-X a.C.

O carrinho de mão, no século III, e a pólvora, no século IX (primeiro explosivo químico que o mundo conheceu) fazem também parte do património cultural chinês, não falando, para não nos alongarmos por demais, dos conhecimentos no domínio da medicina e da farmacopeia herbalista, da acupunctura e das invenções e descobertas relacionadas com a maior produtividade agrícola.

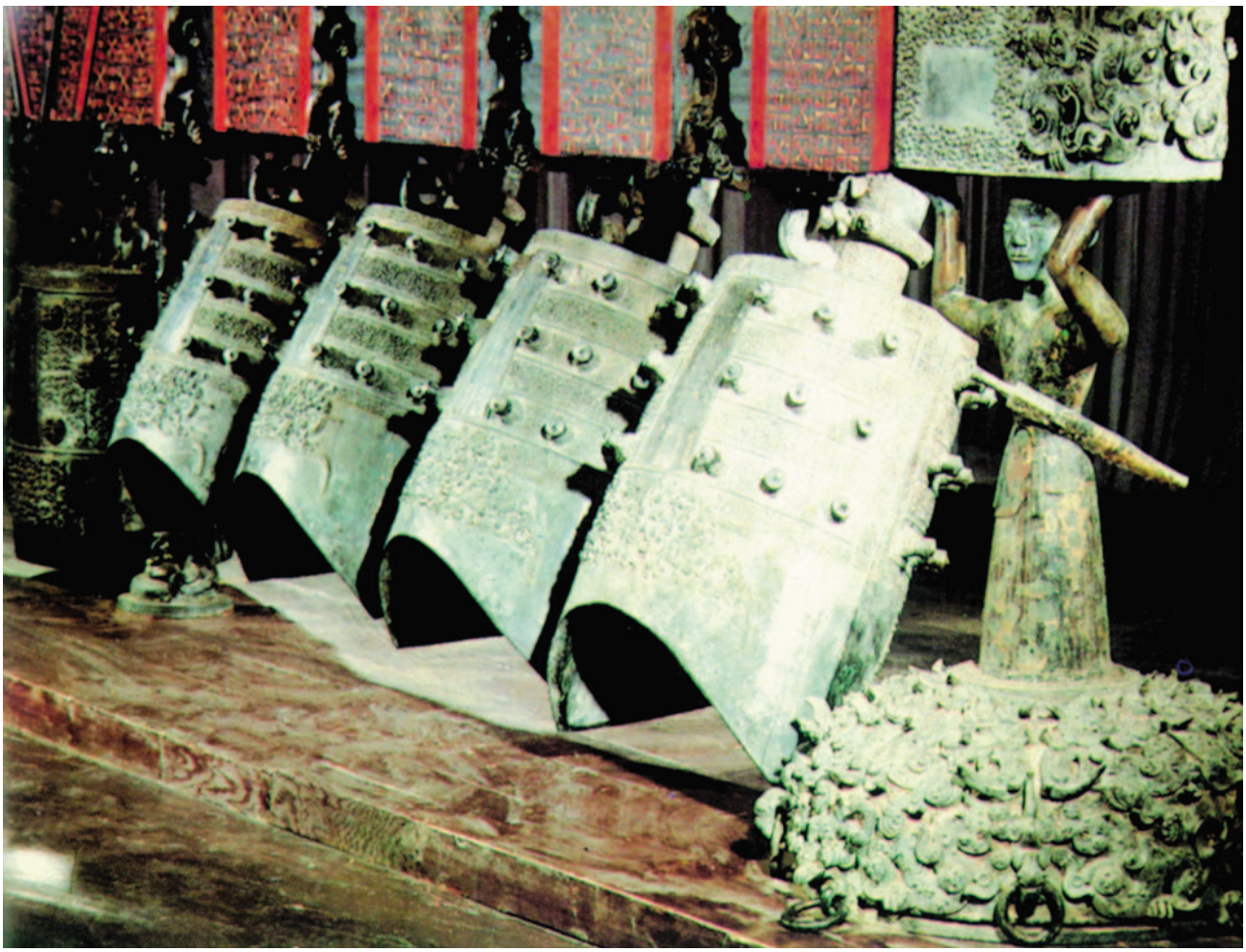
Apresenta-se a seguir uma breve lista cronológica das principais inovações que tiveram o seu berço na China.

No entanto, pode hoje afirmar-se que, para além do imediatismo que é costume apontar às grandes invenções chinesas, o pensamento filosófico e teológico na China foi, como aliás no Ocidente, um dos mais importantes factores da sua dinâmica cultural e em particular da sua Ciência, ciência no sentido actual do termo, e não mera tecnologia.

No que respeita ao pensamento, às raízes filosóficas, das quais a ciência e a técnica são indissociáveis, apesar do pensamento chinês partir de postulados muito diferentes dos ocidentais, a verdade é que, como atrás ficou demonstrado, as suas descobertas científicas e criações técnicas anteciparam de vários séculos as da ciência ocidental.

A filosofia chinesa é na sua essência um "materialismo orgânico" oposto ao "materialismo mecanicista" do pensamento Ocidental. Isto significa que, para os chineses, todos os fenómenos estão inter-

Sécs. XV – X a.C. ..... Coleira de parelha e atrelagem (século VIII na Europa);
(610 a.C.) ..... Pontes metálicas suspensas por correntes de ferro;
Sécs. VII – VI a.C. ..... Soco de charrua em ferro;
Séc. VI a.C. ..... Soco de charrua em ferro, carrilhões em bronze;
Sécs. IV – V a.C. ..... Primeira Lei do Movimento (século XVIII na Europa, Newton);
Séc. IV a.C. ..... Identificação das manchas solares;
Sécs. IV – II a.C. ..... A manivela, o pistão e a biela (importantes na Europa na Revolução Industrial);
Séc. III a.C. ..... Valor muito preciso do número irracional π com cinco decimais (fora calculado até ao 3.º decimal, na Europa, por Arquimedes);
Séc. II a.C. ..... O aço (1856 na Europa);
Séc. II a.C. ..... A suspensão "cardan";
Séc. II a.C. ..... O papel;
Séc. II a.C. ..... Preparação do aço;
Séc. II a.C. ..... Circulação sanguínea (2000 anos antes da Europa);
Séc. I a.C. ..... A correia de transmissão;
Séc. I ..... O leme;
Séc. II ..... Cartografia quantitativa;
Séc. III ..... Carrinho de mão, estribo e porcelana;
Séc. IV ..... Os fósforos, a sombrinha;
Séc. V ..... O processo "Siemens" para o aço (cofusão) (na Europa em 1863);
Séc. V ..... Cálculo do valor de π com dez decimais;
Sécs. V – VI ..... Leme de cadaste, sistema de velas múltiplas e roda de pás (século XVI na Europa);
Séc. VII ..... Pontes de arcos segmentados;
Séc. VIII ..... Relógio mecânico;
Séc. IX ..... Pólvora, bússola de marear, imprensa, papel-moeda, cartas de jogar;
Séc. X ..... Lança-chamas e fogos de artifício;
Séc. X ..... A transmissão por cadeia.



Aspecto de um carrilhão em bronze (65 sinos) do Período dos Reinos Combatentes (475-221 a.C.).

relacionados. Macro e microcosmos são um todo dentro da visão dialéctica da complementaridade dos dois princípios fundamentais, o *yin* e o *yang*, o que implica as noções de acção/reacção, fluxo/refluxo e até a criação do sistema binário que remonta à mais alta antiguidade e se encontra no *Livro das Mutações*, o *I Qing*, que Confúcio compilou. Daí, por exemplo, a descoberta da agulha magnética indicando a direcção do pólo norte e a interpretação do fenómeno das marés por atracção lunar, pelos chineses, o que não poderia ter sucedido então na Europa, onde a ideia de relações de causa-efeito foi muito mais tardia.

Por outro lado, a teoria astronómica das esferas cristalinas da Europa medieval nunca poderia ter sido aceite e muito menos criada pelos astrónomos chineses que admitiam que o Espaço era infinito e fizeram, antes da nossa Era, "cartas do Céu", muito perfeitas, registando eclipses e o aparecimento de cometas como o Haley, registos ainda válidos nos nossos dias.

Ainda de acordo com esta linha de pensamento, as matemáticas chinesas eram de natureza algébrica e não geométrica. Os chineses não tiveram, de facto, o seu Euclides, mas tiveram matemáticos que, do século II ao século XIV, ensinaram o mundo a resolver equações, que criaram, em 1300, o triângulo aritmético de Pascal (cientista europeu que viveu no século XVII), as fracções decimais e a representação de um número, por maior que ele fosse, com nove sinais deixando um espaço em branco correspondente ao zero. A suspensão "cardan" foi também conhecida na China mil anos antes de Cardan ter nascido, para não falar noutras criações no domínio da Álgebra e da Física.

Por outro lado, a Ciência Ocidental considerou durante muito tempo como "único" o modelo

mecanicista seguido pelo próprio Newton e daí o ter privilegiado a geometria descritiva dos gregos. Mas a verdade é que a ciência moderna para atingir o seu ponto alto teve de pôr em causa este esquema cartesiano e mecanicista para encontrar, na Física, a teoria do campo magnético e, na Biologia, a concepção orgânica, afinal duas componentes características do pensamento chinês.

O ponto de viragem no pensamento científico europeu fez-se com o polaco Nicolau Copérnico (1473-1543) e com Galileu (1564-1642) que, nos séculos XVI e XVII, ousaram pôr em causa a ciência do seu tempo. Galileu, aliás, era professor em Pádua, cidade que estava então integrada na República de Veneza, onde chegavam, por via comercial, muitos produtos e, provavelmente, conhecimentos do Oriente. Foi Galileu quem introduziu o método experimental, que o levou à concepção da sua teoria da "queda dos corpos", inspirado no movimento pendular de uma candeia que viu oscilar um dia, quando estava na igreja, e verificou ser regular, por comparação com o ritmo da sua pulsação. A partir daí, dedicou-se à observação e à experiência, bases do método científico dos nossos dias.

Aliás, pode afirmar-se que foi Gottfried Leibniz quem, no século XVII (1646-1716), construiu no Ocidente as ideias do naturalismo organicista e da dialéctica com a implicação das relações de causa-efeito com base no pensamento chinês, pelo qual muito se interessou, e que lhe foi transmitido, principalmente, pelo padre jesuíta Athanasius Kirsher da Missão de Pequim, seu compatriota que integrava o Tribunal das Matemáticas e com o qual mantinha correspondência regular.

Igualmente três dos mais discutidos filósofos dos nossos dias, que beberam as suas ideias em Leibniz, foram Emmanuel Kant (1724-1804), Hegel (1710-1871), e Karl Marx (1818-1883). A dialéctica da "Ideia Absoluta" de Hegel é também muito semelhante à teoria do *yin/yang* dentro das relações trigramáticas do *I Qing*.

Aliás, foi este conceito dialéctico que a esquerda hegeliana aproveitou como chave para a compreensão do processo de evolução natural e da história humana. Kant, inspirado em Leibniz, devolveu o homem à natureza concebendo-o como pessoa livre. Por outro lado, a polémica marxista contra o materialismo mecanicista e a redefinição do conceito de matéria remete, aliás, para a rejeição que Leibniz fizera das ideias do cartesianismo mecanicista de Newton (1642-1727).

Relacionar a tradição chinesa com o materialismo dialéctico não foi ainda resolvido pelo comunismo chinês, apesar da luta de classes e da luta contra as ideias de Confúcio (século VI a.C.).

É inegável, porém, que o materialismo dialéctico deve muito da sua estrutura à tradição filosófica da Escola Confucionista, melhor dizendo talvez, à Escola Neo-Confucionista que surgiu na dinastia Song (século XII) e que defendia ideias organicistas semelhantes às que vieram a surgir na Europa.

Hegel devia à tradição kantiana as suas ideias sobre dialéctica e sobre organicismo e Kant devia muitas das suas ideias a Leibniz. Por sua vez Leibniz tinha afinidades profundas com o Neo-Confucionismo da dinastia Song, tal como ele foi recuperado nos princípios da dinastia Qing ou Manchu e lhe foi transmitido pelos padres jesuítas do Tribunal das Matemáticas da corte de Pequim.

O modelo organicista e as ideias de dialéctica de Leibniz são, pois, devidas à filosofia chinesa, a qual serviu de ponte para a sua introdução no pensamento europeu, tal como hoje se pode afirmar, uma vez estudada a correspondência trocada entre este filósofo

Ilustração moderna do método antigo do fabrico de papel na China. In J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. V-I, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1987.

Ponte de Anji, província de Hebei, construída entre 605 e 607, a mais antiga ponte de arco segmentado do mundo. In *La Chine Ancienne,* Bordas, Paris, 1988.

alemão e o seu conterrâneo padre Athanasius Kirsher.[3] E a verdade é que o impacto destas ideias se fez sentir tanto na filosofia como nas ciências como, ainda, na ideologia política europeias.

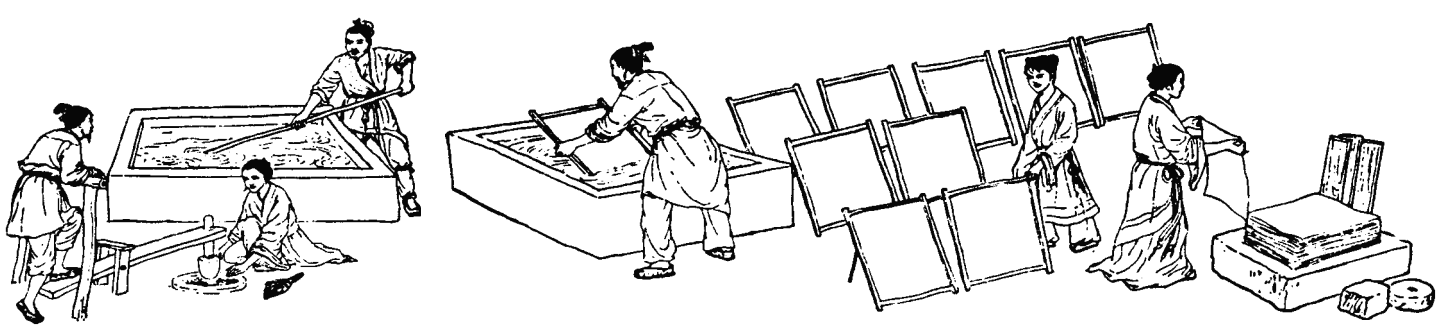
Isto demonstra que os chineses foram capazes de especular sobre a Natureza, tal como os gregos e os outros filósofos ocidentais que lhes sucederam o fizeram e que teriam podido, por isso mesmo, levar a cabo experiências sobre bases empíricas, o que se evidencia nos triunfos da sua tecnologia do seu período medieval. Aliás, não seria arriscado afirmar-se que as inovações dos chineses mudaram o curso da História mundial (J. Needham, 1969). E isto porque sem o papel, sem a imprensa, sem a bússola e sem a pólvora, como teria podido o Ocidente passar do feudalismo ao capitalismo? Na China, o papel existia já no século I, a imprensa no século VIII, evoluindo para a imprensa de tipos móveis no século XI, e o magnetismo já era conhecido desde a Idade dos Metais, quando Shen Kuo, na dinastia Song, utilizou a agulha magnética.

No entanto, a Escola de Confúcio era voltada para o Mundo e não para os deuses. Propunha uma forma de moral social que devia representar a "Via" graças à qual os seres humanos poderiam viver em sociedade, felizes e em harmonia uns com os outros. Os confucionistas interessavam-se pela sociedade humana e por aquilo a que, no Ocidente, é costume chamar-se a Lei Natural. A harmonia entre o homem e a Natureza passaria, pois, por uma conduta que estivesse de acordo com as Leis Naturais, isto é, com a "natureza real" do homem e com a qual ele deveria, portanto, conformar-se.

Para os confucionistas, o comportamento participa da natureza do Sagrado, mas não é Divino e nada tem a ver com divindades, porquanto a noção dum Deus criador não tem utilidade neste sistema. A Natureza, o Homem e a sua estrutura social fazem parte de um Todo.

Os tauistas, pelo contrário, voltavam o seu pensamento para o Cosmos, fora da sociedade humana. A sua noção de Tau era a ordem da Natureza, mas não, simplesmente, a ordem da vida humana, porque a sua acção manifesta-se em todas as ocasiões de uma maneira essencialmente "orgânica". Na medida em que se deixavam integrar mais profundamente pela Natureza, os tauistas desconfiavam da razão e da lógica, pelo que os seus escritos relativos ao Tau são, na sua maioria, herméticos, tendo acabado por cair na Alquimia e na própria magia popular.

Assim, por um lado, o interesse da ética chinesa centrava-se nas relações humanas e na ordem local, ao passo que, por outro, se voltava para a Natureza, mas com acento sobretudo na experiência mística e não num racionalismo sistemático.



Um dos pontos principais a considerar aqui é, pois, o contraste que existia então entre a China e o Ocidente europeu, no que respeita à concepção das leis da Natureza.

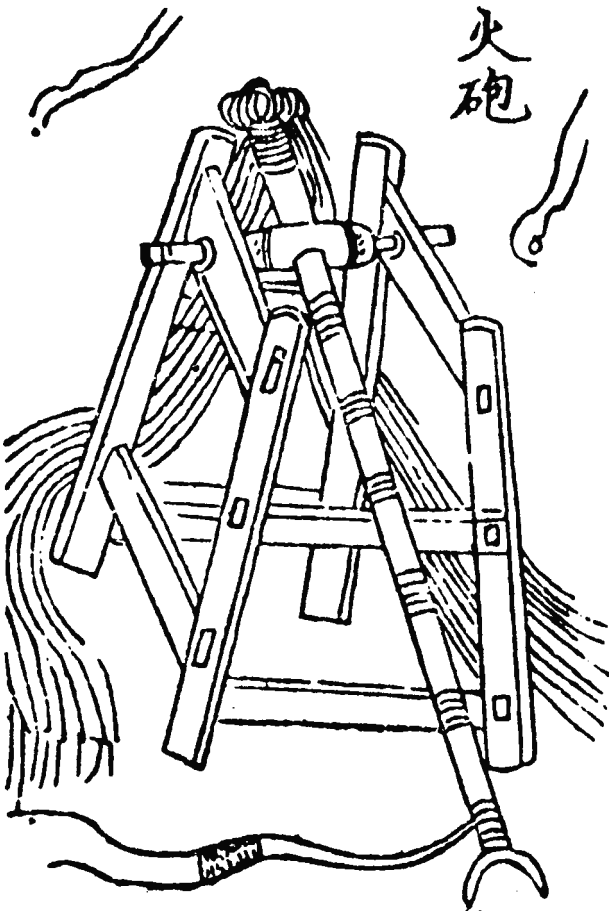
No Ocidente, as "Leis Naturais", no sentido jurídico, e as "Leis da Natureza", no sentido científico, têm uma raiz comum. E isto porque uma das mais antigas concepções da civilização ocidental é a de que os legisladores imperiais terrestres criaram Códigos de leis positivas para que os homens lhes obedecessem, da mesma forma que uma Divindade criadora celeste, suprema e racional, criara uma série de leis pelas quais se regem os minerais, as plantas, os vegetais e os astros nos seus movimentos. Opõem-se, neste ponto, o pensamento individualista da Europa e o pensamento holístico da filosofia chinesa.

Desta hipótese surge, porém, uma nova questão: será válido pensar-se que a concepção das leis da Natureza que prevaleceu na Idade Média europeia sob uma forma *naíve* era necessária ao nascimento da ciência moderna?

Para J. Needham (1964) esta concepção teria sido, senão o único, pelo menos um dos seus principais factores. Daí a impossibilidade de chegarem os chineses à ideia de lei na sua concepção teórica e científica como algo de exterior ao Homem e à Natureza, na qual ele se integrava. Por isso, talvez a ciência moderna tenha surgido na Europa ao mesmo tempo que a China estagnava, não só sob o peso da sua antiga filosofia mas também sob o peso das sucessivas ocupações por mongóis e depois por manchus de etnias muito diferentes da dos *han*.

É de notar, porém, que a mesma concepção de Lei Universal foi apresentada, na Grécia, não tanto pelos pré-socráticos ou peripatéticos, mas principalmente pelos estóicos, cuja teoria de Lei imanente ao mundo envolvendo a natureza não humana tal como o homem, era semelhante à dos chineses. Nos primeiros séculos do Cristianismo, a ideia de uma Divindade Legisladora[4] sobrepôs-se-lhe, porém, por ter sido reforçada por influência do pensamento hebraico. Durante toda a Idade Média, a concepção de uma Lei Divina que abrangia o mundo não humano manteve-se, mas foi durante o Renascimento que esta metáfora começou a ser levada a sério. Para isso, contudo, muito contribuiu, sem dúvida, o pensamento que veio do Oriente e levou os filósofos europeus a repensarem as suas antigas ideias.

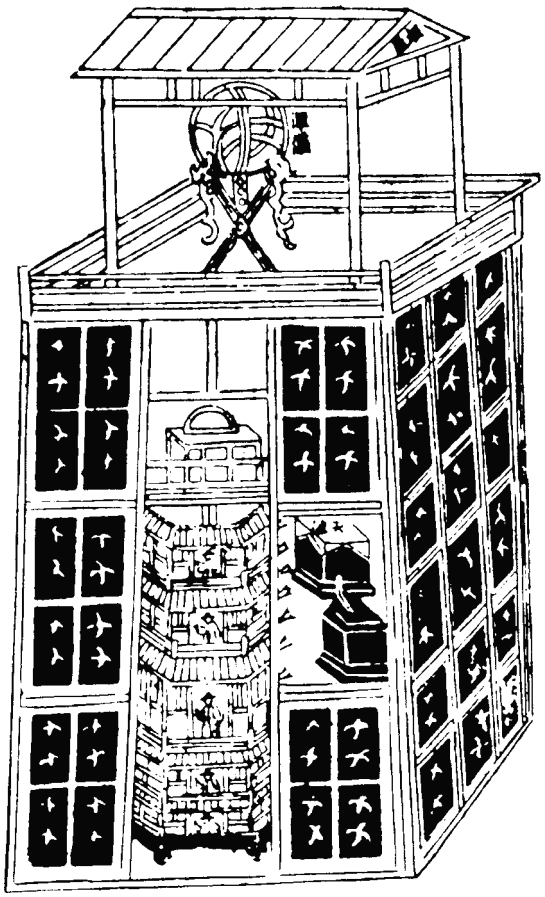
De facto, na China, a concepção do mundo era muito diferente. Para os chineses, a cooperação



Catapulta para arremesso de caixas explosivas (dinastia Song). In *Ancient China's Technology and Science,* Foreign Languages Press, Pequim, 1986.

harmoniosa de todos os seres provinha não de Ordens ou Leis imanentes de uma Autoridade Superior (exterior a esses seres), mas do facto de tudo quanto existe fazer parte de uma "hierarquia de conjuntos" que formavam um modelo cósmico e orgânico, não obedecendo, assim, senão às ordens (interiores) das suas próprias naturezas.

Esta concepção não resultava somente do antigo pensamento filosófico do equilíbrio entre micro e macrocosmos, estruturados de uma mesma forma, mas também de uma certa reserva contra as próprias Leis, herança da Escola dos Legistas e da tirania a que esta deu origem no período de transição entre o que se considera o período feudal e o regime burocrático. Assim, a ideia de Lei nunca poderia ser transformada numa concepção teórica das Leis da Natureza. Depois de instalado este regime burocrático, as velhas concepções de Lei Natural revelaram-se mais



Relógio astronómico de Su Song construído em Kai Feng, c. 1090. In J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. III, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1970.

apropriadas à própria sociedade chinesa. E foi assim que estes rudimentos de Lei ou Ordem Natural tiveram, na China, uma importância muito maior do que na sociedade europeia.

Quanto às leis, tal como eram concebidas relativamente à regulamentação do comportamento social, ou melhor, como garantes do conteúdo humano e ético, nunca poderiam estender-se como tais à ordem natural extra-humana porque o Legismo foi, de facto, apenas uma codificação de normas ditadas por homens para os homens.

Finalmente, as concepções diferentes de um Ser Supremo, que existiam nos primórdios da civilização chinesa, despersonalizaram-se, gradualmente, na China, bem como a ideia de "Potência Criadora." Daí as normas ditadas por um Legislador Celeste, o "Senhor do Alto", não poderem abranger algo extrínseco à humanidade. E isto porque a hierarquização do Alto, o mundo das divindades e dos *San*, os espíritos dos Antepassados, eram uma réplica da hierarquização social terrena, ou, melhor, era esta que reflectia aquela em perfeita equivalência.

Outros autores há ainda que apontam como freio à evolução científica e tecnológica, na China, a sua linguagem escrita ideográfica, barreira difícil de ultrapassar. Este factor, que não se afigura extremamente importante para J. Needham (1974) tem sido sobrestimado por vários outros historiadores e sinólogos ocidentais. Mas a verdade é que existem hoje glossários de termos técnicos e científicos, redigidos em língua chinesa, sem aparente dificuldade de expressão. "De facto, a língua chinesa clássica é capaz de formulações epigramáticas, duma pureza extraordinária, que convêm perfeitamente à expressão dum pensamento filosófico extremamente elaborado." (J. Needham, 1974)

É de notar também que um dos aspectos mais notáveis da sociedade da China Imperial era, de facto, a posição social dos seus técnicos e intelectuais, que ocupavam os mais elevados estratos e constituíam as elites do Império.

A Ciência, tanto pura como aplicada, tinha, então, um carácter relativamente oficial. Muito cedo o astrónomo já emancipado da Astrologia não era um cidadão à margem das convenções do seu tempo, como se admite que tenha sucedido nas Cidades--Estado gregas, mas, outrossim, um funcionário que, por vezes, estava alojado no próprio palácio imperial, pertencendo a um Gabinete que fazia parte integrante do serviço civil. Num nível intelectual um pouco inferior, situavam-se os artesãos e os engenheiros, igualmente membros da burocracia e isto porque, em quase todas as dinastias, funcionaram oficinas e arsenais imperiais organizados e também porque, em certas épocas, pelo menos, os seus misteres, que exigiam as técnicas mais avançadas, estavam "estatizados", tal como sucedeu desde a dinastia Han (século III a.C. – século III d.C.) com o ferro e com o sal.

A partir daí surgiu também, na China, entre os técnicos, uma acentuada tendência para se agruparem em torno dum alto funcionário que os encorajava, apoiava e controlava, à maneira das antigas corporações de artífices medievais europeus.

Como seria de esperar, a perícia técnica dos chineses em breve se difundiu por toda a Ásia Interior,

havendo notícia de metalúrgicos chineses e perfuradores de poços trabalhando na Parthia (berço do império Partha entre o mar Cáspio e o rio Indo), na Ferghana (na bacia do Syr-Daria), no século II e, também, de tecelões e fabricantes de papel chinês, no século VIII, em Samarcanda.

Um pouco por todo o lado eram solicitados os técnicos chineses. Por exemplo, quando, em 1126, da nossa era, os tártaros da dinastia Jin cercaram Kaifeng, a capital da dinastia Song, foram aprisionados e levados como reféns todos os artesãos chineses que ali trabalhavam. Aliás, até muito mais tarde continuaram estes técnicos chineses a ser famosos e desejados pelos países estrangeiros. Em 1675, foi enviado à China um embaixador russo, em missão diplomática, para pedir oficialmente que construtores de pontes do Império do Meio fossem enviados à Rússia para ali trabalharem. É que desde muito cedo as pontes suspensas por correntes metálicas e as pontes de arcos segmentados foram construídas na China com inigualável perfeição.

Na história da China não se assistiu nunca, no decurso da sua evolução social, a nenhuma transformação importante que se possa comparar com o Renascimento Europeu e com o consequente nascimento da "Revolução Científica" (a que alguns autores chamam revolução Galilénica), que se verificou no Ocidente a partir do século XV. Para J. Needham (1974) "se na China tivessem ocorrido acontecimentos semelhantes aos que a Europa conheceu, a China teria conhecido igualmente um comparável progresso científico".

Os "renascimentos" Tang (século VI-IX) e Ming (1368-1646), de que alguns historiadores falam em relação à história cultural da China, não afectaram nem a sua estrutura social nem as suas técnicas tradicionais que continuavam a responder às necessidades de cada uma destas épocas. Estes "renascimentos" não tiveram, pois, as dimensões do europeu porque consistiram, fundamentalmente, na recuperação dos valores tradicionais da etnia *han*, ocorrendo no âmbito intelectual, e principalmente artístico, como resultante da redescoberta dos antigos livros e cânones clássicos. Durante os Tang foi também a influência dos contactos culturais com outros países que teve o maior peso no incremento cultural e no próprio progresso das ciências, para além das Artes, nomeadamente por influência dominante do Budismo e da entrada de muitas inovações do Ocidente. Na dinastia Ming, o novo "renascimento" foi quase como um "renascer das cinzas", tal como a mítica fénix do Ocidente, consistindo, essencialmente, numa nova emergência da cultura *han*, de certo modo adormecida depois de longos anos de domínio mongol.

As diferenças são, assim, tão profundas que, ao falar-se do primeiro e segundo "Renascimento" na China, não é possível apontar quaisquer semelhanças com o europeu, a não ser no que respeita à recuperação das obras clássicas dos gregos pela cultura de uma Europa, também culturalmente adormecida pelo longo período medieval.

A economia chinesa que esteve, aliás, igualmente subjacente a toda a sua dinâmica tecnológica, como atrás foi dito, desenvolveu-se, como seria de esperar, em paralelo com a expansão do Império para o Ocidente.

De facto, os contactos da China com o Ocidente foram muito precoces mercê das ideias expansionistas dos imperadores dos *han* e dos exploradores que a

Modelo de barco em terracota da dinastia Han (206 a.C.-220) encontrado num túmulo na província de Guangdong, prova da invenção do leme.

Europa enviou, também, para conhecer a Terra e provavelmente novos mercados, para não falar no zelo missionário de muitos religiosos, que se aventuraram pelos difíceis caminhos da Ásia Interior.

A Europa sentiu-se, de facto, sempre muito limitada dentro das suas fronteiras e, por isso, desde muito cedo mandou os seus exploradores em todas as direcções para conhecer o que além delas se passava. Alexandre chegou à Bactria no século IV a.C., vários exploradores penetraram na Ásia nos séculos XII e XIII, Marco Polo chegou ao Cataio no século XIV e os portugueses ao oceano Índico no século XV. E se mais directos e mais antigos não foram os contactos entre a China e as civilizações mediterrânicas foi porque os Parthas, que desejavam manter o monopólio do comércio da seda, a tal obstaram.

No outro extremo da Eurásia, a população chinesa, no seu imenso território, bastava-se a si própria, não pedindo senão muito pouco ou mesmo nada ao seu exterior.

As explorações que tinham sido feitas além-fronteiras tinham por objectivo recolher notícias acerca dos seus vizinhos, potenciais inimigos, e a procura de mercados de produtos exóticos. Estas explorações datam da mais remota antiguidade e satisfizeram, durante muito tempo, a curiosidade dos chineses.

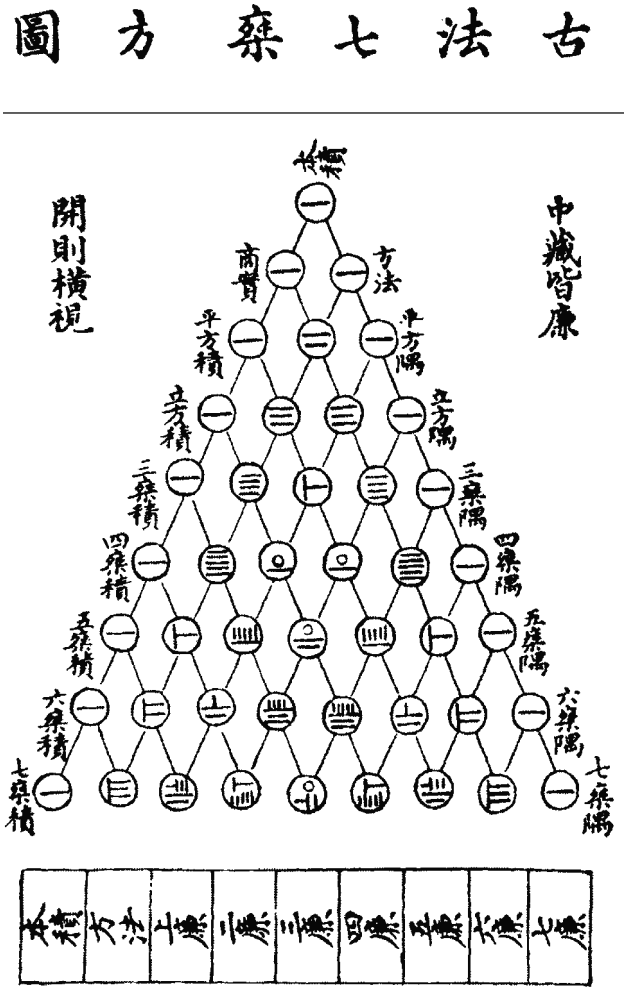
Por seu turno, a Europa, retalhada em diferentes países que se digladiavam e obedecendo ao seu desejo expansionista, foi, mais do que nenhum outro, um "espaço ecuménico", um cadinho de culturas, um espaço transcultural por excelência.

Sabe-se actualmente que a China nunca esteve isolada como muitos supõem e não restam dúvidas de que a troca de conhecimentos através de frequentes contactos culturais foi o maior dinamizador cultural dos dois extremos ocidental e oriental da Eurásia.

Desde as migrações pré-históricas que a Eurásia conheceu até às migrações mais recentes que a História registou, o movimento das populações na Eurásia foi sempre uma constante. E daí uma etnogenese muito dinâmica e muito rica, até há poucos anos praticamente ignorada, dos povos, na sua maioria nómadas, que ocupavam o grande "corredor" da Ásia Central.

Aliás, as próprias origens que os autores chineses hoje apresentam em relação à sua própria etnia *han*, são interculturais. Em tempos muito recuados, há cerca de 6000-7000 anos, duas culturas já em fase neolítica avançada ter-se-ão encontrado na bacia do rio Amarelo. A cultura de *Yang Chau*, cujo emblema era uma flor, e a cultura de *Hong San*, cujo emblema era um dragão. Estes primeiros núcleos que deram origem à espantosa civilização dos *han* não se situavam, porém, na bacia do rio Amarelo mas sim próximo da Mongólia Interior e no planalto a montante, regiões que sofreram variações paleo-climáticas importantes, desde o povoamento das grutas de Zhougoudian, há cerca de 750.000 anos pelo *homo erectus pekinensis*.

Depois de fundados vários reinos que, ao longo da Idade do Bronze, surgiram na bacia fértil do rio Amarelo, como resultado de prolongadas guerras, o território foi pela primeira vez unificado, no século III a.C., pelo reino de Qin, reino que se apoiava na férrea



O triângulo de Pascal em *Siyuan Yujian* (Espelho de Jade dos Quatro Princípios), 1303, tratado de álgebra de Zhu Shijie. In J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. III, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1970.

doutrina dos Legistas, como atrás se disse. Logo a seguir, depois da queda dos Qin surgiu a fulgurante dinastia Han (século III a.C. – século III d.C.), com a qual se iniciou a expansão do território para Sul e para o Ocidente.

Na Ásia Interior viviam, então, várias tribos "bárbaras" de pastores nómadas, nomeadamente os *ioungnou* (hunos?), os *wushu*, os *qitan* e os *citas*, e foi com estas tribos que os *han* tiveram de travar sucessivas batalhas às quais se sobrepôs activa diplomacia, principalmente por meio de tratados que eram selados pela oferta de sedas e brocados e de princesas de sangue para esposas.

Foi assim que teve início, na dinastia Han, a famosa Rota da Seda que foi a mais importante estrada intercultural que ligou o Oriente ao Ocidente.

De facto, as Rotas da Seda do Norte e do Sudeste e depois a Rota do Chá em direcção à Rússia, ligaram, durante muitos séculos, a China às províncias do Ocidente e às grandes civilizações do Mediterrâneo. E foi assim que a China passou a ser conhecida na Europa por *Sina* devido ao mais desejado e secreto produto que vendia: a seda.

Durante a dinastia Tang (618-907) esta rota conheceu o apogeu do seu esplendor, o que os mais diversos estudos arqueológicos testemunham.

Por ali entrou o Budismo na China e entraram depois os mercadores dos mais variados pontos da Ásia, da Europa e até da África, com os mais diversos artigos e muitos traços das suas respectivas culturas.[5]

Esta rota manteve-se activa até ao século XVIII, atravessando a famosa dinastia Ming, altura em que se desenvolveu a arte da navegação marítima na China, que já vinha, aliás, da dinastia Han, nascida da arte de navegar costeira e fluvial, relacionada com os grandes inventos e descobertas que se haviam incentivado logo nos primeiros séculos da sua unificação.

Um dos principais motivos apontados para justificar o encerramento das Rotas da Seda e do Chá, é, precisamente, o incremento do comércio marítimo pelos chineses, que foram encontrar, em Malaca, os primeiros navegadores, da Europa, que dobraram o Cabo da Boa Esperança em sentido contrário ao das rotas do famoso navegador chinês Zheng He.

Na sequência desse comércio marítimo, e com a fundação da Companhia Inglesa das Indias Orientais, no século XVIII, o arriscado comércio de caravanas pela Ásia Interior, de que Marco Polo, a par de alguns eclesiásticos, deram notícia, foi, a pouco e pouco declinando.

Os chineses levavam nos seus barcos sedas, porcelanas e outros artigos que ofereciam às populações dos reinos costeiros com os quais contactavam para firmar alianças, usando a diplomacia. Os portugueses queriam comerciar, queriam especiarias, ouro, pedras preciosas e usavam as armas para as conquistar se necessário. Foi desse encontro de duas frotas com políticas e objectivos diferentes, a chinesa e a portuguesa, que o comércio da China se adaptou a novas formas e se fundou a feitoria de Macau.

Conhecidos na Europa o pensamento e a tecnologia chineses e aplicados de acordo com o novo rumo que a Ciência ali conhecera com Euclides, com Galileu e, depois, com Leibniz e com a Escola de Iena, a dinâmica cultural da Europa rapidamente chegou às tecnologias de ponta que hoje lhe conhecemos e de que tanto, eurocentricamente, se orgulha.

De facto, pode hoje dizer-se, libertos dum eurocentrismo sem razão, que todos os povos do Velho Mundo contribuíram para a Ciência ecuménica dos nossos dias, baseada na filosofia experimental do Ocidente, que emergiu no século XVII a partir dos trabalhos de Galileu, quando a Europa ultrapassou o pensamento científico próprio do que fora criado pela filosofia natural organicista chinesa, para chegar aos progressos gigantescos alcançados nos séculos XIX e XX.

Contudo, não poderemos esquecer a contribuição inestimável que o pensamento científico chinês e as numerosas inovações que caracterizam a sua evolução cultural tiveram na dinâmica da cultura do Ocidente, nomeadamente na ciência e na tecnologia, não se podendo, por isso mesmo, apartá-lo das fontes originais da Ciência dos nossos dias.

Um provérbio chinês diz que "todos os rios começam por um pequeno fio de água" e um outro, que no Ocidente também é conhecido, afirma que "todos os rios correm para o mar". E esse mar é, para J. Needham, o cadinho onde se gerou a Ciência ecuménica actual.

Esses rios vieram de toda a Eurásia. Não só da China mas também da Índia, da Indochina, e muitos outros foram padronizados pelo mundo árabe e trazidos na altura da sua expansão até ao Atlântico. Daí, a não-razão do eurocentrismo europeu, relativamente à criação da ciência como tal.

Toda a ciência, assim como toda a tecnologia e todas as ideias dela decorrentes foram o resultado do grande princípio universal do "dom e da reciprocidade" que Marcel Mauss tão bem descreveu.[6] E neste caso o dom foi em "prestações parciais" com "retorno", retorno que a China conheceu apenas nos finais do século XIX com a sua incipiente revolução industrial e concomitantes ideias revolucionárias de natureza social e política, que culminaram com a implantação do Maoismo em 1949.

E, afinal, Mao Zedong, que tão acérrima crítica fez às ideias de Confúcio e que se inspirou em Kant, Hegel e Marx para alcançar o poder e lançar as bases da sua doutrina comunista, estava, sem o saber, a beber na fonte da sua própria cultura. RC

NOTAS

1 Conceito que ultrapassa o de honra, vergonha ou prestígio pois tem raízes muito antigas de natureza mística.

2 Exceptuavam-se, porém, os indivíduos "sem classe" e os seus filhos: mulheres dos "andares floridos" ou dos "barcos das flores", barbeiros, população marítima e comediantes.

3 Fred Gillete Strum, "Leibniz, Jesuítas, *Yi Jing*: O impacto da China no pensamento moderno europeu", in *Revista de Cultura*, n.° 27/28, Instituto Cultural de Macau, Macau, 1996.

4 No entanto, é de notar que a representação de um Legislador Celeste, "regente" dos fenómenos naturais não humanos, é originária da Babilónia, onde o Deus-Sol Marduk era representado como o "Legislador dos Astros".

5 O Budismo, ao que hoje se crê, entrou na China por terra e também por via marítima (Irene Rodrigues, "A Introdução do Budismo na China" in *Estudos sobre a China*, I, ISCSP, Lisboa, 1999, pp. 257-267.

6 Marcel Mauss, *L' Essai sur le don*.

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The modern and sophisticated façade of the Macao Museum of Art (MAM). Photo by MAM.

City of Museums
Reflections on Exhibiting Macao

CATHRYN HOPE CLAYTON*

INTRODUCTION

Over the centuries, Macao has been known by many names—City in the Name of God, City of Churches, City of Casinos; Lotus City, City of Culture, City of Commerce, even City of Sin. In the years just prior to the handover, however, as one of the participants in this study noted, it was rapidly becoming a "City of Museums." Between 1993 and 1999, no fewer than six new museums were opened in Macao. When the Macao Museum was inaugurated amidst much fanfare on April 18, 1998, chaos reigned in the museum lobby as some 25,000 visitors jammed the halls waiting to get in. Watching these developments while doing ethnographic research on the question of collective identity and political transition in Macao, I began to ask myself what was the significance of this "museum fever" that seemed to have the city in its grip. And the longer I watched, the more I became convinced that the process of finding an answer to this question would reveal a great deal about how the government and residents of Macao viewed their past and as well as their future, and how those views had changed over time. An examination of the social and historical contexts of Macao's "museum fever" will reflect the changing concerns of a society in transition, and reveal some surprising continuities.

THE MUSEUM: SOME DEFINITIONS

The present inquiry into the history and development of museums in Macao is another point of entry into the discussion of a single basic question that drove many anthropological and sociological studies: "How do intellectual, artistic, and material productions enter into a society's construction of an image of itself, the development of. . . a 'collective self-consciousness'?" (Ames 1992:111). Answering this question involves examining how a society conceptualizes and publicly represents itself, its past, its culture, and its relationship to others. This is a twofold task: it involves analyzing not only the content, but also the form of any society's representation of itself. The museum is one such form.

A museum is a unique phenomenon: it is as much a philosophy as it is a space; a form of entertainment as much as of education; and a site of social, ideological, and cultural production and reproduction. But how can we define a museum? What makes the museum different from other ways of (or places for) publicly displaying material artefacts, such as galleries, monuments, parks, salons, private collections, exhibitions, fairs and so on? Because I argue that certain social and political changes are reflected in the changing role of museums and museumification in particular, it is necessary to clarify what it is that makes museums unique.

The Museums Association provides the following definition: "a museum is an institution which collects, documents, preserves, exhibits and interprets material evidence and associated information for the public benefit" (Pearce 1992:4). The four key terms here are:

- the *collection*—an ensemble of material artefacts, no matter how many or few, that have been

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MAM gallery. Photo by MAM.

deemed valuable in some sense (economically, socially, artistically, historically, or in any other sense);

- the *institution*—comprised of buildings, staff members, visitors, budgets, guidelines, and an entire more-or-less permanent apparatus that exists independently of individual efforts or interests;
- the *interpretation*—the idea that the museum, by juxtaposing certain objects or providing verbal exposition on how visitors should understand the displays, is engaged in the conscious creation of meaning; and finally,
- the *public*—the fact that the modern museum, even if it is privately-owned, is generally obliged to be open to the public and is often understood to fulfil some kind of educational function, broadly defined.[1]

But Pearce adds that the "most crucial" aspect of the museum is the existence of "a cultural perspective which underwrites the whole and upon which, in turn, museums themselves exercise some influence" (Pearce 1992:3). Certain aspects of this "cultural perspective"—such as the very idea that a culture or set of cultural practices can be represented and understood through inert material objects—are fundamental assumptions behind the practice of museum exhibiting, and are common to all museums. Other aspects—for example, which objects are considered worthy of exhibiting, and how these objects are interpreted for the audience—are different in different sociocultural settings. This last point is crucial, for the creation and institutionalization of public meaning is not something that happens the same way, for the same reasons, and with the same results all over the world. It is the realization of this last point that has led social scientists to make the museum itself an object of study: "Museums are representations of the societies in which they are situated. The are repositories of culture, machines for recontextualization, and platforms for the creation and promotion of cultural heritage… By studying museums in their social and historical settings, we can study the making of culture in its concrete reality" (Ames 1992: 47). Thus defined, it becomes clear why a study of Macao's museums and its "museum fever," in their social and historical settings, would be a particularly fruitful way of addressing the larger issue of identity, culture and history which took on such prominence during the transition era (1987-1999).[2]

THE HISTORY OF THE MUSEUM

The concept of the museum—the idea that material cultural artefacts can and should be put on public display, and that this display can and should be "consumed" by spectators as a form of educational entertainment—may seem quite deep-rooted to many inhabitants of the late twentieth century world. But in

fact this concept, as well as most of the world's modern museums, is rooted in the specific historical conditions of nineteenth-century colonial Europe. In order to understand how museums have changed over the past century, and more specifically to understand what these changes might mean for museums in late twentieth-century Macao, it is necessary first to provide some background into the social and political contexts that gave rise to the popularity of the museum institution in Europe. The rise of this institution—especially, but not solely, the ethnographic museum—is inextricably linked to the history of European colonialism, the rise of capitalism, the emergence of the bourgeoisie and the expansion of the modern state: four aspects of European history that are themselves inextricably intertwined. A closer look of each of these four aspects will allow us to critically evaluate the changes museum practices and institutions over time, as well as the differences and similarities between museums in Macao and elsewhere.

A. Museums and Colonialism

Museums, like the discipline of anthropology itself, are generally understood to have gained real widespread legitimacy during the same period that European states reached the prime of their expansion into far-flung colonial empires. This, as the reader may have guessed, is no coincidence. The collection and display of artefacts (be they cultural, historical, biological, botanical, etc.) is, among other things, a form of control and classification of knowledge; and knowledge, as the saying goes, is power. In order for a minority of Europeans to govern large territories and populations that they knew nothing about, the colonial state had to study as much as possible about the peoples and cultures they were ruling. Colonial administrators were in a position to be able to do this and, in fact, to be *compelled* to do this, and they used a variety of people, tools, and techniques to accomplish this vast task of governance. But the although collection and study of artefacts by colonial scientists did contribute a great deal to the advancement of the social and natural sciences, this process did not lead to a simple, transparent understanding of how the societies under their rule "really worked." Rather, they often led colonials to feel confident about making generalized statements—sometimes wildly inaccurate—about how they understood these societies to work. As Benedict Anderson observes, the census, the map, and the museum were three key methods that colonial governments devised and refined: "together, [the census, the map, and the museum] profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion—the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry" (Anderson 1983: 164).

But these techniques shaped not only the way the colonial state imagined its dominion; they also

shaped the way Europeans and Americans "back home" imagined their empire, the peoples they governed, and hence their own position in the world (see Coombes 1994). The vast amounts of knowledge collected in the colonies, in the form of artefacts such as ritual objects, artwork, and even human "specimens," were sent back to be analyzed, interpreted, and displayed for the consumption, edification and entertainment of the European and American bourgeoisie. These artefacts profoundly shaped the perceptions of the modern West.

B. Museums and the Rise of Capitalism

According to Susan Pearce, "it is no accident that modern museums began at more or less the same moment that modern capitalism began to get under way" (Pearce 1992:238). The origins of museums in the West have an ambiguous relationship with the capitalist economic systems in which they emerged. This relationship is particularly relevant to Macao in two aspects:

i. the circulation of commodities and the determination of value

It may seem obvious to note that objects in museums are not commodities: that is, although they may have been purchased, they are virtually never for sale. Indeed, this is one characteristic that distinguishes art museums from art galleries. However, when we are discussing the production of meaning in and by a museum, this simple fact is of crucial importance. A capitalist economy is dominated by the logic of the commodity, which has been defined as an object whose "exchangeability for some other thing is its socially relevant feature" (Appadurai in Pearce 1992). In an environment in which social relations are structured in terms of the possession and exchange of material objects, the museum holds itself aloof from the "normal" commodity relationship by insisting that certain objects have socially relevant features that preclude their being exchanged for other objects: "The deliberate detachment of collections from commodity-hood and their elevation into sacred objects above and beyond the normal workings of the commodity market is one of the things which curators usually feel most strongly about, and is at the heart of impassioned debates about the sale of museum material" (Pearce 1992:236). At the same time, however, by implying that the world can be known and appreciated through a collection of its objects, museums reinforce one assumption that underlies the commodity logic: that "things" are of paramount importance.

ii. the position of museums in capitalist societies

Just as the museum institution holds an ambivalent position vis-à-vis commodity economies, so too does it fill an ambivalent and changing role in relation to the capitalist societies in which they first emerged. The museum institution grew out of the European tradition of private collections, whereby wealthy or powerful individuals or families (often nobility) would maintain a collection of valuable artwork, objects seized during overseas exploits, or gifts from abroad, as a demonstration of their superior taste, adventurous spirit, or VIP status. Such collections were usually open by invitation only, and were maintained financially by the families as a form of prestige. Over the years, such collections were gradually made more public: many were acquired by the state; others were run by private or philanthropic foundations (for instance, the Rockefeller Foundation in the US or the Gulbenkian Foundation in Portugal) that still had links to the original family, but with a decidedly public, educational function.

As Robert Hewison notes "traditionally… the great national museums have been a public responsibility, supported by general taxation, and this model was followed by local museums established from the mid-nineteenth century onward. In both cases access was 'free'" (Hewison 1991:164). The result was that museums were removed from direct participation in the market economy. Similar to public schools, hospitals, or other institutions for the public benefit, museums did not have to worry about making a profit or even about generating enough income to cover their expenses. Museum institutions, like the objects they contained, were thought of as "outside" the workings of the market: the very suggestion that the preservation, expansion, or autonomy of the collections at, for example, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, or the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, should be tied to their ability to generate "box-office" receipts

MAM gallery. Photo by MAM.

would have been (and still is) anathema to museum professionals. Yet the millions of dollars necessary to run the major museums must come from somewhere, and thus the fates of these museums are inextricably linked to the fortunes of the market economies in which they operate. It is this economic factor, Hewison argues, that has led to the major changes in policy and form that have transformed the museum institution in the past twenty years.

C. Museums and Social Class

As museums evolved into the twentieth century, they became a quintessentially middle-class phenomenon. As Eric Davis notes, the establishment of public museums in the United States, unlike in Europe, had more to do with the emergence of a bourgeoisie than with the remnants of royalty or the expansion of the state. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, he writes, "the American museum…served an important role in consolidating the status and power of many nouveau riche families" (Davis 1994: 91). At that time, Davis argues, the museum institution was still associated in the public mind with the taste and wealth of European nobility, and so American nouveau riche found that funding, establishing, or otherwise associating themselves with museums helped legitimize their social position as elites. But gradually, the museum in both America and Europe became dominated by the middle classes: it was they who had the leisure time to go to museums and the education to appreciate the importance of "artistic" or "cultural" objects; it was they who could afford to receive the training necessary to curate museums; they who got elected to public office and supported the public funding of museums. For this reason, argues Ames, museums gradually started to "present and interpret the world in some way consistent with the values they held to be good, with the collective representations they held to be appropriate, and with the view of social reality they held to be true" (Ames 1992: 21). Thus the museum, argue some critics, became society's temple to itself: an institution through which the dominant classes of a given society could enshrine, reaffirm and reproduce their own worldview.

D. Museums and the Modern State

Finally, the popularization of the traditional museum institution was inseparable from the expansion of the modern state. On the one hand, many states began to acquire collections and museums in order to protect objects of value (however defined) and to ensure public access to them. On the other hand, the general tendency for modern states to legitimate their control by gaining hegemony—that is, by gaining some sort of general public consensus based on the ability to contain political opposition by peaceful means rather than by sheer force—meant

that educational institutions such as museums came to be seen as prime sites for the reproduction not only of social values, but also of political legitimacy. The major state-sponsored museums in a given society, as well as the very idea of museumification as a worthwhile exercise, "may express and authenticate the established or official values and images of a society in several ways, *directly*, by promoting and affirming the dominant values, and *indirectly*, by subordinating or rejecting alternate values" (Ames 1992: 22).

The relationship between the museums and the modern state has been especially clear in many post-colonial nations. There are several reasons for this, two of which may be of particular relevance to the case of Macao. First is the fact that colonized peoples often saw their cultures objectified and museumified by the Europeans who had control of their governments. We have seen already how, on the European end, the rise of museums was linked to the expansion of empires. As these European collections grew, residents of the countries of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East saw their artworks, their religious and ritual objects, and even sometimes their items of daily use, sent away for permanent exhibition in European museums. Seeing the importance that European societies placed on the public display of cultural artefacts in museums and world expos reinforced the idea that the museum was an key ingredient of modern societies; and the experience of standing by helplessly while thousands of ancient or otherwise culturally significant objects were packed up and shipped overseas meant that control over the ownership and interpretation of material artefacts became a particularly important site for political struggle. Secondly, in many instances, the violence and shock of the overall experience of foreign domination led colonized intellectuals to a crisis in a form of consciousness that we would now call national or cultural identity. As Partha Chatterjee and other postcolonial historians have argued, the process of European colonization did not simply allow Europe to "modernize" by providing the raw materials needed to spur industrial output; rather, the process of colonialism itself was one through which colonial nations were taught to denigrate their own cultures (or at least aspects of their own cultures) as "traditional" and "backward," and therefore fundamentally incompatible with the desirable condition of "modernity," which was defined in European terms (Chatterjee 1986). For this reason, upon independence, in many ex-colonies questions of the relationship between "tradition" and modernity, culture and nationhood, identity and sovereignty, took on heightened significance. A government that could answer these questions, could foster a sense of national pride and identity, could also unify the people and thus gain popular legitimacy. In the cases of Iraq and Nigeria (which I take as examples simply because studies have been done on their museums and museum policy) the government sponsors and closely controls a whole network of museums of history, art, folklore, and ethnography, and in so doing consciously tries to instill a sense of national pride, unity, and national belonging among the diverse peoples that comprise their nations (see Davis 1994; Kaplan 1994).

What makes the museum different from other ways of (or places for) publicly displaying material artifacts, such as galleries, monuments, parks, salons, private collections, exhibitions, fairs and so on?

Of course, museums are not "unproblematic reflections of dominant ideological interests" (MacDonald 1994:4)—be those colonial, capitalist, class or state interests. As complex institutions, museums are at the centre of a dynamic cultural field that is filled with motives, messages, interests, individuals, institutions, producers and consumers. Yet a closer understanding of these dynamic forces serves to highlight the importance of museums in modern public culture: "the contradictory, ambivalent, position which museums are in makes them key cultural loci of our times. Through their displays and their day-to-day

Macao Museum (MM) in a renovated heritage building, on top of the Hill Fortress. Photo by MM.

operations, they inevitably raise questions about knowledge and power, about identity and difference, and about permanence and transience." (MacDonald 1994:2).

MUSEUMS IN SOCIETY

It has been argued that museums, much like other forms of non-verbal communication, can be read as a "text." That is, we can ask similar questions of museums and their exhibits that a literary critic might ask of a great novel: for example, how does the author (curator) place certain words (objects) together in sequence to create certain meanings or evoke certain emotions in the reader (visitor)? In what ways do the meanings we find in the words (exhibits) exceed the original intention of the author? What is the role of the individual reader (visitor) in interpreting these meanings? These questions and others like them have led to important observations about how and narratives are constructed through museum exhibits, and the extent to which these narratives can be open to conflicting interpretations.

However, other equally important questions have been raised by the fact that museums have certain distinctive qualities that are unlike any text, or, for that matter, any other institution or medium. First, even though both published texts and museums are public works, they are public in very different ways. The act of reading can and usually (though not always) does take place individually and statically; in museums, however, the visitor's interpretation of meanings involves physical movement through a space, and often involves social interactions with staff, guides, fellow visitors, and so on. Second, museums have a legitimating function that exceeds that of most texts: due to the air of "expertise," "objectivity," or "science" that surrounds the traditional museum, the interpretations or narratives that museums present are more likely than most kinds of texts to be accepted by visitors as "truth." And finally, as institutions, museums are important participants—and objects of

This and facing page: various aspects of the Macao Museum galleries and ethnographic collections. Photos by MM.

controversy—in the political and economic systems in which they operate. The growing number of national economies that are dependent on cultural tourism, the decline of state funding for museums in Europe and the US, and the massive public debates over controversial museum exhibits, all remind us that the museum, whose often serene and authoritative aura may give the impression of timelessness and detachment, is in fact inextricably tied, in very concrete ways, to the social, political, and economic environment in which it operates.

REMAKING MUSEUMS

Given the foregoing observations about the history of the museum and its political, economic, and social position in many post-colonial societies role of is last observation, it should come as little surprise that over the past quarter-century, there have occurred substantial changes in the form, function and even the content of the museum. Museum researchers have noted two interrelated trends: on the one hand, while there has been a serious challenge to the traditional role, methods, functions and even the basic definition of the museum, there has been, on the other a proliferation of new museums, many of which use new methods to display new themes to new audiences, none of which would ever before have been found in a museum. Once museum professionals and social scientists came to realize the wealth of information museums can offer about how societies view themselves and the world around them, museums ceased to be simply a place to exhibit the results of "expert" studies on history, culture, or art; rather, the museum itself came to be an object of study. Almost every aspect of museum exhibiting, from policy to content to management to viewer response, has come under scrutiny. What museum visitors get from their visits, why they visit museums in the first place, and how they relate the information they absorb in the museum to other aspects of their lives and experiences are questions that have taken on new importance as the museum takes on new social and economic roles. The capacity that museums may have for aiding economic development in some regions, as well as their potential for contributing to the creation of community identity – be it at the level of the town, city, region, tribe, or nation – have also been recognized as two of the major functions of new museums around the world. For the purposes of this paper, however, I will limit the discussion to the changes that have come about in the way the relationship between the museum and society is conceptualized, and the effects this has on both the development of museums and on the social spaces in which they function.

Over the past three decades, the interwoven fabric of interests and functions (described above) that shaped the museums of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has been fundamentally altered. In many countries, especially in the West, states have cut back on funding, forcing museums to become more directly tied into an increasingly globalized marketplace, and to look to corporations and consumers financial support. At the same time, the era of direct colonialism has ended, and the peoples that were often the objects of museumification have begun to challenge the forms of representation and 'truth claims' that were made about them and their history.

Development has brought about a larger and more firmly established middle class in more and more nations and regions of the world – a middle class that has both the interest and the means to commemorate its own history and that of its nation. All these factors combined have changed the nature of the museum, and of its position in societies.

Of these factors, the first—the museum's increasing commodification—may have played the most important role in the transformation of contemporary museums. In the late twentieth century, museums are, to quote a museum researcher, "concerned to position themselves in an increasingly global and rapidly changing market-place" (Urry 1994: 62). This phenomenon has a direct relationship with the rise of tourism. Tourism in general, as a form of entertainment and as an industry, is largely a twentieth-century phenomenon (MacCannell 1976); but the popularity of tourism for the sake of learning about how other people live (or used to live) is an even more recent trend. The rise of "cultural tourism" has come into its own in the past few decades, and is already a mainstay of many developing or formerly colonized territories. The role of the museum in this new and often lucrative field cannot be underestimated. Indeed, the museum is central to the industry of cultural tourism on two levels: on one level, museums are built as cultural attractions for travellers who have paid money to learn about another culture; but on another level, museums reproduce the activity of cultural tourism on a micro scale, as visitors enter, move through, and "consume" the museum in a way analogous to tourists' movement through and consumption of the countries and cultures these museums represent. It is a fact of no small significance that the governments of many regions whose economies are heavily dependent upon cultural tourism have adopted policies aimed at trying to fashion their entire societies into "living museums" (see Kaplan 1994).

This trend has had an enormous impact on both the philosophy and the practice of museum exhibiting. Robert Hewison notes that the original motivation behind the museum movement in the nineteenth century was a desire to educate and to serve the social good via the objective examination of the past or of different cultures. Now, however, museums "perceive themselves as a part of the leisure and tourism business….[and] the original purpose of having a museum, which was to preserve and interpret a significant number of objects, has been almost entirely displaced by the desire to give the visitor some kind of more or less pleasurable 'experience.'…. [The museum] is treated as a form of investment that will regenerate the local economy." (Hewison 1991: 166-167). Hewison argues that social goals of the museums of old are fundamentally incompatible with the profit-driven, consumer-oriented goals that new museums tend to—or, due to lack of public funding, are forced to—embrace. He laments the commodification of the museum experience, arguing that in the pursuit of profit, museums of ethnography and history end up aestheticizing the past, erasing all traces of conflict and change and providing modern-day consumers with beautiful images of a past—their own or that of others—that never existed. This aestheticization, coupled with the advent of new kinds of interactive technologies that draw the viewer in closer to the

"artefacts" on display, certainly makes museums more popular places for a wider section of society. However, Hewison and others criticize the strategies of some of Britain's new industrial museums (sawmill or coal-mining museums), which turn the brutal experience of the exploitation of workers into form of entertainment for tourists. According to these critics, these new museums, like Hollywood films or television sitcoms, present as "reality" a highly stylized and often whitewashed version of events that precludes any "real" understanding of the actual historical experience they purport to represent.[3]

Another important change in the function of museums is that they have come to be seen as important sites for the creation or consolidation of collective identities. Writes one museum professional, "the emphasis upon museums as projections of identity…has become increasingly salient over the past decade as museums orthodoxies have been challenged by, or on behalf of, many minorities which have been previously ignored or marginalized by museums" (MacDonald 1994: 9). As the process of collective remembering is recognized as a key part of forming an identity, both the goals and methods of many museums have changed: rather than strict education about the facts and figures of the past, for example, many history museums are more intent on eliciting in visitors a feeling of nostalgia for or identification with that past; and with this more populist goal, old methods of exhibiting (the presentation of an aloof and dusty set of artefacts in glass boxes, for example) have been replaced by more interactive exhibits designed to attract and entertain. At the same time, with the growing awareness of the power of representation that the museum wields, and with growing movements of self-determination among formerly-colonized (or otherwise oppressed) peoples, more and more groups have begun to build more and more museums as a way to affirm their cultural autonomy and to legitimate their collective identity.

Both pages: Various aspects of the Macao Museum galleries and ethnographic collections.

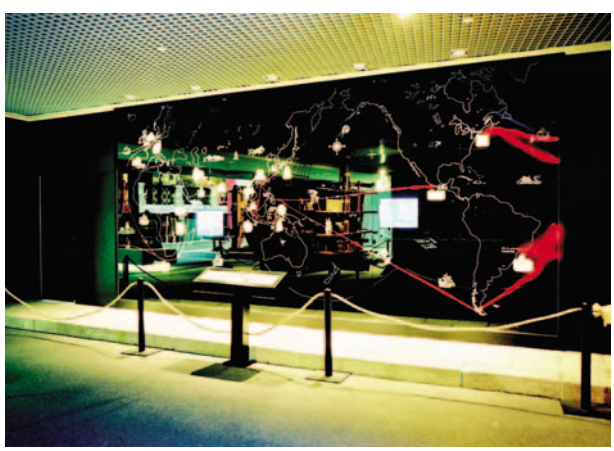
MUSEUMS IN MACAO

In 1999, at the time of the handover, there were no fewer than ten official museums and two memorial halls in Macao.[4] Eight of the museums were on the Macao peninsula: the Macao Museum, the Maritime Museum, the Fire Department Museum; the Grand Prix Museum, Wine Museum, the Macao Museum of Art, Crypt and Museum of Sacred Art in the renovated São Paulo Ruins, and the São Domingos Museum. One, the Taipa House Museum, was located on Taipa; and another, the Museum of Nature and Agriculture (Casa Verde), on Coloane. The striking

thing about Macao's many museums was that that fifteen years prior to the handover, none of them existed—and the one major museum that did exist prior to the late 1980s, the Museu Luís de Camões, ceased operation in 1988.[5] The concerted effort to establish a museum in Macao began officially in the first decade of the twentieth century; yet the vigour with which this movement was enacted, the forms it took, and the success with which it met in the last decade of the century would certainly have surprised the original proponents. An examination of the tortuous history of the museum initiative and the peregrinations and successive incarnations of individual museums throughout the twentieth century can reveal a great deal not only about how museums have been conceptualized differently in different eras, but also about the wider preoccupations of the state and society that they represent.

The carving up of history into stages or eras is, in all cases, an exercise in artifice; in some cases, this exercise can be detrimental to the understanding of complex historical processes. Nevertheless, because an attempt to systematically analyze the history and foundation of each of Macao's museums is beyond the scope of this paper at the present time, I have chosen to use the artifice of dividing the history of museum practices in Macao into three "eras," in order to clarify the kinds of changes that were occurring in these practices as well as in the museum's role in Macao society. It should be emphasized that these eras are not strictly chronological; they are *not* intended to imply an evolution from one era to the next, nor from "lower" to "higher" forms of museum life. Museums embodying different eras may well coexist simultaneously, just as some that embody the same era may do so in different ways. This categorization is simply an attempt to grasp the different ways that different institutions have responded to their political and cultural contexts over the years.

The first era I have identified below comprises the early years of museum development, an era in which neither the museum philosophy nor the museums themselves, were very well rooted in the city. In the second, "transitional" era, even though there were new kinds of museum practices emerging in new socio-political contexts, during this period, there were chronological and conceptual overlaps between the museums of different kinds. The third era I call "The New Generation of Museums" to underline that the museums that emerged in the 1990s comprise a roughly contemporaneous cohort of new ideas, practices, and institutions—but also to highlight the fact that there was a conscious effort to *generate new museums* in a way that had never



happened before. The discussion in this paper will be limited to the three largest and best-known museums that have operated in Macao in the twentieth century, each of which may best represent the three eras named above:

- *Museu Luís de Camões*. Macao's most important museum until the mid-1980s was the Museu Luís de Camões, administered by the Leal Senado. The impetus behind the creation of this museum, as well as the early history of this institution, is explained by its long-time curator Luís Gonzaga Gomes in a 1974 document that draws on several archival sources as well as on the author's own experience.[6] Information about the development of the museum in the 1970s and 1980s was drawn from interviews with the then curator, Dr. António Conceição Júnior, and from journal articles and other publications about and by museum staff during that period. As we shall see, the Luís de Camões Museum had many incarnations, but the most successful and long-lived one was as a museum of art, based on a collection of Chinese ceramics and paintings, as well as some paintings of Macao by well-known artist George Chinnery and his Chinese student Lam Qua.
- *Museum Marítimo de Macau.* Administered and funded by the Capitania dos Portos, the Maritime Museum has also had more than one incarnation; a museum called *Museu Marítimo e de Pescarias* existed in Macao from 1920 to 1945, while the currently-existing Maritime Museum, established in 1987, became Macao's most important and most popular museum after the closure of the Luís de Camões in 1988. However, the nature and objectives of this museum were completely different from those of its predecessor. As its name suggests, the Maritime Museum is not a museum of art, but rather a museum documenting the history and current practices of fishing and navigation associated with the territory of Macao.
- *Museu de Macau*. Opened in 1998 amidst much fanfare, the Macao Museum was heralded as a museum for of, for, and by the people of Macao. The museum's division into three main sections—the Genesis of Macao, the Popular Arts and Traditions of Macao, and Contemporary Macao—reflects its general focus on the history, culture, and heritage of contemporary Macao.

I. Taking Root

Museums—or more accurately, museumification—had been on the minds of certain members of the government of Macao since the late nineteenth century. The first call for a municipal museum arose as a result of a temporary exhibition, in Macao, of local artefacts that had been collected in order to be sent for exhibition to two museums in Portugal (the Museu da Universidade de Coimbra, and the Museu Colonial in Lisbon). The request for these artefacts had come to the then Secretary General of the Government of Macao, José Alberto Corte Real, as early as 1871, from the director of the Botanical Gardens of the University of Coimbra, who wished to add to his collection some plant specimens as well as some "artefacts made of plant materials" that could be found commonly in Macao's markets. This request on the part of the botanist, apparently, arose out of purely scientific considerations; however, the Secretary General saw in it the opportunity to serve two further ends. Not only would such a collection benefit the advancement of botanical science, it also had the potential to stimulate Macao's economy and spur Portugal's industrial development by introducing the residents of the metropole to the exotic and inexpensive products, both natural and manufactured, of its languishing colony.[7]

During the opening ceremony of this temporary exhibition in 1879, two prominent members of the community called for the creation of a permanent Municipal Museum of Macao. This call was made again and again at various times over the years; as Corte Real himself put it, in a petition to the Leal Senado, "the Municipal Museum of Macao, being an establishment that would be extremely useful both for commerce and for popular instruction much like the museums in many municipalities of the most civilized nations in the world, could also contain a historical section that would be of great value not only to Macao, but also for the traditions of the Portuguese nation in this part of the world…and the influence these traditions have exercised upon the arts, industry, commerce,…laws and the politics of some of these peoples" (Corte Real, in Gomes 1973:8).[8]

Museum of Sacred Art (MSA) in São Paulo Ruins. Photo by MM.

The museum envisaged by Corte Real is undeniably "colonial": it grows directly out of the Portuguese colonial presence in Macao, in the very specific meaning of the term 'colonial' as referring to the exercise *of formal sovereignty by a foreign nation over the territory of another.*[9] More than this, however, it can also be seen as an attempt to establish a colonial consciousness among the Portuguese residents of Macao. The years from 1846 until 1885 (when China finally signed a Protocol recognizing Portugal's right to govern Macao) were filled with attempts, both violent and non-violent, to establish Macao as a true colony of Portugal. With this rising colonial consciousness among both the government of Macao and the intellectuals of the metropole, the establishment of a museum "much like the museums in many municipalities of most civilized nations," must have seemed increasingly important as an apparatus of colonial administration.

Sponsored by the state, this museum would has economic, educational, and ideological ends—three ends that are conceived of as three indispensable parts of a whole. The museum could educate people about the history and culture of Macao and the Portuguese in Asia; could aid economic development, in this case by educating more people about the products and services available in Macao; could commemorate the presence of the Portuguese in Asia, and further glorify that presence by representing the material wealth engendered by that economic strength; and finally, it could to reinforce the values and traditions of the Portuguese nation.

However, even at this early stage of the museum movement in Macao, there were two major aspects that set the museum institution in Macao apart from its European counterpart, and that will echo throughout the history of museums in the territory. The first is the explicit link made between the creation of museums and their potential role in economic development; and the second is the relative lack—or at least the relative impermanence—of formal institutionalization and state support. These differences make it quite clear that Macao's museums, far from being simple reproductions of the archetypal European museum, were firmly (and sometimes catastrophically) linked to local conditions and interests.

i. museums in the economy

The major difference between these early plans for a municipal museum in Macao and the archetype of the traditional European museum is that in Macao,

the museum was envisaged as having explicitly, and primarily, economic ends. In the words of the Secretary General and of the committee commissioned to collect the artefacts to be sent to Portugal in the late nineteenth century, one can hear echoes of the desperation that must have followed Macao's precipitous economic decline after the establishment of Hong Kong:

"we are convinced that, in order for peoples to develop all aspects of life,…it is necessary to conjoin governmental action with the initiative of citizens,…especially when, as is the case now, it is a matter of reanimating a decaying settlement, repairing the disasters that have affected its normal life and rescuing, from its own ruins, the sources of its rebirth and renewed prosperity, whose origins are, fortunately, not yet extinct (Gomes 1973: 44)."[10]

In this sense, then, the philosophy behind this first proposal for a museum in Macao had more in common with the philosophy behind the world exhibitions that were one popular feature of the colonial era in Europe, than with that of the museum. Timothy Mitchell has pinpointed the world-as-exhibition epistemology (or worldview) that underpinned, and was reproduced by, the European colonial worldview, epitomized by the phenomenal popularity of these

Interiors of Museum of Sacred Art. Photos by MM.

world exhibitions in the late nineteenth century. This epistemology involved a particular relationship between the individual and the world of things, a relationship in which "everything seemed to be set up as though it were the model or picture of something,…a mere signifier of something further….World exhibition here refers not to an exhibition of the world, but to the world conceived and grasped as though it were an exhibition" (Mitchell 1989: 222).The second, and crucial, aspect of this worldview was the commercialism that drove it: not only was the 'real world' representable as if it were an exhibition, but, more specifically, it was "something created by the representation of its commodities" (Mitchell 1989: 225). Whereas traditional museums were based on the removal of their artefacts from the world of commodities, the world exhibition was based on the explicit commodification of the world; whereas the whole philosophy of the traditional museum is based on the fact that none of the artefacts on display are for sale, in the world exhibition, everything is for sale—including the privilege of "experiencing" that world.

Indeed, it was not only this worldview, but also the actual world's fairs themselves, that were the impetus behind the creation of Macao's first museum. Twenty years after the first set of Macao artefacts was sent to Portugal in 1879, a small collection of fishing nets and model ships and boats from China and Timor was sent to the 1900 Paris Expo. Upon its return to Macao, this collection became the nucleus of a larger collection built by Arthur Leonel Barbosa Carmona, the Adjunct to the Capitão dos Portos. Operating out of an empty room in the Department of Statistics and Opium Control (Repartição de Estatística e

Superintendência do Ópio), under the auspices of the Port Authority (Capitania dos Portos), Barbosa Carmona set up a small museum called the Museu Marítimo e de Pescarias in 1919. His objective in establishing this museum was to create a base for all the research upon "this interesting and most important topic" that would be necessary to the development and administration of Macao (Barbosa Carmona 1953: 9). He hired a local carpenter to build more model ships, set up aquariums of fresh water fish, and arranged exhibitions on the dredging and land reclamation projects that were changing the contours of Macao's harbor and coastline. In 1922, again, part of this enhanced collection of model ships was sent to the International Expo in Rio de Janeiro.

The creation of the other major museum in Macao of this era was also inspired by the world exhibitions in Europe, but met with much less success at first. The year 1910 witnessed the creation by decree[11] of "a historical, ethnographic, physiographic, commercial and industrial museum, to be called 'Museu Luíz de Camões' and containing a historical section pertaining principally to the colony of Macao, as well as another section representing the province of Timor, in its various aspects, especially from the agricultural and industrial point of view" (Gomes 1973: 13). Under the auspices of a steering committee that was also charged with the responsibility of conserving "monuments both secular and sacred, civil and military, of Portuguese or Chinese background, existing in Macao and its dependents," the new museum was to be housed in the building in the Camões Grotto Park. However, due to the scheduling difficulties, apathy, and what Gonzaga Gomes calls the "almost certain allergy to all things artistic or historical" afflicting several members of the steering committee, nothing ever came of this first decree.

After several fits and starts during the decade that followed, in 1920 the government once again created a scientific, literary and artistic association, the Institute of Macao, which was charged with the "conservation of buildings and objects with historic, artistic or documentary value existing in Macao" and with "the creation of a Museum." But, according to Gonzaga Gomes, the atmosphere of total demoralization and defeat that reigned in Macao during that era meant that nothing, aside from a few meetings and an official photograph, ever came of this institute.

Finally, in 1926, the interim Governor Almirante Hugo de Lacerda created the Museu Comercial e Etnográfico Luís de Camões (Portaria n.º 221, 5 Nov. 1926). The creation of this museum came in the wake of excitement and enthusiasm that accompanied the completion of the Porto Exterior and the staging of a grandiose Macao Industrial Expo and Fair. These, combined with other urbanization efforts implemented by Governor Tamagnini Barbosa beginning in 1927, comprised a herculean effort to "liberate the city from the lethargic apathy, the routinization of the daily grind, the negativist skepticism and the tragic defeatism that was annihilating it and condemning it to an imminent and ruinous decay" (Gomes 1973: 15). The new museum was to be comprised of two sections: a historical and artistic section and a commercial section, which would include exhibits from the Fair as well as a large proportion of the exhibits from the Museu Marítimo e de Pescarias.

The collection and display of artifacts (be they cultural, historical, biological, botanical, etc.) is, among other things, a form of control and classification of knowledge; and knowledge, as the saying goes, is power.

ii. museums in the city

The Victoria and Albert Museum or the Smithsonian, both creations of the high colonial era, were housed in solid, imposing buildings that seemed to remain solid and imposing no matter how the city changed around them. Their enshrinement thus is a reflection of their claim to be representing timeless, abstract and objective truths. Unlike these institutions, the early museums in Macao were shuffled from place to place, and the fates of the museums and their collections rose and fell with the sometimes-cruel fate

of the city. They were by no means permanent institutions in the sense of having permanent buildings, large staff, fixed budgets, and so on, but rather were moved around from place to place as the government shuffled and reshuffled its priorities.

For example, the Museu Marítimo e de Pescarias, having been established as an independent museum in 1919, then incorporated into the Luís de Camões in 1927, was finally once again installed as an independent collection in 1934, when Barbosa Carmona retired to Portugal. The location chosen for this new installation was the hydroplane hangar of the Aviação Naval, located on the newly reclaimed land of the Porto Exterior. By this time the collection had expanded to include, among other items, more than a dozen model ships, a model of shipbuilder's yard, instruments used in fishing and navigation (such as anchors, fishing nets, fishing hooks, compasses, oyster-harvesting equipment, and the like), as well as photographs, paintings and documents on a maritime theme. The change in location, however, doomed this entire collection to destruction on January 16, 1945, when American aircraft bombed the hangar on the suspicion that it was being used to house stockpiles of Japanese gasoline and supplies. The only piece of the original collection that remains is an engraved brass lantern that was not moved to the new location, and which is still a part of the museum's collection.[12]

The museum that Governor Lacerda created in 1926 had a more tortuous, though more fortunate, career. The peregrination of this museum (which began as the Museu Comercial e Etnográfico Luís de Camões and ended as simply the Museu Luís de Camões) around the city of Macao, and a series of openings, closing and re-openings, began in 1926 did not end until 34 years later, in 1960, when the museum finally opened to the public in the Casa Gardens building. The long litany of museum sites that Gonzaga Gomes faithfully recites reaches almost comical dimensions as he tracks the ever-more decrepit collection of artistic

This and facing page: S. Domingos Church, in downtown Macao and its sacred art collection. Photos by MM.

and commercial artefacts around the city; but is indicative of the changing priorities of the government as well as of the relationship between the museum and other public institutions in the city, and for that reason I would like to recount it briefly here.

In 1926, the Museu Comercial e Etnográfico Luís de Camões was installed in the Palacete da Flora, displacing nothing less than the office of the Secretária do Governo, which was removed to a separate building. However, as the steering committee worked on the new museum, they found that the original idea, which called for a museum of history and art with an annex comprised of an exhibition of commercial goods in the style of a World Expo, was unworkable: it seemed inappropriate to mix historic/artistic objects with commercial objects, and the Palacete was too small to accommodate both collections separately. Thus began the journey of the Museu Etnográfico e Comercial Luís de Camões:

- 1927: the historical section of the new Museum and a new Public Library are established together in the Leal Senado building. The commercial section of the museum remains in the Palacete da Flora.
- 1928: the Escola Infantil is slated to move into the Palacete da Flora, so the Commercial Section of the Museum leases, for 10 patacas per month, the ground floor of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia.

  The ground floor of the Santa Casa had been the long-standing location of the prize-drawing of the Santa Casa lottery, which for many years had been the Santa Casa's main source of revenue. With the government's expansion of the lottery franchise and the resulting rise in competition, the Santa Casa lottery became unprofitable and by 1928 the Santa Casa was in difficult financial straits. Lottery operations closed down, and the museum moved in. The site was advantageous for the museum, since the Santa Casa was not only in a central location but also had a long tradition as a well-known public space, both of which meant that the museum's commercial section would be more easily accessible to visitors and foreigners. The museum, under a new director, opened to the public on June 22, 1929. (Two years later, on August 13, 1931, the Palacete da Flora was completely destroyed when the nearby Flora Powder Magazine exploded).

- 1932: Upon the death of renowned educator and art collector Dr. Manuel da Silva Mendes, the museum acquires the majority of his collection—but, to the consternation of several museum advocates, the Leal Senado does not act quickly enough to prevent several of the best pieces being sold to collections overseas.

  Reputed to be among the best private collections of Chinese art objects in Asia, the Silva Mendes collection included bronzes, Shiwan pottery and ceramics, as well as some prized pieces of celadon, enamel, and jade. This collection breathed new life into the art and history section of the museum, and remained the nucleus of the museum's collection until it closed in 1988.
- 1933: The financially ailing Santa Casa makes one last effort to revive the lottery, and once more needs the ground floor for lottery operations. The commercial section of the museum is moved out of the Santa Casa to share quarters with the Economic Services Inspection Office.
- 1936 (December): The art and history section of the Museum, still housed in the Leal Senado, is moved out of that location to make room for the expansion of the Public Library. It is moved into the Santa Sancha Palace.

  The Santa Sancha Palace, originally a private residence, was acquired by the government in 1923 and had first served as the governor's residence in 1926 for Governor Tamagnini Barbosa. At the end of Tamagnini Barbosa's first two terms, the Santa Sancha had been deemed "inappropriate and superfluous as the summer residence of the highest authority of the province,

Governor António Miranda" (Gomes 1973: 20). The grounds were used as a hospital from 1934 until 1936, when the hospital was closed due to lack of funds and both sections of the museum were moved in.

- 1937 (May): Governor Tamagnini Barbosa returns to Macao for two more terms as governor, and the Santa Sancha once again becomes "appropriate and indispensable as the residence of the highest authority of the province" (Gomes 1973: 21). At this point the museum is moved to its final destination in the Casa Garden, but shares the space with the National Press, whose operation are housed there.

  By this time, according to Gonzaga Gomes, the collection had fallen into a state of neglect, and "was a museum in name only." It languished in two decrepit back rooms of the Casa Garden until the early 1950s, when the National Press moved out of the Casa Garden and into a building of its own. At this point, a number of individuals, including Gonzaga Gomes himself, lobbied hard to reopen the museum. They were successful, as Governor Esparteiro appointed a committee to restore and refurbish both the collection and the Casa Garden building. Three dozen pieces of the collection were sent to Lisbon for restoration, while the building was fumigated and painted.

After several more false starts during the late 1950s, the museum, now officially called the Museu Luís de Camões, was opened to the public on 25 September 1960, as part of the celebrations of the Comemorações Henriquinas. Luís Gonzaga Gomes was appointed by the Leal Senado to curate the museum, which he did until his death in 1974.

Most accounts of the Museu Luís de Camões state that it was established in 1960. Indeed, in 1985, the museum sponsored a series of exhibitions and events to mark its twenty-fifth anniversary. Yet two things become clear from this examination of the prehistory of this museum. First, in this era, museums operated more or less on the fringes of the state: though their operating costs were supplied by the government, neither museums as institutions, nor the educational or ideological goals they claimed to fulfil, were deemed a priority by the state. In this sense, we may say that rather than a museums per se, in this era Macao had "collections"—and that any efforts towards improving, enlarging, or publicizing these collections were due to the work of individuals who, though not trained as museum professionals, had a passion for collecting. Second, we can see that during this era, the social and political preoccupations were focused much more on commercial expansion and economic development than on the desire to preserve the past or to pursue knowledge. It may seem ironic that during this "high period" of Portuguese colonialism in Macao, the "quintessentially colonial" institution of the museum never really took off. As we can see from the various incarnations of the Luís de Camões Museum, subject to the whims of each new governor, shuffled from building to building, the museum did not serve the immediate economic or political ends that were considered relevant, and so was allowed to languish.

II. Transitions

A change in the relationship between museums and their socio-political context came about in the 1970s, with the change in Macao's political status and the beginnings of a more sustained economic development. After the Portuguese revolution of 1974, when Portugal renounced its claim to all its colonies, in official terms, Macao ceased to be a colony and became, instead, a "Chinese territory under Portuguese administration." With the rapid development of neighbouring Hong Kong, Macao's economy also began to grow and industrialize. The reconfiguration of social relations in Macao brought about by these changes, as well as the input of individual museum staff, led to a re-evaluation of the potential social role of museums.

Transitions I: New Curatorship of the Museu Luís de Camões

In 1976, curatorship of the Museu Luís de Camões was taken over by António Conceição Júnior, then a young Macanese recently returned to Macao with a fine arts degree from Lisbon. He brought with him a new philosophy of museums, a philosophy that reflected the changes of the times and also foreshadowed the changes in the museum industry. Seeking consciously to break with the impassivity and formality of the traditional museum, and to take advantage of, rather than try to deny, the socio-cultural role of the museum as a public institution, his priority

in running the museum was "to bring life to the city and to bring dialogue between the city and the museum."

In so doing, it was necessary to turn the "collection" into an institution—with permanent buildings, staff, and a significant public audience. The new curator first sought to increase popular participation in museum activities. Concerned that the museum had, historically, been visited only by "a handful of Macanese who already knew where it was," publicity was evidently high on the list of priorities. Macao's Portuguese-language newspapers from the 1970s and 1980s are full of reports about activities at the museum and interviews with the curator and artists about the changes underway. Temporary exhibitions were organized in the first temporary gallery in Macao. A museum publication was launched; massive renovations to the Casa Garden house were undertaken; links with Hong Kong Arts Center were forged; new pieces were acquired. The aim, according to the curator, was "to break completely with the cold, imposing air [of traditional museums], and to turn the building into an approachable place not only by the arrangement of the installations, but also by the relationship between visitors and staff" (Conceição Júnior, 1979: 37).

Not only was the museum to have a reinvigorated presence in the social life of the city, but with the end of the high colonial era in Macao, the city and the very definition of the "public" it served was also different. For the first time, a strong and explicit emphasis was placed on the social and cultural benefits the museum could bring to the "mixed community" of Macao, in terms of its ability to foster "a sense of belonging" to the city and to overcome the fragmentation engendered by successive waves of migration and the particularities of Portuguese rule in Macao. The museum was seen as a key center for the kind of cultural and educational activities that could foster a sense of community that would transcend barriers of language, and help maintain a sense of a local identity that, according to one article published in the museum's publication, was under threat from rapid economic development.[13] These early concerns about the threats to a local identity did not rise *sui generis* from the concerns of the museum's curator; rather, they were part of a larger constellation of responses to imminent urban and social change that included a nascent movement to protect Macao's architectural heritage.

In this transitional era, then, we can understand how changes in Macao social and political circumstances engendered, and were furthered by, changes in museum policies and practices. The existence of the museum was no longer justified as a strategy for promoting Macao's economic development; rather, it became an institution designed to guard against the cultural ravages caused by Macao's economic development. Foreshadowing the museums to come, the problem of popular participation in museum activities, and the question of identity and community building began to come to the fore in discussions of the role of museums in society.

The museum, however, was still not immune from the lack of strong state support. The Casa Garden building was in a state of disrepair; the lack of air-conditioning made the museum unappealing to visitors hoping to escape the summer heat, while humidity and termite infestation endangered the well-being of the collection. In 1988, the Casa Garden building was purchased by the Orient Foundation. At this juncture, rather than moving to yet another location, the Museu Luís de Camões closed its doors and the collection was packed up and put into storage.

The rise of "cultural tourism" has come into its own in the past few decades, and is already a mainstay of many developing or formerly colonized territories.

Transitions II: The Museu Marítimo de Macao

The Maritime Museum that opened on November 7, 1987, had no direct relationship with the museum of the same name that met its demise under American bombs forty years earlier. The objectives of the new museum were may sound remarkably similar to the objectives of the original museum founded in 1919: "to collect, preserve, and display the historical and

cultural heritage [*património*] of a maritime nature that exists in Macao, and to conduct and publish research into the different aspects of maritime activity, past and present, related to Macao, China, and Portugal" (Oleiro & Peixoto n.d.: 39). However, certain key differences in the wording of this objective, as well as in the practices of the museum, indicate some fundamental differences in its orientation and practice as well.

One key difference is contained in the use of the single word "heritage." Cultural critics in Great Britain, where the "heritage boom" has taken off in the past ten years, explain how "heritage" works as a particular way of conceptualizing the past (see Walsh 1992; Corner and Harvey 1991). The concept of heritage implies a common inheritance (usually manifested in material objects) that belongs to all members of a given society and thus unites these members with each other and provides them with both a sense of continuity with their past, and a sense of pride in their uniqueness. This concept is often closely tied to the creation or reinforcement of a collective identity that is based on collective memory of, and often on nostalgia for, a romanticized past. As in the Museu Luís de Camões, we see the beginnings here of an invocation of identity and heritage that was completely absent in earlier conceptions of what a museum should be, but that will become even more salient in the "new generation" of Macao's museums. Indeed, this is perhaps the most salient aspect of the social role museums in this transitional period: it was at this time that the question of heritage and identity came to take precedence over economics as the primary justification for the establishment or reinvention of museums.

The Maritime Museum marks a break with previous museums in another important way, however: it was the first of several museums in Macao that grew from nothing but an idea[14]:

"there were no collections, nor pieces of collections, nor books, not even a file card. There was no building, nor an architectural design, nor a locale chosen for the building site. But, more importantly, there were no precedents to help illumine the road ahead, or to help define the standards of quality; none of us had experience that would enable us to foresee the reaction of a largely heterogeneous public. Some of the themes to be addressed were unheard-of in other museums, due to the specificities of Macao's situation, and there were no previous studies or international authorities on the subject who could be consulted. Starting from zero, it was necessary to conceive of everything, create everything, define rules, formulate principles, to specify the orientation and basic philosophy of the museum" (Oleiro & Peixoto n.d.: 40).

The collection, the institution, the interpretation, the public, even the "orientation and basic philosophy" —everything about the museum had to be created from scratch. Originally, this museum was housed in an existing building from the 1940s that had been gutted and restored to accommodate a small series of exhibits. Like their predecessors in 1926, the creators of the new Maritime Museum realized almost from the start that the chosen site would prove inadequate; but unlike their predecessors, they were able to obtain the permission and funding from the government to construct the first building in Macao designed expressly for a museum. The completion of this building not only provided the museum with a tailor-made space for expansion, but also symbolized the permanence of the museum institution, and its importance as a public space.

The "orientation and basic philosophy" of the new Maritime Museum, like the new incarnation of the Museu Luís de Camões, were concerned with defining the museum in relation to the public it served. To attract a wider audience, the museum set up exhibits that encouraged interaction, between the visitor and objects on display, as well as with world outside of the museum building. For example, the museum maintained in working order a Chinese junk, built in Macao's shipyards, that offered regularly-scheduled rides around the Inner Harbor, amongst the "real life" boat people whose way of life was represented inside the museum. The museum's audience grew as a result of these reconceptualizations of museum exhibiting; and, significantly, it grew in two important directions that foreshadowed future trends. First, as Macao's schools came to see the museum as a worthwhile educational experience, more and more of them incorporated museum visits into their curriculum. And second, the Museum became, along with the A-Ma Temple across the street from it, one of Macao's major "tourist attractions." It was certainly one of the first and only such tourist attractions that consciously provided a coherent narrative statement about Macao's culture and history to its visitors. As the numbers of visitors reached into the tens and hundreds of thousands, and the museum came to be regularly

Macao Maritime Museum (MMM) in Barra, Inner Harbour. Photo by MMM.

included on package tours of the city, within a few years the role that the museum could play in encouraging cultural tourism became increasingly clear. Ironically, it was precisely at the point when the economic factor in the rhetoric of museum development had taken a back seat to other, more educational goals, that the museum began to acquire the economic function that had once been its chief justification.

In sum, then, both museums of this generation began to manifest changes in the logic behind exhibition practices and in the conception of the relationship between the museum and the world around it. While the state was still a relatively weak factor in the growth of these museums (at least, compared to what would come next), the changes in political status, the transformation of the economy, and the more active public role museums began to seek out set the stage for a further acceleration of their development into the 1990s.

III. The New Generation of Museums

What I have deemed the new generation of museums in Macao is not so much a radical break with what came before as it is a new consolidation of the trends that were emerging in the late 1980s, coupled with the emergence of the state as a major advocate and sponsor of museums.[15] This consolidation came about in the context of the rapid transformation of Macao's political, economic, and social conditions during the long decade prior to the transfer of sovereignty to China in 1999. During this period, the rhetoric of the need for a sense of belonging and local pride became even stronger. Wedded to this ideological objective, however, was a reinvigorated economic objective as well. Possibly the single most important difference in the new generation of museums was the realization, on the part of the museum professionals as well as government funders, of the role museums could play in Macao's economic development. The Macao Government Tourism Office used the terminology of the marketplace in describing the motives behind the "museum fever" that gripped 1990s Macao: "It's because we have to diversify our product," said one tourism official in response to my question about why Macao has established so many museums recently. In the early 1990s, with the precipitous decline of the industrial boom that had fuelled much of the economic growth in the 1980s, the government realized that

tourism was the one sector that had the potential for the kind of sustained growth necessary to maintain the health of Macao's economy. Yet two major characteristics of this sector—its heavy dependence upon the gambling industry, and the tendency for tourists to stay in Macao an average of only 1.3 days—needed to be changed before tourism could truly become a viable economic alternative.

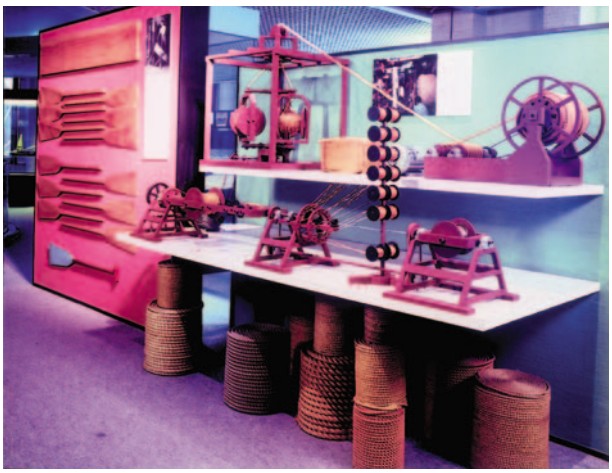
Thus the development of new museums was a conscious economic strategy on the part of the government. On the one hand, attention to the economic role of museums was hardly new in the 1990s—echoing, as it did, the nineteenth-century prehistory of Macao's museums. On the other hand, upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that what was new was the way this economic role was conceptualized in the 1990s, in response to the demands of the tourism economy. We may describe this change as a kind of acceleration of the commodity logic of early museums: whereas the early museums were designed to display the commodities that Macao had to offer, the 1990s museums worked through the commodification of the museum experience itself. The aim of the museums was no longer to kindle the desire of visitors to leave the museum and seek out business transactions among Macao's residents; rather, the aim was to kindle the desire of visitors to visit. The museum would no longer function as a neutral space in which the exchange of material goods could be promoted; instead, it entered the marketplace itself, offering up for consumption its own materiality.

But while this economic role may have been the impetus for the government's massive investments in the museumification of Macao, we should not be too quick to dismiss the new museums as mere tourist gimmicks with no real meaning for, or social role to play in, the life of the city. On the contrary, it was precisely at this moment—when the new economic role of the museum institution compelled it to adopt new strategies to reach ever-wider audiences—that the museum took on an even stronger social and political importance in the life of the city. It is precisely at this moment that we must scrutinize even more closely how the museum institution represented, both explicitly and implicitly, the society in which it operated. The Macao Museum, as the largest and most celebrated museum to open in Macao just prior to the handover, is a prime example of how these socio-cultural, political, and economic roles of the museum were reconceptualized and recombined in transition-era Macao.

The Macao Museum

"It's definitely unlike any other museum I've ever been in," laughed one staff member when asked to compare the Macao Museum to other museum experiences either in or outside of Macao. In April of 1998, the much-awaited, much-discussed Museu de Macao was opened to the public amidst much fanfare. The presence of Prime Minister of Portugal, António Guterres, lent an air of momentousness to the opening ceremonies. From almost any angle—the number of people involved in the planning process, the number of permanent staff, the number of visitors; the architectural logistics of the building site, the care taken in preparing the museum and it collections, the aid and donations received—the Macao Museum must be

Both pages: Interiors of the Maritime Museum. Photos by MMM.



considered one of the biggest museum projects in the history of Macao. And as the comment of the staff member suggests, the establishment of this museum in some ways marked another break with what had come before.

There are, of course, continuities. The architect of the Macao Museum, Carlos Bonina Moreno, was the same architect who designed the new building of the Maritime Museum in 1987. Learning from that experience, the architect and other planners and technicians built upon their earlier success. Like the Maritime Museum before it, the Macao Museum began from scratch, from nothing but a request by the Governor of Macao. "There was no site, no collection, and no staff," mused the architect and several early consultants to the museum project. There was only the imperative to create a museum for the people of Macao.

But in contrast to the aims of traditional museums, which were to exhibit and narrate the importance of an existing collection of material objects, the Macao Museum's aim was to exhibit and illustrate, via material objects, a narrative about the importance of Macao. "We started from the story and then collected the objects, rather than the other way around," explained one employee who was involved in the planning process. In this sense, the museum's paramount objective foregrounded its role in building community identity, a role that we saw beginning to emerge in the earlier era. Architect Moreno explained,

"The ethnographic aspect of the museum is the most important. This is the role of the museum in the city. More than fifty percent of Macao's residents have come here in the past ten years. A society needs to have some common culture or traditions—this common culture is like a cement to hold society together. Otherwise, it is just like living in one of these high-rise buildings, where you can live right next door to people for many years and still never know them, never even say 'hello' to them. So the museum can help create a common identity, a common language and culture, and thus a people of Macao in the true sense of the word."

The first priority in creating the museum was to decide upon this story: what *is* Macao, and who *are* its people? In order for the museum to belong to the people of Macao, the people of Macao must be defined as a group; and it is in this sense that the museum can be understood as part of the expansion of the state. On the one hand, the Museum was the result of a desire on the part of the government to "give something back to the people of Macao"—one staff member indicated that they were working hard to change the "somewhat negative image" that the Macao government has among a large sector of the population, "the sense that the 'public administration' never does anything for the public." But on the other hand, in a more subtle way, the museum can be seen as a part of the state's increasing interest, just prior to the handover, in becoming involved in the inherently political task of defining who 'we'—the Macao people—are. The museum's ability to foster a sense of belonging to the city , via an appeal to cultural points of reference that can transcend barriers of language and place of origin, was highlighted as its foremost task and contribution. According to the people who built it, the museum's ideological role, as an arena for the creation and reproduction of a hegemonic understanding of "ourselves" and of society, was the first of its two major functions.

In this sense, then, the establishment of the Macao Museum finally fulfilled the vision for a municipal museum that Corte Real set forth more than a century earlier. Like the municipal museum envisaged by Corte Real, the Museum of Macao had economic, educational and ideological ends: to encourage the people of Macao to take pride in their "unique identity" by providing them with a narrative about their history, culture, and city; and to aid the development of cultural tourism by promoting and

A gallery in the Maritime Museum. The present building opened in November 1987. Photo by MMM.

commodifying this cultural and historical identity. In the same way that Corte Real saw these three aims as part of a single endeavor, so the creators of the Macao Museum hoped the prosperity engendered by the rise in tourism would lead to further pride and satisfaction with the hegemonic narrative about this identity, further strengthening the cultural values and traditions that it involved, as well as the public's interest in maintaining that identity.

But the Macao Museum did so using methods, and achieving results, that Corte Real would never have imagined. For, as discussed above, the social and political problems presented to museum professionals (such as the creators of the Macao Museum) in the post-colonial world of the late twentieth century were different than those at height of the colonial era. More specifically, in Macao the key question was how could a museum effect a strong sense of common identity from among a diverse and historically fragmented population, drawing on a historical legacy that was rife with politically sensitive points of contention? Ironically, in order to accomplish this difficult and highly political task, the museum had to adopt a strategy that emptied the past of its political content.

The Labyrinth of Nostalgia

It may not be surprising to learn that a key representational strategy adopted by the Macao Museum in order to evoke this kind of common identity is what Kevin Walsh calls "nostalgia-arousal" (Walsh 1992). According to the museum architect,

"We decided to concentrate on Macao's recent past—aspects of life in Macao which no longer exist but which older people still remember. In the first few days after the museum was opened to the public, we had a lot of older people coming in, and many of them got very emotional."

Nostalgia-arousal works, according to Walsh, by eliciting selective memories in the visitor which

effect a personal, emotional involvement with the object (or ensemble of objects) on display, rather than the detached objectivity and distancing effect so common to traditional museums. Although each visitor will have a different interpretation of any given exhibit based on their different life experiences, nostalgia-arousal maximizes the social or collective aspect of memory by the subtle implication that these personal memories are universal in some way. The observations of another staff member may serve to illustrate this point:

"At around 10 in the morning, groups of older women would come in to visit the museum after going to the market. They loved the exhibits of Macao's recent past, the way Macao used to be when they were young. They would walk around together in groups, looking at the exhibits and reminiscing about their lives, discussing the exhibits saying 'oh yes, remember, that's exactly what it used to be like!' or 'no, it wasn't really like that, it was more like this…'"

…the Macao Museum's aim was to exhibit and illustrate, via material objects, a narrative about the importance of Macao.

Yet the nostalgia-arousal effect is not limited to older visitors who can fill museum objects with personal meanings by attaching to them empathic memories of lived experience. It can work with younger generations as well. As the same staff member continued, the true fulfilment of the aims of the museum could be embodied in the figure of a child who visits the museum with his or her grandmother. "We hope older people like this would come and recall their fond memories of what Macao used to be like, and we hope they will bring their grandchildren to visit as well, so that when their grandchildren grow up they will also have fond memories of the museum, as a place they used to go with their granny who would tell them all about the old Macao. And then they can carry on the memories that their grandparents had." In this sense, we see that the museum is engaged in the process of actively *creating* nostalgia, rather than (as Walsh implies) simply "arousing" nostalgia from a dormant state.

The creation of nostalgia is, as we noted above, a major characteristic of the age of museums as flashpoints for community identity. Many scholars lament the apparent transformation of museums from institutions of scholarly research and education into commodified centers of entertainment and the uncritical celebration of a depoliticized "culture" or "history." This criticism must be taken seriously: as Walsh reminds us, "the exploration of nostalgia is not necessarily a bad thing…[but] this natural interest in the past should be used as a kind of preface to a more critical engagement with the past and its links with, or contingency on, the present" (Walsh 1992:99). However, it should also be noted that this transformation is not a simple one from "objective" to "subjective," from education to entertainment, from impartiality to politicization. For, by virtue of their very "public-ness," museums have never been impartial. As a mode of representation, the labyrinth of nostalgia may entail a different set of traps for the uncritical audience than does the forest of scientific objectivity, but since they are as much *products* of a given culture and history as they are ways of representing that culture and history, museums have always been, and will always be, partial and profoundly political.

CONCLUSIONS

To return to the question with which we began, what *was* the significance of the "museum fever" in 1990s Macao?

It is clear that museums in Macao, as elsewhere, have always been built "for the future of the city." The difference in they way museums were run in the different eras outlined above is primarily a matter of how that future was conceptualized. In the 1990s, at the height of a period of major sociopolitical change, the museum institution became an important site for the production of cultural and social meanings that could unify the citizens and provide them with both material prosperity and a sense of history and belonging. The above discussion of the transformation

of museum practices in Europe provides a sense of how economic, political and social changes in the eras of decolonization and "globalization" have played out in the realm of public culture. In the case of Macao's own era of decolonization, the field of public culture came to be occupied with a concern over identity (the fundamental question of "who are we?") and its ramifications for the economic and political well-being of the territory. And this, in brief, was what this fever was about: in a period of rapid change and uncertainty, museums, the institutions they comprise and the practices they embody, were about nothing less than the struggle for the future of Macao. RC

NOTES

1 This was not always the case. As Ames points out, early European museums were extremely selective as to how many and what kind of visitors they would allow in.

2 The "transition era" refers to the period between 1987, when the Joint Declaration was issued announcing that China would resume control over Macao in 1999, and the actual resumption of that control twelve years later. For more information on how and why issues of culture and history did take on such prominence during this period, see Clayton 2002a and 2002b.

3 The question to ask here, of course, is whether or not the traditional museums provided a 'real' understanding of the world, or just a different kind of stylized interpretation.

4 The two memorial halls—the Sun Yat-sen Memorial House and the Lin Zexu Memorial Hall—are, for various purposes and with some degree of justification, classified together with museums. There are important differences, however, between the functions of a memorial hall and that of a museum; for this reason, as well as to limit the scope of this paper, I will not comment extensively on these two monuments.

5 Other museums did operate, at various times, prior to 1988. The Museu Arqueológico das Ruínas de S. Paulo was established in 1962, during the rule of Gov. Jaime Silvério Marques, but was destroyed during the riots of December 1966; a second museum created at the same time, the Museu de Armamento, suffered the same fate but was reconstituted as the Museu Militar some years later.

6 See Gomes 1974.

7 The establishment of the British colony of Hong Kong at the end of the Opium War in 1842 had sent Macao's economy into a tailspin. Hong Kong's deep water bay was better suited for the new steam-powered ships that were becoming more common for trade, and the establishment of a British outpost meant that Macao was no longer the sole home base for European traders working in China.

8 The original reads: "O Museu Municipal de Macao, constituindo um estabelecimento de grande utilidade para o comercio e para a instrucção popular, á semelhança de muitas municipalidades das nações mais civilizadas do mundo, poderia conter também uma secção histórica de grande valor, não somente para Macao, mas tambem para as tradições de nação portugueza nesta parte do extremo oriente,…[a] influencia que exerceram nas artes, nas industrias, no comercio…e nas leis e na politica de alguns d'esses povos." (Corte Real in Gomes 1973: 8). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

9 The Portuguese had been present in Macao since 1557 but had never claimed full, formal political sovereignty over the territory until 1849, when Governor Ferreira do Amaral did so unilaterally.

10 The original reads: "estão convencidos que para os povos desenvolverem todos os elementos de vida,…se torna indispensavel auxiliar a acção dos governos com a iniciativa dos cidadãos,… mórmente quando, como agora, se trata de reanimar uma povoação decadente, de reparar desastres que affectaram a sua vida normal e de tirar d'entre as proprias ruinas as fontes de renascimento e nova prosperidade, cujas origens não estão felizmente extinctas."

11 Portaria N.º 231, published in *Boletim Oficial* No. 42, 5 November 1910.

12 Bairrão Oleiro and Brito Peixoto, n.d.

13 From 'Vila Alegre', in *Artis* 3, 1979 [?].

14 Other museums that have been built from scratch include the three major new museums sponsored by the Macao government — the Macao Museum, the Grand Prix Museum, and the Wine Museum.

15 The striking thing about the state-sponsored museums in Macao, compared to state-sponsored systems of museums in many other countries, is that they are not administered by a single authority. Although the impetus behind the expansion of museums has come mainly from the MGTO, and the majority of new museums that have opened are under their administration, still it is significant that there is no centralized museum authority to administer budgets, personnel, policy, and management of the museums. It seems that it is still too early to call the proliferation of museums in Macao a 'system.'

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Macao Patois Words in English?

PETER CABREROS*

INTRODUCTION

Macao is a tiny territory with a long and ancient history.[1] Acknowledged as the first permanent settlement governed by Westerners in the land of China,[2] it also holds the distinction of being the last. When the administration of the Portuguese ended December 20, 1999, the territory's history of foreign rule effectively came to a close.

This stage of Macao's history, however, does not merely refer to the dealings among the Portuguese, the Chinese and their descendants. It represents so much more. Macao, since its establishment as a Portuguese settlement around 1555 to 1557, has served as a prominent site where bonds have been formed and reformed. These exchanges did not only happen between Portugal and China, but also among the other numerous communities of the East with various people from the West, which included Europeans, Africans and other Asians. This is a significant period of more than 400 years of contact among these people that has been a subject of study among researchers from the different fields of the sciences and the humanities.

This study is concerned with the linguistic interaction that occurred among these people that gave rise to a new variety of speech. This speech variety, however, was not actually new but rather a culmination of a blending among existing trade languages that are to varying degrees based on Portuguese and used by seafarers and traders in large parts of East Asia. Initially, these varieties of trade languages were grouped into one well-known lingua franca called the Portuguese lingua franca of the East. This lingua franca, according to the monogenetic theory, was modelled after a lingua franca in West Africa prevalent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This lingua franca was in turn an offshoot of a recognised lingua franca of the Mediterranean seas during the early part of the second millennium that was also Portuguese-based and goes by the name of Sabir.[3] Holm (1989) however points out that recent studies amply contest such a proposition.[4] Nonetheless, it is a fact that various Portuguese creole[5] languages have been found all over the world, sharing linguistic similarities in varying degrees. By the time one such variety arrived in Macao, it was already a developed speech variety used by several communities for a notable period of time. This thesis thus focuses its study on this Portuguese creole found in Asia, particularly in Southeast and East Asia, that produced another linguistic base in Macao, got reformulated there, underwent further linguistic development and came to be known as the Macao Creole Portuguese or Macao patois.

Macao, in other words, served as another meeting point for a Portuguese creole, from where it developed further. The people in the region – both the newcomers and the old hands – might have used this speech form in their efforts to communicate, an act further compounded by the introduction of this Portuguese-based creole onto the new and decidedly formidable speech community of the Chinese.

At this point of contact, this particular variety of speech had been christened with many names. They include such names as 'the Portuguese dialect of Macao,' 'the Portuguese creole of Macao' or the Macao creole; *lingua* or *lingu de Macau* (language of Macao);

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dialecto Macaenses (dialect of the Macanese); *lingu Maqista* or *Makista* or *Macaense* (language of the Macanese); *papia Kristão* or *Cristão* (Christian talk or jabber) and *doçi papiamento de Macau* or *doçi papiaçam de Macau* (sweet tongue of Macao), or *doçi lingua de Macau* (the sweet language of Macao) among others. In this paper, it will simply be referred to as the Macao patois.[6] Despite its array of names, there is limited information available about this particular Portuguese creole.[7] Its specific speech community will hereafter be referred to as the Macaenses,[8] which will be described in greater detail in the succeeding chapters.

This study aims to show the likelihood that the Macao patois was the alleged "lingua franca" used by the English-speaking people as they established their presence in the region in the beginning of the early seventeenth century. The proof is based on two observations. The first observation is that some of the words from this speech variety have a striking resemblance to similar words of English. Such a resemblance is admittedly inconclusive.[9] The second consideration, the more plausible one, is the diversity of the sources of words that Macao patois acquired vis-à-vis Macao's importance as the site where English traders did business with China and other nations in the Southeast Asian region. This consideration poses a high degree of probability that such words, although originating from other Asian countries or communities, were introduced into English principally through Macao and hence, Macao patois. Stated in another way, the likely proof is based on given historical sources that show a high degree of probability that Macao patois has served either as a direct or intermediary source from which English acquired loan words from Asia such as China and the island nations of Malaysia, Indonesia and Japan.

Based on a number of historical sources used in this study, we can surmise reasonably (but not conclusively) *how* English might have borrowed these words. These are words that may have been, or still are, elements of Macao patois vocabulary, which is perceived as either on its way to extinction,[10] or is undergoing the process of decreolization.[11] Whenever historical records can support this premise, it will be stated *what* words or *which* of these words most probably originated directly from the Macao patois and *when* were they popularly used. In cases when records are not substantial enough to support the premise, it can still be argued that this patois may have acted as the link – the intermediary or linguistic middleman – through which English acquired these words. As one of the recent modification of one or several Portuguese-based speech varieties used in the region, during the period around the early seventeenth century until the late nineteenth century, it is not too far-fetched an idea that the Macao patois should be such a link.

What then are these words? These are words that many people and the majority of etymological dictionaries nowadays would attribute as having their roots in languages – either living or dead – found in countries or regions all over the world. These countries or regions can be further divided into two groups. The first group consists of places visited or even colonised for a period of time by the then vast Portuguese sea-borne empire. Places such as India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Malay islands, Moluccas or Spice Islands (of the present day Indonesian archipelago), China and Japan belong to this group. The European countries that competed with Portugal for naval and trading supremacy in the East belong to the second group, which include Holland, Spain and Britain.[12] These words were gathered from various English books on etymology[13] that list and group the origins of English loanwords from a country or from a language. The English words considered in this paper were chosen based on their meanings that denote a close identification with the Asian people's customs and ways of life, particularly those who had dealings with the people of Macao, such as the Goans of India, the Malays, Japanese and Chinese. Some are also words that refer to things that were traded in and from Macao. These words are found in Table 1. There are all together twenty-two (22) of them.

TABLE 1: INITIAL WORKING LIST OF 22 SUSPECTED MACAO PATOIS-DERIVED ENGLISH LOANWORDS

betel, caddy, catty, copra, ginseng, gram (as chickpea), joss, junk, lacquer, mandarin, miso, mochi, nankeen, pagoda, pidgin, sampan, sapanwood, soy/soya, taipan, tanka and *veranda*.

Prepared by the author from the sources listed in footnote no. 13.

Difficulties abound in the task of sorting out these words and identifying which are the probable ones. These difficulties arise due to three factors. The first factor is the scarcity of words recorded from this speech variety. The oldest known source that recorded such words is *The Monograph of Macao*[14]. This work was only published in 1751, written neither by a Macao resident (Portuguese or otherwise) nor in Portuguese, as would have been expected. It was a work in Chinese by Yin Guangren[15] and Zhang Rulin.[16] Both were Mandarin officials of the Qing (Ching) dynasty. The former began the work based on his visit to Macao around 1746 and completed it with the help of the latter. Since various scholars have held that Macao patois had already arisen around the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century, one cannot account *in what form* (orthography) these words were written down and *when* exactly such words came to be used and accepted by the general public. Furthermore, the earliest documented studies done by a Portuguese were published only in the early nineteenth century by Adolfo Coelho and Leite de Vasconcelos.[17] Their studies, however, were not conducted *in loco* (on site, i.e., in Macao). Only in the late nineteenth century was a study on the patois conducted in Macao. Published in *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo – Arquivos e Anais do Extremo Oriente Português (1899-1902) (Archives and Annals of the Portuguese Far East*), it was written by João Feliciano Marques Pereira.[18] But Pereira admitted that he wrote it more for entertainment than for scholarly pursuit. Hence the data found in it are not deemed very reliable, lacking in authenticity and fidelity to the original forms. The most recent effort to record the vocabulary of the patois was by José dos Santos 'Adé' Ferreira in the last century. He also had his difficulties in recalling and transcribing the vocabulary of the patois; he was even criticised for inventing new patois words to describe things that did not exist two centuries ago.[19] Such a difficulty is understandable and, in a manner, foreseen, considering that Pereira, in the previous century, had already lamented the loss of various works (songs, poems, etc.) written in Macao patois 'due to widespread lack of interest and carelessness'[20] of the Macaenses.

The second limiting factor is the different orientation taken by the majority of the previous studies on the patois. Works concerning the Macao patois cited here are mostly written from a sociological or ethnological viewpoint rather than from a philological or linguistic perspective, which is the concern of this study. The third limiting factor is that most studies compared this speech variety with its superstrate language – metropolitan Portuguese, not English. A large amount of historical data written predominantly in Portuguese still awaits analysis from the linguistic or philological perspective. This study limits its scope to works in English or those translated into English.

Due to these limiting factors, the study was conducted on pertinent historical records based on the following subjects: a) on Macao and Macao trade; b) on the participants of this trade and c) on the language used by this trade. Language genesis, to a certain extent, is dependent on who comprises its speech community, how they used the language and where was it used. The genesis of Macao patois is not in any way different. Macao trading among different cultures and people principally induced the reformulation of this Portuguese creole, combining in varying degrees with the other languages used in Macao, and eventually acquiring its own speech community – the Macaenses. The Macaenses, in turn, preserved this speech form not only making it their ethnic marker but also using it – largely or in part – as their means of livelihood while working as interpreters, clerks and middlemen (compradors) for the various people involved in trade and commerce in Macao. Written works on the history of Macao trade in its different facets are numerous. Records about the Macaenses and their patois, however, are far less abundant. Studies conducted to compare Macao patois with English are scarce.

Given the limitations mentioned, this study intends to provide a preliminary study on Macao patois' role in the acquisition of loan words from Asia by the English language. In this regard, a collection of such works was obtained and annotated with respect to their citations that state or allude to the role played by Macao patois either as an intermediary or a direct source of English loanwords.

This study is admittedly neither exhaustive nor conclusive, so further research is crucial to shed a better light on the role of the Macao patois not only as a source of English loan words but ultimately as a significant linguistic bridge that connected the cultures

of the East and the West. As the saying goes, "*let us give credit where credit is due.*" It is high time that Macao patois receive its just credit.

AN OVERVIEW

A cursory look at the English vocabulary would reveal how English acquired loan words that refer to the travels and dealings of its people all over the world. The forms of these words are oftentimes good indicators of which part of the world they were taken from. A closer look, however, at the sources or origins of some English words can spring surprises. One such case is to refer to some words that would offhand be considered as having "Chinese" origins but actually do not.

Take for example the word *mandarin*, which for all intents and purposes is universally related nowadays to China, the Chinese or at least "something Chinese." One can speak of a Mandarin, an official of the Chinese Empire of yesteryears, speaking the "mandarin tongue." One can admire his "mandarin dignity" while garbed in his "mandarin coat" with "mandarin sleeves" while he wears his "mandarin hat" with dignity. One can also refer to his "mandarin porcelain" and vases, tinted "mandarin blue," which surrounds him while he eats his meal of "mandarin duck" with "mandarin broth." He later sits in his living room admiring his 'mandarin jar' (which is actually Japanese porcelain[21]) while he eats his "mandarin orange" and plays with his "mandarin cat." With all these descriptions, "mandarin" must surely be of Chinese origin. It is even held that its etymology came from the Chinese words, *man* (Manchu), *da* (big) and *ren* (man), referring to the big and tall Manchurians[22] who came to supplant the Ming dynasty and by the seventeenth century had established their own – the Qing dynasty. A word originating from Chinese and a word speaking of things Chinese are however, two different things.

Looking into the foremost etymological dictionary[23] would reveal that the word originated thousands of miles away. In the ancient Sanskrit language of the subcontinent of India, its word for "counsellor" is *mantrin*. It is believed that from this word, the Hindi language acquired its own word for "counsellor," *mantri*. Several leagues away, the Malays also had their word for 'counsellor,' which is *mantri,* exactly like the one from India. The similarity is probably due to the trading between these people that had existed many years prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. The Portuguese may have, in turn, taken this word to refer to someone who commands. The meaning, however, is slightly different, *mandarim* <*mantrim* [H. Indo-European]> means 'one who commands,' taken from the Portuguese, *mandar* <*mandare* [L. Indo-European]>, which means 'to command.' But what is interesting is that in the passage of time, the term took on a very specific meaning to refer to high-ranking Chinese officials whose actions aptly fit the distinctive spirit the word conveys. Since Macao, a Portuguese territory, was the place where the British set their base in their initial dealings with the Chinese, various etymological books have attributed to the Portuguese word, *mandarim*, the origin of the English, *mandarin*.

However, the language used by these adventurous sailors and merchants was not European Portuguese. The Portuguese who sailed far into the East had African, Indian and Malay slaves with them on such voyages. In order to communicate, they resorted to speaking a language that could not have been one hundred percent Portuguese, but rather they adopted a variety that was Portuguese-based. This was what several books refer to as Indo-Portuguese, the lingua franca of the East.[24] As earlier pointed out, it would be more reasonable to maintain that a Portuguese-based speech variety was used containing a generous amount of Malay words rather than state there was a distinct lingua franca used.[25]

Portuguese-based speech varieties were continually evolving, taking in words from places the Portuguese visited until such time that such voyages ended, when people began to settle and the language started to stabilise.[26] Goa in India was established as the Portuguese headquarters in the East in the fifteenth century; Malacca was annexed in the early sixteenth century and Macao in the middle of the same century. As one Portuguese-based speech form reached one land, depending on the circumstances, it evolved and acquired certain regional characteristics. As for that particular speech variety in Macao, it too acquired a form unique to the place.[27] This distinct regional Portuguese-based speech form is the Macao patois.

Macao patois underwent creolization, i.e., it acquired its own speech community, which passed on

Portuguese-based speech varieties were continually evolving, taking in words from places the Portuguese visited until such time that such voyages ended, when people began to settle and the language started to stabilise.

the patois from generation to generation. As time went by, it took in more and more Chinese (largely Cantonese) words and phrases, the speech variety spoken by the majority of the population living in and around Macao. The arrival of the English heralded an opportunity for the patois to grow in influence, but only to be later supplanted by the English language and lose its status as the trade language of the area. But earlier on, the English-speaking traders hired patois speakers to communicate with the other traders, especially with the Chinese, in the first century of their dealings.[28] They would have had to borrow some words from this speech variety, which could well be the type of speech referred to by those westerners who chronicled their forays to the Far East as pidgin Portuguese or even pidgin English.[29] In time, these words were anglicised to refer to specific things they had encountered in this region. Evidence of this occurrence is the presence of words of Pidgin English that Dalgado recorded which are distinctively of Portuguese origin (see Table 4).

This event could explain how the word 'mandarin' evolved into a term that refers to an official of the then Chinese Empire who 'counsels' and 'commands,' describing likewise his attire and demeanour, and accounting for the other descriptions mentioned earlier. Similarly, the word was later on adopted in English to refer to anything characteristically Chinese or hailing from China.

The question that comes to mind is, "Are there still other such words?" A look into etymological dictionaries would reveal that there are a good deal more. Following the premise that Macao patois is a latter evolution of the Indo-Portuguese, it is logical to trace the path of the Portuguese voyages and record here not only those words which several English books state are words with Portuguese origins but also words with origins from places which the Portuguese passed through, traded with or even colonised. These words include *chop, pagoda* and *palanquin*, which have roots in the communities in India; *joss* and *junk* which have Portuguese-Dutch roots; *sampan, taipan* and *typhoon*, which have Cantonese roots; *miso, mochi, soya*, which have Japanese roots; and *caddy, catty* and *betel,* which have Malay roots. These words are found in Table 2.

At the same time, it is opportune to record other English words said to have originated from two other European nations that, aside from Britain, competed with Portugal for trade in the East from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century: Spain and Holland. These words are found in Table 3. Also included in this table are some words derived from Pidgin English and those with unknown[30] origins. These measures are useful in the light of the following words from Dalgado (1936):

"Portuguese was spoken in its pure or corrupt form throughout[31] the whole of India, Malaysia, Pegu, Burma, Siam, Tonkin, Cochin-China, China, in Kamaran in Persia, in Basra of the Turkish villages and in Mecca in Arabia. And it was spoken not only by the Portuguese and their descendants but by Hindus, Mohammedans, Jews, and Malays and by Europeans of other nationalities in their intercourse with one another or with indigenous people. It was employed by the Dutch missionaries in their own dominions and even to this day, English Protestant ministers make use of it in Ceylon. It was therefore for a long time the lingua franca of the East[32]."[33]

Several words belong to more than one group since various sources had grouped them differently. This difference in grouping is indicative of the interaction that existed among the different people trading back then. It also indicates the uncertainty of the origins, which may be due to the scarcity of written records verifying the origin and evolution of these words. Since the focus here is solely on the stage of the linguistic evolution of a Portuguese-based speech variety to Macao patois, the previous lists were further narrowed down. Words that originated in other regions, such as the Americas, where these nations (i.e., Spain,

Portugal, Holland and Britain) were also former colonial powers and from where some of these words originated, are discounted since they have no bearing on this study.

The next step is to check which of these words had a close relationship with the history of Macao, its activities, its people and its linguistic milieu. This was done because explicit records of new terms or phrases that arose in the course of trading between different cultures are rare. The aim here is to infer from given records and obtain fragments of information from them that can provide supporting evidence reasonable enough to surmise that Macao patois was either the progenitor or the initial channel through which these words were eventually borrowed by the English language. In due time, English took them as its very own. This matter will now be discussed in the remainder of this section, which will be divided into three parts, proceeding from the general to the particular.

The first part is an overview of the history of the foundation of Macao and the main activities that happened in or around the territory, paying particular attention to the linguistic milieu of the place and the role of language in the locality. A study of the Macaenses or the *filhos Macau* (sons of Macao) will comprise the second part. These people are properly referred to as the local and indigenous populace of Macao. The last part of this discussion will look at the language itself, the language that became a defining ethnic marker for these Macaenses. It also served as their linguistic medium to successfully communicate with the Portuguese administrators, the predominantly Chinese populace, the African or Indian slaves and the other people who comprised Macao society. It is in this same vein that this very patois is affirmed as the Portuguese creole of the region from where or through which the English language borrowed some of its vocabulary to describe the indigenous and unique things they had found in the area.

The choice and the verification of the etymology of the suspected English words is based mainly on the data recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Hobson Jobson*[34] and articles and books about the Macaenses and Macao patois.

TABLE 2: ENGLISH LOANWORDS FROM PORTUGUESE, CHINESE, & OTHER LANGUAGES FROM REGIONS VISITED BY THE PORTUGUESE[35]

language	words
Portuguese (36)	*albacore, albino, amah, ayah, banana, bandanna, banyan, betel, cash, cashew, comprador, copra, creole, dodo, garoupa, godown, gram, hurricane, joss, junk, lacquer, madeira, mandarin, mango, molasses, mosquito, pagoda, palaver, pickaninny, pidgin, port, tank, tapioca, typhoon, veranda, yam*
Hindi (20)	*bandanna, bangle, bungalow, cashmere, cheetah, coolie, cowrie, cummerband, gunny, guru, jungle, myna, nabob, palanquin, pundit, sari, seersucker, shampoo, toddy, veranda*
Malay/ Javanese (18)	*agar-agar, amuck, bamboo, caddy, cassowary, catty, copra, gambier, godown, junk, kapok, mango, orangutan, rattan, sago, sappanwood, soya, teak*
Chinese (17)	*chop, congee, ginseng, ketchup, kumquat, lychee (litchi), nankeen, pekoe, pidgin, pongee, sampan, soy, shogun, taipan, tank, tea, typhoon*
Japan (6)	*mikado, miso, mochi, sake, shogun, soy*
Sanskrit (5)	*cash, mandarin, palanquin, sandal, tank*
Arabic, Turkish, Persian (5)	*bazaar, benzoin (benjamin), china, kebab, satin*
Tamil (5)	*catamaran, cheroot, conundrum, curry, pariah*
Urdu (4)	*coolie, kebab, khaki, nawab*
African (2)	*okra, yam*

Prepared by the author from the sources listed in footnote no. 34.

TABLE 3: ENGLISH LOAN WORDS FROM SPANISH, DUTCH, PIDGIN ENGLISH & AN UNKNOWN SOURCE[36]

language	words
Spanish (24)	*alligator, alpaca, anchovy, apricot, avocado, banana, bonanza, cannibal, canoe, castanet, cigar, chili, cockroach, cork, desperado, embargo, hacienda, maize, mulatto, papaya, potato, puma, sombrero, tobacco*
Dutch (3)	*bamboo, junk, sappanwood*
Pidgin English (4)	*amah, joss, pidgin, savvy*
Unknown (3)	*humbug, jabber, tiffin*

Prepared by the author from the sources listed in footnote no. 35.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MACAO VIS-À-VIS THE LANGUAGES USED IN MACAO

It is opportune to begin this section by going over these two passages:

- The influence of Macao on the history of foreign relations with China extends much beyond the sphere of mere commercial interest. For 300 years it was for foreigners the gate of the Chinese empire, and all good and bad influences which came from without were infiltrated through that narrow opening, which also served as the medium through which China was revealed to the Western world.[37]
- Macao has had its share of ups and downs… reflecting the fortunes of both China and Portugal… As continental Portugal's influence waned with the passage of time, it was perhaps fortunate that her long standing alliance with England stood her in good stead. It was in Portugal's interest to be tied in friendship to rising English sea power and the blossoming of the British Empire.[38]

In a nutshell, the relationship that existed between the Portuguese, the Chinese and the English determined or shaped Macao history, particularly the Western rule and commerce in the territory. From a geographical viewpoint, Macao history has transoceanic roots, where five continents and their varying cultures converged on this tiny peninsula, which served as the cradle.[39] We thus have four principal players that shaped Macao history in the last 400 years: Portugal, China, Britain and the sea. To elaborate on the interaction among the three nations and their respective languages, it is opportune to begin with what brought them all together — the sea.

Macao society ultimately owes its unification and its endurance to the sea. Macao was founded and evolved through the joint actions of simple and hardworking fishermen, adventurous and ambitious navigators, enterprising merchants, opportunistic pirates and zealous missionaries who flocked to this small enclave and its nearby waters. The sea at the same time served as the source of motivation and inspiration that led to the development of the concept of marine insurance and the invention of swift ships called *lorchas,* which were used decisively by the Portuguese in their fight against pirates in the Pearl River delta.[40] At the same time, the sea also protected Macao from China's enormous centripetal force, allowing it to have a certain degree of tolerance and autonomy.[41]

A clear indication of the role of the sea vis-à-vis Macao history is its prominence as a source of the varied names this small area had acquired even prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Most of the names refer to the peaceful bay that reflects images much like a mirror, and which takes the shape of an oyster. This bay is now known as Praia Grande. The other favourite source from where Macao eventually got its present name is the A-Ma Temple, just a few hundred meters away from the heavily reclaimed area of Praia Grande Bay.

The manner in which this land was named indicates the prime importance given to the bay or the sea by the people who settled around the area. The fact that Macao is considered as a 'gateway' captures the significance of this relatively small area as a haven for various folks who depend a lot on the sea either as a means of livelihood or as a means of transportation. It was by these means that Macao rose to prominence and, by its very dependence, subsequently fell into decline.

Macao was established as the "Portugal in the farthest East,"[42] the extreme base of the Portuguese in

the East to trade with the surrounding areas. China was the main trading partner. It is no secret that the primary and principal centre of business that the Portuguese and other traders wanted to reach in South China was Canton (Guangzhou). Nonetheless, due to its proximity, Macao was made the city's seaport, with easy access to do business with the other cities or townships nearby such as *Shekki* [Sehk Kèih], *Sun Wui* [Sàn Wúi], *Kwong Hoi* [Gwông Hói] and *Shiu Hing* [Síu Hîng].[43]

Portuguese trading ships also travelled and traded far beyond the China seas. These vessels indulged in the very lucrative Asian-American-European trade[44] with Macao as the intermediary – both as the warehouse and the middleman. Manila was also an occasional trading partner, especially during the period of the reign of a united Portugal and Spain under Philip II. Trading vessels called *naus*, big but slow-moving vessels, also did business in the ports of Malacca, Formosa (Taiwan) and Nagasaki, Japan. Such trading gave enormous fortunes to the Portuguese in Macao.[45]

From the middle of the sixteenth century, Macao thus became a melting pot where the varied cultures and people of the East and the West interacted and intermingled. This nondescript territory came to be, in the words of Montalto de Jesus, a Macao historian, the 'emporium of the East… whence the riches of the neighbouring empire found their way to foreign cultures.'[46] Business and trading thus became the principal concern among the settlers. And whenever there is business, an optimal means of communication has to be arranged, which implies a vital need for interpreters.

Although an effective means of communication – and thus the need for competent interpreters – was highly desired at that time, it is very interesting to note that numerous historical records during this period hardly made any mention of this matter at all.

Nonetheless, snippets of information have been noted. One of the earliest embassies carried out by the Portuguese in its desire to have a formal trading agreement with China was the ill-fated Embassy of Tomé Pires around 1512-1515. It was recorded that he brought with him to Canton not one but five interpreters.[47] Anders Ljungstedt (1836) cites another case of the absolute necessity for interpreters. In his work considered as the first book written in English that referred prominently to Macao, he recorded that for foreign ships to be allowed to enter and do business in the port in Canton (Guangzhou), "the consignee or owner of the ship must obtain for her a security merchant, a linguist and a comprador…."[48] He further added that the linguist, so called, holds the rank of interpreter and procures permits for delivering and taking cargo, transacts all business at the customhouse and keeps account of the duties, etc.[49] Ljungstedt was referring to businesses held during the early part of the seventeenth century, the practice of which was observed well into the next two centuries.

He also recorded that by 1634, an agreement of 'truce and free trade' was made between the Viceroy of Goa and several English merchants with license to trade in the East Indies. Ljungstedt recorded the account of Sir George Staunton, who, in writing about the first visit of an English ship on June 27, 1637, which was captained by John Weddell and had Peter Mundy as traveller-interpreter, wrote: "…presently J. Mounteny and T. Robinson went on board [sic] the chief Mandarin where were certain negroes fugitives of the Portuguese, that interpreted."[50]

The version of the same incident, recounted by Coates (1988) is even more precise in terms of naming and describing one of the interpreters involved in the negotiations. He introduced himself as Paulo Norette, a Lusitanized Chinese of Macao, the "mandareene" of Peter Mundy from his own chronicles.[51]

David Lopes (1969), in his book, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*, stated that nearly every European factory found it necessary to hire and employ at least one Luso-Indian Christian professional interpreter and writer of Portuguese.[52] The role of these *jurubaças*[53] was vital to give assistance not only to the Portuguese authorities in communicating or in their diplomatic and para-diplomatic relations with China, but also to other foreigners who would want to establish trade relations with China. Who were these interpreters? Aside from the Paulo Norette that Coates identified, Boxer (1984) mentioned another description of such people from the chronicle of António Bocarro about Macau in 1635, which provides more data:

"In addition to this number of married Portuguese, there are about as many native families, including Chinese Christians, termed jurubassas (meaning interpreters), who form the majority, and other nations, all Christians."[54]

These interpreters then, were mostly, if not all, Macao residents, who were, as stated, Chinese Christians, like Paulo Norette, although others would have been of the more respectable kind. They may also have been offspring, sometimes illegitimate, of mixed marriages where one of the parents was Chinese, presumably the mother. Given the stable income and somewhat respectable position such an occupation brought with it, and despite the dangers[55] it may also pose, the job most probably may have been passed on from generation to generation, within the confines of these Chinese Christian families. Doing so would have ensured the relative sustenance of the family and maintained and even enhanced its legitimacy during the times of declining prosperity in Macao during the seventeenth century.[56]

What then was the trade language used? Was it Portuguese or a Portuguese-based speech variety? Linguistic studies and historical events reveal that whenever two communities with completely different languages interact, they almost always have had to undergo some sort of mutual linguistic accommodation, creating initially a pidgin that poses as the trade language that upon mutual acceptance, would serve as their principal means of verbal communication.[57] Following this line of thought and given the preceding data, a Portuguese-based speech variety, such as Macao patois, would likely have been chosen as the medium of communication, because of its affinity to Portuguese, the language of the administrators, and with its Malay-based words that would have made it more understandable to the majority of the people.

It is, however, important to note that by the middle of the sixteenth century, many of these Portuguese merchant sailors and their retinue as well as the Chinese merchants and their mandarin officials had already had previous dealings with each other since at least the early part of that century. Records have shown that from the earliest Portuguese voyages to the Malabar coast of India, the Portuguese had already heard of "a mysterious, fair-skinned people called Chin."[58] Upon their annexation of Malacca in 1511, they finally had contacts with the people from the fabled 'Cathay' of Marco Polo, who were already doing business with their Malayan counterparts even before the arrival of the Portuguese.[59]

This aroused great interest among the Portuguese. As early as 1512, a delegation was organised by Albuquerque, the acknowledged conqueror of Malacca who was then the Viceroy of Goa. This delegation was headed by Jorge Álvares and was given the task of finding out what he could and of opening trade if circumstances permitted. He reached the island of Tamão (Lintin) in the Pearl River delta in 1514. There he erected a stone *padrão*, a commemorative pillar with the Portuguese coat of arms. Another delegation was sent in the person of Rafael Perestello, who arrived in China either in 1514 or 1516. Both encounters had such encouraging results that an envoy, in the person of Tomé Pires, was sent to try to conclude a trading agreement with the Emperor of China himself.

By 1517, four Portuguese ships with four Malay-type vessels under the command of Fernão Peres de Andrade, were allowed to enter the gulf of China. They set foot on the island of St. John (*San Shan* or *Sanchuan)*. Although they were expelled from the island in 1521, by 1522, they were allowed to set up an emporium at Liampo. By 1542, their trading in Liampo also covered trade with Japan. Five years earlier, however, in 1537, they had obtained permission from the local Chinese officials to land and raise a few huts as temporary shelter on a deserted peninsula that is now known as Macao.

These events would imply that prior to the definitive settlement of Portuguese settlers in Macao in or around 1557, there had already been several contacts, although sporadic, with Chinese merchants and sailors for at least three decades. Such contacts had given these Westerners ample time to learn a fairly good deal of this Portuguese-based speech variety that they may have had a hand in unwittingly creating to do business in the East. Similarly, these Chinese merchant-sailors also must have learned to more or less converse with this Portuguese-based speech variety in their trading voyages in the South China seas, voyages that continued despite the policy of isolationism that the Ming dynasty imposed in its realm during this time.

In the course of the years, communication problems surely had arisen. In order to achieve better dealings with the new trading partner, the Chinese, a "new" or "modified" trade language would have gradually developed from a previous one.[60] The matter had to be also very urgent given the general unwillingness and prejudice of the Chinese authorities

they had to deal with. Aside from the linguistic aspect of this prejudice (i.e., unwillingness to speak any language other than their own), they also have the social bias of considering people who live from the sea to be of the most inferior kind and the least to be considered.[61]

Studies made by Graciete N. Batalha (1959), a noted philologist of Macao patois, reveal precisely such an occurrence. She mentioned that by the time this particular Portuguese-based speech variety arrived in Macao, it was already "an idiom matured to a degree, broadened by vocabular contingents and having already reached a certain state of phonetic, morphological and syntactical stability that managed to prevail for 300 years… until it began to wane in the last century."[62]

This speech variety is thus not just a product of the trade language created by the people living in or near Macao; it is a developed or enriched version of a Portuguese creole and already used to a considerable extent by many people. This would explain the fact that analyses done on the phonetic, syntactic and grammatical structures of this speech variety reveal a combination and a good number of Portuguese, Malay and Indian language structures and vocabulary.[63] Only the more recent studies showed the marked increase of the influence of Chinese as well as English on this speech variety.

Numerous historians attest to the fact that Macao served as the base of the Portuguese in their complete domination of trading between the East and the West during much of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the next, often referred to as the 'Golden Age of Macao.'[64] This was due to the enormous benefits Macao reaped from being the main intermediary of the lucrative China-Japan trade. The very same historians also state that the complacency and lack of foresight of the Portuguese leaders, at home and in their Asian colonies, led to Macao's demise as a major port of call in the East. The expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan in 1639 heralded the end of the reign of the Portuguese in trading in the East. For a time, trade with the Lesser Sunda Islands of Timor and Solor, Macassar in Celebes and Manila, as well as trade in Siam and Indo-China (Cochin China) compensated for this major loss. However, trade with Manila was disrupted partially in 1640 and totally by 1644, and Malacca was lost completely to the Dutch by 1641. All the while, all Portuguese traders had more and more difficulties plying their other important trading routes due to being bullied by the superior navies of England, Holland and to a lesser extent, Spain.[65] All these misfortunes led to the diminishing of power and influence of Portugal in subsequent years.

Despite the status still ascribed by the ruling mandarins to Macao as the seaport of Canton that brings with it financial revenues, the decree of Emperor Kangxi in 1685 to open all Chinese ports to foreigners condemned Macao to ignominy. By 1704, under the Methuen Treaty, Portugal began to ask for naval protection from Britain. With the Portuguese navy impotent, Macao's economy and sovereignty were practically at the mercy of other countries. And as the Portuguese people could no longer assert their previous dominance, it could be conjectured that the use of their preferred speech variety in trading also began to wane. It could be stated that only by the ingenuity of the leaders of Macao were the Portuguese able to hold on to their power over this small territory.

The fact that Macao is considered as a 'gateway' captures the significance of this relatively small area as a haven for various folks who depend a lot on the sea either as a means of livelihood or as a means of transportation.

By the seventeenth century, the English navy reigned supreme in much of Asia, holding on to that distinction until well into the nineteenth century, with the annexation of Hong Kong in 1841 as the high point of their supremacy in the Far East, which solidified their status as the dominant Western country trading in Asia. By then, Macao had ceased to be the principal port of call for the majority of the trading vessels of Europe and the emerging powerful countries of Japan and the U.S. Foreigners, however, still appreciated the value of this small territory as a reliable intermediary

in their dealings with the Chinese authorities based on its more than two centuries of past dealings. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed the establishment of trading offices by several foreign countries in Macao. The most notable among them was the establishment of the office of the British East India Company.[66] Macao served as the base of activities of this company until they moved to Hong Kong soon after its annexation in 1841.[67] The move marked the economic decline of Macao.

Foreigners and native merchants, however, still preferred to conduct a portion of their trade, such as tea and silk, in the area since "burdens are light and labour is in abundance."[68] This allowed Macao to continue a certain degree of business. In fact, such circumstances led to a new business set up principally by the British in 1845—the coolie trade.[69] Such trade started in Macao in 1851. It came about as a way to address the problem of labour shortages brought about by the gradual worldwide abolition of slavery during this period. The decline of rule and order under the Qing dynasty, aggravated by the recent Opium Wars, made China very vulnerable and the Chinese people easy victims of such a trade. Although the Chinese government strongly disapproved of the trade and even banned any Chinese from leaving the country, it had little power to enforce this law over all its empire, especially in Macao. Macao thus became the sole service port of this heinous trade, which was essentially no different from forced slavery. The Macao government tried to regulate the trade but was indecisive in banning it, getting from it much needed revenue and employment for its people. Later on, due to pressures within and without, the coolie trade measures became more prohibitive until the trade officially ended in 1874.[70]

Due to this trade, a variety of new professions arose in Macao. Most were connected with the recruitment of Chinese youths for the foreign contractors who anchored in the Inner Harbor (*Porto Interior*), waiting to ship them as soon as possible to the U.S., Cuba or Peru, countries which were sorely in need of labourers during this time.[71] From among these professions, it is likely that speakers of the Macao patois were needed. It can be inferred that the five known contracting companies that were from South America and the U.S. would have hired such interpreters to deal with these coolie traders.[72] There is also the cultural factor that could be involved – these creole speakers would have been chosen based on their cultural and racial affinity aside from their language ability.[73] In other words, they would have the necessary skills other than linguistic to convince the Chinese that it was worth their while to apply for these jobs.

Aside from the coolie trade, Macao also supplied the increased demand for clerks to work in the offices set up by foreign companies trading with China. Among the residents of Macao, the "Portuguese of the Chinese"[74] were sought after to handle competently this task. The Macaenses answered this need and thereby preserved their position in society by exploiting their gift of inter-ethnic communication.[75]

By this time, Macao patois would have begun to take in more and more of the English vocabulary, while at the same time contributing to the vocabulary enrichment of English, and in part this enrichment may have been due to these interpreters.[76]

English, by then, was gradually and decisively supplanting Portuguese as the dominant language of the region to complement the rise of the British Empire. The rise of the new trade language, Pidgin English, is evidence of this fact. The dominance of English was further strengthened by the rise of a former British colony, the US. Although entering rather belatedly in trading with China with only one vessel around 1784 or 1785, it quickly established itself, and by 1833 it already had 59 vessels doing business in the China ports.[77] In due time, the U.S. competed with Britain and other countries as the major trading partner of China, a consequence of which was the further strengthening of the status of English as the trading language of the region.

Macao and the Portuguese trade, on the other hand, faded badly. With the fading importance of Macao, Macao patois also gradually lost its relevance. It was relegated more and more to specific and limited occupations losing its importance on the local level to Chinese, specifically Cantonese, and its growing speech community who eventually took over trade and business in Macao. Cantonese, however, did not manage to supplant Portuguese as the language of administration. On the international level, the patois was gradually superseded by English, a growing international language and highly adaptable for its ability of borrowing loan words and making them its own.

Macao patois, however, did not simply fade off immediately into extinction. Its durability is due largely to the significant period of its use, well over 300 years, during which it acquired its own speech community. This speech community also acquired many names: *Macanese, Macaenses, Macaistas, filhos da terra* (sons of the earth) and *filhos de Macau* or *filho Macau* (sons of Macao) and even *Balichãos* (in jest).[78] In this paper, they will be referred to as the Macaenses.

Prior to proceeding to a discussion of the Macaenses, one may wonder about the role played by the various Catholic missionaries that set foot in Macao. These are people who also figured prominently in building up Macao society. The reason they are not mentioned is because these missionaries were not merely satisfied with learning the Macao patois. Based on historical records, we know that they were more determined to learn the Chinese language.[79] Their contribution, nonetheless, is very significant because the development of a more systematic approach to the study of the languages in the East is owed in large part to their missionary strategy of learning Chinese by complete immersion.[80]

THE MACAENSES (THE SONS OF MACAO)

> Words are motivated by people, following people's trails and marking their presence, even where such presence has long been forgotten.[81]

The Macaenses, in the strict sense of the term, are Eurasians – racially mixed people with a decidedly Portuguese strain. They were initially descendants of mixed marriages between Portuguese men and Malaccan (Malay) women; but as soon as the Portuguese set their roots in Macao, Portuguese and Chinese mixed marriages eventually predominated, yielding more and more Luso-Chinese Macaenses. Nonetheless, the blood of the Japanese, the Filipinos, the Siamese (Thai), the Mollucan and even the Burmese (through contact with the people of Arakan, a Burmese province) and much later the English and the French strains, also intermingled and flowed into the veins of these *Filho Macao* or *Filhos Macau*.[82] Portuguese Eurasians or Portuguese-of-the-East may be proper terms to describe them, but they prefer to be called instead the "Sons of Macao," their way of indicating their exact place of origin.

Various explanations have been expressed to account for the origins of the Macaenses. It suffices to state here that historical records, especially those found in the archives of the Diocese of Macao, dutifully pointed out by Msgr. Teixeira (1965 & 1975) in his two works about these people, reveal three things:

a) mixed marriages between Portuguese and Chinese already occurred in Portuguese Macao history much earlier than generally thought;
b) that mixed marriages occurred at all levels of Macao society; and
c) that the majority, if not by near unanimity, of such mixed marriages occurred between a Portuguese man and an Asian or Oriental woman.[83]

Furthermore, a comparative analysis of a sizeable amount of data pertaining to the origin of the Macaenses led Amaro (1994) to conclude that Eurasian women, not Chinese women, were the first mothers of the race of the Macaenses, the offspring of the first stable families based in Macao.[84] This is one fact cited to explain why there are so many words in the Macao patois of Malay origin.

The previous statements reveal that the Macaenses are then a cultural hybrid, having both European and Oriental or Asian traits that allowed them to act as a bridge to connect the cultures of the West and the East. This trait allowed them to assume the role as the region's undisputed intermediary or 'middleman.'

By the middle of the nineteenth century, aside from the Portuguese and Chinese influences, a strong influence of English and American ways had also been impressed upon them, especially when a sizeable segment of the community transferred to Hong Kong and Shanghai. These two cities were by then the two major international ports in the region, requiring the skills that the Macaenses had developed in Macao.

Macao society, in the beginning, consisted of Portuguese merchants and sailors with their African or Asian slaves and the Chinese fishermen and manual workers. In time, the basic composition of Macao society changed to consist of Portuguese administrators and Chinese businessmen. The Macaenses found their niche in Macao society by manning the intermediate posts in the administrative structure (as petty bureaucrats, civil servants, policemen, etc.) while also playing the role of intermediaries for Chinese interests

and those of other nations before the Portuguese administration (as lawyers, solicitors, secretaries, etc.).[85] This fact holds true even up to now. When some of them transferred to Hong Kong and Shanghai, most if not all of them also took over the same posts in these places.

These Hong Kong and Shanghai posts generally required them to speak more and more English by virtue of working for large British institutions. They were hired principally because of their facility to communicate in several languages. Linguistic ability was something greatly prized, as is expected, in a business where effective communication is crucial. The British realised the importance of the Macaenses in their lucrative business with China. Thompson (1959) states that "they [the Macaenses] have been a constant influence in Hong Kong working in business houses, government service and banks."[86]

Silva (1979) further adds that, "many trading and banking houses had long and happy Portuguese connections. Jardine Matheson and the other leading hongs (major British trading companies) employed many Portuguese. However, above all others stood 'The Bank' – the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Since its inception, this bank has served, employed and shared its fortunes with a significant proportion of the Portuguese in Hong Kong. For many years, the entire middle level clerical staff of the bank was Portuguese."[87] The situation for the Shanghai Macaenses was the same, with the majority of the Macaenses also working for "the Bank." They also worked for the trading companies of Jardine Matheson, Butterfield & Swire, Andersen Meyer and Dodwell's as part of their respective clerical and accounting staff.[88] Braga (1944) also cites old Hong Kong firms such as Messrs. Gibb, Livingston & Co., the Oriental Bank Corporation, the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China (eventually absorbed by the Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China), Olyphant & Co., Peninsular & Oriental S. N. Company, Lane Crawford & Company as companies that benefited from hiring Hong Kong Portuguese interpreters.[89]

The situation of the Macaenses in Macao, on the other hand, remained as before. Commercial opportunities in Macao, however, became very limited as most of the business and trade transferred to nearby Hong Kong. With a local trade monopolised by the Chinese, Macao patois was less and less used, superseded by Cantonese both as the everyday or street language and as the trade language. Intermarriages between the Macaenses and the Chinese became more common and contributed to the decreased used of the patois at home.

The Macaenses community however did not settle only in these three cities. The advent of the Second World War led to their dispersion all over the world, the so-called "Macanese Diaspora." A current estimate of the worldwide population distribution of the Macanese is hard to come by. A 1977 estimate of the population of this community accounted for 1,000 living in Hong Kong, 2,000 in Macao, 2,000 in Northern California, 2,000 in Southern California and 1,000 altogether in Portugal, Canada, Australia and Brazil.[90]

Despite the dispersion of the Macaenses, they were still able to keep their ethnic identity. One way they were able to do so is by preserving, albeit unconsciously for many, the language that has become distinctly their own – the Macao patois. Despite the dominance of the English and Chinese for the Macaenses of Hong Kong and Shanghai, and the dominance of the Portuguese and Chinese for those in Macao, these people managed to keep the patois alive. However, increased intermarriages with non-Macaenses, prolonged separation from Macao and its Macaense culture and a lack of a deep historical interest in their roots among the younger generation does not bode well for the long-term preservation of Macao patois.

Or does it? While it is true that the Macao patois may have acquired a distinct form vis-à-vis the Portuguese-based creoles that were used for centuries in Asia, it is interesting to consider the information provided by Subrahmanyam (1993) about the actions of some subjects of the Portuguese crown. He cites several cases when some of them, metropolitan Portuguese or Eurasians, had forsaken to live in Portuguese colonies and had become "renegades"[91] or had basically 'gone native'. This sort of people, in intermingling and intermarrying with the various people of Asia, brought with them the enrichment of the Portuguese-based speech varieties used in these regions. Although the Portuguese who settled at Macao were not specifically cited to have gone native, the preponderance of such cases in the other Portuguese colonies and even in places where the ships of the Portuguese crowns did not even visit, can lead one to suppose that a fairly good number

of Eurasians in Macao may have also done the same. In this respect, it is likely that in a good number of these fishing ports where these people stayed, remnants of these speech varieties would still be present. A survey of the various fishing villages that the Portuguese traders have dealt with in China may confirm this fact.[92] Assuming these same fishing villages were continuously visited by those from Macao who spoke the *macaista cerrado*, there is a possibility that Macao patois may still be alive in a form close to what it was two centuries ago. This assumption is also based on the likelihood that despite the many changes that happened in this part of the world, particularly in China, little has changed in some of these small and relatively isolated coastal Chinese villages. In this respect, it may even be possible that the Chinese boat people, who live in the *tanques (tancás)*, as the Macaenses would refer to their egg-shaped boats, may have also learned this trade language. In this regard, all of the above are mere conjectures as no substantial information could be offered to support such suppositions.

We will now proceed to a more detailed discussion of the speech variety of the Macaenses, who, as we have already seen, have had a lot of exposure to other languages, particularly English, in the last two centuries. And this exposure, coupled with the largely intermediary role played by the ones who spoke it, could have set the stage for the most convenient way for English to acquire new vocabulary in its forays into Southeast Asia and the Far East.

THE MACAO PATOIS (MACAO CREOLE PORTUGUESE)

> And as a Chinaman learns more easily a Romanic language than pure English, it is probable that were it not for the Pidgin jargon, corrupt Portuguese would have formed the popular means of communication between the foreigners and the natives of China – the large number of Portuguese words which at present exist in Pidgin English appears to prove it.[93]

This striking commentary recorded by Dalgado (1936) can set the tone for a thorough consideration of the contribution of Macao patois to the enrichment of the English language. What was this 'corrupt Portuguese' that was the object of his attention? Could it be Macao patois? Did Pidgin English partly develop from a modified version of this regional form of Indo-Portuguese? A comparison of the words in Pidgin English to Portuguese words is listed below in Table 4. However, before answers to these questions are proposed, it is good to first give a historical account of the rise and fall of Macao patois.

TABLE 4: A COMPARISON OF PIDGIN ENGLISH WORDS WITH MACAO PATOIS AND PORTUGUESE

Pidgin English	Macao Patois	Portuguese
amah	*amah*	*ama*
bangee	*?[i.e., not given]*	*bangue*
cab-tun	*?*	*capitão*
? cango	*?*	*canga*
? chop	*chapa*	*mudança*
compradore, kam-pat-to	*comprador*	*comprador*
? consu	*?*	*consul*
galanti, ka-lan-ti	*galante*	*esbelto / belo*
joss, josh	*joss*	*deus*
maskee, mashkee, /ma-sze-ki	*mas que*	*mas que*
molo-man	*moro*	*mouro*
na	*na*	*não*
pa-ti-li, pa-te-le	*padre*	*padre*
? pidgin	*?*	*ocupação*
sabby/savvy/shapi	*savi*	*saber*

Prepared by the author from data in S. R. Dalgado's *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* (reprint, 1988).

Generally thought of as a creole that is peculiar to Macao, this patois has actually evolved and has been considered as a culmination of the various Portuguese creoles spoken during this time. A culmination in a geographical sense since Macao is the farthest and most stable Portuguese settlement in the East. It is also a culmination in terms of development by virtue of having been the major trading base when Portuguese trading was at its peak and thus the place where various languages, which contributed to its evolution, interacted.

Considered nowadays as one of the few remaining Portuguese creoles, Macao patois seems to have been born by the necessity of simplifying the Portuguese language so that it could be more rapidly acquired by other people from widely differing ethnic groups, facilitating in that manner trade relations. By so doing, it inevitably enriched the Portuguese language with terms from all those areas through which the Portuguese passed and settled, whether fleetingly or not.

With a local trade monopolised by the Chinese, Macao patois was less and less used, superseded by Cantonese both as the everyday or street language and as the trade language.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the Portuguese, with their retinue of slaves and mistresses, brought along at least one kind of Portuguese-based speech variety, and this speech form would have also been likely known to some of the more adventurous or, more precisely, enterprising Chinese sailors and merchants who dealt with them. Considering that the Portuguese were based in Goa and Malacca prior to their settling in Macao, it is understandable why Macao patois was largely a conglomeration of the structure and vocabulary of the Portuguese, Indian and Malay languages.[94] Upon establishing dealings with a new trading partner – the Chinese – its structure might have evolved to accommodate the Chinese language. It may have begun with a relatively simple Chinese syntax combining with the Portuguese and Malay vocabulary of this lingua franca. In time, as its speakers settled down and raised their families, it was passed on from one generation to another, thereby forming a new language, a creole that became the language spoken by the majority of those people in Macao especially engaged in business.[95]

Mixed marriages between the Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, Indians, Japanese and other Asians could have further contributed to the elaboration and general acceptance of the creole within all sectors of Macao society. The creole somehow became a way for the Portuguese administrators and merchants and their Chinese counterparts to meet halfway in their dealings with each other. The native speakers of the patois soon established themselves as the intermediaries, the interpreters or the *jurubassas*,[96] who form one of the representative and integral groups in Macao society.

As the 'interpreters of the land,' they established their role as Macao's [linguistic] middlemen or intermediaries. This role enabled them to have a certain degree of power, especially in the area of communication. Within this power is the power of choice, that is, which word coming from which community is chosen as the word to describe a particular thing. Although such a prerogative would not have lent itself all the time, they – based on the circumstances – would, to a certain extent, have been able to choose the various terminologies or ways of saying things that are the most suitable based on its simplicity, clarity and function. Things would likely have hardly changed for three centuries. Only with the arrival of the dominant British fleet, their equally dominant English language and their establishment of Hong Kong did the role of these Macao *jurubassas* gradually diminish in importance. With their gradual disappearance, the same thing happened for the patois that made them valuable.

The supposition that the patois permeated all levels of Macao society is based on the appearance of three patois types. João Feliciano Marques Pereira, in his work in the late nineteenth century, is credited with coining the names of these three distinct forms.[97] The first type is referred to as the *macaísta cerrado* (closed Macao patois) – the purest form spoken by those belonging to the poorer social classes (slaves, soldiers, sailors etc.). The second form is called the *macaísta modificado pela tendência a aproximar-se do portuguez*

corrente (modified Macao patois that approximates metropolitan Portuguese) – a form of the dialect that tended to approximate the current or metropolitan Portuguese. This was the type spoken by those in the richer social classes who had more contacts with the *reinóis* or *reinols* (the people who came from the Portuguese kingdom or the metropolitan Portuguese). The third type is called the macaísta fallado pelos chins (Macao patois approximating Chinese) – the dialect spoken by the Chinese (i.e., Cantonese). The diagram below shows how these three types vary in terms of linguistic distance with respect to their closeness to the Portuguese and the Chinese, the two languages currently and likely to endure as the languages most influential to Macao patois.

Marques Pereira further added that this macaísta cerrado was the variety used in writing and creating the popular ditties, tales, stories (*estoria rainha*), nonsense verses, riddles, proverbs, wise sayings and lampoons (*pasquinadas*) that used to be presented by the Macaenses among each other and as their way of "having fun at the expense of others and of themselves, the need to forget whatever everyday problems they may face, the crises in their lives, if only for a few hours."[98] Unfortunately, many such works are already irredeemably lost since most were folk stories and, as such, were never written down, but were instead passed on from one generation to another by word of mouth. Its preservation thus depends on the interest and faithfulness of later generations. Unfortunately, amidst the changing Macao environment, most Macaenses were too distracted by other things to concern themselves with preserving the vitality of Macao patois by taking time to record these things.

One Macaense who tried and to a certain extent succeeded in preserving and even encouraging the interest and use of the patois was José dos Santos Ferreira. In his painstaking effort to revive interest in the patois, he wrote and published around seventeen works in Macao patois.[99] His writings are of special interest since he had transcribed a short dictionary of the patois and its equivalent in modern Portuguese. He indicated, however, that some words of the patois did not originate from Portuguese but from other sources. He noted Chinese, English, Malay, Tagalog, Japanese, Hindi and other languages of India and in Malaysia and the Moluccas as the other contributors.

There are several other aspects of the patois that were studied by various authors, such as G. Batalha, A. Amaro, C. R. Bawden, R. W. Thompson, Msgr. Teixeira, and I. Tomás among others. Established historians of the Portuguese in Asia such as José Braga, C. R. Boxer and A. Coates also had works that dealt with the Macao patois either centrally or in passing.

The appendix of this study contains the list of English words suspected of having come from or through the Macao patois. The criteria for singling out these words are their historical and geographical origin and their respective meanings.[100] Their corresponding meanings in Macao patois and their respective Portuguese counterparts are also included as bases of comparison. Similarly, the earliest recorded usage, based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Hobson Jobson*, is also listed to give an idea of when such words more or less entered in the realm of English writing, were accepted and remained.

VI. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the limited number of primary sources, as shown by the findings tabulated in the Appendix and findings from data gathered from various secondary sources, no definite conclusions can be made concerning which English loanwords either originated from Macao patois or were borrowed through Macao patois. Nonetheless, it is this writer's conviction that the following words in Table 5 are likely to belong to this group.

LINGUISTIC DISTANCE OF THE THREE MACAO PATOIS FORMS VIS-À-VIS PORTUGUESE AND CHINESE

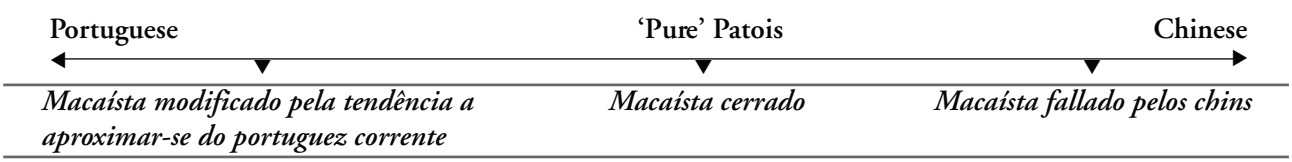

Diagram prepared by the author from data published by Marques Pereira (late 19th century).

TABLE 5: FINAL LIST OF EIGHT ENGLISH LOANWORDS LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN DERIVED THROUGH OR FROM MACAO PATOIS[101]

ginseng, joss, miso, mochi, pidgin, soy/soya, taipan & *tanka*

Prepared by the author.

The following words from Bento da França, from his work, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, published in 1897, can aptly end this section. His description of what most likely must have been Macao patois can serve as a good way to show how much the patois has developed from a language, which was Indo-Portuguese in content, with hardly any trace of Chinese or English, into what he has in turn described:

"Of all the curious things, which a Macanese can offer a European observer, none is of greater interest than the language they use amongst themselves. It is a kind of dialect based on 15th century Portuguese, a mixture of Chinese expressions and English phrases. One could say of the people who are most adapted to our way of life that they speak a passable Portuguese with us although their pronunciation has been influenced by the changes which most Latin languages undergo in tropical regions. The people, and in particular the women, use a language so curious and capricious that we Europeans can hardly decipher its meaning at all."[102]

Words purportedly from Macao patois can be found in the work, *The Monograph of Macao (Aomen Jilue)* of Yin Guangren and Zhang Rulin (1751), which were further studied by C. R. Bawden (1955) and R. W. Thompson (1959). Updated translations of these words were obtained, but they are inconclusive as the author was only able to obtain them from two Macaenses, a seventy-two year old male Macaense from Shanghai, and a seventy-seven year old female Macaense from Hong Kong. Both however, have been living in Macao for over 45 years now and thus have been witnesses to the gradual disuse of the patois of Macao. The words they still remember are transcribed and compared with those words noted down in *Aomen Jilue*. The Portuguese translation of L. Gonzaga Gomes, the English translation of C. R. Bawden, R. W. Thompson's recordings of Macao patois in Hong Kong in the 1950s and the modern Cantonese are also included for comparison. The most recent form obtained was a list of some Christmas songs that were transcribed in the patois, and sung by several Macaenses during the 1998 Christmas season at the Church of St. Dominic in Macao.[103]

Substantial research still needs to be done on works focusing on pidgin Portuguese that were not covered in this paper. Such works would mostly be written in Portuguese that may contain valuable information about the Macao patois. Naval documents, ship manifestos, captain's logbooks, diaries of travellers, sailors and missionaries of various countries that visited and stayed in and around Macao are also valuable sources of information.

However, since this study requires further confirmation on Macao patois' link with English, this requires a more focused and thorough research on similar documents by English speakers that were written during the period of the middle of the sixteenth century until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since this study aims to ascertain whether the vocabulary used by the Macaense interpreters were indeed to belong to Macao patois and that most of these interpreters were hired by the largest English trading company of that time, the British East India Company, it is worth the effort to pore over the copious records (bills of lading, voyage log books, manuscripts, diaries etc.) of the company contained in the Oriental and India Office now housed in the British Library. Specifically the China Factory Records (G/12) collection[104] would probably prove to be an important resource to determine whether Macao patois was acknowledged and used by traders and sailors during this period.

The London School of Oriental and African Studies, which hold important missionary archives, including the London Missionary Society archives, may also prove to be a goldmine of information. Works of missionaries are important for the first scholars of sinology came from their ranks and provided the basis of nineteenth century missionary sinology particularly in the English medium.[105] Among these noted British and American missionaries were the Englishman Robert Morrison (1782-1834), sent by the London Missionary Society and arrived in Canton in 1807 and the Americans Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801-1860) and Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884). Morrison is acknowledged as the first Westerner who translated the Bible to Chinese while

Bridgman and Williams published hundreds of articles on various aspects of life in China, including its literature and language.[106]

Lastly, the National Maritime Museum, which holds a vast collection of naval logbook and various manuscripts of the British fleet may also provide a wealth of information for a number of these documents could very well provide an enlightening glimpse of not only Britain's naval history but also its colonial and imperial policies that would have addressed the problem of communication. Likewise, recorded casual observations by various traders, travellers and seamen of that time may produce vital information that can clarify and even establish that the pidgin Portuguese or pidgin English used as a trade language in and around Macao was partly or substantially Macao patois. If such was the case, then the answer to the riddle of Macao patois as a source or intermediary of Asian words borrowed and adopted by English would then be solved and thus establish that Macao patois was a major medium and even a possible direct source of English loanwords from Southeast and East Asia. RC

NOTES

1 The Hakka people of Shantung (Shandong) province of China were known to have settled in Macao during the Sung (Song) dynasty [960-1279 A.D.]. From Wong Shiu Kwan, "Macao Architecture, an Integrate of Chinese & Portuguese Influence," *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* 2/3 (Oct. 1970), p. 139; but archaeological findings presented at the Macao Museum indicate that there were people who had already settled on the island of Coloane as early as 4,500 B.C.

2 Tereza Sena, "Macau: The First Permanent Meeting Point in China," p. 92.

3 Robert McCrum, W. Cran & R. McNeil, *The Story of English*, p. 197.

4 John Holm, "Portuguese-based varieties," in *Pidgins and Creoles Volume II*, p. 265.

5 *Creole* is a term coined in the nineteenth century used to refer to a former pidgin or trade language that has developed into a native or mother tongue of a community. The process wherein this event takes place is referred to as creolization. *Pidgin*, on the other hand, is another nineteenth-century term used to refer to a simplified or altered speech form used by non-indigenous speakers as a means of communication between communities not sharing a common language.

6 The orthography, *patoá*, used in Portuguese documents is taken directly from the Portuguese (cf. *Michaelis Illustrated Dictionary, English-Portuguese,* Vol. 2, although a variant orthography also used by the Arquivos Históricos de Macau is '*patuá*'. The orthography in English is used here for convenience, which is has its roots in French.

7 Aside from the studies by Holm (1989) and Baxter (1996) that are noted here, Prof. Baxter also cited the other works of Wurm & Hobbins (1984), Mühlhäusler et. al. (1996) and Reinecke et. al. that addresses this issue. An internet web page also cites the existence of this Portuguese creole, published in *Ethnologue*, 13th edition, edited by Barbara Grimes, (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas, Texas, 1996). See www.sil.org/ethnologue.

8 The term, *Macaense*, is used in this paper to avoid the ambiguity of using the term, Macanese, which is nowadays used in a general way to refer to any local resident of Macao regardless of his or her ethnic background. Although it has been pointed out by some Macaenses that *Filhos de Macau* is even more specific, both terms will be considered synonymous in this study.

9 See Walter W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language,* pp. xxviii-xxix.

10 Frederic A. Silva, *All Our Yesterdays: The Sons of Macao – Their History and Heritage,* p. 23.

11 "*Decreolization* is the process when a creole is approaching the basic phonetic, grammatic and semantic structure of a recognized language, in this case, modern Portuguese." From Graciete Nogueira Batalha, "Language of Macao: Past and Present," p. 133.

12 The exclusion of the French colonial empire is not intended to discount their period of influence and dominance of the East-West trade. However, due to their more substantial contribution of loanwords to English and their minimal dealings in Macao, their linguistic contribution is not studied in this paper.

13 These works include John Ayto, *Dictionary of Word Origins*; Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*; David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*; C. M. Millward, *A Biography of the English Language*; and Thomas Pyles and John Algeo, *The Origins & Development of the English Language*.

14 Its title in Chinese (Mandarin) is *Aomen Jilue* or *Ao Men Chi Lüeh* and in Cantonese is *Ou Mun Kei Leok*, as noted down by a number of authors. More of this work is mentioned in later sections. It suffices to point out at this stage that this thesis principally relies on this work and the succeeding works done by others on it as a showcase of words from Macao patois.

15 His name is also transcribed as Ian-Kuong Iam or Yin Kuang Jen by other authors. The name above will be used in this paper to refer to this man.

16 Others also transcribe his name as Tcheöng-U-Lam, Chang Iu Lin or Zhan Rulin. The name above will be used in this paper to refer to this man.

17 José Leite de Vasconcelos' work is entitled *Sur le dialecte portugais de Macao* (1892); from Graciete N. Batalha, "Language of Macao: Past and Present," p. 136.

18 Cecília Jorge, "The Macanese Récita and the Língu Maquista," p. 63.

19 Ibid., 65.

20 Ibid., 63.

21 J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., under the heading 'mandarin'.

22 Personal communication from an educated Hong Kong-born Chinese living in Macao.

23 Loc. cit.

24 A. Baxter clarifies that Indo-Portuguese is strictly a term to refer to the Portuguese-based creoles in India. To say that such creoles formed a monolithic lingua franca that was introduced into Southeast Asia is wanting of conclusive evidence.

25 Baxter, based on the findings of Thomaz, who noted that most of the crew of the Portuguese ships and the people manning the

Portuguese trading posts (*feitores*) were Malays, surmised that the language used in the trade could have been predominantly Malay. See Alan N. Baxter, "Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim," p. 306.

26 The interaction was a two-way street as these various communities also took in or borrowed Indo-Portuguese words and phrases to enrich their own languages. This fact however is not of interest here, so it will not be covered in this paper. See S. R. Dalgado, *Influência do Vocabulário Português em Línguas Asiáticas (abrangendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas) [Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages]*; and David Lopes, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII.*

27 Graciete N. Batalha, 156 and C. R. Bawden, "An Eighteenth Century Source for the Portuguese Dialect of Macao," p. 114.

28 From José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, Chapters VIII & IX. Although much of what Braga stated occurred in the nineteenth century, it could be construed that such interpreters were already in use much earlier on.

29 Refer to the *Memoirs of William Hickey* [1769] edited by Peter Quenell (London: Routledge, 1975) and articles of Samuel Well Williams in the *Chinese Repository*, vols. IV & VI among others that were quoted by Kingsley Bolton, "Language and Hybridization: Pidgin Tales from the China Coast."

30 The 'unknown' tag only means that there are no conclusive data to attribute these words from any known language source.

31 This word could be qualified and localised to those places that the Portuguese have visited and not necessarily all over the lands mentioned by Dalgado.

32 This phrase could be qualified in terms of the function held by the various Portuguese-based speech varieties that flourished during this period.

33 S. R. Dalgado, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*, p. xxxiii.

34 J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd ed. and Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, …* OED is selected for its authoritativeness with respect to the origins of English words. Hobson Jobson is chosen in order to address an important point that the alleged words supposedly belonging to Macao patois could only be such if these words are not considered Anglo-Indian. Put in another way, such words should only have been encountered by the British in Macao. Nonetheless, it can also be considered that even if such words are Anglo-Indian in origin, its meaning may have taken on a Far Eastern trait, such as 'mandarin', which could then still qualify as a candidate Macao patois word.

35 Taken from John Ayto, *Dictionary of Word Origins*; Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language,* 4th ed.; David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*; S. R. Dalgado, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*; Robert McCrum, W. Cran & R. McNeil, *The Story of English*; C. M. Millward, *A Biography of the English Language,* pp. 268-7; and Thomas Pyles and John Algeo, *The Origins & Development of the English Language*.

36 Ibid.

37 Alexander Michie, *An Englishman in China during the Victorian Era: as Illustrated in the Career of Sir Rutheford Alcock, K. C. B., D. C. L., many years Consul and Minister in China and Japan*. Vol. 1, p. 296.

38 Loc. cit., p. 4.

39 Jorge Morbey, "Aspects of the 'Ethnic Identity' of the Macanese," p. 209.

40 This ability of the Portuguese to ward off pirates was one of the reasons given by various authors why the Chinese allowed them to stay in Macao. On the other hand, other authors state that after the establishment of Hong Kong and the economic decline of Macao, some of the Portuguese became pirates themselves and made use of the same swift *lorchas* for their ignominious profession. See the works of C. R. Boxer (1969), Montalto de Jesus (1926) and A. Coates (1988).

41 Montalto de Jesus, p. 210.

42 José Maria Braga, *The Western Pioneers & Their Discovery of Macao*, 134.

43 Ibid., p. 133.

44 This foreign trade in Macao basically consists of four principal commercial shipping routes: a) Macao-Goa-Lisbon; b) Macao-Nagasaki; c) Macao-Manila-Mexico, and d) Macao-Sunda Islands. See Deng Kaisong, "Macao's Changing Role and Status in Maritime Trade Routes during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," pp. 45-58. Another work which this thesis author failed to obtain and is valuable in recording the relevance of trade in Macao is by G. B. Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

45 Frederic A. Silva, p. 5.

46 B. V. Pires, "Origins and Early History of Macau," p. 35.

47 *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues,* vol. 1, p. xxxv.

48 Anders Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China & Description of the City of Canton*, p. 226.

49 Ibid., p. 226.

50 Ibid., p. 221.

51 *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, vol. III, parts I and II; edited by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1919). An account of the writings of Peter Mundy about his sojourn in Macao can be found in C. R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau,* pp. 39-68. Furthermore, Coates identified Norette for what he really was – a mere charlatan. Norette may have been one of those New Christians referred to by various authors who, although having no Portuguese blood, grew up learning Portuguese and became an intermediary "in a dangerous intercourse between men of the two races" [i.e., Chinese and Europeans]. From Austin Coates, "*Macao and the British, 1637-1842: Prelude to Hong Kong*," pp. 8-27.

52 Selma V. Velho, "Portugal in the East: The Possible Influences of Navigators in the Coastal Societies of the Orient," p. 89.

53 Celina Veiga de Oliveira, "Chinese-Language Teaching in the Context of Luso-Chinese Relations," p. 185.

54 C. R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau,* p. 15.

55 There have been many accounts of punishments meted out to interpreters who were treated as scapegoats in cases when negotiations between the Chinese and the Europeans deteriorated and entered into conflicts. See Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637-1842*, p. 55.

56 Some *Filhos de Macau* mentioned to this author that a good number of the *Filhos de Macau* have worked, at one time or another, as interpreters. This job was invariably passed on to their offspring or next of kin who have either shown a desire to work in such a job or to take such work until they find something more to their liking.

57 Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 174. It is also probable that the languages concerned were learned by the communities involved, but records are insufficient to ascertain which event took place.

58 Austin Coates, *A Macao Narrative,* pp. 24-40 and R. D. Cremer, ed. *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture,* p. 5.

59 Ibid., p. 6.

60 Given that Malays, Chinese and some other people from India (Guzerats), and from the islands of Indonesia and even Arabs engaged in trade in this part of the world, it could be conjectured that this previous speech variety would have been influenced in different degrees by the languages spoken by these people with Portuguese added into the mix.
61 Coates, *Macao and the British*, pp. 29-31.
62 Ana Maria Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," p. 14.
63 Ibid., p. 17.
64 C. R. Boxer (1948 & 1969), A. Coates (1987) and J. Maria Braga (1949).
65 A. Ljungstedt, p. 220.
66 It is interesting to note that the establishment of this company was due to the capture of the Portuguese ships "S. Felipe" and "Madre de Deus" by English pirates, which yielded not only fabulous treasures but also extensive documentation of the trade between Portugal and the East. Such information prompted Queen Elizabeth I to establish the "Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." See S. V. Velho, "Portugal in the East: The Possible Influences of Navigators in the Coastal Societies of the Orient," p. 88. Although Macao was not the only place where this Company engaged in trade in Asia, it doesn't discount the possibility that the British could have borrowed words that were only or principally used in the area and not in other parts of Asia.
67 Coates, *Macao and the British*, p. 82.
68 A. Michie, p. 294 & J. P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, chap. IX.
69 João de Andrade Corvo, "Coolie Emigration," p. 47.
70 Ibid.
71 João Guedes, "Macau, Eça, Corvo and the Coolie Trade," pp. 40 and 46.
72 Ibid., p. 46.
73 Personal communication from Professor Alan N. Baxter (1999).
74 A. Michie, p. 294.
75 João de Pina Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Ethnic Relations and the Feminine Condition in Macau," p. 93.
76 José P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, pp. 177-184.
77 Ljungstedt, p. 230.
78 "Balichão is originally a Malay word for the shrimp sauce which is a common ingredient in the preparation of some of our food and for which, it is commonly believed, we have an abnormal craving." from F. A. Silva, *All our Yesterdays: The Sons of Macao – their History and Heritage*, p. 15.
79 One missionary who exemplified this zeal was the Jesuit, Fr. Mateo Ricci. Just two years after his arrival in Macao, he already embarked on a project to write a Portuguese-Chinese syllabary. Beginning work in 1584 with the help of another priest, Fr. Michael Ruggieri, the first Portuguese-Chinese dictionary was finished by 1588. By 1593, he had already translated the Four Books of Confucian Thought and by 1601 had impressed the royal court enough to be invited to become one of the advisers of the Emperor in Beijing. From Ana Paula Laborinho, "The Role of Language in Evangelization Strategy," p. 114. Refer also to Kingsley Bolton's article, "Language and Hybridization: Pidgin Tales from the China Coast," pp. 41-43.
80 Ibid., 112. Some of these learned missionaries were the first, and for a long time, the only linguistic scholars of the region. In this regard, they are to be thanked if only for this significant contribution of undertaking such studies yielding invaluable information for later studies done on this field and those other fields of study connected with it. Aside from the scholarly contributions made by the missionaries, their crucial role in acting as intermediaries between the Portuguese administrators and the Chinese mandarins should also be acknowledged. Many historians have given due credit to the influence of the Jesuit priests in the court of the Emperors of China, which gave greater room for East-West relations to flourish. Although cases have been recorded of some clerics having arguments with Macao Portuguese administrators as regards more temporal affairs, their better communication skills and more noble interests helped a lot in making the relationship between the 'brash' Portuguese adventurers and the 'suspicious' Chinese authorities much more amicable.
81 Graciete N. Batalha, "Language of Macao: Past and Present," p. 138.
82 Frederic A. Silva, p. 12.
83 Manuel Teixeira, "The Origin of the Macanese," p. 161 and "The Macanese," pp. 92-98.
84 Ana Maria Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," p. 14.
85 J. P. Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Macanese Ethnicity and Family: A Methodological Prologue," p. 94.
86 Robert W. Thompson, "Two Synchronic Cross Sections in the Portuguese Dialect of Macao," p. 33.
87 Frederic A. Silva, p. 29.
88 Ibid., p. 37.
89 José P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China, 174-175.*
90 Frederic A. Silva, p. 15.
91 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, chapters 9 and 10.
92 Although the presence of lexicon does not necessarily imply the presence of a stable language and may only imply the use of specific vocabulary, only a more thorough study of this matter would substantiate what the real situation was in this respect.
93 S. R. Dalgado, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*, p. xcv.
94 Ana M. Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," p. 39.
95 R. D. Cremer, *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*, p. 127.
96 Literally means "interpreter." As stated in Hobson-Jobson (p. 474), "The word is really Malayo-Javanese Jurubahasa, (a language interpreter), from juru, (a master of craft), and the Sanskrit, bháshá (speech)." From C. R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau* (Hong Kong: Heinemann (Asia), 1984, 15).
97 José dos Santos Ferreira, *Macau Sã Assi*, introduction; and Cecília Jorge, p. 63.
98 Cecília Jorge, p. 62.
99 A list of his works is found in the article, "Adé, ad Aeternum," in *Macau* (Special 1994), p. 75.
100 These criteria are admittedly not very thorough, but given the limited means to procure relevant data, the author decided that for this particular study only these parameters would be established.
101 This list is considered final only with respect to this preliminary study. The deleted words, however, will not be categorically discarded given that the means to obtain supporting data are not exhaustive and comprehensive enough to merit carrying out such an action. This final list of words has their origins attributed to places in Southeast Asia. Those words that have their origins in India were deleted on the basis that the British – and thus the English language – would have most likely encountered these words in the Indian continent before coming to Macao and prior to encountering Macao patois.
102 Isabel Tomás, "The Life and Death of a Creole," p. 55.
103 Those interested in viewing these words may refer to Appendices 2 and 3 of the Masteral Thesis Dissertation of the author on Macao Patois found in the University of Macau International Library.
104 Based on recommendation from Mrs. Xiao Wei Bond of India Office Records Section, British Library, E-mail correspondence (17 April 2002).
105 Bolton, "Language and Hybridization…," p. 41.
106 Ibid.

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Appendix: Etymology of English Loanwords Suspected to Have Been Derived from or Through Macao Patois[1]

English word	meaning	etymology	first recorded usage in English texts or [others][2]	Known Macao patois equivalent[3]
1. betel	plant that grows in Southeast Asia which has leaves and red nuts that act as a drug when chewed	Pg., *betel*; Malayalam, *vettila/verrila*; Tamil, *verrilai*; Sanskrit, *viti* • from Malayal, *vettila*, i.e., *veru* + *tila*	**[1510, Varthema]** **1585, Lloyd, *Treasury of Health* , IV, iii** • Earliest recorded sources [e.r.s.]: - 1298 – as *tembal* in Marco Polo, ii. 358 - 1510 – as *betel* in Varthema, 144	*betel* */be'təl/*
2. caddy / caddie	a corruption of catty, a small box for holding tea	Malay, *kati*, equivalent to 1&1/3 lbs. Avoirdupois • possibly derived from *catty*, a small box containing a *catty* or two of tea	**1792*: Madras Courier*, 2nd of Dec.** • e.r.s.: - 1792 – as *caddy* in *Madras Courier*, Dec. 2 issue	*cadi* */kaˈdɪ/*
3. catty	a weight used in China & the Eastern archipelago equal to 16 taels (625 gm)	Malay, *kati* • from the Chinese, 'kin' or 'chin' • taken from Malayo-Javanese, *kati*	**1555: Eden, *Decades West Indies,* 259** • e.r.s.: - 1554; *cate* in *A. Nunes*, 41 - 1598; catty in *Linschoten*, 34 in Hakluyt Society, 1113.	*cate* */kaˈtɪ/*
4. copra	dried coconut kernel prepared and exported for coconut oil expression	Malayalam, *kappara*; Hindi, *khopra* • probably from Malayal, *koppara*, borrowed from the Hindi, *khopra*	**[1563: Garcia da Orta]** **1584: Barret, *Hakluyt Voyages II,* 413** • e.r.s.: - 1563; Garcia de Orta, *Colloquios*, 686	*copra* */kɔːpˈraː/*
5. ginseng	a plant of either two species of genus, *Aralia* or *Panax* found in N. China, Korea and Nepal; a root of a plant	Chinese, *jên* (man) & *shên* (obscure meaning) • from Chinese, *jenshen*	**1654, translation (tr.) of Martini's *Conq. China,* 9** • e.r.s.: - 1642; Alv. Semedo (Madrid)	*jinseng* */dʒɪnˈseŋ/*

ENGLISH WORD	MEANING	ETYMOLOGY	FIRST RECORDED USAGE IN ENGLISH TEXTS OR [OTHERS][2]	KNOWN MACAO PATOIS EQUIVALENT[3]
6. gram	chick-pea or kind of vetch, *Cicier anetinum*	Pg., *grão*; Bengal, *gram* • from Portuguese, grão	**1702: J.T. Wheeler, *Madras Old Time*** • e.r.s.: - 1513; Albuquerque, *Carta*, p. 200, Letter of Dec. 4)	*grau* */graʊŋ/*
7. joss	a Chinese figure of a deity; an idol; joss-house (a Chinese temple for worship); joss-pidgin (a religious ceremony); joss pidgin man (a minister of religion); joss-man (a priest of a Chinese religion); joss-sticks (small red sticks burned before idols)	Pg., *deus*; Dutch (Du.) *joosje* (diminutive, *joos*) • corruption of the Portuguese, *deus* (God) taken up in pidgin language of Chinese ports from the Portuguese and then adapted from that jargon by Europeans as if it was a Chinese word	**1711: Lockyer, *Accounts Trade India,* 181** • e.r.s.: - 1659; as *joosje*, Walter Schulz, 17 - 1711, as *joss*; Lockyer, 181. - as *joss-house* (an idol temple) 1750-52; Olof, Toreen; 232 - as *joss house man* (priest, missionary); *as joss stick*; 1876; Leland, *Pidgin English Sing Song*, p. 43	*joss* */dʒɔːs/*
8. junk	a word of Oriental origin now adopted in most European languages to refer to Chinese ships	Pg. *junco*; Du, *jonk*; Javanese, *djong*; Malay, *adjong* Some scholars attribute it to the Chinese ships called *ch'wan* but Pg. and Dutch have been using this term even before meeting such Chinese ships (cf. OED, vol VIII, 316) • said to be one of the oldest words in the Europeo-Indian vocabulary • from the Chinese, *tchouen (chwen)* or Malay-Javanese *(jong/agong)*	**1555: Eden, *Decades,* 215** • e.r.s.: - 1331 as *junk* in Friar Odoric's records; - 1300; as *junks*; *Rashiduddin* in Elliot, I, 69	*junco* */dʒuːŋ'kɔː/*
9. lacquer	varnishing agent	Pg., *alacre, laquar, lacca* • from Hindi *lakh*; from Sanskrit *laksha*, for *raksha*	**1579: Hakluyt *Voyages* I, 432** • earliest recorded source: - as early as 80-90 A.D.; as *lac*; Periplus, par. 6 - 250; as *lac*; Aelian, *de nat. Am.* - 1516; *laquar*; Barbosa, Lisbon Acad., 366 - 1644, *lacre*, Bocarro, MS	*laquer* */laː'ker/*
10. mandarin	a generic name for high-ranking Chinese officials	Pg., *mandarim*; Malay, *mantri*; Hindi, *mantri;* Sanskrit, *mantrin* (counselor), *mantra* (to counsel), *man* (to think) • not really from Portuguese, *mandar/mandarim* but more likely from the Hindi (Sanskrit), *mantri*	**1589: Parke's tr. of Mendoza's *Hist. China* II, ii, iii, 252** • e.r.s.: - 400; as *mandarim*, *Manuscript*, viii, 1 - 1522; *mandarins*; India Office MSS in an agreement made by the Portuguese with the "Rey da Sunda", this Sunda being that of the Straits.	*mandarim* */maːn'də'reŋ/*

LINGUÍSTICA

ENGLISH WORD	MEANING	ETYMOLOGY	FIRST RECORDED USAGE IN ENGLISH TEXTS OR [OTHERS][2]	KNOWN MACAO PATOIS EQUIVALENT[3]
11. mango	tropical fruit	Pg., *manga*; Malay, *manga*; Tamil, *man-kay* • from Tamil, *mankay/man gay* & Portuguese, *manga*	**1582: N. Lichefield's tr. of Castanheda's *Conquest of E. Indies 1*, xvi, 42** • e.r.s: - 1328, as *aniba*; Fr. Jordamus in *Rec. de Voyages*, &c. iv., 42. - 1510; as *manga*; Varthema, 160-161	*manga* /maːŋ'gʌ/
12. miso[4]	bean paste from soya, barley, rice, malt used by the Japanese to prepare various foods	Japanese (Jap.) *miso* • no citation	**1727: J.G. Scheuchzer's tr. of *Kaemfers's Hist. Japan I,* i, ix, 121** • no citation	*miso* /mɪ'suː/
13. mochi	a cake made from pounded, glutinous rice (rice-cake)	Jap., *musho mochi* • no citation	**1616: R. Cock's Diary (10 Feb 1883), 109** • no citation	*much* /muː'tʃi/
14. nankeen	a kind of cotton cloth from Nanjing made from a yellow variety of cotton	unknown	**1755: Percy Society, *Songs & Poems on Costume,* 239** • e.r.s: - 1793-94; *nankeens*; *Narr. Of Lady McCartney's Embassy*, ii, 45.	*nanquim* /naːŋ'kɪŋ/
15. pagoda	a temple or sacred building in India, China and adjacent countries esp. a sacred tower built over relics of a buddha or saint	native form imitated by the Pg. *pagode* is disputed but Pg. appears to have a very imperfect echo of it; Persian, *but* (idol) + *kadah* (temple); Sanskrit, *bhagavat* (holy, divine)	**1634: Sir T. Herbert, *Travels,* 190** • earliest recorded sources: - 1516; as *pagodes*; Ramusio, i., f., 308v. - 1543; as *pagode*; Correa, iv., 325 - 1638; as *pogodo* /pogod; W. Bruton, in Hakl. V. 49 - 1689; as *pagoda*; Ovington, 159.	*pagoda* /pə'gɔː'də/
16. pidgin	a Chinese corruption of English, 'business' used widely for any action, occupation or affair (early 19th C); only later did it acquire the meaning of a simplified speech form used for trading (late 19th C)	from Cantonese, *béi chín* (pay money)?; S.R. Dalgado identifies it as from Pg. *Occupaçao* taken by pidgin English	• **no citation** • not recorded	*pitchin* /pɪ'tʃɪn/
17. sampan	a Chinese word meaning, 'boat', applied by Europeans in the China seas to any small boat of Chinese pattern	Chinese, *sàam* (three) + *bàan* (boards); Annamite, *tam-ban*; Sp., *cempan*; Pg, *champana* • appears to be from Javanese or Malay and adopted on the Indian shores, as picked up by the Portuguese and now current all throughout the East • also thought to come from Chinese *sampan* (three boards)	**1620: R. Cocks, *Diary* (Hakluyt Society) 11, 122** • e.r.s.: - 1510; as *chiampana*, Vartana, 24 - 1516; as *champana*; Barbosa, 172 - 1648; as champane/*champaigne*; *Van Spilbergen's Voyage* - 1702; sampans, *M.S. Correspondence in 1. Office from China Factory* (at Chusan), Jan. 8	*sampan* /saːm'pʌn/

ENGLISH WORD	MEANING	ETYMOLOGY	FIRST RECORDED USAGE IN ENGLISH TEXTS OR [OTHERS][2]	KNOWN MACAO PATOIS EQUIVALENT[3]
18. sapan-wood	a dye wood yielding a red dye from trees belonging to genus *Cæsalpinia*, found in tropical Asia & Indian archipelago, C. *sappan*	Malay, *sapang* of S. Indian origin; Tamil, *shappangam*; Malayalam, *chappannam*; Dutch, *sapan(hout);* Pg., *sapão*; Fr., *sapan*	**1598: W. Philip's tr. *Lincho-ten's Voyages I,* xxii, 36**	*sapão* */sə'paʊŋ/*
19. taipan	a foreign merchant or businessman in China esp. in Hong Kong	variant of Chinese, *daaih bàan*	**1834: Canton Register, 28th Oct., 170/172** • no citation	*taipan* */taɪ'paːn/*
20. tanka	the Canton boat people, descendants of some aboriginal tribe of which 'Tan' is the surname	Cantonese, *daán* [Tan] (egg / Pg. *ovo*) + *gà* (family) = "egg family" /South Mandarin, *kai* (family)/North Mandarin, *chia* (family)	**No citation** • no citation	*tanka* */taːŋ'kə/*
21. soy/soya	dark brown liquid from fermented soya beans	Japanese, *soi* • from the Japanese *sih-yau* or *sho yu*	**1696: J. Ovington, *Voyages Surat,* 397** • e.r.s: - 1679; as *saio*; I of J. Locke in Ld. *King's Life of L*, I, 249 - 1690; as *souy*; Ovington, 397 - 1776; as *soy*; Thunberg, *Travels E.T.* iv. 121-122	*soi* */sɔɪ/*
22. veranda	balcony/balustrade/railing	Hindi, *varanda*; Bengoli, *baranda*; modern Sanskrit, *baranda* appears to be merely an adaptation of Pg. and old Spanish, *varanda/baranda* • could be from Persian, baramada (coming forward or projecting) or the Sanskrit, varanda (a portico) or Spanish, vara (a rod or rail)	**1711: C. Lockyer, *Acc. Trade India*** • e.r.s: - 1598, Correa by Stanley, 193, compares with original *Lendas*, I, i., 98 - 1631; *baranda*; Malay-Latin Vocabulary in Hex - 711; *verandas*; Lockyer, 20. - *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco de Gama*, 2nd ed., 1861	*verandah* */və'rʌn'də/*

1 The bulk of the information given here is taken from *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), edited by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) and *Hobson Jobson* of Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell (London: RUPA, 1986). OED citations will be in **bold-face** while Hobson Jobson citations will use Helvetica Condensed fonts.

2 The recorded usage of the words is based on meaning and not on their orthography as some of the earliest recordings have forms different from the current forms.

3 Although most of the patois words are derived from written sources, some of them have orthographies made by this author based on interviews with Macao patois speakers. Their phonetic representations, using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), are also presented approximating how these words are spoken in Macao patois.

4 The words *miso* and *mochi* are still considered not officially part of the English vocabulary, according to OED. Both words are nonetheless found in OED but not in Hobson Jobson.

Lua no Charco
Moon in the Swamp

FERNANDA DIAS*

Aos meus amigos Stella Lee, Chen Bo, Derek Tong, Yao Jingming tão caros ao meu coração.

"A lua cai no charco lamacento
O seu reflexo continua puro".

Lu Wen Ming (dinastia Qing)

INTRODUÇÃO

Uma ponte aérea de palavras,
mergulhada na névoa profunda do tempo,
sustenta os passos e marca o caminho
das gerações que se sucedem

"A vida do sinal", Antonino Pagliaro

A poesia existe, é um absoluto, embora digam que os poetas a inventam todos os dias. Pode ser que sim, mas ela lá está como um imenso mar luminoso que nos envolve, desde a aurora dos tempos. Mãe das línguas, ama dos ritos e, sobretudo, eterna confidente dos amantes e dos místicos. Mas nem só, os guerreiros seguiram-na desde sempre, pelo hinos e epopeias, e os deuses dela se alimentam sob a forma de preces.

Quem alguma vez adormeceu um recém-nascido nos braços que não lhe murmurasse alguns ternos versos ao ouvido? Ela consolidou, pois, as línguas e enfeitou-as de palavras para serem entendidas pela via das emoções, mas sobretudo sabemos que tem um antiquíssimo pacto com o coração humano.

Não cabe uma longa litania de apreço à poesia nesta breve introdução, que é antes de mais uma justificação.

Como me atrevi, eu, praticante das artes plásticas, a tornar públicas as toscas tentativas de pôr na minha língua os eternos e tantas vezes perfeitos versos chineses?

Tudo começou em Faro, em princípios da década de 80, quando uma senhora que muito amava a poesia me emprestou um manuscrito encardenado em seda bordada, escrito pela sua mão de 1942 a 1945.

Na primeira folha ela escrevera: "A Flauta de Jade", poemas traduzidos para francês por Tsao Chang Ling, recolhidos por Franz Toussaint. Num francês simples, linear, repetitivo, ali estavam cinquenta poemas traduzidos palavra a palavra. Ignoro se o correspondente de guerra da minha doce amiga, que já não está entre nós, copiou os seus poemas de um livro publicado na época ou os ouviu da boca de um amigo; o que sei é que omitiram os nomes dos poetas.

Mas, para mim, era o início de um encontro memorável. Em Paris comprei um livrinho da colecção "Marabout Université", *La poésie chinoise, des origines à la revolution*, de Patricia Guillermaz (primeira edição 1957). Embora esse livro precioso me tenha revelado quase 200 poetas, com três ou mais poemas cada um, para minha grande surpresa os poemas do caderno manuscrito não estavam lá.

Desde então li tudo o que podia, em todas as línguas que posso ler, na esperança de atribuir um nome de autor aos poemas misteriosos.

Sim, consegui identificar alguns, não todos ainda, mas não desisti. São apenas cinquenta poemas [n.e.: de que a *RC* apresenta uma pequena selecção], uma minúscula gota de orvalho no opulento mar da poesia chinesa.

Mas eu vivo em Macau desde 1986 e todos os amigos chineses que tenho aqui uma vez por outra deixam cair uma ou outra citação que eu recolho como uma jóia preciosa, na esperança de juntar uma peça ao meu *puzzle*. Assim fui traduzindo poemas livremente, com muito amor e sem pretensões de erudição, que não tenho. Que os sinólogos me perdoem o atrevimento!

Algum poemas, depois de os traduzir, depois de os murmurar para mim mesma, encheram-me os olhos de água. Se um só dos leitores sentir o que estou a dizer, terão valido a pena as horas incontáveis que nestes anos em Macau dediquei a esta paixão.

Macau, 9 de Dezembro de 2002.

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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.

INTRODUCTION

An air bridge of words,
down deep in the thick mist of time,
holds the steps and marks the way
of the coming generations

"The life of the sign", Antonino Pagliaro

Poetry exists, it is an absolute, although it is said that poets invent it every day. It might be so, but it has been there, like an immense bright sea that wraps around us, since the dawn of times. Mother of tongues, nurse of rites, and especially the eternal confidant of lovers and mystics. But not only, warriors have followed it since forever, for hymns and epic poems, and the gods feed on it disguised as prayers.

Who has cradled a newborn baby to sleep without whispering a few tender verses in its ears? It has thus consolidated languages and beautified them with words, so that they could be understood by way of the emotions, but above all we know that it has a time-honoured pact with the human heart.

A long litany of appraisal to poetry is not fit for this introduction, that is above all a justification.

How dare I, a practitioner of plastic arts, make public the coarse attempts to translate into my language the eternal and so often perfect Chinese verses?

It all started in Faro, in the early eighties, when a lady who loved poetry lent me a manuscript, bound in embroidered silk, written in her own hand from 1942 to 1945.

On the first page she had written "The Jade Flute", poems translated to French by Tsao Chang Ling, collected by Franz Toussaint. In a simple, linear and recurrent French, there were fifty poems, translated word by word. I do not know if my sweet friend's war correspondent, who is no longer with us, copied his poems from a book published then, or heard them from the mouth of a friend; all I know is that the poets' names were omitted.

But for me it was the beginning of a remarkable encounter. In Paris I bought a small book of the "Marabout Université" collection, *La poesie chinoise, des origines à la revolution* by Patricia Guillermaz. (first edition 1957). Although that precious book revealed almost 200 poets to me, with three or more poems each, to my great surprise the poems in the manuscript were not there.

Since then I have read everything I can, in every language I can read, in the hope that I may assign an author's name to the mysterious poems.

Yes, I was able to identify some, not yet all of them, but I have not given up. There are just fifty poems [e.n.: of which *RC* is publishing a small selection], a tiny dew drop in the opulent sea of Chinese poetry.

I have lived in Macao since 1986, and, once in a while, all the Chinese friends I have here drop one quotation or another, that I collect like precious gems in the hope that I can add another piece to my puzzle. This way I have made free translations of poems, with a lot of love and no pretensions of an erudition I do not possess. May sinologists forgive me for my impertinence!

A few poems, after I translated them, after I whispered them to myself, flooded my eyes with tears. If but one reader feels what I am saying, it will have been worth the countless hours that in all these years in Macao I have devoted to this passion.

Macao, 9th December, 2002.

Página seguinte: capa do manuscrito *La Flûte de Jade – Poésie Chinoise.*
Next page: cover of the manuscript *La Flûte de Jade – Poésie Chinoise.*

POESIA

Langor

Leque aberto, leque aberto,
está o rosto da bela encoberto.

Há já três anos que desfalece,
quem ouve este canto que esmorece?

Canto ignorado, canto ignorado,
ervas de um caminho não mais pisado.

Wang Jian 王建 (768-833)

宫中调笑

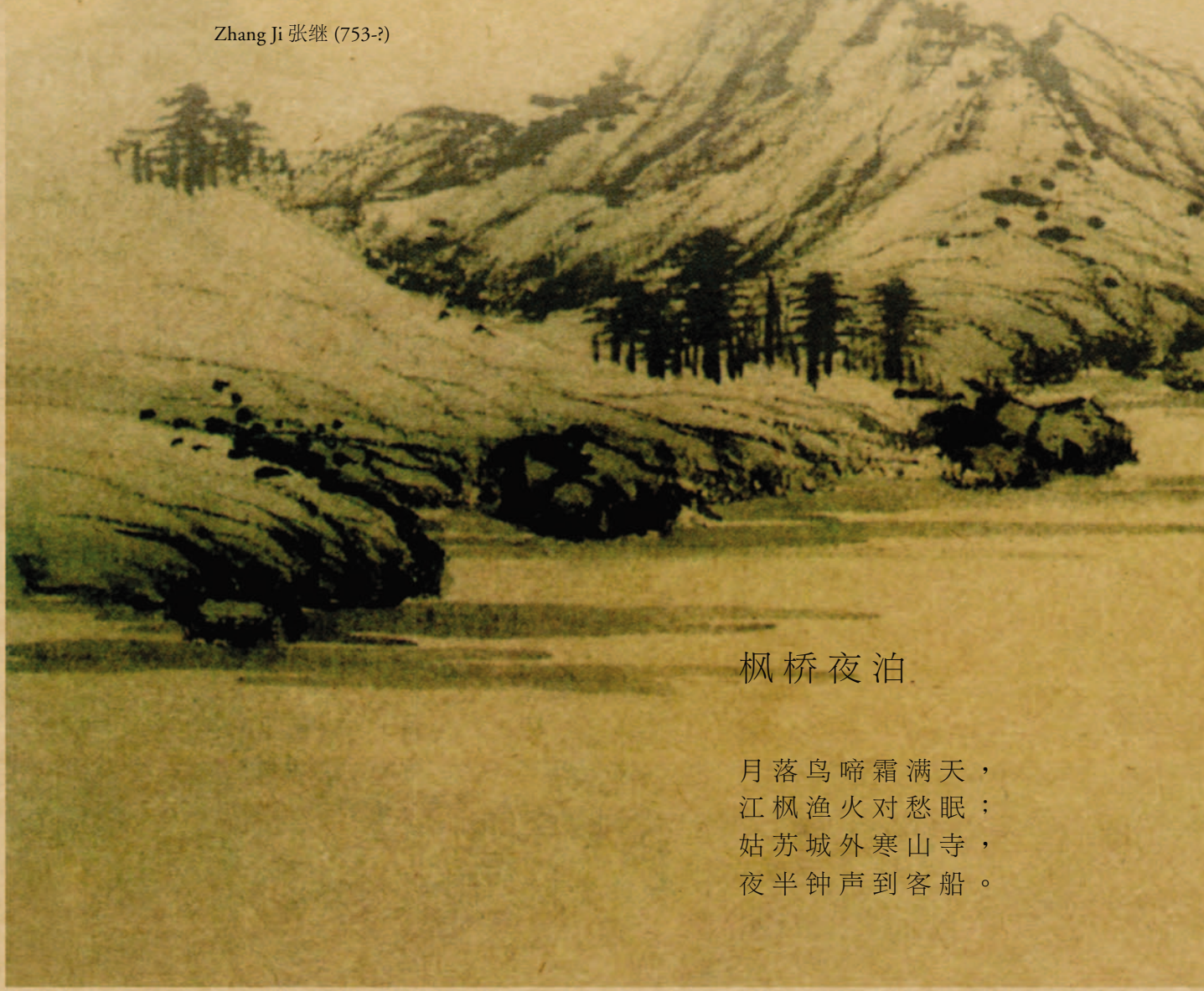
团扇，
团扇，
美人病来遮面。
玉颜憔悴三年，
谁复商量管絃？
絃管，
絃管，
春草昭阳路断。

POESIA

Na noite, ancorado na ponte dos áceres

Lua dormente. Na distância gelada
um corvo estremece, arrepiado.
À beira-rio, uma fogueira de luz escassa
ilumina um ácer.
No templo do Monte-frio,
para além da cidadela,
à meia-noite tange um sino
e acorda-me.
Só, no meu barco.

Zhang Ji 张继 (753-?)



Neve no rio

Mil montanhas,
nem um só voo de pássaro.
Dez mil atalhos,
nem um só rasto de homem.

Só, um velho num barco
pesca neve
na água cristalina.

Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819)

江雪

千山鸟飞绝，
万径人踪灭。
孤舟蓑笠翁，
独钓寒江雪。

O palácio Hua Qing

Cresce a erva nos degraus.
Já não se ouve o carro imperial,
calaram-se os mil ecos dos
tambores.
Lá nos bosques, fundos bosques,
densas nuvens se amontoam.

Surge o palácio, gelado,
quando a lua se revela.
Só ela esconde o rosto na neblina.
Já não há ninguém que se recline
na balaustrada de jade.

Cui Lu 崔橹 (séc. IX)

华清宫

草遮回磴绝鸣銮，
云树深深碧殿寒。
明月自来还自去，
更无人倚玉栏干

Palavras lentas

Espero, espero, anseio, anseio,
só completamente só.
Triste, tão triste,
este tempo ora ameno ora frio,
tão duro de suportar!
Duas ou três taças de vinho leve
não afrontam as agruras do vento
no pesado entardecer.
Os gansos selvagens ferem o meu coração:
há uma eternidade que os vejos passar.
Crisântemos murchos juncando o solo,
quem os quereria apanhar?
Presa à minha janela
vivo o dia interminável
Ao crepúsculo, as folhas do plátano
filtram ainda a chuva fina.

Pode numa só palavra
caber tanta melancolia?

Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1084-cerca 1151)

声声慢

寻寻觅觅，
冷冷清清，
凄凄惨惨戚戚。
乍暖还寒时候，
最难将息。
三杯两盏淡酒，
怎敌他晚来风急！
雁过也，
正伤心，
却是旧时相识。

满地黄花堆积，
憔悴损，
如今有谁堪摘？
守著窗儿，
独自怎生得黑！
梧桐更兼细雨，
到黄昏，
点点滴滴。
这次第，
怎一个愁字了得。

Adeus no Outono

O nostálgico grito das cigarras
quase que dói. A chuvada parou.
Junto do pavilhão, onde nos separamos
de coração transido, já nem quero beber.
Às portas da cidade, vamos retardando,
de olhos húmidos, mãos apertadas,
as palavras retidas sob os lábios
entre contidos soluços sincopados.
Em pensamento antevejo a viagem,
a brumosa vastidão das ondas
e ao longe o céu do Sul. Sempre
os que se amam sofrerão a distância...

No frio esplendor da festa outonal
onde estarei quando o calor do vinho
se evaporar?
Na margem, sob os salgueiros,
com uma réstea de lua e a brisa
do alvorecer por companhia?
Deixas-me, por um ano, que farei da beleza
desta paisagem, da luz dos dias?
A quem darei o ardor em que arderei?

Liu Yong 柳永 (?-cerca1053)

雨霖铃

寒蝉凄切，
对长亭晚，
骤雨初歇。
都门帐饮无绪，
留恋处、
兰舟催发。
执手相看泪眼，
竟无语凝噎。
念去去千里烟波，
暮霭沉沉楚天阔。

多情自古伤离别，
更那堪冷落清秋节！
今宵酒醒何处？
杨柳岸、
晓风残月，
此去经年，
应是良辰好景虚设。
便纵有千种风情，
更与何人说？

POESIA

Devaneio na Falésia Vermelha

(Música: “Encanto de uma bela cantora”)

Para leste corre o vasto rio
cujas ondas lavaram o rasto dos heróis
desde a aurora dos tempos.
A oeste da velha fortaleza
dizem que fica a Falésia Vermelha,
conhecida como a do general Zhou,
do tempo dos Três Reinos.
Picos rochosos furam nuvens, injuriando os céus,
vagas fustigam escolhos, levantam espuma como neve,
paisagem pintada por um mestre!

Relembro o jovem Zhou You, brilhante general,
recém-casado, com seu leque de plumas, toucado de seda,
sorrindo, falando para a esposa, a bela Young Qiao
enquanto mastros e remos da frota inimiga
se dissipavam em fumo e chamas...
Olhando o antigo campo de batalha,
escarneço da minha emoção:
os cabelos que cedo embranquecem
a vida, breve como um sonho...
Bebo, mais uma vez, à lua, ao grande rio!

Su Shi 苏轼 (1037-1101)

念奴娇（赤壁怀古）

大江东去，
浪涛尽、
千古风流人物。
故垒西边，
人道是、
三国周郎赤壁。
乱石崩云，
惊涛裂岸，
卷起千堆雪。
江山如画，
一时多少豪杰！
遥想公瑾当年，
小乔初嫁了，
雄姿英发。
羽扇纶巾
谈笑间，
强虏灰飞烟灭。
故国神遊，
多情应笑我，
早生华发。
人间如梦，
一尊还酹江月。

Delícias da Vila Sui

O mundo das coisas não gera emoções:
júbilo e fúria surgem espontâneos no coração.
Ser promovido ou humilhado não é destino,
tudo acontece por si mesmo de improviso.

Lendo um livro que nada me inspira,
largo o rolo, saio a pé para deambular.

Ah! chuva primaveril cantando
na fímbria do bambual!

Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798)

随园杂兴

喜怒不缘事
偶然心所生
升沉亦非命
偶然遇所成
读书无所得
放卷起复行
能到竹林下
自有春水声

Improviso

Alheio ao mundo da poeira,
em repouso como em movimento,
vivo como me apraz cada momento.

O meu grou branco acolhe os visitantes
e a leve brisa da Primavera
vira para mim as páginas de um livro.

Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798)

偶成

安身浮世外
行止自徐徐
白鹭替迎客
春风为卷书

RESUMOS

Documentos de Origem Católica e Budista nas Bibliotecas de Macau

As actividades religiosas e culturais têm um impacto consideravelmente forte sobre os recursos documentais que constituem o produto do desenvolvimento social. Uma vez que Macau tem sido sempre uma região especial, tanto para os chineses como para os estrangeiros, a prática de actividades religiosas e culturais diversas também deu origem ao estabelecimento, em Macau, de recursos documentais pluralistas ou especiais e multi-facetados. Os objectivos que presidem a este artigo são: investigar os recursos documentais produzidos pelas actividades católicas e budistas em Macau, revelar alguns registos documentais clássicos de valor incalculável, dos séculos XVI e XVII, e que estiveram ocultos durante centenas de anos, e analisar os motivos da sua formação e desenvolvimento, assim como o seu valor histórico. Além disso, este artigo visa igualmente examinar as diferenças de influência das actividades religiosas e culturais, orientais e ocidentais, nos recursos documentais.
[Autor: Helen Ieong Hoi Keng, pp. 6-25]

Sincretismo Religioso: a Harmonização do Budismo e do Tauismo no Lian Feng Miao (Templo do Pico do Lótus) de Macau

Encaixada entre as entidades políticas portuguesa e chinesa e duas culturas dominantes na periferia do Sul da China, Macau deu origem a um interface entre crenças religiosas diversas. Apesar do ardor com que os missionários portugueses tinham apresentado a Cristandade como uma "missão de civilização", não conseguiram substituir ou eliminar as crenças Budistas-Tauistas. Macau permanece um bastião religioso chinês, onde prolifera uma multidão de divindades. A maioria dos chineses em Macau parecem defender um espírito panteísta, através do sincretismo religioso de diversas crenças. A tradição sincrética tem sido o centro da vida religiosa dos chineses desde a dinastia Ming (1368 - 1644), um período de desenvolvimento espiritual. As práticas sincréticas, assim como a tradição politeísta dos sistemas de crenças chineses, são melhor ilustradas no Lian Feng Miao (Templo do Pico do Lótus). Este templo transgride, venerando todo um leque de divindades, independentemente das diferenças doutrinais e, escusado será dizer, oferece um *pot-pourri* de crenças para satisfazer as exigências dos devotos. Sendo sobretudo devotado a dois seres imortais principais —Tian Hou (a Deusa do Mar do Tauismo) e Guan Yin (a Deusa da Misericórdia budista), também venera figuras históricas, divindades mitológicas/populares e imperadores lendários, situando-os na história chinesa inicial. Em especial, existe uma mélange de sobrenaturais evemerizados, que foram sobretudo retirados de venerandas narrativas ficcionais, por exemplo *Feng Shen Yan Yi* (Criação dos Deuses), *San Guo Yan Yi* (O Romance dos Três Reinos), e *Xi You Ji* (Registo de uma Viagem ao Paraíso Ocidental). Estes antigos textos literários servem como veículo para que o Tauismo consolide o seu *status* como a religião autóctone chinesa. O rico repertório dos mitos chineses e símbolos religiosos no Lian Feng Miao ajuda a inspirar e a apoiar os chineses em experiências colectivas de solidariedade e identidade em Macau.
[Autor: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 26-43]

A Garganta: Os Jesuítas da China e o Colégio de Macau, 1579-1623

Desde meados do século XVI, até ao século XVIII, o Colégio de Macau serviu de sede a todas as missões da Companhia de Jesus na Ásia Oriental. No entanto, as suas relações com as diferentes acções que dirigia eram frequentemente ambíguas e por vezes complicadas. Este artigo examina as relações entre o esforço missionário jesuíta na China e este importante centro administrativo, revelando que, apesar da sua localização nos limites do império Ming, as suas prioridades estavam noutro local. Embora o colégio tenha sido fundado com o objectivo de formar missionários para as missões da Companhia no Japão, China, e Sudeste da Ásia, as necessidades da acção no Japão, em rápida expansão, dirigiram as suas atenções. Quando a missão da China foi fundada, em 1579, assumiu um papel claramente secundário em relação ao colégio e no decorrer das décadas seguintes os seus missionários teriam de lutar para estabelecer laços com ele. Por um lado, um estabelecimento numa cidade controlada por portugueses, tão perto de Cantão, teria sido um posto de comando ideal para os seus esforços e um importante santuário em épocas de perturbação. Por outro lado, as ligações do colégio (e da cidade) com o Japão, o principal inimigo marítimo dos Ming nesta época, tornavam suspeitas quaisquer relações entre os Jesuítas da China e Macau aos olhos das autoridades imperiais. Durante o período examinado, estes missionários tentaram estabelecer instalações para aprendizagem de línguas e separar os seus alojamentos dos dos seus equivalentes do Japão, mas sem sucesso. Por volta de 1623, no decorrer da crise que destruiu a missão no Japão, os Jesuítas da China abandonaram as suas ligações com o colégio e moveram as suas operações para o interior das fronteiras Ming. Isto coincidiu com diversos outros factores, incluindo a falhada invasão holandesa de Macau, a separação oficial entre a Província do Japão da Companhia e a recém-fundada Vice-Província da China e o fim das perseguições Nanjing. Ao separarem-se da decadente missão do Japão e da sua sede, os missionários da China voltaram as suas atenções para as suas comunidades cristãs em expansão para Norte.
[Autor: Liam M. Brockey, pp. 44-55]

Do *Método para Recitar o Rosário* à *Vida Ilustrada de Cristo*. Sobre as Gravuras Católicas do Último Período da Dinastia Ming

Até aos nossos dias, a atenção do mundo das artes concentrou-se principalmente nas obras dos pintores ocidentais que

trabalharam na corte imperial chinesa desde o imperador Kangxi até ao imperador Qianglong. Por um lado, porque as obras de Giuseppe Castiglione e de outros pintores ocidentais se conservarem até hoje em bom estado sendo ainda muito apreciadas, e, por outro, não serem as primeiras ilustrações concebidas para os livros católicos classificadas como trabalhos de arte. Mas, de facto, no período compreendido entre o final da dinastia Ming e o início da dinastia Qing, quando já se tinham iniciado as actividades missionárias dos Jesuítas na China, tanto os missionários como os chineses convertidos à fé católica manifestaram grande interesse pela arte religiosa. Os missionários socorreram-se da beleza das obras de arte como meio de propagação do cristianismo junto dos funcionários da corte imperial e da populacão. Por isso, e devido os seus notáveis esforços, os livros com ilustrações religiosas passaram a ser enviados para a China. Desde então, cada vez mais chineses começaram a conhecer e imitar a arte do Ocidente. Ao mesmo tempo surgiram pessoas que se opunham ao cristianismo. Mas mesmo estas não ignoraram a arte da gravura. Por exemplo, na sua obra *Não Há Outra Alternativa*, Yang Guangxian, um dos detractores da religião católica, utilizou três gravuras para suportar a sua posição. O presente artigo, baseando-se em documentos publicados nos últimos anos, debruça-se sobre a arte da gravura católica em chapa de cobre durante o último período da dinastia Ming.
[Autor: Mo Xiaoye, pp. 56-72]

Os *Wugongchuan* ("Barcos Centípedes") e os Portugueses

Diversas fontes do período Ming referem os barcos tradicionais chineses. Um dos tipos de embarcação era o chamado *wugongchuan*, ou "barco centípede". Ilustrações e descrições desta embarcação podem encontrar-se, por exemplo, em *Nan chuan ji*, *Longjiang chuanchang zhi*, *Qian tai wo zuan*, *Chouhai tubian*, *Wu bei zhi* e outros trabalhos. De acordo com estes textos, o *wugongchuan* tinha dois mastros e vários remos de cada lado, assemelhando-se por isso a determinadas embarcações do Sudeste asiático e às *galés* portuguesas. Equipados com canhões *folangji*, construídos segundo "protótipos" europeus, os "barcos centípedes" eram considerados poderosos e altamente eficientes vasos de guerra, que podiam actuar quase independentemente das condições climatéricas e facilmente destruir uma frota inimiga. Diversos textos sugerem ainda que estas embarcações surgiram inicialmente na China após os conflitos sino-portugueses de 1521/1522. Durante estes conflitos terá alegadamente sido passado o conhecimento de como fabricar canhões *folangj* e de como construir *wugongchua* aos especialistas Ming em assuntos de guerra. No entanto muitos detalhes deste processo, que envolvia a província de Guangdong e as autoridades em Nanjing, a "capital do sul" da China, permanecem desconhecidos porque existe informação parcialmente contraditória nas fontes. Um dos problemas deriva do facto de, segundo alguns contemporâneos, a China não ter necessidade real de "copiar" embarcações estrangeiras; poderia facilmente equipar os seus próprios vasos com artilharia moderna e remos, atingindo assim resultados militares comparáveis. Na verdade, parece que apenas muito poucos "verdadeiros" *wugongchuan* foram construídos no início do século XVI e que alguns anos depois a sua construção parou por completo. Isto pressente-se, por exemplo, em *Longjiang chuanchang zhi*. O presente trabalho expõe estas e outras questões. Comparam-se diversos textos e discutem-se pormenores em aberto, um por um. Também se dedica uma breve consideração à possibilidade de a China ter adquirido conhecimento tecnológico, não exclusivamente através dos Portugueses, mas também através do Sudeste da Ásia. No geral, a "história" do *wugongchuan* é um caso interessante de "transferência de tecnologia" e, certamente, também das relações sino-portuguesas do início do século XVI.
[Autor: Roderich Ptak, pp. 73-83]

As Raízes Chinesas da Moderna Tecnologia Ocidental

É inegável que as civilizações chinesa e semítico-europeia são duas das mais importantes civilizações a nível mundial. Contudo, até há pouco tempo, os historiadores e os etnólogos descuraram o estudo das relações entre estas duas macrocivilizações no respeitante à sua contribuição recíproca na dinâmica da cultura a nível ecuménico, nomeadamente no domínio da ciência e da tecnologia. À medida que nos finais do séc. XIX / primeiras décadas do séc. XX começaram a surgir, na Europa, trabalhos de muito mérito acerca das civilizações orientais (sendo de referir, no que respeita à China, os Padres Huc, Gervais-Eudore Colomban, Henri Dorée entre outros e os sinólogos Marcel Granet, Edouard Chavannes, Henri Maspero, John Dyer Ball, Parker, Dennys e o próprio Lin Yutang), que revelaram a contribuição das civilizações asiáticas no desenvolvimento da ciência ecuménica, nasceu e desenvolveu-se um verdadeiro movimento eurocêntrico apresentando novas teses que pretendiam defender a originalidade da ciência ocidental, exaltando, de modo por vezes exagerado, o papel dos gregos e defendendo que não só a ciência moderna mas a própria ciência como tal são especifica e exclusivamente europeias, e isso desde o seu início. A verdade, porém, é que estudando as fontes chinesas e comparando as datas das espantosas inovações que, ao longo dos séculos, nasceram no Império Celeste, fácil é constatar a importância que estas tiveram no desenvolvimento do pensamento, da ciência e da tecnologia ocidentais. O presente trabalho procura analisar o porquê do rápido avanço tecnológico do Ocidente a partir do século XVIII, ao mesmo tempo que, na China, se assistia a uma aparente estagnação da sua ciência antiga tão florescente e, também, a influência que as trocas recíprocas de conhecimentos através do corredor da Ásia Interior tiveram na evolução científica das maiores civilizações mundiais: a chinesa e a semítico-europeia.
[Autor: Ana Maria Amaro, pp. 84-97]

Cidade de Museus: Reflexões acerca de Macau em Exposição

Este trabalho, originalmente escrito em 1998, assinala a "febre de museus" que contagiou a cidade de Macau nos anos que antecederam a transferência de

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soberania (uma época durante a qual foram construídos oito novos museus), e tenta analisar as implicações deste fenómeno. O trabalho sustenta que a proliferação de museus é mais do que uma simples estratégia de marketing levada a cabo pelo gabinete de turismo; as qualidades específicas do museu como instituição fazem dele uma magnífica lente através da qual podemos compreender melhor as preocupações e prioridades culturais, políticas e económicas do estado e da sociedade em Macau. Esta questão é tratada colocando o fenómeno dos anos 90 no contexto do recente trabalho sobre "estudos museológicos" realizado em outros países e regiões e no contexto da centenária história dos museus em Macau. Três "eras" principais no desenvolvimento dos museus em Macau emergem desta análise, cada uma aproximadamente representada por três instituições-chave: o Museu Luís de Camões, o Museu Marítimo e o Museu de Macau. São delineadas as diferenças e semelhanças entre estes museus e as suas respectivas "eras" e retiram-se conclusões preliminares acerca do significado da "febre de museus" na Macau da era de transição.
[Autora: Cathryn Clayton, pp. 98-124]

Palavras do Patois de Macau em Inglês?

O patois de Macau (Português Crioulo de Macau) é uma variedade discursiva praticamente desconhecida fora do mundo linguístico português. Aqueles que o estudam reconhecem a sua composição ecléctica, uma amálgama de uma língua ocidental (o português) com diversas línguas do Sudeste Asiático. Esta mistura distinta produziu um crioulo baptizado com muitos nomes, tais como 'doçi lingua di Macau' (a doce língua de Macau). Esta linguagem é representativa de uma "crioulização" produzida pela mescla de uma cultura ocidental com diversas culturas do Sudeste Asiático, onde sujeitos e aliados do Império Português em tempos se aventuraram em busca de fama e fortuna, nesta vida e na seguinte. Posteriormente, o Império Britânico suplantou o Português e o inglês tornou-se gradualmente a língua estrangeira dominante na região. Para que isto acontecesse, o inglês tomou de empréstimo palavras aos diferentes povos, culturas e locais que os seus falantes encontraram, fazendo destas palavras propriedade sua. Os empréstimos foram feitos directa ou indirectamente, fazendo uso de intermediários, linguistas ou intérpretes, que os assistiam nas incursões pela Ásia actuando como pontes de comunicação. Neste caso, alguns historiadores têm falado de uma "língua franca portuguesa" que era utilizada nos negócios e no comércio entre os países orientais e ocidentais nesta região. Alguns referiram-se a esta língua franca como patois de Macau. O objectivo deste trabalho é examinar se o patois de Macau, falado pelos seus falantes indígenas, os macaenses (dos quais alguns trabalharam como intérpretes), teve um papel na aquisição pelo inglês das palavras emprestadas na região. No decurso deste estudo foram reunidas diversas palavras consideradas como pertencentes ao patois de Macau, reduzidas a vinte e duas, e foram feitas análises posteriores, com base nas suas etimologias encontradas no *Oxford English Dictionary* e *Hobson Jobson*, dois célebres dicionários etimológicos de inglês. Embora os achados não tenham sido conclusivos, é apresentada uma lista de oito palavras, como sendo palavras provavelmente introduzidas, directa ou indirectamente, do patois de Macau no inglês. Apresentam-se recomendações para pesquisa posterior, para determinar se o patois de Macau foi o precursor do inglês "pidgin".
[Autor: Peter Cabreros, pp. 126-151]

ABSTRACTS

An Exploration of Documents from Catholic and Buddhist Sources in Macao Libraries

Religious and cultural activities have a considerable impact on documentary sources, a product of social development. Given that Macao has always been a special region for both Chinese and foreigners, the practice of various religious and cultural activities has resulted in pluralistic or multi-faceted documentary sources. This article investigates the documentary sources produced by Catholic and Buddhist activity in Macao, and brings to light some invaluable records dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that have been hidden for hundreds of years. The article explores the background behind their formation and development, as well as their historical value. Additionally, there is an examination of the differing influences of eastern and western religious and cultural activities on documentary sources.
[Author: Helen Ieong Hoi Keng, pp. 6-25]

Religious Syncretism: the Harmonization of Buddhism and Daoism in Macao's Lian Feng Miao (The Lotus Peak Temple)

Straddling the Chinese and Portuguese political entities and two dominant cultures at the periphery of South China, Macao has given rise to an interface of various religious beliefs. Although the Portuguese missionaries ardently introduced Christianity in the guise of a "civilizing mission", they failed to replace or erase the Buddhist-Daoist faiths. Macao remains a Chinese religious bastion where multitudinous deities proliferate. Most Chinese in Macao apparently advocate a pantheistic spirit through religious syncretism of diverse beliefs. The syncretic tradition has been central to the religious life of the Chinese since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), a period of spiritual breakthrough. The syncretic practices, as well as the polytheistic tradition of the Chinese belief systems, are best illustrated in Lian Feng Miao (the Lotus Peak Temple). This temple transgresses religious boundaries to enshrine a whole gamut of divinities regardless of doctrinal differences, and needless to say, offers a potpourri of beliefs to meet worshippers' requirements. While the temple is chiefly dedicated to two main immortals—Tian Hou (the Daoist Goddess of the Sea) and Guan Yin (the Buddhist Goddess of

Mercy), it also enshrines historical figures, mythological/folk deities and legendary emperors, and traces them back to the dawn of Chinese history. Most especially, there is a mélange of euhemerised supernaturals, drawn mostly from time-honoured fictional narratives, i.e. *Feng Shen Yan Yi* (Creation of the Gods), *San Guo Yan Yi* (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms), and *Xi You Ji* (Journey to the West). These ancient literary texts served as a vehicle for Daoism to consolidate its status as the Chinese autochthonous religion. The rich repertoire of Chinese myths and religious symbols in Lian Feng Miao helps inspire and sustain collective experiences of solidarity and identity for the Chinese in Macao.
[Author: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 26-43]

A Garganta: The China Jesuits and the College of Macao, 1579-1623

From the mid-sixteenth until the eighteenth century, the College of Macao served as headquarters for all of the Society of Jesus' missions in East Asia. Yet its relations with the different enterprises it directed were often ambiguous and at times complicated. This article examines the relations between the Jesuit missionary effort in China and this important administrative centre, revealing that despite its location on the edge of the Ming empire its priorities lay elsewhere. Although the college had been founded for the purpose of training missionaries for the Society's missions to Japan, China, and Southeast Asia, the needs of the rapidly expanding Japan enterprise commanded its attentions. When the China mission was founded in 1579, it assumed a clearly secondary role with relation to the college, and over the course of the following decades, its missionaries would have to struggle to establish links to it. On one hand, an establishment in a Portuguese controlled city so close to Canton would have been an ideal marshalling point for their efforts and a key haven in times of distress. On the other, the college's (and city's) links to Japan, the primary maritime enemy of the Ming at this time, made any relations between the China Jesuits and Macao suspicious to mandarin authorities. During the period examined here, these missionaries attempted to set up language training facilities and separate quarters from their Japan counterparts but all came to naught. By 1623, in the midst of the crisis that destroyed the Japan mission, the China Jesuits abandoned their links to the college and moved their operations to within the Ming borders. This coincided with a number of factors, including the failed Dutch invasion of Macao, the official split between the Society's Province of Japan and the newly founded Vice-Province of China, and the end of the Nanjing Persecutions. Separating themselves from the withering Japan mission and its headquarters, the China missionaries turned their attentions to their growing communities of Christians to the north.
[Autor: Liam M. Brockey, pp. 44-55]

From the *Method for the Rosary* to the *Illustrated Life of Jesus Christ*. Comment on Catholic engravings from the last period of the Ming dynasty

So far, studies of artistic exchange between China and foreign countries in the late Ming dynasty and early Qing dynasty has focused mainly on the Western artists who worked in the imperial court of China, from the reign of Emperor Kangxi up until Emperor Qianlong. One reason for this is that the works of Guiseppe Castiglione and other Western artists have been well preserved and publicised, while early Catholic illustrations in books have not been classified as works of art and thus have not been properly considered. Nevertheless, from the late Ming dynasty to the early Qing dynasty, when Jesuit missionary activities had already begun, both missionaries and Chinese Catholic converts expressed a great interest in religious art. The missionaries used works of art as aids to preach the Catholic faith to government officers and the people. Their successes meant that books with religious illustrations were sent incessantly to China, exposing an increasing number of Chinese to Western art which many then tried to imitate. Opposing forces also emerged but even they used engravings. For instance, in his work *Budeyi* (There is No Other Choice), Yang Guangxian, an opponent of Catholicism, used three engravings to support his stance. This article explores the early studies of Catholic copperplate engravings in the late Ming dynasty, based on paintings and documents published in recent years.
[Author: Mo Xiaoye, pp. 56-72]

The *Wugongchuan* (Centipede Ships) and the Portuguese

Various sources of the Ming period refer to traditional Chinese ships. One type of sailing craft was the so-called *wugongchuan*, or "centipede ship". Illustrations and descriptions of this vessel can be found, for example, in the *Nan chuan ji*, *Longjiang chuanchang zhi*, *Qian tai wo zuan*, *Chouhai tubian*, *Wu bei zhi*, and other works. According to these texts, the *wugongchuan* had two masts and several oars on each side, thus resembling certain Southeast Asian vessels and Portuguese *gales*. Equipped with *folangji* cannon modelled after European "prototypes", the "centipede ships" were considered powerful and highly efficient men-of-war, which could operate almost independently of weather conditions and easily destroy an enemy fleet. Several texts also suggest that these vessels were first introduced to China after the Sino-Portuguese clashes of 1521/1522. During these clashes the knowledge of both how to cast *folangji* cannon and how to construct *wugongchuan* was then allegedly passed on to local Ming specialists in warfare. But many details of this process, which involved the province of Guangdong and the authorities in Nanjing, China's "southern capital", remain unknown because there is partly contradictory information in the sources. One problem stems from the fact that, according to some contemporaries, China was in no real need to "copy" foreign ships; it might easily equip its own craft with modern artillery and oars and thereby achieve comparable military results. Indeed, it seems that only very few "true" *wugongchuan* were built in the early sixteenth century and that, after some years, their construction was stopped altogether. This transpires, for example,

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from the *Longjiang chuanchang zhi*. The present paper presents these and other questions. Various texts are compared and details are discussed, one by one. Brief consideration is also given to the possibility that China acquired technological knowledge not exclusively through the Portuguese, but through Southeast Asia as well. On the whole, the "story" of the *wugongchuan* is an interesting case of "technology transfer", and certainly also of Sino-Portuguse relations in the early sixteenth century.
[Author: Roderich Ptak, pp. 73-83]

The Chinese Roots of Modern Western Technology

It cannot be denied that the Chinese and the European-Semitic civilizations are two of the most important civilizations in the whole world. Until recently, however, historians and ethnologists have neglected the study of relations between these two macro-civilizations in terms of their reciprocal cultural contributions at an ecumenical level, namely in the domains of science and technology. By the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, outstanding works on the Eastern civilizations started to appear in Europe, shedding light on how Asiatic civilizations had contributed to the development of ecumenical science. As far as concerns China, we can cite works by the priests Huc, Gervais-Eudore Colomban, and Henri Dorée, and by sinologists Marcel Granet, Edouard Chavannes, Henri Maspero, John Dyer Ball, Parker, Dennys and Lin Yutang. At the same time, a euro-centric movement was emerging, presenting new theses to defend the originality of western science. There was a tendency to praise Greek contributions to science, claiming that not only modern science but also science in itself *were specifically and exclusively European,* and had always been so. As we study Chinese sources and compare the dates of the amazing innovations that were produced in the Celestial Empire over the centuries, it is easy to note the importance these had in the development of western thought, science and technology. This article analyses the reasons why the West has experienced rapid technological progress since the eighteenth century, while there has been an apparent stagnation of China's ancient and erstwhile flourishing science. It also looks at the influence that the reciprocal interchange of knowledge through the corridor of Inner Asia had on the scientific development of the greatest civilizations of the world: the Chinese and the European-Semitic.
[Author: Ana Maria Amaro, pp. 84-97]

City of Museums: Reflections on Exhibiting Macao

This paper, originally written in 1998, remarks the "museum fever" that gripped the city of Macao in the years just prior to the Handover (an era in which eight new museums were built), and attempts to analyse the implications of this phenomenon. The paper argues that the proliferation of museums is more than simply a marketing strategy by the tourism bureau; the specific qualities of the museum as an institution make it an excellent lens through which to understand more about the cultural, political and economic concerns and priorities of state and society in Macao. It does so by placing the 1990s phenomenon in the context of the recent work on "museum studies" done in other countries and regions, and in the context of the century-long history of museums in Macao. Three main "eras" in the development of museums in Macao emerge from this analysis, each one roughly represented by three key institutions: the Luís de Camões Museum, the Maritime Museum, and the Macao Museum. The differences and similarities between these museums and their respective "eras" are outlined, and preliminary conclusions are drawn about the significance of "museum fever" in transition-era Macao.
[Author: Cathryn Clayton, pp. 98-125]

Macao Patois Words in English?

Macao patois (Macao Creole Portuguese) is a speech variety hardly known outside the Portuguese linguistic world. People who study it acknowledge its eclectic composition, an amalgamation of a western tongue (Portuguese) with various tongues of Southeast Asia. This distinctive blending produced a creole christened with many names such as 'doçi lingua di Macau' (the sweet tongue of Macao). This language is representative of a creolization brought about by the mingling of a western culture with diverse cultures in the Southeast where subjects and allies of the Portuguese Seaborne Empire once ventured out in search of fame and fortune in this life and in the next. In time, the British Seaborne Empire supplanted the Portuguese and English gradually became the most dominant foreign language in the region. For this to happen, English borrowed words from the different people, cultures and places its speakers encountered, making these words their own. The borrowings were done either directly or indirectly, making use of intermediaries, linguists or interpreters, who assisted them in their forays in Asia by acting as communication bridges. In this case, some historians have spoken of a "Portuguese lingua franca" that was used in business and trade among the Western and Eastern countries in this region. A few referred to this lingua franca as Macao patois. The purpose of this paper is to examine whether the Macao patois spoken by its indigenous speakers, the Macanese (a number of whom worked as interpreters), played a part in the acquisition of English loanwords in the region. In the course of this study, a number of words said to belong to Macao patois were gathered, the list was narrowed down to twenty-two and further analyses were made based on their etymologies found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Hobson Jobson*, two of the noted etymological dictionaries of English. Although the findings were not conclusive, a list of eight words is presented as probable words introduced either indirectly or directly by Macao patois to English. Recommendations are presented for further research to determine whether Macao patois was the harbinger of Pidgin English.
[Author: Peter Cabreros, pp. 126-151]