



Wong Lai Lai. *Song of the Madonna* (from *Macao's Cultural Heritage Art Exhibition Catalogue*. Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002).



Cultural Significance

The Identity of Macao

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INTRODUCTION

Nurtured by two political entities and two dominant cultures at the periphery of South China, Macao has acquired a specific identity. The concept of “identity” relates mainly to a sense of community based on history and culture. Moreover, it denotes not only a sense of one’s self as an individual (personal identity) but rather as a bearer of a particular cultural “heritage” (cultural identity). A collective cultural identity, in effect, points to ‘those feelings and values in respect of a sense of continuity, shared memories and a sense of common destiny of a given unit of population which has had common experiences and cultural attributes’ (Smith, 1990:179). More broadly, Jonathan Friedman has put it thus:

It [cultural identity] is not practised but inherent, not achieved but ascribed. In the strongest sense this is expressed in the concept of race, or biological descent. In the weaker sense it is expressed as heritage, or as cultural descent, learned by each and every individual and distinctive precisely at the level of individual behavior. This latter is the most general Western notion of ethnicity. (Friedman, 1994:29-30)

For Friedman, cultural identity, sometimes known as ethnicity, is something that individuals have and that is the basis of a certain kind of social identity. Personal identity is thus not independent of the social context but almost entirely defined by it, and the sense of self is viewed through the prism of the community’s

sense of *its* self and heritage. Macao’s peninsular environment is richly invested with Lusitanian ambience and Chinese cultural traits, and bound up with landscape, seascape and cityscape. These “meanings and values” surely increase its cultural diversity and complexity, and help foster its identity. Cultural traditions also invariably form a collective identity constituted by historical circumstances and cultural characteristics.

After the founding of Macao in 1557, the Portuguese introduced a kind of imperial process of colonization by superimposing their value systems and religious beliefs on the Chinese political and social structures. While these structures underwent transformation, the cultural matrices also changed either through processes of internal evolution or political revolution. The “whole way of life” of Macao interacted with a temporally and spatially changing and changeable set of relationships. Its multiple connections with outside societies cogently exhibited a sense of permeability and fluidity in its cultural flux, which became complex and dialogic in the wake of colonial administration. Nowadays, Macao is replete with Christian churches and Chinese temples, but this “religious city” is also dotted with eclectic monuments and statues, not to mention casinos and brothels. Its contrasting images constitute a Janus¹ scenario, which is distinctive to its social fabric and cultural idioms.

A RELIGIOUS RECEPTACLE

After the Diocese of Macao was formally established in 1576, Macao was soon bestowed with a sanctified name—“City of the name of God”. Meanwhile, Macao was believed to have built more churches and chapels for its size than any other country, and prided itself as the “Christian City” and “Holy City”. Given its zealous fervour in propagating religious

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An image of Tian Hou in a dedicated temple on Taipa Island. All photos by IC, 2002 (unless otherwise stated).

faith, it was hailed as the “Head of Christendom in the East”, “Rome of the Far East”, and “Mother of Missions in Asia”.

It was also extolled as the “Marian City” because most of the churches in Macao have been dedicated to Mary in various guises. It is worth mentioning that the Virgin Mary’s role as the “Mother of God” was not extensively recognized until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, an era of religious ardour. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, moreover, was much disputed by medieval theologians. Among the monastic orders, the Dominicans denied the possibility of the Immaculate Conception while the Franciscans upheld

it. During the seventeenth century, this doctrine gained ground and was particularly fostered by the Jesuits. The Façade of the Church of the Mother of God, better known as the Ruins of St Paul’s (completed in 1640), is the very testimony to the Jesuits’ celebration of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.² Macao thus came to be a religious bastion for the consolidation of an **emergent** and **approved** doctrine, as well as an established foothold where the Jesuits could advocate the Cult of Mary.

Macao twice played a pivotal role as a bridgehead for Catholicism and Protestantism and was the West’s “Eastern stage” for the reconfiguration

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of Christianity. The aftermath of the two decisive revolutions—the Counter-Reformation (16th century) and the Industrial Revolution (18th century)—constituted part of the underlying forces for the propagation of Christianity in the East. These two Western revolutions subsequently had a great impact on Macao. Macao hence emerged as a Christian Janus of Catholicism and Protestantism, and was torn between two methods of introducing Christianity that was buttressed by the two maritime powers – Portugal and Britain.

Portugal was usually considered the most fervent Catholic country in Europe and Catholicism played an absolutely crucial role in its ideological and political structures. Despite the proselytising zeal of Judeo-Christian tradition, the Portuguese failed to replace or erase the Buddhist-Daoist faiths in Macao. Macao remains a religious site where a multiplicity of cross-religious divinities proliferates. Having around eighty Chinese temples,³ Macao is permeated with a rich ambience of indigenous religious culture. The polymorphism of Buddhism and Daoism allows a variety of religious experiences and liturgical traditions among the elites and the masses. There seems to be no invariable sectarian rule governing the temples in Macao, or distinguishing the religious attachment of one from another. The Chinese apparently advocate a pantheistic spirit through religious inclusion, compromise and syncretism.

Syncretism⁴ and toleration of disparate beliefs have been central to the religious life of the Chinese since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). It was a period when the harmonization of the Three Teachings 三教合一 *san jiao he yi* was zealously promoted by Lin Zhao'en 林兆恩 (1517-1598). Religious syncretism then flourished to an unprecedented degree, and the idea of belonging exclusively to one particular spiritual organization, or religion, was not common among the majority of the Chinese. Given the syncretic mentality, most Chinese in Macao would go to temples to pray for blessings from certain deities according to situational need rather than permanent religious affiliation.

In Macao, Christian churches often house a pantheon of saints in chapels and niches, whereas Buddhist-Daoist temples enshrine a whole gamut of popular deities, regardless of religious and

doctrinal differences—a sheer phenomenon suggesting an interplay of mutual influences. Contrary to the central missionary tenet of Catholicism that forbade any toleration of heathen faiths, the Chinese religious systems have developed a matrix allowing differences in beliefs (and rites) to complement one another. Actually some religious similarity is expressed as if it were religious difference, such as the role of Tian Hou (the Daoist Goddess of the Sea) and Guan Yin (the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy). Indiscriminately, an assortment of gods and goddesses from different religious sects provides the Chinese with chances to **select** and **adopt** what suits best their fancy, or meets their requirement. The harmonious co-existence of a myriad of churches and temples in Macao readily explains the balance of power relations among religions and also points to a subtle religious compromise, and an unusual toleration among disparate beliefs. This is the uniqueness of Macao: different ethnic worshippers from various social strata seldom have conflicts but treat one another with stoical forbearance and great flexibility.

If churches are a marker of the Lusitanian project to disseminate Western legitimacy of knowledge—Christianity—Chinese temples are certainly tangible signs exhibiting the Chinese state's imposition of a unified culture through the “myth-symbol” complex. Specifically, the *tête-à-tête* of a popular virgin trio in Macao—the Virgin Mary, Tian Hou and Guan Yin—converges into East-West “civilizing” forces but none can eclipse the others. When Macao is dubbed the “Marian City”,⁵ it is also justifiable to call it the “City of Tian Hou” or the “City of Guan Yin”. Outshining other male deities, these three virgin divinities form an unchallenging trio in dominating the religious culture of Macao.⁶ They are attributed important roles by the Portuguese and Chinese in the contestation of socializing and standardizing two different cultures. Each of them occupies “a sacred space” with the aim of acculturating and civilizing the two peoples.

The divine trio is the very personification of religious ideology of extreme compassion and mercy. This sublime ideology helps foster a sensibility among the Portuguese and the Chinese to tolerate cross-cultural attributes and infusions. Because of their unique “Trinitarian” relationship, “intertextual” nature and mutually complementary characteristics, different

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Statue of the Goddess of Mercy at the Guan Yin Ecumenical Centre (NAPE, Outer Harbour).

ethnic groups in Macao adopt one another's divinities without scruple. And these distinctive religious experiences eventually coalesce into a collective tradition.

Macao is able to celebrate its religious toleration and cultural infusions. A bricolage of religious faiths, such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Daoism, Islam,⁷ and Baha'i,⁸ not only indicates Macao's syncretic cultural matrices and religious compromise among one another's belief systems, but also testifies to a negotiated accommodation of East-

West religious praxis. Macao is a peculiar, if not a miraculous, juncture of religious propagation and toleration, and is unmistakably a unique urban receptacle of disparate beliefs.

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST

Since the Portuguese Government of Macao passed a new Heritage Law in June 1984 with the aim of preserving Macao's historic, cultural and architectural heritage as a tourist asset, heritage

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Statue of the Virgin Mary, Penha Church courtyard. Photo by Government Information Bureau, 2001.

preservation has become a vital issue. Meticulous renovation and extensive preservation are passionately pursued and widely supported. The emphasis on cultural heritage is in effect a means to codify, assert and enhance a collective identity.

In a subtle way of self-fashioning, the Portuguese attempted to play the part of the benign “settler” before they constitutionally left Macao. From 1993 to 1999 Macao commemorated an epoch of understanding, co-operation and friendship. A total of thirteen Friendship landmarks⁹ were

inaugurated dedicated to the cordial relationship between the two national authorities and the harmonious co-existence of the two peoples. These extravagant works were, however, upbraided by local organizations, concerned with education, social services and housing, as superficial and a waste of money. As works of art, the Friendship monuments and statues feature a rich tapestry of social, cultural and political meanings. They also illustrate a “schizophrenic” understanding of East-West interpretation of signs and symbols. On the one

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hand, these projects hallow the last seven years of Portuguese presence in Asia, and on the other hand, they have become part of Macao's cultural heritage. Within this small city, gardens, squares, main roads, and reclaimed lands are filled with new landmarks. It can aptly be called **City of Monuments and Statues**.

As Britain was interested in economic ventures in postcolonial Hong Kong, Portugal was concerned with ensuring its cultural legacy in postcolonial Macao. Macao has been groomed to be a distinctive city resplendent with Lusitanian charm that can hardly be found in other former colonial outposts in Asia. The new Friendship projects thus served to proclaim the triumph of colonial benevolence, justify the Portuguese as cultural benefactors and exorcise a kind of (post)colonial complex. They could be interpreted as a **pre-postcolonial** chic, which pre-celebrated the closure of a colonial chapter. Most especially, the Friendship landmarks help affirm a cultural identity for Macao in the colonial aftermath.

Among these Friendship projects, perhaps the statue of Guan Yin (inaugurated in 1999)—best testifies to the hybrid identity of mixed cultures. Designed by the Portuguese architect and sculptress Cristina Rocha Leiria, the golden bronze statue is located near the new Cultural Centre on an artificial island off the Outer Harbour. Unlike the massive and sturdy statue of Tian Hou (inaugurated in 1998) who drips with jewellery and is clad in a stately costume, the 20-metre high statue of Guan Yin looks like an ascetic nun who only wears a simple hood and is clad in a plain costume. The statue is slanting, slim and elongated. The slightly S-shape seems to have been modelled on European sculpture. Her hands are not holding anything as her attribute but are wrapped in her dress. Despite some “daring” disregards of convention, there is at least one element loyal to traditional portrayal—an *urna*, which is the mark in the centre of the forehead, and which signifies the third eye of spiritual wisdom. The design is innovative, grafting East-West elements, out of which emerges a fusion of cultures.

The shining golden statue stands atop a 7-metre high base connected by an 81-metre long causeway. The 2-storey base is in the shape of a lotus flower. The whole architectural complex is called the Guan Yin Ecumenical Centre, which is devoted to

the study of Eastern religions and philosophies. It is a place for illustrating China's Three Teachings—Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism—and for promoting cultural activities. According to the Macao Government Information Service, the Centre is aimed at perpetuating mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and civilizations, mirroring the religious toleration and multi-cultural environment that have been so typical of Macao over the centuries. Furthermore, UNESCO has exalted the cultural merit of this project in creating a space for dialogue among communities belonging to different cultural or religious areas and thus sharing common values.

The statue was, however, ruthlessly reproached as neither East nor West (不中不西 *bu zhong bu xi*, *Macao Daily News*, December 31, 1999). The general public also seem sceptical about this quite “foreign-looking” goddess; some people even say it looks more like the Western Virgin Mary than a Chinese goddess. In fact, the statue's “neither-East-nor-West” appearance, *pace* these comments, exactly speaks for Macao's cultural hybridity—a **border-crossing** of the East and the West.

MACANESE HYBRIDIZATION

Macao is a hybrid site where a specific subjectivity¹⁰ and identity have developed. Although the Portuguese have shown an unrelenting attempt to assert inalienable differences between races, the ideological pan-racial vision only projected a phantasmagoria of diverse hybrid progeny as one aspect of the colonial legacies. After the confluence of different cultural flows and under the Portuguese ideological toleration of miscegenation, Macao has procreated an “emergent” minority called the **Macanese**—a group of hybrid Portuguese.¹¹ These Eurasians live in the interface between the colonizer and the colonized and represent a “Third Space” (Homi Bhabha's term) in colonial discourse. The coming into being of this creole class constitutes another level of identity in colonial representation, and in Homi Bhabha's phrase, they are “white, but not quite”.¹²

In the situation of cross-ethnic interaction, Eurasian heritage once spoke **not** of a proud melding of two cultures but of a shameful confluence of

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Statue of José (Adé) dos Santos Ferreira in Jardim dos Poetas (Poets' Garden), Avenida da Amizade.

colonizer and colonized; of marauding Western man and subjugated Eastern woman. In Vietnam, Eurasian children were derogatively dubbed *bui doi*, or “the dust of life”. Given the overlapping of cultural references and mixed physiognomy, the Macanese, marking an image of between-ness, constantly meet with prejudice and opprobrium not only from the Chinese, but also from the “pure” Portuguese. As João de Pina Cabral has observed, such racial discrimination leads to a certain kind of anxiety among the Macanese, who are ambivalent towards their personal identity. Gradually a process of “self-alienation” develops as a new social stratification, characterized by a small and relatively closed Macanese community (Pina Cabral 1994: 121-122).

Towards the political change in 1999, some Macanese felt somewhat estranged, rootless, lost and stressed because of their “in-betweenness”. They were virtually enmeshed in an identity crisis. Subsequently, an association called *Macau Sempre*, or Roots in Aomen 根在澳門 was formed in 1996 with the aim of emphasizing their “roots” in Macao

and creating a sense of belonging. Significantly, the association helps harness their anxieties, assert their subjectivity and identity in a Chinese dominated society, and above all, reflect their ethnic force, though minimal.

One of the Friendship projects was a bronze statue erected in 1999 to honour the late Macanese poet and writer, José dos Santos Ferreira (1919-1993), who was affectionately known in the Macanese community as “Adé”.¹³ Santos Ferreira was looked upon as an ethnic hero among the Macanese and regarded as a cultural link between Portugal, Macao and Hong Kong. Located at a distinguished spot in a newly created garden on the Avenida da Amizade, the statue perhaps serves the purpose of a *posteriori* “community building”.

As a result of centuries of hybridity, the Macanese have evolved their own arts of daily life including a special style of cookery called Macanese cuisine.¹⁴ It mainly contains the spices and flavours of Goan and Malay cooking, and a little Chinese influence. Given the eclectic ingredients, Macanese cuisine directly refers to its diverse ethnic and

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The Macao Tower Convention & Entertainment Centre.

geographical origins, and represents a now **indigenous** culinary culture. ‘The invocation of a specific food’, says Anne Goldman, ‘speaks on behalf of cultural nationalism... The elaboration of cooking techniques may also provide a means of articulating an ethnic subject’ (Goldman, 1992:173). Through the introduction of Macanese food, the Macanese try to encode an affirmation of ethnic specificity, and this cultural affirmation through food preparation, in effect, parallels changes in “civilization” to a creolization of Portuguese, Goan, Malay, African and Chinese culinary practices in the wake of colonialism.

Macanese cuisine hence reveals a cultural appropriation through the culinary. It can be extolled as an example of assimilation of different cultures. Food is not just invested with a cultural register of a unique form; it may also reproduce

cultural practices and values that provide the Macanese community with a means of self-definition and survival. Mediating between two dominant cultures, Macanese cuisine stands as a metonym for a creole ethnic identity and self-assertion in the cultural sphere. While Macanese cuisine reveals the internal processes of a creolizing continuum, it no doubt exemplifies a real “transgression of boundaries”, and exhibits a palatable mixture of originally different culinary specialties. The popularity of Macanese food among the Chinese in Macao and Hong Kong steadfastly speaks for the continued fluidity of cultural boundaries. It now turns out to be a **mediating practice**, which, to some degree, elides ethnic tensions and antagonism; even though ethnic boundaries otherwise remain materially and conspicuously noticeable.

Macanese food and cuisines from various places never lose their fascination and allure to diners. Macao is indeed a city for gourmets. While particular Hong Kong eating practices do show some traces of the British colonialist “heritage” (such as “milky tea”), Macanese food, being a distinctive cultural invention and having a status as “cuisine”, is what Hong Kong’s hybrid food and beverages failed to attain during its 150-year colonial history. The important position of food culture may well help us **re-consider** the fixed model of oppressor/oppressed power relations in the aftermath of Portuguese imperialism and colonialism.

A VIBRANT TOURIST MAGNET

When Hong Kong was hailed as City of Life in 2001, Macao had already been given a novel identity—**City of Culture**—in order to promote tourism. The new rubric is perhaps meant to erase all those negative colonial images of Macao being at the boundary of civilization. As another aspect of tourist attractions, Macao has inaugurated various museums. The museum projects are cannily designed to make Macao a **City of Museums**, and a culturally dynamic part of modern China. In addition, Macao has been promoted as a favourite venue for conferences and congresses, and has been organizing spectacular annual events, adding **City of Spectacular Events** and **City of Celebration** to its repertoire. As a celebration of the second

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anniversary of Macao's return to China, the Macao Tower Convention and Entertainment Centre was inaugurated in December 2001. Unlike the Gate of Understanding (inaugurated in 1993) which is non-functional (people cannot go up to its roof to enjoy the scenic view), the 338-metre high Tower, ranking the 10th tallest of its kind in the world,¹⁵ is equipped with a revolving platform looking out to the South China Sea. This monumental project has no doubt become a vibrant attraction.

In 2002 Macao put an end to the casino monopoly enjoyed by the gambling *taipan* Stanley Ho's *Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau* (STDM, or the Macao Tourism and Entertainment Company),¹⁶ and permitted new gambling licences to three casino magnates. This move was intended to upgrade the casino business, not to mention to develop it as a pillar industry to spur the economy. One of the winners was Stanley Ho's newly formed *Sociedade de Jogos de Macau* (SJM), or Macao Gaming Company. The other two rivals were Wynn Resorts (Macao) Ltd, a U.S.-Macao joint venture and Galaxy Casino Co. Ltd., a Hong Kong-Macao joint venture. In the immediate future, Macao will be abounding with additional casinos.

The gambling haven had experienced a spate of crimes, and was dubbed the "Eastern Chicago" (the crime city) just before the historic handover. Macao was even projected in Western eyes as a "fragile city" and an "abandoned city" after 1999 (Porter 1996:3, 193). Only when Macao implements practical measures to sustain prosperity and stability, and embarks upon a policy to be ruled by the forces of law and order, can it realistically vindicate these hasty and pessimistic comments.

Like most Western cities, people can easily find delight and decadence in this "Holy City". The metamorphosis of Macao from a Catholic bishopric to Asia's foremost modern **City of Gambling** is not without irony. Though it was once hailed as the "Eastern Vatican" and the "Rome of the Far East", its flourishing gambling business has gained it fame as the "Las Vegas of the Far East" and the "Monte Carlo of the Orient". Macao even prides itself on having more gambling tables than Monte Carlo as well as more churches than the Vatican. The antithetical juxtaposition of churches and casinos are the allegories of virtue and vice that co-exist

simultaneously. W. H. Auden (1907-1973) has trenchantly captured these contrasting images in his poem "Macao", in which he says that in this **City of Indulgence** nothing serious can happen:

*Rococo images of Saint and Saviour
Promise her gamblers fortunes when they die;
Churches beside the brothels testify
That faith can pardon natural behaviour.*
(Auden, 1958:59)

Macao always provides sanctuary to religious dignitaries and shelter to condemned villains. It is a place jumbling the sublime with the debased. At the dawn of the third millennium, Macao is geared up to be an irresistible magnet for tourists. The gambling business and tourism are expected to go hand in hand and turn Macao into a convention, entertainment and gaming centre in South China.

CONCLUSION

Churches and temples succinctly testify to an unusual collage of architectural idioms within a small place, and illustrate religious toleration between the "Chosen" (Catholics) and the "pagan" (the Chinese). These religious landmarks may incubate cultural cohesion of the two peoples, as well as prevent collective disintegration and erase a sense of individual meaninglessness. Through religious life, ethnic bonding is intensified and a collective status is achieved. Macao, on the threshold of the third millennium, can perhaps serve as a vicarious model to some places where destructive religious confrontations and ethnic clashes are a matter of daily reality.

If churches are the Lusitanian "façade" of Macao, temples are no doubt the Chinese "façade". While most churches are well maintained, giving an atmosphere of quietness and sanctity, some temples are filthy and crowded with beggars and "incense-oil" money collectors. Ma Ge Miao (the Temple of Tian Hou) is a case in point. Among various cultural landmarks, what the Chinese in Macao are always proud of is this temple, simply because they believe Ma Ge Miao predated the arrival of the Portuguese navigators. When the latter landed for the first time they used A-Ma-Gau (亚妈港, or Bay of A-Ma) as a reference point to re-name the city as "Amacao" or "Amagao", which evolved to an abbreviated version of "Macao". However, the whole temple complex apparently lacks proper

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management. The courtyard is often littered with firecracker papers and some areas are filled with rubbish. Ma Ge Miao inadvertently feeds into the stereotypical images of Orientalist discourse that the East is chaotic, irrational and superstitious. In short, the hurly-burly of this religious space is downright sacrilegious, if not shameful. Perhaps it is a cultural task to cleanse the negative images of Chinese temples and upgrade them as comfortable places for visiting.

In the colonial context, Chinese and Portuguese cultures involved fusion as well as differentiation, but without being conquered by either cultural force. Having been one of the oldest colonial zones of contact in Asia, Macao can articulate cross-ethnic compromise and engender specific cultural endeavours, which are composed of contested codes and disjunctive representations. It is a site of hybridity, of intersecting Sino-Portuguese influences, and embraces a two-faced

religious culture: Judeo-Christian and Buddhist-Daoist beliefs. This is the uniqueness of Macao—while it reveals its superimposed “way of life”, it retains its indigenous “meanings and values”, and shows multifarious cultural manifestations. The two cultures engage in a kind of dialogue that transcends the one-sidedness of their cultural attributes. Significantly, the dialogic encounter of the two peoples has fostered substantial Macanese hybridization, out of which has emerged a Eurasian group. This “in-between” class has invented a culinary culture that helps affirm their emergent ethnic identity. What is and has always been most special about the place is that its culture alternates between a Janus scenario of having both Chinese and Portuguese heritage, on which Macao’s identity is predicated. The bonding of the past and the present would be intensified through cultural heritage, which in turn serves to cement a collective cultural identity. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Janus is a Roman god, guardian of the doorways of dwelling houses and city gateways. He is usually portrayed with two faces looking in opposite directions and hence alluded to have two contrasting characteristics.
- 2 The Façade of the Church of the Mother of God has often been mistakenly described as an architecture dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady. On the symbols alluding to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception on the Façade, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macao: A Cultural Janus*, p. 83-100.
- 3 According to the Cultural Heritage Department of the Cultural Institute, this figure excludes the altars and niches, which are often found in streets or at the entrance to households.
- 4 The term “syn-cret-ism” derives from a historic incident in which the citizens of Crete overcame internal disputes and united against a common enemy. See *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Hence, syncretism denotes the reconciliation or fusion of conflicting religious beliefs or principles.
- 5 Like Tian Hou and Guan Yin, the Virgin Mary is closely linked with the sea. She has been extolled as the “Star of the Sea” by innumerable Christian writers beginning with St. Ambrose.
- 6 On the three popular virgin divinities dominating the religious culture in Macao, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macao: A Cultural Janus*, Chapter 4 “The Rendezvous of a Virgin Trio”.
- 7 Even though Macao’s Muslim community has only about 500 members, they have formed the Islamic Association of Macao. The Muslims plan to build a new mosque costing about HK\$30 million. See *South China Morning Post*, September 2, 2000.
- 8 The Baha’i religion was founded by Persian prophet Baha’u’llah in the mid-19th century. He is regarded by believers as God’s ninth divine messenger after Buddha and Jesus and others. In Macao Baha’i has about 2,000 followers. Macao’s only international school—the School of the Nations—is run by the Baha’i members, though not as a Baha’i school. See *South China Morning Post*, November 11, 2000.
- 9 On the thirteen Friendship landmarks, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, “Macao: The Farming of Friendship”, in *China Perspectives*, No. 34, March/April, 2001.
- 10 In Deleuzian terms, subjectivity denotes the content of the body as expression, produced as a folding of the outside upon itself to create a stratum of the inside.
- 11 Some Macanese refer to themselves as “pure Macanese” on the grounds that they are born in Macao of original Portuguese parentage. Very often, they call themselves *Filhos da Terra*, literally, sons of the earth (alluding to a rootless class), while the Cantonese call them 土生仔, literally, locally born children. On the Macanese, see Ana Maria Amaro, *Filhos da Terra* and the special issue on the Macanese in *Review of Culture*, No. 20, 1994. Also see João de Pina Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, *Em Terra de Tufões: Dinâmicas da Etnicidade Macanese*.
- 12 Here one might consider the work of Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse”, in *October*, Vol. 28, 1984.
- 13 For a photographic biography of Adé, see Carlos Marreiros, *Adé dos Santos Ferreira: Fotobiografia*.
- 14 The uniquely Macanese cuisine are *tacho*—a potpourri of different meats, and *capella* which contains pork and almonds. See R. A. Zepp, “Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures” in R. D. Cremer, *Macao: City of Commerce and Culture*, p. 157. See also Annabel Doling, *Macao on a Plate: A Culinary Journey*.
- 15 The world’s tallest tower is the CN Tower in Toronto, Canada, being 553 metres high.
- 16 The company gained the gambling monopoly in 1962 and has been Macao’s leading private employer, providing jobs to more than 10,000 people.

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