

The Macanese in *The Bewitching Braid* and *The Monkey King*

CHRISTINA MIU BING CHENG*

ABSTRACT: At the crossroads of the East and the West, the Macanese are an ‘emergent’ mixed-race minority in Macao. They epitomise an in-between group in the liminal space between two dominant peoples — the Portuguese and the Chinese, and constitute another level of identity in colonial representation. In *The Bewitching Braid*, Henrique de Senna Fernandes presents a deep chasm between the Macanese and the Chinese by employing familiar colonialist tropes and Orientalist clichés. Adozindo is a Don Juan, swanning around and symbolising the leisure class. Against unpromising odds, he condescendingly marries A-Leng, an illiterate water seller. Constructed as a sensuous siren with slavish submissiveness, she personifies the fantasy of Oriental femininity. In Timothy Mo’s *The Monkey King*, the dichotomy between the putative superiority of the Macanese and the supposed inferiority of the Chinese is ridiculed and reversed. Abiding by a matrilineal marriage, the straitened Wallace Nolasco is married to May Ling into the wealthy house of Poon in Hong Kong. In spite of surviving racial discrimination and humiliating tribulations in the domestic battle, he is figuratively devoured by the Chinese through the metaphor of cultural anthropophagy. In the end, he is virtually entrapped in the loss of Macanese identity and Portuguese nationality.

KEYWORDS: Portuguese Pan-racialism; Leisure class; Binary contradictions; Paradigm shift; Cultural anthropophagy.

INTRODUÇION

The Portuguese Empire — the first European maritime power and once the largest global commercial force — was able to establish direct relations with Ming China, and the oceangoing Portuguese were officially allowed to settle in Macao in 1557 for

trade and for evangelisation. This speck of land was under Portuguese administration until its return to the People’s Republic of China in 1999. During its 442-year history as a Portuguese settlement, Macao has procreated a racially mixed minority known as the Macanese — the hybrid Portuguese of Macao.¹

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These descendants from mixed parentage offer a rich repertoire for literary creations. This paper discusses the portrayals of the Macanese in Henrique de Senna Fernandes' *The Bewitching Braid* and Timothy Mo's *The Monkey King*. The two authors delineate discordant impressions of the Macanese and describe their contrasting experiences in hybridised spaces. One may ask how the Macanese are described in these two novels, how they situate and identify themselves between the two dominant classes, what their relationships are with the Chinese in Macao and Hong Kong, and what their specific cultural inventions are following centuries of mixed marriage of their progenitors.

1. AN EMERGENT MINORITY

Portuguese maritime supremacy was a precursor to modernity, and heralded the penetration into South America, Africa, and Asia in the Age of Discoveries. The Kingdom of Portugal espoused highly distinctive ideologies in its colonial enterprises. Apart from the *Pax Lusitânia* ideology of ecumenicalism to share spiritual values and universal brotherhood, it staunchly upheld the ideology of Pan-racialism — an assimilationist policy that tolerated mixed unions of different races during its intensive exploration, expansion, and conquest.

While other colonising powers introduced racial segregation to demarcate the superior dominating race from the inferior dominated race, Portugal showed an unrelenting attempt to extol intermarriage as the benign consummation of Pan-racialism. It was from this unwavering ideology that Portuguese men were encouraged to 'love women of all colours'.² Racial amalgamation thereupon developed into the unique and decisive pattern of the Portuguese presence in the 'discovered' lands.

It was in stark contrast to racial supremacism that strove for racial purity against racial anarchy, the pan-racial vision all but projected diverse hybrid progenies as one aspect of Portugal's colonial legacies. As a

direct result of the toleration and celebration of racial fusion, Macao had gradually evolved into an ethnic melting pot with intercultural diversity and emerged as a Eurasian ecumene for the Macanese people. In reality, the coming into being of this interracial class was due to the fact that Portuguese women were scarce overseas. In the words of Austin Coates:

*There were no Portuguese women in Macao and very few anywhere in Asia. Men therefore followed the custom set in the older settlements of marrying Asian girls, provided they were Christians, or became so on marriage. In the first ten years of Macao's existence, due to a total lack of Chinese Christians, wives ranked as a significant item in the list of imports.*³

In view of a shortage of Portuguese women in Macao, early settlers sought wives primarily from Malacca, Japan (Nagasaki), India (Goa), Indonesia (Timor), and occasionally from Mozambique and Angola. Later, some abandoned Chinese infant girls were brought up as Christians to serve as 'a new supply for marriages'.⁴ As an emergent minority, the Macanese straddle two leading powers and do not quite belong to either one. They situate themselves in a liminal position and drift in a peripheral state between the coloniser and the colonised. Basically, they represent a nascent class in colonial discourse.

It is noteworthy that not everyone born in Macao is identified as Macanese, but only those who are born of cross-ethnic couples, principally of Portuguese-Asian ancestry.⁵ Another determining criterion is that nearly all Macanese embrace Catholicism. Some refer to themselves as 'pure Macanese' on the grounds that they are born of Portuguese parentage in Macao. The Macanese would obliquely call themselves *Filhos da Terra* (sons of the earth/soil). In Chinese, they are known as *tusheng puren* (土生葡人 locally born Portuguese), or *tusheng zai* (土生仔 locally born children).

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Leonel Alves (1921–1982), a Macanese legislator and lawyer, captures several characteristics of the locally born Portuguese in the following sonnet:

Filho de Macau

*Cabelos que se tornam sempre escuros,
Olhos chineses e nariz ariano,
Costas orientais, e peito lusitano,
Braços e pernas finos mas seguros.*

*Mentalidade mista. Tem dextreza
No manejo de objectos não pesados,
Tem gosto por Pop Songs mas ouve fados;⁶
Coração chinês e alma portuguesa.*

*Casa com a chinesa por instinto,
Vive de arroz e come bacalhau,
Bebe café, não chá, e vinho tinto.*

*É muito bondoso quando não é mau,
Por interesse escolhe o seu recinto
Eis o autêntico filho de Macau.⁷*

[Translation by author]

'Son of Macao'

*Hair that always turns dark,
Chinese eyes and Aryan nose,
Oriental backs, and Lusitanian chest,
Thin but steady arms and legs.*

*Mixed mind-sets. He has dexterity
When handling objects without weight,
He likes Pop Songs but listens to fados;
Chinese heart and Portuguese soul.*

*He marries the Chinese by instinct,
He lives on rice and eats dried and salted*

*codfish,
He drinks coffee, not tea, and red wine.*

*He is very good-natured when not bad-tempered,
Out of interest, he chooses his habitation
Here is the authentic son of Macao.*

The idiosyncrasies and essential qualities of the Macanese are recapitulated as having mixed physiognomy/physicality, and accommodating habits of the East and the West. The in-between Macanese are, in Homi K. Bhabha's phrase, 'white, but not quite'⁸, since they lose certain distinctive European 'white' features, and make up a further classification of identity in colonial representation.

2. RACIAL BIGOTRY

Very often, the Macanese are treated with prejudice not only by the Chinese, but also by the 'pure' Portuguese. Such racial prejudice, as observed by João de Pina-Cabral, operated to the extent that a traditional Portuguese family preferred a daughter to remain single rather than marry a Macanese whose claims to Portugueseness were slighter. Over time, a process of self-alienation developed as a new social stratification, characterised by a small and relatively closed Macanese community.⁹

In like manner, race snobbery was no less in British Hong Kong. No sooner had the 'Barren Rock' been ceded to Britain than there was a flourishing Portuguese/Macanese presence. Similar to other non-British communities, the Portuguese/Macanese community was not welcome in British recreational clubs under the British colonial system. By countering racial bigotry, the inauguration of *Club Lusitano*¹⁰ in 1866 specifically helped the diasporic community reshape their public identities within unequal, racialised, and biased systems beyond the coloniser-colonised dichotomy.¹¹

Quite different from Portuguese Macao's much longer colonial history, British Hong Kong had only



Fig. 1: Book cover of Henrique de Senna Fernandes' *A Trança Feiticeira*, 1993.

156 years (1841–1997) as a British possession, and there are not many Chinese-British mixed-blood people, not to mention that they failed to come into existence as a minority group. Besides, intermarriage among British men and Asian women was discouraged, if not actively prevented. As pointed out by Lee Khoo Choy, '[I]n Hong Kong, virtually until the end of World War II, the British looked down on Asians and severely frowned upon mixed marriages.'¹²

In the condition of cross-ethnic marriages, Eurasian heritage once spoke not of a blending of two cultures, but rather, of a shameful match of the white and the non-white. John Pope Hennessy (1834–1891), the eighth governor of Hong Kong, is a case in point

— he married a young Eurasian wife, the daughter of a British father and a Malay mother. On account of this, the long-entrenched colonial British elites and local officials disliked him, as '[m]ixed marriages for chief colonial officers were almost unheard of at that time.'¹³

3. A SUPERIOR OR INFERIOR DICHOTOMY

Insofar as racial bigotry prevails among interracial unions, Henrique de Senna Fernandes (1923–2010), on the other hand, appears to herald a mixed marriage in *A Trança Feiticeira* (*The Bewitching Braid*).¹⁴ A lawyer by profession, the author received public plaudits for his cultural endeavours. In 2001 he was awarded the Medalha de Mérito Cultural (Medal of Cultural Merit) from the Macao SAR Government, and in 2006 he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Macau.

Senna Fernandes, a Macanese himself, was well placed to narrate the characters of mixed racial origins in Macao. His literary writings in Portuguese largely focus on the interaction among the Portuguese/Macanese and the Chinese on a socio-cultural level. His short stories were collected in *Nam Van: Contos de Macau* (1997) and *Mong-Há* (1998). His two novels — *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (1992) and *A Trança Feiticeira* (1993) — were turned into films under the same name in 1992 and 1996 respectively.

With a parallel to some other colonialist literary works, which differentiate two dissonant worlds of the colonisers and the natives, Senna Fernandes follows the same path and tells a story based on a superior/inferior dichotomy in *The Bewitching Braid*. Set against the war-scarred backdrop during the Pacific War in the 1930s, he depicts a leisure class,¹⁵ and recounts the cross-ethnic liaison of Adozindo and A-Leng. While the hero is a spoiled Macanese from a privileged family in the Christian City,¹⁶ the heroine is an uneducated Chinese from the disreputable quarter of Cheok Chai Un (Bairro da Horta da Mitra, 雀仔園 *quezai yuan*; meaning the Garden of Birds).

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Fig. 2: A scene of Cheok Chai Un (Bairro da Horta da Mitra). Photo by the author.

The author relentlessly maps out binary contradictions between the two protagonists. Considered even below the rank of a servant, the water seller A-Leng is from the lowest social echelon, an orphan adopted by an old woman whom she calls granny. She is described with a cluster of Asian facial stereotypes, 'Her almond-shaped eyes, gently curved upwards to a point, made her oval face, with its high cheekbones, irresistibly attractive. When she smiled, two dimples in her cheeks gave her an impish air.'¹⁷ What is special about her is that she has a thick, sparkling braid of hair cascading down her back.

A-Leng's daily routine is to put a wooden pole over her shoulder and carry two buckets of water tied with a piece of rope on each end of the pole, walking

barefoot to her customers. In bygone days, there were very few facilities for raw water storage to ensure the quality and safety of drinkable water supply for the city. Severe saline tides forced many residents to flock to surrounding hillsides, nearby water fountains, and wells in search of less salty spring water to drink.¹⁸ Under these circumstances, water sellers came into being as a working class.

In a poor community of washerwomen, hawkers, rickshaw pullers, coolies, A-Leng makes a living by selling water to the nearby better-offs. She is the 'princess' of the poverty-stricken Cheok Chai Un, and the heiress of her godmother — the Queen-Bee. This capable matriarch holds sway over the well, which provides a major source of minimal wages for the water sellers.

On the other side of the coin, Adozindo is a good-looking scion, who has inherited green eyes from his Dutch great-grandmother and brown hair from his Portuguese grandfather. Having curly and wavy hair, a straight nose, the most perfectly proportioned ears, round cheekbones, shapely lips, and a magnificent row of teeth, he is flatteringly nicknamed the 'Handsome Adozindo'.

At the age of 18, he goes to work at his father's shipping agency, which he, as the only son, is destined to inherit one day. For most of the time, however, he is swanning around. He is narcissistic and proud of every aspect of his physical appearance in the mirror. In fact, he is 'more interested in the mirror than the accounts or getting the work done.'¹⁹ Other than going fishing, his main hobby is to flirt and seduce women; he is a trifler and an irresistible womaniser.

Adozindo lives with his parents in an elegant house on the Estrada da Victória above the scenic Praia Grande. The house is adorned with fans, a telephone, a refrigerator, sofas and soft beds on shiny floors. Inside his carpeted study room, it is tidy and perfumed, and stacked with books. In marked contrast, A-Leng lives in a foul-smelling and miserable hovel, where she and her granny eat, sleep, and work. They have merely a collection of worm-eaten furniture with a bamboo seat. Their bed is made of boards laid across long narrow benches and covered with a worn mat, faded to a brown colour from long use and sweat.

The dandy is always dressed up to the nines, with well-polished shoes, whereas the barefoot water seller wears only a simple Chinese tunic and occasionally wears her clogs. He has completed his secondary education and can read 'works in Portuguese, English and French',²⁰ She has no 'time or money to go to school' and is illiterate.²¹ The two leading characters are narrated by a trying set of binary contradictions and disjunctive delineations, which trenchantly brings to light an irreconcilable gap of a leisure/higher-class Macanese and a plebeian/lower-class Chinese.

4. A SPECIMEN FOR COLLECTION

It is a pleasant autumn morning, the debonair Adozindo, now in his late 20s, goes fishing and takes a short cut into the Cheok Chai Un quarter. He catches sight of 22-year-old A-Leng, who has a splendid braid coiled over her breast. His voyeuristic gaze is suddenly punished by a splash of water, wetting his shiny shoes and properly pressed trousers.

Reputed as a ladies' man and proud of being the greatest conqueror of women in town, the Handsome Adozindo is treated for the first time in such an embarrassing way by a low-class Chinese. Despite his wounded pride, he is enthralled by her glowing hair. He has an idea for revenge on her and 'the only fitting lesson would be to seduce her, apply the due corrective and then, when she'd been used, cast her off as refuse.'²² He plans to include her as a specimen in his collection, apart from his latest conquest — Lucrécia, an opulent Eurasian widow 'in her prime, whose beauty and grace wouldn't shame any man.'²³

Lucrécia owns a magnificent house at Baixo Monte with a big garden, which is contrasted with A-Leng's hovel. The ground floor is decorated with a double staircase leading to the sumptuously carpeted sitting- and dining-rooms on the first floor. The veranda, supported by Corinthian columns, overlooks the sea at the Praia Grande and the Guia lighthouse. Her dress is '[a] work of art in the Parisian style', which she has bought at the Paradis des Dames,²⁴ while A-Leng customarily wears a plain Chinese tunic.

When Adozindo meets Lucrécia for dinner at her home, the food is served with fine Japanese porcelain, silver cutlery, and exquisite crystal glasses. The tablecloth and the napkins are glowingly white. The food is European in style, including chicken giblet soup, a freshly caught seabream, French wine, and desserts. In short, the idle-rich's ostentatious exuberance is in striking contrast to the water seller's utter poverty.

The dallying Macanese has no difficulty in winning the heart of the pretty water seller, who

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invites him to Cheok Chak Un one night and prepares supper for him. A-Leng only makes tea and cooks red crabs in a black bean sauce on a steaming earthenware, using bowls and chopsticks. When compared with the lavish dinner at Lucrécia's resplendent dining-room, an unbridgeable divide between Lucrécia and A-Leng is incongruously created and emphasised.

In her shanty house, Adozindo is frantically besotted by her beautiful, radiant Chinese face with a healthy mouth half-open in a bashful smile, and a sparkling and submissive glint in her slanting eyelids. Particularly, he is mesmerisingly aroused by the curve of her waist, the dancing roundness of her buttocks, and her slender shapely body with curvaceous hips.

The water seller's racial, facial, and physical attributes readily allude to an epidermal fetishism that fosters Adozindo's furtive fascination and desire to collect her as a specimen. Reified as an object of desire, she personifies the fantasy of Oriental femininity. The idea of desirability comes to be the idea of temptation. A-Leng is objectified in a sexualised way; her body is meant for the male gaze and is a temptation for lusty conquest.

5. A FETISHISTIC BRAID

Above all, the philanderer is captivated by her gleaming braid 'in a sensuous black coil'.²⁵ The outlandish black braid is not just exotic, but it is fetishistic. Fetishisation is often mistaken for appreciation or attraction. Fetishisation is all but objectification. Swaying sensually and driving him crazy to caress it, that bewitching braid is an aphrodisiac:

*Adozindo plunged into the blackness of her braid and its careful arrangement began to loosen, the very same bewitching braid that had been his perdition and that he could at last claim to as being very much his. He kissed it, smelt it, dug his hands into its abundant tresses of thick, strong threads that now possessed the magical smoothness of velvet.*²⁶

That night, A-Leng gives herself to Adozindo, 'She didn't conceal her nakedness, and even found it quite natural in the presence of the man who had made a woman of her.'²⁷ Sensualised as an Oriental siren, and symbolising the seductive East, she is illustrated as a temptress of male desire. What is more, she possesses the female instinct to receive him like 'a young wife' and to satisfy him 'by making him king'.²⁸ She is expressly stereotyped as a compliant and sensuous object for sexual consumption. Her sexual subservience and servile submissiveness are nonetheless clichéd to fit into a male-driven fantasy, as well as making up a popular Orientalist trope that is often found in colonialist literary writings.

After his victory, the hyper-sexualised playboy dismisses the idea of casting off the conquered water seller like refuse as planned. Rather, he decides to get rid of Lucrécia, chiefly because she is bossy.²⁹ That is to say, the widow lacks A-Leng's bashful acquiescence and slavish docility as the feminine ideal in the Orientalist discourse. For his materialistic father, the spendthrift and indulgent son is 'under the spell of this rustic, barefoot siren' and it is a 'colossal act of folly' not to marry Lucrécia, who would 'open up magnificent opportunities' for him.³⁰

As if cursed by sorcery, Adozindo is intoxicatingly bewitched by her dazzling braid. He breaks away from his father and forsakes a comfortable life in 'paradise'. At the same time, A-Leng is scorned and banished by the Queen-Bee from her hovel, as she has shamed Cheok Chai Un for her dalliance with a 'foreign devil'. Needless to say, they both come to be outcasts in their respective communities. It is an ordinary storyline of a mismatch.

Adozindo begins rounds of job hunting, but fails and suffers from frustration and affliction. Exemplifying the leisure class, he stands aloft and sarcastically makes disdainful and caustic remarks about the Chinese, who are engaging in dirty hard work:

*He envied the Chinese who could accept humbler jobs such as coolies, street-sweepers, bricklayers or carpenters, for no one batted an eyelid. But he, as a Macanese born and bred, was barred from descending to such lowly occupations, even if he were dying of hunger. He couldn't even work as a mechanic or an electrician. It would cause a scandal of gigantic proportions, he would be a laughing-stock, a figure of fun.*³¹

With that in mind, the arrogant coxcomb refuses to do 'lowly occupations, even if he were dying of hunger', but feels bitter about the inferior Chinese, who can accept a life of toil. The narration puts the Macanese on top of the Chinese in a binary relationship, and reinforces the great divide of the two ethnic classes, let alone exposing the Macanese's contemptuous attitudes towards the Chinese.

In the liminal situation of mixed socio-cultural references, the Macanese are generally inclined to attach to the Portuguese, and more insistent on their Portuguese-ness than on their Chineseness. According to R. A. Zepp:

*In Macau's early years, when the Portuguese upper class looked down on the Chinese as second class citizens, the Macanese naturally identified with the Portuguese, that is, they tried to consider themselves more Portuguese than Chinese. Up to the present day, they have maintained an intense patriotism towards Portugal.*³²

Even while identifying with the Portuguese, the Macanese, in this novel, are as yet thought to be below the status of the ruling class. They in turn cast a slight on the Chinese as third-class citizens in this Portuguese-ruled city. Be that as it may, in order to earn a living Adozindo cannot acquire an employment

either from the Portuguese or the Macanese. He has, without any option, to work for the Chinese as the story continues.

6. THE STINKY FOOT AND THE BEANPOLE

Adozindo's flirtation with women bears a resemblance to Francisco do Mota Frontaria, the Macanese protagonist in *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, an earlier novel by Senna Fernandes. Set at the dawn of the twentieth century, the author tells a tale of the Macanese leisure class. They are idlers, hedonists, triflers, and flâneurs, who saunter and stroll around, enjoying the pleasure and leisure in this hybridised haven.

Francisco habitually swindles money from his aunt Beatriz, and indulges in gambling, drinking, and smoking. The lascivious rascal is also a brothel frequenter on the Rua da Felicidade — a notorious red-light district. Senna Fernandes' Macanese characters — Adozindo and Francisco — are all but inflamed with insatiable lust for women.

Basked in a recalcitrant spirit to fool around, Francisco intends to make fun of the affluent Saturnino family. Senhor Saturnino has three unattractive daughters — Felicidade, Pulcritude, and Esperança — all unmarried, and a son. The father is anxiously eager to fetch candidates for marrying them off, to the extent that he is extremely enthusiastic to invite young men to enter into his house and have a glass of *Vinho do Porto*. The Port wine hence serves a 'bait' to entice suitors.

An unrestrained trickster himself, Francisco gambles with his friends by challenging social mores in the Christian City. He plans to stop Saturnino from inviting people to drink Port wine at his house for good, 'Aposto que lhe vou tirar para sempre a mania do vinho do Porto' (I bet I'll take the Port wine craze out of him forever).³³

He successfully courts Pulchritude and pretends to marry her. On the wedding day, he does not turn

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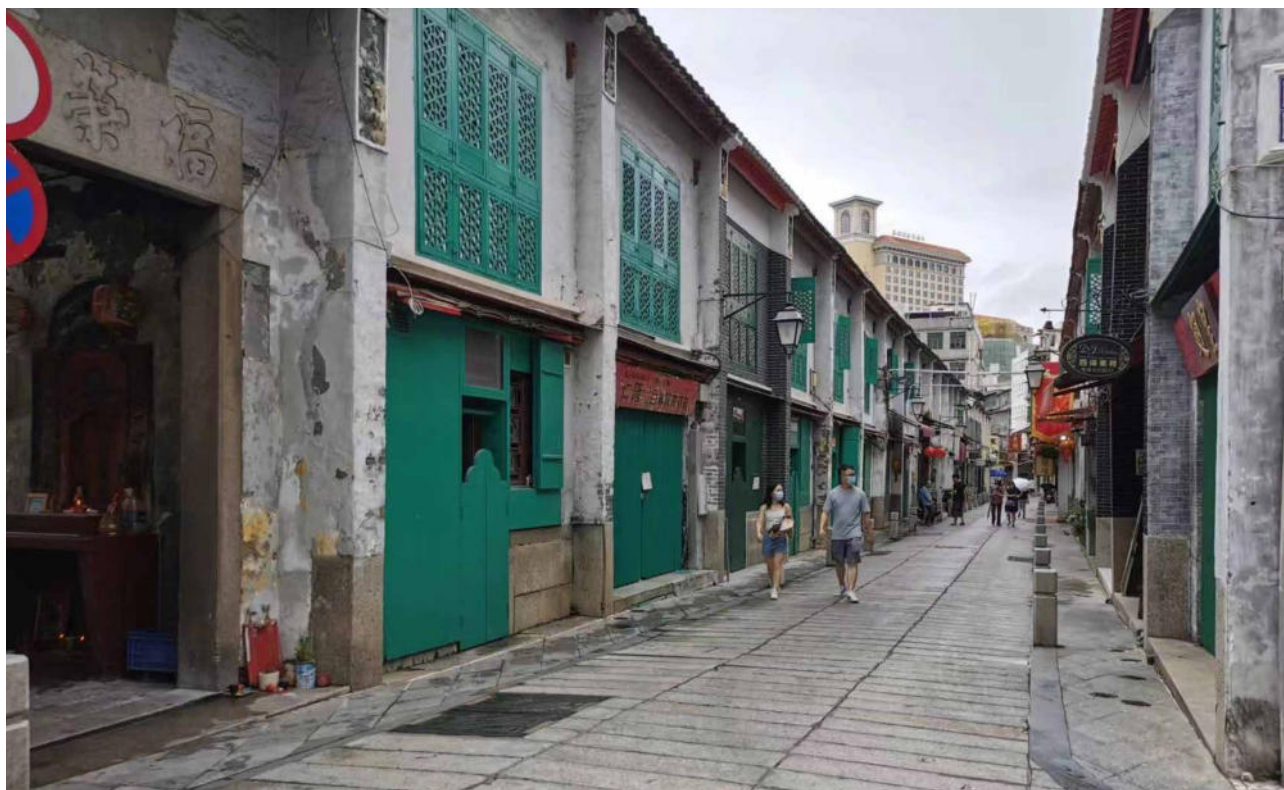


Fig. 3: Rua da Felicidade. Photo by the author.

up until very late. Carried by an ornate palanquin, the reveller appears in a clown-like costume, like taking part in a hilarious carnival. In front of the whole congregation, he startlingly announces that he does not want to get married, and scoffs at Saturnino for offering Port wine, ‘O seu vinho do Porto é delicioso [...] mas também desta vez não serviu’ (Your Port wine is delicious [...] but this time it did not work).³⁴

The prankster is beaten badly afterwards by a gang hired by Pulchritude’s brother. As the family is made a laughing-stock after the insulting mock-wedding episode, they retreat to Shanghai. Soon after, Francisco becomes a pariah, ostracised by his party-going friends. Worse still, he contracts some kind of disease and is scornfully dubbed ‘*Chico Pé Fêde*’ (Stinky Foot Francisco).³⁵ The invalid is reduced to the life of a vagrant.

In a raining, freezing winter night, the ailing vagrant comes across the squint-eyed Victorina Cidalisa Padilla Vidal. He hurtles a few years back in time and has a clear flashback. She is the tall, thin lady who refused to dance with him at a party. In revenge, he gives her a rather offensive nickname, the ‘*Varapau-de-Osso*’ (Beanpole of Bone),³⁶ alluding to her skinny and shapeless figure.

As the plot unfolds, the Beanpole takes the Stinky Foot home, ignoring the opposition of her family and spiteful gossip around the city. She nurses him with Samaritan care, and he recovers from his rotten feet and undergoes regeneration. The author obviously lauds the transformation of the indulgent Macanese after his torturous journey through suffering and hardship. The novel ends happily — they get married and have three children, and live happily ever after.

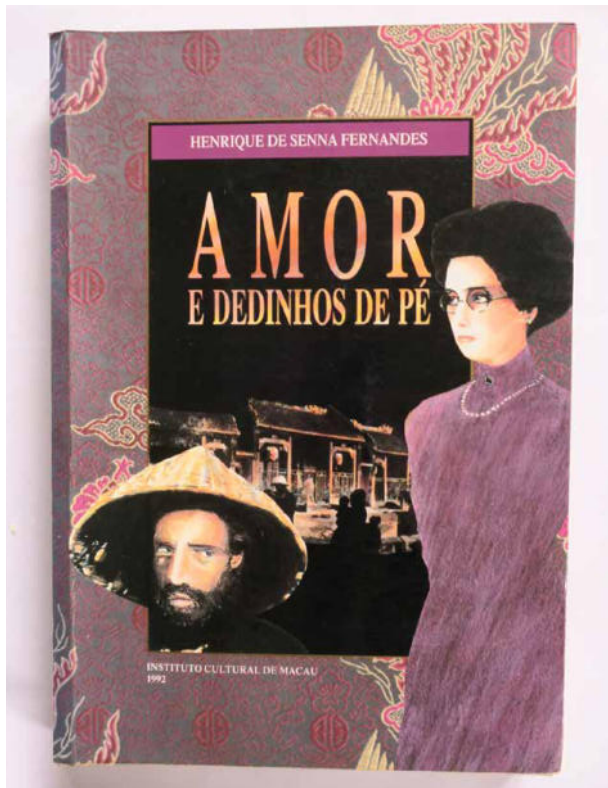


Fig. 4: Book cover of Henrique de Senna Fernandes' *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 1992.

Senna Fernandes has a penchant for happy endings in his writings.

7. ANOTHER HAPPY ENDING

The Bewitching Braid also ends joyfully. After having survived a difficult life for three months without a chance to make ends meet, Adozindo eventually finds a job in a Chinese shipping company on a dilapidated old pier in the Inner Harbour, and A-Leng works for her friend in a joss-sticks shop. When she is pregnant with their first child, he condescendingly descends 'to a lower level' to marry her in a church.³⁷ Portrayed as a 'saviour', the Macanese rescues the wretched Chinese from her ghetto. The two central figures from separate social groups are united by God's representative on Earth, even with the revealing gap of their culture and religion.



Fig. 5: The Temple of the Earth God in Cheok Chai Un. Photo by the author.

In earlier times, A-Leng used to pray and supplicate blessings at the Tou Tei Temple (*tudi miao* 土地廟), or the Temple of the Earth God, in Cheok Chai Un.³⁸ Tou Tei (*Tudi* 土地), also known as *Fude Zhengshen* (福德正神), or the Proper God of Fortune and Virtue, is a tutelary deity in the Daoist spirit world. On the annual festival celebrating Tou Tei's birthday, which falls on the second day of the second lunar month, she would excitedly watch all the Chinese operas performed in his honour. Yet, she is now 'barred from burning joss-sticks and worshipping at the Tou Tei Temple.'³⁹ She is condemned as a traitor to the Earth God and Cheok Chai Un.

Just as Cio-Cio-San in *Madame Butterfly* abandons her faith and is secretly converted to Christianity before marrying an American, A-Leng is baptised with a Christian name Ana prior to marrying a Macanese.

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Fig. 6: Igreja de São Lázaro. Photo by the author.

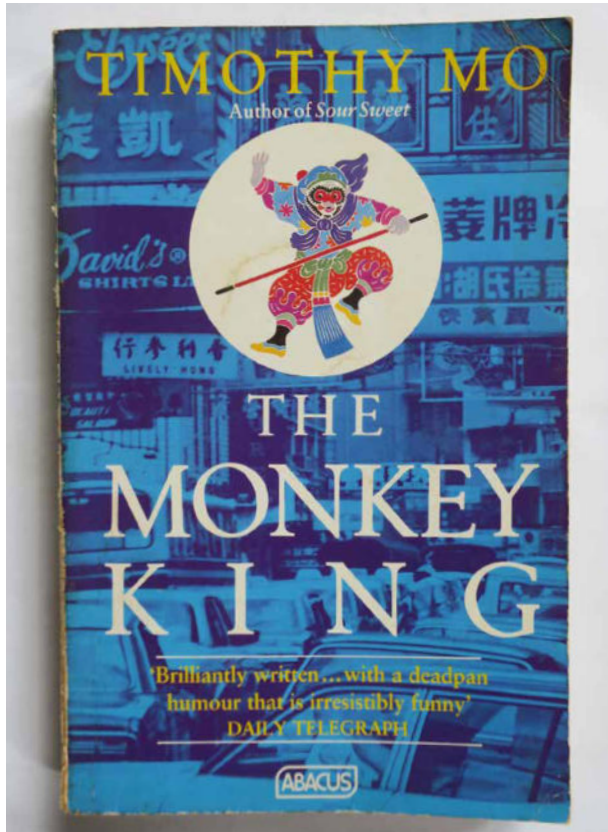
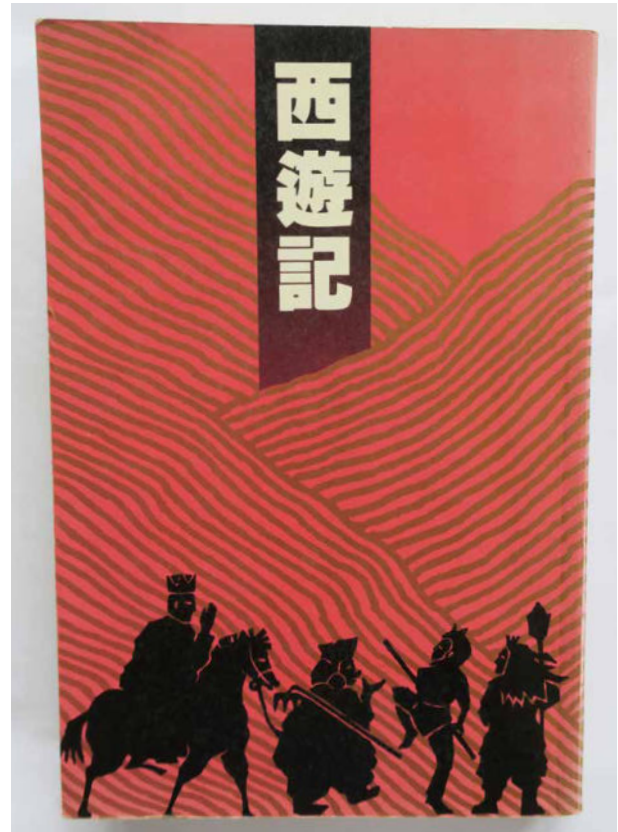
Subsequent to switching to a new religion, Ana becomes pious and routinely attends the morning mass at Igreja de São Lázaro. Furthermore, she goes to Igreja de Santo António and prays for the miracle-making Saint Anthony to intercede, even the simplest wishes. This is a defining moment for her to give up her faith in Daoism and to embrace Catholicism — a path to Westernisation and an access to the Macanese community.

With her success in climbing the ladder of upward social mobility, A-Leng, first and foremost, has to learn to use Western cutlery and table manners. She tries to drink a bit of wine, coffee with milk, and eat bread with butter. Aside from playing the Chinese game Mahjong, she picks up the rules of poker. Importantly, she is obliged to relinquish the habit of walking barefoot or wearing clogs, but has to adjust

walking on high-heels. In a nutshell, the westernised Ana breaks off her own belief, customs and habits, and has to adapt to new cultural practices.

Immediately after the barefoot water seller goes through this significant rite of passage: moving from her debased background to a higher social status, '[s]he envied her old companions for being able to walk barefoot, free of the torture of shoes, feeling the coolness of the ground.' Her 'purely childish nostalgia'⁴⁰ sounds satirically ill-disposed and slighting towards her erstwhile water-selling friends, who remain stuck in the down-and-out quarter, earning meagre wages to feed hungry mouths.

Adozindo is a doppelgänger of the licentious Francisco. After having been weaned off a comfortable life and enduring painful experiences, he undergoes

Fig. 7: Book cover of Timothy Mo's *The Monkey King*, 1990.Fig. 8: Book cover of Wu Cheng'en's *Xiyou Ji*, 1994.

transformation and reinvigoration. He becomes home loving, and does not go to clubs, bars and parties anymore. With new friends from the pier in the Inner Harbour, he stops contacting his rotten companions who desert him in his hour of affliction. Surprisingly, he even squelches his lust for women, and spends his time instead in the Municipal Library to quench his thirst for knowledge and culture.

After eight years of estrangement, Adozindo is reunited with his father. Similarly, A-Leng is reconciled with the Queen-Bee, who is at last pleased to have a 'foreign son-in-law'. At the denouement, they have four children and live happily in a leased big house on the Rampa dos Artilheiros. In addition to employing the archetypal images of an East-West romance in colonial ideology and Orientalist essentialism, the author

delivers a panegyric on the water seller's assimilation and integration into the Macanese community and achieves a Cinderella-like happy ending.

8. A PARADIGM SHIFT

Senna Fernandes' depiction of a superior Macanese marrying an inferior Chinese is derided through a paradigm shift of role-inversion. Timothy Mo disparagingly delineates the predicament of an impecunious Macanese in *The Monkey King*, which was first published in 1978, winning the Geoffrey Faber Memorial Prize in 1979. The novel makes apparent use of intertextuality⁴¹ with *Xiyou Ji* (《西遊記》, Journey to the West) by Wu Cheng'en, first published in 1592, in which the fun-loving, omnipotent Monkey King is a well-liked character.

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Born to a Cantonese father and an English mother in Hong Kong, Timothy Mo moved to Britain in his early teens. He worked as a journalist before becoming a novelist. With his Anglo-Chinese parentage, his literary writings are mainly concerned with cultural clashes between the East and the West, and a hybrid world of bi-cultural diversity and the quandary of mixed-race progenies. His other novels are: *Sour Sweet* (1982), *An Insular Possession* (1986), *The Redundancy of Courage* (1991), *Brownout on Breadfruit Boulevard* (1995), and *Renegade or Halo2* (1999).

Set in the 1950s in Macao and Hong Kong, the story centres on a quick-witted and mischievous Macanese — Wallace Nolasco, the eponymous hero. Subsequent to many centuries of mixed marriage by his progenitors, Wallace loses most of the distinctive European features of his ‘shadowy buccaneer ancestors’ and can speak ‘impeccable Cantonese’.⁴² He is small and has ‘the blue-black hair and flattened nose of any Cantonese’.⁴³ By and large, he has been Sinicised a great deal; what remains of his connection with Portuguese antecedents is his surname — Nolasco, which gives him a sense of retaining Portuguese national identity.

In Macao, Wallace regularly meets with ethnic prejudice from the Chinese:

*On the whole Wallace avoided intimate dealings with the Chinese. Despite a childhood spent cheek by jaundiced jowl with the Cantonese in Macau, he still found the race arrogant and devious. Worse, they revelled in the confusion of the foreigner: turning blank faces to the barbarian and sneering behind his back.*⁴⁴

In order to stifle such opprobrium associated with mixed ancestry as a foreign barbarian, Wallace cuts ‘the [Chinese] neighbours at every opportunity’ and is keen on demarcation.⁴⁵ Under the overlapping

socio-cultural context, he consciously turns away from the Chinese and does not want to identify with them.

In a strange twist of fate, he is instructed by his widowed father to marry May Ling, a scrawny, sallow Chinese girl, just 20, from the wealthy Poon family in Hong Kong. He is obliged to accept the arranged marriage, even though the bride is not his own ideal choice. This is because the Nolasco family in Macao is on the wane and he has to submit to a bleak reality by making a compromise ‘out of necessity as well as filial piety’.⁴⁶

Before the marriage takes place, Wallace’s father dies penniless and Mr Poon, his would-be father-in-law, pays ‘for the simple funeral’.⁴⁷ Mr Nolasco senior leaves neither a legacy nor a house for him. On the other hand, Mr Poon owns a four-storey mansion built in the latter part of the 1880s at Robinson Path above the bustling Western District in Hong Kong.⁴⁸ The East (represented by Mr Poon) is no longer in a weak condition of poverty and dependence, but the West (represented by the half-Westerner Wallace) is pauperised and reliant on the affluence of the East. Such a paradigm shift is a sheer mockery of the Orientalist perception in colonial discourse.

For Mr Poon, it would have been an impossibility to marry off May Ling, the daughter of the second concubine, into a respectable Chinese family. Besides, it would have been a major loss of face to set sights on someone lower in the Chinese community. Out of the dilemma, the shrewd Mr Poon has achieved a creative solution in securing a Macanese son-in-law:

*It would be possible to economise on the initial capital outlay of the dowry to balance out defrayments on an additional mouth. Wallace might also have his uses in certain business projects Mr Poon had in mind. And while not a celestial, Wallace was not a real faan guai lo, a foreign devil.*⁴⁹

What Mr Poon has in mind is to subsume a hybrid 'foreign devil' through 'formal induction into the household'.⁵⁰ That is, he plans to institute a matrilocal marriage, known in Chinese culture as *ruzhui* (入贅). In accordance with this specific nuptial custom, Wallace is married into May Ling's family, and follows the rule of a matrilocal residence to live with her in the Poon household in Hong Kong. He is hence inducted as a member of the Poon clan. His offspring is coerced to adopt the surname Poon, and will become Mr Poon's direct descendants, *inter alia*, Wallace's agnatic bond with the house of Nolasco is to be severed.

As opposed to the more common patrilocal marriage, some well-off Chinese families of high social status, or those without an heir for the continuity of a family line, would induct a son-in-law rather than marry off a daughter. In traditional Chinese society, the matrilocal arrangement of *ruzhui* would be considered a disgrace, for the reason that the agnatic kinship is disrupted through the renunciation of one's ancestral surname.

The Chinese system in surname practice is characterised by patrilineality, in which the Chinese are largely coerced to carry the paternal surnames. To the contrary, the Portuguese system allows a flexible margin for the use of surnames, and the Portuguese can have three to four surnames, comprising parents and grandparents on both sides.⁵¹ In light of these differences, an amazing, if not a humiliating, compromise agreement is reached for Wallace to have his offspring's surname changed to the maternal side for the proliferation of the Poon clan.

9. CULTURAL ANTHROPOPHAGY

Oswald de Andrade (1890–1954), a Brazilian poet/novelist and polemicist and one of the founders of Brazilian Modernism, advocated the idea of cultural anthropophagy⁵² in the 1920s. It was a form of cultural resistance to counter the '*fait accompli*' of the Portuguese presence in Brazil — a Portuguese

colony from 1500 to 1822. Alongside anti-colonial sentiments, it was essentially an '*a posteriori*' ideology to appropriate the colonialist domination by figuratively devouring the intruders. The satiric allusion grew into a pivotal force of swallowing up foreign stimuli and recycling them as a renewed vigour towards cultural independence. Thereby, the vogue of metaphoric anthropophagy speaks for cultural assimilation and cultural interchange.

The anthropophagic phenomenon of the absorption of the 'barbarian Other' is neatly exemplified in *The Monkey King*. As the story progresses, Wallace moves to the Poon mansion in Hong Kong. Allegorically, he seems to be entering into an imperceptible 'cage' and falls prey to Mr Poon's intriguing induction. At the start, Mr Poon has been 'aggressively benevolent towards his son-in-law',⁵³ and shows him a gold fob watch, which he says will be his gift. Wallace weighs the watch in his palm and is moved to tears. Mr Poon, however, loses no time in pulling it out of his hand, and reiterates that it is 'safe and sound in my drawer. These day very unsafe to carry this sort of thing around. These fellow robbing you with big knives [*sic*].'⁵⁴ Wallace in no way possesses the watch.

The Macanese protagonist is marginalised and relegated almost to the very bottom of the household pecking order. He even becomes the enemy of the servants, who often conspire to make life difficult for him, simply because they are 'unhappy about having a Portuguese in the household'.⁵⁵ His Macaneness is the very source of dislike.

It is Wallace's first Lunar New Year at Robinson Path. As his paltry inheritance from Macao is almost exhausted, he expects to receive a sizable amount of lucky money from senior relatives. The joke is that he receives a red packet rolling out 'a brown button with four holes', and another one containing the smallest denomination of 'a one cent bill'⁵⁶ (it became obsolete in 1995). To his discomfiture, there are only 20 Hong Kong dollars from all the red packets. Beneath the

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stinging humour, the ‘foreign barbarian’ is demeaned and humiliated.

Though Wallace tries to endure racial discrimination and domestic tyranny with stoicism, there is still an invisible battle going on between Mr Poon and him. For the patriarchal and rich Mr Poon, the impoverished and dependant Macanese is a parasite in the family. For Wallace, the miserly father-in-law should not keep silent about his much-needed dowry, which is part of the contractual obligations.

Wallace, moreover, finds himself confronted by Mr Poon’s intensified estrangement, as May Ling shows no sign of pregnancy — both of them fail in their primary duty to produce descendants for the continuity of the Poon family lineage. In order to take on an efficacious revenge, he decides that ‘Mr Poon could expect no grandsons from him in the immediate future.’⁵⁷ The Macanese uncomfortably becomes ‘a licensed eccentric’ in the Chinese household.⁵⁸

There comes a silver lining when Mr Poon offers him a job. Employment does not only erase his image as a parasite, but also gives him a sense of purpose in life. Meanwhile, he cultivates a close intimacy with May Ling, who turns from not an ideal choice to ‘being good little wife’.⁵⁹ By some quirk of fate, he is caught as ‘the victim of an obscure guilt’ for a spate of misfortunes,⁶⁰ and the couple is sent to a retreat in the rural New Territories. With entrepreneurial acumen and May Ling’s support, he starts up a boating lake in a village for tourists. The commercial success brings him an opportunity for self-construction and self-fulfilment. In the countryside, he undergoes a passage of renewal.

After many years of ‘exile’ in the New Territories, the shrivelled Mr Poon summons them back to look after his business and trusts Wallace with unprecedented responsibilities. Echoing the Monkey King in *Xiyou Ji*, from which intertextuality is found, Wallace has gone through a purgatory journey with canny tactics. He overcomes all sorts of tribulations and survives hardship, humility, and hypocritical

treatment. Finally, he dramatically retrieves the gold fob watch that he has long desired to have. Most of all, he gains control of Mr Poon’s business after his death. He thought he is the ultimate victor in the power struggle with the scheming patriarch.

10. THE POSTHUMOUS VICTOR

Timothy Mo seemingly applauds the chameleon adaptability of Wallace and his eventual triumph in controlling Mr Poon’s business. Nevertheless, the author inadvertently discloses a subversive stance and presents an alternate scenario — the Macanese is the total loser in the crafty domestic wrestling, and is entirely defeated without realising it. Mr Poon is the invincible winner even though he is dead. The posthumous victor does not merely win a beautiful battle; he gives the loser the illusion of winning.

No matter how clever Wallace is, he is likened to slipping into a cultural ‘trap’ of *ruzhui*. Straight after Mr Poon’s death, he receives a stipend of two thousand dollars a year, ‘on condition he used the family surname [Poon] in his business dealings.’⁶¹ The very condition on the will cogently unveils the dotard’s overt intention to incorporate Wallace’s commercial skills in the Poon family. It is also his contrivance to ‘swallow up’ his son-in-law, and strip him of his Macanese-ness. Wallace is in the midst of an identity crisis.

Before long, a son is born to the couple, ‘If anything, it looked like Mr Poon, reincarnated.’⁶² The ‘reincarnation of Mr Poon’ metonymically suggests that the new-born is atavistically sinicised. A new member is added to the Poon’s genealogical posterity, but not to the Nolasco’s. The baby boy is destined to observe the filial duty of venerating the Poon forbearers in the rituals of ancestor worship — a vital cult behaviour of the whole Chinese socio-cultural system.

In this way, Wallace forfeits the continuity of the Nolasco lineage, and, not least, he fails to realise a botanical metaphor to grow the Nolasco family tree.

His son is named ‘Cheung Ching, “Runner through the Universe”’.⁶³ Poon Cheung Ching loses his only Portugueseness by forsaking the surname Nolasco, and is thoroughly assimilated into the Chinese community — in name and in appearance. When Mr Poon subsumes Wallace and his son for total unity and oneness in the house of Poon, the mixed-blood ‘foreign barbarians’ equally restore a unity from a peripheral state of ‘betweenness’ to the dominant ‘centre’ — the Chinese world.

Not only does Mr Poon effectively cut off Wallace’s national bond with Portugal, but even breaks apart his agnatic tie with the son. Both the father and the son are symbolically devoured through the trope of cultural anthropophagy, in that they are dispossessed of their Macanese identity and Portuguese nationality. Intertextuality is further demonstrated: just the same as the Monkey King in *Xiyou Ji* cannot break away from the Buddha’s almighty control, the eponymous title character is completely unable to escape Mr Poon’s cannibalistic intrigues.

The intermarriage in *The Monkey King* likely fails to extol the Portuguese colonial ideology of Pan-racialism, but rather is exploited by the Chinese in the process of Sinicisation through the marriage practice of *ruzhui*. The Chinese cordial mastication of ‘the hybrid Portuguese of Macao’ signifies cultural assimilation, which becomes an ambivalent resolution within a peculiar condition of cultural asymmetry.

11. THE MACANESE CREOLE DIALECT AND CUISINE

It could be surmised that Adozindo can speak Cantonese, bearing in mind that he has no problem conversing with the water seller and working in the Chinese shipping company. Likewise, Wallace is able to communicate in ‘impeccable Cantonese’. Even though most of the Macanese can articulate the spoken Cantonese language, yet not many of them can read and write Chinese characters.

With regard to their liminal language abilities, it brings to mind Philip, a Macanese in *Mission to Cathay* (1966) by Madeleine A. Polland (1918–2005), an Irish writer. Polland narrativises Matteo Ricci’s (1552–1610) proselytising mission to China. At the outset, she decries Philip’s linguistic incompetence.

Having arrived in Macao, the Italian Jesuit priest aspires to learn ‘the language of the officials’ (*guanhua* 官話, also called ‘Mandarin language’) in order to engage in a dialogue with the elite and officials in the Middle Kingdom. He looks upon Philip as teacher and interpreter, but to his great disappointment, he soon finds out that he has been teaching him the vulgar expressions ‘of the coolies and the shopkeepers’.⁶⁴ In other words, Philip only speaks the Cantonese jargon of the working people of low social class, but not even the polished, refined version of the Cantonese language.

R. A. Zepp has argued that the Macanese are without a true mother tongue, since ‘they will learn to speak a street Chinese without ever achieving total mastery over its reading or writing [...], they may learn to read and write Portuguese in school without acquiring a good command of the spoken language.’⁶⁵ Straddling two dominant linguistic spheres in Macao, they are thus found lacking proficiency in either.

As a marker of one’s nationality, Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935), a Portuguese poet/writer and literary critic, puts emphasis on language — *A minha pátria é a língua portuguesa* (My homeland is the Portuguese language). Speaking one’s own language is considered a way of asserting one’s identity, and resonates with Simon During’s aphorism, ‘A choice of language is a choice of identity’.⁶⁶ Along these lines, the Macanese have chosen a unique dialect to mark their identity.

In the midst of two main languages and influenced by the influx of immigrants from other Portuguese colonies in Asia, the Macanese have invented a distinctive creole dialect known as *Patuá*, or *Maquista*. It is a mixture of Portuguese language with lexical and syntactical characteristics derived from

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Fig. 9: The bronze statue of José dos Santos Ferreira. Photo by the author.

Malay, Sinhala, and Cantonese, as well as sprinkling with English, Dutch, and Japanese.

According to Alan Baxter, a linguist and an expert on Portuguese-based creoles, the roots of this dialect extend from the sixteenth century when Portuguese traders and their camp followers did business with Africans, Indians, and Malays. The Cantonese contributions to *Patuá* came much later.⁶⁷ *Patuá* is *de facto* a unique mingling of a variety of languages amid the progress of Macao's colonial history.

Once a vibrant oral tradition widely spoken in everyday domestic settings by women and servants, *Patuá* was gradually in decline as a result of the Portuguese and the Chinese languages were befittingly taught in schools around the 1850s. Nowadays, the creole dialect is spoken by very few people in Macao and in the Macanese diaspora, but mostly kept alive in songs and jokes by various cultural groups.

Patuá is euphemistically called by its speakers as *dóci língu di Macau* (sweet language of Macao) and *dóci papiaçam* (sweet speech) by poets. José dos

Santos Ferreira (1919–1993), a Macanese poet and playwright, is perhaps the last person of distinction to write in the 'sweet speech'. He left behind 18 books of poetry, prose, plays, and operettas in *Patuá*. Affectionately addressed as Adé,⁶⁸ he enjoyed high esteem in the Macanese circle. With public adulation, a bronze statue of Adé was unveiled by the last Governor of Macao, Vasco Rocha Vieira, on 5 October 1999 at the Art Garden.

Miguel de Senna Fernandes, the son of Henrique de Senna Fernandes, and President of Associação dos Macaenses (The Macanese Association), is a present-day Don Quixote trying to revive the waning *Patuá*. A practicing lawyer, he is also a playwright and has staged plays in *Patuá* at the annual Macao Arts Festival for a number of years.

In any event, not everyone from the Macanese community showed favourable attitude towards *Patuá*. Colonel Henrique Alberto de Barros Botelho (1906–1999), the former President of Club Lusitano and a prominent solicitor in Hong Kong, repeatedly derided the creole dialect as 'degraded pidgin'. He even refused to attend performances in *Patuá*.⁶⁹

Through time, the Macanese have invented creole culinary arts — Macanese cuisine.⁷⁰ It has taken in countless influences over distance and time, and reflects the rhetoric of assimilation of disparate cultures. A fusion of European, Asian, and African cookery with eclectic ingredients, it exhibits a palatable mixture of diverse culinary specialties, and is now an 'indigenous' gourmet draw.

This culinary creation definitely holds indelible cultural importance for the Macanese. By introducing Macanese food, the Macanese clearly encode an affirmation of their ethnic identity. In addition to its gastronomic allure, as pointed out by Cecília Jorge, Macanese cuisine serves as a link of the Macanese diaspora, and it is the most evident and visible signs of the Macanese collective identity.⁷¹ That their creole dialect and cuisine are exclusive cultural innovations

in coloniality further reveal the internal processes of a creolising continuum in post-coloniality.

CONCLUSION

In the wake of the confluence of manifold cultural flows along with the Portuguese ideological toleration of racial amalgamation for centuries, Macao has begotten a nascent minority of Portuguese-Asian ancestry — the Macanese. To paraphrase Homi K. Bhabha, these hybrid progenies are ‘a *problematic* colonial representation’.⁷² They live in an interface surrounded by two presiding powers, and drift in a liminal state between two dissimilar cultures.

The Macanese have become a favourite for characterisation in literary works about Macao. Senna Fernandes’ *The Bewitching Braid* juxtaposes a flirtatious Macanese with a submissive Chinese woman — a cliché falling in line with the Orientalist formula of an East–West romance. Embracing the otherwise fairy-tale storyline, the conflicting structure at once endorses power relations, let alone it evokes the most common archetypes in colonialist literature. To that end, the author illustrates a hierarchical relationship between the two ethnic groups, and bespeaks the putative superiority of the Macanese and the supposed inferiority of the native Chinese in the Portuguese-ruled territory.

In a different vein, Timothy Mo’s *The Monkey King* is a caricature of the binary polarities between the East and the West, and at the same time, it dissolves the colonial stereotype of the West over the East paradigm. In this respect, it demonstrates a reversal in the Orientalist frames, and reverberates around the Bakhtinian carnivalesque hermeneutics in literature.⁷³ Specifically, it brings into view a cannibalistic metaphor, through which the principal Macanese character is culturally absorbed by the Chinese, and his son likewise loses the national tie with Portugal.

By the time Macao was to reunite with China, it was estimated that there were roughly 12,000

Macanese.⁷⁴ Shortly, thousands of apprehensive Macanese left, with many settling in Portugal, but afterwards a steady number returned. Throughout their long history, countless Macanese have in fact moved elsewhere in search of better employment opportunities, education, and for other reasons. The Macanese diaspora feasibly outnumbers the Macanese population in Macao.

For the purpose of bringing the dispersed Macanese together, the first Macanese diaspora gathering — *Encontro Macaenses* (Macanese Meeting) — was organised in 1993. Ever since, it has been held every three years, aiming at perpetuating remembrances of, and connections to, their ‘home’. The Macanese from abroad are invited back for a week of planned events.⁷⁵ These ‘homecomings’ are intended to boost nostalgic sentiments of their roots, and help assert their Macanese identity and social networks.

Facing a hazy future, some local Macanese have experienced a certain degree of anxiety and fear of loss of identity. They felt rootless and stressed owing to their betweenness. Accordingly, an association — *Macao Sempre* (Macao Always) — was inaugurated in 1996 in order to stave off their frustration, and emphasise their ‘roots’ in Macao. In a word, both *Encontro Macaenses* and *Macao Sempre* are meant to revive their sense of belonging to Macao.⁷⁶

Though small a group, the Macanese have left lasting vestiges in politics and culture. Contemporary Macanese of note are: Jorge Rangel, an influential Macanese leader (serving as Acting Governor many times); Anabela Ritchie, the former President of Macao’s Legislative Assembly (the first woman to hold the position); and Carlos Marreiros, the former President of the Cultural Affairs Bureau, an acclaimed architect and ardent cultural conservationist, to name a few. With their in-between endowments, they contribute greatly to the well-being of Macao, and tellingly constitute an indispensable link grafting the West with the East. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 On the Macanese, see Ana Maria Amaro, *Filhos da Terra* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988).
- 2 Perry Anderson, "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism," *New Left Review*, no. 16 (July/August 1962): Part II, 88–123.
- 3 Austin Coates, *A Macao Narrative* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1978), 34.
- 4 Coates, *A Macao Narrative*, 34.
- 5 There are some disputes about the exact classification of the Macanese. It is argued that the definition of the Macanese should also include Chinese Christian converts, who have assimilated into the Macanese community, even though they had no ancestry from the Portuguese. See Carlos Marreiros, "Alliances for the Future," *Review of Culture*, English edition, no. 20 (1994): 162–172.
- 6 *Fado* (fate) is a musical symbol of Portuguese culture and tradition. It is a style of melancholic singing, characterised by mournful tunes and lyrics about despairing belief in a futile destiny. This music genre goes back to the 1820s, and was orally transmitted. Today, *fado* is regarded as simply a form of song, which can be about anything, but must follow a certain traditional structure.
- 7 Leonel Alves, "Filho de Macau," in *Trovas Macaenses*, eds. João C. Reis and Maria Helena A. Reis, vol. 3 (Macao: Mar-Oceano Editora, 1992), 153.
- 8 This phrase refers to Homi K. Bhabha's argument on the desire of colonial mimicry, which is the representation of difference. Individuals of mixed-race resemble white men but betray their coloured descent by some striking features. They are 'almost the same but not quite [...]. Almost the same but not white'. See Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (April 1984): 130.
- 9 João de Pina-Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Personal Identity and Ethnic Ambiguity: Naming practices among the Eurasians of Macao," *Social Anthropology* 2, (June 1994): 121–122.
- 10 Club Lusitano was first established on Shelley Street in Hong Kong. Soon after, it turned out to be a favourite venue for Hong Kong's small but active Portuguese community for all important official, cultural, and family ceremonies. The present 27-storey Club Lusitano Building on Ice House Street was completed in 2002, designed by Comendador Gustavo da Rosa, a Macanese architect.
- 11 On the discrimination against the Macanese in Hong Kong, one may consider the work of Catherine S. Chan, *The Macanese Diaspora in British Hong Kong: A Century of Transimperial Drifting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021).
- 12 Lee Khoo Choy, *Pioneers of Modern China: Understanding the Inscrutable Chinese* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2005), 513.
- 13 P. Kevin MacKeown, "British Governor who gave Locals a Voice," *South China Morning Post*, 3 June 2020, B11.
- 14 *A Trança Feiticeira* was translated into Chinese by Yu Huijuan 喻慧娟 as *Dabianzi de Youhuo* 大辮子的誘惑 (1996), and into English by David Brookshaw as *The Bewitching Braid* (2004).
- 15 People of the leisure class display their superior status by their expressed disdain for all forms of productive work, especially any type of manual labour. They seek self-respect from peers in competition for honour through the reputable possession of wealth. The concept of the leisure class was theorised by Thorstein Veblen, the Norwegian-American economist and sociologist in his book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899).
- 16 Macao has been euphemistically called the Christian City, which originally denoted an area at the heart of peninsular Macao where most Westerners once settled. Being declared as part of the Historic Centre of Macao by the UNESCO in 2005, this neighbourhood displays the most comprehensive array of European architecture.
- 17 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, trans. David Brookshaw (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 14.
- 18 Macao is surrounded by the South China Sea to the east and south, and freshwater resources are always scarce. Moreover, its location on the Pearl River Estuary makes it vulnerable to the threat of saline intrusion, and drinking water is high in salinity levels owing to salt tides that often plague the Pearl River Delta watercourses.
- 19 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 11.
- 20 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 143.
- 21 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 35.
- 22 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 25.
- 23 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 57.
- 24 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 58.
- 25 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 47.
- 26 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 49.
- 27 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 49.
- 28 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 51.
- 29 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 54.
- 30 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 78.
- 31 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 97.
- 32 R. A. Zepp, "Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures," in *Macao: City of Commerce and Culture*, ed. R. D. Cremer, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: API Press Ltd., 1991), 160.
- 33 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992), 52.
- 34 Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 56.
- 35 Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 100.
- 36 Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 109.
- 37 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 142.
- 38 There are three main Tou Tei Temples in Macao: located respectively at Rua do Patane (沙梨頭), Praia do Manduco (下環街), and Cheok Chai Un. These three temples have been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2017.

- 39 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 95.
 40 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 136.
 41 Coined by Julia Kristeva (b. 1941), a Bulgarian-French philosopher, literary critic, and feminist, the notion of intertextuality refers to the combining of past writings into original, new pieces of text.
 42 Timothy Mo, *The Monkey King* (London: Abacus, 1990), 3.
 43 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 4.
 44 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 3.
 45 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 4.
 46 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
 47 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
 48 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 5.
 49 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
 50 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
 51 On naming practices between the Chinese and the Portuguese, see Pina-Cabral and Lourenço, "Personal Identity and Ethnic Ambiguity," 115–132.
 52 The term 'anthropophagy' simply means 'cannibalism'. Anthropophagy is a formation of two pre-existing words: eaters/of human beings. On the advocacy of cultural anthropophagy, see Luis Felipe Garcia, "Only Anthropophagy unites us — Oswald de Andrade's Decolonial Project," *Cultural Studies* 34, no. 1 (2020): 122–142.
 53 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 9.
 54 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 10.
 55 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 11.
 56 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 32.
 57 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 58.
 58 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 84.
 59 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 119.
 60 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 152.
 61 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 199.
 62 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 210.
 63 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 211.
 64 Madeleine A. Pollard, *Mission to Cathay* (Surrey: The World's Work Ltd., 1966), 23.
 65 Zepp, "Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures," 160–161.
 66 Simon During, "Postmodernism or Post-colonialism today," *Textual Practice* 1, no.1 (Spring 1987): 43.
 67 Alan Baxter, quoted in Andrew Jacobs, "An all-of-the-above Ethnic Mix tries to hang on as Macao Grows: Rich but Fading Fusion in Macao," *International Herald Tribune*, 9 February 2011.
 68 The photographic biography of Adé was published in Carlos Marreiros, *Adé dos Santos Ferreira: Fotografia* (Macao: Fundação Macau, 1994).
 69 Jason Wordie, "Speaking Volumes," *Post Magazine*, 13 February 2022, 7.
 70 On Macanese cuisine, see Annabel Doling, *Macau on a Plate: A Culinary Journey* (Hong Kong: Roundhouse Publications (Asia) Ltd, 1996). See also Annabel Jackson, *The Making of Macau's Fusion Cuisine: From Family Table to World Stage* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2020).
 71 Cecília Jorge, "Macanese Cooking — A Journey Across Generations," *Post Magazine*, 20 February 2022, 41.
 72 Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 156.
 73 The Bakhtinian carnivalistic theories in literature are examined in Christina Miu Bing Cheng, "Bakhtinian Carnivalisation in Austin Coates' *City of Broken Promises*," *Review of Culture*, International Edition, no. 68 (2022): 84–101.
 74 David Brookshaw, ed./trans., *Visions of China: Stories from Macau* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002), 12.
 75 On the homecomings of the Macanese diaspora, see Mariana Pinto Leitão Pereira, *The Macanese Encontros: Remembrance in Diaspora 'Homecomings'* (Macao: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2019).
 76 Margarida Cheung Vieira has conducted research on Macanese identities after 1999 in "Changing Macanese Identities in the Post-Handover Era" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2018).

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