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Culture and Identity  
in the  
Luso-Asian  
World

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PORTUGUESE AND LUSO-ASIAN LEGACIES  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1511-2011  
VOLUME 2

Culture and Identity  
in the  
Luso-Asian  
World

Tenacities & Plasticities

EDITED BY  
LAURA JARNAGIN

**LSEAS**

INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES  
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*Cover photo:* Close-up of a green parrot's feathers. The green parrot, or *papagaio verde*, is an enduring, centuries-old folk motif found throughout the Lusophone world.

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# PREFACE

This book, the second of two volumes, is the outgrowth of an interdisciplinary conference entitled “Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011”, that was held in Singapore and Malacca on 28–30 September 2010, co-sponsored by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore and the Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Bandaraya Campus, Malacca, Malaysia. Major financial support for the conference was also forthcoming from the *Comemorações Portugal/Asia* programme of the Government of Portugal, for which we extend our sincerest appreciation.

This event was the brainchild of Ambassador K. Kesavapany, director of ISEAS, who has an abiding commitment to promoting deeper understandings across societies everywhere, and particularly those that comprise the dense and complex cultural *cum* geographical nexus that is Southeast Asia. The coming of the Portuguese by sea into Southeast Asia half a millennium ago marked the opening of a major shift in relations between Asians and Europeans, one that would have a profound impact not only on this region and its peoples, but also on the course of world history. I am especially indebted to Ambassador Kesavapany for bestowing this challenging and rewarding project on me, and for the confidence he has placed in this Brazilianist to make enough of an intellectual transition from the Lusophone Atlantic world to that of the Indian and Pacific oceans in order to do justice to this undertaking.

Special thanks for the many and varied contributions to this conference are hereby extended to Ambassador Jaime Leitão, head of the diplomatic mission to Singapore, Embassy of Portugal in Singapore, for his unwavering enthusiasm, dedication and assistance; to Ambassador Dató Dr Mohd Yusof Ahmad, director of the Institute of ASEAN Studies and Global Affairs (INSPAG), Faculty of Administrative Science and Policy Studies (FSPPP), Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Shah Alam Campus, Malaysia, who orchestrated the Malacca portion of the event with his customary unruffled

aplomb and attentiveness; to Dr Peter Borschberg, Department of History, National University of Singapore, for his intellectual guidance, wisdom and wit at many critical junctures; to Dr Geoffrey Wade of the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at ISEAS, for his expansive knowledge of this region and his unvarnished candor in all matters; to Dr Ivo Carneiro, vice-rector of the University of Saint Joseph in Macau, who served as our keynote speaker and proffered many valuable observations about the importance of the contributions made by the scholars whose work appears herein; to the Eurasian Association of Singapore, which hosted a memorable dinner in the unique and special surroundings of the Eurasian Community House; to Mrs Y. L. Lee, head of administration at ISEAS, along with Ms May Wong and Mr Loh Joo Yong of her staff, all of whom bring an exceptional and devoted level of professionalism to project planning and execution; to Dr Roaimah Omar, Faculty of Business Administration, Universiti Teknologi MARA Malacca, who coordinated the Malacca portion of the conference; to Father Luís M. F. Sequeira, vice-rector of the Macao Ricci Institute, and Consul General of Portugal to Macao and Hong Kong, Manuel Carvalho, both of whom employed their good offices in the furtherance of this event in the fine tradition of Portuguese finessing; and to Dr Eul-Soo Pang, visiting professorial fellow at ISEAS, my husband and my colleague, whose counsel, expertise and assistance are always invaluable.

Above all, I would like to express my gratefulness to the conference participants, who hail from a dozen different nationalities, for making this event an exceptional success. Most of them travelled from great distances to attend, and all of them cheerfully endured three long days of intense activity. Their enthusiasm for the interdisciplinary nature of the conference was palpable and infectious, and their individual commitment to making it a success with their contributions was uncharacteristically high, as academic conferences go. It was especially rewarding to know that many individuals were able to meet some of their intellectual counterparts and scholars they admired for the first time (in one instance, capping a thirty-year correspondence). Along with the warm afterglow of this conference, however, we will always carry a deep sense of loss. Dr Glenn Ames, who was the first to submit a proposal, was unexpectedly unable to attend and passed away a few days after our meeting. Befittingly, Volume 1 opens with a tribute to him and the lasting contributions he made to the history of the Portuguese and their legates in Asia.

Finally, a brief word is in order regarding Portuguese orthography, quotations and translations used throughout this work. For the reader's convenience, most proper names and proper nouns have been converted to the current orthography in the text (for instance, "Afonso de Albuquerque",

not the original “Affonso d’Albuquerque”), with a few “judgement call” exceptions. Inevitably, though, given the distinct creole communities and languages that evolved from the Portuguese presence in Asia, it would not be appropriate to modernize the spellings of the names of individuals associated with these groups, although it is not always obvious to know where to “draw the line”. However, original spellings of all words in all languages have been retained in quotations and citations. Translations into English of all passages originally in another language have been done by the individual authors themselves, unless stated otherwise.

*Laura Jarnagin*  
*The Editor*



## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

**Tara Alberts** holds the title of Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute (Italy). She completed her Ph.D. in History at Newnham College, in the University of Cambridge and went on to hold a Research Fellowship at Jesus College, Cambridge. Her primary research interests are in histories of religious change, cultural exchange and beliefs about health and healing in the early modern world. Her doctoral research, also undertaken in Cambridge, examined Catholic mission and conversion to Catholicism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries Southeast Asia. She is currently writing a monograph based on this research.

**Alan N. Baxter** holds the title of Professor in the Department of Portuguese, Universidade de Macau, Macau S.A.R., China. He received his Masters in Hispanic Linguistics from La Trobe University (Melbourne) and his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the Australian National University. His academic interests include Creole Portuguese (in Asia, in particular), variationist sociolinguistics and language contact. His research has focused on Malacca Creole Portuguese, Macao Creole Portuguese, Afro-Brazilian Portuguese and the Portuguese of the Tongas of the island of São Tomé. His publications include, in addition to scholarly articles, the books *A Grammar of Kristang* (1988), *Maquista Chapado: Vocabulary and Expressions in Macao's Portuguese Creole* (2004, co-authored with Miguel Senna Fernandes), *A Dictionary of Kristang: English* (2004, co-authored with Patrick de Silva), and *O Português Afro-Brasileiro: Afro-Brazilian Portuguese* (2009, co-authored and co-edited with Dante Lucchesi and Ilza Ribeiro). He has taught previously at La Trobe University (Melbourne) and Flinders University (Adelaide), at the University of Lisbon (Portugal), and at the Federal University of Bahia (Brazil).

**Hugo C. Cardoso** is a linguist who graduated in Portuguese and English Studies from the University of Coimbra before pursuing an MPhil and a Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam. His research bridges theoretical and fieldwork-based descriptive linguistics, with particular focus on issues of language contact and the formation of Portuguese-lexified creole languages in Asian contexts. He is currently affiliated with the University of Macao's Research Centre for Luso-Asian Studies.

**Rita Bernardes de Carvalho** obtained a BA in Archaeology from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Portugal), a BA in History from Leiden University's Encompass Program, and an MA in Asian Studies (History) in 2006 from the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris), where she focused on the Portuguese presence in Ayutthaya during the seventeenth century. She is currently preparing a doctoral dissertation on the construction (and re-construction) of identity in Luso-Asian communities in mainland Southeast Asia, also at the École Pratique des Hautes Études under the supervision of Dejanirah Couto and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa.

**Dennis De Witt** is an independent researcher and a fifth-generation Dutch Eurasian from Malacca with a keen interest in subjects relating to Dutch influences in Malaysian history. His research on his ancestors has produced family data covering eleven generations through three hundred years and across three continents. He is the author of *Reconnecting through Our Roots* (2006), *History of the Dutch in Malaysia* (2007) (which won the 2009 Dutch Incentive Prize for Genealogy), and *Melaka from the Top* (2010). He has also contributed articles for the *Journal of Malaysian Biographies* (Malaysian National Archives) and is a registered speaker with the Malaysian Tourism Development Council. He has presented numerous papers at seminars and has written articles for various newspapers and magazines. Currently, he is one of the coordinators of the Malaysian Dutch Descendants Project and is the president of the Malaysia-Netherlands Friendship Association.

**Vincent Ho (Vincent Ho Wai-kit)** graduated from the Department of History of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), and is currently teaching at the Department of History of the University of Macau. In the past, he held posts in several government departments in Hong Kong. He also taught world history and Chinese history in secondary school and the advanced diploma curriculum. His current research interest is mainly in Chinese classical texts in East Asia, the overseas Chinese, and the history of Macao, also taking up tourism research, urban research, cultural geography

and translation. His translated works include *Chinese Cross Currents* of the Macau Ricci Institute, and various publications found in the *Heritage Hong Kong: Newsletter of the Antiquities and Monument Office*, a Hong Kong government publication.

**Laura Jarnagin (Pang)** is a visiting professorial fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore and an associate professor emerita in the Division of Liberal Arts and International Studies at Colorado School of Mines (Golden, Colorado) where she served as its director for five years and was a co-founder of its Master of International Political Economy of Resources programme. She is the author of *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks: Elites, Capitalism, and Confederate Migration to Brazil* (2008). Her current research interests include late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century transatlantic merchant networks and the application of complexity theory to understanding their dynamics. She holds a doctorate in Brazilian history from Vanderbilt University.

**Manuel Lobato** holds a bachelor's degree in History (1980) and an MA (1993) in History of the Portuguese Discoveries and Expansion. He has been with the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (IICT) in Lisbon since 1993, first as an assistant researcher (to 2004) and subsequently as a titular researcher following the completion of his Ph.D. dissertation, "Trade, Conflict and Religion: Portuguese and Spaniards in the Moluccas (1512–1618)". Since 2008, he has been the vice-director of IICT's History Center and served as the coordinator of IICT's Scientific Council from 2008 to 2010. In addition, he is a lecturer in the Master in Oriental Studies programme at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Portuguese Catholic University (Lisbon) and of the Asian Studies graduate programme in the Faculty of Arts of the Lisbon University (FLUL). He has held two scholarships from the Fundação Oriente and is the author of two books and more than thirty-five papers on the history of the early presence of the Portuguese in Mozambique and the East African Coast, India, and the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

**Vicente Paulino** is a native of Maliana, East Timor. He received his Licenciado in Communication Sciences in 2007 with a focus on Communication, Culture and Art. In 2009 he completed a master's degree in Communication Sciences with a specialization in Contemporary Culture and New Technologies in the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. He has served as the secretary of RENETIL (Resistência Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor Leste) de Maliana during 1999–2000, was the founder

and editor of the *Bulletin kuda Ulun Lian* in Maliana (1999–2001), and was an election observer for the Assembleia Constituinte de Timor-Leste in 2001. From 2007 to 2010, he was also a voting member of the Conselho Fiscal da Associação para Timorese (APARATI) in Lisbon. He has participated in national and international congresses and conferences.

**Mário Pinharanda-Nunes** holds a BA in Modern Languages and Literature from the Universidade de Lisboa (1990), as well as an MA (2001) and a Ph.D. (2011) in Linguistics from the University of Macao. His doctoral dissertation is entitled “The Tense-Aspect System of Makista, the Portuguese-Based Creole of Macau”. He was a visiting lecturer of Portuguese at the Instituto Camões of the Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur (1991–97). From 2001 to 2003 he was appointed by the Instituto Camões as lecturer and attaché for cultural and educational affairs at the Embassy of Portugal in Jakarta. Since 2003 he has been a teaching staff member in the Portuguese Department at the University of Macao. His research interests include the Portuguese-based creoles of Asia (especially Malacca and Macao); language formation and evolution; language variation and change; and naturalistic SLA (second language acquisition). He has published articles on linguistic and sociolinguistic issues concerning Kristang and Makista and has presented related papers at international conferences on Pidgin and Creole languages and language contact.

**Roderich Ptak** attended schools in both Portugal and Germany in his youth and received his university education in Heidelberg, Beijing, Shenyang, and Guelph (Canada). He holds a Dr phil. in Chinese Studies from Heidelberg (1978), an MA in Economics from Guelph (1981), and a Dr habil. from Heidelberg (1985). He has been a research scholar in Hong Kong and has also conducted research in Toronto. In addition, he has held scholarships and grants from the German Research Foundation (DFG) and other institutions. He began his professional academic career in Heidelberg in 1981, has been a Heisenberg Scholar, and in 1991 was Professor of Chinese Studies at Mainz-Germersheim. Since 1994, he has been the chair of Chinese Studies at Munich. Through the years, he has also taught at universities in Paris, Lisbon and Macao. Presently, his academic interests include the Nanhai region and Macao (historical), and animals in traditional Chinese texts.

**Ricardo Roque** holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of Cambridge and BA and MA degrees in sociology and historical sociology from the New University of Lisbon. He is currently a Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon. He is the author of *Headhunting and*

*Colonialism: Anthropology and the Circulation of Human Skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870–1930* (2010) and *Antropologia e Império: Fonseca Cardoso e a Expedição à Índia em 1895* (2011); and the co-editor of *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: Reading European Archives in World History* (2011). He is currently working on the history of anthropology and colonialism in East Timor, and on a larger project about colonial mimesis in the late Portuguese empire in Asia and Africa.

**Christian Storch** has studied musicology, arts management and English literature in Weimar and Jena, Germany. In 2009 he finished his Ph.D. in Weimar on the subject of Alfred Schnittke's piano concertos in terms of authorship theories in music. Since 2010 Storch has been working at the University of Göttingen, pursuing his Habilitation with a research project about the influence of Portuguese musical culture in Southeast Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His main research interests are in the relationship between music and colonialism, the music of Alfred Schnittke and his contemporaries, and early music in the Federal State of Thuringia (Germany). Storch is vice-chairman of the Academia Musicalis Thuringiae as well as member of board of the Deutsche Alfred Schnittke Gesellschaft. His most recent publication is as co-editor (with Amrei Flechsig) of the first volume of a Schnittke Studies book series published with Olms in Hildesheim, Germany (2010).



# GLOSSARY

Definitions of the words and terms in this glossary are followed either by the language of origin or a location where the word or term is or was used with reference to the subject matter covered in this book. Most nouns are given in both their singular and plural spellings, as is relevant to their usage in this work. Plurals formed by the simple addition of an “s” or “es” are indicated parenthetically at the end of the singular, such as “*casa(s)*” or *conquistador(es)*; more complex spellings of plurals are shown separately, such as “*arraial; pl. arraiais*”.

<i>adat</i>	Culture. (Timor)
<i>aktionsart</i>	In linguistics, the kind of action associated with a verb (as opposed to the time of action). (German)
<i>apertos de mão</i>	Shaking hands. (Portuguese)
<i>arraial; pl. arraiais</i>	A Timorese warrior(s), in the context of this work. (Portuguese)
<i>bahasa geragau</i>	Shrimp language. (Bahasa Malaysia)
<i>bahasa serani</i>	Catholic (Eurasian) language. (Bahasa Malaysia)
<i>balão; pl. balões</i>	Richly decorated ceremonial Siamese barges. (Portuguese)
<i>bandeira</i> . Flag	(Portuguese)
<i>bandel; pl. bandéis</i>	A Portuguese settlement(s) in Southeast Asia. (Portuguese)
<i>bangsai</i>	A warehouse. (Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia)
<i>barcalan</i>	A government official in charge of foreign affairs. (Siam)

<i>barlaque</i>	A matrix of social pacts designed to establish and strengthen family ties in the same genealogical lineage whose practice includes a symbolic exchange of gifts and material goods to connect two lines in a lasting relationship. (Timor)
<i>bastão</i>	Sceptre of office in Timor. (Portuguese)
<i>bastão de rota</i>	A Timorese royal sceptre. (Portuguese)
<i>batuque</i>	Drum playing. (Portuguese)
<i>bei gua</i>	The path of the ancestors. (Timor)
<i>beija-mão</i>	Hand kissing. (Portuguese)
<i>bhineka tunggal ika</i>	Unity in diversity. (Timor)
<i>biola</i>	A guitar; see also <i>viola</i> . (Bahasa Malaysia)
<i>bumiputera</i>	“Sons of the soil”, a legal term in Malaysia denoting someone or some ethnic group that is “native” to the country. (Bahasa Malaysia)
<i>burgerkapitein</i>	A captain of the Civil Guard. (Dutch)
<i>caballero</i>	Literally, a knight; also a term to designate a bulwark or a small fort. (Spanish)
<i>cafre</i>	A term for blacks (individuals of African descent) in colonial Portuguese India. (Portuguese)
<i>cafreal</i>	Of or referring to a <i>cafre</i> . (Portuguese)
<i>caixa</i>	Literally, a box; also, in the context of this work, a drum. (Portuguese)
<i>calbeta</i>	A small harbour. (Portuguese)
<i>canceira(s)</i>	Payment(s) due to Portuguese officers for their journey. (Portuguese)
<i>cantilene</i>	An insulting song sung almost in parody of a lover’s serenade. (Italian)
<i>canto de organo</i>	A four-part song. (Spanish)
<i>canto llano</i>	Plain chant. (Spanish)
<i>capitão-mor</i>	A local commander appointed by the Portuguese crown. (Portuguese)
<i>casado(s)</i>	A married Portuguese man/men. (Portuguese)
<i>casa(s) real(es)</i>	Administrative building(s). (Spanish)
<i>castelo</i>	A castle. (Portuguese)
<i>comando</i>	An administrative district. (Timor)
<i>conquistador(es)</i>	Conqueror(s). (Portuguese)
<i>đạo hoà lan</i>	The Portuguese law. (Vietnamese)
<i>dató(s)</i>	Tetum nobility title(s); literally, “princes of the earth”. (Timor and elsewhere in Southeast Asia)

<i>diablete(s)</i>	Dance(s) from Madeira in which performers were clothed and masked as demons. (Portuguese)
<i>diwan</i>	A collector; the name of various public posts in Muslim societies. (Perso-Arabic)
<i>eerste schipvaart</i>	First shipping. (Dutch)
<i>estandela de rotim</i>	A staff made of reed. (Timor)
<i>estilo(s)</i>	A sacred, age-old custom(s) or style(s). (Timor)
<i>fanfang</i>	A quarter of a city or town designated for foreign residents. (Chinese)
<i>fawang</i>	King of the canon; sometimes refers to a priest in classical Chinese descriptions of Macao. (Chinese)
<i>feitoria</i>	Trading post. (Portuguese)
<i>fidalgo-cavaleiro</i>	A nobleman. (Portuguese)
<i>finta(s)</i>	Collective tax(es). (Timor)
<i>fiscaal</i>	Prosecutor. (Dutch)
<i>folía(s)</i>	Dance(s) performed by a large number of people. (Portuguese)
<i>fuerza</i>	A fortress, bulwark, or simple vault. (Spanish)
<i>gastos</i>	Agricultural produce, cattle, and the like, received as provisions, in the context of this work. (Timor)
<i>gigantes</i>	Giant effigies. (Portuguese)
<i>homulac</i>	A ceremonial orator. (Timor)
<i>já</i>	Already; immediately. (Portuguese)
<i>kapitan</i>	A captain. (Dutch)
<i>knuu</i>	House. (Timor)
<i>koto</i>	A Japanese psaltery
<i>lipa</i>	A type of traditional Timorese clothing. (Timor)
<i>liural; pl. liurais</i>	An executive ruler(s). (Timor)
<i>lorsá</i>	A Timorese warrior song. (Timor)
<i>lua(s)</i>	Literally, “moon(s)”; in the context of this work, Timorese metal disc(s) signifying warrior or headhunter status, as used in this work. (Portuguese)
<i>luas de oiro</i>	Literally, “moons of gold”; in the context of this work, golden discs. (Timor)
<i>lulik</i>	Sacred or holy. Also spelled “lulic”. (Timor)
<i>macoan</i>	Timorese ceremonial manager of justice; synonymous with <i>parlamento</i> . (Timor)
<i>mardika</i>	A free man. (Javanese)

<i>mestiço(s)</i>	An individual of mixed race; in this work, those born of mixed Portuguese and Asian parentage; more properly, <i>Luso-descendentes</i> . (Portuguese)
<i>miao</i>	Temples; sometimes used to refer to “churches” in classical Chinese. (Chinese)
<i>mogarim</i>	Jasmine. (Portuguese)
<i>morador</i> ; pl. <i>moradores</i>	A resident(s). See also <i>moradores</i> below for a special meaning in the Timorese context. (Portuguese)
<i>moradores</i>	A company of indigenous irregulars established by the Portuguese. (Timor)
<i>mos indicus</i>	A term that describes a Jesuit manner of preaching in India; in the “India fashion”. (Latin)
<i>norteiro</i>	In colonial times, a member of the Catholic and creolophone Indo-Portuguese communities of the <i>Província do Norte</i> (Province of the North), as the Portuguese-held territories along the northwest coast of India were known. (Portuguese)
<i>okul liu lai nalan liu lai na pemerintha</i>	An ethnic group of the Bunak.
<i>ola(s)</i>	A local currency in Maluku. (Maluku)
<i>pacto de sangue</i>	Blood pact. (Portuguese)
<i>paiung</i>	A feminine umbrella. (Timor)
<i>páreas</i>	Tribute. (Portuguese)
<i>parlamento</i>	A Timorese ceremonial manager of justice, in the context of this work; synonymous with <i>macoan</i> .
<i>poço</i>	A well. (Portuguese)
<i>português corrompido</i>	Corrupt Portuguese (language). (Portuguese)
<i>presidio</i>	A garrison. (Spanish)
<i>principal</i> ; pl. <i>principais</i>	A nobleman/noblemen, in the context of this work. (Portuguese)
<i>rai-ten</i>	Tax. (Timor)
<i>regimento</i>	An ordinance. (Portuguese)
<i>régulo</i>	A local Timorese chief or leader. (Portuguese)
<i>reino(s)</i>	A kingdom(s).
<i>romance</i>	A novel. (Portuguese)
<i>rota</i>	A type of reed. (Portuguese)
<i>rotim</i>	A type of reed. (Portuguese)
<i>si</i>	Pagoda or temple. (Chinese)
<i>sobrado</i>	First floor. (Portuguese)
<i>tabedai</i>	A type of dance peculiar to Timor. (Timor)

<i>táis</i>	A type of traditional Timorese clothing. (Timor)
<i>tang</i>	Hall or church. (Chinese)
<i>tébedai</i>	A type of dance peculiar to Timor. (Timor)
<i>topass</i> ; pl. <i>topasses</i>	Also <i>topaze(s)</i> . Various: (a) a Portuguese-Timorese mestiço group; from volume 1 of this work: (b) the offspring of Portuguese men and South Asian women; (b) the descendants of Portuguese mestizos who married native Sinhalese and Tamil women of Sri Lanka (Ceylon); and (c) possibly, an interpreter, in a Tamil derivation. Topasses were also referred to as “black Christians”, and the men often became professional soldiers, leading to the additional meaning of a “hat-wearing mercenary soldier”. (Southeast Asia; South Asia)
<i>torre de menagem</i>	In military architecture, the central structure of a medieval castle. (Portuguese)
<i>tumenggung</i>	An official responsible for law and order. (Malacca, possibly of Javanese origin)
<i>tumengó(s)</i>	An ancient title(s), possibly of Javanese origins, based on the term <i>tumenggung</i> ; synonymous with the Portuguese <i>tumungão</i> (pl. <i>tumungões</i> ). (Timor)
<i>uma kain/ahimatan</i>	A descent group. (Tetum)
<i>uma lulik(s)</i>	Sacred house(s). (Timor)
<i>vigário</i>	Vicar. (Portuguese)
<i>vihuela</i>	A guitar; see also <i>viola</i> . (Spanish)
<i>vilancete</i>	An Iberian musical genre of the late fifteenth to eighteenth centuries; the same as <i>villancico</i> in Spanish. (Portuguese)
<i>villancico</i>	An Iberian musical genre of the late fifteenth to eighteenth centuries; the same as <i>vilancete</i> in Portuguese. (Spanish)
<i>viola</i>	A guitar; see also <i>biola</i> and <i>vihuela</i> . (Portuguese).
<i>vrijzwaren</i>	Free blacks. (Dutch)
<i>wang</i>	King; sometimes used to refer to Catholic priests in classical Chinese descriptions of Macao. (Chinese)
<i>wijkmeester</i>	Ward administrator. (Dutch)
<i>xunan yashi</i>	Senior inspection official. (Chinese)
<i>zhang</i>	3.3 metres (Chinese)

# INTRODUCTION: THE QUALITATIVE PROPERTIES OF CULTURES AND IDENTITIES

Laura Jarnagin

*Culture and Identity in the Luso-Asian World: Tenacities and Plasticities* (Volume 2 of *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011*) constitutes the balance of papers associated with September 2010 “Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011” conference organized by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore and the Universiti Teknologi MARA, Malacca, Malaysia. Whereas Volume 1 treats the making of the Luso-Asian world in terms of exploring how significantly differing cultures, politics, and societies interacted with one another within the South, Southeast, and East Asian theatres, Volume 2 is concerned with the “living spirit” of the communities and cultures under investigation — that is, the more elusive qualitative properties of Portuguese and Luso-Asian cultures.

The introduction to Volume 1 includes a discussion of two key features of the conference that need to be revisited here briefly, lest the context and intent of this work be misconstrued. The first of these is the selection of the five hundredth anniversary of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511 as the point of departure for considering half a millennium of actions, interactions, and reactions among the Portuguese, Asians, and Luso-Asians. In the longer treatment of this matter in Volume 1, we make it clear that our intent is not to “commemorate”, or to “celebrate”, or to attach value judgements to this particular event. Rather, we have sought to create a forum for scholarly reflection, reassessment, and reconsideration of the impact of the Portuguese presence in the Asian theatre.

The second matter that also merits comment is the use of the word “legacies” as an overarching theme. While the term has various connotations,

we have employed it in a more open and inclusive sense to refer to “something that has been left, in this case, by an abstract predecessor — the presence of Portuguese and subsequently Luso-Asian peoples in Asia — and that continued for some time or still continues to survive, to be observable, and to be influential at some level of being or existing, well beyond the lifetime of its original agent, albeit with modifications along the way”.

As also noted in Volume 1, even though there was no specific theory or concept around which the conference was organized, the general theme of *complexity* was sounded in almost all of the papers presented. By and large, “complexity” is used as a descriptor of the various phenomena observed by our authors, not as the subject of a broader theoretical discussion. And while it would be inappropriate to artificially impose a common conceptual framework *ex post facto*, the fact that this one theme recurs throughout these diverse studies warrants some provisional musings about what might be a fruitful pathway along which to advance our understanding of the qualitative nature of such inherently messy subjects as cultures and identities.

To that end, a few remarks on the rapidly growing body of academic literature concerning the theory of complexity (mostly in the sciences but to an increasing extent in the social sciences)<sup>1</sup> can illustrate how this conceptual framework might capture the essence of the dynamic processes that give cultures and identities their “living spirit”. Whereas a full treatment of complexity theory is clearly beyond the scope of this introduction, it is possible to mention a few key features of how complexity “works” and to map some of these to the type of phenomena our authors have investigated.

Above all, complexity theory explains *how* things evolve. In essence, it focuses on how “agents” within a given system interact with their environment by way of continual feedback loops. Was a particular choice or action beneficial? If so — if the feedback was positive — that choice or action is reiterated, unless it ceases to be useful in the context of the system’s interaction with the constantly changing environment. In short, agents in a complex system are constantly adapting to changing realities — that is, they themselves are changing, *evolving*, in response to change and to their own internal choices, and are doing so in a non-linear fashion. In order to understand this process, it is especially important to look at the qualitative features of the components of a system and how they interact, and it is in this sense that many chapters in this work make a contribution.

Theorists conceptualize of the dynamism found in complex systems as occurring in a “fuzzy zone” between order and chaos. It is in this zone that innovation and creativity occur, thereby accounting for a system’s transformations and ongoing dynamic. Significantly, survival in a complex

system is predicated upon agents acting collaboratively with others, that is, upon interdependency and the formation of groups and subgroups. Acting in concert allows individuals to transcend themselves and acquire collective properties that they cannot achieve on their own. In the case of humankind, such properties would include thought, purpose, language, culture, family, and religion. Through bottom-up collaboration and accommodation, networks emerge and a system acquires structures and patterns that have come about through self-organization, not some grand design. But complex systems are not exclusively about collaboration: subgroups within a system also compete, thereby contributing to a system's unpredictability and non-linearity.

Even the most cursory reading of the chapters in both of these volumes readily renders examples of the various characteristics associated with complex systems. For instance, in this volume, one will find many “fuzzy zones” where interactions take place and new realities emerge as a result, such as at the interface between different Catholic laities; in the relationship between Timorese and Portuguese cultures; in the formation and trajectory of creole languages; and in the curious relationship between China and Macao, to name a few. “Evolution” is also a descriptor found in many of these studies, and in one instance, we even witness the withering of one evolutionary branch — a musical one — which, for a number of reasons, lost its dynamic. The slippery topic of identity — one's own, as well as that of “the other” — especially appears to be fertile ground for examining the qualitative features of the components of complex systems. While complexity theory is by no means a “unified theory of everything”, it might nevertheless be a useful conceptual tool that can bring additional sophistication to the treatment of the qualitative side of human behaviours and interactions that readers and researchers alike may wish to pursue.

One of the key reasons for choosing so large a canvass as “legacies” and so expansive a time frame as five hundred years for this project was to attract a broad array of scholars and perspectives that could stimulate intellectual cross-fertilization among an international and interdisciplinary gathering of experts. As is true in volume 1, the present volume also comprises contributions by well-established scholars, rising talents, doctoral candidates, and one independent researcher, whose contributions are summarized below.

Volume 2 is organized around three themes: “Crafting Identity in the Luso-Asian World”, “Cultural Components: Language, Architecture, and Music”, and “Adversity and Accommodation”. In each of these sections, readers will find that the cultures and subcultures that precipitated out of the complex mixtures of Europeans, Asians, and Eurasians variously exhibited significant

degrees of plasticity — that is, of malleability and changeability — and of tenacity — that is, a retention of cultural patterns, values, and practices. In short, as changing cultural environments presented new options and realities, we find adaptations and modifications of the “new” in combination with adherence to existing ways. In essence, the choices made by different groups and individuals at various points in time are expressions of their interactions with their ever-changing environments — that is, they are the result of feedback loops that either affirmed or negated the value of certain choices open to them.

Part One of this volume, “Crafting Identity in the Luso-Asian World”, comprises four chapters that take us into the interstices of identity formation in the Luso-Asian world of continental Southeast Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of Timor in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In Chapter 1, “Catholic Communities and Their Festivities under the Portuguese Padroado in Early Modern Southeast Asia”, Tara Alberts examines popular Catholic festivities in Portuguese Asia in the early modern era and opens a wide window of fresh perspectives onto the process of identity formation and assertion in those communities. Her work includes a rich discussion of the conceptual approaches to events of mass participation in early modern Europe and finds significant parallels in contemporaneous Southeast Asian settings. In her analysis, dichotomous classifications of the nature of public events (orderly/disruptive; ceremonial/chaotic; religious/profane) give way to understanding ritual from the participant’s perspective — one in which meanings can blur and overlap along a continuum ranging from formal religious ceremonies to more demotic communal festivities to outright protest and violence. Yet, from this seeming messiness, identities emerge and are expressed, social hierarchies are constructed, and divine favour is sought.

The chapter focuses on Portuguese and Asian Catholic identities and communities in three cosmopolitan, trade-oriented Southeast Asian cities from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries: Hôï An (known as Faifo to Europeans) in Cochinchina; Malacca in the Malay peninsula; and Ayutthaya in Siam. Alberts examines a multifaceted, complex set of religious and secular interfaces in these locales where we find a laity of Portuguese Catholics, mestizo Portuguese Catholics (including those of Afro-Portuguese descent), and non-Portuguese Catholics (such as Japanese, Chinese, and Cochinchinese Christians) who variously competed and cooperated, interacted and distanced themselves from one another. Non-Catholics intrigued by Catholic festivities

often joined in for the entertainment of the moment, or eventually converted. Non-Christian local rulers who wished to favour foreigners for strategic or commercial reasons, or else wished to clamp down on the adherents of the foreign faith for disrupting the prevailing social order, variously tolerated or prohibited such festivals. Meanwhile, the mix of clergy from multiple orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits) and of multiple ethnicities (Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French) often added to the tensions, with lay groups favouring or reviling one over another.

Competition and cooperation, hostility and amity, and engagement and distancing are all found at these many junctures as lay groups appropriated certain features of Catholicism and invented their own variations on its ceremonies, often incorporating some aspect of their traditional culture and usually blurring distinctions between the religious and the profane in the process. Festivities exposed such modifications, but “public spectacle was an important part of evangelistic methodology in Asia, especially for the Jesuits”. Thus, as well as being a declaration of shared Catholic faith, moments of communal celebration “could also reveal the tensions, rivalries, and uncertain alliances between different groups within Catholic communities” despite a superficial assertion of unity under one religion. Further, as is observed in other chapters of this work, Alberts also finds tendencies to conflate being Catholic with being Portuguese. In short, the introduction of a religion new to the cultural environment of these Asian locales by a then-ascendant power inserted a very plastic new variable into the process of identity formation.

Chapter 2, “A ‘Snapshot’ of a Portuguese Community in Southeast Asia: The *Bandel* of Siam, 1684–86”, further confirms the malleability and processual nature of identity formation. In it, Rita Bernardes de Carvalho parses the subtleties of identity from what is ostensibly a political text, namely, an account of the Portuguese embassy that Pero Vaz de Siqueira led to Siam. This document and several relevant letters were originally published in Portuguese by Leonor de Seabra in 2003 (with a second edition in 2004), followed by an English translation in 2005. A biographical index of the names appearing in the embassy report accompanies this chapter as an appendix.

By the late seventeenth century, the Portuguese community (*bandel*) in Ayutthaya caused concern in Lisbon. At some 160 years beyond the initial Portuguese presence in the Siamese kingdom, ties to the metropolis were fraying as Portugal’s power in the region diminished and the “empire” assumed a distinctly informal character. Nevertheless, the presence of French bishops in this traditionally Portuguese sphere of influence would not go unanswered by the crown, which sent its ambassador, Pero Vaz de Siqueira,

from the increasingly independent-minded Macao to investigate and to renew relations with Siam, whose king was then actively expanding his international connections.

Extracting the cases of three individuals from the embassy report, Bernardes de Carvalho reveals the inexactness of what it meant to be “Portuguese” in this culturally fluid environment. Her enquiry explores “the different identitary strategies that drove the *bandel*’s residents to behave in a certain way, letting their actions speak for their feelings about their identity, and trying to grasp the processes that shape identity in the cultural practices, actions, and borders between Portuguese from Ayutthaya and Portuguese coming with the embassy”.

The complex shadings involved in crafting and projecting identity emerge from Bernardes de Carvalho’s case studies. Amador Coelho survived in Ayutthata by distancing himself from his “Portugueseness” and aligning instead with the ascendant French and with the Siamese court through familial connections. Francisco Barreto de Pina, the long-time headman of the Portuguese settlement, had undergone significant acculturation, having a large family, a Siamese nobility title, and attitudes considered by the Macanese ambassador as being too “casual and indulgent”; hence, Barreto de Pina was dismissed from his position. Burot, a “black New Christian” and petty thief, presents yet another exhibit in the confounding matter of “the relationship between the Catholic faith and Portuguese identity” in which “even missionaries accepted the plasticity of the religious experience in Siam”. Given the “considerable cultural distance” that existed between the “Portuguese” of Ayutthaha and Macao that Bernardes de Carvalho exposes, one wonders how Vaz de Siqueira — a native of Macao and probably a mestizo, who held tenaciously to his notions of “Portugueseness” vis-à-vis the *bandel* residents — would have fared under a metropolitan Portuguese cultural microscope.

In Chapter 3, “The Colonial Command of Ceremonial Language: Etiquette and Custom-Imitation in Nineteenth-Century East Timor”, Ricardo Roque details a fascinating case of custom-imitation that embodies both cultural plasticities and tenacities in the origins and practice of Timorese ceremonial etiquettes. Using historical and anthropological lenses to scrutinize nineteenth-century Timorese practices that in fact originated in early modern Portuguese customs, Roque demonstrates how the Timorese came to view these as having originated in “their” culture. Just as importantly, Portuguese colonial officials in Timor pragmatically understood that, in order to maintain their own authority, it was necessary to engage in these “indigeneous” practices and customs, known collectively as *estilos*, that had long since ceased to be necessary in the context of contemporary imperial administration.

In early colonial times, the Timorese creatively appropriated and incorporated Portuguese customs into their own ceremonial affirmations of elite power, out of which a politico-jural system of etiquette emerged. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Timorese were still tenaciously practising these same rituals, whereas the Portuguese now considered them repugnant. However, these customs did bridge the “colonial-indigenous divide”, simultaneously reinforcing the status of indigenous Timorese potentates *and* sustaining Portuguese authority “beyond its feeble and tiny dimension in Dili”. In simple terms, this system of *estilos* became the colonial state, although it “did not safeguard colonial authority from the permanent threat of indigenous hostility”.

Tenacity, however, should not be confused with stasis. The system was actively maintained and was adapted to changing realities, thereby constituting a dynamic “social force” that “superseded the most modernizing intentions of colonisers”. In their practical application, the *estilos* communicated deference and etiquette in interpersonal situations, and conveyed hospitality when colonial authorities visited Timorese kingdoms, but they also regulated conflict and managed warfare.

Ritual and ceremony have long been understood by anthropologists to lie at the core of indigenous state power in Southeast Asia. For the later periods of Portuguese colonialism, however, the “co-production of colonial and indigenous power, status, and authority” remains understudied, a lacuna that Roque’s work begins to fill. In essence, this is a study of a set of two elites — one indigeneous, one foreign — who relied on each other to maintain power in their respective spheres through participation in a common etiquette that was revered by the Timorese and tolerated by the Portuguese.

Roque cautions, however, that this intertwined dependency should not prompt a “celebratory reading” of the phenomenon as an instance of hybridity. In light of the above discussion of complex systems, one could imagine that such features as adaptiveness to local feedback, unpredictability, and the emergence of new states of being might offer an alternative framework within which to consider “the sociopolitical value of ceremonial life at the very juncture of indigenous and colonial cultures, as they emerged in the course of colonial encounters over time”.

The role of the Portuguese in the formation of Timorese identity is explored in a different context in Chapter 4, “Remembering the Portuguese Presence in Timor and Its Contribution to the Making of Timor’s National and Cultural Identity”, by Vicente Paulino. Following a brief review of the Portuguese presence in Timor from colonial times, Paulino demonstrates how the Portuguese presence has influenced the making of the East Timorese nation-state. In addition to considering the results of four-and-a-half centuries

of Portuguese influence on Timorese culture, though, he also contrasts this experience with the consequences of twenty-four years of Indonesian occupation (1975–99), which involved the massive destruction of Timorese cultural entities. Additionally, the chapter engages in a comparative analysis of the Timorese national identity and culture with those of Japan and Korea, especially with reference to Japan’s occupation of Korea (1910–45).

Timor’s system of social organization derives from a composite of some thirty-one ethno-linguistic groups and forty-six kingdoms, the result of waves of primarily Melanesian and Malay migration over time. No one ethnic group has ever dominated, no tradition of a single absolute authority exists, and no single myth evokes the notion of common descent.

Portuguese colonial dominance, as also discussed in Chapter 3, was achieved by a blending of Portuguese administrative policy with the “solid Timorese traditional systems”. One of the most important components of these systems is the physical and symbolic role of the “sacred houses”, or *knua* — hybrid social spaces accommodating and protecting the individual, the family, and the community. Any construction of a sense of nationhood would thus need to be incorporated into the universe of the *knua*. Conversely, the destruction of sacred houses — in which the Indonesian forces engaged — would deal a severe blow to Timorese identity. The use of the Portuguese language was also disallowed in the education system. Interestingly, though, whereas less than 20 per cent of the Timorese population ever professed being Catholic prior to the invasion, in occupied East Timor 98 per cent soon claimed such an identity.

In Paulino’s comparative review of the case of occupied Korea, we find similar tactics employed by the Japanese as by the Indonesians. Among other things, Japanese policies included forcing Koreans to convert to Shintoism (a variant of Confucianism imported into Japan in the sixth century from China) and prohibiting the use of the language. Efforts at obliterating indigenous cultural traditions on the part of relatively short-term occupying forces, though, are generally unsuccessful in the long run. However, given the nature and the longevity of the Portuguese presence in Timor, Paulino concludes that although it did virtually nothing to advance economic development, it has provided an administrative superstructure, bridging multiethnic and multilingual differences, within which a new national and cultural identity is emerging.

Part Two of this volume, “Cultural Components: Language, Architecture and Music”, examines other types of Portuguese and Luso-Asian legacies that broaden and deepen our understanding of the larger phenomenon of what cultures choose to retain, to relinquish, to adapt, and to modify.

The section comprises a trilogy of linguistic and sociolinguistic studies of Kristang, Makista, and Indo-Portuguese creoles as well as the identification of forts in the Moluccas and the fate of Portuguese music in Southeast Asia.

In Chapter 5, “The Creole Portuguese Language of Malacca: A Delicate Ecology”, Alan N. Baxter discusses the current state of the Kristang language, the “last vital variety” of the Portuguese-derived creole languages of East and Southeast Asia. Kristang is neither “sixteenth-century Portuguese”, nor is it “broken Portuguese”, but rather a distinct yet endangered language that is currently the object of revitalization and maintenance efforts. Baxter discusses several key aspects of this language’s interrelationship with its environment, allowing us to view the trajectory of how it was maintained into the twentieth century, what has contributed to its attrition in recent decades, and what its future prospects may be.

Baxter discusses three main factors that account for the survival of Kristang from the early nineteenth century to the present: linguistic reinforcement through a dynamic association of religion, language, and a quasi-ethnic group; the development of a common socioeconomic base in the poorer core community until the late twentieth century; and population dynamics. Kristang is currently undergoing considerable “shrinkage” due to five main factors: (1) generational loss due to the lack of transmission of the language by older generations; (2) diminished fluency among native speakers; (3) greater social status being associated with the use of English and Malay (Bahasa Malaysia); (4) core domain loss, whereby younger generations prefer to use English in both friendship and work domains; and (5) intermarriage with other ethnic groups. A detailed linguistic analysis is then presented that documents how this shrinkage is occurring.

Ultimately, Baxter is optimistic about a revitalization, maintenance, and strengthening programme for Kristang and deems one to be feasible for several reasons. First, a reasonable number of speakers still exists. Second, the language has been extensively documented by professional linguists and members of the community — a prerequisite for any successful revitalization programme. Third, in recent years, the larger Kristang community has come to value its culture in new ways and is also more prosperous, allowing it to consider various options for revitalization. Fourth, the community now recognizes that the language is endangered. Baxter cautions, however, that a successful preservation programme “must be grounded in community-internal dynamics and initiative” while also acknowledging that “external aid and consultancy are very important factors in cultural preservation”. Most importantly, however, all parties “must first and foremost be well informed”, not simply well intentioned, and should not seek to impose external agendas

on the process. Baxter recognizes that language itself is a very plastic artefact and that linguistic changes are natural occurrences. He concludes that, ultimately, “a creole community will do with its culture what it chooses to do. If it chooses to decreolize linguistically and culturally, or if it chooses to acquire some degree of bilingualism in the former colonial language, that is its own business.”

In Chapter 6, “Oral Traditions of the Luso-Asian Communities: Local, Regional, and Continental”, Hugo C. Cardoso marshals linguistic data that support the growing historical evidence pointing to closer ties among the various Portuguese-dominated territories in Asia than has traditionally been assumed. By analysing a repertoire of songs from the Indo-Portuguese communities of what was once known as the *Província do Norte* along India’s northwest coast (comprising the urban centres of Bassein, Bombay, Chaul, Daman, and Diu), Cardoso exposes not only thematic links with other repertoires collected elsewhere, but linguistic heterogeneity as well, ranging from the “most basilectal creole to the most metropolitan Portuguese”.

Of these locations, Diu was under Portuguese rule for the longest period of time (426 years), and today only about 180 speakers of its Indo-Portuguese creole remain. Daman, a Portuguese possession for 403 years, now has about 4,000 native creole speakers, the largest number of the *Norteiro* locales. Bombay and its surrounding communities were ceded to the British in 1661, and by the early twentieth century, the Portuguese-derived creole in that area had become extinct. The rest of the *Província do Norte* — including Bassein, Chaul, and Korlai — was annexed by Maratha forces in 1739–40, after which the Catholic population of Chaul relocated to nearby Korlai, which has remained homogeneously Catholic and creolophone to the present, with some 760 speakers.

Cardoso identifies several key linguistic features of the Indo-Portuguese creoles that distinguish them from Portuguese, such as a strong preference for world-final stress and an absence of gender and number inflection in nouns, verbs, and adjectives. When these characteristics are set alongside the *Norteiro* song repertoire, however, its linguistic heterogeneity is revealed: there are songs that are irrefutably part of Diu’s local repertoire, but their sociocultural provenance and linguistic profile are clearly not Diuese. Similarly, examples from Korlai reveal lyrics that more closely resemble Portuguese than Korlai Creole.

Once again, the plasticity of language is underscored as this corpus of *Norteiro* songs reveals that “the poetic material that circulated among the Luso-Asian communities was subject to creative manipulation, recombination, and adaptation to different realities”: one place name has been substituted

for another; themes have been recombined; and local references have been added in “novel and creative ways”. Thus, whereas Cardoso’s study documents how songs have been “nativized” in the various Norteiro communities, their linguistic make-up and thematic content also lend further credence to the view that this cultural legacy is the product of an appreciable level of interconnectedness and “a considerable flow of population” across the many Portuguese territories of Asia.

In Chapter 7, “Verb Markings in Makista: Continuity/Discontinuity and Accommodation”, these population flows again find linguistic expression as Mário Pinharanda-Nunes examines the aspectual marker *ja* in Makista, the Portuguese Creole of Macao. He tests the hypothesis that Makista was formed gradually by adult speakers in a multilingual context that includes both Chinese and non-Chinese languages. Kristang, the Malacca Creole — itself a product of Portuguese, Malay and possibly Hokkien — served as Makista’s substrate, or base language. Portuguese is Makista’s superstrate (the language of the dominant group), while Cantonese is classified as its adstrate (a language of close and intense contact). Taken together, these several languages constitute a creole’s “feature pool”, similar in concept to a gene pool, from which variants can be dropped, selected or modified by speakers of an emerging language. Selected items in turn may then retain, narrow or widen their original functions.

Pinharanda-Nunes places his enquiry in a socio-historical context, noting key factors contributing to Makista’s formation that differed from Kristang. For instance, in Malacca, there was greater contact with the large numbers of Chinese speakers resident there from well before the arrival of the Portuguese. By contrast, intense contact with the Chinese community in Macao did not take place until long after the Portuguese settlement was established. In addition, over the centuries, Macao received regular injections of significant numbers of speakers of standard Portuguese, to which greater social prestige and employment prospects were attached (especially from the nineteenth century onwards) than to the local creole.

The theoretical framework presented in this chapter looks at the “feature pool” phenomenon and the linguistic processes of transfer, levelling and congruency. A detailed analysis of the use of *ja* in Makista, with reference to the Portuguese adverb *já* and the Cantonese verbal markers *jó* and *gwó* then follows. Pinharanda-Nunes finds situations of both continuities and discontinuities in transfers from the feature pool into Makista and confirms his original hypothesis. Traits retained from Kristang indicate a “prolonged contact between Macao and Malacca” while the widening use of *ja* underscores the effect of close contact and exposure to standard Portuguese. At the same

time, however, “possible correlations between the use of *ja* and some of the functions of the Cantonese markers *jó* and *gwó* also fit concepts of congruency and levelling in the whole process of transfer and use of linguistic elements”, thereby affirming increasing contact with Cantonese speakers.

In Chapter 8, “From European-Asian Conflict to Cultural Heritage: Identification of Portuguese and Spanish Forts on Ternate and Tidore Islands”, Manuel Lobato successfully identifies some of the architectural legacies of the Iberian presence in the Moluccas in present-day Indonesia, the so-called Spice Islands that were the coveted objects of both Portuguese and Spanish trading in Southeast Asia. Protecting that commerce required forts to be constructed at key sites, although many of these structures lacked “the magnitude of other military architecture erected elsewhere”. Nevertheless, they were structures that communicated the presence of foreign power, both physically and symbolically. Yet, today, the local Muslim populace regards these forts as being “highly valuable ... in terms of their contributions to collective memories, and also a vehicle to affirm their identity”. Through a long and patient process of crossing field data with a vast but often only marginally informative body of literary and archival materials, and despite inaccurate local oral traditions, Lobato has positively identified several fortifications built by Iberians in Northern Maluku, particularly on the islands of Tidore and Ternate.

Of all the forts constructed by the Portuguese in the Malayan Archipelago during the sixteenth century, only three were directly ordered by the crown. The others were more modest structures built at the initiative of individual Portuguese crown representatives, merchants, ships’ commanders, missionaries, *casados* (Portuguese married men) and/or mestizo leaders, often with support from local populations. Some ninety-six forts were built throughout the Moluccas — notably on the islands of Ternate, Tidore, Halmahera, Bacan, Seram and Ambon — by local rulers, Europeans and Japanese, of which more than twenty can be identified as Iberian archaeological sites. Portuguese forts were built between 1522 and 1603 and Spanish forts from 1606 to 1637.

Lobato’s study takes us through a host of Iberian structures on the neighbouring small islands of Ternate and Tidore, concentrating on the Portuguese fortress of São João Baptista on Ternate, one of the three forts in the region ordered by the crown and thus the one for which greater information exists. But his work also includes the fort of Reis Magos on Tidore in addition to numerous Spanish structures that were variously fortresses, bulwarks and simple vaults. As the data permit, Lobato discusses their architectural design, site selection, building materials, renovations, destructions, takeovers and naming variations. Perhaps most importantly,

his study “begins to answer some of the questions posed by the authorities and experts” who are involved in restoration projects on Ternate, which have “aroused some controversy”. Like Baxter’s entreaty to engage in revitalizations of language only with a firm grounding in solid empirical data, so, too, one would hope for a similar treatment of these architectural legacies as well.

This section concludes with Chapter 9, “The Influence of Portuguese Musical Culture in Southeast Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in which Christian Storch reflects on the under-researched topic of cultural flows and counterflows through music between Portugal and its Asian outposts. Although the long-term impact of formal Portuguese musical tropes was minimal, music nevertheless was to be found “at the intersection of missionary work, urban entertainment and imperial representation”.

From the onset of contact between Portugal and Asia, political and religious conquest was reinforced through music. Noisy trumpets, drums and other instruments, although less destructive than cannon, also served to demonstrate power and were employed by the likes of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral and Afonso de Albuquerque as they established a Portuguese presence in Asia. Music was also used to entice: for instance, Cabral’s party included a Franciscan organist whose performances were designed to impress potential trade partners.

Reconstructing this musical legacy, however, is no mean task, given a dearth of primary sources, as Storch discusses. No music manuscripts from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries are to be found in Goa, Malacca, Macao or Timor, or in Portuguese or Jesuit archives. One known manuscript collection from this era was probably destroyed in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, although a surviving index from 1649 provides some clues as to what may have been typical of Portuguese musical culture at the time of expansion into Southeast Asia. Similarly, a known treatise by the eccentric composer André de Escobar, who lived in India for several years in the mid-sixteenth century, is also lost, thus depriving us of greater knowledge of the possible counterflow of Indian musical or instrumental influences to Portugal.

The most intense systematic transmission of Portuguese musical cultural, however, would have taken place at the nexus of the Catholic missions and the local populations. Choral singing was introduced into Portuguese Asia as early as 1512, and as of 1514, Goa’s Church of Santa Catarina was clearly designed to accommodate musical performance. Franciscans in Goa focused on teaching music to children — a strategy soon adopted by the Jesuits throughout Southeast Asia and in Brazil. Local and Western instruments were combined in the performance of sacred music in Goa, a practice that probably extended throughout Southeast Asia. Thus, in the medium of music, we have another

example of how missionaries sought to make their message more attractive by incorporating local cultural features into the proceeding, thereby blurring cultural lines (see chapters 1 and 2 for related discussions).

By the eighteenth century, Portuguese Asian possessions had lost favour to Brazil, and, concomitantly, the influx of new human capital from the home country dwindled significantly. As other Europeans joined the missionary ranks, the impact of any one nation's music was diluted. In other words, diminished connectedness between Portugal and its Asian territories appears to have translated into discontinuities in the performance of more formal Portuguese music, quite in contrast to the folksong continuities discussed by Jackson (Volume 1) and Cardoso (Volume 2) that are more the product of Portuguese Asia's informal structures.

Part Three, "Adversity and Accommodation", examines how certain Portuguese-derived communities interfaced with resident "others" in Asia, specifically, with the Chinese in Macao (Chapters 10 and 11), and with the Dutch in Malacca (Chapter 12). While the former setting was primarily characterized by accommodation from the outset, with occasional bouts of adversity, the latter context began with adversity that resolved into accommodation.

This section opens with the one chapter in this work that was not originally presented as a paper at the "Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies" conference. Rather, it is a contribution by Roderich Ptak that helps round out our understanding of Portugal's Asian presence at Macao, its easternmost anchor. The work was originally published as "Portugal und China: Anatomie einer Eintracht (16. und 17. Jh.)" by the Berlin Deutsches Historisches Museum in 2007 and appears here in English translation.

In Chapter 10, "Portugal and China: An Anatomy of Harmonious Coexistence (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)", Ptak probes the entity known as Macao, perched at the tip of a peninsula in the Pearl River Delta, where the Portuguese first took up residence in the mid-sixteenth century and remained in control until 1999. Although Fujianese merchants at Malacca probably showed the Portuguese the way to China, we do not know exactly how their foothold was secured. As a reward for dislodging pirates? The result of a bribe? Because the Chinese court needed valuables that the Portuguese could obtain? No known document exists to enlighten us.

Whatever the answer, though, the Portuguese presence at Macao was not the product of military conquest, and, wisely, Portugal never used it as a base from which to attempt greater territorial expansion. To say the least, the ensuing interface between the Portuguese and the Chinese is unusual, and Ptak's examination of its inner dynamic confirms that Macao was neither

fish nor fowl: it was not exactly an “autonomous zone” under the Qing, nor a well-integrated diaspora-enclave within the Estado da Índia, nor a variant of a “foreign quarter” on Chinese soil.

Ptak’s objective is to analyse the structural principles underlying the nature of the contact between the Chinese and the Portuguese — that is, “the conditions which were to shape certain modes of interaction over a long period of time”. In essence, the Portuguese entered the differential equation that was the long-standing commercial rivalry between Fujian and Guangdong provinces as a third variable. On average, central Guangdong benefited more from the Portuguese presence.

Over time, the value of this essentially localized relationship came to be expressed in the classically Chinese concepts of “old privileges” and “good neighbours”. Moderation, flexibility and mutual accommodation constituted the *modus vivendi* between “infinitesimal” Macao and the neighbouring Chinese provinces, all geographically distant from their respective centres of power in China and Portugal. “Just how the Chinese provincial officials managed to enforce their local issues ... far up north in Beijing ... we do not know, but that they did so is beyond debate” — as, apparently, the representatives of Portugal were also able to do relative to Lisbon and Goa. In short, maintaining “harmonious coexistence” at Macao routinely trumped the occasional extraneous bouts of adverse political chaff blowing in from abroad.

Here, then, was a structure that had no sharp edges and access to which was left open to every option and all parties. Perhaps this anatomical enquiry has rendered a sponge-like creature, defined by a system of pores and canals through which fluid substances may pass. As Ptak concludes, the “very vagueness” that characterized Macao, and the Portuguese “who truly knew how to contrast pleasantly with the rest of the European powers”, made for an “extraordinary strength” in this politically plastic colonial setting.

While a “vagueness” governed regional relations between Macao and its neighbouring Chinese provinces, significant restrictions were placed on the degree of day-to-day interactions between the resident Chinese and the residents of the Portuguese settlement at Macao for an extensive period of time, thereby minimizing opportunities for cultural intercourse. In Chapter 11, “‘Aocheng’ or ‘Cidade do Nome de Deus’: The Nomenclature of Portuguese and Castilian Buildings of Old Macao from the ‘Reversed Gaze’ of the Chinese”, Vincent Ho pries some clues as to how the Chinese regarded the foreign culture in their midst from an examination of the names that the Chinese assigned to structures within the Portuguese walled settlement between the mid-sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Local gazetteers,

poems, notes, journals and reports of the Chinese officials and literati are the sources for these rare glimpses.

Ho's study focuses primarily, but not exclusively, on buildings related to the Catholic Church in Macao. The Chinese nomenclature for these structures demonstrates that the Cantonese, Hokkien/Fujianese or perhaps even Tanka names for them were derived in a variety of ways. For instance, St. Paul's Church, located at the main entrance in the wall that separated the Chinese and Portuguese settlements, was called Sanba Men, or Gate of Three Hopes, although "Sanba" ("three hopes" or "three wishes") has "no proper meaning in traditional Chinese usage", nor is it a typical expression or sentiment. Instead, it appears that "Sanba" is an aural cognate of "São Pau", the first two syllables of "São Paulo". Similarly, the three Cantonese versions of the Chinese name for St. Francis's Church — Qie Si Lan, Ge Si Lan and Jia Si Lan — are probably cognates for "Catalonia", the region in Spain that was the home of the first missionary to this church. Otherwise these names also "do not make any sense in Chinese".

Other church-related structures, however, carried names that either reflected their appearance (such as "Temple Covered by Board", or "Temple of Dragon's Whiskers", whose ruined roof was covered by palm fronds) or their function ("Food Supply Temple" in reference to the Holy House of Mercy, or "Clinic Temple", in the case of St. Raphael's Hospital). Still others are less easy to categorize, such as "Waiting Temple" for the cathedral, or "Windy Message Temple" for St. Lawrence's Church.

In general, the information imparted in Chinese records about these buildings is thin. As Ho points out, though, it is difficult to know whether this dearth is due to a lack of greater interest on the part of the Chinese or to restricted access. In either case, although we definitely have glimpses of what the Chinese "saw", a more sustained "gaze" awaits continued scholarly enquiry.

Finally, Chapter 12 takes us back to Malacca, the flashpoint in the history of the Portuguese in Asia that occasioned the "Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies" conference and this publication. Here, Dennis De Witt's explores the social interface between the Dutch and the Portuguese Eurasians of Malacca after 1641, which marked the opening of 160 years of Dutch colonial rule in the city. Whereas much of the literature on this subject highlights the adversity that undeniably existed at the outset between these two competing European groups — one Catholic and the other Protestant — De Witt presents documentary evidence of how social accommodation between them evolved over time, in part due to so-called "mixed marriages". While this phenomenon is neither surprising nor unknown, De Witt documents an unexpected twist

to it that warrants further investigation. By consulting not only Catholic but also Protestant church registers, as well as Dutch archival material, he reveals cases of single marriages that were solemnized twice in Malacca: once in a Catholic church, once in a Dutch Reformed (Protestant) church.

Although the Dutch attempted to encourage the Malacca Portuguese to remain, given their vast knowledge of and connections into regional trading networks, many left (often at the behest of priests) and settled elsewhere in Portuguese Asia. During the rest of the seventeenth century, Dutch policy concerning the Catholics in Malacca vacillated from tolerance to persecution and often appears to have been primarily the outgrowth of prevailing relations between the Dutch authorities and the Catholic clergy. In secular matters, accommodation and cooperation found greater space in which to flourish: Dutch officials recognized that the Malacca Portuguese provided invaluable intermediary services relative to the local and neighbouring societies.

In the eighteenth century, the Dutch attitude towards the Malacca Catholics became consistently more liberal. Thus, most of De Witt's case studies of "mixed marriages" occurred between the late seventeenth and the late eighteenth centuries. Initially, these alliances were between Protestant Dutch males and Catholic Portuguese Eurasian females; however, as an influx of immigrants from the Netherlands resulted in more Dutch females in the community, this pattern dissipated and marriages between Portuguese Eurasian grooms and brides with Dutch-sounding names are also found in the documentary evidence.

De Witt's research demonstrates that consultation of a broader and more balanced range of sources can make significant contributions to our understanding of the evolving Eurasian social dynamic in Malacca. Why some marriages were celebrated in both Protestant and Catholic churches remains an open question, for instance. Malacca also presents cases of some "Portuguese" assimilating into "Dutch" culture and identities over succeeding generations (often moving first to Indonesia and later to the Netherlands), as well as "Dutch" becoming "Portuguese" and usually continuing to reside in Malacca. De Witt's genealogical gleanings therefore suggest that the social, cultural, religious, political and economic forces that underlay these choices remain fertile ground for additional systematic enquiry and research.

As our last chapter brings us full circle back to Malacca, we should conclude with some final thoughts about anniversary dates. One can certainly engage in all sorts of debates concerning the plethora of events and projects that have been undertaken over roughly the past two decades as the half-millennium watermarks associated with the inception of Portuguese seaborne exploration

on a global scale have approached. Their recognition, though, has also spiked normal levels of support for and interest in scholarly research and writing on the multiple dimensions of what Portugal's actions first set in motion centuries ago. In the process, existing interpretations have been reconsidered and new ones put forward, dated rhetorics have been jettisoned and new lexicons compiled, and significant additions have been made to our store of empirical knowledge. In short, the academic world itself has been engaged in a degree of bottom-up "self-reorganization" of understanding how Portuguese and Luso-Asian legacies have evolved, and may continue to evolve. Might these legacies still remain in evidence five hundred years from now, or will they have become just a distant memory?

## Note

- <sup>1</sup> The literature on complexity is vast, but a sampling of works may be presented here. See, for instance, M. Mitchell Waldrop, *Complexity: The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos* (New York: Touchstone, 1993); Debra Hammond, *The Science of Synthesis: Exploring the Social Implications of General Systems Theory* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2003); Peter M. Allen, "The Complexity of Structure, Strategy, and Decision Making", in *Evolution and Economic Complexity*, edited by J. Stanley Metcalf and John Foster (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2004); Jürgen Jost, *Dynamical Systems: Examples of Complex Behavior* (Berlin: Springer, 2005); and Gros Claudius, *Complex and Adaptive Dynamical Systems: A Primer* (Berlin: Springer, 2008).