

Macao Through the “New Poetry” of Leung Ping-kwan

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Leung Ping-kwan 梁秉鈞, born in 1949 in Xinhui 新会, Guangdong province, is popularly known by his pen-name Yesi 也斯. He received his doctorate in Comparative Literature from the University of California (San Diego) in 1984, and his doctoral thesis

was on Modernism in Chinese poetry.¹ Being a writer, poet, translator, essayist, film and culture critic, the multifaceted Leung is lauded as Hong Kong’s leading man of letters. Among his prolific literary creations and diversified interests, he has composed volumes of modern Chinese poems, also called “new poetry” [*xinshi* 新诗],² about different places and people.

Raised in Hong Kong, Leung first visited Macao in 1973. Macao became his creative muse and he began writing modern poetry on this Portuguese overseas province. These poems are descriptive of landscapes and historic landmarks, and at the same time interwoven with his discerning sentiments. In 1978 he left Hong Kong for the United States to pursue his Masters and Doctoral Degree. After two decades, his interest in

Macao was rekindled. He continued composing poems on various subjects, such as the cultural encounters between the East and West, historical figures, and Portuguese/Macanese cuisine. Some poems also readily speak for his ambivalent feelings towards the change of power in Macao at the end of the 20th century. His oeuvres relating to Macao are discussed in chronological and thematic order. Readers can have a retrospective look at the visage of this former Portuguese colony through his poetic lens.

LANDSCAPE

The poems we refer to, portraying places and streets in Macao, were published in Leung Ping-kwan’s *Travelling with a Bitter Melon: Selected Poems* (2002). The following poems were written in 1973, and translated by Martha Cheung.

Quoted from “The Steep Alley at Santo Agostinho”:³

An old woman in black
plants incense sticks into a crevice on the
cobble street
Behind the gloomy door
one only sees a green brazier with paper
money for the dead
Wisps of smoke
drift towards those bamboo scaffolds

Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927), an official of the Qing dynasty, visited Macao and bemoaned in a seven-character classical poem, “Macao—how

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like a landscape at dusk!" [*Hao jing shanchuan dui xiyang* 濠镜山川对夕阳].⁴ For Kang, the golden age of Macao was gone. "A landscape at dusk" renders an image of desolation and agedness. Quite in the same vein, Leung's poem evokes the imagery of a decaying Arcadia. Macao is sluggish and declining: "the cobbled street"; "the gloomy door"; "stacks of mossy bricks"; "a shabby garment factory"; and "muddy murky sea". It is listless and senile: "an old woman in black"; and "an old man wordless". The street scene also suggests superstition: "incense sticks"; "paper money for the dead". These are familiar Oriental images often accorded to Macao by Westerners.⁵

Quoted from "Sheltering from rain in a coffee shop in Praia Grande":

"When the sky clears
we can pop over there for a cup of
coffee,"
but now there wasn't even a sunshade
just an iron rod sticking up from the
middle of the table
supporting god knows what
behind it an old tree much stronger and
tougher
rising straight
as if from the yet unfinished Macao-Taipa
Bridge
from the very gap where its two sections
in future shall meet

Macao undergoes a significant change of landscape in this poem. In a coffee shop near the Praia Grande Bay, Leung is drenched in thoughts on a rainy day. The rain seems to be his sentimental muse. He expresses his puzzling feelings by employing the trope of the weather: "Over there dim and blurry/there was no telling if it was rain or shine". It plainly implies that the future of Macao is uncertain and dubious—would it be rainy or shiny?

The sleepy Portuguese enclave was moving towards modernization by building the first Macao-Taipa Bridge, called Ponte Governador Nobre de Carvalho, which was inaugurated in July 1974. It is certainly inconceivable for Leung to project in 1973 that Macao's landscape would be tremendously transformed in the years to come: the second Macao-Taipa Bridge,

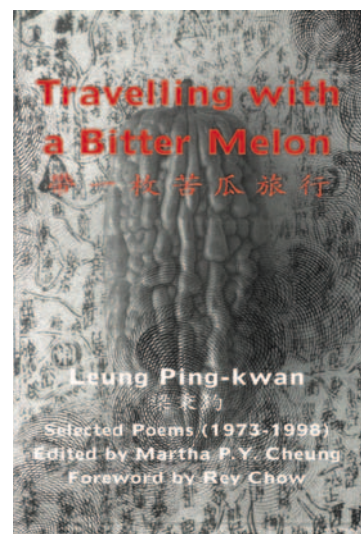
Ponte de Amizade, or the Bridge of Friendship, was inaugurated in April, 1994, and the third Macao-Taipa Bridge was finished in December 2004.

Quoted from "St. Paul's Ruins":

Next to this façade⁶
a small temple for the Buddhist god
Nalakubala [*sic*]⁷
different statues, equally dilapidated
in front of the door a pile of rusty iron
wheels
not turning but at a stand-still
inside the dark temple choked with incense
and strayed objects
a fading scroll with one line of a couplet
"our god a true god does not confuse or
confound our people"

Leung juxtaposes the monumental fire-baptized façade of the Church of the Mother of God and the nearby diminutive Nezha Temple, presenting an East-West encounter in architecture. The poem portrays a leisurely and tranquil scene "under the arched gateway" in Pátio do Espinho at the end of Calçada de S. Francisco Xavier: "two humble old men in the neighbourhood/pass the day chit-chatting". It is, of course, impossible for the "two humble old men" to chit-chat something in the distant future—"the ruins of this cathedral" and "the dilapidated, dark temple" are to be put in the limelight on the world stage.

These two contrastive architectural structures were among a list of East-West landmarks to have been included in the World Heritage List on 15 July 2005. The façade has long been called *Dasanba* 大三巴 by the Chinese, meaning the Big St. Paul; and the temple has now been proudly called *Dasanba Nezha Miao* 大三巴哪吒庙 (the Nezha Temple of the Ruins of St.



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Paul's), capitalizing on its world-famous neighbourhood. After all, their synchronizing co-existence cogently exemplifies Macao's specific identity, which has been richly invested with Lusitanian ambience and Chinese cultural traits.

Quoted from "Barrier Gate":

Eyes turn
to watch an empty truck driving through
the gate
past this muddy ground
of crisscrossing trails
then up another road and off
Winds on an overcast day
rustle and tear a tourist's map

The Barrier Gate (or Border Gate) was first built in 1573 serving as the "borderline" between Macao and China. The present structure, emulating a triumphal arch, was rebuilt in 1870. The historic gate, in Leung's poem, is merely a tourist spot for selling vulgar souvenirs. It is an obsolete place with an "old woman"; a "rickshaw driver"; an "empty truck" and "muddy ground"—a picture of the poor and dejected East.

The Barrier Gate chronicles two decisive dates, which were inscribed vertically on each side:

22	25
Agosto	Agosto
1849	1849

On 22 August 1849 the 53rd Portuguese Governor of Macao João Maria Ferreira do Amaral (1803-1849) was killed not far away from the Barrier Gate by the Chinese. He became a Portuguese martyr. On 25 August 1849 Colonel Vicente Nicolau de Mesquita (1818-1880) crossed the Barrier Gate and retaliated by attacking the Chinese. He became a Portuguese hero. On the lintel of the Barrier Gate, Luís Vaz de Camões' (1524?-1580) famous aphorism: *A Pátria Honrai Que A Pátria Vos Contempla* (or Honour your country and your country will look after you)⁸ was inscribed. This quotation metonymically commemorates these two men's patriotism to Portugal. Do tourists ever notice these inscriptions and stop for a while to ask what their meanings are?

EAST AND WEST

Leung's poetic creation on Macao can be distinctively demarcated into two phases. While the

poems discussed above represent the first phase, the following poems, under the subject of "Macao: East and West",⁹ are the second phase. This group of new poetry, written between 1998 and 1999, illustrates a thematic change from simply descriptive of places and streets. Rather, he pays more attention to the history and culture of Macao, and specifically, the cultural contacts of the Occidentals and the Orientals. In addition, his disquietude towards the momentous return of Macao to China is lyrically and repeatedly revealed.

Quoted from "George Chinnery painting the fisherwoman of Macao" (translated by Martha Cheung):

Sniffing at a snuff bottle, laughing out loud
again and again
Strange, this ugliest of men has the biggest
of appetites
he can shove everything into his mouth
and chew upon them
and still his hungry stomach remains empty:
cups and plates from breakfast
a cathedral completed and then burnt
down, leaving just a façade
upper class Britons who gossip about one
another, and even
their ludicrous scarves? He chewed on the
vanity of a foreign land
the long robes, loose sleeves, bygone
prosperity buttoned with
trivialities

Macao was home (and resting place) to the Irish painter George Chinnery (1774-1852),¹⁰ who was active in Macao between 1825-1852. His artistic creation mainly reflected in the vivid portrayal of the Lusitanian/Iberian churches, street scenes, the Tanka 蛋家 minority,¹¹ and his friends. He left an invaluable visual chronicle of nineteenth-century Macao, which was a charming fishing village dotted with beautiful churches. In the poem, Macao is the rendezvous for "the fisherwoman of Macao"; "upper class Britons"; "merchants grown rich from opium"; and "his close friends". It also becomes Chinnery's asylum to seek refuge on the South China Coast from double embarrassments: his financial problems and his estranged wife. In "the paradise of debtors and of Tankas" (William Hunter's description of Macao),¹²

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Chinnery can “forget his background, his upbringing”, and “live anew the lives of others”. Above all, he can “paint afresh the story of his life and fate”.

Quoted from “A Tapestry, given by the king of Portugal to the Emperor of China” (translated by Brian Holton):

from the Paço da Ribeira
to the Yonghe Palace
from the mighty Dom João V
was sent a messenger bearing other gifts
to be given to the Yongzheng Emperor

and a lofty diplomatic mission
to return a favour between the nations
to commemorate the Yongzheng Emperor’s
accession
to ease the severity of recent diplomatic
policy
to guarantee the safety and the profits of
the Portuguese in Macao

In the first stanza, Leung stitches two contemporaneous rulers from apart—Dom João V (r. 1706-1750) and Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723-1735). The “heroic tapestry” from Portugal, carrying “a lofty diplomatic mission”, is “to guarantee the safety and the profits of the Portuguese in Macao”. Macao is portrayed as the bridge linking Portugal and China for mutual benefits. In an anti-climatic rhetoric, the magnificent tapestry has been consumed by moths, and never reaches the “Son of Heaven” in China!

Leung nakedly welds together the limp historical reality under the reign of the two rulers from the East and West. While Emperor Yongzheng “had people put in prison/carried out a Literary Inquisition”, Dom João V “arrested commoners/erected magnificent buildings”. Dom João V’s most ambitious project was the construction of the grandiose Basilica, the Convent for the Franciscans, and the adjacent Baroque Royal Palace in Mafra, north of Lisbon. The foundation stone of the Basilica was laid in 1717 and it took seven years to complete. The colossal Palace was inaugurated in 1730 with a lavish celebration that lasted for eight days.

The Portuguese King’s extravagant accomplishment is the backdrop of the award-winning

novel, *Baltasar and Blimunda*, by José Saramago, Portugal’s laureate of the 1998 Nobel Prize for Literature. Saramago pens a bitterly ironic comment on royalty and religion in 18th-century Portugal. The novel leaves an unrelieved catharsis of the tragic fate of the common people, who were forced to help building the Mafra project.

Quoted from “The Poet Camilo Pessanha sleeps curled up on a Macao bed” (translated by Brian Holton):

forever at rest, a fossil life
the peeling mirror reflects a bed of old
blankets
folded into desires, carrying curses
to put someone forever into deep sleep
in this warm, narrow, humid cave
your woman of the East lit your opium
pipe
you slept into a womb, you are a pupa
sunk in sleep you saw the demon that
overflies reality
oh sleep, sleep well
things in dreams are more real
in those dreams you own
the whole world¹³

Camilo Pessanha (1867-1926) is considered the chief precursor of Modernist poetry. His work is the representative in Portuguese poetry of Symbolism in its purest and most genuine form.¹⁴ He was born the illegitimate son of a law student and a maid. Graduated in law from the University of Coimbra in 1891, he came to Macao in 1894 and took up a teaching post at the newly formed Macao Lyceum.

As the title suggests, it is a portrayal of Pessanha’s miserable sojourn in Macao. The poet leads a distressed and lonely life, accompanied only by a faithful dog. His unpleasant past could perhaps lead him to abandon “all the houses on the other shore” but to find a bed “far across the oceans”. “The Bodhisattva wound with spider webs” cynically suggests that the inefficacious Buddhist Guan Yin fails to bless him in Macao. He is addicted to opium “in this warm narrow, humid cave”. It is only after he is intoxicated by opium that he can sleep well in a dream world, and forget “the demon that overflies reality”. Opium seems to be Pessanha’s only solace, but he died due to his chronic use.

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Quoted from “In front of the A-Ma Temple”
(translated by Brian Holton):

drinking, we face the rolling grey waves
on the bottle gold characters celebrate
Macao’s return to China
today’s weather is unsettled: cloudy
or clear
when dusk comes it’s a little stifling
the beer is cold enough
but can’t slake our thirst

The A-Ma Temple, properly known as Ma Ge Miao 妈阁庙 (or in Cantonese, Ma Kok Miu), is dedicated to Tian Hou 天后 (Empress of Heaven), the Daoist Goddess of the Sea. It is claimed to be first built during the Ming dynasty in 1488. The Chinese in Macao are always proud of this temple, because it predated the arrival of the Portuguese navigators, and the name “Macao” is believed to be derived from A-Ma-Gau 亚妈港, or the Bay of A-Ma.

This poem was written six months before the return of Macao to China. Leung again employs the weather as a metaphor to show his uncertainty, if not anxiety, of the future of Macao: “today’s weather is unsettled: cloudy or clear” and “through layered clouds/will break bright starlight?” Moreover, he appears perplexed whether people in Macao would “float” away like duckweeds: “those plants drifting on the water/can they be leaves in self-banishment?” He seems to ask, “Will Macao be abandoned?”

Quoted from “Sheltering from the rain in the Café Caravela” (translated by Brian Holton):

the rain began during our chat
unavoidable as our chat
the Portuguese in the shop were drinking
wine
behind them, the boat that had sailed
every ocean
had it really been a treasure ship?
now it has congealed into a shop sign

“Sheltering from the rain in a coffee shop” is a recurrent subject matter in Leung’s poetry. Towards the demise of the colonial rule, his feelings are ruffled. Not only does he drink by the sea just opposite the

A-Ma Temple, pondering whether people would abandon Macao; he also drinks in the Café Caravela (caravel) and idly watches “the day-long rain pouring and pouring down”. The Chinese temple and the Portuguese café are *lugares* where Leung is wrapped in sentimental thoughts. And again, the pouring rain is his poetic muse.

He pertinently chronicles a deplorable contemporary picture of Macao: “there had been a gun-battle here”;¹⁵ “so many tall block-printed buildings were going up”;¹⁶ “the vulgar little harbour hadn’t developed”. In a somewhat sorrowful mood, he hopes that the emigrants can settle down with their needs met: “so many boats crossing the world’s oceans/hoping everyone could find their own rain and snow or sunshine”. “The rain”, “snow”, and “sunshine”, are figuratively used to imply the unknown future for those who have left Macao.

Quoted from “Wu Li Painting by the bay”
(translated by Brian Holton):

from an ancient exhausted dynasty
you were asking Honolulu about the
sailing date in vain¹⁷
you are marooned on the little island,
hearing the sea breeze say
the new boat has steamed off on an even
vaster voyage
your friend should already have crossed
the equator¹⁸

on the road you looked for local accents and
the customs of spring ploughing
but only found women in down jackets on
the flower-spread street
you lift your brush, to single-mindedly
surpass what’s before your eyes
specific city sounds come back to
miraculous landscapes
beyond your tiny *flyheads* are *birdclaws*—
brush strokes from an exotic land¹⁹

Wu Li 吴历 (1632-1718), alias Wu Yushan 吴渔山 (also known as *Mojing Daoren* 墨井道人), was an acclaimed painter, poet and calligrapher. He was hailed by later art critics and art historians as one of the “Six Masters of Early Qing” of the Orthodox School of Chinese painting.²⁰ Unlike Chinnery and

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Pessanha who came to Macao to escape the bleak and grisly reality, Wu Li arrived at Macao in early 1681 to look for the “Western Lantern” in order to revivify his religious vision and illuminate his inner self.²¹ Wu Li entered into a new Christian world, and witnessed the heyday of Macao.

Did Wu Li ever paint by the bay in Macao? Given his devotion to Western knowledge and Christianity after he became a Jesuit novice in 1682, Wu Li put more emphasis on salvation than on the art of painting. In a collection of his poems in “Sanba ji” 三巴集²², he denounced painting as “an old habit”, to which he wanted to put an end (poem 28). It is believed that he started re-collecting and destroying his own paintings because he regarded them as an expression of superstition.²³ However, he continued writing Christian hymns and poetry (in traditional classical style), which were also collected in “Sanba ji”. Wu Li created something totally innovative in Chinese literature: Chinese Christian poetry.

In the poem, Leung suggests that Wu Li’s paintings are influenced by the Western technique of chiaroscuro:²⁴ “your mountain trees are stained with new lights and shades”. In an interview Leung reiterated, “The Chinese painter Wu Li came to Macao to study religion and became Catholic and his painting also received influences from Western paintings”.²⁵ The issue of Western influence on Wu Li’s paintings already aroused controversial debates by contemporary Chinese artists and art critics during the symposium on Wu Li in Macao in 2003. Some scholars arguably denied any Western influence because he was trained to look for his models among the old masters of the Song and Yuan dynasties. In his famous history of Chinese painting, James Cahill could assert that Wu Li’s conversion in no way affected his painting which shows not the slightest trace of Western influence.²⁶

FOODSCAPE

Leung has pursued a project exploring gastronomy about various cities in poems and photos. He labels the poetic and photographic works as “foodscape”. The following two poems on food culture, translated by Martha Cheung, were also published in *Travelling with a Bitter Melon*.

Quoted from “Salted Shrimp Paste” (1997):

Dear friend, how do I explain why some
of us here keep saying
this paltry thing is better put out of sight

Back alley culture it is—a few hawks
hovering in the sky
the odd trees for shelter, a pond—
Has anything good ever been bred here?
Then at your insistent questions, they hang
their heads in silence

The poem begins by inviting a dialogue with the reader. “This paltry thing”, *balichão* in Portuguese (*blachan* in Malaysia, *terasi* in Indonesia, *gapi* in Thailand, *bagoong* in the Philippines), is an essential seasoning in many South East Asian dishes. It is believed that the Portuguese traders brought the shrimp paste from Malaysia to Macao. It goes well with pork for its pungent aroma and flavour. The shrimp paste is made from very tiny shrimps, salted, sun-dried, pounded into a paste and fermented in the humid heat. It was once a minor industry in Macao; and the stone grinders for shrimp paste are presently exhibited at the Historical Museum of Coloane and Taipa in Macao. Nowadays, it is surely not a “back alley culture” to dine on dishes marinated with shrimp paste, which are promoted as unique Macanese cuisine in travel books.

Quoted from “At Bela Vista” (1998)²⁷:

Someone remembers it used to be a refugee
camp during the war
providing shelter from catastrophes. Like
in a disaster film?
I turn round to look at the elegant
colonnades, renovated many times
Let’s not forget the ghost of history

At the Bela Vista Hotel, Leung sits “drinking in silence”—a moment he is absorbed in solipsism. “Drinking wine” and “sipping coffee/tea” are recurrent motifs in his poems. In a solipsistic mood, he feels nostalgic of this exquisite hotel, which is described as “the single most compelling reason to visit Macao” (*South China Morning Post*, 5 February, 1998), and “the most elegant of Macao’s many excellent restaurants” (*Hong Kong Standard*, 10 May, 1998). He laments that

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he can't drink again on the veranda after the hotel is to be closed on 31 March 1999, because it is to become the residence of the Portuguese Consul-General to the Macao Special Administrative Region after the reversion of political power.

Towards the imminent change of the Bela Vista Hotel, he sentimentally wonders if “the flavour of African Chicken will too be lost”. While he is sure that there are “no more parties on the veranda” and “no more waiters in uniforms neatly starched”, he foresees the hybrid food, “bean stew Brazilian style, squids Mozambique in coconut juice”, will remain. Also, “a simple drink made from sugar cane”, properly known in its indigenous name *a cachaça*,²⁸ will keep them company on the table.

The poem “Secret Family Recipes” (2003) (see p. 70 in this issue) was the only one written after the change of power. It was published as preface in Annabel Jackson's *Taste of Macau: Portuguese Cuisine on the China coast*.

It is a nostalgic poem in “a mysterious album” which contains unforgettable recipes: “from beyond a mediocre cuisine we keep on wanting/to recover those lost notes”. In Leung's school day, he was fascinated with the scent of delicious food: “from our youth the aromas that drifted through/lanes and alleys from big colonial houses after school”. He remembers the flavour of the food prepared by his granny, and is disconsolate that “those riches” of the food cannot be reclaimed: “after she was gone/there was no-one who could blend the same flavours again”.

The exotic food mentioned in the poem includes “fishcakes: an indifferentiable blend of sweet and salty”; *bacalhau* (dried codfish); “the favours of aniseed and nutmeg” and *balichão* (shrimp paste); and “*cha-cha* sweet bean soup”. *Bacalhau* and *balichão* are Portuguese/Macanese *comidas*. Macanese food has been “invented” by the Macanese, who are the hybrid Portuguese in Macao after centuries of miscegenation. This distinctive cultural invention in food is given a status as cuisine.²⁹ Macanese cuisine is in fact the pioneer of fusion food. It mainly combines the spices and flavours of Goan and Malay cooking, and has some influences from the Portuguese, Chinese, Brazilian and African culinary practices. Despite historic changes, Macao is still a city for gourmets, offering delicious and unique Portuguese/Macanese cuisine, on which Macao's cultural identity is predicated.

All Leung Ping-kwan's poems (except “Secret Family Recipes”) on Macao were composed before the return of Macao to China on 20 December, 1999. In the eye of Leung, Macao in the 1970's was a sleepy backwater; its heyday was gone and it was getting “senile”. His portrayal of Macao in 1973 was embedded with a range of familiar stereotype images of the East. These Oriental images are often constructed and represented by the West in the colonialist signifying system. In the last two years of the twentieth century, Leung recollected that Macao was once a new Christian world for Wu Li, a paradise for George Chinnery, and an intoxicated Shangri-la for Camilo Pessanha. In light of the foreseeable political and legal changes, he cast doubts on post-colonial Macao, and was grieved at the vicissitude suffered by the Bela Vista Hotel.

It is perhaps out of Leung's imagination that at the dawn of the third millennium Macao's international profile rises to new heights. Macao also realistically vindicates the hasty and pessimistic prediction by a Western writer who foretold that Macao would become an “abandoned city” after 1999.³⁰

Since the Macao Government passed a new Heritage Law in 1984 with the aim of preserving Macao's heritage as a tourist asset, twenty-two architectural sites of cultural importance and eight *largos* (or public squares) were successfully added to the World Heritage List in 2005 (*Macao Daily News*, 16 July 2005). This historico-cultural zone has been given a remarkable name—The Historic Centre of Macao, making it the thirty-first designated World Heritage site in China.³¹ The year 2006 was proudly designated as Macao World Heritage Year.

Post-colonial Macao has been crowned a “World-heritage City”, concomitant with its identity as Asia's foremost modern “City of Gambling” in the wake of the permission of new gambling licences in 2002. Notably, by December 2007 there were a total of 28 casinos (equaling to the number of churches and chapels there) and gambling revenue from these leapt 46.6 per cent to reach about US\$10.4, according to industry analysts and officials. The booming Macao is shedding its status as second city to Hong Kong, and is enjoying new found recognition on the world stage. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 On Leung Ping-kwan's doctoral thesis, see *Aesthetics of opposition: a study of the modernist generation of Chinese poets, 1936-1949* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1986).
- 2 All the traditional forms of Chinese classical poetry are rhymed. These poems are composed of lines of five-character [*wu yan* 五言] or seven-character [*qi yan* 七言]. Modern Chinese poems, however, usually do not follow any prescribed pattern, but are free verse in style. New poetry came into being after the May Fourth Movement in 1919.
- 3 Not "A. Agostinho" as it in fact appears in the title of the published translation. There is an obvious translation error for 巴掌围斜巷.
- 4 *Renditions* Nos. 29 & 30, 1988:64.
- 5 On familiar colonial stereotype images, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macau: A Cultural Janus*, Chapter 5 "Colonial Stereotypes, Transgressive Punishment and Cultural Anthropophagy".
- 6 The remaining façade of the former Church of the Mother of God is nowadays better known as the Ruins of St Paul's. The church was first built in 1594, and after two fires in 1595 and 1601 respectively, it was re-erected in 1602. The façade was completed in 1640; unfortunately a disastrous fire in 1835 turned the whole building complex into rubble except the façade and the walls.
- 7 The spelling of this Hindu-Buddhist deity should be Nalakubara 那罗鸠婆, or in Pali, Nalakuvara. The translation of Nezha 哪吒 as Nalakubara is anachronistic here, because Nalakubara was appropriated and sinicized as Nezha during the mid 7th century in China. See Christina Miu Bing Cheng, "In Search of Folk Humour: The Rebellious Cult of Nezha" 民间幽默的探讨—哪吒反叛精神的崇拜 (in English). To be published in Jao Tsung-I (ed.) 饶宗颐主编, *Huaxue* 华学 Vol. 9 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, April 2008).
- 8 Luís Vaz de Camões is one of Portugal's most illustrious poets who composed the ten-canto *Os Lusíadas* (the Sons of Portugal), which was first published in Lisbon in 1572.
- 9 The Chinese version of these poems are collected in Yesi 也斯 (Leung Ping-kwan 梁秉钧), *Dongxi* 东西 (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press (China) Ltd., 2000).
- 10 On George Chinnery's artistic creation, see *George Chinnery: His Pupils and Influence*. On his chronicle of the images of Macao, see Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery: Artist of India and the China Coast*, Chapter 13 "Macao".
- 11 The Tanka are a small ethnic group of boat people in South China. They are often marginalized as a race inferior to the Chinese and pejoratively put at the lowest social stratum.
- 12 See William C. Hunter, *Bits of China*, p. 272.
- 13 The wordplay of this format is based on the Chinese version.
- 14 On Pessanha's poems, see Camilo Pessanha, *Clepsidra: poemas de Camilo Pessanha*. On the Chinese translation, see *Di Lou* 滴漏 (Clepsidra), trans. Chen Yongyi 陈用仪.
- 15 Macao was dubbed the "Eastern Chicago" (the crime city) just before the historic handover because of spiralling crime rates.
- 16 In Macao, there was an over-development in real estate from the 1980's, but when China's austerity measures were announced in 1993 the property market sharply declined. In 1996, it was estimated that there were about 40,000 to 50,000 vacant flats.
- 17 The poem was also translated by Martha Cheung, and this line was translated as "Honolulu is your destination but there is yet no sailing schedule". Both Brian Holton and Martha Cheung wrongly translated 香山 as Honolulu. Honolulu in Chinese is Tan Xiangshan 檀香山. In fact, Wu Li planned to go to Rome but not Honolulu. The Chinese version tells that he asked the sailing date in Xiangshan 香山. In Wu Li's time, Macao was part of Xiangshan province (now Zhongshan province).
- 18 "Your friend" refers to the Jesuit missionary, Philippe Couplet (1623-1693) (his Chinese name is Bo Yingli 柏应理). Couplet and Wu Li arrived at Macao in 1681. While Couplet went to Rome, Wu Li was admitted to the Society of Jesus as a novice at the age of fifty-one.
- 19 This line is predicated on poem 26 in Wu Li's "Sanba ji": 门前乡语各西东，未解还教笔可通。我写蝇头君鸟爪，横看直视更难穷。 In front of the door people speak different native languages, If they cannot understand one another, they communicate in writing. I write Chinese characters like a fly's head, while they write like a bird's claw [Latin], Looking at them horizontally or vertically, it is difficult to understand.
- 20 The other five were: Wang Shimin 王时敏 (1592-1680), Wang Jian 王鉴 (1598-1677), Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717), Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715) and Yun Shouping 恽寿平 (1633-1690).
- 21 See Christina Miu Bing Cheng, "Wu Li 吴历: In Search of the 'Western Lantern'". In *Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey*, p. 429-457.
- 22 In "Sanba ji", there was a total of 110 poems. Thirty poems on Macao were grouped as 'Ao zhong za yong' 澳中杂咏 (Rambling Songs on Macao). The remaining eighty poems were about the church and religion called 'Sheng xue shi' 圣学诗 (Poems of Holy Learning). On the English translation of Wu Li's poems, see Jonathan Chaves, *Singing of the Source: Nature and God in the Poetry of the Chinese Painter Wu Li*.
- 23 See Wolfgang Kubin, "Crossing the Border, Breaking with the Past: Wu Li's Iconoclasm". In *Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey*, p. 332.
- 24 The term "chiaroscuro" refers to strong contrasts of light and shade in a painting. In the West, Caravaggio (1573-1610) was one of the first artists to use this technique extensively.
- 25 An interview on 6 November 2006 by Régis Poulet.
- 26 See James Cahill, *La Peinture Chinoise*, p. 165.
- 27 Bela Vista was built by an English couple as a private mansion in 1870 on the slopes of Penha Hill. It has undergone dramatic transformations. It was first converted to a hotel, and then became an alms house, a high school, a hotel again, and a refugee centre during World War II. It was renovated in 1990 at a cost of nearly 50 million *patacas* and reopened as a resplendent five-star hotel in 1992. See Luís Andrade de Sá, *Hotel Bela Vista*.
- 28 *Cachaça* is a national drink of Brazil. Brazil became a Portuguese colony in 1500 but declared independence in 1822.
- 29 On Macanese cuisine, see Annabel Doling, *Macau on a Plate: A Culinary Journey*.
- 30 See Jonathan Porter, *Macau: The Imaginary City, Culture and Society, 1557 to the Present*, p. 193.
- 31 Macao was the only site nominated by China for the World Heritage List in 2005. It received official recognition from the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (meeting in Durban, South Africa) on 15 July 2005.

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