

Heungshan

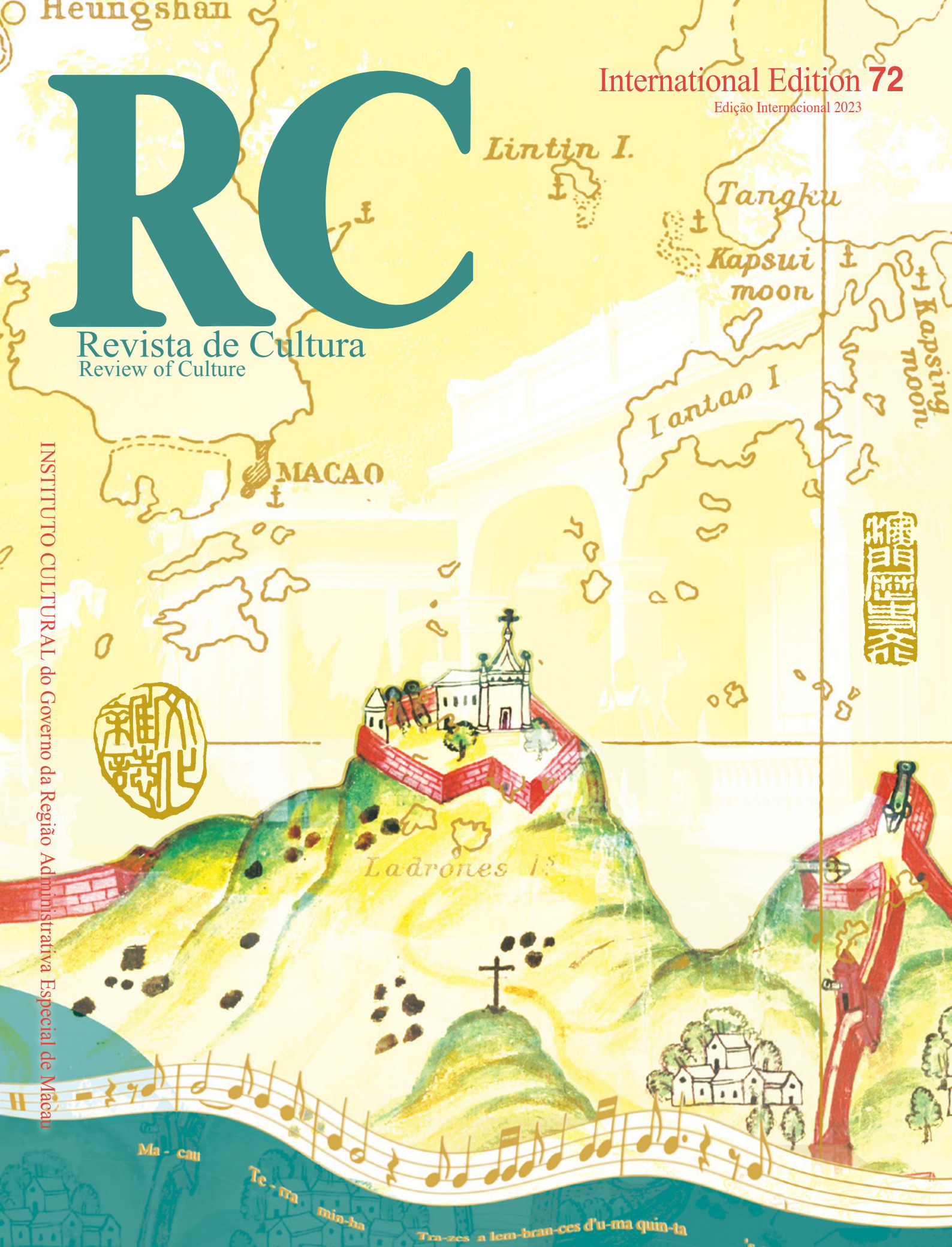
RC

Revista de Cultura
Review of Culture

International Edition 72

Edição Internacional 2023

INSTITUTO CULTURAL do Governo da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau



BRITISH CO

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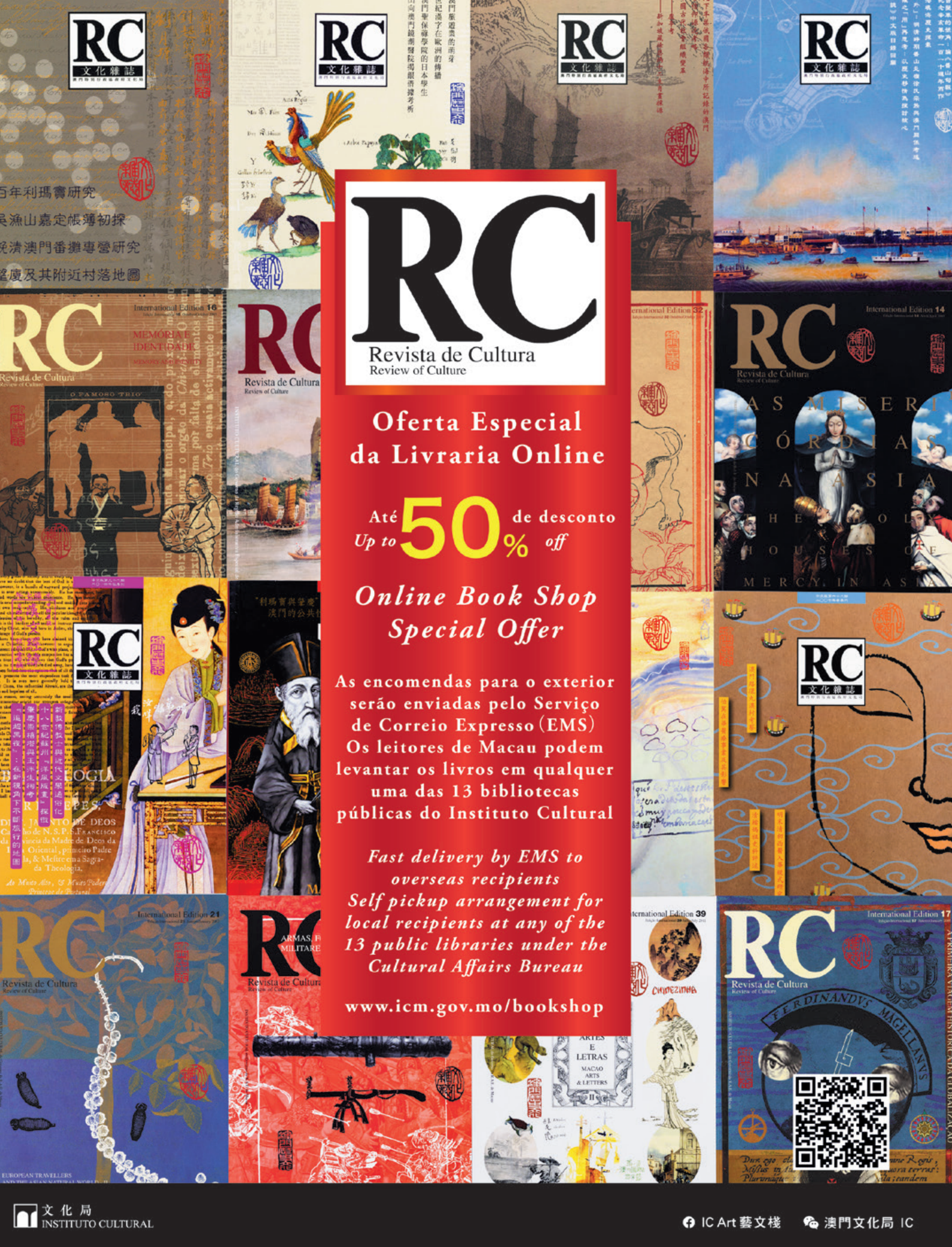
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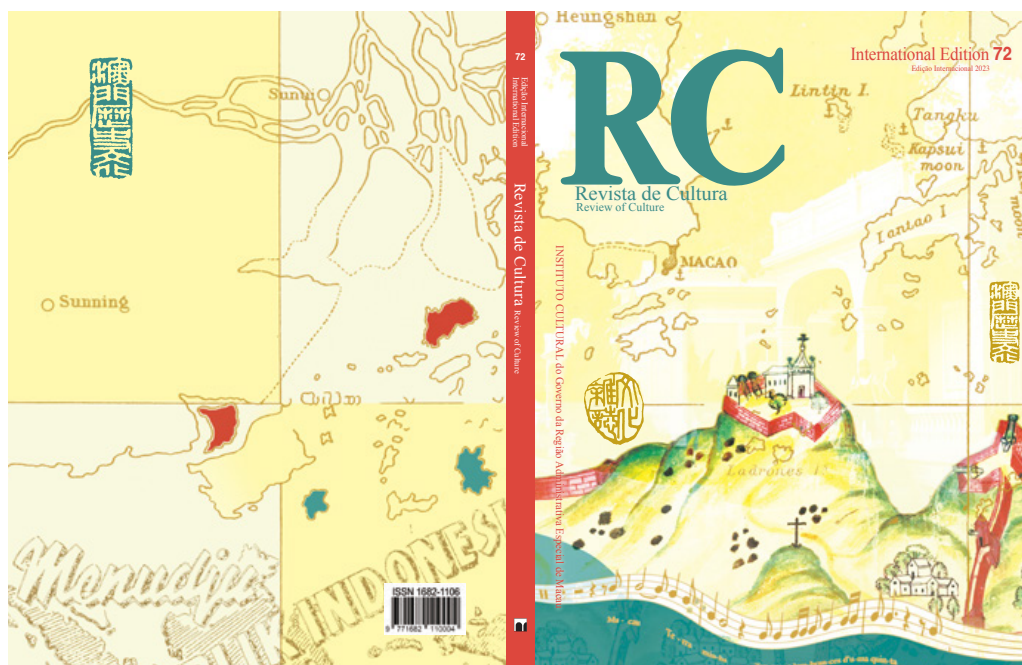


Imagem de fundo: Mapa de Macau (Séc. XVII) de Pedro Barreto de Resende
 Background image: Map of Macao (17th century) by Pedro Barreto de Resende
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A análise da identidade cultural de Macau e respectivas mudanças no tecido social, através da música e da produção cinematográfica, são temas de abertura deste número de *Revista de Cultura*. Caspar Ka Yin Chan faz um estudo comparativo das músicas chinesa e portuguesa, revelando de que forma as memórias e identidades de grupos específicos de pessoas residentes em Macau são articuladas, antes e depois da transferência. Em seguida, Christopher K. Tong explica como o cinema e o urbanismo estão ligados na construção de Macau como uma cidade global. Ainda no capítulo sobre Estudos de Macau, Eliza Si Kei Leong apresenta uma teoria feminista colonial e um discurso de mulheres no séc. XIX, que exercem poder e operam resistência, pela análise de Henrietta Hall Shuck, a primeira missionária americana a visitar Macau em 1836.

No campo da Historiografia, Aureliano Barata traça um roteiro histórico, desde a conquista de Malaca aos primeiros tempos da presença permanente portuguesa em Macau. Seguidamente, Robert J. Antony, lança um estudo sobre uma terceira Rota da Seda, raramente investigada, a rota dos piratas, desvendando a sua possível contribuição para projectos de património histórico e cultural contemporâneos. Por fim, Geoffrey C. Gunn, apresenta um artigo centrado em Tân Malaka, editor do boletim multilingue *The Dawn*, em Guangzhou na primeira metade do séc. XX, e na sua participação na 'Conferência de Cantão' dos Trabalhadores dos Transportes do Pacífico, com o objectivo de avançar na pesquisa sobre estes assuntos amplamente negligenciados na literatura. A culminar este número, Eduardo Kol de Carvalho desvenda um estudo da sua linha de pesquisa, focado na espiritualidade oriental, crenças religiosas e superstições, através da análise da cultura japonesa.

The analysis of Macao's cultural identity and respective changes in the social fabric, through music and cinematographic production, are the opening themes of this issue of *Review of Culture*. Caspar Ka Yin Chan makes a comparative study of Chinese and Portuguese music, revealing how the memories and identities of specific groups of people residing in Macao are articulated, before and after the handover. Then Christopher K. Tong explains how cinema and urbanism are linked in the making of Macao as a global city and still in the section on Macao Studies, Eliza Si Kei Leong presents a colonial feminist theory and discourse of women who exercised power and resistance in the 19th century, through an analysis of Henrietta Hall Shuck, the first American female missionary visiting Macao in 1836.

In the field of Historiography, Aureliano Barata traces a historical route, from the conquest of Malacca to the beginnings of the permanent Portuguese presence in Macao. Robert J. Antony then launches a study on a third Silk Road of the pirates that is rarely discussed, showing its possible contribution to contemporary historical and cultural heritage projects. Finally, Geoffrey C. Gunn presents an article about Tân Malaka, editor of the multilingual bulletin *The Dawn*, in Guangzhou in the first half of the 20th century, and his participation in the 'Canton Conference' of the Transport Workers of the Pacific, seeking to advance research on both subjects, hitherto largely neglected. To conclude this issue, Eduardo Kol de Carvalho unveils a study from his area of research, particularly on Eastern spirituality, religious beliefs, and superstitions, through an analysis of Japanese culture.

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Narrating and Contesting Cultural Identities in Music: The Case of Macao before and after Handover

CASPAR KA YIN CHAN*

ABSTRACT: Macao has seen an incessant cultural exchange between the East and the West since the arrival of the Portuguese in the mid-sixteenth century. Different types of hybrid cultural and artistic heritage, like music, language, and poetry, have since then been created. However, as reflected by scholars, more efforts are yet to be done in documenting the aforementioned artistic development and investigating how the cultural identity of the people of Macao has evolved through history. This paper contributes to study how the memories and identities of specific groups of people residing in Macao are articulated in their music depicting Macao, specifically, through analysing the Chinese songs ‘Song of Seven Sons — Macao’ and ‘Song of Macao’, and the Portuguese pieces ‘Macao, My Land’ and ‘Good-bye, Macao’, as well as using the discourses of music and cultural identity discussed by Simon Frith, Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha, among others. The selected works concern their uses of language, musicality, and public appearance. Although one group may demonstrate contradictory narratives in terms of identity and beliefs with another, their overall musical expression about themselves and Macao constructs our communal understanding, memory, and recognition of this place. Over time, a change in terms of their narratives of identity and the audience’s reception can also be seen, resulting in a mobile identification, and shifting collective identity of the people.

KEYWORDS: Cultural identity; Cultural ambivalence; Hybridity; Musical identity; Narrativity of identity; Memory.

INTRODUCTION

Macao had been under the Portuguese administration for over 400 years before it was handed over to China on 20 December 1999. Ever since the Portuguese navigators, who had also brought with

them traces of Continental European, African, Indian, and Malay cultures, first encountered the officials from the Ming dynasty, Macao has become a place where different cultures exchanged extensively. At the same time, because of its long history, a distinctive

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culture and an identity belonging to Macao have also gradually emerged. Such a trend extends well beyond the handover into the twenty-first century. Today, we can see the Portuguese and the Chinese languages appearing side by side almost ubiquitously, Catholic churches mingling with Buddhist and Taoist temples, Western festivities and processions of local beliefs happening in the same space. Simultaneously, we can also see how Macanese gastronomy has been cherished worldwide, how the Patuá theatre has attracted different people's attention, and ultimately, how Macao's exceptional architectural styles have been globally acknowledged in being inscribed as a UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage in 2005. Macao thus reveals its own characteristics that distinguish itself from all its neighbours. Concurrently, Macao's own cultural identity results precisely from the fact that different cultures can communicate and blend with each other on this piece of land.

While this is a blessing from Macao's unique history, there also exists a certain paranoia: if we claim to have inherited all these histories and cultures, who are we actually? What are we talking about when we assert that a person is 'someone from Macao'? This interrogation is already complicated by the fact that, except in the Chinese languages like Mandarin and Cantonese where we can call ourselves directly 'Macao person' (澳門人 *Aomen ren*), it seems hard to yield a succinct name for our identity in any foreign term, as in the case of 'Hong Konger' or '*Lisboeta*' ('Macanese', on the other hand, has other meanings, as we shall soon see). Furthermore, the essentialist ways of defining one's identity — 'you are yellow-skinned and a Cantonese speaker, therefore you are a Chinese'; 'you are a Catholic and have a Portuguese surname, therefore you are a Portuguese' — cannot reach to an understanding of one's cultural identity and sense of Macao belonging. Thus, when 'someone from Macao' is asked to reflect on his identity, chances are that he will not label himself as a 'mere' Chinese or Portuguese

or Macanese without further explanation; and chances are that he is at once conscious of Macao's own complex history and position. A sense of collectivity is missed, albeit the existence of a specific set of cultural traits supposedly shared by 'someone from Macao'.¹

Nevertheless, as Chin Pang Lei reflects, the inscription of the Historic Centre of Macao as a World Cultural Heritage appears to be the singular event that has 'awakened' the people of Macao to rethink their cultural identity. As a result, the subsequent debates and discussions on Macao's heritage not only arouse the people's interest in their own history and culture, but also propel them to rethink what Macao's identity can mean.² This paper, therefore, serves as a humble step to continue this trend, delineating what the cultural identity of the people of Macao entails through investigating one crucial, though intangible, aspect of our culture — music, where a group's cultural identity can well be expressed.

While there exists already a corpus of literature that discusses how the identity of Macao has been shaped in political, sociological and economic terms, and while Macao's tangible cultural heritage has also been profoundly researched, as musicologist Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto highlights, there still exists a lacuna in the documentation, let alone the studies of Macao's musical life, and any comparative study of music composed by different people groups in Macao is virtually nonexistent.³ Lei also points out that much is yet to be done in researching the humanistic development of Macao.⁴ This article tends to shed light on the lesser known yet complicated identity of the people of Macao, and revisits the musical facet of the city.

This undertaking explores how different people's memories and ideas about Macao, and thus, their identity towards Macao, have been articulated in their music over time. In this way, a lateral comparison among the narratives in different groups' music can reveal the different ideas towards the same space of

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Macao, and therefore, their identities. A longitudinal study of how these narratives have changed over time can, on the other hand, depict the malleability of identity and the group's altering attitude towards Macao.

This paper aims to rethink notions such as 'cultural identity' and 'collective memory', rather than fixing a one-and-only identity onto the people of Macao. One can indeed see a process of identification, fluid and extensive. Simultaneously, rather than having only one orthodox cultural memory, the people of Macao have always been able to view Macao's history and their own memory in diverse ways.

1. METHODOLOGY

Four songs will be investigated in this paper: 'Song of Seven Sons — Macao' (七子之歌——澳門 *Qizi zhi ge — Aomen*), sung in Mandarin Chinese, whose verse was first written by poet Wen Yiduo (聞一多) in 1925, was made into music by Li Haiying (李海鷹) in 1998. Another Mandarin song, 'Song of Macao' (澳門之歌 *Aomen zhi ge*), was written by lyricist Preston Lee (李安秀) from Taiwan and was composed by local musician Keith Chan (陳輝陽) in 2009. The Portuguese repertoire includes 'Macao, My Land' (*Macau, Terra Minha*) and 'Good-bye, Macao' (*Adeus, Macau*), the former was produced by Portuguese, or more accurately Macanese band The Thunders in 1970, while the latter was written by the Macanese musician Filomeno Jorge (Rosso) and released by Macanese music group Tuna Macaense in 1994.

While it should be acknowledged that these selected pieces of music are by no means exhaustive of the musical production of the people of Macao, within the scope of the present study, this repository is nevertheless endorsed for the following reasons. First, as seen from their titles, these pieces of music explicitly express a relationship with Macao. Second, despite the fact that the verses of these songs were written over a

long period of time, their respective musical adaptation took place between 1970 and 2010, the time when the Portuguese and the Chinese officials were engaged in resolving the issues of Macao's authority, where the transition of governance from one to the other eventually took place, and where Macao's history and culture were studied recurrently. It is, thus, during this period that Macao's identity started to be explicitly portrayed and re-portrayed, actively rethought, and revised. Third, they have continually made their appearance in significant and public circumstances, where a large public is engaged and where the audience is able to have mutual music experiences, enhancing a sense of collectivity at specific instants.

Three aspects of each song will be examined:

1) The use of language — how they utilise particular wordings and languages to represent the specific groups' relationship with Macao in the lyrics; 2) The musicality — how they make use of different styles and genres, and what these inform us about the ideas behind such adaptations; 3) The public appearances — where and when these songs have been played, so that we can postulate how they are linked with different here-and-now's in the history of Macao, and what they imply in terms of the identity of the people groups who create them. A comparative study within a group (longitudinal) and across the groups (lateral) will eventually offer us a better perspective on how the identity of Macao has never been stable, yet, like how the city's population is migratory and mobile in nature, variably narratable and vividly diverse.

2. IDENTITY VERSUS IDENTIFICATION

Particularly crucial is Stuart Hall's idea of the 'becoming' of cultural identity, Homi Bhabha's thesis on the 'hybridity' and the 'in-betweenness' of cultures, and Simon Frith's relation of music and identity. Hall writes in his seminal work *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* (1994) that there are at least two distinct ways of contemplating 'cultural identity'. The first, which is

common in many former colonies, can be understood as having a ‘collective “one true self”’, where there should be an origin of the concerning people group that makes it ‘one people’. Therefore, exist an ‘essence’, transcending time and space, where the oppressed and marginalised group can retrieve and rediscover in the post-colonial era. In finding such an essence, the group can eventually regain the identity that should first have been possessed by the said group before colonisation, authentic and ‘uncontaminated’. At the same time, such a reading of cultural identity also expects that everyone from the group has an ‘imaginary coherence’ with the claimed ‘essence’.⁵ In this way, we should always be able to answer the question of ‘who we are’ in excavating such an ‘essence’.

Yet, such retrieval and rediscovery are never the mere ‘unearthing’ of something that is allegedly unchangeable.⁶ Instead, for identity is precisely based on archaeology and the re-reading of one’s history, it can be re-told, and thus evolves across time. This leads to the second sense of cultural identity, where we attempt to respond to the question of ‘what we have become’.⁷ For if one always has dissenting ways — however slight — to (re-)read one’s history, one has different ways to retrieve one’s identity. Identity, therefore, is not a given: ‘Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories [...] they undergo constant transformation’.⁸ They are the results of the constant play of powers and politics, and are influenced by how one reads his history, how one uses his language and where one is posited in space and time.⁹ In summary, Hall rightly asserts that,

*Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.*¹⁰

In such a multiethnic and mobile city as Macao, different groups of people do not only narrate their own identities but also the others. And in so doing,

in narrating and representing ‘their’ position in ‘our’ narrative, ‘aspiration and aggression’ from ‘our’ narrative is also thrust upon ‘them’.¹¹ This ‘othering’ and ‘external gaze’ may, in the end, be taken up and internalised by the narrated and represented group, eventually becoming their very own identity as seen from the outside. In turn, such an identity also becomes fixed to ‘a narrow spectrum, a limited horizon’.¹² Nevertheless, the co-existence of narratives, resulting from the co-existence of different groups in Macao, also means that there are discontinuity and conflicts among these narratives. Therefore, far from being fixed, the people of Macao do actually have a ‘space of possibilities’ where they can negotiate among different narratives and reflect on how their own identity should be told.¹³

This brings us back to Hall’s second way of thinking about cultural identity as fluid and narratable one.¹⁴ Most importantly, it is always becoming. We may derive a relatively fixed identity, or we may be imposed by others with a fixed identity, but they are always subject to change and contestation. Concurrently, we should also not blind ourselves from seeing the possibility of various narratives of the history of Macao and the identity of the people of Macao, due to the city’s own migratory nature. In the end, instead of asking ‘who someone from Macao is’ and pursuing an identity for one and for all, we may instead attempt to find ‘what someone from Macao has become’ and how the people of Macao have identified themselves through the mist of history.

3. CULTURE DISCRETE OR CULTURE AMBIVALENT?

It is clear that Macao, accommodating various groups of people for centuries, also accommodates different cultures for centuries. Cultures co-exist and collide with one another. In this way, the Portuguese and Chinese cultures, among others, as experienced by the Macao locals, become localised over time. A special

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‘hybrid’ culture is gradually developed among the people of Macao — it becomes something ‘in-between’, ‘partially’ Portuguese and ‘partially’ Chinese.¹⁵ The people of Macao, as portrayed in the introduction, experience precisely such an ambivalence, for neither can one easily explain one’s identity without further comments, nor can one readily fit into what the connotations ‘Portuguese’ or ‘Chinese’ entail, neither in terms of culture nor ethnicity.

On the other hand, such ambivalence and ‘in-betweenness’ can also be revealed in familial terms, and that is precisely the case for the Macanese. A Macanese (土生葡人 *tusheng puren*, or local-born Portuguese), in its most general sense, refers to the offspring stemming from generations of intermarriage between, among others, the Portuguese and Chinese, simultaneously expanding the bloodlines with persons of origin of Malaysia, India, Africa and even Japan — i.e., places where the Portuguese have explored. In reality, Chinese bloodline was not existent among the very first generations of those ‘Macao-born’ — it is only later that, when the Portuguese had secured their settlement in Macao, cross-marriage between them and the Chinese proliferated.¹⁶ Be it as it may, it can be said that the cultures of the two greater nations exchange most intimately and collide most intensively among the Macanese, who finally yield their own poetry, music, craftsmanship, gastronomy and even language. The Macanese culture, in the end, is exemplary of a hybrid and ambivalent culture for it has become a culture of its own.

Ultimately, in Macao, no single culture can stand out from the others, and no culture can be singled out, if we are to perceive a culture of Macao. A spectrum of cultures is seen, where every culture that has at one time resided in Macao tinges, assimilates, and evolves with each other over time. Whether it is the ‘not-so-Portuguese-and-not-so-Chinese’ culture of Macao, or the Macanese culture which is born from selecting from and internalising both the Portuguese

and Chinese cultures among others, and which also constitutes a part of Macao’s culture, they both exist as a ‘connective tissue between cultures’.¹⁷ We may even venture to ask: for a country as profound and vast as Portugal or China, could their namesake cultures be homogeneous?

Culture, therefore, is not discrete, but continuous with other bordering cultures. Such a reading of culture, although it may give rise to the paranoia portrayed at the beginning of this paper, also suggests the organicity and multi-vocality of a culture, making possible the overlapping of different cultures and the eventual birth of a new culture.

4. IN MUSIC WE ARE ONE

While ‘culture’ can be hybrid and ambivalent, and ‘cultural identity’ can be fluid and narratable, the two ideas can be concretised at a specific time. While one cannot speak of ‘one experience, one identity’ for very long and with any exactness,¹⁸ there are at least particular moments where we and our fellows stand close and strong together, bathed in one identity — or at least so we believe. Musical experience is one such moment where a people’s identity can be most vigorously constructed and expressed.¹⁹ It is also ‘a catalyst in the social chemistry which produces the feeling of belonging to a group’.²⁰ Besides, music does not only evoke a vision of cultural identity for the insiders, but through the music, such an identity is also exerted outwards to the audience, so that ‘others’ know who ‘we’ are.²¹

Musicologist Simon Frith asserts that an identity can be fostered right in the making and experiencing of music. While an identity is felt by those who play music, *tutti* and in harmony, the listeners are also ‘drawn into emotional alliances with the performers’:

Music is obviously collective. We hear things as music because their sounds obey a more or less familiar cultural logic, and for most

*music listeners (who are not themselves music makers) this logic is out of our control...[Music] stands for, symbolises and offers the immediate experience of collective identity.*²²

Therefore, in understanding a piece of music, and by seeing that our fellow music performers and listeners are conjoined together within the same musical atmosphere, a 'we' is formed, for we are enabled to 'place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives' that first allow us to understand the music.²³ Thus, a communal experience results, a collective identity is fostered, and an 'imagined community' is formed.²⁴

Finally, while the understandability of music obeys the cultural symbolisms that we comprehend, and while culture is malleable and never homogeneous, one may cherish one piece of music but be indifferent to another. One may create a piece of music that sounds — figuratively and literally — poignant and perfect to some, but weird and 'wrong' to others. Just as cultural identity is narratable, musical identity is also ever evolving.

To summarise, culture is ambivalent and not closed, especially in Macao where, for centuries, people of different origins and cultures encounter each other. Cultural identity, in this way, is never fixed, but always open to change in the way people narrate and experience their sense of belonging to Macao. A process of identification thus emerges. On the other hand, one of the many ways through which a group can narrate its identity is music, where not only the insiders, but the spectators can also be impressed with, or even subsequently internalise, a group's specific narrative. It is based on these premises that the following case studies are justified and relevant, for this investigation can eventually shed light on 'what the people of Macao have become', through musical narratives, from the 1970s to the 2010s. It also allows us to rethink what a sense of 'Macaoness' or what a collective memory of Macao can mean at the present time and in the future.

5. CASE STUDY I — THE PORTUGUESE NARRATIVE BEFORE HANDOVER

In 1966, a conflict revolving around the expansion of a school campus escalated into wide strife between the Portuguese authority and the Chinese Communist partisans. Such is the background of the 12-3 incident, which resulted in the Portuguese surrender and the admittance of the Chinese left-wing participation in Macao's politics. The dictatorship in continental Portugal and the widespread counter-colonial struggles in other Portuguese territories were also causing social turmoil in both Macao and Portugal. These historical events all led to a sense of uncertainty felt by the Portuguese as well as the Macanese in Macao. On the one hand, their voices were increasingly undermined in the Chinese-inclining social and political ambience. On the other hand, they would also not feel secure if they had opted to emigrate from Macao, for agitation was also prevailing over mainland Portugal. It is in such a situation that abundant literature and music were created by both the Portuguese and the Macanese to express their yearning for the 'good old days' in Macao and their doubt of the future,²⁵ to a certain extent, their 'colonial nostalgia' can be entertained.

'Macao, My Land' was composed under this atmosphere. This work was produced by the band The Thunders, which was composed of both Portuguese and Macanese musicians. Its debut was released in 1970 on the album *Macao*. This album, containing four tracks, is centred around the topics of home and friends, which is already distinguished from the group's previous releases that talked more about romance and love. Though of Portuguese or Macanese origin, the band was allegedly one of the most famous bands in Macao and Hong Kong during that era, gaining its popularity among the youths. After its release, 'Macao, My Land' 'has become one of the most representative songs of Macao, and has been played in many major events and programmes'.²⁶

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Fig. 1: A conventional rhythmic scheme of Fado. The box shows the syncopated 'half-bar' rhythm. Adapted by Rodney Gallop, "The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate)," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1933): 199–213.

The Thunders also presented the first release to the then-Governor, Nobre de Carvalho. In turn, while the song itself could be promoted and thus attract even more people to listen to its narrative, it can be argued that such an action also has a political implication. On the one hand, the band expressed their affiliation and support to the Portuguese by offering such sentimental work to the head of the Portuguese authority at such time. On the other hand, the governing party may also feel assured that their legacy had at least some echoes from the public.²⁷ But what exactly is the narrative portrayed in the song? What can the wide acceptance of this narrative tell us about how the audience reflects on their identity with Macao? A persona speaking out to Macao is portrayed in this brief piece:

*Macao, my land
You remind me of a garden
You are covered with leaves and flowers
Whose colours are joyful
Macao, land of legend
Drapery made of stories
You are full of historical monuments
And you retain the Portuguese atmosphere*

To begin with, the recurring use of the informal 'you' in the Portuguese language already reflects a close appellation and personification of Macao. Directly calling Macao 'my' land simultaneously highlights the closeness between Macao and the singing persona. This

also foreshadows the augmenting sentiments towards Macao in later lines. It is not hard to see that, in these first two stanzas, the lyricist appeals to the memory and history of Macao, first inviting listeners to imagine Macao as a 'tranquil' and 'joyful' garden, where 'good old days' seemingly reside, and then arousing in them the past glory of Macao, where Macao was made a 'land of legend' by the Portuguese. But the climax of the song is yet to come:

*Macao, you always lived far from your mother
Macao, you are the smallest in your family*

By addressing Macao as 'the smallest' child who 'lived far' from the 'mother', this song ultimately evokes a familial feeling, a sense of intimate belonging to Portugal. The sensation of nostalgia and the call for a home culminate at this moment, where an identity of Macao that links with Portugal is the most intensely expressed.

Today we are conscious that this song is a romanticised portrayal of Macao inflated by rhetorics and artistic manoeuvre. Nevertheless, these lines explicitly depict that one's — or in this case, the lyricist's or the band's — idea of memory and history is narratable. As Hall suggests, while the way Macao's past and the identity of Macao being a Portuguese one was portrayed in this song reflects the tendency to retrieve a singular and essential origin — that the contemporary Macao resulted from bathing continuously in a Portuguese atmosphere and descending as a child of Portugal, the context of this piece of music suggests that this narrative of identity is strongly historical — that it resulted from the turbulent societal context of Macao (and Portugal) where a voice of assurance and certainty was anticipated. In other words, if the time-space relationship had been distinct, one might not imagine that this song could have been written and widely accepted at all.

Yet, the lyrics constitute only a part of the



Fig. 2: A rhythmic scheme of the first stanza of 'Macao, My Land'. The boxes depict where the syncopated 'half-bar' rhythm is used. Figure by the author.

whole narrative. Musically speaking, the style of this song likens a Fado, arguably the most renowned Portuguese music genre. Fado expresses oftentimes a sense of sadness and longing for an unretrievable past. Satirical turns of fate, passionate and romantic scenes, or even rustic and pastoral ballads can all be themes for Fado. In short, Fado is always linked with another genuinely Portuguese idea — *saudade* — which can loosely be translated as a lost, nostalgic and yearning sensation. As Portuguese writer Ventura de Abrantes eagerly asserts, Fado is 'the most Portuguese of all songs and the liturgy of the nation's soul'.²⁸ Fado also entails a specific way of composing a melody line. Conventionally, common time (four beats per bar) and a syncopated 'half-bar' rhythm is employed: In 'Macao, My Land', for example, such a rhythm is felt through the whole piece.

In sum, regardless of the content or the musicality, 'Macao, My Land' clearly shows that The Thunders has indeed incorporated the elements of Fado during the song's composition. This already shows the composer's affinity to the Portuguese culture. The 'musical narrative' not only matches the lyrics, but

also reinforces the narrative expressed therein, i.e., the assurance of Portugal's close relationship with Macao and the yearning for the lost Portuguese glorious time in Macao.

It is also then obvious to see why 'Macao, My Land' could have emerged and could be broadly accepted, considering the historical and societal context of this song when it appeared. Following Hall, a narrative of identity is always historical and imaginary, and thus it serves to attain a purpose.²⁹ On the other hand, according to Frith, in order to make a musical narrative understandable, it needs to obey certain cultural symbolisms that are first acknowledged by those who produce and listen to the song.³⁰ Grounded in this reading of identity, we can say that the narrative portrayed in this case conforms with the identity claimed by the band The Thunders, and its popularity implies that the public can also align with this same narrative, reverberating under the same identity. Finally, while we may not leap to the conclusion that this song can completely represent the Portuguese and the Macanese as a collective, let alone everyone from Macao, this piece of music indeed

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shows how a specific temporal and spatial background can have an impact on how people reflect on ‘what they have become’.³¹

6. CASE STUDY II — THE CHINESE NARRATIVE AROUND HANDOVER

The aforementioned narrative was in the end not able to resolve the increasing angst suffered by the Portuguese and the Macanese towards the end of the twentieth century. After 1975, Macao was the only Portuguese overseas holding. The governance as well as the status of the said groups became ever more precarious and unstable. In 1987, the *Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on the Question of Macao* was signed, stipulating the definite handover of Macao from Portugal to China on 20 December 1999. In a sense, even years before such a destined date, the ‘future’ of Macao was already fixed. Yet, such a ‘fate’ has different meanings for the Portuguese, the Macanese and the Chinese, while this period of time also saw the most vigorous and contrasting expressions of identity related to Macao in musical terms.

If the Portuguese would need to prepare for their final retreat from the ‘Far East’ during the final decade of the twentieth century, the Chinese would allegedly have been anticipating this ‘homecoming’ of Macao for even longer.

In 1998, a lengthy documentary about Macao, *The Age of Macao* (歲月澳門 Suiyue Aomen), was produced and served to build up such anticipation. During the production, the director came across the poem series *Song of Seven Sons* written by Chinese nationalist poet Wen Yiduo in 1925 during his stay in the United States. Concerning China’s inferior international status during that time, he dedicated the poems to seven ceded territories, hoping to arouse his compatriots’ nationalist emotions. The poem that struck the director is the first one, titled ‘Macao’. Chinese composer Li Haiying was invited to adapt this particular piece into a melody, and the final work,

‘Song of Seven Sons — Macao’, would be debuted in the documentary. Li recalled that he ‘composed the work within one night while shedding tears’.³² After its premiere, the song continued to be played on various grand occasions such as the China Central Television Chinese New Year’s Gala in 1999, not to mention during the period of celebration where the handover took place.

*Do you know that Macao is not my real name
I have left you for so long, mother
But what they have seized is my body
You have still kept the soul in my inner heart
[...]
Please call my infant name
Call me Aomen! Mother! Mother!
I yearn to come back, mother! Mother!*³³

We can indeed yield a vivid comparison between these lines and ‘Macao, My Land’. First of all, the two both portray a personification of Macao, which in turn enhances the intimacy between the audience and the subject expressed in the music, so that the listeners may eventually align with the narrative of the song. Second, which is more striking, is that an image of ‘mother’ is conjured in both pieces, though in different ways: in the Chinese version, ‘Macao’ is the sole persona in the narrative, attempting recurrently to call out an imagined ‘mother’, to whom ‘Macao’ longed to return. On the other hand, in ‘Macao, My Land’, the singing persona is posited outside the relationship between Macao and Portugal, its imagined ‘mother’. Instead of directly interpellating a ‘mother’ to listen to him, Portugal as the image of a mother was indirectly described by the line ‘you always lived far from your mother’. Finally, by explicitly negating the name ‘Macao’ and demanding to be called *Aomen*, the Mandarin name for Macao, and by distinguishing a ‘they’ — the Portuguese, who ‘seized’ the ‘body’ of Macao — from an ‘I’ and a ‘you’, the persona in this Chinese verse also challenges the

status of the Portuguese throughout the song.

Let us also not forget that the original poem was written during a time when the idea of Chinese nationalism prevailed, and when the Chinese diaspora in the world all responded to the call of preserving the integrity of a Chinese nation. Retrieving such a poem and its inherent sentiments during Macao's transition between the two countries not only has an implication about how the Chinese wanted to impose a Chinese identity onto Macao, but also shows a sense of dissensus and, to some extent, hostility towards the Portuguese legacy, attempting to attract Macao's people towards the Chinese perspective in a most passionate manner.

Besides, in terms of the song's musicality, the composer claimed to have deliberately used some typical folkloric elements of southern China.³⁴ Meanwhile, the melody makes exclusive use of the pentatonic scale, a compositional manner that is symbolic — or rather symptomatic — of oriental music. Furthermore, this piece is sung in Mandarin, which is not the daily language of the people of Macao — Cantonese. The work is thus arguably a representation of Macao by the mainland Chinese and, following Fanon, an external gaze — an external imposition of a Macao's identity as a 'wholly' Chinese one — is vividly revealed in this case.³⁵ Nevertheless, in Macao where both the Portuguese and the Chinese narratives can co-exist, the narratability of identity, as well as how one uses one's perspective of history, language, time and space in narrating an identity, are also demonstrated, as discussed by Hall.³⁶

While the Portuguese narrative could attain its popularity among the Portuguese and the Macanese for it makes use of the social experiences felt by the people of Macao at that specific here-and-now, the Chinese song, whose appearance occurs during the time when the Chinese were eager to 'take back' Macao after centuries, can also be understood by a large number of listeners. The two cases not only exemplify how musical identity can be attained and conveyed

by using the audience's familiar cultural symbols and memory, but also disclose that, like cultural identity, musical identity is malleable depending on whether the musical narrative agrees with the listener's memory and view at a certain context. Like 'something we put or try on',³⁷ one narrative may not be understood or accepted by every listener, but the echo of each narrative among its own audience means that they have first made sense of the specific narrative, where the narrative concords with their own understanding of their culture.

7. CASE STUDY III — THE PORTUGUESE NARRATIVE AROUND HANDOVER

If the Portuguese could still soothe their paranoia in Macao using the narrative of 'Macao, My Land' in the 1970s, they could not but revise their narrative to accept their final retreat in the song 'Good-bye, Macao', which was released in 1994.

In terms of its orchestration, 'Good-bye, Macao' employs mandolins, guitars, basses and percussion, following the scheme of Fado music. The slow tempo as well as the sorrowful theme of saying 'good-bye' also bears a resemblance to traditional Fado. Besides, Tuna Macaense, the group who released the song, also reflects a Portuguese influence. *Tuna* refers to a kind of Portuguese musical group, mostly composed of students, who 'flash-mobs' from home to home to play music and sing. Nowadays, Tuna Macanese assumes a significant position in curating both the Portuguese and the Macanese cultures, and their importance has been acknowledged by both the Portuguese Macao Government and the Macao SAR Government.³⁸ In sum, like 'Macao, My Land', it can be said that while the composer has shown his fondness for the Portuguese canon in his work, the fact that 'Good-bye, Macao' was produced by Tuna Macaense also reveals the linkage between the group's identity and the song's symbolism and narrative.³⁹

The piece starts with two verses of rhetorical questions and wishes, where the sadness of departure and

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a vision to return is depicted. The chorus then enters and, like the previous cases, the singing persona personifies and addresses Macao with the intimate and informal use of 'you', expressing that Macao as the 'home', the 'passion' and the 'heart' will always be missed:

*Good-bye, Macao, my passion
Without you, I am suffering
Good-bye, Macao, my heart
I keep wishing to see you*

Yet, unlike 'Macao, My Land', the persona does not stop at yielding a general portrayal of the 'good old days' of Macao, but goes even further to sing out the persona's 'own memory' of Macao:

*Away from the sun that shined during my birth
Away from the world where I started to walk
Away from the people whom I learnt to understand
I know that I am going to cry*

In this way, the audience is invited to join the persona, to retrieve their memories with Macao, and to imagine — from one's childhood and through one's life — how 'warm' one's memory is. The implied contrasting reality where one would need to say 'good-bye' to his or her place of birth intensifies the sorrow even more. In turn, through such rhetorical devices, those who eventually make sense of the song's narrative may align with it more intensely. Finally, as if having such a 'warm' memory is not enough, the persona sings out the final verse, using the beginning melody, so that a circle is fulfilled — a 'home' is 'returned' musically and metaphorically:

*When the memories could not further keep me warm
When the nostalgia was difficult to stand with
When I miss a home to love me
I know that I am going to return*

We can now see that in terms of emotion, 'Good-bye, Macao' attempts to appeal to its audience in a stronger way than in 'Macao, My Land'. This is remarkable and understandable, taking also into account the change in the historical context. Besides, there is also a change in the narration of the Portuguese's identity with Macao between the two songs. On the one hand, both serve to foster the hope that the Portuguese (and the Macanese) community can stand strong amidst their hazy future, and both can be related to the audience's own perception of their own identity. On the other hand, the narrative of the latter case contrasts with the former in that, since in the 1990s when the Portuguese were destined to accept that they will eventually be under the Chinese rule, the 1994's narrative includes much more emotive and melancholic wordings like 'leaving', 'separated', 'suffering', 'miss' and 'cry'. Be it as it may, however gloomy their narrative of identity has become, they still see Macao as their 'land' and 'home' — and this has a profound implication for their idea of belonging to Macao.

The narrative of 'Good-bye, Macao', on the other hand, stands in sharp contrast with 'Song of Seven Sons — Macao'. Most obviously, like the eventual handover of Macao from Portugal to China, the idea of 'mother' was also removed from the Portuguese narrative, while being taken up by the Chinese one. Besides, unlike the Portuguese narrative where the 'reality' is accepted and a later return to Macao can only be hoped, the Chinese narrative poses to be a poised and triumphal one.

Finally, while different groups have their own perception of Macao's identity, and while none of them can be wrong, their co-existence embodies that cultural identity, though sometimes conflicting, can only be polyphonic and vibrant. The longitudinal study of the Portuguese repertoire reveals the narratability of one's cultural identity, and the tendency to always appeal to one's memory and past in

order to build such an identity.⁴⁰ We can also see how one would narrate their identity in terms of an imagined others, such as how ‘Song of Seven Sons — Macao’ reuses the narrative that the Portuguese people have only superficially seized the body but not the soul of Macao.⁴¹ Their respective production, acceptance and popularity also demonstrate how cultural identity can be conveyed and understood through music. In turn, precisely because of this fluidity and superimposition of versions of cultural identity, it is then possible for the people of Macao, whose composition is in the first place not homogeneous, to negotiate with their own identity through connecting to the different personae in these songs that they can make sense of.⁴²

8. CASE STUDY IV — THE CHINESE NARRATIVE AFTER HANDOVER

After all these dramas, Macao entered the twenty-first century. The Portuguese and the Macanese communities still make up Macao’s populace, and their two cultures have also not been wiped out under the new government. As said, the inscription of Macao Historical Centre as a UNESCO’s World Heritage in 2005, and the declaration of the Macanese own creole language, Patúa, as a critically endangered language in 2009, provided another opportunity for the people of Macao to revisit their memory, history and culture, and to reconsider about their identity. On the other hand, the aforementioned musical narratives have also been revitalised and re-signified.

First of all, Tuna Macaense received the ‘Medal of Cultural Merit’ in 2007 from the Macao SAR Government, both to praise and to encourage their contribution to Macao’s unique culture. The Portuguese repertoire has been played in various events, such as in the triennial Macanese reunion ‘Encontro’, and during the Lusofonia Festival. In particular, ‘Macao, My Land’ was also adapted in the documentary *Filhos da Terra* (澳·土· Sons of the Land) which talks about the Macanese memory and

culture, produced in 2008.⁴³ Ever more people of Macao have recognised the importance of the presence of the Portuguese legacy in Macao’s own culture, and thus, under such a societal atmosphere, even those who are not of Portuguese and Macanese origin now also appreciate their narratives of identity with Macao. In turn, shedding their original nostalgic or national emotions, the lyrics of the Portuguese repertoire have been made sense of as an indispensable component of Macao’s unique history.

Such a change in perspective and narration may also vividly be seen in the piece ‘Song of Macao’, dedicated to the tenth anniversary of Macao’s handover in 2009. It was composed by local composer Keith Chan, and Taiwanese lyricist Preston Lee, and is sung in Mandarin by Hong Kong singer Andy Lau Tak-wah (劉德華). After its debut, though, it has mostly been appreciated in mainland China, while its name became lost in oblivion in Macao. Nevertheless, its narrative can show us how the Chinese way of portraying Macao has altered after the turn of the millennium.

Wandering around the Ruins of Saint Paul
The sun is pouring golden rays
On the façade, peony and chrysanthemum
Are accompanying the statue of Holy Mary [...]
The encounter of the East and West
Emanates glowing beams

You should come to the A-ma Temple
Visit Tian-hou the Holy Mother [...]
You should have a bite of the Portuguese cuisine
Take a sip of the water from the spring at Lilau

From the above excerpt of the first two stanzas, it is not hard to see that symbols from the two cultures are depicted and placed abreast, which highlights the central idea of the narrative (which is also the narrative promoted by the Macao Historical Centre) — that Macao is the hub where the East encounters the West.

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The two cultures are embraced, which grounds Macao's uniqueness. Simultaneously, such a uniqueness is also a Chinese one, as one can see in the chorus:

*What a beautiful white lotus
Swaying on the Southern Sea
Her elegant, attractive appearance
Is our pride
What a blossoming white lotus
Blossoming to the world
She is not fear of wind, not even rain
Determined, growing in mother's bosom*

First of all, through the recurring use of 'lotus', which is also a symbol of Macao by the Chinese, this narrative imposes an identity — 'elegant', 'attractive' and 'pride' — as much as a wish — 'blossoming', 'determined' and 'growing' — on Macao. Yet, Macao is also portrayed as 'our' pride and growing in mother's bosom. As we have already seen in the previous studies, the depiction of an image of a 'mother' contributes to the intensification of a feeling of an identity, attempting to draw the listeners close to the identity and the emotive relationship as conjured by the singing persona.

Comparing to 'Song of Seven Sons — Macao', 'Song of Macao' likens a pop song. Its orchestration consists mainly of synthesisers, keyboards and percussions. Having been in various countries, Keith Chan has definitely expressed his multicultural background in his composition, together with a Taiwanese lyricist and a Hong Kong singer, the production of this song is metaphorical of Macao's migratory and multicultural nature. Therefore, in contrast with the other Chinese piece, which makes use of a rather traditionalist approach in composition, it can be said that 'Song of Macao' embodies modernity and transculturalism.

In sum, like in the Portuguese repertoire, we can readily see changes in terms of the narrative of Macao's

identity in these two Chinese songs. From arousing a more nationalist emotion to embracing also the Portuguese legacy in Macao, and from representing Macao almost only from a Chinese mainlanders' perspective to portraying Macao by a more diverse production, the narrative has changed in terms of the content and the use of the musical language. In contrast with the Portuguese narratives, the image of 'mother' has always been there, always reminding the listeners of the ideas of 'home' and 'return'.

On the other hand, the Portuguese repertoire is in different ways promoted and cherished. A co-existence of different narratives is, therefore, apparent after 1999. We can see there is a change in terms of the use of these narratives — from being used to express the sadness and nostalgia felt by the Portuguese and the Macanese in face of the Portuguese authority's final departure, these narratives are now used to express the unique history and the long-living cultural diversity.

9. TOWARDS AN ORGANIC UNDERSTANDING OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

Now a comparative investigation among four narratives of the identity of Macao has been presented. By juxtaposing the Portuguese and the Chinese narratives, as well as by contrasting the two narratives yielded respectively by both the Portuguese and the Chinese at different times, we can see that there indeed exist some differences in terms of how Macao's identity has been variously narrated, literally and musically. On the other hand, the appearance of different narratives, and the alternating popularity of this repertoire at different times in different places, also reflect that both the creators of these songs and the audience can align with these different pieces at different times and spaces, implying a changing identity over time.

Specifically, in 'Song of Seven Sons — Macao', we can see a nationalist and feverish call to the people of Macao to retrieve their Chinese core, and to arouse among them a Chinese identity. Ten years after the

handover, in 'Song of Macao', we can instead see how Macao is celebrated as a melting pot of different cultures, and how the Portuguese legacy in Macao is appraised for compositing a significant part of Macao's singular culture-scape. On the other hand, 'Macao, My Land' portrays a nostalgic atmosphere about Macao. It also attempts to conjure a nationalist emotion among its audience, for Macao has always been the 'smallest' child, possessed by and living far away from Portugal. Around the year 1999, the narrative of 'Good-bye, Macao' depicts instead a scene of farewell, a longing to return to Macao and, still, a sense of *saudades* towards Macao's lost past. It can be concluded that, following Hall, while at a specific moment, the narrator of identity would want to fixate one's identity with several characteristics by reading one's history and memory in a specific manner, we can actually see an evolution of how an identity can variously be narrated even over just a modest length of time. Therefore, while we can plot the spot of 'who we are' at a specific time, as our history continues, we can see all these spots together, and contemplate 'what have we become'. In turn, we can now assert that identity is never stable but fluid.⁴⁴

Along the same vein, while different narratives of Macao's identity have emerged, they are also differently accepted by the public — the people of Macao in general. As Frith argues, this phenomenon results from the fact that during a musical experience, one can only make sense of and resonate with a specific narrative when the cultural symbols used in the narrative accord with the listener's perspective of his own culture,⁴⁵ which is itself also evolving. Therefore, before the handover, the Portuguese narratives were arguably mainly acknowledged by the Portuguese and Macanese communities, for they both felt anxious about their future and yearned for their past. Around the year of the handover, the narrative that evokes the idea of homecoming gained its popularity, specifically among those who are ethnically Chinese. As time

goes by, under an atmosphere where the particularity of Macao as a meeting place between the East and the West is treasured, a narrative that entertains such a discourse succeeded. At the same time, those Portuguese narratives which first appeared decades ago were also excavated and re-signified in a way that conforms with the contemporary zeitgeist. Such an observation reveals that the cultural grammar and symbols, that first allow specific pieces of music to be made and enable the perceivers to understand these pieces of music, can change over time, making the existence of different musical identities possible.

Thus, if one's idea of one's own culture can alter over time, one has different ways to yield his own cultural identity. For the very same reason, one also has different ways to make sense of one's own culture to create and experience different music, yielding different musical identities. Either way, identity is narratable, and one can only see a process of identification when one turns to his past.

Yet, as we are also aware, these different narratives of Macao's identity do not merely appear one after another, but co-exist with each other, for the societal composition of Macao is always migratory. This small city has always accommodated multiple cultures, and has at the same time always existed in between greater nations and cultures that are more imposing. This also means that there exists a reservoir of cultural symbols, competing for people's recognition in Macao. In turn, different people make use of and make sense of them differently, align with some of them more closely than with others, and create narratives of identity from them. In the same way, always selective and differentially assimilating, the narratives of identity that we have seen make 'partial' use of these symbols — 'Macao, My Land', and 'Good-bye, Macao' provoke Macao's Portuguese legacy, 'Song of Seven Sons — Macao' conjures the fact that Macao was a ceded Chinese land, while 'Song of Macao' makes the most vivid use of a diversity of symbols that portrays Macao's image

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of being a link between the East and the West. They may not always be in accordance with each other, but they, nevertheless, reveal how specific individuals have linked themselves with Macao and have expressed their versions of an identity of Macao. This, in the end, tells us that Macao's culture is a hybrid one, accepting and internalising different traits from different cultures, because of Macao's continuous in-betweenness.⁴⁶ The cultural and musical identity derived from such a hybrid culture can only be negotiable and reflective, sometimes conflicting, but always vibrant. No single one is less true than the others, for they are all narratives that have truly been told that mark the history and memory of Macao.


CONCLUSION

How the cultural identity of Macao is told is an open-ended question. At the same time, we can only expect the existence of even more narratives of Macao's identity. In this undertaking, we have only seen four of them. Elsewhere, for instance, I have also written on how the Macanese community, using their unique creole language, Patuá, which is itself already a hybrid cultural phenomenon, has reflected on their identity with Macao and their idea of home.⁴⁷ Simultaneously, as the composition of Macao's society has become ever more mobile and diverse, further research to investigate how different minority groups have reflected on their belonging to Macao is anticipated, which requires continuous efforts from scholars from fields like

anthropology, sociology and cultural studies, as well as the burgeoning Macao studies.

Like Bhabha has advocated, to study a hybrid culture like that of Macao, one needs to be able to 'reinscribe the past, reactivate it, resignify it'.⁴⁸ And in so doing, we can trace the path along which we have arrived today. We can see that there have always been multiple 'name-tags' signifying different 'identities' of Macao, and we can acknowledge that, although some of them may not be readily understood by us today, all of them are significant components of the Macao that we know and live in. A 'collective memory' of Macao is a collection of individual memories that, real and sincere, make up the Macao in which we now dwell. In turn, while such a path taken by our forefathers continues in our present and into the future, studying how the people of Macao have had different identities in the past informs us on how we can now yield an identity for ourselves, while our next generations may also 'reinscribe', 'reactivate' and 'resignify' parts of our present when they eventually think about their own identity with Macao at their time.

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- 36 Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora”; and Hall, “Who Needs Identity?.”
- 37 Frith, “Music and Identity,” 122.
- 38 Si Man Chan, “A Study of Macanese Music through Tuna Macanese Group in a Postcolonial Perspective (1935–2017)” (master’s diss., University of Aveiro, 2018), 55–61.
- 39 Frith, “Music and Identity,” 121.
- 40 Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 225.
- 41 Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, 109.
- 42 Frith, “Music and Identity,” 121–122; and Paragg, “Ambivalence, Negotiation and the Everyday Gaze,” 148.
- 43 Elisabela Larrea, “Filhos da Terra 澳 · 土 · Sons of the Land,” 2008, film, 38:06.
- 44 Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 225.
- 45 Frith, “Music and Identity,” 124.
- 46 Bhabha, “Culture’s In-between,” 54.
- 47 Chan, “Narrating the People of Macao,” 29–34.
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Léon Pallière in His Room at the Villa Medici (1817) by Jean Alaux. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Mapeamento de Macau: História Espacial, Urbanismo Cinematográfico e Construção de Uma Cidade Global

CHRISTOPHER K. TONG*

RESUMO: Na sua obra seminal *The Image of the City*, o urbanista Kevin Lynch defende que o significado de uma experiência urbana deriva da aquisição de mapas mentais. A cidade deve ser ‘imaginada’ num ‘processo bidireccional entre o observador e o ambiente’ em que o observador ‘selecciona, organiza e dá significado ao que vê’. Neste sentido, Macau é tanto uma cidade como uma imagem. Estabelecida como entreposto comercial português em 1557 e transferida administrativamente à República Popular da China em 1999, Macau tem sofrido uma série de transformações, tanto em termos espaciais como históricos. Os projectos de aterro começaram em 1912 e intensificaram-se no início da década de 2000. A Região Administrativa Especial iniciou um ambicioso mega-projecto de recuperação das águas entre a Taipa e Coloane, conhecido como Zona de Aterros Taipa-Coloane ou, mais comumente, ‘Cotai Strip’. Este artigo analisa a forma como a imagem de Macau, como cidade global, é construída, tanto no sentido espacial, através do planeamento urbano, como no sentido cultural, através do cinema e média. Mais especificamente, analiso a forma como o filme premiado de Ho-Cheung Pang, *Isabella*, lança luz sobre a história espacial fragmentada de Macau. Vencedor do Urso de Prata no Festival Internacional de Cinema de Berlim, *Isabella* levou Macau a uma audiência cinematográfica global. Ao mesmo tempo, o filme chama a atenção para o facto de o espaço urbano de Macau poder ser decodificado de diferentes formas pelo público local e internacional. Ou seja, o filme separa subtilmente as audiências com base no seu conhecimento da história espacial de Macau, destacando as mudanças no tecido social e a identidade cultural dos seus residentes. Este artigo explica como o cinema e o urbanismo estão ligados na construção de Macau como uma cidade global.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Macau; Filme; Cartografia; Urbanismo cinematográfico; Psicogeografia; Etnografia.

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[Tradução do autor] *Nesse Império, a Arte da Cartografia atingiu tal Perfeição que o mapa de uma única Província ocupava a totalidade de uma Cidade, e o mapa do Império, a totalidade de uma Província. Com o tempo, esses Mapas Inescrupulosos deixaram de satisfazer, e as Corporações de Cartógrafos elaboraram um Mapa do Império cujo tamanho era o do Império, e que coincidia ponto por ponto com ele...*¹

Em ‘Sobre o Rigor da Ciência’ (*On Exactitude in Science*), Jorge Luis Borges descreve um mapa imperial tão ambicioso que abrange todo o território a ser cartografado. O absurdo do esboço de Borges deriva da ideia de que a representação de um objecto empírico pode potencialmente rivalizar com o próprio objecto empírico em escala. É certo que, na era da cartografia digital, é vulgar trabalhar com conjuntos de dados, camadas de mapas e imagens geoespaciais tão complexas e imensas que se assemelham a um império digital por direito próprio. Ainda assim, estes modos de visualização de dados são concebidos para oferecer perspectivas e não para ofuscar o objecto empírico: afinal, a cartografia destina-se a produzir informações importantes sobre o objecto empírico.

No mapeamento de Macau esta sabedoria convencional é derrubada, em parte, pela inversão do objecto empírico e da sua representação. A longa história de aterro de Macau significava que os decisores políticos e planeadores tinham frequentemente melhores mapas de uma cidade em construção, uma vez que alteravam os seus terrenos físicos para corresponderem aos seus esquemas. Estabelecida como entreposto comercial português em 1557, Macau sofreu numerosas transformações espaciais. Os registos mostram que Macau tinha menos de três quilómetros quadrados no início da chegada dos portugueses e era apenas uma península ligada ao continente chinês por um tómbolo intermitentemente submerso.² O Governo português de Macau anexou as Ilhas da Taipa

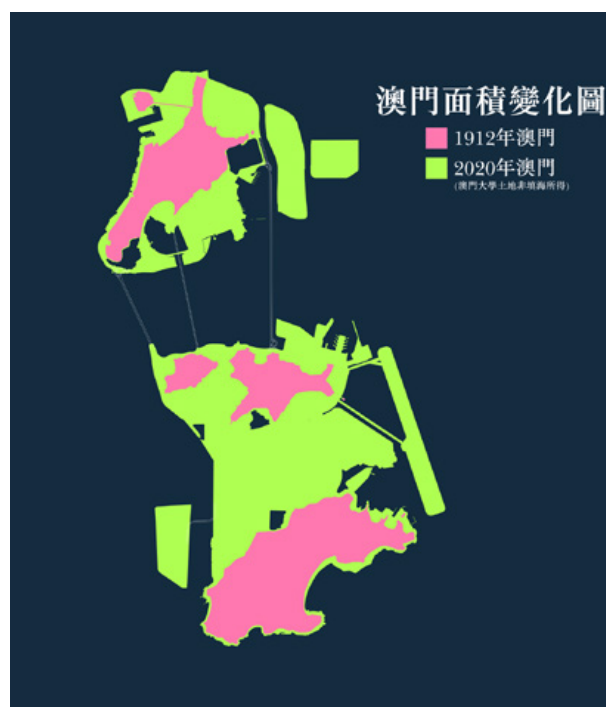


Fig. 1: Em 1912, os territórios de Macau consistiam na península de Macau e nas ilhas vizinhas (áreas da cor-de-rosa) e aumentaram drasticamente até 2020 (áreas da cor verde). Fonte: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macau_Reclamation_Map_since_1921.png

e de Coloane em 1851 e 1864, respectivamente, e introduziu o aterro já em 1912. No final do século XX, a superfície de Macau aumentou para 16,1 quilómetros quadrados em 1983 e para 19,3 quilómetros quadrados em 1994.³ Desde a transferência administrativa para a República Popular da China em 1999, o aterro em Macau acelerou rapidamente. No início da década de 2000, a Região Administrativa Especial iniciou um ambicioso mega-projecto de recuperação das águas entre as Ilhas da Taipa e de Coloane. Conhecida como Zona de Aterros Taipa-Coloane ou ‘Cotai Strip’, o projecto elevaria a área total de Macau para mais de 30 quilómetros quadrados até meados da década de 2010. Quando a Ponte Hong Kong–Zhuhai–Macau abriu oficialmente em 2018, Macau reclamou ilhas artificiais adicionais criadas para a passagem e instalações de controlo fronteiriço. No momento em que este artigo foi escrito, a Linha Leste do Metro Ligeiro de Macau

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estava a ser desenvolvida para a ligação a uma dessas ilhas artificiais, e mais projectos de aterro estão em andamento.

Neste sentido, os planos directores de Macau são um objecto de estudo tão importante como o próprio terreno. Desde meados da década de 2010, o Governo da RPC tem procurado integrar Hong Kong, Macau e as cidades em redor do Delta do Rio das Pérolas numa zona económica comparável à área metropolitana de Nova Iorque e à da Grande Tóquio.⁴ Oficialmente designada por Área da Grande Baía Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau, esta zona está infraestrutural e simbolicamente ligada pela Ponte Hong Kong–Zhuhai–Macau. Macau está, sem dúvida, a entrar na sua próxima fase de desenvolvimento. Mais recentemente, Pequim pretende diversificar a economia de Macau do jogo e do turismo, incluindo serviços financeiros, concedendo ao Governo de Macau uma jurisdição limitada sobre a vizinha Hengqin, uma zona da China Continental desenvolvida em novos aterros.⁵ Tal como o famoso ditado de Baudrillard de que o mapa precede o território,⁶ o plano director de Macau precede indiscutivelmente o seu terreno físico.

O facto de as visões imaginadas de Macau precederem frequentemente a própria cidade não é novo. Desde a sua fundação como área sob administração portuguesa até ao seu estatuto actual como uma das duas regiões administrativas especiais da República Popular da China, Macau tem sido objecto de visões europeia e chinesa como um espaço imaginário, físico e social. Como observa o historiador Geoffrey C. Gunn, Macau tem sido um ‘objecto de imagens imaginativas’ para cartógrafos e artistas europeus desde o século XVII, enquanto Jonathan Porter chega a chamar a Macau de uma ‘cidade imaginária’.⁷ A mistura única de linhagens culturais e étnicas presta-se igualmente a narrativas de hibridismo e mesmo de exotismo. Christina Cheng compara o hibridismo de Macau a um ‘Janus cultural’, enquanto João de Pina-Cabral oferece anedotas perspicazes

sobre os macaenses, a minoria multirracial.⁸ Para Tim Simpson, as imagens oníricas de Macau são vias para decifrar a sua realidade social e especular sobre o seu potencial futuro. Simpson situa Macau na encruzilhada entre o socialismo e o capitalismo, entre a memória e o sonho, oferecendo posteriormente um diagnóstico em quatro partes da sua história e promessa: Macau como fósil socialista, ruína da administração portuguesa, sonho capitalista e desejo utópico.⁹ Numa cidade em que a maior parte do seu território é, na verdade, constituída por aterros, os espaços são constantemente feitos e refeitos como telas a serem dotadas de um novo sentido de identidade e de história. Como tal, as visões do que Macau deveria ser estão muito ligadas à forma como a cidade é planeada, construída e habitada.

O cinema desempenha um papel proeminente na construção de Macau como uma cidade global. Há muito que os teóricos e estudiosos observam o entrelaçamento do cinema, da arquitectura e da cidade moderna.¹⁰ Os filmes funcionam como memórias, mapas e até projectos para os espaços da cidade. De facto, o cinema tem desempenhado um papel de grande importância na imaginação dos espectadores sobre Macau. Para o público internacional, os filmes de Hollywood, desde o clássico *Macao* (1952) até *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1974) e *Skyfall* (2012) da franquia *James Bond*, há muito que retratam Macau como um lugar distante e exótico.¹¹ No entanto, comparado com o seu vizinho Hong Kong, Macau está longe de ser uma potência cinematográfica. Quando o filme de arte *Isabella*, de Ho-Cheung Pang, ganhou o Urso de Prata no Festival Internacional de Cinema de Berlim, em 2006, não só apresentou a cultura e a sociedade da cidade a um público global, como também acabou por liderar uma onda de produção cinematográfica na cidade.¹² Nos últimos anos, têm surgido vários filmes sobre Macau, em que a cidade é o local de filmagem e o cenário da história, sendo os mais conhecidos *Exiled* (2006) e *Vengeance* (2009) de Johnnie To, *A Última Vez que Vi Macau* (2012)

de João Pedro Rodrigues e João Rui Guerra da Mata, *Passing Rain* (2017) de Ka Keong Chan, e *A City Called Macau* (2019) de Shaohong Li.¹³ Entretanto, cineastas locais como Ka Keong Chan, Tracy Choi e Fei Ho contribuíram para um *corpus* emergente de filmes sobre Macau. Esta vaga de cinema oferece novas formas de compreender os espaços, os povos e as histórias da cidade.

O ‘urbanismo cinematográfico’, ou a investigação interdisciplinar sobre a relação entre o cinema e o espaço urbano, ilustra a importância dos média nas práticas espaciais e na construção de ambientes construídos. Em *Cinematic Urbanism: A History of the Modern from Reel to Real*, Nezar AlSayyad articula uma metodologia que faz a ponte entre a análise cinematográfica e a análise urbana com o objectivo de ‘tornar o urbano uma parte fundamental do discurso cinematográfico e de elevar o filme ao seu estatuto adequado como ferramenta analítica do discurso urbano’.¹⁴ Macau é um exemplo paradigmático da cidade cinematográfica. Tomando de empréstimo as palavras de AlSayyad, poderíamos dizer que Macau não é ‘o que aparece só no ecrã, mas também a cidade mental feita pelo meio do cinema, e subsequentemente re-experimentada nos espaços privados e públicos reais’.¹⁵ Macau, enquanto um ambiente construído, é inspirado em grande medida por imagens icónicas de outras cidades globais retratadas em filmes de Hollywood, contribuindo para uma narrativa de influência mútua entre o cinema e a arquitectura, entre o Oriente e o Ocidente. Desde a publicidade ao turismo até às políticas oficiais do governo, Macau tem sido repetidamente posicionada como a ‘Las Vegas da Ásia’. O seu horizonte reflecte esta aspiração, o Cotai é reconhecível como uma homenagem à Strip de Las Vegas, ela própria uma amálgama pós-moderna de imaginários arquitectónicos globais.¹⁶ Deste ponto de vista, a separação das dimensões cinematográfica e urbana de Macau é impossível.

Macau é um estudo de caso único no urbanismo

cinematográfico, exemplificando e respondendo a uma série de teorias sobre espaço, lugar e mobilidade. Começo com as teorias de mapeamento avançadas por autores como Kevin Lynch, Fredric Jameson e Giuliana Bruno. Defendo que o mapeamento cognitivo de Jameson, ao necessitar de uma cognição colectiva ou de um consenso cognitivo, exclui o conhecimento incorporado e emergente que o mapeamento afectivo de Bruno tenta explicar. Usando o filme premiado de Ho-Cheung Pang, *Isabella*, como exemplo, pretende-se mostrar os sujeitos encarnados situados em espaços específicos oferecem novos mapeamentos, incluindo compreensões mais afectivas e emergentes de Macau. Baseando-me em noções situacionistas de psicogeografia, proponho um método de interpretação de filmes e espaços que oscila entre a representação e a experiência, entre o visual e o háptico, entre o cálculo e o acaso. A ‘deriva etnográfica’, como lhe chamo, permite a recolha intencional, mas estocástica de informações e experiências que enformam a compreensão dos espaços de uma cidade. Finalmente, cito uma pesquisa etnográfica de mais de uma década para descodificar sítios físicos no contexto das mudanças em curso na região. Analisa-se a Avenida da Praia, situada ao longo da antiga costa da Taipa, como um sítio-chave onde narrativas concorrentes da história de Macau entram em foco. Com as Casas-Museu da Taipa, constituídas por casas da era da administração portuguesa, a norte, e o Venetian Macao e outros complexos de casino a sul, a rua pedonal simboliza o confronto permanente entre o passado e futuro de Macau, nomeadamente o seu legado da administração portuguesa e a sua entrada na globalização capitalista sancionada pela RPC. Neste contexto, os residentes de Macau, como utilizadores deste espaço, mostram como as suas práticas espaciais respondem a estas trajectórias históricas em termos simbólicos, recuperando assim um certo grau de identidade. Citando *Isabella* e conversas com os residentes de Macau, traço um quadro da forma como os habitantes percebem a sua cidade, cultura e história.

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IN LOCO: ISABELLA DE HO-CHEUNG PANG E O MAPEAMENTO AFECTIVO DE MACAU

Em *The Image of the City*, o urbanista Kevin Lynch argumenta que a experiência da cidade tende a ser informada pela construção de mapas mentais. Segundo Lynch, a cidade deve ser ‘imaginada’ num ‘processo bidireccional entre o observador e o ambiente’ em que o observador ‘selecciona, organiza e dá significado ao que vê’.¹⁷ A aquisição de tais mapas mentais — constituídos por caminhos, arestas, bairros, nós e pontos de referência — é, por outras palavras, a actividade cognitiva de um indivíduo em relação ao ambiente construído. Em disputa está a posição do sujeito cognoscente. Fredric Jameson, no seu livro seminal sobre o pós-modernismo, baseia-se em Lynch (bem como em Althusser e Lacan), mas oferece uma teoria diferente a que chama ‘mapeamento cognitivo’.¹⁸ Para Jameson, o mapeamento cognitivo não é necessariamente um processo individual, mas antes o processo de cognição e representação colectiva daquilo a que chama o ‘objecto fundamental — o espaço mundial do capital multinacional’.¹⁹ Desta forma significativa, Jameson afasta-se da teoria de Lynch.

A teoria do mapeamento cognitivo de Jameson está dependente de uma forma utópica de cognição colectiva ou consenso cognitivo. Para Jameson, os mapas mentais de Lynch permanecem na ordem do imaginário, uma vez que são percepções individuais inacessíveis a outros sujeitos: “O modelo de Lynch ainda não corresponde, de facto, ao que se tornará a cartografia (...) [mas aos] (...) diagramas organizados em torno da viagem ainda centrada no sujeito ou existencial do viajante...”²⁰ Ou seja, os mapas mentais de uma pessoa não são acessíveis aos outros. Pelo contrário, sugere Jameson, a cartografia reside na ordem simbólica, uma vez que os mapas estão disponíveis para os processos cognitivos e interpretativos de outras pessoas que não o cartógrafo original. Por isso, observa Jameson, ‘o que até agora foi omitido foi a

dimensão do próprio simbólico lacaniano’.²¹ Por outras palavras, a ordem simbólica — incluindo modos de visualização espacial como a cartografia — é onde são possíveis representações transparentes e explícitas de experiências espaciais. O desejo de encontrar ‘um modo de representação ainda inimaginável (...) no qual possamos de novo compreender a nossa posição como sujeitos individuais e colectivos’ implica um modo utópico de fazer mapas que não se limita a uma única pessoa, mas que é acessível a um colectivo.²² O mapeamento cognitivo de Jameson pressupõe, portanto, um certo nível de cognição colectiva, se não mesmo um consenso cognitivo, pois o sujeito do mapeamento cognitivo é sempre mais do que um.

No entanto, o consenso no processo de universalização do mapeamento cognitivo não é um dado adquirido. A questão perene sobre este empreendimento utópico é inevitável, ‘quem reconhece — e é, portanto, reconhecido?’ Em *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film*, Giuliana Bruno destaca a crítica de Rosalyn Deutsche ao mapeamento cognitivo por colocar o sujeito feminino e o sujeito do feminismo sob apagamento.²³ Na opinião de Deutsche, o mapeamento cognitivo de Jameson implica um ‘ponto de vista fixo e unitário’, ‘uma forma de ordenar, ou mesmo domesticar, o espaço’.²⁴ Dito de outra forma: a posição de sujeito universalizante de Jameson no mapeamento cognitivo arrisca-se a dar prioridade à crítica marxiana em detrimento da autonomia, do bem-estar e da experiência vivida daqueles que têm sido historicamente marginalizados por processos de universalização semelhantes. Embora a articulação de Jameson do mapeamento cognitivo antecipe essa reacção ao enfatizar ‘o nosso posicionamento como sujeitos individuais e colectivos’,²⁵ essa colectividade é presunçosa do ponto de vista de Deutsche. E se simplesmente não virmos as coisas da forma como Jameson as vê?

Uma cena de *Isabella* ilustra como os sujeitos encarnados podem mapear o mesmo espaço de formas



Fig. 2: O Farol da Guia está situado na Colina da Guia, no centro da península de Macau. Fonte: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%E4%B8%9C%E6%9C%9B%E6%B4%8B%E7%81%AF%E5%A1%94_-_Guia_Lighthouse_-_2016.06_-_panoramio.jpg

divergentes com base nas suas respectivas experiências e afectos. No filme, Shing conhece Yan num clube nocturno e convida-a para um encontro romântico. Quando Yan afirma ser filha de Shing de uma relação antiga, este fica chocado, pois não tem conhecimento de ter sido pai de uma criança. Com o passar do tempo, os dois desenvolvem uma relação de pai e filha e, numa das suas viagens de um dia, visitam o Farol da Guia, em Macau, construído no local de uma fortaleza portuguesa construída no século XVII.²⁶ Para Shing, o

farol simboliza um sentimento de imobilidade, por ter estado anteriormente associado às tríades — Macau era famosa pela sua história de crime organizado — Shing é forçado a continuar a trabalhar com elas. Do farol, que costumava ser um dos pontos mais altos da cidade, Shing vê o espaço do qual não pode escapar. Yan, pelo contrário, anseia por conhecer o mundo e quer sair de Macau. O farol é para ela um ponto de observação, precisamente porque lhe permite encontrar uma saída. Yan representa a personagem mais proactiva

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do filme e, ao levar o pai ao farol, inicia o processo de inversão de papéis que culmina com o plano de se libertarem das tríades. Esta cena demonstra como sujeitos que ocupam o mesmo espaço podem produzir mapeamentos muito diferentes.

O mapeamento afectivo afirma as dimensões incorporadas e emergentes da experiência de um sujeito em relação ao espaço, sem excluir o apelo do colectivo colocado pelo mapeamento cognitivo. Enquanto o mapeamento cognitivo de Jameson pressupõe, exige ou anseia por uma aliança utópica entre indivíduos e colectivos, o mapeamento afectivo torna explícitas as negociações necessárias e muitas vezes difíceis entre sujeitos individuais e colectivos. O trabalho de Bruno fala precisamente desta diferença teórica:

[Tradução do autor] *Em vez de rejeitar ou demonizar [o mapeamento cognitivo], podemos aspirar a envolver-nos (...) numa cartografia para além do cognitivo, aberta a teias de movimentos etno-culturais de uma forma que tenha em conta o movimento da emoção. Pensar na cartografia fílmica como um veículo de mapeamento cultural pode ser uma forma de aceder à geografia mutável do espaço íntimo...*²⁷

Bruno articula aquilo a que Jonathan Flatley chama mais tarde ‘mapeamento afectivo’,²⁸ mas no contexto da cartografia fílmica, ou filme como mapeamento. Para Bruno, o mapeamento afectivo excede o mapeamento cognitivo ao reconhecer, além disso, o afecto, a diferença e a mobilidade. Os teóricos, de Raymond Williams a Sara Ahmed, há muito que defendem a relevância do afecto para a política colectiva.²⁹ Ao abordar questões como a inclusão do género e a diversidade cultural, o mapeamento afectivo de Bruno delinea o caminho da diferença para a colectividade de forma mais explícita do que o mapeamento cognitivo de Jameson. Na minha opinião, Bruno dá o devido crédito ao processo pelo

qual um corpo de conhecimento historicamente marginalizado emerge como parceiro no esforço cartográfico colectivo. Ao abrir espaço para estados de conhecimento emergentes e situados, defendendo que o mapeamento afectivo de Bruno oferece uma articulação concreta daquilo que Jameson teoriza como o ‘modo de representação ainda inimaginável’ no mapeamento cognitivo.³⁰

A reacção do público constitui outra dimensão da cartografia fílmica, especialmente no que diz respeito aos locais de filmagem existentes. Embora os dois protagonistas de *Isabella* atribuam significados diferentes ao Farol da Guia enquanto local, os espectadores com conhecimentos da história de Macau podem oferecer abordagens adicionais à cartografia deste local. Como alguém com herança de Hong Kong que visita Macau desde a infância, é inevitável que eu traga a minha própria experiência, afecto e consciência histórica para o mapeamento deste espaço. Por exemplo, um espectador que esteja ciente da história do farol pode detectar um sentido de ironia na escolha deste local de filmagem. O Forte da Guia foi originalmente construído pelos portugueses para se defenderem das ambições imperiais dos holandeses. Em 1999, ano em que se passa *Isabella*, estava previsto que Macau fosse entregue à RPC. Quando Shing e Yan visitam o farol originalmente destinado à defesa — uma fortaleza construída pelos portugueses — os dois sujeitos enfrentam outra força, a RPC. O afecto individual cruza-se com questões históricas e geopolíticas: estarão Shing e Yan a celebrar a transferência administrativa de Macau à pátria chinesa e as oportunidades que lhe estão associadas? Estarão eles a lamentar a perda de um Macau que lhes era familiar, face ao rápido desenvolvimento? Ou será que sentem nostalgia da época sob a administração portuguesa? Quais são as suas atitudes em relação ao domínio da RPC e ao afluxo de turistas e emigrantes da China Continental? Que ligações emocionais e materiais têm a Macau como local? Em 2010, o Gabinete de Ligação do Governo



Fig. 3: Desde a classificação do Farol da Guia da UNESCO, novos edifícios altos, incluindo o Gabinete de Ligação do Governo Central em Macau, bloquearam a vista do farol.
Fonte: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macau_Colina_da_Guia.jpg

Popular Central na Região Administrativa Especial de Macau, que tem a tarefa de manter a supervisão da RPC na cidade, mudou-se para um edifício que tinha, recentemente, sido construído no lado sul da Colina da Guia. Ironicamente, este edifício, juntamente com outros arranha-céus da zona, obscureceu o Farol da Guia, suscitando queixas dos residentes locais, deputados e grupos de conservação do património, bem como um inquérito da UNESCO.³¹ A implicação é que como resultado o Gabinete de Ligação de Macau

se tornou um novo símbolo de autoridade política. A cena acima referida em *Isabella* não fornece respostas fáceis, mas cristaliza numa única imagem as múltiplas camadas da história de Macau.

A complexidade da história espacial torna-se evidente através da cartografia afectiva e cognitiva. A cartografia fílmica demonstra ainda como múltiplas narrativas emergem de um único local, de uma única imagem da cidade. *Isabella* de Pang recorre à sinédoque visual ao usar o Farol da Guia para significar a Macau

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sob a administração portuguesa. Ao mesmo tempo, o Farol da Guia como local permite que os sujeitos produzam narrativas divergentes sobre o futuro potencial da região. Desta forma, o cinema ajuda a fazer e a refazer Macau como uma cidade global no imaginário dos espectadores. Como diz Michael Peter Smith: “A cidade global é melhor pensada como uma construção histórica, não como um lugar ou ‘objecto’ que consiste em propriedades essenciais que podem ser prontamente medidas fora do processo de criação de significado”.³² Deste ponto de vista, a cartografia fílmica contribui para o *corpus* de narrativas pertinentes para a história de uma cidade e para a criação de lugares.

A DERIVA ETNOGRÁFICA: INTRODUÇÃO DO TRABALHO DE CAMPO NO URBANISMO CINEMATOGRAFICO

Tradicionalmente, os campos do cinema e da etnografia têm-se cruzado não só através da investigação intercultural, mas também através da cumplicidade histórica do cinema com modos imperialistas e colonialistas de produção de conhecimento. Embora os filmes apresentem aos espectadores diferentes povos, culturas, acontecimentos e lugares, funcionam frequentemente como documentação etnográfica, especialmente de sociedades não ocidentais e comunidades de cor.³³ Como argumenta Rey Chow na sua obra clássica *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema*, o cinema permite muitas vezes o trabalho de campo etnográfico e reforça o olhar etnográfico nesse processo.³⁴ Mais especificamente, Chow sugere que o acto de ver o cinema, especialmente o do ‘terceiro mundo’, há muito que foi estragado pelo tipo de olhar imperialista e colonialista que é o legado da antropologia e da etnografia. Como tal, a crítica cinematográfica pós-colonial oferece a oportunidade de abordar, desafiar e inverter essas práticas de visionamento. Chow escreve:

[Tradução do autor] *Em vez de argumentar até que ponto o filme é uma ferramenta sofisticada para fins de etnografia, o que estou a dizer é que o filme — especialmente o filme de e sobre uma cultura do “terceiro mundo” — altera a divisão tradicional entre observador e observado, análise e fenómenos, discurso mestre e informador nativo e, por conseguinte, “primeiro mundo” e “terceiro mundo” que constituem a base disciplinar da antropologia e da etnografia.*³⁵

Chow assinala a forma como o filme tem sido tradicionalmente apropriado pelos etnógrafos como uma ferramenta de documentação audiovisual, reforçando assim o olhar etnográfico no cinema. O facto de esta dinâmica ter sido diagnosticada implica que pode ser potencialmente invertida. Através do trabalho de Laura Mulvey sobre o olhar masculino, Chow sugere que a ‘visualidade que outrora definiu o estatuto de “objecto” da cultura etnografada (...) torna-se agora um aspecto predominante da auto-representação dessa cultura’.³⁶ Ou seja, Chow defende a recuperação do olhar etnográfico de modo a que o filme seja um meio de auto-representação para as culturas etnografadas e não um objecto pseudo-empírico a ser estudado pelas culturas hegemónicas. Neste sentido, a visualidade fílmica poderia emergir do seu passado etnográfico e inaugurar um futuro informado pela auto-etnografia, ou auto-representação.

Defendo que o urbanismo cinematográfico também se cruza com a etnografia de formas potencialmente produtivas. Enquanto Chow conclui com o apelo de se ver o cinema a partir de uma orientação epistemológica radicalmente diferente, eu estou interessado na forma como os métodos do trabalho de campo etnográfico podem ser adaptados para inverter a dinâmica de poder implícita no olhar etnográfico. Para além de realçar a cumplicidade do cinema com a hegemonia cultural, proponho a recuperação da práxis do trabalho de

campo — frequentemente associada à antropologia e à etnografia — para a própria análise fílmica. Ou seja, defendo a desestabilização da ligação entre visualidade e representação nos estudos fílmicos, apelando a outras modalidades e métodos de produção de conhecimento. O trabalho de campo, por exemplo, oferece métodos de imersão espacial e social que levam a análise fílmica para além dos elementos audiovisuais. Os estudos fílmicos podem desfazer o olhar etnográfico não só problematizando as dinâmicas de poder da visualidade etnográfica, mas também recuperando ferramentas da etnografia. Os estudos fílmicos podem ir além do audiovisual em direcção ao espacial e ao háptico, abrindo assim novos espaços para o discurso e a análise. Em termos lacanianos, acrescentaria, esta proposta equivale a desviar o discurso simbólico do cinema do imaginário para o real. Em vez de permanecer dentro da ordem simbólica, no sentido do mapeamento cognitivo de Jameson, invoco o mapeamento afectivo de Bruno como um movimento em direcção ao domínio incorporado e emergente do real. Em suma, aponto a imersão espacial e social como um método produtivo nos estudos de cinema.

A questão fundamental é que a crítica cinematográfica se tem apoiado tradicionalmente em análises audiovisuais, narrativas e sócio-históricas. Embora as dimensões espaciais e hápticas tendam a ser pouco estudadas, dada a natureza ontológica do próprio filme, estas dimensões produzem muitos conhecimentos. Na intersecção entre o urbanismo cinematográfico e a etnografia, procuro articular um método de análise fílmica que se envolva com o trabalho de campo. Aquilo que teorizo como a ‘deriva etnográfica’ começa como um método que recolhe informações e experiências através da imersão nos locais existentes do filme. Como exercício autoconscientemente proto-cartográfico, é uma prática baseada naquilo a que Jameson chama a ‘viagem centrada no sujeito ou existencial

do viajante’.³⁷ A *dérive* situacionista, ou deriva, oferece um contexto adicional. A deriva assemelha-se à *flânerie*, ou deambulação urbana, como explica Thomas F. McDonough:

[Tradução do autor] *Tal como Debord a descreve, a *dérive* substitui a figura do voyeur pela do caminhante: “Uma ou mais pessoas empenhadas na *dérive* abandonam, por um período de tempo indefinido, os motivos geralmente admitidos para a acção e o movimento, as suas relações, as suas actividades laborais e de lazer, abandonando-se às atracções do terreno e aos encontros que lhe são próprios.” Ao deixarem-se “atrair pelas solicitações do terreno”, as pessoas em *dérive* escapam às totalizações imaginárias do olhar e optam por uma espécie de cegueira.*³⁸

Ao contrário do cartógrafo que vê e mapeia a cidade, o vagabundo sente-a e vive-a.³⁹ Em termos lacanianos, o vagabundo afasta-se do imaginário em direcção ao real, abandonando a função dominante do olhar no processo. O vagabundo perturba os processos cognitivos tradicionais no mapeamento de um espaço, introduzindo um elemento de ‘acaso calculado’. Como observa Simon Sadler, Debord desenvolveu a teoria do movimento improvisado a partir do entendimento militar de ‘táctica’, que Michel de Certeau define como ‘acção calculada determinada pela ausência de um *locus* apropriado’.⁴⁰ Esta flexibilidade dentro de parâmetros estruturados permite ao vagabundo improvisar e mover-se entre a intenção e o impulso. Em suma, a deriva etnográfica é a recolha intencional, mas estocástica de informações, fontes e experiências que resulta da deslocação num espaço específico ou num local de filmagem. Sendo uma combinação de análise fílmica, cartografia e trabalho de campo, a deriva etnográfica aproveita o poder do acaso e da emergência, bem como as ligações afectivas do viajante a um filme e aos seus locais.



Fig. 4: Um vendedor vende castanhas assadas de um carrinho na praça principal da cidade, o Largo do Senado, em 2008. Fotografia do autor.

EM ACÇÃO EM MACAU: A DERIVA ETNOGRÁFICA DO FILME PARA O REAL

[Tradução do autor] *Cada pessoa tem de percorrer esses caminhos por si própria.*⁴¹

À medida que Macau se aproxima do 25.º aniversário da sua transferência para a RPC em 2024, fiquei ansioso por revisitar a cidade. Devido à pandemia da COVID-19, os investigadores estrangeiros tiveram, em geral, um acesso limitado a Macau e à RPC. Apesar dessas restrições de viagem, pude participar em várias conferências internacionais co-organizadas por universidades chinesas, incluindo uma sobre estudos de Macau. Os oradores estavam geralmente

divididos em dois grupos: os académicos locais, que apresentavam as suas comunicações presencialmente e os académicos internacionais que se faziam presentes *online*. No entanto, a falta de acesso imediato a Macau levou-me a repensar as minhas viagens de investigação anteriores e a forma como os espaços de Macau têm sido percebidos na última década.

Conheci Macau quando era criança e, desde então, tive o privilégio de regressar inúmeras vezes à cidade. Numa das minhas primeiras viagens a Macau, em meados da década de 1980, lembro-me de comprar castanhas assadas a um vendedor ambulante na praça principal da cidade, o Largo do Senado. As castanhas eram assadas à mão num *wok* gigante de ferro fundido cheio de areia preta, fazendo lembrar a areia da Praia de



Fig. 5: Esta fotografia de 2008 mostra a Cotai Strip e os seus complexos de casinos ainda em construção. Fotografia do autor.

Hac Sá em Coloane. Se a areia preta da Praia de Hac Sá é hoje pouco visível devido à erosão irreversível, o Largo do Senado continua a ser, para mim, a pedra de toque das transformações espaciais de Macau. Nos anos que antecederam a passagem administrativa, a superfície de calhau do largo foi completamente repavimentada por calceteiros portugueses, utilizando materiais europeus transportados para Macau, e os edifícios circundantes foram esventrados e reconstruídos. Numa das minhas viagens de investigação, em 2008, lembro-me de ter perguntado a um transeunte se o vendedor de castanhas ainda lá estava. A mulher de meia-idade respondeu-me em cantonês: “Aquele vendedor já não presta! Desde que o filho assumiu o negócio e começou a usar uma máquina de assar, as castanhas deixaram de saber bem”. Ofereceu-me indicações para outro vendedor não muito longe da praça, mas eu quis voltar e ver com

os meus próprios olhos. De facto, havia um vendedor de castanhas a trabalhar no mesmo local, como se nada tivesse mudado desde há mais de vinte anos. No entanto, as castanhas eram secas e pulverulentas, em vez de húmidas e mastigáveis. A mulher tinha razão. A minha memória e imaginação de Macau foram confrontadas com a realidade.

Esta anedota pessoal pode parecer irrelevante para o estudo do urbanismo cinematográfico, mas realça precisamente a forma como a deriva etnográfica se opõe às representações meramente visuais e narrativas do espaço. Enquanto o urbanismo cinematográfico eleva devidamente edifícios, locais e ambientes na análise de filmes, a deriva etnográfica contribui com informação adicional sobre as dimensões afectivas e sociais dos locais de filmagem. *Isabella*, de Pang, é um bom exemplo. Numa das minhas viagens etnográficas

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Fig. 6: Cinco casas da época da administração portuguesa que formam as Casas-Museu da Taipa, situam-se ao longo da Avenida da Praia, na antiga costa da Taipa. Fonte: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%E9%BE%99%E7%8E%AF%E8%91%A1%E9%9F%B5%E4%BD%8F%E5%AE%85%E5%BC%8F%E5%8D%9A%E7%89%A9%E9%A6%86_-_Taipa_House_Museum_-_2016.06_-_panoramio.jpg

perto do Cotai, reconheci um local emblemático representado no filme. Numa cena memorável, Yan e Shing vão dar um passeio na Avenida da Praia, ao longo do que costumava ser a costa sul da Taipa. O enquadramento da câmara exclui intencionalmente o ambiente construído de ambos os lados desta avenida. Apenas a estrada empedrada e vistas parciais do aterro são visíveis no plano. Dadas as referências tão obscuras à localização do filme, a descodificação desta cena requer que o espectador tenha um conhecimento substancial dos espaços e da história espacial de Macau.

De facto, a Avenida da Praia é um local chave que cristaliza as trajectórias históricas da cidade. No lado sul, as águas que separam as Ilhas da Taipa e de Coloane foram reduzidas a uma pequena zona húmida, conhecida como Zona de Observação Ecológica de

Terrenos Húmidos da Baía de Nossa Senhora da Esperança. A câmara evita mostrar o Cotai logo a seguir à zona húmida, incluindo edifícios arquitectónicos como o Venetian Macao, uma réplica do marco de Las Vegas. Situado no lado norte, encontram-se as Casas-Museu da Taipa, compostas por cinco residências da era da administração portuguesa. Originalmente, construídas para funcionários governamentais que trabalhavam em Macau, estas casas foram renovadas como espaços museológicos dedicados à era da administração portuguesa de Macau e à herança cultural do povo macaense.⁴² Desta forma, o legado da administração portuguesa e a globalização capitalista sancionada pela RPC encontram-se num confronto permanente em termos espaciais. *Isabella* alude a este confronto metafórico com a alusão espacial mais pequena.

Em vez de tratar a cidade meramente como um pano de fundo ou um conjunto de locais de filmagem, *Isabella* enfatiza a forma como os indivíduos e as comunidades experienciam esses espaços. Ao minimizar as estruturas monumentais de ambos os lados da Avenida da Praia, o filme redirecciona o seu foco para os residentes de Macau que utilizam este caminho pedonal. Yan e Shing — como súbditos da cidade sob administração portuguesa que se tornarão cidadãos chineses após a transferência administrativa de Macau — caminham numa linha ténue, no sentido mais literal, entre o passado e o futuro de Macau. Como tal, Yan e Shing são os *flâneurs*, os vagabundos ou os sujeitos em movimento que dotam os espaços da cidade de humanidade, emoção e significado. O filme presta homenagem ao modo de vida local, mostrando Yan e Shing a comprar fatias de melancia a um vendedor enquanto passeiam na rua.⁴³ As práticas espaciais, embora mais difíceis de documentar através de textos e meios de comunicação, são importantes para compreender o modo de vida de um povo. O gesto de comer fatias de melancia é representado como um momento despreocupado, um triunfo fugaz sobre o peso da história. No final, a cena é interrompida quando os membros da tríade aparecem para perseguir Yan e Shing. Em todo o caso, ao omitir conscientemente os edifícios de ambos os lados da avenida e ao contornar assim a questão da história, o filme cria um espaço efémero para as personagens. Ao fazê-lo, o filme transfere a tarefa de mapear Macau para os próprios espectadores.

Uma conversa que tive com um habitante de Macau durante a minha viagem de investigação em 2008 serve para concluir este ensaio. A caminho da paragem do autocarro, passei por uma loja de recordações que tinha vários livros de cinema em exposição. Curioso para saber se havia livros sobre filmes de Macau, entrei na loja. O empregado da loja era um homem alto e magro, na casa dos trinta anos, com uma *t-shirt* branca. Perguntei-lhe se tinha

livros sobre o cinema de Macau e ele respondeu-me de uma forma muito natural, quase a gritar. “A indústria cinematográfica de Macau é quase inexistente. Que eu saiba, houve dois filmes feitos em Macau. Um deles era de um mafioso”, disse, enquanto explicava como o filme de mafioso tinha sido veementemente criticado pelas autoridades de Macau. Perplexo com a sua resposta, pude confirmar mais tarde que o funcionário estava a fazer um relato embelezado, embora na sua maioria exacto, do filme *Casino* de Billy Tang de 1998.⁴⁴ Tal como confirmado por jornalistas e académicos, o filme foi baseado na vida do chefe da tríade Kuok Koi Wan, também conhecido como ‘Dente Partido’.⁴⁵ Para minha surpresa, o funcionário articulou um sentido da história cultural de Macau que raramente transparecia nas minhas outras conversas com residentes locais.

Isabella era presumivelmente o outro filme, por isso perguntei-lhe se o considerava um filme de Macau. Respondeu-me presunçosamente: “Vieram a Macau para filmar *in loco*, mas não é um filme feito em Macau. É uma grande diferença”. Curioso para saber porque é que ele conhecia o termo *in loco*, respondi-lhe: “Tu estás familiarizado com estas coisas...” Disse que já foi cenógrafo de cinema e mestre carpinteiro. “Antigamente, as produtoras de cinema vinham a Macau contratar-nos para construir os cenários”, acrescentou. “Agora, contratam estudantes de *design* para fazer o trabalho. Ou então, fazem tudo na China Continental. Aqui tudo é feito na China Continental, mas nós desenhamo-lo”. Gesticulou para as réplicas em miniatura de monumentos em exposição. À medida que a conversa avançava por vários tópicos, perguntei-lhe: “Então, o que achas da rapidez com que Macau está a mudar? O Cotai e tudo o resto”. Com um balançar enfático da mão, disse: “O coração das pessoas muda mais depressa”. Pouco tempo depois desta última troca de palavras, saí para a paragem do autocarro. Cheguei ao terminal marítimo pouco antes de o *jetfoil* estar programado para regressar a Hong Kong. Perguntei-me como voltarei a Macau da próxima vez. **RC**

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- 17 Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 6.
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- 19 Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 54.
- 20 Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 51–52.
- 21 Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 54.
- 22 Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 54.
- 23 Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 84–85.
- 24 Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 84.
- 25 Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 54.
- 26 As línguas oficiais de Macau são o chinês escrito e o português, enquanto o cantonês falado é usado predominantemente na vida quotidiana e em funções oficiais. Tal como em Hong Kong, os caracteres chineses tradicionais são utilizados em Macau, mas os nomes chineses tendem a ser romanizados de acordo com o sistema de romanização cantonense do Governo de Macau. Este artigo cita nomes em português e chinês escrito e romaniza os caracteres chineses conforme necessário usando o sistema *pinyin* para acessibilidade.
- 27 Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 269.

- 28 Jonathan Flatley, *Affective Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 77.
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- 33 Existe um conjunto substancial de trabalhos sobre a intersecção do cinema e da etnografia. Vejam-se Peter Ian Crawford e David Turton, eds., *Film as Ethnography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992); Catherine Russell, *Experimental Ethnography: The Work of Film in the Age of Video* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Jay Ruby, *Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film and Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Jean Rouch, *Ciné-Ethnography*, ed. e trad. Steven Feld (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); David MacDougall, *The Corporeal Image: Film, Ethnography, and the Senses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); David Redmon, *Video Ethnography: Theory, Methods, and Ethics* (Nova Iorque: Routledge, 2019); Paul Henley, *Beyond Observation: A History of Authorship in Ethnographic Film* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020); Phillip Vannini, ed., *The Routledge International Handbook of Ethnographic Film and Video* (Nova Iorque: Routledge, 2020).
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- 35 Chow, *Primitive Passions*, 28.
- 36 Chow, *Primitive Passions*, 180.
- 37 Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 52.
- 38 Thomas F. McDonough, “Situationist Space,” *October* 67 (1994): 73.
- 39 Uma crítica importante à prática situacionista da psicogeografia é o facto de ser dominada pelos homens e movida por um certo fetichismo de género. Veja-se Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 80. Bruno tenta recuperar a práxis da cartografia a partir de uma perspectiva feminista. Na sua discussão da cartografia fílmica, Bruno fala do objectivo de “recuperar a emoção e (...) o háptico como estratégia feminista de leitura do espaço”. Veja-se Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 16.
- 40 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trad. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 36–37; Sadler, *The Situationist City*, 81. Veja-se Guy Debord, “Theory of the Dérive,” *Les Lèvres Nues* 9 (Novembro 1956); e Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trad. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 1994).
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- 42 Fat lam Lam, ed., *Histórias da Arquitectura de Macau* (Macau: Associação da História da Escola Pui Tou de Macau, 2005), 125.
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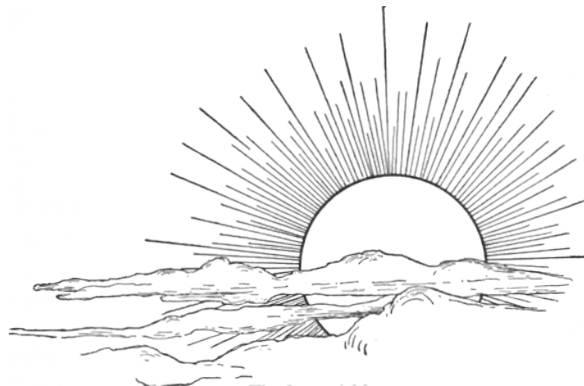
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Religion and Power: Women Travellers in Macao

ELIZA SI KEI LEONG*

ABSTRACT: As the first female missionary visiting Macao in 1836 before settling in Hong Kong in 1842, the significance of Henrietta Hall Shuck to Hong Kong is definitely remarkable. Yet, our present understanding of her influences on Macao is comparably limited. Since historical themes are strongly tied to the portrayal of 'woman' created by hegemonic discourse, this research enables us to rethink women who are comparatively underrepresented in 'history'. The realisation of inclusive femininity can be achieved through an examination of the material and historical heterogeneities that characterised the lives of women in the third world during the colonial era and, therefore, redefining, producing, and representing 'women' as a singular third-world 'woman'. This paper puts forward a colonial feminist theory and discourse by third-world women who exercise power and operate resistance. It is argued that power relations are defined as a source of power and a collective response to power. This article draws a comparison between Henrietta Hall Shuck's self-presentation and her representation of women in Macao about religion and power, it proposes hegemonic discourses that are inscribed in power relations where women oppose, resist and implicitly support.

KEYWORDS: Feminism; Colonial women travellers; Third-world women; Oppression; Missionary.

INTRODUCTION

The significant implication in this paper stems from Foucault's argument that discourse is related to power in the way that language has functioned as a restriction upon reality. For Foucault, power is inflected in the interaction of multiple social relations constituting norms and regulations.¹ The hegemonic social relations at the macro-level as a

shaping force and at the micro-level of the local force relations define a society's general and institutional characteristics. Through struggles, confrontations, and transformations against the norms from below, knowledge with the support of power can emerge.² Foucault attempts to replace a universal negative power that models law and prohibition from the top with a positive analysis of power from the bottom.³

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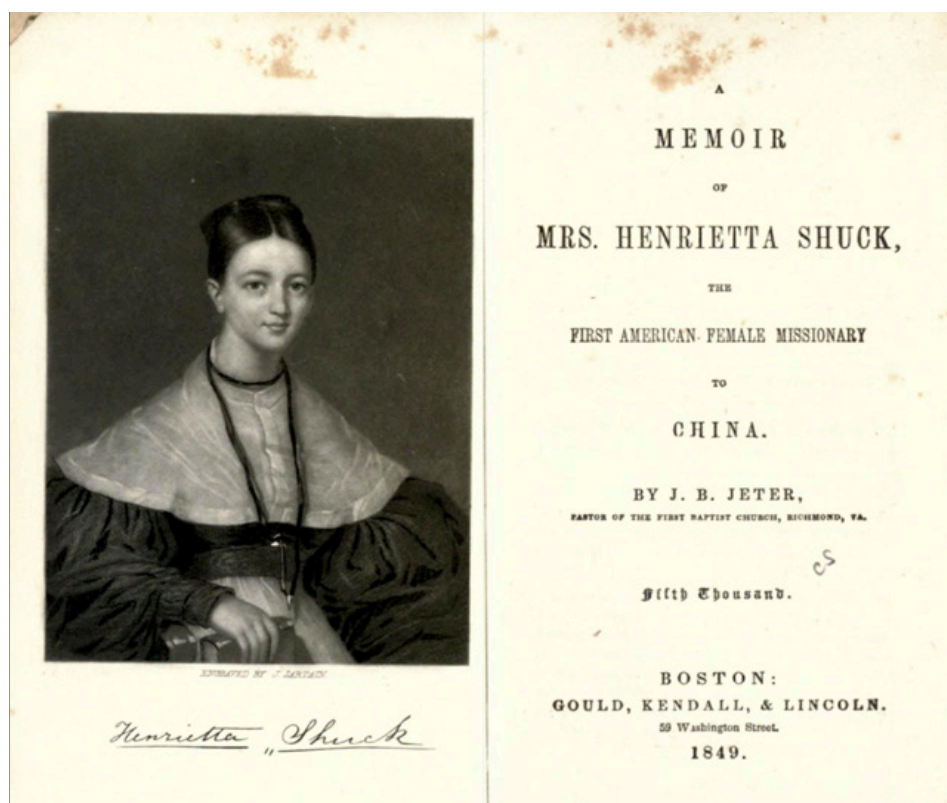


Fig. 1: Henrietta Hall Shuck's diary, *A memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, the First American Female Missionary to China*. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1849.

To support the argument, I demonstrate that gender study is infused with Foucault's analysis of power, knowledge, and discourse, which helps to define the meaning of Henrietta Hall Shuck's self-representation and representation on 'other' during her visit to Macao in 1836 before settling in Hong Kong in 1842. The Foucauldian concept of discourse delineates the direction for the reconceptualisation of women's representation which contributes to both coping and understanding the social reality and expands our constructed meaning of knowledge and power to not simply a matter of class interests. Hence, this paper pushes our understanding of transcultural forces beyond the clash of class interests in Foucauldian analysis of power and knowledge.

Foucault's works have wielded a strong influence on feminist scholars for decades. Various feminist

scholars have made Foucault's analysis a compellingly theoretical tool to elucidate and augment the understanding of some critical yet overwhelming understudied concepts.⁴ Foucauldian concepts rely on the theoretical notion of 'decentering' knowledge and truth from epistemology, thereby emphasising the impact of discourse, knowledge, and power on both society and individuals.⁵ While many feminists analyses had exclusively drawn on Foucault's writing on power, Foucault himself indeed had little interest in gender issues. The blindness of gender in Foucauldian concepts of power is problematic because we live in a society where a normatively neutral stance on power is not viable. According to Sandra Lee Bartky, Foucault's work perpetuates the inherent sexism present in Western political theory.⁶ Clearly, the Western feminist discourse, which is 'a coherence of effects', is inherent

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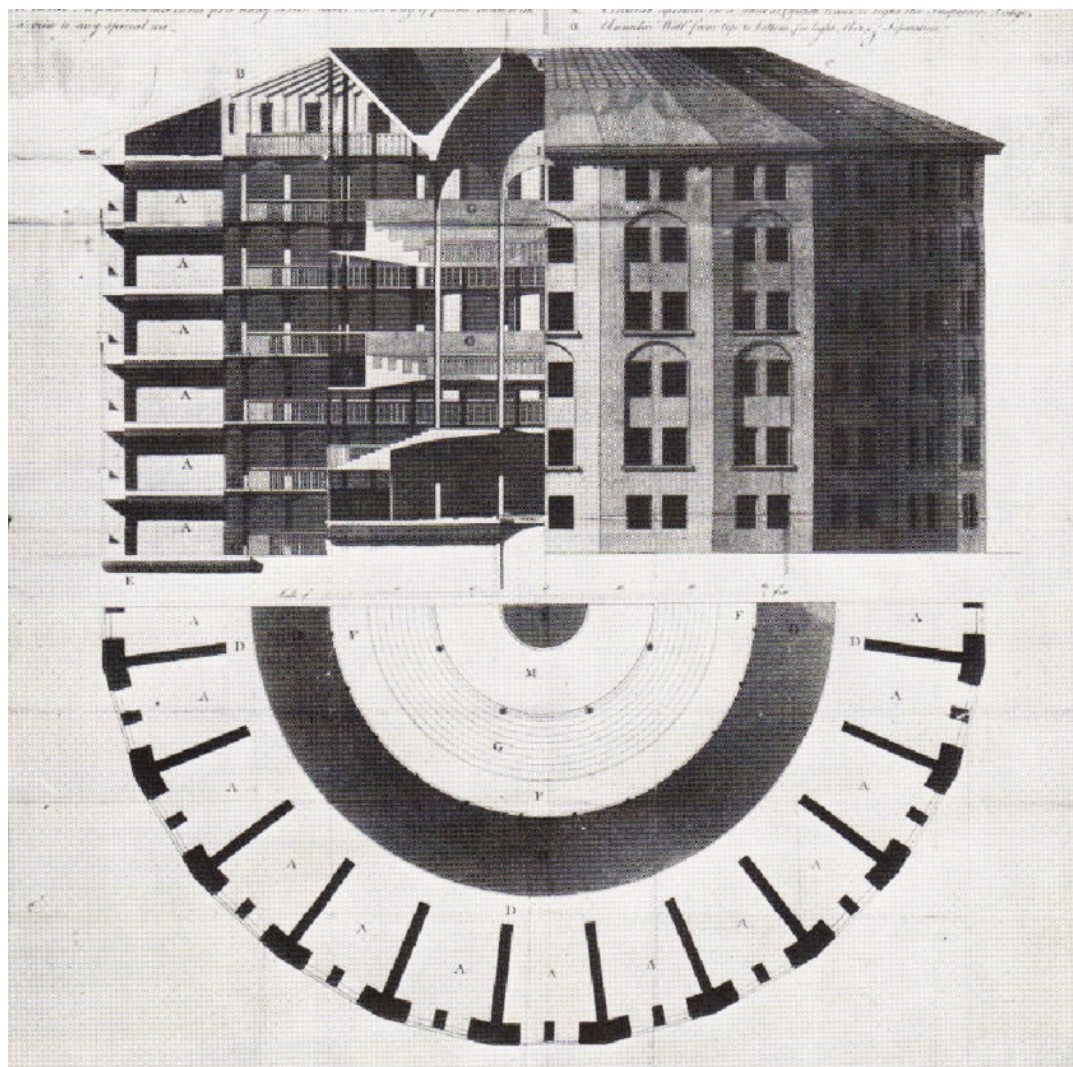


Fig. 2: The Panopticon design of Jeremy Bentham, drawn by Willey Reveley in 1791, in Philip Steadman, "The Contractions of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon Penitentiary," *Journal of Bentham Studies*, vol. 9 (2007): 9.

in the supposition of 'the West'.⁷ Anne Balsamo further claims that Foucault pens down in his writings viewing the site of power as male-dominated discourse.⁸ Most of Foucault's works have been roundly criticised for not recognising the significance of gender in shaping power due to the fact that femininity can determine disciplinary practices which assert on bodies and create identities and, consequently, functions as an effective form of social control.⁹ The social construction of gender is determined by society, disciplines, and culture

around us. In turn, every culture has its particular form of discipline on the body. In his work *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault did not make any distinction when dealing with the 'genderless' of the watchman.¹⁰ If the pleasure in looking has been depended on the separation between entities to guarantee a distinction between active, male or disciplinary and other entities as passive or female in the patriarchal society, treating body 'as one' is not sustainable.¹¹ Balsamo further indicates that Foucault's analysis treats female identity

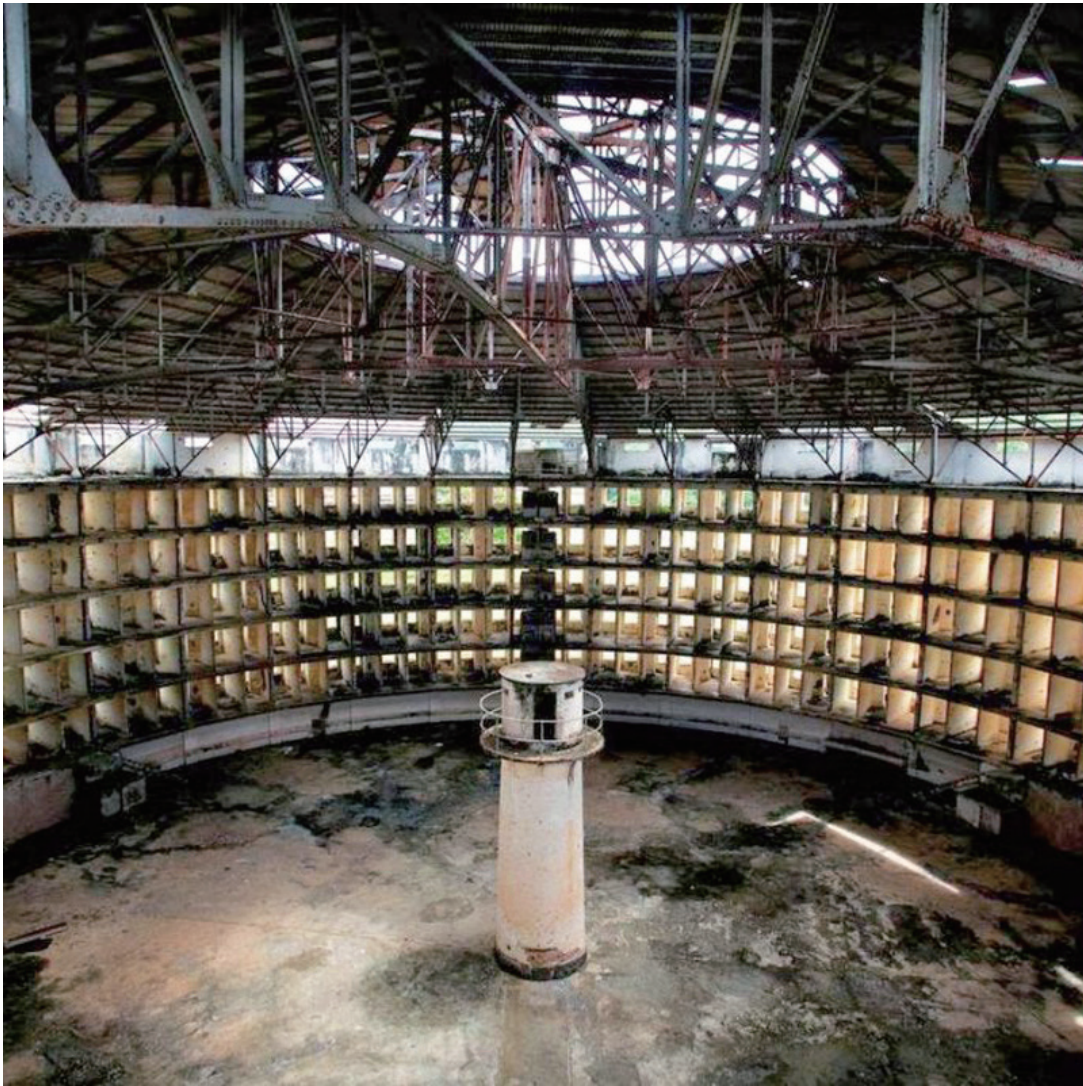


Fig. 3: Presidio Modelo prison in Cuba, an example of a Panopticon penitentiary. Source: <http://hiddenarchitecture.net/panopticism-presidio-modelo/>

as an inherent or natural quality of the body rather than a ‘truth effect’ about sexuality produced by cultural discourses of identity.¹²

Therefore, it is imperative to reformulate the Foucauldian concept of power by acknowledging gender as a notion of difference articulated from its discursive construction. However, Foucault’s concern for discourse and discursive formation helps us to relate ‘culture’ to ‘representation’. My assumption stems from the notion that culture is assumed to represent

women because of its gender hierarchical nature and its relations of power in gender study. Hence, this article primarily focuses on how the feminist discourse epitomises Foucault’s argument about sexuality and power, yet how conspicuous it is by its absence. This supposition makes reading female discourse as a target of Foucault’s analysis of power possible. By examining Henrietta Hall Shuck’s account of her relationship with the Chinese female orphans in her missionary school in Macao, gender here can be included in the

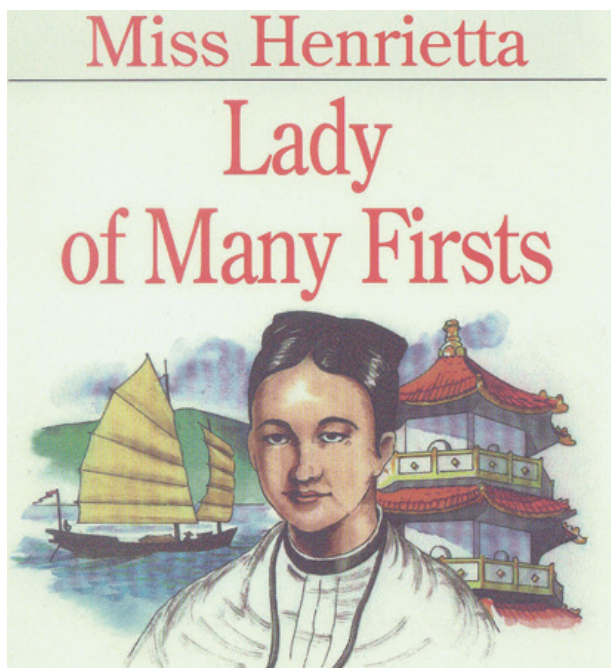


Fig. 4: Book cover of *Miss Henrietta, Lady of Many Firsts*, written by Beth Branyon in 1996.

analysis of power relations and, in turn, a product of discourse. However, this paper is not a comprehensive approach to Foucault's extensive analysis but is indeed an introduction to his central idea for understanding representations and the intersections of discourse, power, and the subject within.

GENDERING FOUCAULDIAN CONCEPT OF POWER AND KNOWLEDGE

The Foucauldian concept of power indicates that power relations can appear in unexpected places. According to Foucault, power should not be viewed as an institution or a structure, nor should it be considered as an inherent strength possessed by individuals. Rather, it is a term used to describe a multifaceted strategic situation within a given society.¹³ Power relations are not an institution or structure. For Foucault, power emerges from the force of relations. The force of relations is 'immanent', which means it exists only within a domain or discourse.¹⁴

Therefore, power is advised to study through coding the relationship between different forms of power in various ways because various patterns of domination and resistance exist in different social settings. In fact, power is characterised by a multifaceted and complicated strategic situation.¹⁵ The 'strategy' is how we might wish to be perceived by various groups in different contexts. However, the construction of our self-presentation has frequently been moulded and impacted by power dynamics. The omnipresent nature of power is attributed to its continuous production and manifestation in various points and relations. The concept of power permeates all aspects of society. The reason for its comprehensiveness is not due to its all-encompassing nature, but rather its origin from diverse sources.¹⁶

According to Foucault's perspective, power is not a commodity that can be possessed, but rather it arises from social interactions and relationships. Therefore, he suggests that power should be exercised rather than possessed. He asserts that the strategic positions held by the dominant class have a greater impact than any acquired or preserved privilege.¹⁷ As discussed, the truth and morality that shape our life not simply exist but are produced through culturally discursive elements. People of different social groups unconsciously expose themselves to a dominant group of discursive elements, and that structural discourse ultimately privileges the ideas of normalisation. The power exerted on the body should be viewed as a strategy rather than a property. Foucault suggests that a perpetual battle should serve as a model for this power, rather than a contract that regulates 'a transaction or the conquest of a territory'.¹⁸ Therefore, the notion of power does not circumvent binary relationships. The system of power relations operates in various ways in which different forms of relationships intersect and entwine instead of just functioning within an individual.

Foucault further suggests that 'power' must be understood in a dual sense. 'Power' could be ingrained

in how we talk and function as English speakers, but it also refers to capability and capacity. According to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, the term 'power' can be understood through the change of meanings of some French words — '*savoir*' (knowing), '*savoir-faire*' (a refined form of 'know-how'), and '*savoir-vivre*' (awareness of social life and customs) into '*pouvoir*' (power).¹⁹ Drawing on the ideas of Foucault, Spivak places particular emphasis on the manner in which a particular form of implicit knowledge, referred to as '*savoir*' (knowledge), that pervades a given historical epoch, shapes the explicit knowledge — '*connaissance*' (an ideal object of knowledge) — that is codified within the disciplinary frameworks of the human sciences, encompassing both the natural and social sciences. Spivak further claims:

*You might come up with something like this: of the lines of making sense of something are laid down in a certain way, then you are able to do only those things with that something that are possible within and by the arrangement of those lines. Pouvoir-savoir — being able to do something — only as you are able to make sense of it.*²⁰

This is to say, what is considered the 'common sense' of the time, place, and people within a specific historic period consolidates what is believed to be the truth or knowledge. The knowledge, in passive form, is not from some authoritative bodies from high. According to Dianna Taylor, Foucault considers that knowledge can be recognised as truth and can be existed with the support of the arrangement of power.²¹ Foucault did not try to theorise the evolutionary progress for a 'better' system of knowledge. However, he is concerned with how society reflects and values, transforms into knowledge and gradually becomes an institutionalised form of knowledge. Indeed, Foucault shows implicit interest in exploring the

representation of knowledge and the context in which such representations are given from, delineated, and ultimately applied. His discourse and discursive formation concepts are central to his notion of knowledge representation. Without Foucault himself ever noticing, he does not approach the issue of sexual difference directly, although his analysis supports the study of feminism concerning questions on sexuality.

CHALLENGING THE UNIVERSALITY OF FEMALE IDENTITY — BEING WATCHED

During the eighteenth century and nineteenth century, feminist scholars extensively drew on Foucault's use of women's sexual identities.²² From the eighteenth century, there was an immediate attempt for the population to become necessarily aware of their sex and sexual activities.²³ Within the realm of sex, there was an intense urge to categorise people according to gender, for instance, masculine and feminine, heterosexual, and homosexual and other sexualities. Sex entails something that people are coerced into a confession.²⁴ In turn, not only does sex amalgamate biological and physical characteristics, but it also implicates the crucial and psychological core of the individual.²⁵ Here, Foucault's original intention in doing a genealogy of sexuality which considers sex as an arbitrary and a contingent component of identity has been undermined. He also expresses apprehension regarding the proliferation of discussions pertaining to sexuality within the realm of power dynamics. This phenomenon is viewed as an institutional support to engage in explicit and comprehensive articulation of such matters.²⁶

In this sense, the atomisation of discourse is not natural but is constructed as a product of how power and knowledge interact in society. Foucault turns the question inside out and argues that sex has to be spoken of. The issue concerning the public discourse surrounding sex is that it is limited and fails to fully capture its essence, thereby requiring an ongoing quest

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for a more comprehensive understanding.²⁷ The fluid mode of discourse was unable to establish a bond, resulting in the dispersion of centres from which discourses originated, 'a diversification of their forms, and the complex deployment of the network connecting them [...] to a regulated and polymorphous incitement to discourse'.²⁸ Foucault posits that instead of regarding sex as a secret that forbids overtly conversation, certain organisations have devoted themselves to constantly discussing it, all the while making use of its hidden elements.²⁹

Hence, the atomised mode of Foucault's analysis returns our attention to universalism and supports the reality of sexual identity based on shared feminist identity. Traditional feminists believe there is a universal and ahistorical notion of 'woman'. Foucault further demonstrates its limitations and dangers. He puts forward the question of placing sex as a core aspect of identity and refutes the essentialist notion of treating identity as the foundation of a community. Therefore, contemporary feminists draw on Foucault's notion of sexual identity by excluding the single category of 'woman'. Judith Butler criticises the tendency to construct women as a global sisterhood. She argues:

*This globalizing gesture [the universality of female identity] has spawned a number of criticisms from women who claim that the category of 'women' is normative and exclusionary and is invoked with the unmarked dimensions of class and racial privilege intact. In other words, the insistence upon the coherence and unity of the category of women has effectively refused the multiplicity of cultural, social, and political intersections in which the concrete array of 'women' are constructed.*³⁰

The concept of 'patriarchy' has been a powerful organising concept that undermines the overt

articulation of an asymmetrical gender system in various cultural contexts. Butler proposes that the subject of 'women' appears not only as a stable and distinct entity. In light of feminism's efforts to align itself with movements against racial and colonialist oppression, it has become imperative to challenge the colonising epistemological approach that seeks to subordinate diverse forms of oppression to a universal concept of patriarchy.³¹ In fact, the interaction between 'women' as historical subjects and the representation of 'woman' generated by dominant discourse functions to subjugate the diverse material and historical realities of women in the Orient, resulting in the creation and portrayal of a singular 'woman'. Henrietta Hall Shuck exercises this authority by questioning 'the proper training and education of the children of missionaries'. She wrote:

*Can this be done in the heathen countries? Missionaries, so far as we are acquainted with their views, concur in the opinion that it cannot be done. But it remembered too, that this opinion is formed, not only with the amplest opportunities of judging correctly, but in opposition to the dictates of natural affection. The reasons for the opinion are clear and convincing. The young must have associates. If intelligent, refined, and pious society cannot be found, they will inevitably, and from the depravity of their hearts, most readily, mingle with the ignorant, vicious, and degraded [...] Unable to elevate the heathen, they will sink to the level of heathenism.*³²

She concerns about sending her child back to her native land for education, which provides a 'better' education and prevents her child from 'the contamination of heathenism'. Here, Henrietta Hall Shuck refers to Macao as 'heathen' throughout her description of Macao carrying the negative connotation of idolatry. She uses the words 'ignorant',

‘vicious’, ‘degraded’, and ‘heathen’ to describe the Others in Macao, whilst Henrietta Hall Shuck implicitly represents herself as educated and modern because of her ability to make autonomous decisions about her own body and sexuality. The discrepancy between her self-presentation and her re-presentation of Macao’s Others is evident in her assumption of privileging a particular group as dominant constituting social norms and referents. The representation continues when she describes the practice of Chinese parents to sell their daughters. She describes:

I have recently met with a poor little Chinese girl, about six years old, whom we have adopted as our own child. Her case is peculiarly interesting. Her mother, imitating the example of heathen mothers, sold her to a Chinaman, who kept her only a few months, and sold her again to another Chinaman and his wife, whose hearts, if they were in possession of such a thing, would not allow them to bestow on her a single act of kindness. They used her cruelly, and made her perform such labor as could be expected only from the older and stronger persons. And it seems that these cruel people, not satisfied with this, even denied her necessary food.³³

Incidentally, an American passed by and offered to ‘buy’ the ‘poor Chinese girl’. The ‘Chinaman’ consented, and the American paid her ‘ten dollars’. The American took the ‘poor Chinese girl’ to Henrietta Hall Shuck, and she named the Chinese girl ‘Jane Maria’. The representation of the ‘poor Chinese girl’ extends beyond the portrayal of the female gender as constructed by dominant hegemonic discourse. It can be inferred that Shuck draws on discourse to colonise the diverse material and historical experiences of women in the developing world, in order to present a singular, composite representation of ‘woman’. Hence, the correlation between ‘women’ as entities of historical

significance and the portrayal of ‘woman’ created by dominant discourse does not entail a linking through identity, correspondence, or mere implication.³⁴

WOMEN AS A UNIFIED GROUP OF SUPPRESSION — WATCHER

The concept of gender can be regarded as complex due to its ability to allow for various converging and diverging expressions without conforming to normative standards.³⁵ Butler claims:

The articulation of an identity within available cultural terms instates a definition that forecloses in advance the emergence of new identity concepts in and through politically engaged action, the foundationalist tactic cannot take the transformation or expansion of existing identity concepts as a normative goal. Moreover, when agreed-upon identities or agreed-upon dialogic structures, through which already established identities are communicated, no longer constitute the theme or subject of politics, then identities can come into being and dissolve depending on the concrete practices that constitute them. Certain political practices institute identities on a contingent basis in order to accomplish whatever aims are in view.³⁶

Butler grounds her assumption on Foucault’s notion of discourse, which refutes the possibility that the power/knowledge can be ‘from below’. The portrayal of Jane Maria as a ‘woman’ exemplifies a political practice that creates a novel historical actuality, wherein women can resist and combat the all-encompassing mandate of norms and limitations. As Dianna Taylor describes in *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, a boy being teased by his classmates for his obsessed desire to play with girls’ toys that subject him to treatment. She explains that not the little boy’s distress or the teasing he faces brings him to the

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Fig. 5: The Henrietta Secondary School in Hong Kong, founded in 1924.

treatment, but the authority his classmates retain is noticeable. The intolerance of the boy's classmates on his inappropriate behaviour provides an example of a different individual possibility to exercise power. This case serves as an illustrative example of the pervasive nature of power dynamics that exist between young children, parents, and teachers. These dynamics, as described by Foucault, form a complex network that permeates various apparatuses and institutions without being confined to any particular location.³⁷ Dianna Taylor provides an example that is significant for the disciplinary effects that expand the reach of the rational mind to broader domains. The little boy who is subject to a field of visibility will consequently learn, while his peers have already learnt, to assume 'responsibility for the constraints of power [...] [to] become the principle of his own subjection'³⁸ and 'this

productive network of power [...] [to] run through the whole social body'.³⁹ Located at this Foucauldian analysis of power, Henrietta Hall Shuck's response to Jane Maria's deviation is instrumental.

Education was central to women's missionary work in the nineteenth century. They helped to find and educate other women and children in a foreign school.⁴⁰ If education, for Henrietta Hall Shuck, regulates as a universal women's essence and, at the time, the true self a woman sees herself, education will take on a significant role in constructing social norms that provide a pathway for women's empowerment. Education is not only understood as intellectual qualities specific but also normality which serves as a standard imposed on women. Here, Jane Maria seems to have been represented as an arbiter of gender norms questioning the need for education that might

draft Henrietta Hall Shuck into her own prescribed role as a missionary wife, a mother, and a sister. She wrote a letter to his sister, Isabella, insisting on the importance of education, 'I wish now to urge on you the importance of cultivating your intellect. I do hope that you will pay strict attention to your education, and now consider it completed when you quit school'.⁴¹ She further represents the significance of education as the role of a missionary wife: 'It is exceedingly improving to the young mind to read much, and digest well. You will never regret having done so, when you come out into society, particularly if you should be a *missionary's wife*'.⁴²

Jane Maria provides a need to detect violations of norms and alert for the problem with the need for education. She is obviously making an effort in behaviour correction against the perceived and accepted norms that define social meanings and constructs associated with Henrietta Hall Shuck. However, Jane Maria's approach involves the use of comparative analysis to establish a normative standard, whereby individuals are evaluated against each other, and differences are measured. This method is employed to assert gender norms and uphold the principle of truth. This standpoint values the analysis of how contested gendered space is bestowed on Jane Maria, who is empowered to produce new 'knowledge', that is new 'understanding', new 'truth', not only about Henrietta Hall Shuck, 'women' as a real and material subject of collective histories but also about Jane Maria, 'woman' as a composite Other constructed through diverse representational discourse, who would be identified under the new order, in this case, the need of education.

INTERSECTIONALITY AS A LEADING FEMINIST PARADIGM

Naomi Zack proposes that women experience multiple forms of oppression, forming the unique identity of race, gender, and class. The concept of

intersectionality is perceived as democratic as it allows women of colour to exercise their agency in creating their own feminist movements, which has been granted to them through the endorsement of white feminisms. However, the theory of intersectionality, when applied to women's identity, has limitations in terms of inclusivity, as it allows for the formation of feminisms only by members of a particular intersection of race and class.⁴³ Zack brings to mind that instead of identifying female gender as the psychological effect of female biology sex, the determinants of female gender could be other cultural forces.⁴⁴ It is a universal claim that the second wave white feminists ignore the existence of third-world women. The white feminists seem to have compared themselves to third-world women in terms of oppression and disadvantages. For instance, Henrietta Hall Shuck compares how differently the parents in China reared their children, particularly those who were sick.

*Several Chinese females, and an old man, with a poor little blind girl, were standing outside. As soon as they saw me, they all cried out, with one accord, to know if I would like to purchase the little girl whom they had brought. They seemed exceedingly anxious to get rid of the child [...] What a vast and deeply affecting contrast between the children of Chinese parents, and those whose privilege it is to dwell in lands where Christianity triumphs! In the one, we see them tenderly nurtured in the lap of maternal love. When disease seizes them, how intense the solicitude of the mother! She watches by their bedside without one wish to leave, but if compelled, for a moment, to do so, how eager is she to return!*⁴⁵

Her perception of motherhood was definitely different from the representations of third-world women according to the universal ideology of

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motherhood attached to Western women throughout American history.⁴⁶ Her discourse implies that third-world women are excluded from the leading feminist paradigm.

Naomi Zack's assumption allows third-world women to pursue their own feminism without changing the establishment of feminism.⁴⁷ The implication supports my argument that Western women can be treated as third-world women. For instance, Henrietta Hall Shuck wrote, 'This little girl knows herself by no other name than the one we have given her and no one else does, she always answers when I call for Jane Maria, and I am certain she will never have any other name'.⁴⁸ Naomi Zack posits an argument that despite the commonly-held belief that women are inherently different, these differences can be identified and separated before being reassembled, as 'people exist as integral totalities'.⁴⁹ Henrietta Hall Shuck proves third wave feminism as inclusive as she recognises a comparison that she could be treated as the third-world women are treated.

*I have no fear that pa' [father] will neglect the education of his girls, for I know well his views on that subject. I am sure he will put you in some good school as soon as he can. Only let me say to you, my dear sisters, do your part — be studious — let every passing moment find you acquiring something useful and important. Do, not as I have done, but as I now tell you. Much of my precious time has been thrown away. I sincerely repent, and feel ashamed of myself, when I remember how much money my dearest father spent on my education; and where is the knowledge I should have gained?*⁵⁰

The connection in the negligence of education between her sisters and the Chinese girls is to identify the intersection of the female gender as a distinct identity of disadvantage. Henrietta Hall Shuck further wrote:

*I should much prefer taking girl exclusively; but so great is the opposition of Chinese parents to have their female children educated, that I find I must take boys in order to get girls [...] At last, I refused to take any more [boys], unless for every boy they would bring a girl. So that now, they permit the poor neglected daughter to accompany them.*⁵¹

Foucault's theory of power and knowledge highlights the possibility for individuals within an oppressed group to assert a shared identity with members of the dominant group, as a means of challenging and ultimately dismantling oppressive structures. Specifically, Foucault suggests that Jane Maria, as a member of an oppressed group, may draw upon a sense of commonality with Henrietta Hall Shuck, a member of the dominant group, in order to bring about transformation and conform to the norms of the dominant group. Relevant here is, as a dominant group, Henrietta Hall Shuck imposes commonality on Jane Maria within the subaltern by overlooking and repressing the specific problems of subalterns concerning education and religious devotion, which are part of their oppression or result from it. This assumption seems to have returned to the notion of the homogeneity of gender ideology and captures something of the intuitive sense of portraying all women as a singular group owing to the shared oppression concerned.⁵² But Naomi Zack asserts that commonality does not entail the negation or subjugation of differences, as it is precisely the foundation upon which difference is predicated. This is implicitly invoked whenever we refer to the distinctive characteristics of women.⁵³ This paper examines the potential of commonality as a foundation for morality that can effectively combat oppression. By emphasising the shared experiences of women, this moral framework can inspire collective efforts towards liberation and drive political and social change.

REFERRING 'WOMEN' TO WOMEN

Elizabeth Spelman claims that ignorance of the difference between women can lead to the universalist project concerning domination. The problem of difference masks a generalisation for privileged people by constructing the generalisation as a paradigm without justification. The notion extends to the lives of those less privileged.⁵⁴ A positive inclusive feminism will require a multiplicity of comparisons and exchanges. Gender refers to the different effects on women's social experience, emotional experience, and personhood. As a dominant agent in different historical contexts, Henrietta Hall Shuck has generated a different understanding of the implication of being a woman attached to Western history in the nineteenth century to other women within the third-world group.

However, the extent that gender has come to mean commonality depends on how gender can be captured by the concept of 'women's essences' shared by the members of a unified group. The assumption provides an understanding that relates to the historical category of an oppressed group. Instead of substituting a broad meaning of gender that does not specify race, class or sexuality, gender claims differences in race, class or sexuality, resulting in the inclusive sense of gender that refers to common women's identity. Henrietta Hall Shuck lives in a closed circle of privilege intruded on by Chinese girls who were consistently identified as less privileged. She exemplifies the very social hierarchies that many scholars have committed to levelling. 'The division of human beings by race, class and sexuality are not taxonomies of mere variety but grades of human worth and power'.⁵⁵

Henrietta Hall Shuck uses contextualised meanings associated with educational opportunity and religious devotion to differentiate herself from third-world women. This differentiation leaves a notion of women only referred to the West, where they assume the gender is all women. Too much is achieved theoretically that the differentiation produces several

interrelationships as comparisons and exchanges that reinforce the constraints imposed on Henrietta Hall Shuck and other women in the West, which was done in reality throughout the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth regarding education opportunities. For instance, there was a time Henrietta Hall Shuck assumed that Chinese girls were like them as women who could be neglected in education by her parents. This theoretical effect of commonality has a positive consequence on inventing, discovering, and reinforcing the distinctive and valued identities, not only on Henrietta Hall Shuck but also on Jane Maria and other Chinese girls in the missionary school. Henrietta Hall Shuck wrote to her sisters, requiring an urgent need for transformation in education and religion. This commonality thus makes Foucauldian analysis of power and knowledge possible in explaining how power and knowledge can be exercised from below or less privileged, reinforcing the understanding of reality and the need for transformation.

To conclude, reading the account of Henrietta Hall Shuck on the Chinese girls in Macao through the theoretical lens of Foucault provides a new insight into how striking it is to view the Chinese girls' treatment similar to Foucault's surveillance system implemented for the evolution of disciplinary power.⁵⁶ Henrietta Hall Shuck's account on Macao focuses on the Chinese girls in her missionary school. These girls, isolated from their kin and family members, become objects of the gaze. Most accounts by Foucault about Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon accentuate a machine that contains cells opened to a central tower. The Panopticon manifests Foucault's belief that power should be 'visible and unverifiable'.⁵⁷ The concept of the Panopticon embodies Foucault's notion that power ought to be both visible and indeterminate. The structure breaks down the dichotomy of observing and being observed. In the peripheral ring, an individual is deemed fully visible, yet remains unaware of the observer's identity. Conversely, individuals situated

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in the central tower possess the ability to observe all without being observed themselves. The individuals who are isolated become the apparent subject of the anonymous gaze representing the invisible members of the dominant authority. Hence, the aim of panopticism is to ‘internalise’ the authoritative gaze when the individual is:

*Subjected to a field of visibility [...] assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he comes the principle of his own subjection.*⁵⁸

Michel Foucault’s Panopticon challenges the notion that power is always focused on one individual only but can be ‘distributed’ through a disciplinary system so that the individual will be both the ‘object’ and ‘subject’ in which power is exercised. As an example, an imprisoned individual is under observation but is willing to exercise self-monitoring. It is possible for him to act as his own inspector. The term ‘inspector’ is commonly attributed to an individual who observes and monitors a particular situation. However, it is noteworthy that the inspector himself may also be subject to investigation, as his function as an observer is subject to inspection. Hence, the Panopticon conception of visibility as disciplinary power transforms our conception of power and its operation. To return to how Henrietta Hall Shuck

had embraced difference, the Chinese girls in the missionary school are ‘watched’, and Henrietta Hall Shuck is the ‘watcher’. Zack posits that if gender is acknowledged as a theoretical commonality among women across various hierarchical taxonomies such as race, class, and sexuality, then there is a greater likelihood of abolishing the hierarchy itself, including its perceived ranking.⁵⁹ But as far as the commonality is concerned, Henrietta Hall Shuck can be the object of gaze by retreating to the mere mention of difference into theorising about the reality of her own cloistered virtues imposed by the Chinese girls in her missionary school.

Based upon the study of limited historical records of Chinese women in Macao in the 1840s, the writing of Henrietta Hall Shuck and other Western women living in Macao at times served as significant sources that filled an important gap in Macao’s history.⁶⁰ These writings not only provide alternative perspectives that bring women into discussions but can also be utilised as a component of more extensive studies examining the Western perspectives of China that potentially influence our understanding of local history and help to shape our historical consciousness and public memory. So, it is vital to bring these voices into the mainstream historical narratives of Macao history, allowing a shift from a dominant discourse into more intimate stories of women’s experiences within the colonial context. This approach recasts our understanding of the complexity of gendered experiences to encompass attention to an inclusive understanding of gender. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 For a discussion of how the interaction of multiple social relations constitutes norms and regulations, see Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures,” and “Truth and Power,” in *Power/Knowledge — Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 78–133.
- 2 Foucault’s first lecture series introduces a number of important

themes concerning knowledge, the will to know, and the power of truth and truth-telling — themes that Foucault would develop during the next thirteen years in his lectures, conferences, and books. See Michel Foucault, *Lectures on the Will to Know: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1970–1971, and Oedipal Knowledge*, ed. Daniel Defert, English Series ed. Arnold I. Davidson, trans. Graham Burchell (New York:

- Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- 3 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). The work outlines the development of specific disciplinary mechanisms such as prisons, hospitals, and schools to explain the formation of a 'disciplinary society' in the late seventeenth century and emphasises that the transition from sovereign to disciplinary power is a historically specific phenomenon.
 - 4 Examples are Susan Hekman, *Gender and Knowledge: Elements of a Postmodern Feminism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990); Judith Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), 1–34; Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," in *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, ed. Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 63; Susan Bordo, "The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity," in *Gender, Body, Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*, ed. A. Jaggar and S. Bordo (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 23.
 - 5 Paul Raymond Harrison, "Michel Foucault," in *Social Theory: A Guide to Central Thinkers*, ed. Peter Beilharz (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 84.
 - 6 Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," in *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader*, ed. Diana Tietjens Meyers (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 95.
 - 7 Similar assumptions can be found in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), and Chandra Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 334.
 - 8 Anne Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 22.
 - 9 Angela King, "The Prisoner of Gender: Foucault and the Disciplining of the Female Body," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5, no. 2 (2004): 30.
 - 10 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 201.
 - 11 King, "The Prisoner of Gender," 33.
 - 12 Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body*, 112.
 - 13 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 93.
 - 14 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.
 - 15 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.
 - 16 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 95.
 - 17 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 26.
 - 18 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 50.
 - 19 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 32.
 - 20 Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, 34.
 - 21 Dianna Taylor, *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 145.
 - 22 See Judith Butler's works on "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1–46; "Bodies and Power Revisited," in *Feminism and the Final Foucault*, ed. Dianna Taylor and Karen Vintages (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 183–194; *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Jane Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," in *Feminism/Postmodernism (Thinking Gender)*, ed. Linda J. Nicholson (New York and London: Routledge, 1989), 39–62; Sheila Jeffreys, "Women and Sexuality," in *Women's History: Britain, 1850–1945: An Introduction (Women's and Gender History)*, ed. June Purvis (New York: Routledge, 1995), 193–217; Lois McNay, *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 115; Caroline Ramazanoglu, *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of Some Tensions between Foucault and Feminism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 207.
 - 23 Karen Harvey, "The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies, and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 4, no. 4 (2002): 899–916.
 - 24 Larry May and James Bohman, "Sexuality, Masculinity, and Confession," *Hypatia* 12, no. 1 (2020): 138–154.
 - 25 Leonard Lawlor and John Nale, *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 21.
 - 26 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 18.
 - 27 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 33.
 - 28 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 33–34.
 - 29 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 35.
 - 30 Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," 21.
 - 31 Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," 46.
 - 32 Jeremiah Bell Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck: The First American Female Missionary to China* (California: Hardpress Publishing, 2012), 130–131.
 - 33 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 105–106.
 - 34 Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 334.
 - 35 For more detailed discussions on gender complexity, see Ann Kaplan, "Is the Gaze Male?," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 309–327 and Si Kei Leong, "Lamenting Loss: Transforming Confucian Womanhood in Modern China," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 22, no. 2 (2016): 95–113.
 - 36 Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," 22.
 - 37 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 96.
 - 38 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 202–203.
 - 39 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 119.
 - 40 Tiffany K. Wayne, *Women's Roles in Nineteenth-Century America (Women's Roles through History)* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 3.
 - 41 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 162.
 - 42 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 163.
 - 43 Naomi Zack, *Inclusive Feminism: A Third Wave of Theory of*

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- Women's Commonality (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 2.
- 44 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 2.
- 45 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 111–112.
- 46 Leong, "Lamenting Loss," 95–113.
- 47 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 54–55.
- 48 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 106.
- 49 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 4.
- 50 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 103–104.
- 51 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 138.
- 52 Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 333–358.
- 53 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 9.
- 54 Elizabeth Spelman, *Inessential Woman* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988), 24.
- 55 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 24.
- 56 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 170–194.
- 57 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 195–228.
- 58 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 202–203.
- 59 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 11.
- 60 For more detailed discussions on the other Western women living in Macao in the nineteenth century, see Si Kei Leong, "Rethinking Western Representation of the Orient: China in Ana d'Almeida's Dairy," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 10, no. 1 (2014): 112–123 and "The Transnational Rural in Alicia Little's My Diary in a Chinese Farm," in *Gender and Space in Rural Britain, 1840–1920 (Warwick Series in the Humanities)*, ed. Charlotte Mathieson and Gemma Goodman (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 145–161.

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Dos Primeiros Contactos Luso–Chineses à Presença Portuguesa em Macau

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RESUMO: Neste artigo proponho traçar um roteiro histórico que vai da conquista de Malaca aos primeiros tempos da presença permanente portuguesa em Macau.

A conquista de Malaca em 1511 abriu aos portugueses as rotas do Sudeste asiático, proporcionando os primeiros contactos com os chineses. Utilizando fontes ocidentais e chinesas narro o percurso dos mercadores portugueses nas costas da China, e, com base na tese de Rute Saraiva, tento mostrar como foi possível o acordo luso–chinês de Leonel de Sousa, de 1554, que possibilitou a presença permanente dos portugueses em Macau, em 1557.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Portugal; China; Portugueses; Chineses; Cantão.

INTRODUÇÃO

A conquista de Malaca em 1511, por Afonso de Albuquerque, abriu aos portugueses as rotas do Sudeste asiático e possibilitou os primeiros contactos luso–chineses. D. Manuel I encarregou Diogo Lopes de Sequeira de obter informações detalhadas sobre a China. Seria, no entanto, o feitor de Malaca, Rui de Araújo, que Sequeira deixara nessa praça, que as obteve em 1510, enviando-as para Cochim.

Foi a partir de Malaca que Jorge Álvares ao serviço da coroa portuguesa alcançou Tamão (Ilha de Lintin), na região de Cantão. Seguiu-se o italiano Rafael Perestrelo, em 1515, que regressou com produtos chineses valiosos, encorajando D. Manuel I a enviar a primeira embaixada à China, que fracassou.

Com recurso a fontes ocidentais e chinesas traço o percurso dos mercadores portugueses nas costas da China, num comércio privado e ilegal, que interessava também às autoridades de Guangdong. Com base na tese de Rute Saraiva mostro como foi possível o acordo luso–chinês de Leonel de Sousa, de 1554, que possibilitou a presença permanente dos portugueses em Macau, em 1557. A carta de Fernão Mendes Pinto ao Reitor do Colégio de Goa, escrita de Macau, em 1555, e, sobretudo, a do Padre Gregorio Gonzalez ao embaixador espanhol em Lisboa, cerca de 1570, revela-nos a sua presença (e a dos outros portugueses) em Macau, desde 1553, permitida pelas autoridades de Cantão, primeiro, temporariamente, depois, de forma permanente.

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A CHEGADA DOS PORTUGUESES AO ÍNDICO

Quando Vasco da Gama chegou a Calecute, na Índia, em 1498, entrou num mundo novo, retratado magistralmente por Geneviève Bouchon:

Entrando nas águas do Oceano Índico, os Portugueses irromperam num mundo marítimo organizado desde há séculos, e no meio de um tráfego desenvolvido num espaço imenso, perfeitamente dominado por sociedades mercantis fortemente estruturadas.

[...] Tornava-se evidente que o Oceano Índico era para Vasco da Gama e para os decisores portugueses na Europa e no Oriente, não o mar a descobrir ou a construir, mas um mar e espaço concorrencial a dominar.¹

Desde a chegada de Gama à Índia, que D. Manuel I mostrou interesse em obter informações detalhadas sobre a China. Pelo *Regimento de Almeirim*, de 13 de Fevereiro de 1508, o monarca luso ordenou a Diogo Lopes de Sequeira que as obtivesse. Sequeira chegou a Malaca, em 1509, mas nada conseguiu. Seria o feitor desta praça, Rui de Araújo, que, a 6 de Fevereiro de 1510, fez chegar a notícia a Cochim, de que:

Os Chyns [...] vem em Abryl e partem daqui para sua terra em Mayo [...] e detem-se no caminho xx e xxx dias a ida e outros tantos aa [à] vynda [e] trazem [...] almisquer e damascos cetins baixos colijam canfora e algum ruybarbo e aljofare [...] muito fina pedra hume, que vem cad'ano oyto [a] dez juncos e levam pera sua terra muita pimenta e algum cravo.²

A CONQUISTA DE MALACA E OS PRIMEIROS CONTACTOS LUSO-CHINESES

Os primeiros contactos luso-chineses fizeram-se em 1509, em Malaca. Afonso de Albuquerque,

percebendo a importância desta praça, tomou-a em 1511, causando a desorganização da rede mercantil da região, que se dispersou por diversos portos,³ mas permitindo aos portugueses intrometerem-se na rede de comércio regional que, há séculos, ligava a Insulíndia ao Sul da China.⁴

Quando na monção de 1513 os juncos chineses voltaram a Malaca, restabeleceram-se os contactos luso-chineses. Isso possibilitou aos portugueses frequentarem a rota comercial Malaca-China, levando pimenta malaia, em troca de porcelanas e sedas de Cantão. Quando os juncos do rico mercador cantonense Cheilata (Xu Lada) regressaram ao litoral de Cantão, levou consigo Jorge Álvares, feitor e escrivão de um junco com pimenta, carregado a meias entre a fazenda portuguesa e o rico mercador Tamul Nina Chatu. Seria o primeiro português a ir à China, aportando à Ilha de Tamão, em Junho de 1513 (Fig. 1),⁵ onde deixou um padrão com as armas de Portugal.⁶

Tentou obter informações sobre a localização geográfica da China e os seus mais importantes centros de comércio marítimo.⁷ No regresso a Malaca, Jorge Álvares trouxe notícias e mercadorias, o que incentivou os portugueses a regressarem ao Sul da China. Em 1516, o italiano Rafael Perestrelo foi incumbido pelo Governador de Malaca, Jorge de Albuquerque, de ir à China com fins comerciais.⁸ Perestrelo foi a Cantão, regressando a Malaca, entre Agosto e Setembro de 1516, com os navios carregados de mercadorias lucrativas. Trazia notícias de que os chineses eram pacíficos e pretendiam a paz e a amizade com os portugueses,⁹ razão por que D. Manuel I decidiu enviar uma embaixada à corte chinesa, cabendo a Lopo Soares de Albergaria, Governador da Índia, a escolha do embaixador.¹⁰

A EMBAIXADA DE TOMÉ PIRES

A 7 de Abril de 1515 saiu de Lisboa o capitão-mor Fernão Peres de Andrade, com 17 navios, com



Fig. 1: Localização de Tamão (Ilha de Lintin). Pedro Marquês de Sousa, *Revista Militar* 2631, Abril de 2021. <https://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/1547>

a missão de levar um embaixador português à China, sendo portador de uma carta do Rei de Portugal, manifestando amizade e desejo de estabelecer relações comerciais. Foi nomeado Tomé Pires, como embaixador dessa missão, saindo de Cochim uma armada de oito navios que chegou à Ilha chinesa de Lintin (Tamão), a 15 de Agosto de 1517,¹¹ e a Cantão, em finais de Setembro.¹² Os portugueses foram autorizados a desembarcar apenas para fazer comércio, aproveitando Fernão Peres de Andrade para vender o seu carregamento de pimenta, e, em troca, adquirir produtos locais.¹³ Wu Zhiliang transcreve-nos a fonte chinesa que assinalou a presença portuguesa na China:

No 12.º ano do Reinado de Zhengde (1517), alguns estrangeiros de Folangji entraram

*sem aviso no Distrito de Dongguan. Wu Tingju, o Bu-zheng-shi (Comissário para os Assuntos de Administração de então) decretou a autorização da recepção de tributos e viabilizou a comunicação à Corte, o que constituiu uma culpa por não ter consultado as leis vigentes.*¹⁴

Os mandarins dos Ming desconheciam não só a existência de Portugal (*Folangji*), como também não conseguiram localizá-los nos seus arquivos.

Tomé Pires aguardou em Cantão a partida para Pequim, onde chegou em Fevereiro de 1521. Era portador de três cartas: uma do Governador de Guangdong, outra de Fernão Peres de Andrade, e a última do Rei de Portugal.¹⁵ Aberta e traduzida a

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carta do monarca português, o Imperador Zhengde verificou que D. Manuel não se considerava nem apresentava Portugal como vassalo da China, pelo que se recusou a receber oficialmente a missão portuguesa. Entretanto, chegaram à Corte Ming notícias sobre a tomada de Malaca pelos portugueses, um reino tributário da China, que os portugueses levantaram ilegalmente uma fortaleza em Tamão, e que Simão de Andrade, irmão de Fernão Peres de Andrade, recusou pagar direitos.¹⁶

Wu Zhiliang transcreve-nos a opinião dos conselheiros do Imperador sobre a missão de Tomé Pires:

No 15.º ano (1520), Qiu Taolong diz ao Imperador: “Não podemos aceitar de maneira nenhuma o pedido tributário de Folangji¹⁷ e a concessão de títulos a seu favor, visto que se trata de um pedido baseado em lucros comerciais e formulado por um país que invadiu Malaca, nosso reino vassalo sob protecção imperial. Daí, convém expulsar os seus mensageiros, [...] mandar-lhes retirar-se de Malaca [...] e comunicar, [...] a todos os reinos vassalos no sentido de denunciar os crimes por eles cometidos e fazer a justiça”.

Por sua vez, o conselheiro imperial He Ao, disse:

O Folangji, [...] Mandou em 1518, alguns navios de grande dimensão e entraram em Cantão sem prévia autorização, atirando disparos que faziam tremer a terra. Enquanto os que ficaram na pousada movimentavam-se contra as regras de permanência, os que foram autorizados a entrar na cidade faziam perturbações. Se lhes autorizar a liberdade de comércio, serão inevitáveis os conflitos [...] e incontroláveis as catástrofes no Sul [...].

Por sua vez, Wu Tingju, o encarregado dos assuntos administrativos, afirmou que:

A pretexto da falta de tributos a pagar ao Imperador, tolerava a vinda (dos navios estrangeiros) fora dos prazos fixados, disponibilizando a recepção a todo o momento das respectivas mercadorias, o que faz os navios estrangeiros encherem o porto e a capital da província [Guangdong] [...]. A entrada bruta e inesperada dos navios de Folangji devia-se, portanto, à nossa negligência na defesa e ao conhecimento das rotas navais chinesas por parte dos estrangeiros. Tomo a liberdade de solicitar que se digne mandar expulsar os navios estrangeiros do porto e os estrangeiros de permanência ilegal, decretar a proibição do comércio privado (com os estrangeiros) e reforçar a defesa a fim de proporcionar a paz e segurança àquela cidade.¹⁸

Com o falecimento do Imperador Zhengde (1506–1521), a embaixada de Tomé Pires foi convidada a deixar Pequim, retirando-se para Cantão, onde chegou a 22 de Setembro de 1521, onde as autoridades locais tinham ordens para os prenderem. Assim aconteceu com Tomé Pires, Vasco Calvo e António de Almeida, que morreram no cativeiro.¹⁹

Em síntese, o fracasso da embaixada de Tomé Pires deveu-se ao facto de Portugal não ser um país tributário da China; dos portugueses terem tomado Malaca, reino tributário dos chineses; e à conduta violenta lusa na Ilha de Tamão. A morte de Zhengde, em 1521, e a convulsão política que se seguiu, ditou a rejeição formal da embaixada, a sua expulsão da capital e o encarceramento de Tomé Pires e os seus companheiros.²⁰

Com a subida ao trono português de D. João III (1521–1557), as relações com a China deixaram de ser prioritárias, ficando esse comércio entregue aos privados.

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A TESE DE RUTE SARAIVA E A PRESENÇA DOS PORTUGUESES EM MACAU

Os fracassos anteriores não impediram que os portugueses frequentassem os portos da China, de 1522 a 1554. De facto, comerciantes lusos mudaram-se para as costas de Fujian e Zhejiang, praticando um comércio clandestino com chineses particulares, ou mesmo associando-se a piratas chineses e japoneses.

Os portugueses regressaram a Sanchoão e Lampacao, quando Zhu Wan, com jurisdição militar no litoral de Zhejiang e Fujian, ordenou a destruição dos entrepostos de Wuyu e Yueguang, de Fujian, e Shuangyu, de Ningpo (Liampó). No entanto, a morte de Zhu Wan deixou os portugueses descansados, que iniciaram as viagens marítimas na costa chinesa.²¹

A tese de Rute Saraiva baseia-se na existência de um debate, cerca de 1530, entre os interesses locais, representados pelas províncias chinesas interessadas no comércio com o exterior, destacando-se Cantão, e a posição oficial do governo central, de manter fechados ao exterior os portos da China.²² Aos primeiros apelidou-os de *abolicionistas*, e aos segundos de *proibicionistas*.

Ambos receavam os distúrbios que os portugueses pudessem provocar na costa chinesa, divergindo, no entanto, quanto ao valor do comércio marítimo. Os *abolicionistas* defendiam um comércio regulado aberto aos estrangeiros, vantajoso economicamente para as províncias marítimas, mas que beneficiava também o poder central, pelas receitas alfandegárias e tributos gerados, para além de produtos importantes, como o âmbar cinzento. Por outro lado, os *proibicionistas* apoiavam a posição da administração central, visando a manutenção da segurança no litoral.

Recorde-se de que a expulsão dos portugueses da região de Cantão provocou uma grave crise económica, dificultando a própria defesa da cidade, pela ausência de receitas provenientes das taxas alfandegárias e do comércio. Perante a hesitação das autoridades centrais chinesas surgiu uma posição conciliadora, que o Governo de Cantão pôs rapidamente em prática. Era

preciso encontrar um local próximo de Cantão, onde o comércio com os estrangeiros pudesse ser controlado e feito em segurança. Caso esse comércio fosse legítimo e rentável levariam os estrangeiros e dissidentes chineses a abandonarem o seu comércio ilegal e arriscado.²³ É neste contexto que se entende o acordo luso-chinês entre Leonel de Sousa e o Aitao de Cantão, em 1554, que permitiu a fixação dos portugueses em Macau.

Em 1530, o porto de Cantão abriu-se aos estrangeiros, mas não aos portugueses, por se recusarem a pagar direitos aduaneiros às autoridades chinesas.²⁴ Cerca de 19 anos depois a situação não se alterara, continuando os portugueses a praticarem o seu comércio clandestino, tentando furtar-se à vigilância das autoridades chinesas. Segundo Frei Gaspar da Cruz, no seu *Tratado das Cousas da China*:

*1549 foi [de] mais rigoroso resguardo na costa pelos capitães de armada, e maior vigilância nos portos e entradas da China, de maneira que nem fazendas, nem mantimentos vinham aos portugueses: mas por mais resguardo e vigia que houve, como as ilhas ao longo da terra sejam muitas, [...] não puderam as armadas [chinesas] ter tanta vigilância e resguardo, que não viessem algumas fazendas escondidas aos portugueses.*²⁵

Entretanto, os portugueses mantiveram relações comerciais ao longo da costa, devido ao florescimento das transacções com o Japão, ambicionando ter um ponto de apoio na costa chinesa, com fácil acesso ao mar e ao interior. Ora Haoching (Macau) era a melhor solução para portugueses e chineses. Situada na margem oeste do Rio das Pérolas, tem acesso ao mar por três lados, e está próximo de Cantão, ligando-se por via terrestre ao distrito de Hsiangshan, por um estreito istmo.

A sua posição estratégica permitia às autoridades chinesas controlarem os portugueses, através dos seus funcionários administrativos, e da fronteira da

Porta do Cerco.²⁶ Com a abertura da rota comercial Goa–Malaca–Japão, passou a ser importante para os portugueses terem um ponto de apoio na costa chinesa, não só devido ao regime de monções, mas também para terem acesso às Feiras de Cantão, onde se abasteciam de seda e de porcelanas chinesas muito apreciadas pelos japoneses. Estes pagavam as mercadorias em prata, de que a China precisava.

Isto levou os portugueses a regressarem a Liampó e Zhangzhou, que registou um grande impulso. Impunha-se, no entanto, encontrar uma solução permanente, boa para os portugueses sem comprometerem as autoridades provinciais chinesas.²⁷

O ASSENTAMENTO DOS PORTUGUESES EM MACAU

É no contexto do corte de relações entre a China e o Japão, cerca de 1523, devido à pirataria *wokou*, que os portugueses apareceram como intermediários entre os dois Estados. Leonel de Sousa, capitão da viagem do Japão, chegou à costa de Guangdong em 1552, onde foi informado que os estrangeiros podiam fazer comércio, desde que pagassem os impostos, mas não os *Folangji* (portugueses).

Leonel de Sousa, após longas e demoradas negociações com as autoridades de Cantão, logrou obter um acordo não escrito, em 1554, conhecido por carta que aquele enviou de Cochim ao Infante D. Luís, irmão de D. João III, em 15 de Janeiro de 1556, que o destinatário não leu por ter falecido em 27 de Novembro de 1555.²⁸ Dizia ela que:

Como achey a terra desta maneira e com o avizo que tive pus logo o mylhor requado [recado], e goarda que pude nos Navios, e portuguezes que estavam comygo, que nam alevantassem a terra [...]; e aprouue [aprove] a Nosso Senhor que me mandaram cômeter paz, e que assantase [assentasse] direitos como estavam em custume aseytey [aceitei] este requado cõ conselho de todos, [...].

Esta paz, e direitos mandou cometer ho Aytão da Cidade, e Reyno de Cãtão [Cantão], que he [é] officio e Denydade [Dignidade] grande e Estado como Almyrante do Mar, que provê em todos os negocios dos Portos de Mar asy na fazenda como Armadas, [...] da qual paz não fiz com elle pauta nem assanto [assento] pelo nã[o] levar por Regimento, e que aviamos de pagar a vinte por cento, como hera custume, [...] nos quaes Direitos a vymte por cento, nam consenty em mays que ha dez por cento ao que me respondeo que elle os nã[o] podia abaxar [baixar], porque eram Direitos Reaes [...] e que por então nam pagassemos mais Direitos aos vinte por cento que dametade das fazendas que levavamos, e asy fyquariam [ficariam] aos dez por cento que dizia, e que me pedia que mandase fazer bom gasalhado dos Mandarys, [...] que malembrava que por hua descortezia que fizerão os primeiros portuguezes a hum Mãdarim os nã[o] consentio ElRey mais na China, e pois minha ventura fora tão boa que se nã[o] perdesse [...].

*Desta maneira fiz paz; e os negocios na China com que todos fizeram suas fazendas, e proveitos seguramente foram muytos portuguezes á Cidadde de Camta [Cantão] e outros lugares por onde andaram folgando algũs dias, e negociando suas fazendas á sua vontade sem receberem agravo, nem pagarem mais Direitos dos que atras digo [...].*²⁹

Isto é, Leonel de Sousa, capitão da viagem do Japão, fundeou em Sanchoão por não lhe merecer confiança fazê-lo em Lampacao. Nas negociações com o Aitão de Cantão, Leonel de Sousa afirmou não poder pagar vinte por cento de direitos pelas mercadorias que trazia, propondo dez por cento. Respondeu-lhe o Aitão que não podia alterar a pauta alfandegária feita pelo Imperador chinês, propondo-lhe que pagasse vinte por

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Fig. 2: Planta de Macau (Séc. XVII) de Pedro Barreto de Resende. Isabel Cid, *Macau e o Oriente na Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora (Séculos XVI a XIX)* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau; Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo; Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora, 1996), 31.

cento sobre metade das mercadorias, correspondente aos dez por cento proposto por Leonel de Sousa, o que foi aceite. E assim se fez o acordo 'sem pauta nem assento', porque Leonel de Sousa não trazia regimento do Rei português. Estávamos em 1554.

OS PRIMEIROS TEMPOS DE MACAU

As fontes coevas não permitem afirmar que foi na sequência de um pedido de ajuda das autoridades de Cantão aos portugueses, para combaterem os piratas, que, como recompensa, Macau foi doado aos portugueses. Essa tese baseia-se numa informação do Leal Senado de 1783, inscrita no seu *Livro de Actas*, na *Instrução que o Senado da Câmara de Macau oferece ao Exmo. e Rev. Sr. D. Alexandre de Gouveia, Bispo de Pekim*, do teor seguinte:

Socedeo neste tempo levantar-se nos Mares da China um pequeno Chinceo [Chincheu] por nome Sam Chislão, o que com a continuação das suas piratagens foi crescendo em cabedades e em tal extremo que se fez senhor dos Mares e de hua [uma] formidável e temida Armada, com a qual roubava, e queimava todas as embarcações que encontrava, [...] [tendo] investido com a Cidade de Cantão que duas vezes saqueou.

Vendosse os chinas tiranizados e perseguidos deste Pirata nos considerão para os ajudar a dar cabo delle [...] e para este efeito sabimos do Porto de Samchão [Sanchoão] adonde formamos a nova Armada [...] em que embarcarão hu Numero grande de Portuguezes, e outros Christãos que verão [vieram] de Mallaca, além de muitos Malayos Pañanes q. nos acompanharão nesta occazião e pondossi [pondo-se] em execução esta deligencia felismente se conseguiu no anno de 1556 com morte do mesmo Pirata e destroço da sua Armada.

Em reconhecimento de segura Navegação em que ficou a terra e mares da China pelo destroço deste levantado, e a requerimento dos Mandarins e mercadores de Cantão se concedeo o Imperador Cachem no anno de 1557 este porto de Macao para nelle nos estabelecermos firmes e perpetuamente seguros, e isto san penção [pensão], foro ou tributo além de muitos privilégios graças e izençoens que [...] nos conferio como consta da chapa de ouro que o dito Imperador nos remeteo da qual se acha cópia no tribunal de Cantão esculpido em pedra que os Tartaros depois que conquistarão a Chinna mandarão conservar anno de 1649.³⁰

A chapa com estas inscrições nunca foi encontrada. Se o território fosse concedido aos portugueses não fazia sentido pagar-se o 'foro do chão' de 500 taéis de prata, imposição que se manteve até 1849, durante as Guerras do Ópio.³¹ O Padre Teixeira³² rejeitou esta tese, e Wu Zhiliang,³³ utilizando fontes chinesas, também a desmente.

Segundo os registos chineses, em 1553 chegaram a Macau navios estrangeiros, alegando terem sido apanhados por uma tempestade que molhara os produtos que traziam como tributo, pedindo licença para secá-los na sua costa. O Aitao Wang Po acedeu,

mas os *Folangji* e outros estrangeiros viriam a construir aí cabanas, iniciando assim a sua instalação em Macau.³⁴ Segundo Wu Zhiliang, o motivo da mudança dos portugueses de Lampacao para Macau foi explicado pelo oficial Pang Shangpeng, na sua *Descrição Sucinta da Segurança Marítima de Macau*, datada do 43.º ano do Reinado de Jiajing (1564), do modo seguinte:

*Nos anos anteriores, os barcos ancoravam na Ilha de Langbaiao (Lampacao), separada por uma grande distância de águas, em condições que muito dificultavam a permanência dos mercadores, razão pela qual o mandarim encarregado da defesa de Macau autorizou a construção de barracas provisórias, que eram desmontadas quando os barcos voltavam a fazer-se ao mar. Só nos últimos anos, começaram a entrar na baía de Macau para ali construir casas, tendo erguido centenas [...] em apenas pouco mais de um ano, e hoje o número de casas construídas já ultrapassou mil. Todos os dias estão em contacto com os chineses, obtendo bons lucros, de modo que pessoas vindas de todos os lados do país acorrem a Macau, [...]. Hoje o número dos estrangeiros já ultrapassou dez mil...*³⁵

Esta fonte é corroborada pelo padre espanhol, Gregorio Gonzalez, cerca de 1570, que se manteve em Macau por essa altura. Segundo Barreto,³⁶ os portugueses passaram a frequentar regularmente o porto de Haojing (Macau), entre 1535 e 1555, no âmbito das relações mercantis privadas e semi-oficiais da Ásia do Sueste. Os mercadores portugueses permaneciam a bordo dos barcos, mas em 1553 foi-lhes permitido erguer em Macau cabanas de colmo para pernoitarem em terra, enquanto reparavam os barcos e secavam as mercadorias, demolindo-as quando partissem. Regressaram em 1554 e tiveram permissão de fazer trato no porto, e levantar cabanas

provisórias, coincidente com as monções. Depois deviam abandonar a península, levando as mercadorias para Malaca.³⁷

A primeira fonte ocidental que nos informa da presença portuguesa em Amaquao (Macau) é Fernão Mendes Pinto, em carta, de 20 de Novembro de 1555, dirigida ao Reitor do Colégio de Goa — Padre Baltazar Dias, da Companhia de Jesus, de que transcrevo a seguinte passagem:

*[...] Por o tempo me não dar lugar lhe não escrevo tam largo como desejava p.a [para] lhe dar conta de toda a nossa viagem e o socedido, della e o quanto trabalho temos passado dispois que de V. R. nos apartamos. Mas p. q. oje [porque hoje] cheguei de lampacau, que he o porto onde estávamos, a este amaquao que dista outras seis leguas mais duante [adiante] onde achei o p.e m.e belchior [Padre mestre Belchior] q. de cantão aqui veo ter auia [havia] vinte e cinco dias a resquatar [resgatar] Matheus de Brito [...].*³⁸

Há quem afirme ser erro do copista quando escreveu ‘Amaquao’ por ‘Lampacao’, mas a carta de Fernão Mendes Pinto é clara:

Amaquao, distante seis léguas de Lampacao que é o porto onde estamos [...].

A data mais aceite pela historiografia lusa, do estabelecimento da feitoria portuguesa em Macau, é 1557. Wu Zhiliang, citando o historiador chinês, Dai Yixuan, que pesquisou fontes chinesas e ocidentais afirma serem ambas as datas correctas. A data referenciada pelos registos dos funcionários locais chineses, o 32.º ano do Reinado de Jiajing (1553), refere-se ao ano da entrada dos portugueses em Macau, e 1557, apontada pelas fontes portuguesas, corresponde ao da construção das casas de madeira e de pedra em Macau.³⁹

HISTORIOGRAFIA

Segundo Chang Tien Tse, ao comentar a mudança dos Serviços de Administração de Navios Mercantis para Macau no 14.º ano do Reinado de Jiajing (1535), afirma que esse facto se deveu à tentativa do Governo de Cantão de encontrar um novo local para o comércio externo, proibindo os estrangeiros de irem a Cantão, evitando, assim, qualquer distúrbio para a região do Sul da China.⁴⁰

Os mercadores portugueses instalados em Macau passaram a fazer tranquilamente o seu comércio com os chineses, indo semestralmente às feiras de Cantão adquirir a seda crua, cerâmica e outros produtos, pagando com barras de prata trazidas do Japão.

Se, inicialmente, os portugueses de Macau gozavam de uma certa autonomia, o facto dos estrangeiros frequentarem esse porto para fazer comércio causou a desconfiança chinesa. Wu Zhiliang citando Ye Quan, um letrado chinês, que visitou Macau em 1565, autor da *Crónica de Viagem de Lingnan*, afirmou que:

*[...] o que se verifica hoje em Macau é a reunião de milhares de estrangeiros, que fazem os chineses tornarem-se em criados. Os soldados imperiais acreditados em Macau e os funcionários alfandegários chineses não tinham capacidade suficiente para os controlar senão de tentar apenas tranquilizar, com promessas vagas, o ânimo dos estrangeiros para não se revoltarem. Os estrangeiros que frequentam as feiras marítimas, [...] em vez de se irem embora ao terminar as feiras, deixavam os seus navios e instalavam-se na terra em casas construídas [...].*⁴¹

A carta do padre espanhol, Gregorio Gonzalez, escrita a D. Juan de Borja, embaixador espanhol em Lisboa, é um testemunho valioso para a datação do assentamento dos portugueses em Macau. Diz-nos que:

Eu há vinte anos que estou na Índia de Portugal, e tantos há que fui enviado ao reino da China, pelas muitas guerras que há muitos anos que em tal reino há com portugueses, apesar das quais sempre fizeram seus negócios, até ao ano de cinquenta e três [1553]. E neste tempo vieram notícias à Índia que queriam os chineses fazer pazes com os portugueses, como de facto se fizeram.

E com esta notícia fui para lá enviado, e permaneci na terra no primeiro ano com sete cristãos, onde me cativaram a mim e aos demais até à vinda dos navios no ano seguinte. E no segundo ano [...] permaneci na terra, onde tinha edificado uma igreja de palha. E logo que se vieram os navios para a Índia e para outros reinos, me tornei a deixar ficar na terra com 75 cristãos, onde todos fomos outra vez cativos, sendo derramados por diversas partes, sem saber uns dos outros, gritando os chins comigo, porque me deixava ficar na terra, [...]. E detiveram-nos até ao ano seguinte, [...] [altura em] que chegaram os navios e fomos todos soltos e juntos, e tornei a fazer [uma] igreja, e os portugueses casas donde fiquei conhecido deles [chineses] daí em diante pacificamente.

*[...] [e] donde vim a fazer, no decurso do tempo, que foram doze anos, uma povoação muito grande na ponta da terra firme que se chama Macau, com três igrejas e um hospital de pobres e casa da Misericórdia, que agora é uma povoação que passa de cinco mil almas cristãs. Da qual povoação e trato vem agora à Índia o principal sustento do seu Estado, pelas muitas riquezas que de tal reino a ela e a suas alfândegas vêm.*⁴²

Isto é, o Padre Gregorio Gonzalez afirma ter vindo para Macau em 1553, permitindo as

autoridades de Cantão a presença dos portugueses apenas pelo tempo de fazerem os seus negócios. No entanto, ele continuou em Macau, pelo que foi detido, voltando a ser solto quando, no ano seguinte, os navios portugueses regressaram. Só quando foi permitida a estadia permanente em Macau, onde esteve doze anos (1569) é que o deixaram em paz. Refere a existência de três igrejas, um hospital dos pobres e a Misericórdia de Macau. Ora, estas duas últimas instituições foram criadas por D. Melchior Carneiro, em 1569.

CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS

Desde a chegada de Jorge Álvares à foz do Rio das Pérolas, em 1513, até cerca de 1520, o relacionamento luso-chinês foi positivo, deteriorando-se depois. Com a subida ao trono de D. João III a coroa portuguesa desinteressou-se do comércio chinês, ficando este nas mãos dos privados. Era um comércio ilegal, pelo facto do Império do Meio se ter fechado ao comércio estrangeiro, contra o interesse das províncias marítimas, como Cantão.

Os interesses antagónicos entre a administração central e as províncias marítimas chinesas, levou Rute Saraiva a formular a sua tese. Segundo esta autora, por volta de 1530, abriu-se um debate entre *abolicionistas* e *proibicionistas*, os primeiros adeptos de um comércio com o exterior, embora regulado, e os segundos pela proibição total. Perante a indecisão da administração central, Cantão, interessada no trato marítimo, criou as condições para o restabelecimento de um comércio externo, embora regulado, permitindo o acordo verbal luso-chinês de 1554, entre Leonel de Sousa e o Aitao

de Cantão. Esse acordo possibilitou o assentamento permanente dos portugueses em Macau, em 1557, a que Thomaz⁴³ chamou de ‘República Mercantil de Macau’. É, numa palavra a ‘Fórmula Macau’, do Professor Kai Cheong Fok.⁴⁴

A presença portuguesa em Macau gozou de uma certa autonomia, mas por volta de 1573, os chineses introduziram o ‘foro do chão’ e levantaram a ‘porta do limite ou do cerco’, na parte mais estreita da península, que lhes permitiu vigiar os portugueses.

A presença permanente de uma comunidade de mercadores portugueses em Macau exigiu a criação de uma instituição que garantisse um enquadramento político-administrativo dos seus moradores. Assim, em 1582, uma assembleia de moradores convocada por Melchior Carneiro criou o Senado da Câmara.

Com a primeira vereação do Senado foi criada a Procuratura, em 1583, como órgão de intermediação com as autoridades chinesas, transformada posteriormente em tribunal. O Procurador, tinha funções de juiz nos pleitos entre cristãos e chineses, enquanto um mandarim, residente no território, dirimia os conflitos da comunidade chinesa local.⁴⁵ Em 1595, o Imperador Wanli (1573–1620) aprovou também o regime municipal, dando ao Procurador do Senado o grau de mandarim de segunda classe, com jurisdição sumária sobre os chineses de Macau.

Conclui, finalmente, que a solução encontrada pelas autoridades de Cantão para acantonar e controlar os portugueses em Macau, foi positiva e durou até 20 de Dezembro de 1999. **RC**

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- 1 Luís Adão da Fonseca, *Vasco da Gama: O Homem, a Viagem, a Época* (Lisboa: Comissariado da Exposição Mundial de Lisboa de 1998, 1997), 214, <http://hdl.handle.net/10216/20463>.
- 2 Gonçalo Mesquitela, *História de Macau*, vol. 1, tomo 1, *Do Sonho do “Catayo” à Realidade da “Chyna”, 1498-1557* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1996), 36.

- 3 M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1300*, 2.^a ed. (Londres: Macmillan, 1993), 23–24.
- 4 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, “A Coroa Portuguesa e a China (1508-1531) — Do Sonho Manuelino ao Realismo Joanino,” em *Estudos de História do Relacionamento Luso-Chinês: Séculos XVI-XIX* (Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1996), 16–17.

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- 5 Pedro Marquês de Sousa, “O Conflito entre a China e Portugal (1521-1522). A Importância da Artilharia,” *Revista Militar*, acessado em 17 de Maio de 2023, <https://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/1547>.
- 6 Luís Filipe Barreto, “Portugal – China: Padrões de Um Relacionamento Multissecurar,” *Revista Militar*, acessado em 17 de Maio de 2023, <https://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/1285>.
- 7 Siyuan Ma, “Um Olhar Português sobre a China. As Relações Luso-Chinesas nas Obras de Alguns Autores Portugueses” (dissertação de mestrado, Universidade de Aveiro, 2015), 17, <https://ria.ua.pt/bitstream/10773/14618/1/Tese.pdf>.
- 8 Cf. Isaú Santos, “As Relações Luso-Chinesas através de Macau nos Séculos XVI e XVII,” *Revista de Cultura* (Edição Portuguesa), n.º 7–8 (1989): 3–14, <http://www.icm.gov.mo/rc/viewer/30007/1506#LAB3000700020001>.
- 9 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, 3.ª ed., vol. IV (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1928), 6, citado em Zhiliang Wu, “O Encontro Luso-Chinês em Macau,” *Administração* 9, n.º 3 (Setembro 1996): 664.
- 10 Paulo Sousa Pinto, “A Oriente de Malaca a China Ming e a Estratégia Global de Afonso de Albuquerque,” em *Memórias 2015* (Lisboa: Academia de Marinha, 2016), 254, https://run.unl.pt/bitstream/10362/28820/1/2016_A_Oriente_de_Malaca.pdf.
- 11 Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, *Subsídios para a História da Índia Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Ciências, 1868), 10, <https://purl.pt/26821>.
- 12 Ma, “Um Olhar Português,” 17.
- 13 K. M. Panikkar, *A Dominação Ocidental na Ásia: Do Século XV aos Nossos Dias*, 3.ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1977), 72. K. M. Panikkar escreveu uma história das relações da Europa com os países da Ásia, com início em 1498, com a chegada de Vasco da Gama à Índia, até a retirada dos britânicos da Índia em 1947 e da China em 1949.
- 14 Yanwu Gu, *Estudos sobre as Vantagens e Desvantagens de Todos os Países do Mundo*, vol. 130, citado em Wu, “Encontro,” 666.
- 15 Wu, “Encontro,” 666.
- 16 Cristóvão Vieira e Vasco Calvo, *Cartas dos Cativos de Cantão: Cristóvão Vieira e Vasco Calvo (1524?)*, com introdução de Rui Manuel Loureiro (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992), 28–29.
- 17 Folangji 佛郎機, nome dados aos portugueses pelos árabes desde as Cruzadas, e adoptado pelos chineses.
- 18 *Anais Ming: Crónicas de Folangji*, citado em Wu, “Encontro,” 667.
- 19 Guo Ping Jin e Zhiliang Wu, “Uma Embaixada com Dois Embaixadores — Novos Dados Orientais sobre Tomé Pires e Hoja Yasan,” *Administração* 16, n.º 2 (Junho 2003): 685–715.
- 20 José Alberto da Silva Almada e Alves Guimarães, “A Evolução da Diplomacia Luso-Chinesa: Pragmatismo, Influência e Soberania sobre Macau” (dissertação de mestrado, Universidade do Minho, 2014), 30, <http://repositorium.sdm.uminho.pt/bitstream/1822/32174/3/Jos%20c%3a9%20Alberto%20da%20Silva%20Almada%20e%20Alves%20Guimar%20a%3es.pdf>.
- 21 Wu, “Encontro,” 669–670.
- 22 Rute Saraiva, “Ventos de Este, Ventos de Oeste: A ‘Questão de Macau’ nas Relações Luso-Chinesas” (Revisão e actualização de um relatório de mestrado, Universidade de Lisboa, 2004), 9, <https://www.fd.ulisboa.pt/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Saraiva-Rute-Ventos-de-Este-Ventos-de-Oeste.-A-Questao-de-Macau-nas-relacoes-luso-chinesas.pdf>.
- 23 Saraiva, “Ventos de Este,” 8–11.
- 24 Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, *Enformação das Causas da China: Textos do Século XVI*, com introdução de Raffaella D’Intino (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1989), 60, nota 5, <https://purl.pt/26862>. Carta escrita pelo Padre Francisco Xavier S. J., com base possivelmente em informações de um mercador de Sanchoão. Texto transcrito por Adelino Moreira Calado, em *Separata do Boletim da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. XXIV (1957), 113 e ss.
- 25 Gaspar da Cruz, *Tratado Em Que, Se Contam Muito por Extenso as Causas da China com Suas Particularidades e assim do Reino de Ormuz* (Macau: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1996), 131, <https://purl.pt/26733>.
- 26 Saraiva, “Ventos de Este,” 10.
- 27 Ma, “Um Olhar Português,” 18.
- 28 A carta de Leonel de Sousa foi retirada de uma antologia com o título “O Primeiro Acordo Luso-Chinês: Realizado por Leonel de Sousa em 1554,” *Revista de Cultura* (Edição Portuguesa), n.º 1 (1987): 114 e ss., disponível em <http://www.icm.gov.mo/rc/viewer/30001/1375>, onde refere que foi reproduzido por J. M. Braga.
- 29 Os conteúdos entre aspas são da responsabilidade do autor.
- 30 Lourenço Maria da Conceição, *Macau entre Dois Tratados com a China: 1862–1887* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988), 8–9.
- 31 David Filipe Loureiro Branco, “Portugal e Macau: Que Chão Há?” (dissertação de mestrado, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2019), 6, <http://hdl.handle.net/10362/65410>.
- 32 Manuel Teixeira, *Primórdios de Macau* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1990), 11.
- 33 Wu, “Encontro,” 665–667.
- 34 Jordão de Freitas, *Macau: Materiais para a Sua História no Século XVI* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988). Este estudo foi originalmente publicado no *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vol. VIII, n.º 5–7 (1910), e posteriormente na revista *Mosaico*, vol. 11, n.º 59–61, (s.l.: Círculo Cultural de Macau, 1951), com prefácio do editor, António Nolasco da Silva.
- 35 Guangren Yin 印光任 and Rulin Zhang 張汝霖, *Monografia de Macau 澳門記略*, ed. Chunchen Zhao 趙春晨 (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodengjiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 20–21, citado em Wu, “Encontro,” 672–673.
- 36 Luís Filipe Barreto, “Macau: Fronteira Intercultural no Período Ming,” *Clio, Nova Série* 6 (2002): 123.
- 37 José Simões Morais, “Leonel de Sousa e o Tratado de 1554,”

- Hoje Macau*, 9 de Setembro de 2019, <https://hojemacau.com.mo/2019/09/09/leonel-de-sousa-e-o-tratado-de-1554/>.
- 38 Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau*, vol. 1, *Séculos XVI, XVII, XVIII*, 3.^a ed. (Macau: Livros do Oriente, 2015), 50. Refere que a carta de Fernão Mendes Pinto, escrita em Macau, a 20 de Novembro de 1555, ao Padre Baltasar Dias, Reitor do Colégio de Goa, foi o primeiro documento conhecido em que surge o nome de Macau, sob a designação de Amaquao ou Ama Cuao. A crítica afirma tratar-se de erro do copista, ao escrever Macau em vez de Lampacau.
- 39 Wu, “Encontro,” 673.
- 40 Wu, “Encontro,” 676.
- 41 Wu, “Encontro,” 674.
- 42 Este padre devia ser franciscano. Os primeiros chegaram à Índia em 1500, com Pedro Álvares Cabral, veja-se Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, *A Expansão Portuguesa: Um Prisma de Muitas Faces* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2021), 144.
- 43 Thomaz, *Expansão Portuguesa*, 143.
- 44 Kai Cheong Fok, “The Macao Formula: A Study of Chinese Management of Westerners from the Mid-Sixteenth Century to the Opium War Period” (dissertação de doutoramento, Universidade do Havaí, 1978). O Professor Fok, pesquisando sistematicamente as fontes chinesas, mostra-nos que a presença portuguesa no litoral chinês foi sempre objecto de vigilância, primeiro pelas autoridades da província de Guangdong, depois de Pequim. Não só consideravam os portugueses como piratas, como houve quem considerasse, a nível do poder político chinês, que a presença portuguesa em Macau era uma ‘úlcer’, um corpo estranho, que devia ser extirpado antes que rebentasse. O Professor Fok constata que, até finais do século XVIII, os portugueses nunca tentaram obter a soberania do território, mas apenas uma autonomia política e administrativa. Na “Macao Formula”, este autor concluiu que o assentamento e a permanência dos portugueses em Macau, teve, como base, não qualquer doação, mas uma política de compromissos.
- 45 José Gabriel Mariano, “A Procuratura dos Negócios Sínicos (1583-1894),” *O Direito Online* 法, acessado em 18 de Maio de 2023, <https://www.odireitoonline.com/a-procuratura-dos-negocios-sinicos-1583-1894.html>.

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Camões na gruta de Macau, pintura a óleo sobre tela do pintor português Francisco Augusto Metrass realizada em 1853.

The Third Silk Road: Pirates, Buried Treasure, and Sunken Ships

ROBERT J. ANTONY*

ABSTRACT: Most people know something about the overland Silk Road, but less about the maritime Silk Road, although both are equally important in history. Discussions about both the overland and maritime Silk Roads have focused on their importance in facilitating international trade and cultural exchanges. However, there is a third Silk Road, one that is seldom if ever mentioned, but is also important to history, archaeology, and cultural heritage. This third Silk Road is the pirates' Silk Road. Wherever there was a flourishing trade, there were sure to be pirates who preyed on that trade, and who also created their own networks of exchange through black markets and friendly ports. Wherever there was cultural exchange, there were pirates who actively participated in cultural dissemination. In this article, I develop these themes with specific examples from history (with a focus on East and Southeast Asia). First, I discuss the routes relating to the maritime Silk Road and their connections to piracy. Next, I examine several pirate lairs located along these routes, places where pirates purportedly buried their treasures. Then I discuss the exciting field of maritime archaeology to examine what has been uncovered about alleged sunken pirate ships along the maritime Silk Road. Finally, I explore some of the contributions that pirates have made to the dissemination of folk religion and popular culture, as well as possible contributions that the pirates' Silk Road can make to contemporary historical and cultural heritage projects.

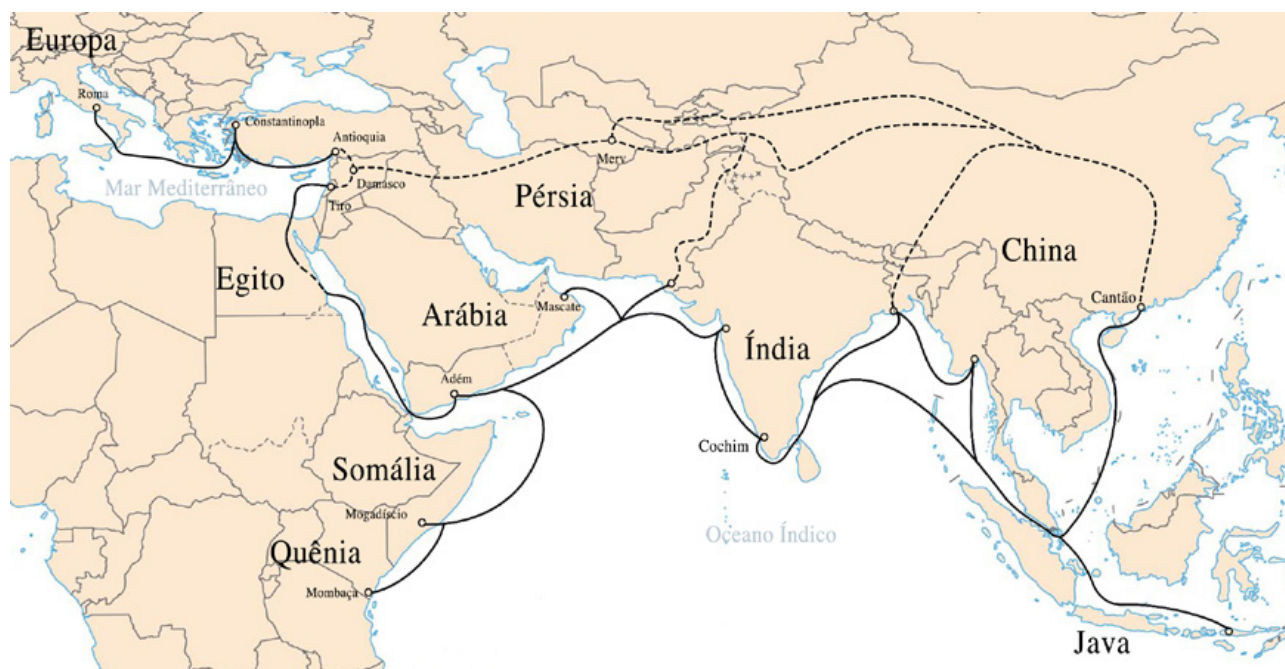
KEYWORDS: Maritime Silk Road; Piracy; Maritime archaeology; Cultural heritage; South China.

Today few, if any, people have never heard of the Silk Road. While most people know something about the overland Silk Road, they know less about the maritime Silk Road, although both are equally

significant in Chinese and world history. Discussions about both the overland and maritime Silk Roads have focused on their importance in facilitating international trade and cultural exchanges. Map 1

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Map 1: Overland and maritime Silk Roads, geospatial routes made by the editorial team. Base map source: The standard map service system, Shen tu hao 審圖號: GS(2016)1667, Ministry of Natural Resources of the People's Republic of China.

depicts a modern map of the overland and maritime Silk Roads. In this essay, after a short discussion of the better-known overland and maritime Silk Roads, I will explore in more detail another Silk Road — what I call the pirates' Silk Road.

1. OVERLAND AND MARITIME SILK ROADS

The vast trade networks of the Silk Road carried more than just merchandise and precious commodities, and in fact, the constant movement and mixing of populations brought about the widespread transmission of knowledge, cultures, and beliefs, all of which had a profound impact on the history and civilisations of Asian and European peoples. The name 'Silk Road', of course, derives from the precious commodity of silk produced in China and transported by caravans overland to the Roman Empire beginning in the 1st century BCE, where silk was a luxury item strictly regulated by the government to control prices and usage. The overland Silk Road was actually made

up of many roads and silk was not the only commodity. In fact, trade routes constantly shifted according to changes in climate and governments, as well as the risks of wars and bands of marauders along the route.¹

As for the maritime Silk Road, its origins can be traced back to links between the Arabian Peninsula, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley Civilisation thousands of years ago. By the Early Middle Ages, there was an expansion of this maritime trading network, as sailors and merchants from the Arabian Peninsula opened new trading routes across the Arabian Sea and into the Indian Ocean. In fact, maritime trade links were established between Arabia and China since at least the 8th century CE. Like the overland Silk Road, the maritime Silk Road also developed several routes that shifted over time. These maritime routes that seafarers established actually became the longest, most regularly, and most heavily travelled sea lanes in the world, even after 1492, at the start of the so-called European Age of Discovery. During this early period

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Map 2: Zheng He's voyages, from 1405 to 1433, geospatial routes made by the editorial team. Base map source: The standard map service system, Shen tu hao 審圖號: GS(2016)1663, Ministry of Natural Resources of the People's Republic of China.

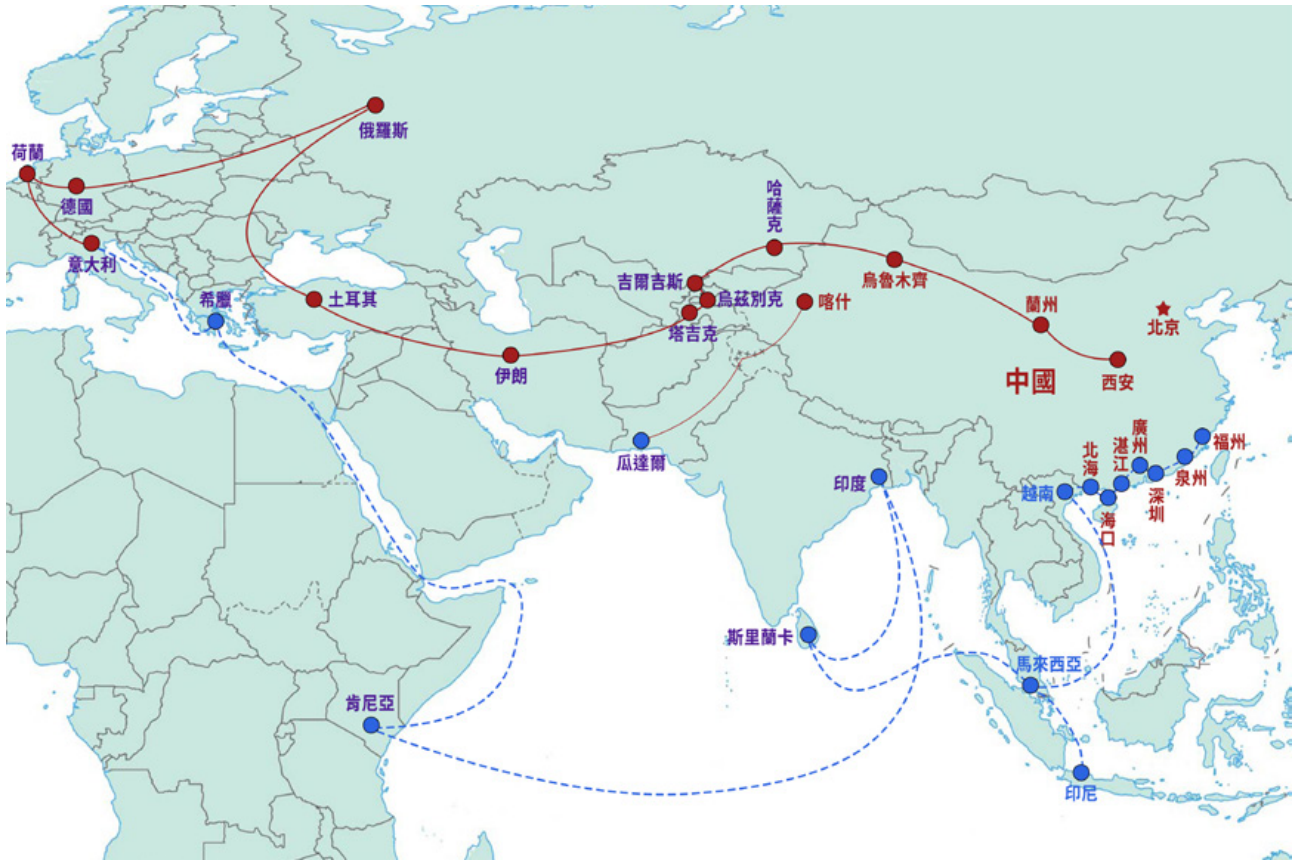
of the maritime Silk Road, Middle Eastern Muslim traders dominated the maritime trading routes.²

At first the Chinese were not directly engaged in operating their own ships along the maritime Silk Road. By the late 11th century, however, Chinese merchants became increasingly involved in direct trade along these sea routes. In fact, during the Song dynasty (960–1279), the Chinese gradually assumed the dominant position in long-distance maritime trade, thanks to innovations in shipbuilding, the introduction of the mariner's compass, and other technological advances. At that time, China experienced a commercial

revolution with the tremendous growth of cities, markets, and money economy.³ Large coastal cities developed around the most frequently visited ports along maritime trading routes, including Guangzhou and Quanzhou in China, as well as in Zanzibar, Alexandria, Muscat, and Goa outside China. These cities became wealthy centres for the exchange of goods, ideas, languages, and religions, with large markets and continually shifting populations of Muslim and Asian merchants, officials, sailors, and travellers.⁴

Then in the early 15th century during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), a Chinese Muslim by the

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Map 3: China's Belt and Road Initiative Map, geospatial routes made by the editorial team. Base map source: The standard map service system, Shen tu hao 審圖號: GS(2016)1666, Ministry of Natural Resources of the People's Republic of China.

name of Zheng He (鄭和) led the famous Chinese 'treasure ships' that explored Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and East Africa, almost a hundred years before Columbus and Vasco da Gama set off to explore the world. Between 1405 and 1433, Zheng led seven voyages that followed the ancient sailing routes that were well established by Chinese and Arab predecessors along the maritime Silk Road. His fleet reportedly consisted of more than 300 ships, including 62 treasure ships, which were loaded with silks, porcelains, and other precious items to trade for exotic products of the South China Sea, Indian Ocean, and African continent. It was also said that his fleet carried 30,000 sailors, merchants, and soldiers. While some scholars claim Zheng He's voyages aimed

at peaceful trade, other scholars claim that they were about 'gunboat diplomacy', coercion, and recognition of Ming dominance in Asia. What we know for certain is that he re-established China's tributary system along the maritime trade routes in the South China Sea.⁵ Map 2 depicts the famous Zheng He voyages, as he retraced the ancient maritime Silk Road.

In 2013, Xi Jinping (習近平) revitalised the maritime Silk Road as an important component of China's 'One Belt, One Road' development initiative, whereby maritime routes linked with overland routes to connect China with eastern Africa, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean through the Suez Canal. This 21st-century initiative actually follows in the footsteps of Zheng He and other earlier traders, scholars, and

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adventurers who first developed the maritime and overland Silk Roads a thousand years ago. Aside from commerce, another important aim of this initiative is to promote understandings of cultural diversity across Eurasia and to protect cultural heritage sites. To this end, in 2016, the Chinese government pledged to promote mutual endeavours with other countries to explore relics and sites along the ancient maritime Silk Road and obtain UNESCO status for them. The emphasis has been on developing ‘people-to-people’ engagements to focus on culture, education, science, and tourism. China has substantially invested in joint projects in art, cinematography, museums, and festivals, and in particular, China has cooperated with Singapore, Sri Lanka, and Kenya in archaeological expeditions to search for the remains of Zheng He’s fleets. These initiatives have helped to raise public awareness about each country’s maritime history and their connections to China.⁶ Map 3 sketches the 21st-Century Silk Road.

2. THE PIRATES’ SILK ROAD

There is a third Silk Road, one that is seldom if ever mentioned, but is also important to history, archaeology, and even heritage conservation. This third Silk Road is what I call the pirates’ Silk Road. Wherever there was a flourishing trade, there were sure to be pirates who preyed on that trade, and who also created their own networks of exchange through black markets. Wherever there was cultural exchange, there were pirates, usually in the background, who actively participated in cultural dissemination. The pirates’ Silk Road, however, was not transoceanic, but rather remained regional and local. South Asian pirates by and large operated in the waters of the Indian Ocean, while Chinese and Southeast Asian pirates by and large operated in the South China Sea and in their respective coastal waters. Nonetheless, piracy had a great impact on the larger maritime Silk Road as a whole.⁷

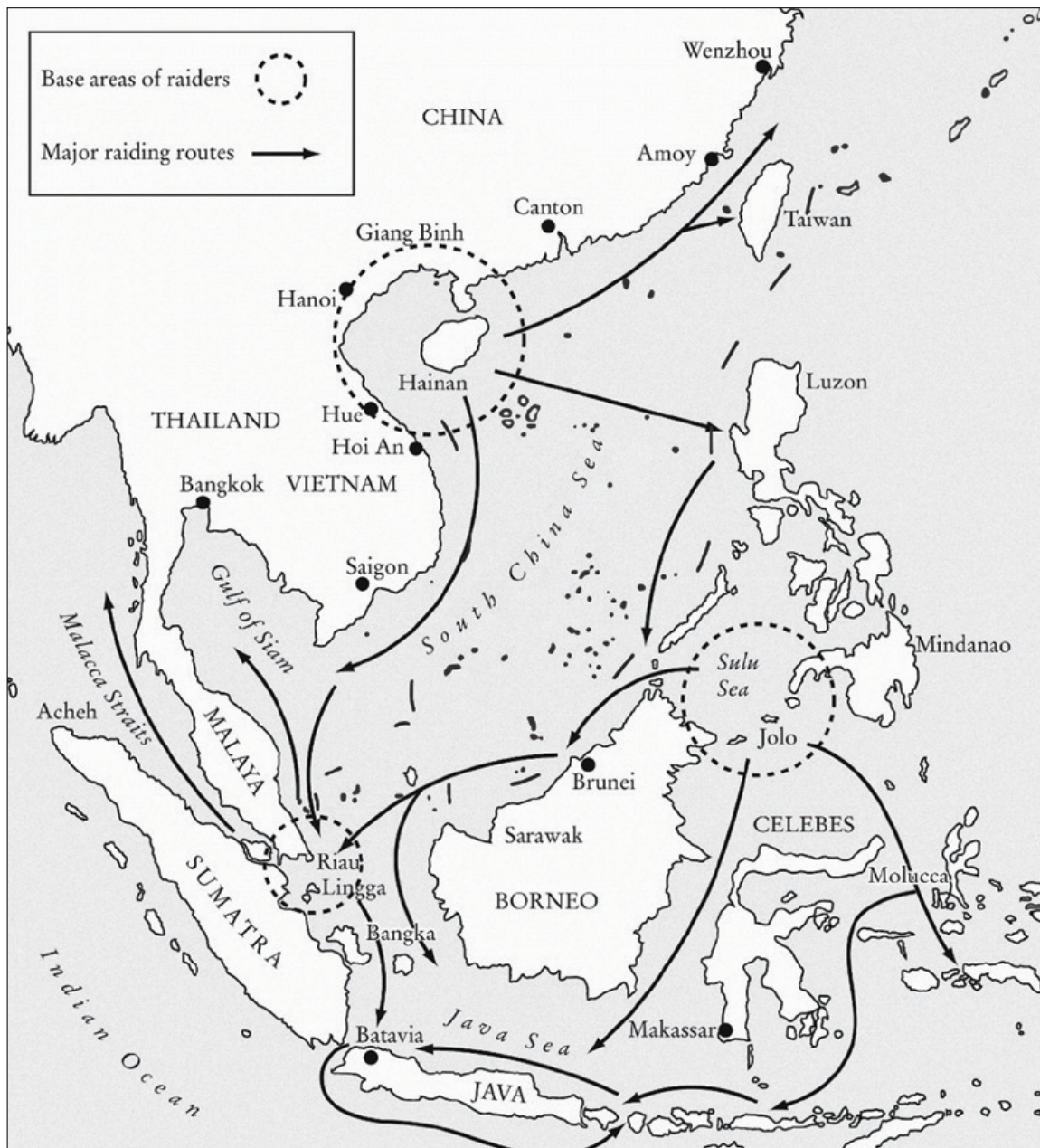
In the remainder of this article, I will develop

these themes with specific examples from history. My focus will be on the South China Sea region of southern China and south-eastern Asia. First, I will consider several well-known and less-known pirate lairs, places where pirates allegedly buried their treasures and operated clandestine trading markets. Next, I will discuss the exciting field of maritime archaeology to analyse what has been uncovered about sunken pirate ships along the maritime Silk Road. Finally, I will examine the role of pirates in cultural dissemination and popular culture today, and in conclusion I will suggest a few possible ways to preserve and open up for tourism several important sites along the pirates’ Silk Road.

Maritime traders faced many challenges on their lengthy journeys, including deadly illnesses and injuries at sea, running short of fresh water and food, and shipwrecks due to storms and rocky coasts. But an even greater and constant danger was pirates. Many ships carried valuable cargos that made them attractive targets, especially to many of the poor seafarers who lived along the coasts. From ancient times to the present, there have always been pirates active all along the maritime Silk Road. These included both indigenous Chinese and Southeast Asian pirates as well as pirates from Japan and Europe. Let me first briefly mention a famous South Asian ‘pirate’ who operated in the Indian Ocean. His name was Kanhoji Angre (also known as Conajee Angria or Sarkhel Angre, 1669–1729). He was a local ruler of the Colaba State and an Indian admiral of the Maratha Navy. He was noted for his devastating attacks on European merchant ships. For his actions, Europeans called him a ‘pirate’. However, in his homeland, he is remembered as a hero and freedom fighter.⁸

Among the many European pirates operating in the Indian Ocean and in the waters in and around Southeast Asia in the 17th and 18th centuries, I will name a few. During the mid-1680s, buccaneer William Dampier was aboard several pirate and privateer ships

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Map 4: The pirates' Silk Road. Created by the author.

that robbed Spanish and Portuguese vessels between Manila and Malacca. In 1683, the English freebooter Samuel White had organised a fleet of native craft, sanctioned by the King of Siam, to pillage shipping in the Bay of Bengal and off the coast of Aceh. Perhaps

the most famous European pirate to venture into the Indian Ocean and Red Sea was Capt. William Kidd in the late 18th century.⁹ All of these Western pirates operated along the routes that had long been established as the maritime Silk Road.

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A century earlier, there were also Japanese pirates, usually labelled *wokou* (倭寇) in historical accounts, who appeared in Southeast Asian waters where they mingled trade with plunder. They too followed the ancient maritime Silk Road routes. In the 1550s, Vietnamese officials reported the activities of Japanese pirates on their coast.¹⁰ In 1585, for instance, a Japanese merchant-pirate named Shirahama Kenki (白濱頭貴) arrived in central Vietnam (an area at the time controlled by the Nguyen regime) in five large ships and plundered several coastal villages. Four years later, when he tried to return as a 'lawful merchant', Vietnamese officials apprehended him and threw him in jail.¹¹ Also in the 1580s, the Spanish reported Japanese pirates who repeatedly harassed shipping and towns in the Philippines from bases on Luzon.¹²

What about Chinese piracy along the south coast of China and in the South China Sea? Here too there were many pirates, most of whom came from southern China. Among the most famous Chinese pirates were Wang Zhi (王直/汪直), Baldy Li (李光頭 Li Guangtou), Lin Feng (林鳳), and Wu Ping (吳平) in the 16th century during the Ming dynasty; Li Dan (李旦), Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍), Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功), and Yang Yandi/Yang Er (楊彥迪/楊二) in the 17th century during the Ming–Qing dynastic wars; and Zheng Yi (鄭一), Zheng Yi Sao (鄭一嫂), Wushi Er (烏石二), Zhang Bao/Zhang Baozai (張保/張保仔), and Cai Qian (蔡牽) during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.¹³ Map 4 illustrates three of the major pirate base areas and pirate sailing routes across the South China Sea in the early modern period.

3. PIRATE LAIRS AND FRIENDLY PORTS ALONG THE MARITIME SILK ROAD

I would like to turn our attention to the pirate lairs and friendly ports that appeared from time to time all along the maritime Silk Road, and in particular on the South China Coast and in the South China Sea. There are, of course, too many to discuss here,

so I will only briefly name a few places. First, I would like to point out that Chinese pirates established bases not only in remote out-of-the-way places (such as Weizhou Island [潯洲島] in the Gulf of Tonkin) and places with divided jurisdictions (such as Nan'ao Island [南澳島] on the Guangdong–Fujian border), but also in core commercial and political areas (such as in the Pearl River Delta in the vicinity of the provincial capital of Guangzhou). There were also many large and small black markets and 'friendly ports' — nominally legitimate ports that welcomed and serviced pirates and smugglers — in these areas as well.¹⁴

Two of the most famous pirates to have had bases on Nan'ao Island were the mid-Ming pirate Wu Ping and later Zheng Chenggong (or Koxinga [國姓爺], as he is better known in the West). Wu Ping had operated clandestine trading enterprises with other so-called *wokou* pirates for more than 20 years before fleeing to Vietnam in 1565. At that time, he commanded a fleet of more than 400 pirate ships, which were active along the coasts of Fujian and north-eastern Guangdong. As his primary base of operations, he chose Nan'ao, an island strategically located along the major North–South trading route and whose administration was split between the two above mentioned provincial jurisdictions. On the island, he built a stockade where he settled his family and amassed provisions, armaments, and loot. Today there is still a village on the island called Wu Ping's Stockade (吳平寨村).¹⁵ Although most scholars today would not include Zheng Chenggong as a pirate, nonetheless during his lifetime, Qing officials and his many victims labelled him as a pirate and rebel. He too had one of his major bases on Nan'ao Island.¹⁶

The *Ladrones* (a name derived from Spanish and Portuguese seafarers) were the so-called 'Pirate Islands' located near the mouth of the Pearl River, and included islands near Hong Kong and Macao. Pirates, such as Zhang Baozai, in the early 19th century even established lairs deep inside the Pearl River Delta.

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Fig. 1: Stone inscription of 1810, banning settlement on Weizhou Island. Photograph by the author.

One such lair was the tiny island named ‘Dragon’s Lair Island’ (龍穴島), a name derived from Chinese geomancy — *fengshui* (風水). The ‘dragon’s lair’ was the most optimal site receiving the earth’s vital energy — *qi* (氣), and therefore the best place to locate graves, houses, villages, and in this case even a pirate stronghold.¹⁷ I will say more about Dragon’s Lair Island later.

The history of Macao is closely associated with piracy. It is often said that the Portuguese acquired Macao as a result of helping the Chinese Ming government suppress piracy in the area in the 1550s. Yet some Chinese sources claim that actually the Portuguese were pirates who kidnapped Chinese women and children to sell into slavery. While there is some truth in both stories, the undeniable fact is that the waters around Macao had always been notorious for piratical activities. Even centuries before the Portuguese settled Macao, neighbouring islands served as pirate bases. One of the earliest pirates was Huang Yi, who had strongholds on Great Hengqin (Montanha) and Small Hengqin (Dom João) islands in the 14th century. But perhaps the



Fig. 2: Purported Righteous Yang’s canal. Photograph by the author.

most notorious pirates were Zhang Baozai and Zheng Yi Sao who operated out of bases on Taipa and other nearby islands in the first decade of the 19th century. In the early 20th century, a female pirate known as Lai Choi San (來財山) was dubbed ‘the Queen of Macao pirates’ in Western accounts. For about a decade, she and her gang controlled Macao’s fishing industry through a systematic extortion racket and collusion with local merchants and officials. While Macao served as an important friendly port for pirates and smugglers, the nearby islands, such as Taipa, Coloane, and Hengqin, served as pirate bases throughout the 18th to early 20th centuries.¹⁸

The Gulf of Tonkin was peppered with countless pirate lairs. On the Chinese side of the Vietnamese border, Weizhou and Longmen (龍門) islands were two of the most important pirate bases between the 16th and early 19th centuries. Since at least the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), Weizhou was a notorious resort of pirates, smugglers, and illegal squatters. The island had plenty of fresh water, firewood, and paddy fields to keep pirates replenished. Although Ming and Qing officials repeatedly attempted to make the island off-limits, they were unsuccessful. In 1810, for example, Governor-General Bai Ling (百齡) issued a proclamation, engraved on a stone inscription (Fig. 1),

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that permanently banned any settlement on Weizhou and neighbouring Xieyang (斜陽) islands. Despite such prohibitions, nonetheless in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, several pirate chieftains, such as Zheng Yi and Wushi Er, established permanent camps on Weizhou island.¹⁹

Also, in the Gulf of Tonkin, during the 17th century, Longmen and several nearby islands were notorious havens for pirates and dissidents who opposed the new Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Deng Yao (鄧耀) and Yang Yandi (楊彥迪) were two of the most famous pirate-rebels who used Longmen as a base during the Ming–Qing dynastic wars. Yang Yandi, who was called ‘Righteous Yang’ by local villagers, built a fortress and one or more canals near Longmen. Figure 2 is a recent photo of what remains of one of the canals. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, even after military bases were established on the island, pirates and smugglers continued to operate in the area, but had moved their bases to other islands, such as Ox Head Island (牛頭山) in Fangcheng Harbour (防城港).²⁰

On the Vietnamese side of the border, Chang Son, Cat Ba, and Van Don islands served as important pirate and smuggler bases in the early modern period. They were all situated near the Red River estuary and along major coasting routes. Van Don, which had been northern Vietnam’s most important legitimate port in the early 15th century, had by the next century degenerated into a minor port and then a pirate and smuggler anchorage. In 1838, Vietnamese patrols exterminated pirates on Chang Son Island, where they had built some fifty huts and planted 500 hectares of rice. Cat Ba Island remained a notorious pirate lair until the French destroyed it in 1877.²¹

Map 5, which is a section of a late 18th-century coastal defence map of Guangdong province, shows several pirate islands, such as Big Rat Island (大老鼠山), Small Rat Island (小老鼠山), Dog Head Island (狗頭山), and Snake Island (蛇山), which were

situated in the vicinity of the trading ports of Dongxing (東興), Zhushan (竹山), and Mong Cai on the border between China and Vietnam. These bases were also near the black markets around Jiangping/Giang Binh (江坪), which was nominally under Vietnam’s authority until the late 19th century. These pirate lairs, on the Sino–Vietnamese sea frontier, were unambiguously situated in an area of imprecise and contested jurisdictions. Pirates selected such places for their bases for the convenience of both raiding and trading.²²

Besides Macao, other cities and port towns served as friendly ports, that is, as free markets that served both legitimate merchants and the illegitimate trade of pirates and smugglers. In Vietnam, the ancient port of Pho Hien in the Red River Delta, Hoi An in the centre, and Ha Tien in the southern Mekong Delta were the most famous friendly ports trading with pirates in the 18th and 19th centuries. Further to the south in Southeast Asia, the more famous pirate nests were in Malacca and Palembang in southern Sumatra. Between the 15th and 18th centuries, Malacca developed from a small fishing village into a major international port, which served both as a commercial *entrepôt* and pirates’ black market. The earliest ruler was a man named Parameswara, who according to tradition founded the city in 1402. There are two opinions about the man: one view says he was a vicious pirate, who led plundering raids against villages and ships, and another view says he was a fearless prince whose raids were justifiable warfare against Malacca’s enemies. Palembang has a similar history as being both a commercial *entrepôt* and pirates’ black market. During the time of Zheng He’s famous voyages, the leader of Palembang was a Cantonese merchant named Chen Zuyi (陳祖義). He too was accused of being a vicious pirate. In 1407, Zheng He attacked and captured Chen Zuyi, who was shackled and taken to Beijing where he was executed as a pirate.²³

In the Philippines, Sulu was another famous base for piracy for many centuries. In the late 18th and



Map 5: Late 18th-century map of Sino-Vietnamese border. Owned by the author.

early 19th centuries, the Sulu archipelago was one of the major centres for Southeast Asian sea raiding. Its towns and villages, which were constructed mainly on pilings above the water for easy access to boats, were notorious as pirate lairs and black markets. Iranun and Balangingi raiders, and their Tausog overlords, created a highly organised, large-scale operation which extended throughout insular Southeast Asia and to the shores of Thailand and southern Vietnam. Sulu sultans and *datus* (chiefs or nobles) supported raiders for a share of the booty. Marauding cruises were regular, annual undertakings, dubbed by their victims as the so-called Pirate Winds. In the winter during the north-east monsoons, raiders set sail from their Sulu bases to plunder ships and villages in the Celebes, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and Malacca, and in the autumn, they returned home with the south-east monsoons with their ships laden with booty (see Map 4).²⁴

4. PIRATE BURIED TREASURE?

There are many famous stories about pirates' buried treasure in Western history and in literature. The best examples are legends of William Kidd's hidden treasures in several places along the New England coast of the United States (most famously on Gardiners Island off the eastern coast of Long Island, New York).²⁵ In literature, of course, everyone knows the adventure novel *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis

Stevenson, first published in 1881. But what about pirates' buried treasures in Asia along the maritime Silk Road? Below are a few stories, mostly legends and hearsay, that I have come across while doing fieldwork over the past 30 years. Although some of these stories I read in books and magazines, most were told to me by fisher folk and local coastal residents in southern China.

There are several legends about Wu Ping and his buried treasure. One concerns his sister, who may not even be a real person. Wu Ping was a notorious 16th-century pirate who established a base on Nan'ao Island (as mentioned above). According to one legend, after Wu Ping occupied the island, he built a fortified stronghold where he settled his family and stockpiled weapons and other provisions, as well as hid his treasure in 18 large containers that he buried in secret in 18 places across the island. In 1565, after a fierce battle with Ming General Qi Jiguang (戚繼光), Wu Ping decided to flee the island. However, when his younger sister (whose name we do not know) refused to leave the treasure behind, Wu Ping killed her, chopped her into 18 pieces, and buried her with his treasure. I was told that he did this to ensure that she would protect his treasure as an angry ghost. Today, Wu Ping's sister is venerated on Nan'ao Island as a treasure protecting goddess (Fig. 3).²⁶

There is also the legend of 'Yang Er Sanpo' (楊二三婆), well known among people living along

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Fig. 3: The goddess Wu Ping's sister, Nan'ao Island. Photograph by the author.

the coast of the Gulf of Tonkin. The legend of Yang Yandi, who is also known as Yang the Second (Yang Er) and his third wife (Sanpo) is very similar to that of Wu Ping and his sister. As mentioned above, Yang was a famous pirate during the Ming–Qing transition in the Gulf of Tonkin. According to one legend, with the help of spirit soldiers, he built a fortress near Longmen Island and he took the title of king. Today the ruins of his fortress is still called the ‘King’s City’ (王城). In 1681, when the Qing armies attacked his fortress, Yang prepared to escape to Vietnam. However, his third wife refused to leave. In a fit of rage, Yang killed and buried her by throwing her into a deep well where he had hidden his treasure. In this legend, his third wife was transformed into a ghostly bird that local

villagers call ‘Yang Er’s Third Wife’ (Yang Er Sanpo). Each morning, nearby villagers still say that they hear the bird-ghost crying out to curse her wicked husband who murdered her. Up to today people dare not use the land near the ruins of Yang Er’s fortress because they say it is haunted and cursed.²⁷

Zhang Baozai was certainly one of the most famous pirates in Chinese history. He was most active along the Guangdong coast in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Together with the female pirate Zheng Yi Sao, they led a formidable fleet of more than 20,000 pirates and had several bases in the Pearl River Delta and coastal area of central Guangdong. Perhaps his most famous base was on Cheung Chau Island (長洲島) (belonging to Hong Kong), where today tourists and school children regularly visit his so-called cave, where he was supposed to have hidden his booty. He also had another hideout in a cave on Dragon’s Lair Island (in the Pearl River Delta near Humen [虎門]), which today also attracts many tourists. Inside his cave is the statue of a deified Zhang Baozai.

5. SUNKEN PIRATE SHIPS ALONG THE MARITIME SILK ROAD

Besides buried treasures in caves and on remote offshore islands, marine archaeologists tell us about their discoveries of sunken ships that they believe may have been pirate vessels. In recent years, one of the most exciting areas of research has been Asian maritime archaeology. There are more than 3,000 ancient sunken ships along the Chinese coast, and even more in other waters along the maritime Silk Road.²⁸

None of these finds, however, have been verified as pirate ships. There are many shipwrecks off the Nan’ao coast, an area, as mentioned earlier, that was prone to piracy. One of the most interesting sunken ships dates from the late Ming dynasty. The remains of the ship that has become known as the *Nan’ao Number One* (南澳一號) was discovered by Chinese fishermen in 2007, and the underwater archaeological excavation

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Fig. 4: Zheng Lianchang's stone inscription, Lei Yue Mun Tin Hau Temple. This is the rubbing obtained by the author from the temple.

began in 2009. A number of archaeologists estimate the ship sailed during the mid-16th century, in the mid-Ming period, a time when China had several bans against maritime commerce. At another time, this ship would have been a legitimate merchant ship, following the busy Silk Road sea trading routes. But when China instituted sea bans, maritime trade became criminalised as piracy and smuggling. Officially, therefore, the *Nan'ao* ship was likely sailing along the coast illegally and would have been considered a pirate ship by the Ming government. Its cargo of ceramics, ironware, tea, and copper coins would have been considered contraband. The cargo of ceramics and ironware would have been used mainly for ballast, while the most valued cargo would have been the tea and copper coins. In addition to the cargo, *Nan'ao Number One* stands out for its weaponry, namely bronze cannons —



Fig. 5: The goddess Zheng Zuxi, Baishahu. Photograph by the author.

a necessary tool of the trade for merchants, pirates, and smugglers during this period. There are other scholars and journalists, however, who have suggested the ship actually belong to the pirate fleet of Li Dan, a famous merchant-pirate during the Ming–Qing transition in the early 17th century, who was associated with Zheng Zhilong. In either case, according to Chinese archaeologist Cui Yong, the excavation of the *Nan'ao Number One* and stories of a Ming dynasty pirate ship have attracted a large amount of attention. Wrecks like the *Nan'ao*, Cui said, have helped to attract the media and to increase government funding. Unfortunately, on the downside, the increased exposure also attracted another kind of pirate — treasure hunting looters.²⁹

There are even more excavated sunken ships off the coast of Vietnam, and some are believed to have been pirate ships (though none have been verified as such). In the offshore waters near Hoi An and just to the south in Binh Son district in present-day Quang Ngai province, marine archaeologists have discovered a large number of shipwrecks, some of which may have been pirate vessels. Although there is little information on another sunken ship found off the

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Fig. 6: Wushi beach resort. Photograph by the author.

coast of northern Vietnam near the Chinese border, several archaeologists believe that it belonged to the fleet of the famous Cantonese pirate Shap-ng-tsai (十五仔), who was defeated in this same area in 1849 by a combined Chinese and British naval expedition.³⁰ Unfortunately, we will need further material evidence before we are certain that these ships were sailed by pirates.

6. PIRATES AND CULTURAL DISSEMINATION ALONG THE MARITIME SILK ROAD

Like other sailors and fishers, pirates also worshipped many different sea deities, such as the Empress of Heaven (天后 Tianhou) or Maternal Ancestor (媽祖 Mazu). In Hong Kong, there is the Lei Yue Mun Tin Hau Temple (鯉魚門天后廟). In 1953, Hong Kong archaeologist Hsiao Wan-om, when doing excavation work on this temple, discovered a hidden stairway going beneath the temple that led to a small cave. Inside he found several silver doubloons and a seven-foot stone tablet. On the tablet was this inscription: 'Sea Goddess Temple, built by Zheng Lianchang (鄭連昌); henceforth, to be kept in perpetuity by his descendants; founded in the spring of 1753'. Zheng Lianchang was a pirate boss and the

father of Zheng Yi, also a famous Cantonese pirate most active at the end of the 18th century. He died in a storm in 1807.³¹ We can still make out most of the characters in Figure 4, which is from a rubbing of the stone inscription in the Lei Yue Mun Tin Hau Temple.

Pirates were also important in the spread of temple cults, such as the little-known deity called Sanpo (三婆). In the early 19th century, Zhang Baozai, in particular, was said to worship her at a temple on the Huizhou (惠州) coast, not too far from Hong Kong. However, long before this time, pirates and seafarers had been worshipping Sanpo on Weizhou Island in the Gulf of Tonkin, a famous pirate base since at least the Yuan dynasty. In fact, pirates (such as Zheng Yi, Wushi Er, and Zhang Baozai) were instrumental in spreading the Sanpo cult throughout the Gulf of Tonkin and even as far away as Macao and the Pearl River Delta. Today there still is a Sanpo Temple in Taipa (Macao) that is a UNESCO heritage site. It was originally constructed in 1843 or 1845.³²

In some cases, pirates themselves were deified, including Zhang Baozai, Zheng Chenggong, and Yang Yandi. Earlier I mentioned how Wu Ping's sister became a treasure protecting goddess. The case of Zheng Zuxi (鄭祖禧) is another example of a female pirate who was deified. Zuxi was said to be the sister of Zheng Chenggong. Although there is no solid evidence that Zuxi ever existed in actual life, nonetheless for the past three centuries she has been worshipped as a reincarnated sea goddess whom villagers call the 'Warrior Mazu' (金剛媽祖). This virtually unknown cult exists only in one small temple in coastal Guangdong, near the port city of Shanwei (汕尾). There are several legends about Zuxi, two of the most popular ones are that she died in a naval battle fighting the Manchus and alternatively that she was murdered by her brother in order to ensure that she would protect his buried treasures as a ghost from the afterlife (stories similar to the ones about Wu Ping's sister and Yang Er's third wife). The temple was

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destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, but then rebuilt in 1985, and renovated in 1993 as a cultural centrepiece of the Honghai Bay (紅海灣) development area. Today, while local devotees continue to worship her as a protective sea deity, Zuxi is honoured by the local government as a patriotic anti-Manchu female hero.³³ Figure 5 is a photo of the Zuxi statue in her temple in Baishahu (白沙湖) near Shanwei in 2012.

Pirates, especially in recent years, have also made a huge impact on popular culture, in action films, television dramas, popular songs, and even operas. There are several Hong Kong movies about Zhang Baozai and Zheng Yi Sao, and even a popular historical sci-fi television series called *Captain of Destiny* that was first aired in 2015. There also are several modern Chinese operas that eulogise famous pirates as swashbuckling heroes, for example, *The Legend of Zhang Baozai* (張保仔傳奇) performed in Hong Kong in 2010 and *The Legend of Wushi Er* (烏石二傳奇) carried out in Leizhou (雷州) in 1997. Another interesting phenomenon, related to the recent trends in popular culture, is the fact that along the southern coast of China, several of the past pirate lairs have now become famous tourist resorts, such as Weizhou Island, the 'Three Jing Islands' (京族三島) off the Jiangping coast, and the sandy island off of Wushi Harbour (Fig. 6); they are all located in the previous pirate-infested Gulf of Tonkin.

CONCLUSION: PIRATES AND HERITAGE CONSERVATION

As with the maritime Silk Road, the pirates' Silk Road — its route network, sunken ships, and various cultural relics — are all rich components of cultural heritage that should be protected and preserved. As already mentioned, today stories about pirates have become an important part of maritime history as well as of popular culture. In Asia, at various places along the maritime Silk Road, governments and private individuals have built museums to feature artefacts

recovered from shipwrecks, including those from vessels which are believed to have been pirate ships. Past government fortifications along the coast are also being preserved and opened to the public.³⁴ All of these sites attract scholars and tourists who are interested in learning more about different aspects of the maritime Silk Road, including piracy.

What about the possibilities of establishing pirate museums? They too would certainly attract visitors. In the United States, there are dozens of museums that specialise in or at least feature historical pirates and piracy. Two of the most important and popular museums are the New England Pirate Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, and the Whydah Pirate Museum in Cape Cod, Massachusetts. The Salem museum features not only an 'Artefacts Room' of real pirate treasures, but also live interactive re-enactments that bring historical pirates back to life. The Cape Cod museum houses the largest collection of pirates artefacts recovered from a genuine pirate ship, the *Whydah*, which was skippered by the notorious Captain Samuel Bellamy ('Black Sam' Bellamy) in the early 18th century. The *Whydah* was the first pirate shipwreck with its identity being authenticated beyond any doubts. Both museums have thousands of visitors each year.³⁵

China (including the mainland, Hong Kong and Macao), Singapore, and Vietnam all have wonderful maritime museums, but as far as I know, there are no museums specialising on historical pirates. Nonetheless, several of these museums, such as the Hong Kong Maritime Museum, have had special exhibitions that focus on the history of Chinese pirates that include artefacts, documents, and maps. In 2020, the museum even sponsored a 'Pirate Activity Day', which aimed to teach children about real pirates and featured a 'treasure hunt'. Such pirate museums and exhibitions should be something worth expanding in the future for both educational and recreational values.

All along the maritime Silk Road, a number of sites with past connections to piracy have become

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popular tourist destinations. As mentioned above, several former pirate lairs — Weizhou, Three Jing Islands, and Wushi — have now become popular beach resort areas. In Vietnam, the former friendly port of Hoi An is today restored and is an important UNESCO world heritage site. Also, marine archaeological sites, with excavations of sunken merchant or pirate ships, are visible reminders of history that help connect the past with the present. The shipwreck known as *Nan'ao Number One* has been designated as an UNESCO project singled out as being of special importance for research on the maritime history of the late Ming dynasty, on the maritime Silk Road, as well as a successful example of the development and practice of underwater archaeology in China. This and other shipwreck

excavation projects greatly raise the public awareness about underwater cultural heritage.

Such sites, however, need to be protected against the constant threats from treasure hunters who care only about profits and have little or no regard for conservation.³⁶ Protection and preservation should be a multi-dimensional effort that requires not only regulations and protection from national and local governments but also participation of local communities. The latter role is often crucial in ensuring the survival and preservation of historical sites, and at the same time can provide them with the economic benefits of tourism. The pirates of the past who operated along the maritime Silk Road can add an important additional and enriching aspect to cultural heritage preservation. **RC**

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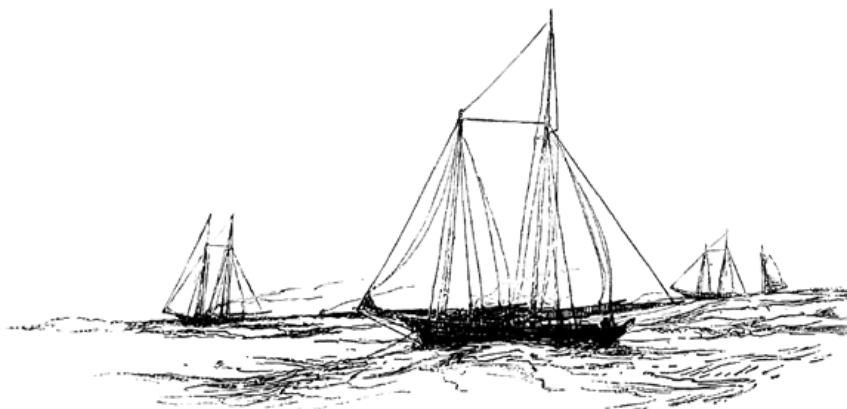
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Ship at Sea, late 19th century by Albert Ernest Markes. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Launching *The Dawn* in Revolutionary Guangzhou: Tan Malaka and the ‘Canton Conference’ of the Transport Workers of the Pacific (June 1924)

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ABSTRACT: Arriving in Guangzhou from Russia in December 1923 as the Indonesian representative of the Red International of Trade Unions (Profintern) in the Far East as well as Communist International (Comintern) delegate for Southeast Asia — Tan Malaka, also participated in the Transport Workers of the Pacific Conference held in the southern Chinese city in June 1924. Drawing in an assembly of delegates from China, Indonesia, and the Philippines, the Conference assigned Malaka as editor of a proposed multilingual bulletin, *The Dawn*. With both the ‘Canton Conference’ and *The Dawn* largely neglected in the literature, this article seeks to advance research on this subject with reference to hitherto neglected Comintern archives, especially addressing the Profintern-in-Asia theme as well as Tan Malaka’s special role prior to and just subsequent to his exit to the Philippines where he carried on with the support of local labour leaders.

KEYWORDS: Tan Malaka; Pan-Pacific Transport Workers Conference; Guangzhou; Manila; *The Dawn*.

INTRODUCTION

Tan Malaka arrived in Guangzhou from Russia in December 1923 as the Comintern representative for Southeast Asia and the Indonesian representative of the Red International of Trade Unions (RILU) or Profintern in the Far East, which was established in July 1921. Tan Malaka thus arrived more than a year before the Soviet Embassy group led by Mikhail Markovich Gruzenberg (Borodin), along with Ho Chi

Minh, in the southern Chinese city. The Sun–Joffe Manifesto between Sun Yat-sen and Adolph Joffe, head of mission of the Soviet government in China, had been signed in Shanghai on 26 January 1923. By that year ‘revolutionary’ Guangzhou had already emerged as the Comintern’s chosen base, attracting Indonesian, Korean, and Vietnamese nationalists and revolutionaries alike.¹

With Ho Chi Minh charged by the Comintern to

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devote his attention to peasant affairs, on his part, Tan Malaka emerged as a key figure in organising the Pan-Pacific Conference of Transport Workers convened by the Profintern in June 1924, and held in Guangzhou, in turn bringing together visiting delegates from across China, Indonesia, the Philippines and elsewhere.² Tan Malaka was also assigned by the Conference to edit a monthly newsmagazine, titled *The Dawn* with the intention to reach out to the working masses in Asia with appropriate edited articles.

Allowing that Tan Malaka departed Guangzhou in mid-1925 before moving on to Manila, this article seeks, first, to give the background of the little-studied role of the Profintern in staging the Transport Workers of the Pacific Conference of June 1924. Second, it seeks to expose the difficulties that Tan Malaka encountered in bringing the publication of *The Dawn* to fruition as charged by the Conference. Third, insofar as no extant edition of *The Dawn* has ever been located, it seeks with reference to Comintern archives to reveal for the first time a selection of articles earmarked for *The Dawn*, even allowing that some of the Guangzhou writings were recycled in Manila newspapers following his relocation to the Philippines with the assistance of individual members of the local delegation of the Canton Conference.

1. THE 1924 CONFERENCE OF THE TRANSPORT WORKERS OF THE PACIFIC

While the Profintern has been the subject of a number of studies, especially that by E. H. Carr in his *History of Soviet Russia* (1950–1978), far less has been written on the Profintern in Asia. To a certain extent this subject has been addressed by Fowler, with her analysis on how Pan-Pacific Revolutionary Trade Union's internationalism led to the establishment of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS) in Hankow in May 1927 which was then still under Kuomintang (KMT) control. As Fowler has demonstrated, the Pan-Pacific Revolutionary Trade Union movement

organised by the RILU went through several stages between 1923 and its dissolution in 1934.³ As she argues, in the latter stages, the sustaining elements were the Chinese and Japanese maritime unions, although she concedes an important trans-continental role for the Indonesian and Philippine maritime workers in the radical Guangzhou phase. Fowler also draws attention to the Profintern's decision in 1923 to create Port Bureaus in Rotterdam and Vladivostok, with Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian seamen the most active ones. It was at this juncture that Guangzhou came to be selected as the venue for a six-day conference in June 1924, noting as well that during the 1922 mass strike in the port of Hong Kong and then in the eighteen-month-long Canton–Hong Kong Strike (1925–1926), Chinese seamen had proved to be among the most militant.⁴

What is missing from standard histories, namely the pioneering stage in Profintern operation in the Far East leading up to the Canton Conference, is revealed in the Comintern archives, today the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI). Of special interest are the reports filed by the Polish-born Joseph Fineberg signing himself as the Representative of the Eastern Department of the Communist International in Vladivostok, also heading the local Port Bureau as representative for the Profintern in the Far East, answering to the Russian — Leo Heller (L. Geller) — in his capacity as the Far Eastern Representative of RILU, as well as to Grigori Voitinsky, the founding head of the Comintern Far Eastern Bureau in China. A figure associated with the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Voitinsky returned to Moscow, temporarily leaving local Comintern responsibility in China to the Dutch communist Sneevliet/Maring (1921–1923). From my survey of the Profintern correspondence even the advent of a labour conference in Guangzhou appeared unlikely. First, as Fineberg explained, it took Voitinsky five months to even make connections with the

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CCP and the Chinese labour movement in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, and with a first letter only received from the CCP on 12 December 1923. This was a great relief as another of his concerns was that the Shanghai unions would affiliate with the rival 'Amsterdam International' and not the Profintern. Second, Voitinsky was frequently perplexed as to his own role, noting as well that the arrival of Borodin in Shanghai merely added confusion as to his mandate over the Profintern. As Fineberg advised, Borodin should be given full responsibility for China and Manchuria leaving himself to take control of Profintern activities in Japan, Korea, and the Soviet Far East. Prior to offering his resignation, citing illness, he did report some minor success in printing Japanese, English, and Chinese propaganda bulletins.⁵ By way of clarification, as Tosstorff confirms, although formally separate, the RILU was always subordinate to the Comintern until its dissolution.⁶

1.1 THE PROGRAMME

According to Poeze, biographer of Tan Malaka, who reproduces the report on the Conference published in the *Philippine Free Press* on 27 August 1927, the Canton Conference was opened on 18 June 1924 by the high-ranking CCP leader Tan Pingshan.⁷ Following the election of a presidium, Tan Malaka and Domingo Ponce, the leaders of the Philippine delegation and the head of the Filipino labor union *Legionarios del Trabajo* (Workers' Legion) were both appointed. This was followed by a report delivered by a Profintern delegate (Oastoost?). At this opening, only representatives from North and South China and the Philippines were present, while the Indonesian three, composed of Tan Malaka, Boedisoejtjtro, and Alimin, arrived at a later time. Their presence brought the number of congress participants to twenty-five but minus invitees from India and Japan blocked by their home governments from attending. On the second day, the congress was addressed by a representative

of the Comintern (Zarkin?) and then followed by an Indonesian delegation report delivered by Malaka (as comrade Hassan), a report by the Philippine delegation delivered by Ponce, and an address by Liao Chung-kai (Liao Zhongkai), Governor of Guangdong (known as the architect of the first KMT–CCP United Front, and with himself assassinated in Guangzhou in August 1925). Although Sun Yat-sen was expected to attend, yet he did not. With the convention lasting until 23 June, among other matters, Malaka was vested with leadership of the Canton Bureau. Citing an interview with Alimin, Poeze adds that the Indonesians stayed with Liao Zhongkai for about fourteen days meeting leading KMT people like Hu Hanmin and Lin Biao.⁸ Together, Ponce, Alimin, and Malaka visited Sun Yat-sen. According to Alimin, who would spend the war years in Yan'an with Mao Zedong prior to returning to Java as the senior-most pro-Moscow Indonesian communist leader, Sun expressed the wish that China and the Philippines should cooperate against Great Britain, whom he considered a great enemy.

1.2 MANIFESTOS AND OUTCOMES

Strong on rhetoric, the Canton Conference duly issued a 'Manifesto of the First Working Conference of the Orient' boasting that it was the first time in history that representatives of trade unions from North China, South China, Java, and the Philippines had gathered. Unsigned but addressed to the 'toiling masses of the East, to the proletariat of Europe and America', the proletariat internationalist rhetoric of the manifesto was clear, just at the conference coincided with a radical left (Stalinist) tide. It recalled recent events in China as with the suppression in February 1922 of striking railroad workers of the Peking–Hankow railroad (as it was then known) and police repression of striking railroad workers in Java in May 1923. An attached 'Outline of the Report on the Labour Movement and the Struggle for Independence of the Colonial People to the Conference of the Transport Workers of the

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Orient' adds little more but follows a similar Bolshevik narrative.⁹

Dated 23 September 1924, an 'Organization Resolution' passed by the Commission of the Transport Conference of the Orient goes further in explaining the context in which the Conference was held as well as its rationale. Five points are mentioned. First, the objective was to create a dedicated Canton Bureau of the Transport Workers of the Pacific to forge links and to promote interchange of information. As explained, the Bureau would be composed of five members, one respectively from China, the Philippines, the Dutch Indies, the British Indies, and Japan. Koreans and Vietnamese might wonder why they were not included. The second objective was to set up International Clubs of Seamen in Manila, Hong Kong, and Batavia (Jakarta) to secure the 'class needs' of the maritime workers. The third one was to support the livelihoods and conditions of the transport workers. Fourth, the Canton Bureau was required to 'publish a bulletin or its essential part into respective languages of all the countries and distribute the bulletin among the transport workers'. The goal was 'to prepare their ideology, to disseminate information, to have close contact and to enlighten the workers of the East'. Fifthly, transport workers affiliated with the Canton Bureau were obliged to contribute financial support.¹⁰

A summation of the Canton Conference also entering the Comintern archives was provided by Heller, in his capacity as the Far Eastern Representative of RILU. According to Wilber and How in their study of Soviet advisors in China, both Voitinsky for the Comintern and Heller for the Profintern were present at the Canton Conference.¹¹ From his vantage point as a RILU founder, Heller noted the concern of the Profintern for the colonial and semi-colonial countries. He also noted that the concept of a conference in Guangzhou originated on the proposal of the Australian delegation to the Fourth Comintern Congress which, in turn, decided to

convene a conference of the workers of the Pacific. As noted, a similar decision was also made at the Second Profintern Conference (in November 1922). Looking back on the 'short history' of the Canton Conference, he also drew attention to the difficult conditions in China at the time of its convention. Nevertheless, since the KMT had entered into friendly relations with Soviet Russia, Guangzhou was deemed an optimum choice for the conference. In the conference which lasted over six days from 17 to 23 July, the big surprise was the attendance of the Philippine delegates 'with whom we had until then, never came into contact'. In turn, reports were presented by the Chinese railroad workers, the Javanese railroad workers, a report of the Hong Kong seamen's strike of Spring 1922, and the report by the Philippine delegates (dubbed naïve by Heller for its misguided estimation of the beneficence of American democracy, along with supposed labour reforms). As he explained, language was a problem, citing the difference between Chinese spoken in North China and South China, and the fact that some of the Philippine delegates spoke in Spanish, some in native language and English (although that is not to deny that serious business was also conducted).¹²

2. TAN MALAKA AND THE PAN-PACIFIC REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Tan Malaka's presence in Guangzhou has not escaped attention on the part of Western (and Indonesian) scholarship, especially as his autobiography, *Dari Penjara ke Penjara* (From Jail to Jail), offers a dedicated chapter, and most accounts have referred back to this body of writing. They include Helen Jarvis who translated this work into English as well as Indonesian bloggers and websites who popularise — and even fictionalise — Tan Malaka episodes. Some, such as McVey researched the question from Moscow, albeit long before the Comintern archives were open for consultation.

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Writing in Dutch and researching in Dutch archives, other authors such as Poeze, have carried on the Tan Malaka narrative to cover the two-year period he spent in the Philippines. Still others, have consulted British police records to closely study Malaka's early activities in Singapore and Malaya.¹³ More recently, Ferdinand Victoria has brought to light the importance of Tan Malaka's Philippine connection as well as his acute sense of 'pan-Malayism' transcending colonial spheres of influence.

Multilingual, speaking fluent Dutch, German and more limited English, besides native Indonesian languages and dialects, the Sumatra-born and Dutch-educated Tan Malaka had narrowly been defeated as a communist candidate in parliamentary elections in Holland.¹⁴ Moving on to Moscow, he addressed the Fourth Comintern Congress (November–December 1922) as a delegate from Java, an event attended by, inter alia, the Indian, M. N. Roy, Ho Chi Minh, and the Japanese Katayama Sen, especially drawing attention to pan-Islamism in the anti-colonial struggle albeit attracting negative opinion.¹⁵ In Moscow Malaka would also meet with the Chinese delegates who supported him at the time when he moved to Guangzhou.

Although Malaka was not yet a Chinese speaker, his international reputation within the Communist International and standing among Chinese comrades in Guangzhou brought him into direct contact with Sun Yat-sen, who was then the leader of the Nationalist government. They met soon in Sun's local riverside residence in December 1923 after Malaka's arrival in Guangzhou (the first of the two meetings if the Canton Conference occasion was another). For the then 27-year-old foreigner, as Malaka related in his autobiography, the meeting bringing together Sun Yat-sen, his son, Sun Ke, Liao Zhongkai, and 'possibly' Hu Hanmin, and Wang Jingwei (each seminal figure down through this period of CCP–KMT cooperation) was obviously a rare privilege.¹⁶

As revealed by the Comintern archives, just prior to his departure from Moscow he drafted in handwriting a Dutch language text entitled *Indonesia: En Zijn Plaats in Het Ontwakende Ooste door Tan Malaka* (Indonesia: Its Place in the Awakening East by Tan Malaka). Dated 1923 and running to some 200 pages it was divided into some dozen chapters ranging over political history and economics of the Dutch colonial system in its eastern colony.¹⁷ Translated into Russian and published in 1924 with a reprint the following year, according to Poeze who offers a short summary, the book received favourable reviews, no doubt adding to Malaka's reputation in Russia.¹⁸

With the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) founded in 1920 by Semaun (Samouan) prior to his moving to Holland and heading up the Indonesian Seaman's Union in cooperation with the Dutch Communist Party, also getting himself elected to the Profintern presidium, the Indonesians were at least a decade ahead of the Vietnamese (and with a unified Vietnamese Communist Party only established by Ho Chi Minh in 1930). Tan Malaka became the second PKI chairman in Java following Semaun's departure for Europe. Whereas Semaun had been active in the union movement in Java with the key members of the Dutch Communist Party, up until his arrest and deportation, Malaka had made his mark in the creation of communist schools in Java and so appeared to neglect the labour arena. In 1923, or shortly prior to Malaka's arrival in China, the PKI had broken from its united front with the mass Islamic organisation *Sareket Islam* (Islamic Union), although still maintaining its links with left-wing Islamic elements via its front organisation *Sareket Rakyat* (People's Union), albeit under the threat of Dutch persecution (and he would expose this in *The Dawn*). At this stage, the PKI as with its newspapers were legal, although that would change dramatically in 1927 with the crushing by the Dutch of a failed communist-led rebellion, an act opposed by Malaka at the time when he was in the Philippines but

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out of direct communication.

The Comintern archives also reveal that months prior to his Profintern appointment to Guangzhou, Tan Malaka had canvassed hosting a conference in Bangkok. This is explained in a paper titled '*Der Entwurf Fuer die Arbeit in Den Orient*' (The Draft for Work in the Orient), issued in Moscow on 21 May 1923. This followed on from the Second Profintern Congress and, as noted, the Third Session of the General Council of the RILU was held in Moscow from 25 June to 2 July 1923. Also, as mentioned, RILU debates then focussed upon establishing Port Bureaus not only in Europe but globally to tap into radical maritime workers, with the Hong Kong maritime strike in January 1922 but one inspiring example.¹⁹ While not neglecting Singapore's strategic location and potential as a site for an 'illegal bureau', Malaka favoured Thailand, noting that the kingdom was out of direct colonial surveillance and Bangkok well placed with respect to delegates or couriers arriving from Indonesia, British India, and China. He then submitted a 'minimum budget' for a Bangkok Conference with costing for his own voyage and that of a comrade from Java and another from China, totalling 8,944 dollars.²⁰ There is no indication that Moscow approved this considerable sum of money.

Speaking as the delegate from the Dutch East Indies in an undated address titled 'Guiding Principles of the Colonial Question', Malaka further adverted upon the imperative to establish a 'communist centre' in the East itself, citing the long distance from Moscow to the colonial countries of the East. 'Closely linked with Moscow', he argued, such a centre would help to link up the existing communist parties as well as to build up a powerful labour federation or 'union of transport workers and seamen' from India, Indonesia, China, and Japan. As his address concluded, 'The Congress, therefore, decides to convene the affiliated parties of the East to a Conference of the East itself in order to arrive at the formation of a federation of

Eastern Communists and a federation of transport workers and seamen'.²¹ Although Tosstorff is silent on the question, Malaka's authoritative tone suggests that he was addressing a RILU congress (likely, this was the Third Session of the General Council of RILU).²²

This address, at face value, reveals that the concept of creating a 'union of transport workers and seamen' covering the Pacific region was that of Tan Malaka and not the Profintern per se, allowing that he may have been in close communication with Semaun who, as alluded, was far ahead in his knowledge of maritime networks and was also a member of the RILU presidium. Guangzhou was not mentioned in this pitch, although Semaun had his own ideas on China as a base. In fact, Semaun took credit for arranging the dispatch of the two Indonesian delegates (namely Boedisoetjito and Alimin) to the Canton Conference in July 1924.²³ In any case, the decision-making process whereby Tan Malaka was anointed to his double position prior to being dispatched to China is not recorded but we know that his key contact person during his Guangzhou interlude was Grigori Voitinsky. At least we should examine the literature on this broad question.

3. PRINTING *THE DAWN*

Besides confirming Guangzhou as the site for a local Profintern bureau or secretariat, another decision made at the Canton Conference was to launch the propaganda magazine titled *The Dawn* and with Tan Malaka assigned as editor. Whereas Semaun could produce in Amsterdam his newsheet on a sophisticated lithograph press with Dutch communist assistance and Profintern's and Comintern's money, Tan Malaka struggled to launch even one edition of *The Dawn*, as commissioned by the Conference. Having named the bulletin himself, Malaka may well have had in mind *fajar* — a term of Arabic derivation meaning 'dawn', and a fairly common newspaper title even today in Indonesia/Malaysia.

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No such edition of *The Dawn* survives, nor have the leading scholars on Indonesia been able to consult an edition, which is acknowledged by McVey.²⁴ Nevertheless, as exposed by Poeze, a small number of copies of the first edition did circulate in the Philippines.²⁵ Although Poeze was unable to produce a table of contents for *The Dawn*, he nevertheless tracks one or two articles or themes reproduced in Manila newspapers, as for example, the support that *The Dawn* gave to Pan-Asian revolutionary contacts between Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines. Nevertheless, the *Philippine Free Press* (25 August 1927) did reproduce a cover image of *The Dawn*, revealing a somewhat naïve representation of a circle of peoples dressed in native attire joined by hands in solidarity and with behatted capitalist bosses looking on with trepidation.

Adding to Malaka's stress in Guangzhou were difficulties encountered in getting competent Chinese translation assistance to help launch his propaganda bulletin with contributions by himself in English, albeit still in need of editing. Besides Chinese language assistance, he was also scouting for good English and Malay translators. The political situation was also fluid. As he wrote in November 1924:

But [still] there is difficulty every day with the merchants and the printing shops in Canton owing to the arms question with the Government. These two days everything is closed again, because now [there is] the general merchants strike against Dr. Sun.

In a turn of phrase which captures British anxieties precisely, he concluded, 'Every merchant in the town and every Englishman considers Sun now as a pure Bolshevik. It can be one of the many reasons that British imperialism hurries the merchants to overthrow Sun's Government'.²⁶ As with Ming K. Chan who termed the events 'a crisis of legitimacy' facing the British, modern



Fig. 1: Cover image of *The Dawn*. Source: *Philippine Free Press*, dated 25 August 1927.

scholarship confirms such facts.²⁷ In fact, in March 1925 Sun Yat-sen would die in a Beijing hospital.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties one small success he had with printing in Guangzhou was to launch his small Dutch language book entitled *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'* ('Towards the 'Indonesian Republic').²⁸ Dated April 1925 this was printed shortly before his exit to the Philippines, and he took copies with him. Virtually a revolutionary primer, in sequential chapters he explained the world situation, the plight of Indonesians in the Dutch colony, the objectives of the Indonesian Communist Party, tactics and strategy required to overcome Dutch imperialism in a guerrilla war context (which he would lead in the Indonesian war of Independence, 1945–1948). Notably, *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'* was the first

work to promote a concept of an Indonesian Republic, also not lost upon the future first president of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno.

As the preface to the Canton edition explains, 'When originally published the book was full of printing errors, noting that the book was proofed by a Chinese friend who had no knowledge of Dutch, second, the press lacked Latin typeface, third, after years of travel, his own facility in Dutch was fading'.²⁹ From this we could conclude that the printing of the book fared little better technically than the printing of *The Dawn*, yet the effort and money that he ploughed into the book may also have detracted from his commissioned work on *The Dawn*.

4. TAN MALAKA IN MACAO, SEPTEMBER 1924

Tan Malaka's visit to Macao in September 1924 was neither mentioned in his autobiography, which is surprising given the detail he supplies on Guangzhou, nor in any other writings or secondary literature. The Macao visit is revealed in a crudely-typed letter collected in the Comintern archives, dated 'Canton, 16 September 1924' and simply addressed 'Dear comrade (Voitinsky)'. Signing himself by the code name 'Hassan' as Malaka explained, he was in contact with his compatriots in Java and Singapore via courier at two-week or monthly intervals. This is important as it reveals the success made by Semaun in Holland in successfully organising seaman couriers working on Dutch ships connecting Europe with Singapore and Java and even China. In the same letter he signalled, 'Perhaps after one week I go to Macao for one week for my health'. The only other source on this visit takes the form of a typed letter sent from Guangzhou to Voitinsky upon his return from Macao. As he explained, he made a week-long visit to Macao in late September 1924 ostensibly seeking to escape from Guangzhou's summer heat 'because there is much better *Klimate* [*sic*] than here' and also to recover from illness. In that respect he explained that he was

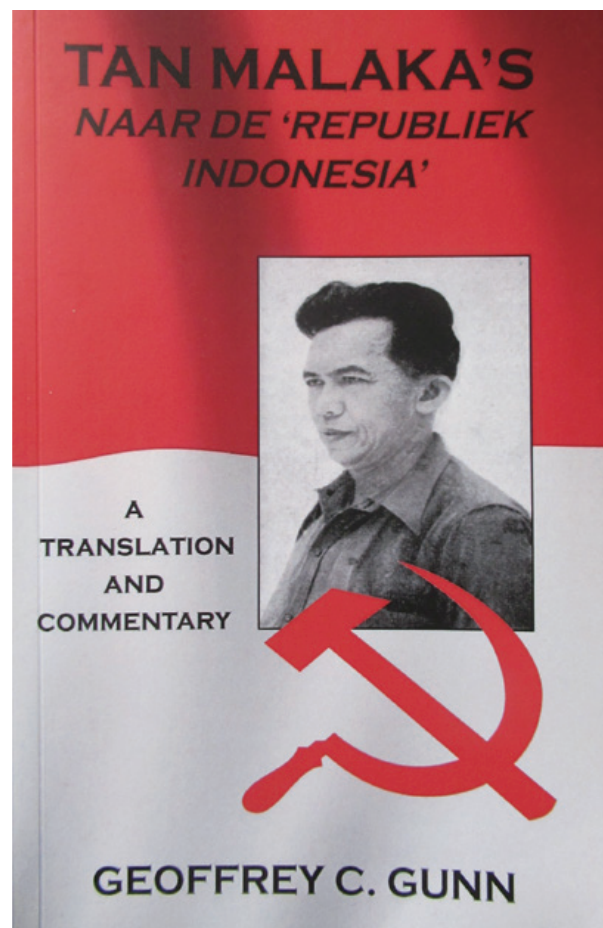


Fig. 2: Cover image of Tan Malaka's *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'*, modern edition, Jakarta, 2015.

only making a slow recovery. He also complained of 'irritation' and 'nervousness'.³⁰

Unfortunately, Tan Malaka left no description of Macao, leaving us to wonder as to what kind of travel document he held to enter the Portuguese-administered territory especially as he lacked a passport. Rodrigo José Rodrigues, himself a central figure in the Portuguese First Republic, was then the Governor of Macao although by this date he had been withdrawn to Lisbon. The Portuguese Consul in Guangzhou, Felix Horta, in close contact with the revolutionary government may have been informed of the visit. The silence also raises the question as to

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whom Malaka wished to contact in Macao, as for example, old Chinese contacts from Singapore or Indonesia? Or could he have been seeking assistance from Macao's English-speaking printers — and they included Macanese — to help overcome his primary problem in Guangzhou, namely Latin typeface necessary to produce his bulletin and forthcoming book. It is perhaps coincidental that at the height of the Hong Kong–Canton general strike in mid-1925 entailing a work stoppage by 500,000 men and with its population reduced by one third, the French author-turned newspaper owner André Malraux (and wife) arrived in Hong Kong also in the quest for typeface to relaunch his anti-colonial Saigon newspaper *L'Indochine Enchaînée*.³¹ Shadowed in Hong Kong at the height of the strike action by police officials, and also briefly entering Macao, Malraux was well connected with left-wing Chinese nationalist circles and was the head of the pro-communist *Jeune Annam* party in Vietnam. Tan Malaka was not safe in Macao. More than once, the Dutch sought information from the Portuguese authorities as to his possible presence, although no answer is recorded.³²

5.1 LAUNCHING *THE DAWN*

With Issue No. 1 of *The Dawn* crudely printed in Guangzhou in early 1925 and with No. 2 ready for printing and with no known copy coming to light, it would be salutatory to examine the contents. Besides a prefatory piece explaining the rationale of the new publication, the Comintern archives reveal a small clutch of articles all typed. As with Ho Chi Minh when he set up in Guangzhou, Tan Malaka was privileged to own a typewriter and the archives offers typewritten versions of his compositions exclusively, suggesting at least one layer of editing if they were originally handwritten. Yet each of the articles is uneven in composition and standard of English and even interest and relevance to a readership which is never truly defined. Besides the short preface which I paraphrase,

out of this group of articles I have selected three for further exposure and analysis, namely 'Transport Workers of the Orient: Be on Guard' with a China-Indochina theme; 'Indonesia (Dutch Indies)', with an Indonesia theme, and 'Singapore Naval Base and the Next War', at least addressing a global audience.

Signed off by the editor, namely Tan Malaka, as the prefatory piece explains, that as a result of the 'Conference of Transportation Workers of the Orient' held in Canton between 18 and 23 June, a permanent body or secretariat was established. As explained, 'This fact is unique in the history of the East. Never yet has the oppressed Oriental nations realised their solidarity in the struggle against world imperialism as they do now'. As envisaged the Secretariat would be the body to coordinate the 'Oriental forces' with the revolutionary working classes in Europe, America and Japan. As further explained, the Secretariat had decided to publish a monthly bulletin in English titled *The Dawn*, allowing that it would also be published in some other languages of the 'Orient'. In a word, *The Dawn* would become a real 'battle organ for the independence of the Oriental countries', provided that it represented 'the voice of the oppressed nations'. Ending with an appeal for contributions to be sent to the Secretariat in Canton, such would help to break the united front of 'world imperialism'.³³

5.2 'TRANSPORT WORKERS OF THE ORIENT: BE ON GUARD'

Notwithstanding the call for contributions, with the exception of editorial assistance from the English speaking 'Huang' and another American-educated Chinese editor, Tan Malaka remained the sole contributor to *The Dawn*. One of the contributions bearing the title *Transport Workers of the Orient: Be on Guard* focused upon the 'imperialist' island enclave of Shamian in Guangzhou which he must have known about, but a place to be avoided, especially owing to its extraterritorial status, colonial police and consular

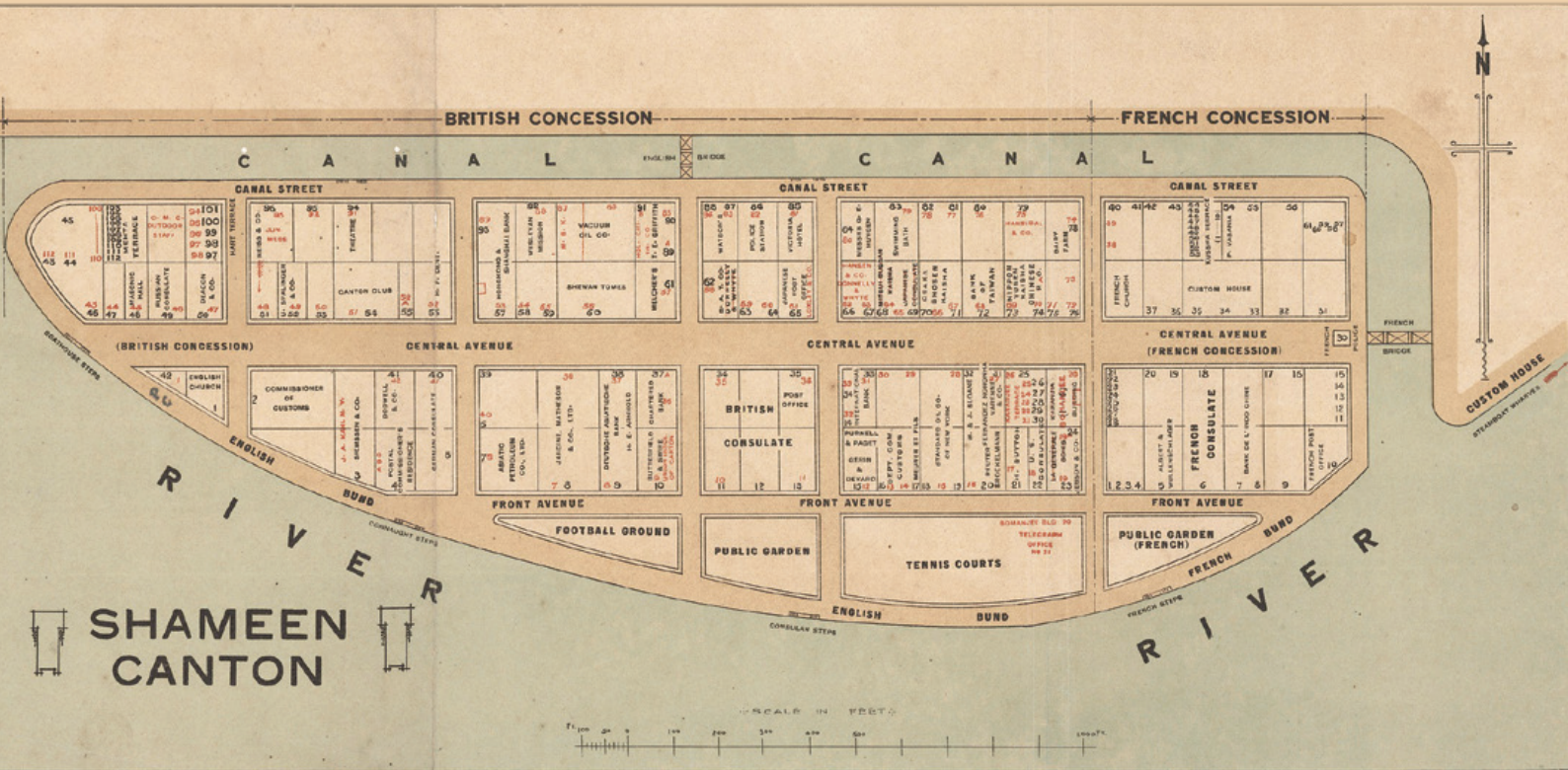


Fig. 3: 'Shameen' in the 1920s, showing the location of the British and French concessions. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shamian#/media/File:Shameen_Canton.jpg

presence. The background to the writing of this article is also recorded in his autobiography (*From Jail to Jail*), but primarily in the context of writing in English. In this work, he states, 'I tried to compose a piece in English about the strike in Shameen, a special place for Europeans in the middle of Canton'. As explained, he offered his composition to a returnee from America with a better knowledge of English (and his name is attached as joint contributor). As advised, for the sake of the working classes whose knowledge of English is not so good then it was better to use short sentences and simple words. This conversation led him to think about 'Basic English' or simple English as understood by the working classes in Asia. As he noted, 'Basic English' with around 800 words was then much 'propagandised' in China. Even so, he conceded, he himself could not yet be confident in writing even 'Basic English'. As he continued, having got himself up to speed to the point where he was prepared to publish his articles in *The Dawn*, he confronted another problem, namely the want of Latin typescript in Guangzhou. As he discovered, the first of his articles entering typescript '*masih lenggang lengggok saja seperti gerobak rusak*' (was wobbling like a broken wagon). As he exemplified, the word 'pacific'

appeared as 'PacifiC', because of a lack of lowercase letters and this defect was reproduced throughout, and, as a result, it delayed the publication of the first issue of *The Dawn* by up to three months, and so leaving himself vulnerable to criticism from Moscow as to his negligence.³⁴

As he wrote in his article for *The Dawn*, 'Shameen is the territory of foreign imperialism in Canton. It tends to bring South China into subjection under the world-imperialism, chiefly under British imperialism'. Offering a history lesson, he continued, 'the small English territory in Calcutta of about 200 years ago has finally conquered the whole of India. The same part Hong Kong will play regarding South China. Hong Kong controls already the import and export for South China. And the customs house in China strengthens this control. But this is not all. The British imperialism wants the whole of China. But there is a hindrance to the British plan. In South China there exists a revolutionary government under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. This government energetically fought against the military leaders in China, who are in fact the instrument of foreign imperialism. Therefore, away with the revolutionary government and away with Dr. Sun'.

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He then related an event which occurred some six months after he arrived in Guangzhou, namely the failed assassination attempt on 19 June 1924, against the visiting French Governor General of Indochina, Martial Merlin, by an unnamed Vietnamese agent (Phạm Hồng Thái), described by Tan Malaka as a 'member of a secret organization'. The perpetrator who committed suicide was long honoured in Guangzhou with a statue but, with a bomb killing several French officials, the event was also viewed as an anarchist act.³⁵ As Tan Malaka wrote, 'Nobody doubted it. It was sheer coincidence that the attack was a political one, long since prepared in Annam. It was pure accident, that it happened in Shameen [...] the imperialist territory in Canton'. But as he bewailed, under a new security regime, every Chinese person entering the island had to carry a special passport. Deemed highly offensive, the new dispensation led to a worker strike or, rather, 'political strike' which had lessons for all the oppressed in the European colonies. Dated, Canton, 19 July 1924, this was a joint article signed off by Hassan and So Chew Geung (name obscured), likely one of the two America-educated Chinese whom he periodically engaged or consulted.³⁶

5.3 ISLAM IN THE ANTI-COLONIAL MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

In a separate article with a focus upon Islam in the anti-colonial movement in Indonesia (title obscured), Tan Malaka traces the mass anti-colonial movement back to the establishment of Sareket Islam (SI) in 1913. Well-known in standard histories of Indonesia today, as Tan Malaka explains, in short time SI spread all over Indonesia reaching out to villages and even local government officials, notwithstanding government prohibitions (and it is noteworthy that he uses the newly coined term 'Indonesia' in his writings). It is said that between 1913 and 1918, the SI rallied 1,500,000 members along with between two or three million sympathisers. As he contritely observed, to

lead such a mass movement requires astute leadership based upon a clear concept of the economic, social, and political conditions prevailing in Java, not to mention well thought out aims and tactics, if 300 years of oppression was to be overthrown. However, nothing of that could be found in the leadership (and he goes on to bitterly denounce the leadership of the troika, Tjokroaminoto, Agus Salim and Abdul Muis). While acknowledging that the communists had worked in a united front with SI until a divorce in 1923, pushback by the troika and its 'fanatical Mohammadan followers' was 'dangerous' for the nationalist movement. SI's failure, he asserted, was not only repression, but corruption of its administration. As Malaka summed up, 'the lack of organization, the lack of higher leadership and ideas were the chief reasons why the SI could not achieve the desire of the Javanese masses for independence'. As advised, he would deal with the role of the PKI divested from SI, in a sequential article. With his article signed off *Canton, 20 August 1924, 'to be continued'* unfortunately it does not appear in the Comintern archives.³⁷

5.4 THE 'SINGAPORE NAVAL BASE AND THE NEXT WAR'

Signed off using the pseudonym, Avon Rachimanoff, and dated 11 April 1925, the article titled 'Singapore Naval Base and the New War' partially matches a theme entering Tan Malaka's *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'*, namely that intra-imperialist competition in the Asia Pacific was bound to end in world war, the flames out of which the independence movements might emerge but at great cost to the working masses. Typewritten like all the articles in the Comintern collection, and running to four pages, we know that this article was headed for the bulletin because it bears a scrawled message in Dutch, *Bestiment fur The Dawn* (Destined for *The Dawn*). Nevertheless, it still required close copy editing and direct quotation would reveal many odd

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usages, poor sentence constructions, uneven use of commas, and the addition of a few neologisms like 'worldpeace' and 'worldwar'. As he explained, with the British McDonald Government overthrown by the Conservatives under Baldwin, construction of the Singapore Naval Base was resumed with the support of the Empire and America not excepting Hong Kong (meaning money from China) supplying a quarter of a million dollars. In the background was the prospect of world war, the certainties that trade flows would be disrupted, that misery would rule, and that millions would die.

Accordingly, only concerted action on the part of 'Western workers and Oriental people' could prevent 'butchery and misery'. In other words, 'Speaking in diplomatic language, the leaders of British imperialism told the world that the Singapore Base is not for war-purpose but for world-peace'. Yet, he continued, in spite of the Washington Conference, Japan had proceeded with rearmament. With Japan and the US together described as 'young imperialist powers' alongside the old empires, both were drawn into fierce trade competition with China, practically the only market left, and with Japan bereft of raw materials, as with iron, coal, and oil. As he correctly predicted, in an eventual Japanese–American war in the Pacific, 'White' Australia would quickly join with the United States, immediately followed by an 'American English alliance'. As the article concluded, 'The Pacific War cannot be prevented by McDonaldism, but only by organizations and direct action of the masses'.³⁸

6. DEPARTURE FROM GUANGZHOU AND SETTING UP IN MANILA

Still in Guangzhou and alerted as to a crisis in the ranks of the PKI, Malaka sought to move on, but this was easier said than done especially as he lacked a passport (and he also admitted to occasionally stowing away on ships). Having somehow extricated himself from the 'Biro Canton' (meaning having abandoned the

Profintern) and having made his way to Hong Kong, he then put up at a boarding house run by a family with a history of revolutionary activities in the Philippines. In this narrative, the daughter of the proprietor, Nona (Miss) Carmen, coached him in Tagalog (suggesting an extended stay) and, together with a fellow lodger — the Filipino academic and future University of Manila president Mariano de los Santos, they helped him prepare for a new life in the Philippines perhaps also supplying some documentation to match his new alias, Elias Fuentes. While Malaka was shy on just how many days or weeks he remained in Hong Kong during this interlude, from Hong Kong he shipped out to Manila on the President line ship *Empress of Russia* arriving on 20 July. Having bluffed his way through American immigration controls without possession of a passport, for the next two years of intermittent stay in the Philippines, he would be assisted by the labour circle whom he befriended at the Canton Conference also going on to meet senior members of the Manila elite.³⁹ Besides los Santos, his close contacts included José Abad Santos (a future chief justice and war hero, executed by the Japanese), and labour leader Francisco Varona, who also helped him to find some income as a correspondent for the nationalist newspaper *El Debate*, of which he was an editor.⁴⁰

While Tan Malaka does not specifically mention encountering any Vietnamese in Guangzhou, on the other hand, Ho Chi Minh does allude to meeting the Indonesian at a time when he commenced working for ROSTA, the Soviet news agency. (It was not the first time they met and with both attending the Fourth Comintern Congress held in Moscow between November and December 1922). Writing in November 1924, soon after his arrival in Guangzhou, Ho Chi Minh informed Moscow, 'I saw comrade Malaka just once; he was sick and told me he was trying to go back to his country. I think he has gone already because I haven't seen him for a very long time'.⁴¹ It is undoubtedly true, as Ho Chi Minh learnt

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that Tan Malaka did not easily adapt to life in China. The climate was foreign to him, as was the food, and so was the language. Meantime, illness also intervened.

The going south story also appears in the correspondence to the Comintern signed off by Tan Malaka in two separate messages, both dated 18 February 1925 (counter dated 16 April 1925 in the Comintern file) and with one bearing the initials 'H.K.' (Hong Kong?), misleading to be sure if he was still in Guangzhou, but also suggestive that he made a very early exit from that city. The first message alluded to measures being taken by the Dutch Governor General to close communist schools in Java such as he founded, also reporting arrests and deaths of PKI and SR members. It then closed with the remark, 'Hassan will go south. They are waiting for me there' (a clear allusion to his intended passage to the Philippines and reception by Filipino comrades whom he met at the Canton Conference). A second message indicates that an article he had written and will be published in a Chinese newspaper and in 'our Bulletin'. He then indicates that 'After a few days I start South [...] They are waiting for me there'. But to reassure his Comintern contact, as he continued, 'Everything for the continuance of the Bulletin and other work arranged with C. Huang. This work can be continued here without interruption'.⁴² Thereafter Huang drops out of the thin correspondence, just as *The Dawn* proved to be ephemeral.

7. PRINTING THE DAWN IN MANILA

Somewhat elliptically, Tan Malaka addressed a handwritten letter composed in Dutch language from Singapore, dated 24 April 1925, and sent to a Comintern contact. If he was truly in Singapore then this suggested a quick return trip to Hong Kong/Guangzhou, but he also frequently disguised his correspondence with false names, dates, and places. In any case, the letter reveals something of his attempt to continue with the production of *The Dawn* from

Manila and it would appear that the printing facilities, political support, and English language assistance were not necessary, indeed practically optimum compared to Guangzhou. As he wrote:

In die Philippines fangen wir as an ein wenig Fuss zu fassen. Die erste nummer von The Dawn battan wir schon in die Philippines geschickt. Die Philippine zeitung hatte ein exemplar von The Dawn empfangen und publiziente unserer bericht ueber die Gruendung de Canton.

[Translation by author] *In the Philippines we are beginning to gain a foothold. We already sent the first number of The Dawn to the Philippines. The Philippine newspaper had received a copy of The Dawn and published our account of the founding of the Canton [Secretariat].*

As he further revealed, a friend in Hong Kong had sent him two articles about the Philippines ready to be published and that the *Philippine Herald* had been contacted accordingly. He also mentioned that the *Legionarios del Trabajo* had provided him with copies of 'the most important newspapers', including the PKI's own newspaper *Api* (Fire) published in Java.⁴³ So, if we interpret this paragraph, while he may have had early ambitions to carry on publishing a second edition of *The Dawn*, in reality his comrades in the Philippines labour movement helped him to published the selected articles in Manila newspapers.

It was also in Manila (December 1925) that a second and expanded version of Malaka's *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'* was published (albeit bearing a Tokyo place of publication which was false).⁴⁴ Likely, as Jarvis asserts, it was Varona who assisted Malaka in the publication of the second edition of *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'*, as well as the publication in 1926 of another work in Indonesian language, *Semangat Moeda* (Young Spirit).⁴⁵ No extant copy of the Canton

edition or the Manila edition of *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'* survives (nor for that matter *Semangat Moeda*), although copies of the former were seized by Dutch and American officials. Still, some copies circulated in the underground and with roneoed copies of the Manila reprint of *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'* evidently surviving the Japanese occupation. All present editions, stem from a Bahasa Indonesia reprint/translation from 1962 titled *Menuju Republik Indonesia* (Towards the Indonesian Republic).⁴⁶ That would include a Japanese translation and the first translation into English.⁴⁷ *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'* was the last book or tract that Tan Malaka wrote in Dutch and, indeed, from conversation with Ho Chi Minh, or just observation, he may have been guided as to the merits of publishing in the vernacular (and with Ho Chi Minh launching his widely circulated and read *Thanh Niên* (Youth) written in *Quốc ngữ* (Vietnamese national language) from Guangzhou at the time they met in China.⁴⁸

8. SEMAUN'S FAILED PKI CANTON CONFERENCE OF 1926

As Semaun wrote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) on 23 March 1926, he wished to have the PKI placed under the ECCI Secretariat for China to help develop the PKI and its relations with the Comintern.⁴⁹ This would entail the creation of a PKI Bureau in Guangzhou. As he asserted, Guangzhou was selected because it was a 'stable red centre in the East' allowing communications between Java and Moscow with the help of Chinese 'connections', and a logical substitute to Holland.⁵⁰ Besides Guangzhou, he also advocated establishing a smaller bureau in Singapore to assist liaison between Java and China.⁵¹

Well over a year later, on 11 June 1927, Semaun wrote another message to ECCI, as he declaimed, 'I am now in China', having arrived by train via Irkutsk and Vladivostok (albeit his wife was



Fig. 4: Cover image of the first Indonesian edition of Tan Malaka's *Naar de 'Republiek Indonesia'*, 1962.

absent as intended). As he explained, even though his plan to set up a PKI bureau in Guangzhou had received approval at the fifth and sixth ECCI plenum meetings, the funds had been appropriated by his Dutch communist counterparts (part of a struggle led by Semaun to entirely release the Indonesian party from Dutch communist control). Profintern money had been sent to the wrong address. Yet he believed that he could go ahead with the project anyway by looking to material support from Indonesian Chinese then residing in southern China. However, because of the destabilisation in southern China at the hands of the militarists, the planned PPTUS Conference was

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obliged to switch its venue to Hankou (then known as Hankow) where it was attended by delegates from China, the Soviet Union, Japan, Indonesia, Korea, France, the United States, and Great Britain. Still frustrated by the non-appearance of his wife, and missing the conference as a result, he turned back to Moscow and arrived there on 5 April.⁵²

This misadventure was not well received in Moscow, and he would be disciplined, in fact, denounced as a 'counter-revolutionary'. On 7 June 1928 he would be formally expelled from the PKI on the orders of the PKI-Moscow group around Alimin, Musso, and Raden Darsono (himself purged not long after), for the primary reason of refusing to carry out preparations for the PPTUS Conference to be held in Hankou. This is more the irony especially as Semaun had been the key networker in Holland making the Profintern Far East project workable, but he also fell afoul of Voitinsky for breaching Comintern policy of working with Indonesian social reformists in Holland. As a ranking member of the ECCI, as his dismissal letter stated, 'he has thus committed an act of conspiracy with the Nationalists against the PKI in Holland'. Finally, he had 'resisted to devote his power to the party's interests and therefore his further remaining in the party is useless'. His continued presence in the party is 'unworthy' and 'undesirable'.⁵³ Though undetected by ECCI, Tan Malaka was likewise then striking out on a heterodox nationalist course as far as Moscow was concerned, leading him to establish his own secret political party at a conference in Bangkok outside of the Comintern, although he would also be brought back into the fold for a time.

CONCLUSION


We would have to conclude that without an encore in Manila, *The Dawn* was a failure. From the outset, the editorship of the bulletin was not Tan Malaka's choice. He was simply ordered by Voitinsky to take on the assignment. Granted that Malaka had

the intellectual brilliance to steer the journal, still he had less practical experience in journalism and publishing than Semaun or even some of the Filipinos. Not a speaker of Chinese he was practically incapable of conducting any business in Guangzhou without bilingual support and the Profintern was naïve to believe that he could cope in such an environment. Although obviously a quick learner with respect to English, he was far more comfortable in Dutch or German. But aside from his friend Huang and another temporary Chinese assistant, he was virtually on his own with respect to editing and dealing with printers. As he explained himself, the technical difficulties of working with substandard typeset were insuperable. The notion that *The Dawn* could be produced in multiple languages was no less dubious. For a journal that was expected to reach a broad Pan-Pacific audience, it was also a failure. Besides the few copies reaching the Philippines, *The Dawn* attracted no known readership and certainly not the 800-word English Chinese readership which he profiled. Given the low literacy levels of maritime workers of that age, not to mention the mass of workers in the region, the readership of his terse political-analytical articles would have been miniscule. He did not work out distribution networks either, unless he had lined up loyal and fearless seamen couriers. It may have been a bold play on the part of the Profintern to produce an international news magazine to rival *Time* magazine launched in the same year but, typically, the audiences for such periodicals were subscription-paying middle classes. Still, for Tan Malaka, even as his mental condition took a hit, he could use Profintern's money to print his own book in Guangzhou and to reprint it in Manila. Thanks to the generous support of the Filipino trade unionists and others, he could feed various articles into the Philippine press and likewise connect with the PKI through its journal *Api* to which he also contributed articles in Indonesia/Malay. But being bereft of the Profintern and virtually penniless, he still had half a career ahead

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of him (just as a tradition of Tan Malaka spy thriller novels began to appear in his native Sumatra).

On balance, then, how was the Profintern in Asia experiment in Guangzhou esteemed by Moscow? As Weiss sums up, the RILU must have regarded the 1924 Canton Conference as a major success.⁵⁴ The Conference adopted a resolution that had been prepared in Moscow and declared its commitment to open an office in Guangzhou. Yet the Canton Bureau was never established, at least not in the way it was envisaged, nor were the projected Interclubs in Manila, Hong Kong and Jakarta established as they had been in Europe and Vladivostok. Moreover, as alluded, *The Dawn* venture was more trouble than it was worth. Simply, in the face of reaction Guangzhou was not a 'stable red centre in the East' as Semaun and indeed the Comintern naively believed at this juncture. Practically as Semaun wrote, on 20 March 1926, Chiang Kai-shek launched his purge of communist elements from the Nationalist army in Guangzhou in an event known as the Zhongshan or March Twentieth Incident. Neutralising the Soviet mission, arresting members of the Guangzhou–Hong Kong Strike Committee, the

events signalled the end of the KMT–Soviet United Front (although the communists would fight back with their doomed uprising in December 1927 leading to mass executions). I would rather suggest that, for the Profintern, the Canton Conference was but an important first stage in the Pan-Pacific Revolutionary Trade Union movement leading to the establishment of the PPTUS in Hankow in May 1927. For Tan Malaka, the Profintern interlude in revolutionary Guangzhou was but a chapter in his life, and we are fortunate that he bequeathed a three-part autobiography written in prison in Java in 1948. Although his overall role in the Indonesian National Revolution (1945–1949) would become the subject of intense scrutiny on the part of Western scholars,⁵⁵ open discussion on his legacy was only sanctioned inside Indonesia in the wake of the New Order government of General Suharto (1968–1998).⁵⁶ What remains obscure, however, are events surrounding Malaka's release from detention in September 1948 and subsequent assassination on 21 February 1949 by an Indonesian military unit at the moment he was leading guerrilla forces in armed struggle against advancing Dutch colonial forces.⁵⁷ 

NOTES

- 1 See Charles B. McLane, *Soviet Strategies in Southeast Asia. An Exploration of Eastern Policy Under Lenin and Stalin* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), 34–35; Anna Belogurova, *The Nanyang Revolution: The Comintern and Chinese Networks in Southeast Asia, 1890–1957* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), chap.2; Tim Harper, *Underground Asia: Global Revolutionaries and the Assault on Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), chap.1.
- 2 Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), 278–279.
- 3 Josephine Fowler, *Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists: Organizing in American and International Communist Movements, 1919–1933* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007); Josephine Fowler, "From East to West and West to East: Ties of Solidarity in the Pan-Pacific Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, 1923–1934," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (2004): 111.
- 4 Fowler, "From East to West and West to East," 102–106.
- 5 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 202. 01.08.1923–31.12.1923.
- 6 Reiner Tosstorff, "Moscow Versus Amsterdam: Reflections on the History of the Profintern," *Labour History Review* 68, no. 1 (2003): 79, <https://doi.org/10.3828/lhr.68.1.79>.
- 7 Harry A. Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid: Levensloop van 1897 Tot 1945*, vol. 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 259.
- 8 Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid*, 259.
- 9 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 233 23.06.1924–23.06.1924.
- 10 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 233 23.06.1924–23.06.1924.
- 11 C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920–1927* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 107.
- 12 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 233 23.06.1924–23.06.1924.
- 13 Cheah Boon Kheng, *From PKI to the Comintern, 1924–1941: The Apprenticeship of the Malayan Communist Party* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992).

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- 14 Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid*, 593.
- 15 Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid*, 593; Harry A. Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Pergulatan Menuju Republik 1897–1925* (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1988), 316–317.
- 16 Tan Malaka, *Dari Penjara ke Penjara, Bagian Satu/Bagian Dua* (Jakarta: Teplok Press, 2000), 198–199.
- 17 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 733. 01.01.1923–31.11.1923.
- 18 Poeze, *Tan Malaka: Strijder Voor Indonesië's Vrijheid*, 238–239.
- 19 Holger Weiss, *A Global Radical Waterfront: The International Propaganda Committee of Transport Workers and the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers, 1921–1937*, Studies in Global Social History Series, vol. 43 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 48–49, 62.
- 20 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 700. 01.05.1923–31.11.1923.
- 21 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 700. 01.05.1923–30.11.1923.
- 22 Tosstorff, “Moscow Versus Amsterdam,” 79–87; Reiner Tosstorff, *The Red International of Labour Unions (RILU) 1920–1937*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
- 23 RGASPI. Ф. 495. Оп. 154. Д. 735. 01.01.1924–31.12.1924.
- 24 McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*, 278.
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O Equilíbrio dos Impossíveis — Uma Espiritualidade Oriental

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RESUMO: Cada nação tem o seu próprio carácter peculiar, e o japonês em particular, é um ser religioso porque supersticioso, que teme a Deus (ou aos deuses), a si, aos outros, ao grupo e ao ambiente — as ilhas que habita, o mar que o envolve e o céu que o observa. Para se proteger de tudo e de todos, o japonês encontrou no xintoísmo primeiro, e no budismo depois, princípios e crenças que o moldam no diálogo com a natureza e com a sociedade. Escapou-lhe o cristianismo, que propunha a síntese de todas as crenças, mas impunha o monopólio da verdade.

Entre a fúria dos elementos e a fúria dos homens, o japonês acha-se protegido pelo xintoísmo e pelo budismo. O japonês é talhado por cinzel xintoísta, mas com mão budista. Ensinado a admirar o belo, o japonês recria o meio contido e exemplar, onde procura uma espiritualidade minimalista, depurada e disciplinada tão bem sintetizado no jardim japonês.

Entre a religiosidade budista e o amor à natureza protagonizado pelo xintoísmo, o japonês procura o belo e o perfeito num equilíbrio (quase) impossível.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Espiritualidade; Budismo; Xintoísmo; Harmonia; Jardim japonês.

INTRODUÇÃO

O homem, ser inteligente, talhando o território desde os primórdios da civilização, foi construindo um *habitat* tendencialmente desequilibrado que diariamente interfere com a sua natureza física e psicológica. A contrapor a esses desequilíbrios, o homem, e o homem oriental, procurou sempre na religião, através das suas convicções profundas, a estabilidade dos elementos e do seu ser.

S. Francisco Xavier,¹ o ‘Apóstolo do Oriente’, ao chegar ao Japão em 1549, foi confrontado com

a espiritualidade dos nativos que repartiam a sua identidade entre duas confissões religiosas, que defendiam ser o garante do equilíbrio do homem e da natureza. Se o xintoísmo procura a harmonia do mundo natural, o budismo oferecia ao homem o equilíbrio do seu ser, como defendia Nishitsu, o *bozo* interlocutor de Francisco Xavier.

O budismo, fundado pelo Príncipe indiano Siddhartha Gautama, defende o caminho intermédio entre a austeridade e o prazer na busca da interiorização religiosa, do equilíbrio e da ‘iluminação’. Fundamentado

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Fig. 1: O budismo foi introduzido no Japão no ano de 538, no período Asuka. A cabeça do Daibutsu de Kamakura, Grande Buda, de bronze (1252), é obra do período Kamakura (1192–1333). Fotografia do autor.

nas quatro nobres verdades — a vida é cheia de sofrimento; o sofrimento provém da ânsia; o sofrimento pode terminar se se eliminar a ânsia; o meio de atingir a paz interior (nirvana) é através das oito vias sagradas, o budismo passou à China e foi adaptado pelos imperadores chineses no século I, e introduzido no Japão no século VI. Com o budismo, a sua filosofia e os seus ritos, o Japão incorporou os ideogramas chineses — a escrita e os clássicos chineses — que formataram o seu pensamento ao longo dos séculos.

A ORIGEM MITOLÓGICA DO JAPÃO

As ilhas japonesas, tão sensíveis aos fenómenos naturais, muitos de extrema violência, careciam

necessariamente de espíritos que concilhassem os seus habitantes com as forças do ambiente, que os japoneses cedo encontraram nos *kami* do xintoísmo; mas faltava-lhes a interioridade do ser humano e a força da harmonia que foram buscar ao budismo.

Nesta complementaridade de forças e de espíritos protectores da natureza e do homem, tentou o cristianismo de S. Francisco Xavier penetrar, defendendo os missionários a existência de um só Deus, Criador do Céu e da Terra.

No Japão moderno, após a derrota do país na Segunda Guerra Mundial, é de todos conhecida a renúncia do Imperador Hirohito à sua origem divina. No dia de ano novo de 1946, o Imperador Hirohito, na chamada ‘Declaração de Humanidade’, negou o mito de ser *kami* vivo e assumiu a sua condição de comum mortal. Até então, o soberano nipónico era dado como descendente de Amaterasu, a deusa do Sol, porque a formação do Japão é uma coisa muito séria, uma história que mete deuses.

De acordo com *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, e à semelhança da Bíblia, no princípio era o caos, no meio do qual surgiu uma divindade, *kami*.² Ao cabo de sete gerações de deuses, Izanagi, o deus macho, e Izanami, a deusa fêmea, criaram as ilhas japonesas. De acordo com a lenda, lá do céu olharam para o mar e por meio do sal marinho formaram uma primeira ilha, à qual desceram. Do acto de procriação nasceram então as outras ilhas, com todos os seus atributos naturais, montanhas, árvores, rios, animais e minerais, que formaram o arquipélago japonês. Ao dar à luz o deus do Fogo, Izanami morreu queimada. Izanagi, o esposo, não se conformou e, com saudades da mulher, visitou-a na terra dos mortos. Depois de promessas de que não olharia para ela senão quando voltassem ao mundo dos vivos, o esposo, não resistindo ao prometido, abriu os olhos e deparou com Izanami em decomposição. Izanagi foi depois perseguido pela fúria da mulher e por pouco escapou à sua perseguição, mas, por ter estado na terra

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Fig. 2: O Templo Todaiji em Nara, a maior estrutura de madeira, foi reconstruída entre 1121 e 1206. Fotografia do autor.

dos mortos, que é a maior das profanações, resolveu purificar-se nas águas do rio. Quando lavava o olho esquerdo, nasceu a deusa do Sol, Amaterasu, e do seu nariz nasceu Susanoo, o deus do Vento, e ao lavar o olho direito nasceu Tsukiyomi, o deus da Lua. Izanagi concedeu a Amaterasu o domínio dos céus, a Susanoo o domínio dos mares e a Tsukiyomi o domínio da noite.

Um dia, o deus dos Mares, Susanoo, quis visitar a mãe na terra dos mortos e decidiu despedir-se da irmã mais velha. Surpreendida e desconfiada, Amaterasu desafiou o irmão a provar a sua sinceridade e os dois irmãos começaram a cuspir jóias que tiravam dos pertences um do outro. Amaterasu deu à luz três filhas das jóias de Susanoo e o irmão fez nascer cinco rapazes das jóias de Amaterasu. Os rapazes, assim nascidos da espada de Susanoo, eram filhos dela e as raparigas, nascidas dos brincos de Amaterasu, eram filhas dele.

Mas, como, por natureza, era muito turbulento, Susanoo, o deus dos Mares, destruiu os campos de arroz e acabou por ser banido do céu para a terra de Izumo, na província de Shimane, na costa do mar do Japão. Amaterasu, então rainha, acabou por enviar o filho Ninigi para governar a Terra. Jinmu, neto de Ninigi, foi o primeiro imperador (*tenno*) no ano de 660 a. C. e, de acordo com a tradição, o actual imperador é o 127.º na linha de sucessão. É esta a lenda que conta a formação da casa reinante do Império do Sol — nascente e que está na gênese do Japão.

ESTILO ARQUITECTÓNICO DE SANTUÁRIO XINTOÍSTA

Todas as localidades japonesas têm um santuário protector, *jinja*, e, entre todos, o de Ise é o maior e o mais importante. Este santuário, dedicado a



Fig. 3: Habitantes dum território sensível a fenómenos naturais extremos, os japoneses procuraram espíritos que conciliassem os seus habitantes com as forças do ambiente. Fotografia do autor.



Fig. 4: A vida espiritual dos japoneses é orientada pelos *shinshoku* xintoístas e os bonzos budistas. Fotografia do autor.

Amaterasu, foi mandado construir em Ise no ano de 300 d. C. pela Princesa Yamato, que serviu de *medium* à deusa para a escolha do local. Ise, a província do vento divino (*kamikaze*) por ser a terra para onde se dirigem as ondas do ‘mundo interno’, é o santuário protegido pelo imperador, que tem por obrigação reconstruí-lo a cada vinte anos com os materiais mais puros encontrados em todo o Japão.

Embora contrariando um pouco o sentimento japonês, que prefere a *patine* do tempo nos objectos ligados à vida terrena, a sensibilidade xintoísta valoriza as coisas novas e frescas no que diz respeito aos deuses e, por semelhança, aos bens públicos. Por essa razão,

não só o santuário de Ise é reconstruído, como se refazem os seus tesouros.

Em Tóquio, cidade em permanente mutação e valorização, assisti a certa altura à colocação de um pavimento de pedra aparelhada num dos principais passeios do Parque de Hibiya, o ‘*Central Park*’ da capital japonesa. Passados alguns anos, como a pedra tivesse ganho a *patine* natural do tempo, tornando-se mais bela ao meu olhar, foi toda ela, para meu espanto, bujardada, cumprindo-se assim a sensibilidade xintoísta.

Além do estilo arquitectónico que distingue um templo budista de um santuário xintoísta, há diversos elementos que identificam imediatamente

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Fig. 5: Quioto, capital (794–1868) e residência do imperador, serviu durante esses séculos de base para a construção dos mais delicados e sofisticados jardins. Fotografia do autor.

a casa dos *kami*. Um santuário xintoísta tem sempre a antecede-lo, ou como prenúncio da entrada, um portal, constituído por dois pilares e por uma trave, a que se chama *torii*, que significa, literalmente, o poiso dos pássaros e representa na religião xinto a separação entre o mundo comum e o mundo divino. Depois, cada santuário é adornado com cordas e papéis, os *kami*, que são os símbolos xintoístas. O badalo que os fiéis tocam para anunciar ao deus que chegaram para orar e a caixa das oferendas para onde os fiéis atiram os seus donativos são os atributos dos santuários.

O XINTOÍSMO NA EDUCAÇÃO CÍVICA

O xintoísmo, ou a via dos *kami*, é a religião nativa japonesa. São estes *kami* espíritos ou divindades



Fig. 6: Jardim do santuário Kamowakeikazuchi-jinja, Quioto. Fotografia do autor.

que encarnam a natureza e também as coisas simples. Há *kami* para as montanhas, árvores, rochas, rios, oceanos, mas também os há para os seres vivos.

Os *kami* não têm necessariamente de ser bons, reconhecendo-se com isso que os espíritos da natureza tanto podem ser construtivos como destrutivos, uma vez que os japoneses vivem permanentemente debaixo da fúria dos elementos, como tremores de terra, tufões, maremotos, enxurradas, vulcões e outras calamidades.

E os homens? Os homens são naturalmente bons. Se calhar, desconfiados, mas fiéis às suas convicções, bons anfitriões, tenazes no trabalho, gente que não esmorece mesmo com as adversidades da natureza, ou, se calhar, por causa delas, gente educada e cortês.

A educação cívica no Japão, moldada pela



Fig. 7: No jardim seco, a água é substituída por gravilha e rochas, numa criação de espaços dedicados à meditação e à tranquilidade. O exemplo mais conhecido do jardim zen é o do Templo de Ryoan-ji, em Quioto. Fotografia do autor.

insularidade, tem matriz xintoísta. Os japoneses aprendem desde os bancos da escola como viver em sociedade.

A educação cívica faz parte do currículo escolar e a vida do aluno é norteada pelo cumprimento da disciplina do grupo. Dos 6 aos 14 anos, ou seja, do 1.º ao 9.º ano de escolaridade, o Ministério da Educação estipula um programa de educação cívica, que vai naturalmente evoluindo em complexidade com a idade, mas abarca sempre quatro princípios básicos: a relação do jovem consigo, com os outros, com a natureza (e com as divindades) e com a sociedade.

Na sua relação consigo, os mais pequenos são ensinados a manter uma vida saudável e regrada, a serem bem-comportados e honestos, evoluindo depois para conselhos, como a independência, a persistência, a coragem, a alegria de viver, a procura de objectivos, a reflexão sobre a personalidade e a procura da verdade.

Sobre a relação do aluno com os outros, a escola ensina-o a ser delicado, atencioso — especialmente com os idosos e os mais pequenos — sociável e agradecido, progredindo para o respeito e o convívio saudável com o sexo oposto. Cordialidade, simpatia, confiança e cooperação com os outros, ou compreensão pela personalidade do próximo, procurando perceber

com honestidade os diferentes pontos de vista, são princípios transmitidos na escola.

No que toca à natureza e às divindades, é incutido nas crianças japonesas o valor da vida e da beleza, o amor às plantas e aos animais, o respeito pelos recursos naturais e pelo poder divino e a alegria de viver como ser humano, com todas as suas fraquezas, mas com viva confiança na capacidade de ultrapassar essas condições.

Finalmente, na relação com a sociedade, o aluno aprende a cumprir as obrigações e a aceitar as regras, a utilizar com cuidado os bens comuns, a respeitar a família, os professores e os superiores, a valorizar o trabalho, aplicando-se com vontade, determinação e alegria a servir o grupo. Preservar e defender a cultura do Japão e a memória dos antepassados, participar na sociedade, reconhecer o seu papel no colectivo, ser justo sem preconceitos ou discriminações, respeitar os estrangeiros e a sua cultura, promover o desenvolvimento do Japão e da cultura japonesa no contexto da sociedade global e na defesa da paz mundial são também normas orientadoras de comportamento.

Na escola, a conduta social do aluno é objecto de classificação, pelo que uma má nota na área da educação cívica reflectir-se-á no acesso aos estabelecimentos de ensino mais credenciados, com natural repercussão na vida profissional futura.

Reconhecemos muitos destes princípios como a base da sociedade cristã e estes valores como verdadeiros, mas, enquanto para os cristãos quem ajuíza é um Deus misericordioso que perdoa e absolve, para os japoneses são a sociedade e o homem, menos tolerantes e permissivos, que avaliam e regem a conduta de cada qual, contribuindo assim para um maior civismo.

Desse civismo faz parte a contenção das palavras e o tom em que são pronunciadas. Entre os povos mediterrânicos serão porventura os portugueses os mais contidos e silenciosos, mas, se nos colocarmos em terras japonesas, dar-nos-emos conta de quão barulhentos somos.

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Fig. 8a e 8b: Os pavimentos, com os seus padrões, os muros e as cercas, tanto de pedra como de cerâmica ou de bambu, disciplinam e limitam o ambiente. Fotografias do autor.

Os japoneses sempre se exprimiram muito mais por atitudes e gestos do que por palavras, mas, apesar disso, a lei e as posturas municipais do controle ambiental regulam as fontes geradoras de ruído e de vibrações.

Como vive entre paredes de papel, por muitos dispositivos legais que existam para restringir o ruído, o japonês é contido nas palavras e no volume da voz.

Cabe então ao homem respeitar o seu semelhante, os seus antepassados e a terra onde vive, que ele acima de tudo valoriza, protege e embeleza.

Nesse mundo por eles criado, o jardim japonês reflecte a história da religião no Japão.

O JARDIM JAPONÊS PELOS OLHOS DOS VIAJANTES PORTUGUESES

Em meados do século XVI, por altura da chegada dos portugueses ao Japão, o jardim português afirmara já as suas potencialidades, fosse nas residências senhoriais, ou nos quintais mais humildes. Na tradição mediterrânica e islâmica desse jardim pontificavam as cores e os odores sublinhados por tanques de água, que traziam a frescura ao ambiente e realçavam o cromatismo e o cheiro de plantas e de flores.

No jardim japonês, tal não acontece; por isso, os viajantes portugueses registaram na sua memória e nos

seus sentidos a especificidade desses espaços de lazer, recreio e espiritualidade.

Nos primeiros relatos de Jorge Álvares, em 1544, um ano passado sobre o encontro pioneiro entre japoneses e ocidentais protagonizado por três aventureiros portugueses em Tanegashima, e, séculos volvidos, através de Wenceslau de Moraes, as características do jardim japonês impressionaram a sensibilidade dos portugueses. Disso nos dá conta ainda Luís Fróis, em pleno século XVI, quando no seu admirável tratado, em que compara as culturas ocidental e japonesa, nos refere:

Antre nós há muitas rosas, flores, cravos e ervas cheirosas e mui odoríferas; em Japão mui poucas destas cousas têm cheiro.

Em Europa se fazem tanques de parede quadrados e limpos; em Japão fazem umas lagoazinhas ou balsas com recantos e enseadas pequenas, com penedos e ilhazinhas no meo, e isto cavado no chão.³

QUIOTO — A CRIAÇÃO DOS JARDINS MAIS ELABORADOS

O jardim japonês era trabalhado na tradição



Fig. 9: Através dos contactos entre a China e o Japão, promovidos pelo budismo, em 1191 foi introduzido pelo monge Eisai (1141–1215) o costume do chá. Fotografia do autor.



Fig. 10: No exterior, um tanque de pedra fornece a água necessária para a preparação da cerimónia e a purificação daqueles que nela vão participar. Fotografia do autor.

budista. Nos jardins de então procuravam-se reconstruir em miniatura réplicas do Monte Sumeru, elemento do universo budista, e neles não faltavam as pontes de acesso. Tratando-se naturalmente de um exemplo primitivo da tradição nipónica, este jardim depressa evoluiu para o tipo comum, onde o lago informe, de margens naturais, suporta um ilhéu e onde todos os pormenores concorrem para recriar, em miniatura, o carácter irregular da natureza. Segundo essa tradição, data já então do século VIII o uso de areia e de seixos na construção e no arranjo dos jardins.

Com a transferência da capital para Quioto no final do século VIII, esta cidade vai ser, no milénio subsequente (793–1867), o palco privilegiado da evolução desta arte tão querida aos japoneses e de profundas raízes na sua cultura. Entre os mais conhecidos exemplos do património arquitectónico japonês, é frequente que o valor do conjunto esteja emblematicamente focalizado na componente paisagística, e não no imóvel construído, bem ao contrário da tradição europeia.

Apesar do refinamento de que a partir de então o jardim japonês foi alvo, os princípios básicos da sua composição nunca foram abandonados. Nele procura-se sempre recriar uma montanha em miniatura,

bordejada por um lago de formas irregulares, alimentado por um curso de água ao jeito de nascente natural.

A cidade de Quioto, capital e residência do imperador, serviu durante esses séculos de base para a construção dos mais delicados e sofisticados jardins, os quais, ao longo dos tempos, foram evoluindo em qualidade e refinamento. Centro da espiritualidade budista, poupada a conflitos e calamidades naturais, Quioto é ainda, e felizmente, o repositório dessa arte tão enraizada no quotidiano nipónico.

Acresce que a natureza dotou Quioto das melhores condições para a preservação e desenvolvimento dos jardins. Cercada de uma cordilheira de montanhas, sulcada por importantes cursos de água que vão alimentando os mil e um lagos dos infundáveis jardins, a cidade parece guardar entre os seus limites naturais as melhores condições para a preservação desses maravilhosos espaços naturais.

Nas montanhas baixas de Quioto cresce então uma floresta densa e diversificada, que poupa o solo à erosão e serve, ainda hoje, de moldura ambiental ao perímetro urbano. Certamente que estas montanhas muito terão contribuído para a inspiração dos mestres que, ao longo dos séculos, foram reinventando o jardim japonês, depurando o conjunto nos pormenores da

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composição e enriquecendo o todo nos princípios gerais por que se rege. Ao mesmo tempo, o enquadramento natural, tão rico em espécies arbóreas e musgos, forneceu a matéria-prima aos artistas e artesãos. Por outro lado, os cursos de água, os rios Katsura e Kamo, que ainda correm abundantemente em Quioto, oferecem também as areias, os seixos e os inertes tão necessários ao trabalho dos mestres e dos artistas.

Copiada da matriz chinesa, segundo a organização ortogonal da cidade de Chang'an, Quioto, na sua dimensão actual, cercada de uma cintura de muralhas, terá ficado concluída no século IX.

A ARTE DOS JARDINS

A presença de cursos de água corrente, preparados com base no sistema de *yarimizu*, dotou os jardins de Quioto de uma permanente frescura mesmo no estio, quando o calor aperta ou sufoca. Nessa linha é da maior importância a criação de quedas de água que caracterizaram os jardins japoneses já à data da fundação de Quioto como capital. Associados ao enquadramento natural da cidade, os jardins japoneses, sobretudo os de Quioto, têm nos declives e nas irregularidades do terreno uma das suas características mais marcantes, pois, tirando partido da orografia, o espaço é concebido em momentos de surpresa e em recantos de imprevisível harmonia, onde amiúde os planos se sucedem e interrompem. O jardim não deve apenas imitar a natureza, mas reflectir o seu espírito.

Como já foi referido, a arte e tradição dos jardins estão intimamente ligadas aos princípios da religião budista, sem se apartar dos conceitos básicos do xintoísmo, que zela pela preservação da natureza. Nessa perspectiva, quer o imperador, quer as mais diversas seitas, procuraram enfatizar a sua devoção e poder, promovendo a construção de jardins mais belos e admiráveis. De acordo com a filosofia budista, surgem então os lagos, onde os lótus abundam, construídos defronte dos edifícios principais.



Fig. 11: O percurso pedonal que leva o participante até ao canto do jardim pretende criar a atmosfera de isolamento para a reflexão e para o prazer que a cerimónia do chá transmite aos que nela participam. Fotografia do autor.

Um dos mais admiráveis jardins deste período é o do Templo de Byodo-in — que vemos numa das faces da moeda de 10 ienes e de cujo lugar nos falou Moraes, no seu livro *O Culto do Chá*,⁴ construído em Uji, uma localidade às portas de Quioto. Os lagos, com os imensos lótus, e as pontes que se erguem defronte dos edifícios sugerem a passagem para o paraíso, numa alusão aos princípios do budismo defendidos pela seita.

Aqui, como noutros jardins de outras épocas, a cor está praticamente ausente, pois os delicados lótus, apesar das exuberantes folhas, apresentam apenas pequenos botões de um rosa desmaiada.

Também o famoso jardim do Templo de Ouro em Quioto, segue os mesmos princípios do Templo de Byodo-in. O pavilhão foi construído no centro da

composição, ao lado do lago com lótus, que contém rochas que simulam as nove montanhas e os oito mares que rodeiam o Monte Sumeru.

A filosofia *jodo* das escolas amidistas, bem presente nestes exemplos, continua influente até ao período Edo, ou seja, até ao início do século XVII, e expressa-se nos famosos jardins *zen*. O jardim *zen* vai alterar a atmosfera do tradicional jardim japonês. Torna-se mais pequeno, porque é, geralmente, construído intramuros, e adopta uma linguagem minimalista bem característica deste movimento. Promovido pela nobreza e pela classe militar, que entretanto ganhava notoriedade, o movimento *zen* vai ditar os princípios dos mais sofisticados jardins japoneses.

Com base neste movimento, a riqueza dos jardins, nas suas mais variadas combinações de árvores, arbustos, musgos, lagos e água, é repudiada e dá lugar a espaços mais depurados. No ‘jardim seco’, o elemento água é substituído por gravilha e rochas, numa criação de espaços dedicados à meditação e à tranquilidade. Os criadores dão ênfase à textura e à forma das pedras, que são os elementos ‘vivos’ deste jardim. O exemplo mais conhecido do jardim *zen* é, sem sombra de dúvida, o jardim do Templo de Ryoan-ji, também em Quioto. O uso de pedras na composição dos jardins parece estranho aos olhos ocidentais, mas, para os japoneses, que acreditam que os deuses, os *kami*, estão nelas incorporados, faz todo o sentido.

Na concepção do jardim japonês, qualquer que seja o período, é fundamental o bom emprego dos elementos que fazem parte do vocabulário arquitectónico e das regras que determinam a gramática usada na sua concepção. Nos jardins *zen* são fundamentais as pedras, a areia e o seu desenho. Nos jardins mais tradicionais, os cursos de água, as cascatas e os lagos são os elementos vivos da composição. Os pavimentos, com os seus padrões, os muros e as cercas, tanto de pedra como de cerâmica ou de bambu, disciplinam e limitam o ambiente. As pontes, as lanternas e as bacias de água que decoram a paisagem,

as carpas que animam os lagos e a selecção das plantas determinam, pela plasticidade escolhida e encontrada, o resultado do jardim como peça de arte e exemplo de sofisticação.

A escolha das espécies arbóreas, sejam elas de folha persistente ou caduca, pode conferir, pela cor e pelas tonalidades, conforme a evolução das estações e do seu ciclo natural, a noção de profundidade e de amplitude.

O CAMINHO DO CHÁ

Através dos contactos entre a China e o Japão, promovidos pelo budismo, em 1191, foi introduzido pelo monge Eisai (1141–1215), o costume do chá, recomendado pelas suas propriedades medicinais e ingerido como estímulo para os longos períodos de meditação. Depressa se divulgou esta prática entre os bonzos e a nobreza, alargando-se, sucessivamente, a toda a população desde o século XII até aos nossos dias.

Fundador da seita *zen*, Eisai redigiu a primeira obra em japonês sobre esta bebida. Na actualidade, o filósofo japonês Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889–1961) defendeu que ‘a via do chá é o caminho da salvação através da beleza’. Das palavras do pensador compreende-se que o chá tem estado intimamente ligado à religião, ao budismo e ao jardim japonês.

Após a sua introdução da China, a cerimónia do chá mereceu algum refinamento no século XV, por influência de Murata Shuko (1422–1502), o qual, inspirado na prática *zen* e nos ensinamentos do mestre Ikkyu Sojun (1394–1481), estabeleceu as regras e introduziu a espiritualidade característica desta arte japonesa. Foi também sob a influência de Murata Shuko que objectos de origem japonesa começaram a ser utilizados na cerimónia ao lado dos outros de origem chinesa.

Deve-se também ao mestre Murata Shuko, conservador das colecções de arte chinesa do Xógun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, a primeira utilização de um rolo



Fig. 12: Um recanto muito especial dos jardins japoneses é o dedicado às cerejeiras. Fotografia do autor.

de caligrafia como decoração do *tokonoma*, o espaço feito altar que ornamenta o pavilhão do chá. Terá sido o mestre Sen no Rikyu, contemporâneo da presença portuguesa no Japão, que levou a cerimónia ao seu actual estado de sofisticação. Oriundo de uma família de mercadores da cidade de Sakai, o porto que servia a capital, e não sendo estranho à presença portuguesa e aos católicos com quem privou, Sen no Rikyu (1522–1591) vai reformar a cerimónia do chá e conferir-lhe a imagem que hoje apresenta. De acordo com o mestre, a natureza está sempre presente na cerimónia. Tal como testemunha João Rodrigues Tçuzzu na *História da Igreja do Japão*, o carácter rústico dos pavilhões do chá contrasta com o esplendor cada vez mais brilhante das habitações principais.⁵ Foi o mestre que estabeleceu as dimensões ideais com que até hoje os pavilhões do chá são concebidos, diminuindo o seu espaço interior para criar uma maior intimidade entre o celebrante e o convidado, imaginando uma antecâmara para os preparativos da cerimónia e, mais do que tudo, concebendo uma entrada estreita e baixa,

para, ao entrar, o convidado ser obrigado a baixar-se, numa atitude de humildade perante a vida exterior. De acordo com as reformas do mestre Sen no Rikyu, os espaços para a realização da cerimónia são quase sempre escolhidos entre os locais mais recônditos dos jardins e denotam, na escolha dos materiais de construção, a simplicidade com o que ele pretendia exaltar. Neles encontramos toscos ramos de árvore a substituir pilares e vigas e tudo o mais evoca o estado primitivo e natural da paisagem.

No exterior, um pequeno tanque de pedra fornece a água necessária para a preparação da cerimónia e a purificação daqueles que nela vão participar. O percurso pedonal que leva o participante até ao canto do jardim pretende criar a atmosfera de isolamento necessária para a reflexão e para o prazer que a cerimónia do chá transmite aos que nela participam. O *chanoyu*, ou a cerimónia do chá, e o espaço criado para a sua celebração, sendo uma expressão artística, constituem uma parte importante da concepção dos jardins japoneses.

Por isso o projecto dos pavilhões do chá, *soan*, é entregue a arquitectos especialistas que assumem os princípios ditados por Sen no Rikyu como uma arte.

CONCLUSÃO

Outro recanto muito especial dos jardins japoneses é o dedicado às cerejeiras. É sabido, e disso deram bem conta os portugueses que visitaram o Japão ao longo dos séculos, que estas árvores servem apenas para o deleite dos japoneses, como dizia Luís Fróis no seu famoso tratado:

*As nossas cerejeiras dão mui gostosas e fermosas cerejas; as de Japão dão muito pequenas e amargosas cerejas e muito fermosas flores, que os japões estimam.*⁶

As cerejeiras, que florescem em Abril, no início da Primavera, oferecem aos japoneses um dos momentos mais brilhantes do seu quotidiano. Independentemente da classe social ou da idade, todos

os japoneses aproveitam o espectáculo que a natureza lhes proporciona para criarem momentos de convívio e descontração entre familiares, amigos ou colegas.

No Japão, a cerejeira é um dos poucos apontamentos de cor num jardim em que o inédito cria o exótico, como diria ainda Luís Fróis:

*Antre nós se trabalha muito que as árvores vão direitas pera cima; em Japão vaza to [de propósito] lhe penduram pedras nos ramos pera as fazer ir tortas.*⁷

Num jardim, que pretende imitar a natureza, tudo, afinal, é controlado e meticulosamente concebido e conservado.

A intimidade que o japonês tem com a natureza e o ambiente é afinal consequência da sua formação xintoísta aperfeiçoada e complementada nos princípios do budismo que foi beber à civilização chinesa e molda, ao longo da vida, as suas raízes culturais num equilíbrio (quase) impossível. **RC**

NOTAS

- 1 O peculiar relacionamento dos missionários jesuítas com o Japão, Francisco Xavier (1506–1552) desembarca a 15 de Agosto de 1549 em Kagoshima na companhia de dois japoneses feitos cristãos com o intuito de evangelizar o Cipango de Marco Polo.
- 2 *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, trad. W. G. Aston (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1985).
- 3 Luís Fróis, *Europa Japão: Um Diálogo Civilizacional no Século XVI* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos

- Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1993), 148–149.
- 4 Wenceslau de Moraes, *O Culto do Chá* (Kobe: Typographia do Kobe Herald, 1905).
- 5 João Rodrigues Tçuzzu, *História da Igreja do Japão*, preparada por João do Amaral Abranches Pinto (Macau: Notícias de Macau, 1954).
- 6 Fróis, *Europa Japão*, 148–149.
- 7 Fróis, *Europa Japão*, 148–149.

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Narrando e Contestando Identidades Culturais na Música: O Caso de Macau antes e depois da Transferência

Desde a chegada dos portugueses, em meados do século XVI, Macau tem assistido a um intercâmbio cultural incessante entre o Oriente e o Ocidente. Diferentes tipos de herança cultural e artística híbrida, como música, linguagem e poesia, foram criados desde então. No entanto, como reflectem os académicos, estão ainda por fazer estudos para documentar o desenvolvimento artístico acima mencionado e, investigar como a identidade cultural do povo de Macau evoluiu ao longo da história. Este artigo contribui para investigar de que forma as memórias e identidades de grupos específicos de pessoas residentes em Macau são articuladas na sua música que retrata Macau, especificamente, através da análise das canções chinesas ‘Canção dos Sete Filhos — Macau’ e ‘Canção de Macau’, e das músicas portuguesas ‘Macau, Terra Minha’ e ‘Adeus, Macau’, bem como utilizando os discursos da música e da identidade cultural discutidos por Simon Frith, Stuart Hall e Homi Bhabha, entre outros. Nas obras seleccionadas são analisados o uso da linguagem, musicalidade e apresentação ao público. Embora um grupo possa demonstrar em relação

ao outro, narrativas contraditórias em termos de identidade e crenças, a sua expressão musical em geral, sobre si e sobre Macau, constitui um entendimento, memória e reconhecimento comunitário deste lugar. Ao longo do tempo, também se pode observar uma mudança ao nível das narrativas de identidade e de recepção do público, o que resulta numa identificação móvel e numa mudança da identidade colectiva das pessoas.

(Caspar Ka Yin Chan, pp. 6–23)

Mapeamento de Macau: História Espacial, Urbanismo Cinematográfico e Construção de Uma Cidade Global

Na sua obra seminal *The Image of the City*, o urbanista Kevin Lynch defende que o significado de uma experiência urbana deriva da aquisição de mapas mentais. A cidade deve ser ‘imaginada’ num ‘processo bidireccional entre o observador e o ambiente’ em que o observador ‘selecciona, organiza e dá significado ao que vê’. Neste sentido, Macau é tanto uma cidade como uma imagem. Estabelecida como entreposto comercial português em 1557 e transferida administrativamente à República Popular da China em 1999, Macau tem sofrido uma série de transformações, tanto em termos espaciais como históricos. Os projectos de aterro começaram

em 1912 e intensificaram-se no início da década de 2000. A Região Administrativa Especial iniciou um ambicioso mega-projecto de recuperação das águas entre a Taipa e Coloane, conhecido como Zona de Aterros Taipa-Coloane ou, mais comumente, ‘Cotai Strip’. Este artigo analisa a forma como a imagem de Macau, como cidade global, é construída, tanto no sentido espacial, através do planeamento urbano, como no sentido cultural, através do cinema e média. Mais especificamente, analisa a forma como o filme premiado de Ho-Cheung Pang, *Isabella*, lança luz sobre a história espacial fragmentada de Macau. Vencedor do Urso de Prata no Festival Internacional de Cinema de Berlim, *Isabella* levou Macau a uma audiência cinematográfica global. Ao mesmo tempo, o filme chama a atenção para o facto de o espaço urbano de Macau poder ser decodificado de diferentes formas pelo público local e internacional. Ou seja, o filme separa subtilmente as audiências com base no seu conhecimento da história espacial de Macau, destacando as mudanças no tecido social e a identidade cultural dos seus residentes. Este artigo explica como o cinema e o urbanismo estão ligados na construção de Macau como uma cidade global.

(Christopher K. Tong, pp. 24–41)

Religião e Poder: Mulheres Viajantes em Macau

A importância de Henrietta Hall Shuck para Hong Kong, é definitivamente notável, como a primeira missionária a visitar Macau em 1836 antes de se estabelecer em Hong Kong em 1842. No entanto, no nosso entendimento, a sua influência em Macau é comparativamente limitada. Uma vez que os temas históricos estão fortemente ligados ao retrato da ‘mulher’ criado pelo discurso hegemónico, esta pesquisa permite-nos repensar as mulheres que são sub-representadas na ‘história’. A realização da feminilidade inclusiva pode ser alcançada através de uma análise dos materiais históricos sobre as heterogeneidades que caracterizaram a vida das mulheres no terceiro mundo durante a era colonial e, portanto, redefinindo, produzindo e representando ‘mulheres’ como uma ‘mulher’ singular do terceiro mundo. Este artigo apresenta uma teoria feminista e colonial e um discurso de mulheres do terceiro mundo que exercem poder e operam resistência. Argumenta que as relações de poder são definidas como uma fonte de poder e uma resposta colectiva ao poder. Este artigo traça uma comparação entre a auto-apresentação de Henrietta Hall Shuck e a sua representação das mulheres em Macau sobre

religião e poder, propondo discursos hegemónicos que se inscrevem em relações de poder onde as mulheres opõem, resistem e implicitamente apoiam.

(Eliza Si Kei Leong, pp. 42–57)

Dos Primeiros Contactos Luso-Chineses à Presença Portuguesa em Macau

Neste artigo proponho traçar um roteiro histórico que vai da conquista de Malaca aos primeiros tempos da presença permanente portuguesa em Macau. A conquista de Malaca em 1511 abriu aos portugueses as rotas do Sudeste asiático, proporcionando os primeiros contactos com os chineses. Utilizando fontes ocidentais e chinesas narro o percurso dos mercadores portugueses nas costas da China, e, com base na tese de Rute Saraiva, tento mostrar como foi possível o acordo luso–chinês de Leonel de Sousa, de 1554, que possibilitou a presença permanente dos portugueses em Macau, em 1557.

(Aureliano Barata, pp. 58–71)

A Terceira Rota da Seda: Piratas, Tesouros Enterrados e Navios Naufragados

A maioria das pessoas ouviu falar da Rota da Seda terrestre, mas sabe menos sobre a Rota da Seda marítima, embora ambas sejam igualmente importantes na história.

As discussões sobre as Rotas da Seda terrestre e marítima têm se concentrado no papel de facilitadoras do comércio internacional e intercâmbios culturais. No entanto, existe uma terceira Rota da Seda, que raramente é mencionada, mas também é importante para a história, a arqueologia e o património cultural. Esta terceira rota é a Rota da Seda dos piratas. Onde quer que houvesse um comércio florescente, com certeza haveria piratas que se aproveitavam desse comércio e que também criavam as suas próprias redes de troca através de mercados negros e portos amigáveis. Sempre que existia intercâmbio cultural, havia piratas que participavam activamente da divulgação cultural. Neste artigo, desenvolvo esses temas com exemplos específicos da história (com foco no Leste e Sudeste Asiático). Primeiramente, discuto as rotas marítimas relacionadas à Rota da Seda e as suas conexões com a pirataria. Em seguida, examino vários covis de piratas localizados ao longo dessas rotas, locais onde os piratas supostamente enterravam os seus tesouros. Após isso, discuto o emocionante campo da arqueologia marítima para examinar o que foi descoberto sobre supostos navios piratas naufragados ao longo da Rota da Seda marítima. Por fim, exploro algumas das contribuições que os piratas têm feito para a

disseminação da religião popular e da cultura popular, bem como possíveis contribuições que a Rota da Seda dos piratas pode trazer a projectos de património histórico e cultural contemporâneos.

(Robert J. Antony, pp. 72–91)

Lançamento do *The Dawn* na Guangzhou revolucionária: Tan Malaka e a ‘Conferência de Cantão’ dos Trabalhadores dos Transportes do Pacífico (Junho de 1924)

Chegado a Guangzhou vindo da Rússia em Dezembro de 1923, como representante Indonésio da Internacional Sindical Vermelha (Profintern) no Extremo Oriente, e delegado da Internacional Comunista (Comintern) para o Sudeste Asiático — Tan Malaka, também participou da Conferência dos Trabalhadores dos Transportes do Pacífico, realizada na cidade do sul da China, em Junho de 1924. Reunindo uma assembleia de delegados da China, Indonésia

e Filipinas, a Conferência designou Malaka como editor de um proposto boletim multilíngue, *The Dawn*. A ‘Conferência de Cantão’ e o *The Dawn* têm sido amplamente negligenciados na literatura, por isso este artigo busca avançar na pesquisa sobre este assunto com referência aos também negligenciados arquivos do Comintern, abordando especialmente o tema Profintern-na-Ásia, bem como o papel especial de Tan Malaka antes e após a sua partida para as Filipinas, onde prosseguiu o apoio a líderes sindicais locais.

(Geoffrey C. Gunn, pp. 92–109)

O Equilíbrio dos Impossíveis — Uma Espiritualidade Oriental

Cada nação tem o seu próprio carácter peculiar, e o japonês em particular, é um ser religioso porque supersticioso, que teme a Deus (ou aos deuses), a si, aos outros, ao grupo e ao ambiente — as ilhas que habita, o mar que o envolve e o céu que o observa. Para se proteger

de tudo e de todos, o japonês encontrou no xintoísmo primeiro, e no budismo depois, princípios e crenças que o moldam no diálogo com a natureza e com a sociedade. Escapou-lhe o cristianismo, que propunha a síntese de todas as crenças, mas impunha o monopólio da verdade.

Entre a fúria dos elementos e a fúria dos homens, o japonês acha-se protegido pelo xintoísmo e pelo budismo. O japonês é talhado por cinzel xintoísta, mas com mão budista. Ensinado a admirar o belo, o japonês recria o meio contido e exemplar, onde procura uma espiritualidade minimalista, depurada e disciplinada tão bem sintetizado no jardim japonês.

Entre a religiosidade budista e o amor à natureza protagonizado pelo xintoísmo, o japonês procura o belo e o perfeito num equilíbrio (quase) impossível.

(Eduardo Kol de Carvalho, pp. 110–121)



ABSTRACTS

Narrating and Contesting Cultural Identities in Music: The Case of Macao before and after Handover

Macao has seen an incessant cultural exchange between the East and the West since the arrival of the Portuguese in the mid-sixteenth century. Different types of hybrid cultural and artistic heritage, like music, language, and poetry, have since then been created. However, as reflected by scholars, more efforts are yet to be done in documenting the aforementioned artistic development and investigating how the cultural identity of the people of Macao has evolved through history. This paper contributes to study how the memories and identities of specific groups of people residing in Macao are articulated in their music depicting Macao, specifically, through analysing the Chinese songs 'Song of Seven Sons — Macao' and 'Song of Macao', and the Portuguese pieces 'Macao, My Land' and 'Good-bye, Macao', as well as using the discourses of music and cultural identity discussed by Simon Frith, Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha, among others. The selected works concern their uses of language, musicality, and public appearance. Although one group may demonstrate contradictory narratives in terms of identity and beliefs with another, their overall musical expression about themselves

and Macao constructs our communal understanding, memory, and recognition of this place. Over time, a change in terms of their narratives of identity and the audience's reception can also be seen, resulting in a mobile identification, and shifting collective identity of the people. (Caspar Ka Yin Chan, pp. 6–23)

Mapping Macao: Spatial History, Cinematic Urbanism and Building a Global City

In his seminal work *The Image of the City*, urban planner Kevin Lynch argues that the meaning of an urban experience is derived from and through the acquisition of mind maps. The city is to be 'imagined' in a 'two-way process between the observer and the environment' in which the observer 'selects, organises, and endows with meaning to what they see'. In this sense, Macao is as much a city as it is an image. Established as a Portuguese trading post in 1557 and returned to the People's Republic of China in 1999, Macao has experienced a series of transformations in both spatial and historical terms. Land reclamation projects began as early as 1912 and intensified in the early 2000s. The Special Administrative Region initiated an ambitious mega-project to reclaim land from the seas between Taipa and Coloane, known as the Taipa-Coloane

Land Reclamation Site or, more commonly as 'Cotai Strip'. This article analyses how the image of Macao as a global city is constructed, both spatially through urban planning, and culturally through cinema and media. More specifically, it analyses how Ho-Cheung Pang's award-winning film *Isabella* sheds light on Macao's fragmented spatial history. As Winner of a Silver Bear at the Berlin International Film Festival, *Isabella* brought Macao to the global film audience. At the same time, the film draws attention to how the urban space of Macao can be decoded in different ways by local and international audiences. In other words, the film subtly separates audiences based on their knowledge of Macao's spatial history, highlighting the changes in Macao's social fabric and the cultural identity of its residents. This paper explains how cinema and urbanism are connected in the making of Macao as a global city. (Christopher K. Tong, pp. 24–41)

Religion and Power: Women Travellers in Macao

As the first female missionary visiting Macao in 1836 before settling in Hong Kong in 1842, the significance of Henrietta Hall Shuck to Hong Kong is definitely remarkable. Yet, our present understanding of her influences on

Macao is comparably limited. Since historical themes are strongly tied to the portrayal of 'woman' created by hegemonic discourse, this research enables us to rethink women who are comparatively underrepresented in 'history'. The realisation of inclusive femininity can be achieved through an examination of the material and historical heterogeneities that characterised the lives of women in the third world during the colonial era and, therefore, redefining, producing, and representing 'women' as a singular third world 'woman'. This paper puts forward a colonial feminist theory and discourse by third world women who exercise power and operate resistance. It is argued that power relations are defined as a source of power and a collective response to power. This article draws a comparison between Henrietta Hall Shuck's self-presentation and her representation of women in Macao about religion and power, it proposes hegemonic discourses that are inscribed in power relations where women oppose, resist and implicitly support. (Eliza Si Kei Leong, pp. 42–57)

From Early Luso–Chinese Contacts to the Portuguese Presence in Macao

The historical route from the conquest of Malacca to the beginnings of the permanent Portuguese presence in Macao is what I attempt to trace

in this essay. The Portuguese opened the Southeast Asian routes after the conquest of Malacca in 1511, which led to their initial interactions with the Chinese. By using Western and Chinese sources, I narrate the journey of Portuguese merchants on the coasts of China. Based on Rute Saraiva's thesis, I attempt to explain how the Luso–Chinese agreement of Leonel de Sousa in 1554 that allowed the presence of the Portuguese in Macao in 1557 was reached. (Aureliano Barata, pp. 58–71)

The Third Silk Road: Pirates, Buried Treasure, and Sunken Ships

Most people know something about the overland Silk Road, but less about the maritime Silk Road, although both are equally important in history. Discussions about both the overland and maritime Silk Roads have focused on their importance in facilitating international trade and cultural exchanges. However, there is a third Silk Road, one that is seldom if ever mentioned, but is also important to history, archaeology, and cultural heritage. This third Silk Road is the pirates' Silk Road. Wherever there was a flourishing trade, there were sure to be pirates who preyed on that trade, and who also created their own networks of exchange through black markets and friendly ports. Wherever there was cultural

exchange, there were pirates who actively participated in cultural dissemination. In this article, I develop these themes with specific examples from history (with a focus on East and Southeast Asia). First, I discuss the routes relating to the maritime Silk Road and their connections to piracy. Next, I examine several pirate lairs located along these routes, places where pirates purportedly buried their treasures. Then I discuss the exciting field of maritime archaeology to examine what has been uncovered about alleged sunken pirate ships along the maritime Silk Road. Finally, I explore some of the contributions that pirates have made to the dissemination of folk religion and popular culture, as well as possible contributions that the pirates' Silk Road can make to contemporary historical and cultural heritage projects. (Robert J. Antony, pp. 72–91)

Launching *The Dawn* in Revolutionary Guangzhou: Tan Malaka and the 'Canton Conference' of the Transport Workers of the Pacific (June 1924)

Arriving in Guangzhou from Russia in December 1923 as the Indonesian representative of the Red International of Trade Unions (Profintern) in the Far East as well as Communist International

(Comintern) delegate for Southeast Asia — Tan Malaka, also participated in the Transport Workers of the Pacific Conference held in the southern Chinese city in June 1924. Drawing in an assembly of delegates from China, Indonesia, and the Philippines, the Conference assigned Malaka as editor of a proposed multilingual bulletin, *The Dawn*. With both the ‘Canton Conference’ and *The Dawn* largely neglected in the literature, this article seeks to advance research on this subject with reference to hitherto neglected Comintern archives, especially addressing the Profintern-in-Asia theme as well as Tan Malaka’s special role prior to and just subsequent to his exit to the Philippines where he carried on with the support of local

labour leaders.

(Geoffrey C. Gunn, pp. 92–109)

The Impossible Balance — An Oriental Spirituality

Every nation has its own peculiar character, and Japanese in particular, are religious beings who are superstitious and fear God (or gods), themselves, the others, the group, and the environment — the islands where they live, the seas that surround the islands and the sky that observes them. In order to protect themselves from everything and everyone, Japanese firstly found in Shintoism, and later in Buddhism, principles and beliefs which shaped them in the dialogue with nature and society. Christianity, which proposed a synthesis of all beliefs, was denied

because it imposed a monopoly on truth.

In between the fury of the environment and humanity, Japanese found protection in Shinto and Buddhist beliefs. Under such protection, Japanese are carved with Shinto chisel but by Buddhist hands. Taught to admire beauty, Japanese recreate the restrained and exemplary environment where they search for a minimalist, purified and disciplined spirituality which is well synthesised in Japanese gardens.

Between the Buddhist religious principles and the love of nature proposed by Shintoism, Japanese try to seek the beauty and perfection in a (nearly) impossible balance. (Eduardo Kol de Carvalho, pp. 110–121)



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A *Revista de Cultura* implementou em 2022, primeiramente em modo experimental, a avaliação pelos pares de todos os artigos submetidos e publicados e adoptou este método a partir de 2023. Aceitam-se artigos escritos em inglês ou português.

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1. Artigos de investigação: Incluindo artigos académicos e artigos técnicos abordando temas como os Estudos de Macau, História e Cultura de Macau, Estudos sobre o Património Cultural de Macau, Intercâmbios Históricos Religioso e Cultural de Macau ou Interior da China, Arte, Música, Literatura, bem como todas as áreas relacionadas com Macau e a região circundante. Os artigos devem:
 - ter de 5000 a 10.000 palavras
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 - be written with methods, discussion and conclusion sections
 - contain abstracts in English and Portuguese between 150 and 250 words each and a maximum of five key words
 - contain endnotes and bibliography (in individual email attachments)
2. Research Note: novel academic findings in the fields of history and culture of Macao, concise writing of new perspectives and reflections, translation and collation of important historical materials.
3. Review Article: short review and analysis of Macao literature and art. It should:
 - contain abstracts in English and Portuguese between 150 and 250 words each and a maximum of five key words
 - contain endnotes and bibliography (in individual email attachments)
4. Book Review: insight and opinion on works about Macao or on writings by local author. It should be between 1,000 and 1,500 words.

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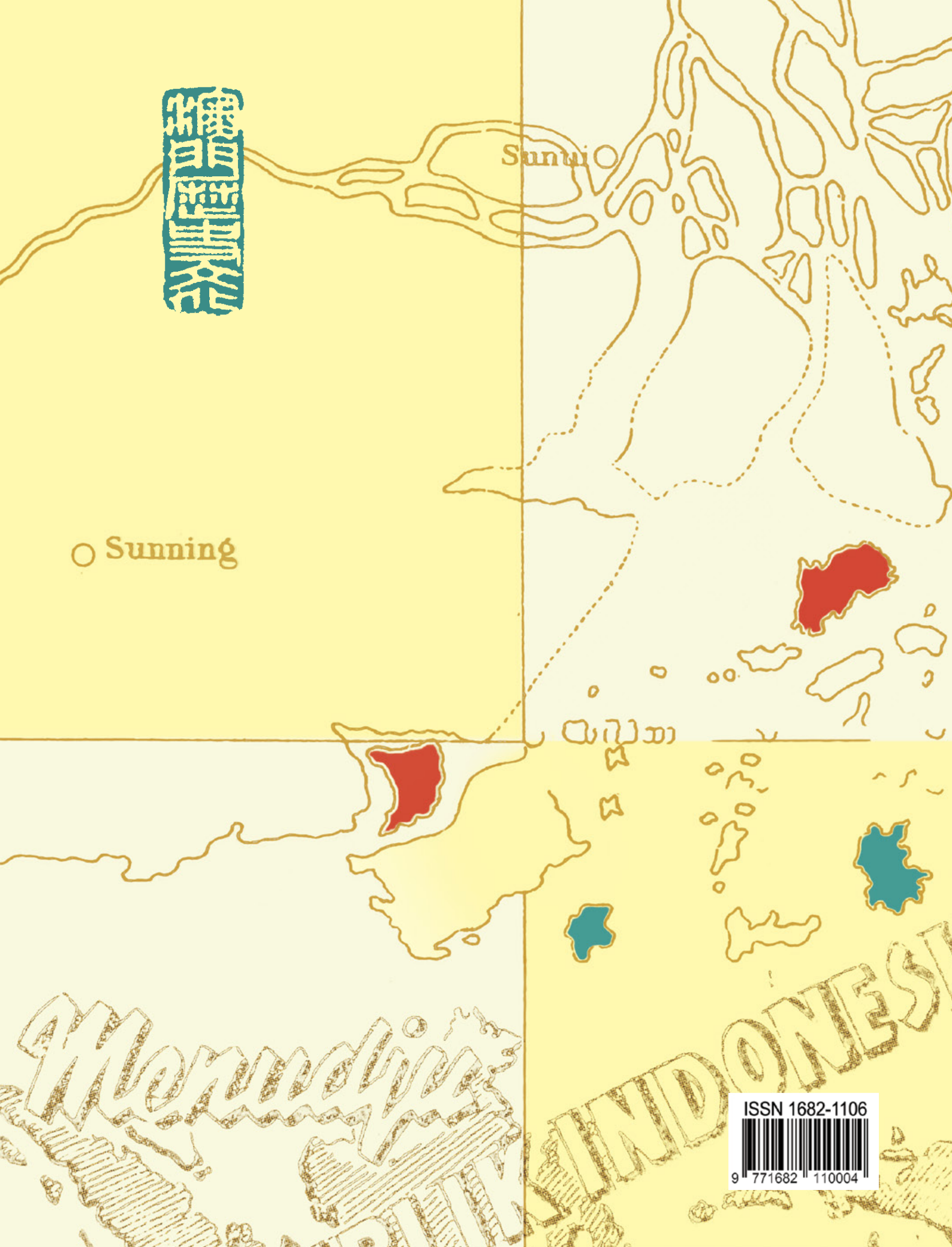
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