

# Macanese Heritage from Nagasaki

MANUEL FERNANDES RODRIGUES\*

---

**ABSTRACT:** In the first ten years or so of the Portuguese presence in Macao, Portuguese men were mostly married to Christian women from Malacca and Nagasaki and these women brought with them the habits and customs of their respective cities. For instance, eyewitness accounts describe the apparel of Japanese wives who wore *sarong* and *cabaia* in public while changing into *kimono* on returning home. Sartorial habits like these as well as other imported cultural traditions permeated Macanese culture and Macanese cuisine in particular displays this inherited legacy with dishes that reveal long forgotten Japanese influence in names and flavours.

**KEYWORDS:** Habits and customs; *Cabaia*; Macanese cuisine.

---

In the sixteenth century there were no Portuguese women in Macao and very few anywhere in Asia. Portuguese men followed the custom set in the older settlements that consisted in marrying local young women, provided they were Christian, or became Christian upon marriage. In the first decade of the settlement of Macao there were no single Chinese Christian girls of marrying age because Mandarin law

did not allow Chinese to stay within the Christian town after sunset.

Wives were only available to Portuguese men either in Malacca, which had a large mixed-race population after 45 years of Portuguese settlement, or in Nagasaki that had grown from a fishing village to a sizeable town with a large Christian community built on the wealth generated as a consequence of Portuguese trade.

Portuguese men found their companions among Malaccan or Japanese Christian women. These are the two ethnicities from which the native-born Macanese originated. The Cantonese component was added decades later to the initial two groups (Coates 1978).

Some of these new families who had links to Macao where Japanese Christians engaged in trade had conveniently installed their relatives as commercial agents. A small Japanese community was thus an early feature of Macao.

---

\* M.A. in Economics, York University, Toronto, Canada. Postgraduate studies, Universities of Virginia and Michigan (USA) and European Studies, European College, Belgium. Retired official of the European Commission. Board Economist at the Ontario Energy Board and Assistant Professor at York University, Canada. Published works include "Macanese cuisine: Fusion or evolution?", *Review of Culture* International Edition 62 (2020), *História da Gastronomia Macaense — Contributo para o reforço de uma identidade singular* (2018) and "A Gastronomia como elemento de Identidade: a culinária macaense", *Portuguese Journal of Asian Studies*. University of Lisbon.

*Mestre em Economia, Universidade de York, Toronto, Canadá. Pós-graduação nas Universidades de Virgínia e Michigan, EUA. Estudos Europeus, Colégio Europeu, Bélgica. Antigo funcionário da Comissão Europeia. Economista do Conselho de Administração da Ontario Energy Board. Professor assistente da Universidade de York, Canadá. Publicações incluem "Macanese cuisine: Fusion or evolution?" in Revista de Cultura Edição Internacional n.º 62 (2020), História da Gastronomia Macaense — Contributo para o reforço de uma identidade singular (2018) e "A Gastronomia como elemento de identidade: a culinária macaense", in Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos, Universidade de Lisboa.*

The story of Macanese mothers from Nagasaki was first set in 1517 when Fernão Peres de Andrade sailed up the Pearl River and arrived at the port of Canton. While trading with the Chinese he heard about islands rich in gold laying further East.

Diogo do Couto<sup>1</sup>, who was the Portuguese chronicler in Goa, wrote:

*In 1542, António da Costa, Francisco Zeimoto and António Peixoto were in Siam and decided to go to China as it was a profitable prospect. They loaded up their Chinese junk with furs and other merchandise and set sail to Chincheo in Fukien Province. On route they ran into a fearful storm, a typhoon, which lasted for several days. When it was over, they found themselves close to some islands. Islanders came to their rescue they saw that these men where lighter in complexion than the Chinese. The islanders were kind and very hospitable. They learned from them that the islands were called Niponji. They repaired and refitted the junk, exchanged the merchandise for silver and returned to Malacca.*

(Couto, *Décadas V*)

This account of the Portuguese arrival in Japan is substantiated by the Japanese *Teppo-ki*, or "history of the introduction of firearms into Japan" written between 1596 and 1614, indicating 23 September 1543 as the arrival date of the Portuguese in Japan.

The Portuguese were already in Liampó (Ningbo 寧波) in 1522. It became an affluent town. Its wealth was rooted in commerce with Japan<sup>2</sup> (Jesus 1990; Trindade 1967). It was destroyed in 1542 and two years later Chincheo<sup>3</sup> (Ch'uan-Chao 漳州) located on the coast of Fujian province also fell to the provincial Mandarin armed forces (Trindade 1967). As a result of these defeats, the Portuguese *Casados*, their descendants or *Filhos da Terra*, and the remaining population including Japanese traders (*wako*) took refuge on the island of Sanchoão or Saint John (Séong Chan Tao 上川島) and later Lam Pak Kau 浪白竈 at the mouth of

the Pearl River. In 1553, they settled in Macao, leaving Lam Pak Kau for good in 1557.

Jorge Álvares<sup>4</sup>, who had visited Japan, met Francis Xavier towards the end of December 1547 in Malacca through Yaijiro, a Japanese who spoke some pidgin Portuguese. Álvares described Japan as a rich and populous country inhabited by a highly cultivated society. Francis Xavier saw the opportunity to convert Japan (Boxer 1993).

On midsummer day of 1549, Francis Xavier, accompanied by Jesuits Torres and Fernandez, three Japanese and two servants, left Malacca on a Chinese pirate junk and arrived in Kagoshima on 15 August 1549 (Boxer 1993).

In 1551, Francis Xavier departed from Japan leaving behind a Christian (キリシタン *kirishitan*) community of 1,000 people. On his way to China, he died on Saint John Island on 3 December 1552 (Boxer 1973; Teixeira 1979).

The transfer of the Portuguese settlement, including Japanese traders from Lam Pak Kau to Macao in 1553, caught the attention of the Chinese authorities because the Japanese were considered pirates by the Chinese.

The Chinese Viceroy Tchéong Meng-Kóng 張鳴岡 ordered the Senado<sup>5</sup> in Macao to:

*[...] expel the Japanese to the sea and to examine the presence of barbarians in Macao, tantamount to having a carbuncle (on the coast of China), and Japanese pirates which amounted to putting wings on a tiger; in an instant the Japanese were expelled without incurring in the expense of a single arrow.*

(Tcheong-Ü-Lâm 張汝霖 and Ian-Kuong-lâm 印光任, *Macao Chronicle* 澳門記畧 *Ou-Mun Kei-Leok*, 1950: 108)

The Senado did not attach much importance to this order and trade with Japan continued.

The Macao-Japan trade was based on two main

## ESTUDOS DE MACAU

commodities, trade of Japanese silver bullion, silver was the currency in China, for Chinese silk in high demand in Japan.

The relationship between trade and missionary work was an uneasy compromise that Camões aptly described in his epic poem:

*É Japão, onde nasce a prata fina  
Que ilustrada será co'a Lei divina.  
(Canto X, stanza 131, Os Lusíadas)<sup>6</sup>*

For the Japanese, the Macao-Japan trade is represented by the *kurofune*<sup>7</sup>, the Great Ship from *Amacon* which started to run in 1550. It grew from a vessel with a load of 400–600 tons in the first years of trade to 1,200–1,600 ton carracks and in the final years of trade to “monster” carracks carrying 2,000 tons.

The heavy and slow *Naos* (carracks) were replaced by faster and better armed *Galiotas* (枯詩さ *h kareuta-san*) from 1618 onwards thereby reducing the risk of being intercepted by fast Dutch vessels during the war<sup>8</sup> with the Netherlands.

Japan-Macao trade was not limited to Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries on one side and to Japanese merchants on the other. Many Macanese merchants including Portuguese and Japanese residents became acting agents or “fronts” for wealthy Indian and Chinese principals. At the other end Japanese Daimyo 大名<sup>9</sup>, great merchant families such as the Nakano, the Suetsugu, and Ito Kozaemon, and even military dictators<sup>10</sup> invested large sums of silver in commerce.

In 1579, Wanli Emperor 萬曆帝 (1572–1620) sent an Imperial Decree (*Chapa n.º 10*)<sup>11</sup> to the Senado in Macao with instructions to reinforce the previous Order sent by the Chinese Viceroy regarding the Japanese community in Macao:

*[...] desde agora em nenhum tempo possam trazer a esta terra escravo algum natural do Japão e proíbe também criar filhos de Japoens.<sup>12</sup>*

*[...] from this day forward the residents of this city are prohibited from bringing Japanese slaves to this territory and from raising Japanese children.  
(Instructions to the Bishop of Peking, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1943: 115).*

The Senado was able to negotiate with the Chinese authorities the easing of the restrictions on the Japanese in Macao.

In Japan, the Jesuits made their headquarters in a small fishing village called Nagasaki (Pacheco 1989) which grew into a prosperous town with a large Christian population due to the wealth generated by the Macao-Japan trade. Before the formal prohibition of Christianity in 1587, the Christian community reached at its height of 300,000 people (Boxer 1993), having developed a new way of life and a sense of belonging that extended to every area of daily life, including eating habits (Costa 1999).

The growing Christian population in Nagasaki and in the rest of Japan strengthened Portuguese and Jesuit influence<sup>13</sup> in Japanese society, including the conversion of several Daimyo, such as Otomo Yoshishige of Bungo, Daimyo of Arima, and Omura (Boxer 1993: 99) who conceded Nagasaki and the town of Mogi to the Jesuits in perpetuity in 1580 (Pacheco 1989). The Jesuits, however, refused such a respectable gift fearing it would fuel religious resentment not only from Buddhist Monasteries, but also from other Christian orders provoking suspicion and apprehension in the Shogunate (幕府 *Bakufu*).

To curb Portuguese influence, Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 prohibited Christianity in Japan in 1587. Then, in 1614, an expulsion edict was issued by Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 ordering that all Jesuits and Christians who did not renounce their faith to leave Japan (Coutinho 1999). The formal prohibition of Christianity in 1587 and 1614 did not affect Macao traders at first, as they were specifically exempt because

## MACAO STUDIES

both Shogun Toyotomi and Tokugawa were anxious to keep and foster foreign trade.

The restrictions imposed on Christians took a turn for the worst in 1623–24, Portuguese men, fathers, husbands and brothers were banished from Japan (Boxer 1959). In 1627, five Japanese Christian noblemen (samurai<sup>14</sup>) were delivered to the Portuguese in order to be taken to Macao. Again in 1636, the Japanese population<sup>15</sup> in Macao was increased due to the arrival of 287 women and children who were the relatives or dependants of the Portuguese who exiled to Macao in 1623–24 by order of the Bakufu<sup>16</sup> (Teixeira 1993; Boxer 1993). Their arrival substantially added to the “*Casado morador*” (Portuguese resident) population of 1700 at the time as described by chronicler António Bocarro and quoted by Subrahmanyam (1993: 222).

*The Portuguese that are in this city numbered eight hundred and fifty and the same number of Casados among native born, Chinese-Christian and those from other nations.*

The Shimabara rebellion of 1637–38 convinced Shogun Tokugawa of the threat that Christianity posed to the established order. The Edict of 1639 stated that all Christians who were expelled from Japan would be put to death if they returned. The banished Portuguese and Japanese-Christian and their families would be put to death should they return to Japan as would those who helped them or interceded on their behalf (Jesus 1926). Since then, the Shogun enforced a policy of *Sakoku* 鎖国<sup>17</sup> or national isolation and seclusion allowing only Dutch and Chinese traders in Nagasaki under very strict supervision.

In 1640, with the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy, Macao sent a special delegation of emissaries to Japan to appeal against the exclusion Edict of 1639 and petitioned for the reopening of trade. The Shogun and his counsellors refused the petition and signed an edict condemning all 61 members of the embassy

to death. Thirteen crew members were kept alive to deliver the message back to Macao (Pires 1988). This was the end of the Macao–Japan trade.

The Japanese community in Macao consisted of exiled samurai noblemen, traders linked to the “*Nao de Trato*” commerce with Japan, artists and artisans who helped build the Church of Mater Dei also known as Church of St. Paul’s and religious novices or catechists (*dojuku* or *doshuku*) in the Seminary of Saint Ignatius in Macao (Teixeira 1993). They were important members of Macanese community and some of them were buried in Church of St. Paul’s (Teixeira 1993).

The new en masse arrivals of Japanese women and children, Filhos da Terra, initially settled in existing neighbourhoods, including St. Lazarus’s, where the first church in Macao was built.

The new arrivals brought with them cooking methods called Nanban-ryori 南蛮料理, the food of the barbarians from the south which had been introduced into the Japanese-Christian communities using ingredients brought by the Portuguese, the Nanban-ji 南蛮寺 and later by other Europeans which had an impact on traditional Japanese cuisine. Nanban-ryori dishes later became an integral part of Japanese cookery (Kobayashi 1985; Boxer 1993). The Filhos da Terra from Japan also influenced the habits of dress of Macanese women.

Peter Mundy, who arrived in Macao on 5 July 1637, described the garments worn by Macanese women as follows:

*The women when they are within doors generally wear a certain large wide sleeves vest called Japan kamaones or kerimones (kimonos) because it is the ordinary garment worn by Japanese.* (Boxer 1993: 68)

According to Austin Coates:

*Sarong and cabaia, the distinctive woman’s tunic which originated in Portuguese Malacca, was the*



## ESTUDOS DE MACAU

*commonest women's attire. Even the Japanese wives wore sarong and cabaia when going out, though on returning home they changed into kimono.*  
(Coates 1978: 34–35)

This blending of habits and customs from Malacca and Nagasaki became part of Macanese identity, permeated Macanese culture in general and Macanese cuisine in particular with dishes that retain Japanese names, traditions and flavours. Dishes such as *apa-mochi*, *mela-miçó*, *Christian-miçó* and *çili-miçó* (or *chilli-miçó*), *chicu*



Fig. 1. Kitchen scene from *Shubunron emaki*, a seventeenth century screen attributed to Kanô Motonobu — National Library of France, Paris. Photo by the author.

*di porco*, *chawan no mushi* (ちゃわんのむし), *arroz doce* (sweet rice), *chácha* (sweet soup), and *minchi* blend Japanese cooking traditions with Malaccan spices and Macanese cooking know-how to create new textures and flavours. The following Macanese dishes are part of the legacy from Nagasaki.

Apa-mochi or apa-muchi is made with glutinous rice flour, has a sweet filling made of rock sugar, roasted azuki beans and sesame seeds. According to Japanese tradition, it is served on special occasions and on New

Year's Day. Figure 1 shows the preparation of mushi and other dishes for a banquet in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Muromachi Era 室町時代<sup>18</sup> in Japan.

Chawan no mushi is made of glutinous rice<sup>19</sup>, known in Patois as *pulu* rice, mixed with boiled eggs or savoury egg custard, crayfish, mushrooms, bamboo shoots, fish, ginkgo nuts and chicken seasoned with Japanese soya sauce and steamed in a special *chawan* bowl 茶碗, hence the name of the dish. One of the oldest dishes in Macanese cuisine, chawan no mushi literally means bowls to steam rice in.

In both Macanese as well as Chinese cuisines there are dishes with similar ingredients which are seasoned, cooked and presented in the same way. An example of this is a Macanese dish known as *lapa*<sup>20</sup> and a Chinese dish of glutinous rice wrapped in lotus leaves 荷葉糯米飯 (*hor yip ló mei fán*)<sup>21</sup>. Chawan no mushi predates both lapa and the aforementioned Chinese dish.

Chácha<sup>22</sup> is a sweet soup made with mungo or azuki beans, tapioca, yam, shredded coconut and jaggery. It is usually eaten hot with a drop of condensed milk. In the Winter months it is a popular afternoon snack or is eaten as a late supper. In the Summer, it is served with condensed milk and crushed ice to make it more refreshing.

The top left-hand corner of *Shubunron emaki* 酒飯論絵巻 (Figure 1) shows a cook making soup with a variety of vegetables and what appears to be rock sugar in a container immediately in front of the pot. It seems that the cook is making a sweet soup or what Macanese would call chácha.

It is possible that Macanese chácha comes from contact with Japanese vegetarian cuisine from the beginning of the sixteenth century, more specifically from the cooking in the Hongan-ji<sup>23</sup> Buddhist Temple founded around 1351 in Kyoto (Rodrigues 2018).

The origin of the word chácha is mentioned in the *Macao Chronicles*, as *t'chee t'chá* 自茶 which is a transliteration of *xáxa* or *chácha*. It was written by two Chinese magistrates, Tcheong-Ü-Lâm and Ian-Kuong-lâm, published in 1751 and contains their observations on the historic, cultural and social fabric of the city.

Chicu is also mentioned in *Macao Chronicles*<sup>24</sup> and *chicu di porco* is a stew made of pork meat and yam, seasoned with fermented bean curd<sup>25</sup>, garlic, salt and pepper. It is a typical Macanese autumn dish developed from *sato-imo* 里芋, a recipe brought by Japanese-Christians who exiled to Macao in the early seventeenth century.

Traditionally on the first day of the Autumn Festival<sup>26</sup>, also known as Aki Matsuri 秋祭り, family and friends share the bounty of the harvest with seasonal dishes accompanied by the best teas. A plentiful harvest is also reflected in the food consumed with more substantial dishes that are harder on the digestion. A case in point is *chicu di porco* containing fermented bean curd 腐乳 (*fun yü*). Yam and fermented bean curd are considered hard to digest. At the end of a meal, rice or sorghum brandy is served as a *digestif* while observing the moon which is at its most bright. The Autumn Festival is also called the *Festivity to contemplate the moon* (Miyamoto 2006: 86–87).

Arroz doce (sweet rice) is a dish made of rice, sugar and egg yolks. It is served sprinkled with cinnamon. This recipe initially called *arroz do Japão* or Japanese rice is included in Domingos Rodrigues's cookbook of 1680<sup>27</sup> and João da Mata's book of 1875, and it is usually referred to as *arroz doce* today, a quintessential Portuguese dessert.

In the Hongan-ji Buddhist Temple<sup>28</sup>, founded around 1351, the vegetarian diet (*Shôjin ryôri*) developed between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It features a cold soup made from short round grains of rice cooked until it becomes thick with a consistency of porridge to which sugar is added.

Arroz do Japão means “rice from Japan”, a clear indication that the recipe was brought back from Japan by Portuguese Jesuit priests who established Macao as the base for planning the Conversion of the Japanese and the main trading port of the *Naos de Trato*, the commercial carracks to Japan.



Fig. 2. Rice from Japan (sweet rice). Author's collection, 2019.

Macanese women from Malacca added eggs to this porridge to make it creamier and cinnamon for flavour thus transforming the rice from Japan into the precursor of the Portuguese much appreciated dessert, *arroz doce* (Rodrigues 2018).

Figure 2 shows how the rice from Japan is presented today in a well-known<sup>29</sup> restaurant in Tokyo.

*Mela-miçó cucuz* (steamed mela-miçó) is one of the oldest Macanese recipes. It is an exquisite dish made with sun-dried salted ripe jambolan<sup>30</sup> (*Syzygium cumini* L.), the fruit of a tree in Macao.

The word *miçó* is borrowed from the Japanese miso 味噌<sup>31</sup>, which is a fermented soya, barley or rice paste used as a soup base or to season fish, meat and vegetables. *Miçó* probably entered into Macanese cuisine in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries and is mentioned in *Macao Chronicles*.

In Macao, the paste made with sun-dried ripe jambolan fruit is called *mela-miçó*, meaning sweet *miçó* because of the sweetness of the fruit. It is used to season pork dishes.

*Mela-miçó* made with ripe jambolan was quite common in the past in Macao and is the subject of the following riddle in Macanese Patois:

## ESTUDOS DE MACAU

<i>Masqui seza preto</i>	<i>What is black</i>
<i>Sam nossa naçam</i>	<i>that is from our land</i>
<i>Panhá vento seco</i>	<i>Dried in the wind</i>
<i>ficá cor de jambolan.</i>	<i>Turns to the colour of</i>
	<i>jambolan.</i>
<i>Sã?</i>	<i>What Is it?</i>

In June 2020, two jambolan trees, 490 and 510 years old in the garden of Pou Chai Temple in Mong-Há, were included on the List of Notable Historic Trees Worthy of Conservation<sup>32</sup> by the MSAR<sup>33</sup> Government.

Mela-miçó with ginger, pork belly, lemon juice, sugar and finely sliced green onion is a recipe<sup>34</sup> from the distant past that blends Malaccan and Japanese know-how to make Macanese cuisine unique.

Miçó-cristão is a spicy dish made with ground pork or beef, turmeric, bean paste, vinegar, onions, salt and spices.

The Portuguese introduced hot peppers (chilli) to Canton just before 1516 (Russell-Wood 2006). Macanese women of Japanese and Malaccan origin combined their know-how of making miso and hot *achar* (picked fruit and vegetables). The result was a

new sauce called çili-miçó or chilli-missó (figure 3), a hot peppery sauce which has become an icon of Macanese cuisine. Originally the sauce was made using pickled Japanese plum (梅干し *umeboshi*), vinegar, bean paste and chilli.

Çili-miçó (old spelling) or chili-miçó is a hot sauce indispensable to *bebingas de nabo* (turnip cake) and *chau-chau pêle* dishes. Decades later the Chinese-Christian community in Macao adapted the recipe to their own taste and called it *lát-chiu cheong* 辣椒醬<sup>35</sup> (Rodrigues 2018).

The acculturation policy applied by the Jesuits in the East helped to spread the use of miso as a condiment thanks to the Japanese-Christian community of Macao in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The consumption of miçó-cristão, chili-miçó and mela-miçó was a way for Japanese-Christian women to profess their faith in the same way that Christian samurai (figure 4) manifested their religion by wearing a Christian symbol, for example a rosary, around their neck.

Mela-miçó, miçó-cristão or çili-miçó are more than mere combinations of the culinary traditions of Macanese women originally from Malacca and Nagasaki. These sauces are expressions of a new gastronomic and cultural identity.

Minchi is an iconic Macanese dish rooted in the sixteenth-century Portuguese expansion in the East. It is a recipe with slight variations composed of ground meat<sup>36</sup>, onions and small cubed fried potatoes seasoned with soya sauce. It is a recipe that can be plated in different ways including with a sunny-side-up fried egg on top.

Macao in the sixteenth century was the access route to Japan, a feudal country run by dozens of Daimyo (feudal lords), engaged in civil war (戦国時代 *sengoku jidai*). The arrival of the Jesuits from Macao coincided with the end of this period and the beginning of unification initiated by Shogun Oda Nobunaga 織田信長.



Fig. 3. Çili-miçó or chili miçó. Author's collection, 2016.



## MACAO STUDIES



Fig. 4. Christian Samurai. Caramulo Museum, Portugal. Photo by the author.

During this turbulent period of war and persecution, the Christian population of over 300,000 (Boxer 1993) had developed a new way of life and sense of belonging that extended to every area of daily life in Japan, including eating habits (Costa 1999).

New cooking methods were introduced, a new cuisine Nanban-ryori developed, using new ingredients brought by the Portuguese Nanban-ji. These and other European influences on traditional Japanese cuisine later became an integral part of Japanese cookery (Kobayashi 1985; Boxer 1993).

The *nikujaga* 肉じゃが, meat stew/simmered with onions and potatoes, *castela* or *kasutera* cake カステラ, *tempura* 天ぷら, pickled and salted fish *nanban-zuke* 南蛮漬け, biscuits (ビスケット *bisuketto*) and bread (パン *pan*), are examples of the many Nanban-ryori dishes.

*Nikujaga*, a recipe for a stew made with finely chopped or thinly sliced meat with potatoes and onions

is today considered a classic dish<sup>37</sup>. It is interesting to note that potatoes and beef were incorporated into Japanese cooking after the arrival of the Portuguese Jesuits in 1549, followed by other European religious orders.

In the poorer neighbourhoods of Baixo Monte, Bombeiro, Barra, Mainato and Patane which surrounded the Christian city (Brazão 1957) and the villages in Campo (Ljungstedt 1992) known as Horta da Mitra (雀仔園 Chók-Chei-In), St. Lazarus<sup>38</sup>, Mong-Há (望廈), Areia Preta (黑沙環 Hác-Sá-Wan), Fai-Chi-Kei (筷子基), the language spoken was a combination of Patois and Cantonese. *Nikujaga* became *mân-chi iôk* 燜豬肉 (pork meat stew in Cantonese), evolved into *mân-chi* 燜豬 (pork stew) and then into *minchi* (Rodrigues 2015).

The ceding of Hong Kong to the British in 1842 contributed to the economic decline of Macao, causing successive waves of emigration of Macanese to Hong Kong and later to Shanghai (Jesus 1990). *Minchi* was taken by these early Macanese immigrants with them and played a fundamental role in community building in the new British colony fraught with difficulties (Braga 2013).

*Pan-dóci di minchi* or *pãezinhos recheados* (as it is called today), is a lightly fried minchi bun served during Chá Gordo. After the Pacific War, a *curry pan* (カレーパン), oval in shape, a lightly fried bun filled with curry, appeared in Japan. The curry inside is prepared using mild curry, ground meat, carrot, onions and fried cubed potato. It is an interesting reintroduction with a twist of Macanese cuisine into Japan.

Apa-mochi, arroz do Japão, chácha, chawan no mushi, mela-miçó, miçó-cristão, çili-miçó, chicu di porco, pan-dóci di minchi and minchi are iconic dishes in Macanese cuisine that greatly contribute to the singularity of Macanese identity. They mirror the history of the exiled and forgotten Macanese women from Nagasaki, who found safe haven in the City of the Name of God in China<sup>39</sup>. **RC**



## ESTUDOS DE MACAU

## NOTES

- 1 Diogo do Couto (*Décadas V*) was the official chronicler of Portuguese India where he lived and worked between 1559 and 1616.
- 2 Trade carried out by the Portuguese had an estimated value of 3,000 gold bullion, mostly in Japanese silver, in a newly discovered land. The city treasury in Liampó collected 6,000 cruzados in rent (Trindade 1967: 508). This lucrative trade was in part because of the decree by the Ming Emperors banning Chinese trade with Japan. The newly arrived Portuguese became intermediaries in this trade (Boxer 1993).
- 3 *The Universal Atlas of 1571* by Fernão de Vaz Dourado (National Archive in Torre do Tombo) shows Liampó and Chincheco in Imperial China.
- 4 Jorge Álvares was a sea captain and the first European who reached China by sea in May 1513.
- 5 The governing body.
- 6 In the 1572 edition.
- 7 *Kurofune* means black ship, the colour of the hull.
- 8 The Dutch attacked the Portuguese overseas territories starting from the end of sixteenth century. Macao was attacked in 1622.
- 9 Arima Daimyo Otomo and Hosokawa.
- 10 Shogun Hideyoshi Toyotomi and Tokugawa Ieyasu.
- 11 *Chapa* was the name given by the Portuguese to all official Chinese documents with the red carmine seal.
- 12 "Instructions to the Bishop of Peking and other documents, History of Macao," facsimile edition, Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisbon (1943: 115).
- 13 The Japanese started to copy Portuguese naval and maritime techniques as well as fire arms (muskets and cannons), the Nanban-ryu or Southern School of Medicine and also the establishment of a number of seminars to train a native clergy.
- 14 Including my mother's ancestors *Sanguiwon* サンギウオン.
- 15 There were Japanese residing in Macao since 1564. See Viceroy Tchéong Meng-Kóng's (張鳴岡) Order of 1564 and Wanli Emperor 萬曆皇帝 Decree (*Chapa n.º 10*) of 1579 (Múrias 1988: 110).
- 16 *Bakufu* is the Japanese term for Shogunate.
- 17 *Sakoku* means closed country.
- 18 The Muromachi Era or Muromachi-jidai lasted from 1373 to 1573.
- 19 Today *chawan no mushi* is often confused with an egg pudding called *chawan mushi*.
- 20 António Vicente Lopes (1977: 72–80), in *Receitas da cozinha macaense (Recipes from Macanese cuisine)* presents these recipes as separate dishes.
- 21 The popular version of this dish is glutinous rice with chicken 荷葉糯米雞飯 (*hor yip ló mei gâi fân*), or simply 糯米雞 (*lô mei gâi*).
- 22 The word *Chácha* is also used to mean grandmother or old woman in Macanese Patois. It can also be used in a derogatory manner as in *chácha* talk meaning gossip or nonsense.
- 23 The Buddhist temples of Hongan-ji and Hompô-ji were two of the most important Buddhist temples in Kyoto, protected by the Shogun. Monks were not amenable to Jesuit efforts to improve relations with the Shogun (Costa 1999; Leggeri-Bauer 2014).
- 24 Tcheong-Ü-Lâm and Ian-Kuong-lâm, *Mongrafia de Macau*, trans. Luís Gonzaga Gomes (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992), 274.
- 25 Fermented bean curd is reddish in colour, made by fermenting bean curd with sorghum wine, salt and spices. It is known as 腐乳 *fun yü* in Japanese.
- 26 Both in China and in Japan the Autumn Festival is celebrated with food and drink with family and friends, to enjoy the beauty of the moon which is brightest on that night.
- 27 Domingos Rodrigues in *Arte da Cozinha* describes a recipe of rice cooked in milk and sugar. Once cooked, it is sprinkled with cinnamon (1680: 132).
- 28 *Shuhanron emaki* (translated into French as "Le Rouleau sur les mérites comparés du saké et du riz"), National Library of France, indicates *Fujiwara no Takaaki* (Leggeri-Bauer 2014: 65).
- 29 Narisawa Restaurant in Tokyo.
- 30 Jambolan is also known in English as Java plum, Java plum-tree, Malabar plum or Portuguese plum.
- 31 Miso in the sixteenth century was not a smooth paste, it had a certain quantity of whole ingredients (Leggeri-Bauer 2014).
- 32 Two Java plum trees (jambolan), 490 and 510 years old respectively were listed by the Macao SAR Government. *Ponto Final* newspaper dated 16 June 2020.
- 33 MSAR is an English acronym for Special Administrative Region of Macao (or RAEM in Portuguese acronym for Região Administratvia Especial de Macau).
- 34 My mother's family recipe.
- 35 The ingredients used in the making of *lát-chiu cheong* 辣椒醬 are chilli, vinegar, sour plums (酸梅 *sün mui*), sweet potato puree or bean paste and salt. The sweet potato (番薯 *fân sie*) was introduced into China by the Portuguese.
- 36 Ground pork meat was initially used because it was affordable and easily found in local markets. Later ground pork and beef or only beef was common.
- 37 Yoko Arimoto (2010). *Simply Japanese modern cooking for the healthy home*.
- 38 The Church of Our Lady of Hope, known as St. Lazarus was built in 1558–1560 on the fertile plain of Tap Seac. With an abundance of spring water it was well located in the centre of the rural area later becoming the church for the Chinese population. In 1818, it was surrounded by 98 Christian homes. They were poorly built homes with poor inhabitants. In: Fr. Manuel Teixeira 1956 article published in *Religião e Pátria* and republished in "Macao" Boletim Informativo da Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Economia e Estatística Geral da Secção de Propaganda e Turismo. Year IV, n.º 80 of 30.11.1956, 4-5.
- 39 This is the name of Macao in old historical Portuguese documents.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Boxer, Charles R. *Macau na Época da Restauração*. Vol. II. Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 1993.
- . *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549–1650*. Manchester: Carcanet Press Ltd., 1993.
- . *Estudos para a história de Macau: séculos XVI a XVIII*. Vol. I. Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 1991.
- . *The Great Ship from Amacon*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1959.
- . *Seventeenth Century Macau in Contemporary Documents and Illustrations*. Hong Kong: Heinemann (Asia), 1984.
- . *A mulher na expansão ultramarina ibérica: 1415–1815*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1977.
- . *O Império Marítimo Português: 1415–1825 (The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415–1825)*. Lisboa: Edições 70, 1969.
- . *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550–1770*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948.
- . *Macau na época da restauração (Macau three hundred years ago)*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional. Facsimile of the 1942 edition (bilingual edition: English/Portuguese), 1942.
- Braga, José P. *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China: their beginning settlement and progress to 1949*. Macau: University of Macau, Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2013.
- Brazão, Eduardo. *Macau: Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus na China Não Há Outra Mais Leal*. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1957.
- Coates, Austin. *A Macao Narrative*. Hong Kong: Heinemann (Asia), 1978.
- Costa, João P. O. *O Japão e o cristianismo no século XVI: ensaios de história luso-nipônica*. Lisboa: Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999.
- Coutinho, Valdemar. *O fim da presença portuguesa no Japão*. Lisboa: Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999.
- Cruz, Gaspar da. *Tratado das cousas da China* (2.<sup>a</sup> ed. bilingue português/chinês). Macau: Museu Marítimo de Macau / Instituto de Promoção do Comércio e do Investimento de Macau, 1996.
- Jesus, C. A. Montalto de. *Macau Histórico* (Fac-simile da 1.<sup>a</sup> ed. portuguesa apreendida em 1926). Macau: Livros do Oriente, 1990.
- Jin, Guoping and Wu Zhiliang. *Revisitar os primórdios de Macau: para uma abordagem da história*. Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente, Fundação Oriente, 2007.
- Kobayashi, Yoko. *Complete Japanese Cookbook*. London: Hamlyn Publishing, 1985.
- Leggeri-Bauer, Estelle. *Des mérites comparés du saké et du riz*. Paris: Diane de Selliers, 2014.
- Ljungstedt, Anders. *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China and the Roman Catholic Church and mission in China: and description of the city of Canton*. Hong Kong: Viking, 1992.
- . *Contribution to an historical sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China, principally of Macao, of the Portuguese envoys & ambassadors to China, of the Roman Catholic Mission in China and of the Papal legates to China*. Macao (Private Edition), 1832.
- Múrias, Manuel. *Instrução para o bispo de Pequim e outros documentos para a história de Macau*. Macau: Instituto Cultural, 1988.
- Pacheco, Diego. *A fundação do porto de Nagasáqui*. Macau: Centro de Estudos Marítimos, 1989.
- Pires, Benjamim V. *A vida marítima de Macau no século XVIII*. Macau: Instituto Cultural, Museu Marítimo, 1993.
- . *A embaixada mártir*. Macau: Instituto Cultural, 1988.
- Rodrigues, Manuel F. “A gastronomia como elemento de identidade: a culinária Macaense.” *Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos* 20 (2015): 67–88.
- . *História da Gastronomia Macaense*. Lisboa: MIGI, 2018.
- . “Macanese cuisine: Fusion or evolution?” *Revista de Cultura* (International Edition) 62 (2020): 17–25.
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. *O Império Português: 1415–1808: o mundo em movimento* (Ed. port. da ed. de 1998). Lisboa: Clube de Autor, 2006.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500–1700: a political and economic history*. London: Longman, 1993.
- Tcheong-Ü-Lâm and Ian-Kuong-Iâm. *Monografia de Macau*. Translated by Luís Gonzaga Gomes. Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992.
- Teixeira, Manuel. *Japoneses em Macau* (ed. bilingue português/japonês). Macau: Instituto Cultural, Comissão Territorial para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1993.
- . *Toponímia de Macau*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1979.
- Trindade, Paulo da. *Conquista espiritual do Oriente* (III parte). Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1967.
- Yin, Guangren and Zhang Rulin. *Breve monografia de Macau*. Macau: Instituto Cultural, 2009.