

Macao's Religion and Society

JEAN A. BERLIE*



INTRODUCTION

Over its 450 years of history Macao has had few cultural values as strong as religion. Almost all religions are represented in the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR).

Both society and religion, and multicultural permanent residents and Macao Chinese, are main sociological references in the MSAR. To be convinced of the importance of religion, it is enough to examine Macao's numerous Chinese temples—part of its Chineseness—and its historical churches. Religious and charitable associations are essential in Macao's society.¹

Satue of the Goddess of Mercy at the Guanyin Ecumenical Centre (NAPE, Outer Harbour).

* Ph.D. in Anthropology from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. Researcher at the Hong Kong Institute of Education, Centre for Greater China Studies. Among his books it is useful to note *The Chinese of Macau. A Decade after the Handover* (Hong Kong, 2012); *The Burmanization of Myanmar's Muslims* (Bangkok, 2008); *East Timor Politics and Elections* (in Chinese) (Guangzhou, 2007); *Macao 2000* (ed.) (Oxford, 1999) and *The Rajbansis of Nepal and India* (Kathmandu, 1983).

Doutorado em Antropologia pela École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. Investigador no Hong Kong Institute of Education, Centre for Greater China Studies. Entre os seus livros: *The Chinese of Macau. A Decade after the Handover* (Hong Kong, 2012); *The Burmanization of Myanmar's Muslims* (Bangkok, 2008); *East Timor Politics and Elections* (em Chinês) (Cantão, 2007); *Macao 2000* (ed.) (Oxford, 1999) e *The Rajbansis of Nepal and India* (Kathmandu, 1983).



HISTORY

'When East met West in Macao in the 16th century, such a collision of identities—one post-Renaissance Christian, the other high Ming Confucian officialdom along with a ruck of folk believers such as enshrined by the A-Ma (Mazu) temple—must have been stark at least until new hybrid forms of associations developed, and which, of course, continue until this day'.² In my questionnaire on 100 Macao Chinese, based on research on more than 200 households and comparison with previous research, 43 percent of respondents were members of an association. This means that an association is a key cultural marker in the MSAR for the study of its society. Religion and the historical multicultural society of Macao have co-existed in a peaceful and harmonious way. Religion is an immaterial patrimony of the MSAR. This research does not deal directly with the Catholic Church, which has a long history and continues to play a key religious, cultural and social role.

EARLY HISTORY OF MACAO'S TANKA-FISHERMEN

The President of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao SAR, Dr Ung Vai Meng, gave a presentation on the cultural heritage to members of his council. The archaeologist Ng Wai-hung explained the discovery: 'Dozens of pottery fragments, possibly from the late

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Neolithic or the early Bronze Age, 3,000 to 3,800 years ago'.³ This is the story of a small yet significantly advanced pre-historic civilisation living on the shores of Coloane Island, whose inhabitants were more than just subsistence fishermen.⁴ So far, 'goddess worship' was not confirmed in the archaeological digs in 1995 and 2006, near Hac Sa Beach on Macao's Coloane Island.

Is it possible to say that the Tanka fishermen, *danjia* 蟹家/蜑家,⁵ are the earlier inhabitants of Coloane? We have to prove that the Tanka were able to make pottery, an essential fact in the archaeological past of Macao.

Nonetheless, Macao's earlier fishermen came from Fujian Province and worshipped on their boats, where they lived, and possibly earlier in caves, at the site of the northeast Temple of the Empress of the Sky. So it is possible to say that Chinese religion in Macao started with the Tanka (the Cantonese name for fishermen). Catholicism has been present in the enclave since the 16th century and continues to attract an active but small number of Macao Chinese and Macanese born in Macao.

RELIGION AS AN ESSENTIAL BASIS OF MACAO'S HISTORICAL CULTURE

Religious space is sometimes reduced by a view that religion is purely a private matter. This is also probably the reason why Macao Chinese—the reference society in the MSAR—do not like to discuss this topic, especially with strangers. Another reason to explain the lack of interviewees' cooperation is the definition of the concept of *zhongjiao* 宗教 in Chinese *pinyin*. The term 'religion' is difficult to translate into Chinese, and this opens the way for the modern assimilation of two different concepts, such as religion and culture, in Mainland China.

Marcel Granet prefers to use the term 'religious sentiment' more than any other, it seems.⁶ Seventy-one percent of Macao Chinese surveyed by the author have strongly declared they have 'no religion'.⁷ Between 1910 and 2009, Victor Zheng mentioned a percentage of non-believers varying between 11.9 and 60.8. Between 2005 and 2009 an average of 56 percent of the interviewees of this author were not 'believers'.⁸

Concerning the 'non-religiosity', I do not believe that it is the definitive answer of Chinese interviewees who never give many details about the reasons why they do not believe.

Religion constitutes an essential immaterial heritage of the MSAR. However, statistics on religion are not so reliable. An example, based on 2010 United Nations (UN) figures, is *Pew Research on Religion*.⁹

The census population (MSAR's DSEC, Statistical Bureau) in 2010 was 552,300. Pew's table gave 40,000 Christians, a few Muslims (around 3,000 permanent residents or Blue Card holders—author's survey), 80,000 unaffiliated (no-religion), 90,000 Buddhists and 320,000 followers of folk religion. These statistics are just a not-so-scientific view of the reality, but we have to consider them because of the lack of accurate survey.

The difficulty in understanding the Chinese concept of *zongjiao* lies in the term used for religion, meaning mainly 'teaching' or to instruct, and ancestor cult.¹⁰ *Jiao* 教 is ancestral worship. However, the Chinese often lack 'religious spirit' but do have rules and practices 'to obtain a particular advantage' concerning religious matters.¹¹ For Granet, Confucianism was the 'official religion', but Macao is too modern for that. However, the concept 'religion' is essential, yet constitutes a misleading term for the Chinese in the MSAR. Macao Chinese 'believe', but often do not want to give details concerning their exact religion. Does Macao's religion really represent a combination of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism?

Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (1854-1921) was a Dutch Sinologist and historian of religion. His 'monumental' *The Religious System of China, Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect, Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith* mentioned that Chinese religion 'is promoting welfare in this present life and future salvation... it is controlled to a certain extent by philosophy... the present Religious System of the nation (is) drawn of the Rites, Ceremonies, Rules of conduct and Discipline which are virtually practiced by the people... regulated by customs and partly also by written laws...'.¹²

Macao's traditional religious culture is well protected by the Basic Law of the MSAR¹³ and its 'way of life'.

Article 25 of the Basic Law gives residents equal rights 'irrespective of their religion'. Article 34 confers freedom (*ziyou* 自由) of religious belief. Religious associations and organisations are, however, required to be registered with the MSAR government. One of the most important components of the Basic Law is Article

128 that accords religious freedom which shall not 'contravene the laws of the Region'.

Most of Macao's believers are Buddhist and around 7 percent of the residents are Christian. There are approximately 40 Buddhist temples, as well as dozens of 'rural' temples and houses dedicated to Buddhist deities and 30 Daoist temples.¹⁴

Religion in Macao cannot be defined without mentioning the question of Chineseness. Year 1999 was the turning point; even if the spirit of the law remains Portuguese and Macao's Chineseness is an incontestable fact in the 21st century.¹⁵ The importance of Chineseness cannot be forgotten in Macao's daily life. Macao may not be not so religious, it can be argued, but its Chineseness is a social fact. The question 'Macao's loss of identity', not debated here, concerns its way of life, but not religion directly.

MACAO CHINESE: HOW RELIGIOUS ARE THEY?

Particularly for the first night of the Chinese New Year, it is clear that my observations of the Temple of Mazu in the district of Barra show that between 2000 and 2014, a smaller percentage of Macao Chinese making a pilgrimage to this main temple than before 1999, the year of Macao's return to China.

The veneration of the locality god *Tudi Shen* (土地神), god of the earth, which gives good luck to the family, is essential to understand the social changes in Macao in the last decade. For the Chinese New Year *Tudi* is honoured 'with gold, but demons... are propitiated with silver'¹⁶ and firecracker explosions. This popular god is mainly worshipped to promote prosperity and wealth and is an anthropologic marker still venerated in many shops, buildings and residences. In all the streets of the Peninsula, Taipa and Coloane, it is still easy to observe hundreds of altars dedicated to this local god of the earth. However, in the streets, where religion is more 'visible' than in residences, there is currently a decline in worship. MSAR's residents 'are not religious, they are similarly self-reliant, family-oriented and, more importantly, respectful of law, order, and social rules'.¹⁷ These core values are changing in 2014 to a certain extent, and mark Macao as a pluralistic society that emphasises diversity and multiculturalism, but social change is observable. A protective legal bubble protects the way of life of Macao residents. Pansy Ho, the Secretary General of the Global Tourism Economy Forum, rightly pointed out 'we're

here [in the MSAR] in a very comfortable place'.¹⁸ Macao permanent residents are proud of their identity and, evidently, Macao's historical material patrimony is rich. It needs to be secured.

CHINESE TEMPLES, MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL CULTURE

Mazu 妈祖 and Guanyin 观音 (Goddess of Mercy)¹⁹ temples are the main centre of Chinese religion in Macao. This question is not really 'immaterial', but temples and churches structure Macao's religion. So, it is impossible to deal with Chinese religion without defining key temples.

The Portuguese initially called Macao 'Cidade de Deus' (City of God). Mazu is the icon goddess of Macao, but a certain decline of popularity is visible for the New Year at Mazu Temple.

Mazu is primarily a Hokkien deity.²⁰ Since the year 2012, Guanyin is promoted and more venerated

Popular representation of Mazu. From *Woodwork: Macao Religious Figure Carving Exhibition Catalogue*. Macao Museum, 5.12.2008–5.4.2009.



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than before at Mazu temple during this Lunar New Year.

That does not exclude the existence of numerous other temples. There are two main temples of Tian Hou 天后 (Empress of Heaven): one near the border of Zhuhai and the other in the northeastern part of Macao. This last one is less known and was formerly venerated by the fishermen (*tanka* in Cantonese). Yang rightly mentioned that this goddess, assimilated with Mazu in Macao, is the 'patron goddess of sailing people', 'because of the hazardous nature of the occupation'. It is said that Mazu, from Fujian Province, was 'born in the tenth century A.D. into an official family living in a coastal village... still a young girl, she was able to perform miracles... [and after her death also]'.²¹

Syncretism is really a characteristic of Chinese religion. In October 2014, in a clothing repair shop in town, the owner qualified herself as Buddhist but venerates Guandi more. There is a small Guandi altar in the back of the premises of this shop at a higher level and it seems to be the god who protects the economic prosperity of this small enterprise. We will see in

the Daoism section of this work that Guandi is also venerated by the Macao Taoist Association.

IMMATERIAL CULTURE

This work is about society and religion and the relationship between these two immaterial concepts. It is not possible to understand the importance of MSAR's Tian Hou temples without understanding the Tanka fishermen. Giving an academic definition of this community is less attractive than a life-story.

SIN DOHAN'S FISHERMAN'S STORY

I was born in 1934 on a boat, off Taipa Island... Our family boat was a small fishing junk without a motor. I'm the very first generation to leave fishing and go to live on land, but I worked on a boat for decades before that.

Three generations lived together in the same boat – my two grandparents, my parents, me, and my brothers. We lived at sea, in the boat, all the time. When the weather was good, we'd be out for fishing. If a typhoon blew up, we'd

to take refuge in a typhoon shelter, where the racecourse is now...

I never went to school. I can't read and write. The only thing I can read is my own name... During the Japanese occupation of China, we couldn't go out fishing far from shore...

In 1949, life got better. In 1951, we joined the fishing association in Mainland China. I got a license from the Chinese authorities so we could fish around the coast of Guangdong.

We mostly fished for Macao sole and yellow croaker (we hung them and then salted and stored them in the boat, and took them back to the wholesalers a few days later)... The best years were in the late 1960s to the mid-1970s. There were plenty of fish then...

My father gave me a boat when I got married... When my father died, I inherited another boat from him, and I passed it on to one of my sons. I have four sons—they are all married now...

From the 1960s onwards, we started to install motors in our boats... The Macao government didn't help us financially... In 1978 I was able to buy a motorized boat for about MOP 200,000, a lot of money (USD 26,000)...

There are far fewer people fishing nowadays... I sold my boat in 1990 and we came to live on land... I came ashore. Everyday I go along to the fishermen's association here in Macao and help out there... Fishing is a hard life... We bought the first flat in 1983, and another one in 1988, when I was still fishing... China's reforms allowed both Hong Kong and Macao fishermen to quit fishing and move ashore...²²

The Tanka fishermen's current absence in Macao is a cultural loss for the MSAR. They are Macao's original society and true worshippers of Chinese religion.

Tian Hou was originally venerated by the Tanka fishermen at the northeast Temple, which was mainly dedicated to Mazu and the Empress of the Sky. The Temple of Earth Mother or Mother of the Soil, Dimu 地母 is at the lower part of this religious building. For instance on 12 October 2014, the second level of this northeastern Tian Hou Temple was occupied at by the rituals of a group of Buddhist followers of Tibetan Lamaism.

So, in this particular temple initially dedicated to Tian Hou there are at present three levels of worshipping.



An image of Tian Hou in a dedicated temple on Taipa Island.

At the inferior part of this 'syncretic' temple, Dimu is venerated. However, Mazu-Tian Hou is in the mind of the believers, but no 'official' veneration of Mazu takes place at present, it seems. At this northeastern temple, the Chinese women—who worshipped and prepared a small banquet on that Sunday—insist in an unorthodox way and give to 'their Mazu goddess' the 'most ancient origin' in Macao (sic).²³

The upper part of the northeastern religious compound described is now a Temple dedicated to Guanyin with a resident monk. The Culture Affairs of the MSAR continue to call this 'religious compound at three levels' the Temple of Tian Hou. On Sunday Buddhist rituals are also held in the upper part of this temple. The monk has lived on the highest floor for the last 30 years and calls this pagoda Tian Hou-Guanyin Temple. He does not belong to a particular Buddhist association. He is concerned by Buddhist rituals, and on Sundays he officiates as the main priest of this temple. As we have seen for Daoism, Guanyin also became a main 'official' deity, but the popular belief in Mazu remains strong despite the departure of the fishermen of Macao to Zhuhai before the return of Macao to China in 1999.

Auguste Borget²⁴ (1808-1877) made a drawing of this Tian Hou Temple. At the Hong Kong Museum of Art, Borget's interesting work is kept without mention of the name of the temple. The date inscribed on the



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stele at the entrance does not correspond to the fact that Borget stayed in Macao in 1838-1839 during his voyage round the world.

It is interesting to mention that in Hong Kong, as late as 1951, the celebration of Tian Hou's birthday was a three-day celebration. The 'poor owners of small sampans carry... only a piece of chicken as a sacrificial offering... and the prosperous proprietors of large sailing vessels, carry... whole roasted pigs on red ceremonial trays...'.²⁵ In comparison, we have to say that Macao has more than five hundred years of such sacrificial, magical practices, worship and strong superstitions of the Tanka-Fishermen. Being 'syncretic', Tanka also venerate Daoist deities.

DAOISM

The late Isabelle Robinet, a French scholar, demonstrated that 'the history of Daoism from approximately the third century B.C and its doctrinal evolution, shows the coherence of its development, the wide varieties of factors that came into play over a long period of disconnected eras'. Robinet shows 'how certain recurrent themes are treated in different ways in different eras and different Daoist sects. Among these themes are the Ultimate Truth, immortality, the Sage, the genesis and the end of the world, retribution for good and evil acts, representations of heavens and hells, and the connections between life and death, between man and society, and between mystical experience and the social form of religion'.²⁶ Consequently, the link between society and religion is fundamental in Daoism. We will see that the Macao Taoist Association follows the rules of other associations in Macao with a president who is the main Daoist priest, Ng Peng Chi, and a board of 20 members.

By the time of the Tang dynasty (618-907) Daoism was the intellectual philosophy that defined Chinese religious identity. 'Daoism enjoyed a privileged and semiofficial status under the Tang court'. Laozi 老子 was established as an imperial ancestor and 'The cult of the five sacred mountains' was brought under Daoist control.²⁷ Sima Chengzhen 司马承祯 (647-735), a renowned Daoist priest of the Tang dynasty, had earlier pointed out that the sacred peaks were part of the imperial cult. Daoism venerates mountains, so Mount Hua, in Shaanxi Province, was the abode of a famous monk of the Song dynasty called Chen Tuan 陈

抔 (871-989).²⁸ Daoism entered a new phase with the Song dynasty (ending in 1279)²⁹ and was also a popular religion despite the Daoist philosophy to remain in contrast to popular religious practices.

Daoism,³⁰ China's indigenous religion, has had profound influence on Chinese culture over the course of the centuries and in Macao as well. However, French scholar Kristofer Schipper was right to mention that Daoism 'is difficult to define in present-day Chinese observance, in part because it is so often confounded with both folk religion and various forms of sectarianism'.³¹ In Macao Guandi (or Guanyu), the god of war, is part of the folk religion; he plays an essential role in the popular religious landscape of the administrative region as the god of wealth. Part of Schipper's folk religion, Chinese Paper Money, also known as spirit money, burned to seek the help of deities such as Guandi or Guanyin and for funerals, is an ancient tradition that goes back thousands of years and is still very much alive in Macao. Many shops venerate Guandi and have an altar which brings prosperity. Guandi has a temple in Macao as well as in Dili, East Timor, and a more than 120-year-old Daoist temple also stands in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

It is a Daoist priest who every year blesses the Dragon when it passes the Guandi Temple on the eight day of the fourth lunar month for the popular Drunken Dragon Dance. Macao's folk religion was studied by the author between 1996 and 1999 in particular and by the French photographer Frank Regourd. It is interesting to note its origins in Guangdong Province; this ceremony came to Macao from Sek Kei district, Zhongshan.³² The association responsible is located next door to the Guandi Temple in the ancient central part of Macao Peninsula. The sponsors of this ceremony are the Macao Fish Merchants Association, so religion, associations and economy are linked.

Daoism is now global and there are Daoist associations in Asia, North and South America, Africa and Oceania. Daoism originally influenced festivals such as the Dragon Boat Festival which is a major event for the Thai and Lao, as well as for the Cantonese people. Macao and Hong Kong both celebrate this culturally important festival.

Recognising the importance of Daoism, thanks to earlier important meetings and conversations with Léon Vandermersch,³³ more acquainted with Confucianism, the author met *daoshi* 道士 Ng Peng



Tian Hou Temple by Auguste Borget, pencil. Currently in Hong Kong Museum of Art.

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Chi in 2013. However, this research in 2014 was based on the essential Macao Taoist Association. The other association is called *Shijie Daojiao Fashi Lianyihui Wenguo pingzhu* 世界道教法师联谊会温国平主 (United Association of Three Religions, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism).

Followers and clerics of institutionalised Daoism *daoshi* are essential to understand Daoism influence and propagation. In principle a Daoist priest is not just a ritual Master but also may act as an exorcist and healer, expelling and pacifying demons. The other Daoist association of the SAR is expert in geomancy (*fengshui* 风水).

Like many associations in the MSAR, the Daoist association was restructured in 2000 and initially called the 'New' Association in 2001. Later on, the adjective 'new' was dropped from its name and it became the Macao Taoist Association, *Aomen Daojiao Xiehui* 澳门道教协会. In 2009 it moved to a prestigious space close to the Horta e Costa Avenue.

The divinities venerated at the main altar at this association are three Masters: Laozi, the Old Master,³⁴ founder of Daoism, the Celestial Master Zhang Tianshi 张天师, also more commonly named Zhang Daoling 张道陵, and Lu Dongbin 吕洞宾, one of the Eight Immortals, who is considered to be an earlier Master of the tradition of *Neidanshu* 内丹术 or Internal alchemy.³⁵

The Great Jade Emperor (Yuhuang Dadi 玉皇大帝)—one of the major Daoist deities—is also well represented in the lateral altar of the Daoist Association.³⁶ He is a popular deity in charge of the celestial administration.

Other divinities to the left of the main altar are: Guan Sheng Di Jun 关圣帝君,³⁷ generally called Guandi 关帝 (220-280) or Guangong. He was a famous general who lived during the Three States Era (see the Romance of the Three Kingdoms, Wei, Su and Wu). Guandi was originally named Guanyu 关羽, alias Guandi.³⁸ The Daoists revered him as the War Protecting deity, so he has a sword. He was one of the deities adored by the three religions Daoism, Buddhism and Confucianism.

It is interesting to note that Guanyin, the Buddhist goddess of Mercy, also stands alongside these Daoist Masters. This goddess is upgraded and Stephan Feuchtwang rightly mentioned that the central authority plays a role.³⁹ In 1999, an early instance of

the promotion of the divinity in Macao is given by a huge and modern statue of Guanyin in NAPE suburb.

Social change is important to define current religion in Macao, so a simplified study of the genealogy of Ng Peng Chi's family (*jiapu* 家谱 in Chinese), is essential. As in Taiwan, the position of the Master in Macao is 'normally hereditary... In order to become a [Daoist] priest, one has to have bones'. However, an essential condition for ordination of a Daoist priest is 'the local popular support' in Taiwan which seems a secondary condition in Macao.⁴⁰

In 2014, Ng Peng Chi was, and still is, the president of the board of Macao Taoist Association. His great-grandfather, Wu Ye Yuan (1869-1927) came to Macao at the age of 20 from Shunde (Shuntak in Cantonese), Guangdong Province. Like another religious leader, Lancelote, who came at the age of twelve, he stayed all his life in Macao. He is the first of this genealogy of five *daoshi*. *Daoshi* Ye Yuan's seventh son, Wu Yu Sheng (1903-1972), became also a Daoist priest.⁴¹ The particularity is that the Daoist priest Yu Sheng started a line of three unique sons; his son and grandson have no brother or sister.

In 2014, three of these Masters were residents in the MSAR. The grandfather, Ng San (Wu Tian Shen) was born in 1929 and his grandson, Wu Jiong Zhang, was born in 1990. He studied in Taiwan. He is the fifth *Daoshi* of this hereditary line.

In the first week of November 2013, the Macao Taoist Cultural Festival Exhibition was organised at the Macao Museum by the Macao Taoist Association.⁴²

Daoist theology rests upon its liturgies, that is, Daoist teaching and thoughts are expressed through rituals. Kristofer Schipper mentions that 'Ritual . . . is understood as a sequence of rites'.⁴³

Daoist rituals are important in harmonising cosmic forces. There are eighteen major rituals. Large-scale ceremonies called Grand Offerings (as in Hong Kong in 2007), called *Dajiao* 打醮, are traditionally held once every 60 years to coincide with the 60-year cycle to renew the world and society, pray for peace, stability and community cohesion. 'In the Song dynasty, the Offering became the main venue of public Daoist ritual'. In China no major Daoist rites were held before 1993, the first took place at the White Cloud Temple in Beijing. In Taiwan offerings occurred in 1980 (Gaoxiong), 1984 (Tainan) and 1998 (Taipei).⁴⁴ 'The *jiào* was and is a version of political leadership [so

there was no *jiào* in Mainland China between 1949 and 1993]... Procession, territorial cult feasting and theatre are as fixed[,] and organised a tradition, as the more textual traditions of the *jiào*'.⁴⁵

The most important Grand Offering was held in Hong Kong, and the Macao Taoist Association was invited to attend exceptional ceremonies and rituals. It ended on a night of a full moon. The author interviewed many Daoists who attested to the importance and uniqueness of this ritual. A young Xi'an French *daoshi*, Karine Martin, was present. In November 2007, *daoshi* Ng Peng Chi, president of the association, the secretary of the Macao association, Lee Ioi Hou, and members of the board of the Macao association were also invited to Hong Kong for a week for the Grand Daoist Offering. Groups came from Hong Kong (18), Mainland China (14), Singapore (3), Taiwan (1), Macao (1) from the Macao Taoist Association and Hawaii (1). The Hong Kong ceremony featured many variations of these rites. It included the submission of official presentations, memorials,⁴⁶ petitions and mandates. Memorials such as Great Sacrifices are essential in Taiwan and Hong Kong, an instance of key ritual activity seen in Hong Kong's Grand Offering ceremony. It seems, for example, that Macao is more oriented toward the south China Daoist rites than Hong Kong with a number of martial arts traditions, like T'ai Chi Ch'uan. The association of Macao in 2014 invited a specialist from Guangdong Province.

The Daoist music section trains around 50 students who are an important part of the activities of the Macao Taoist Orchestra Association established in 2008. They demonstrated their talent on the last evening of the 13th anniversary of Macao Taoist Association described below. Wang Zhongren 王忠人 is the main music master of the association. Liturgical Daoist music is one of the first important successes mentioned by *daoshi* Ng Peng Chi to the author at the beginning of his research. Wang stayed in Wuhan for 30 years and graduated from Wuhan main musical center. He is a master of Macao Taoist Association and author of the musical part of the *Aomen Daojiao keyi yin yue* 澳门道教科仪音乐 (Macao Daoist Music for Services and Rituals) (see references). Wang also stayed in Singapore for eleven years⁴⁷ to study Daoist music.

The Daoist orchestra also performs in Macao and travels often to Taiwan where Daoist music and rituals form an important part of Taiwanese culture. The

obvious cultural link between Macao's Mazu Temple and Mazu.

Mazu Temples in Taiwan demonstrate the active popularity of the religious cult of Mazu and cultural exchanges between the MSAR and Taiwan. For the Daoist Association of Macao, the cultural link between Taiwan and Macao is strong. The important number of *daoshi* in Taiwan and their knowledge of Daoism is a guarantee of the long relationship of Macao's Daoist Association with Taiwanese associations.

Daoism, China's indigenous religion, has had profound influence on Chinese culture over the course of the centuries and in Macao as well.

On 25 October 2014, many Daoist associations from China, Japan, Malaysia and Taiwan came to Macao. In the morning, the president Li Yi Yi of the Luzhou Tiangong Dimu Temple made a presentation of his temple in new Taipei and quickly recounted Daoism in Taiwan.

Ke Yuan Shan of Gaoxiong explained the importance of Laozi to whom the main Daoist temple is dedicated; the Jade Emperor and Guandi are also venerated there. We have seen the importance of these three deities for the Macao Taoist Association. A member of the board of Mazu Temple confirmed the importance of the Daoist influence of Mazu among Daoist deities.

Many Daoist women went to Macao for the anniversary of the association on 25 October, including the vice president of the Daoist Association of Japan, and women from Hong Kong, Beijing and Taiwan. However, the percentage of female Daoists is low in Macao. More importantly, as a blow to Daoism, was the departure of the majority of the Tanka to Zhuhai in 1999, already noted. Even if they are 'syncretic', Tanka, like the villagers in Hong Kong, seem to prefer Daoism.⁴⁸

Beijing sent the Vice-secretary of the Taoist Association of China, Yuan Zhihong *daoshi* of Dongyue Temple. Thanks to his numerous years of travel in the

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Mainland and overseas, he has a broad knowledge of China's Daoism and he climbed and visited many sacred Daoist Mountains. Xian presented its Daoist orchestra, which gave a concert.

Daoism has a long history in Macao. The MSAR's former Chief Executive, Edmund Ho, is a benefactor of the Macao Taoist Association, and attended most the important Daoist ceremonies in Macao since the year 2001, the foundation of the Macao's Taoist Association.

In 2009, he attended the grand opening of the association. On the afternoon of 25 October 2014, Dr Edmund Ho also attended the Daoist ceremonies of the Macao Taoist Association. So, it is possible to say that Dr Ho accompanied many Daoist rituals in Macao, and contributed directly to the development of Daoism in the MSAR.

CHINESE RELIGION AND SOCIETY

THE CHINESE NEW YEAR (LUNAR NEW YEAR)

The annual apocalypse: the most common ritual occasion in which a Chinese is likely to be involved is that of the Spring Festival. It is a season of festivity surrounding the turn of a year [guo nian] of lunar months. On the eve of the New Year everyone returns home, completing the family household.⁴⁹

The Chinese calendar, *nongli* 农历, marks the main Chinese festivals around the year. The rhythm of this ritual-calendar 'is a movement between the interiorising of a central authority and the externalising of a mass of subjects'⁵⁰ [the followers]. The most important is the Chinese New Year. At midnight on 2 February 2011, when all the Board members of 'the' key pagoda of Macao paid their respect to the goddess Mazu, the noise of the firecrackers was intense. My survey confirmed the centrality of the Chinese New Year and the continuity of the tradition of firecrackers and fireworks. In 1867, Sampaio mentioned the 'panchões em grande profusão' (many firecracker explosions), also part of the popular beliefs during the Chinese New Year to drive away evil spirits.⁵¹ Following the Chinese New Year, firecrackers are heard for around eight days in the MSAR. This shows administrative differences in Macao and the Mainland confirmed by the Basic Law; another example of Macao's 'way of life' (*shenghuo* 生活)⁵² as the use of firecrackers is limited by the law in Mainland China.

After the Chinese New Year, the most important festival in the MSAR is *Qingmingjie* 清明节, or the Chinese Memorial Day and Ancestors' Day, which is celebrated by families. This is why 81 percent of the respondents in my questionnaire answered 'yes' to this question.

Most dead people have descendants obligated to make offerings for their benefit, and their souls are therefore supplied with all the means of a comfortable existence in the next world.⁵³

Marcel Granet notes that 'There is no other defined religion' except Ancestor Worship.⁵⁴ It is difficult to confirm a specific Macao cultural trait, but at least this festival *Qingming* is part of the key 'Chineseness' of Macao Chinese and a Chinese way to celebrate a crucial rite of passage in the MSAR. The 'Pure Brightness' Festival, also referred to as the 'Sweeping of the Graves', one of the 24 seasonal points, marks the first day of the fifth solar term. It generally occurs in April (4 April in 2012 and 5 April in 2014).

'Religious ritual involves spirits of the dead in one form or another'.⁵⁵ More crucial and family-related, *Qingmingjie* is the second rite of passage of Macao Chinese as is confirmed by my questionnaires.

Mazu and Guanyin Temples are the most popular Chinese religious temples during the New Year. However, the small Zhulin Buddhist Temple ('Bamboo Forest' Pagoda), (*Juklam* or *Zuklam* in Cantonese) is a landmark in Macao to study *Qingmingjie*. Juklam Temple is central for the worship of spirit tablets, shenwei, the foundation of the ancestor cult. Juklam was Taiwan-oriented before the Cultural Revolution (1966-1974 in Macao).

As in all human societies, death and funerals play also a key role in Chinese societies, and the same is true in the MSAR. Their importance is shown by a photograph taken in 1998 by Franck Regourd, called 'Funeral March'.⁵⁶ After the New Year rites, the essential ancestor cult, centred on *Qingmingjie*, is one of the most important rites of passage in Macao. Some respondents of my survey put *Qingmingjie* ahead of the Chinese New Year in importance. However, they always attend the New Year Family Banquet, called *Tyunnin faan* in Cantonese. The family is commonly defined as 'those people who eat together'.⁵⁷ Eating together in Chinese society implies intimacy and no others are as close as a family itself. The family banquet is fundamental in defining Macao Chinese's identity. Society and religion,

even if the family is not so religious, define what is Chineseness for them.

Respect for the ancestors has been rooted in early human beliefs. For prehistoric men, respect for ancestors was a religious phenomenon and an essential element of group identity, but why is it not a 'religion' in China? When Macao Chinese say 'we have no religion', they may still respect the 'Pure Brightness' Festival *Qingmingjie*. Together with their families, the Macao Chinese often go to the cemetery or to pagodas where the shenwei ('spirit tablets') of their deceased parents are located, and many perform rites and ceremonies for them.

For two high-ranked Chinese Catholic families of the MSAR, *Qingmingjie* is more important than Christmas and much more important than the Chinese New Year. For them, *Qingmingjie* is the only festival uniting grandparents, parents and children, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces and grandchildren. They have no other important family meetings because the family is divided among MSAR, the Mainland and Hong Kong.

The following case in my questionnaire is the story of an extraordinary migration from Hengshan, Guangdong Province in 1951: an elder boy in a family of ten and his sister came with their parents and all were converted to Catholicism. An association called Fatima helped them during the first years in post-World War II Macao, a very hard time, so the church became a sort of home. The eldest son, currently 67 years old, is an active leader who spiritually looks after eight younger brothers and sisters. Their father passed away, so the mother, aged 91 in 2012, is the *de facto* pillar of the family; all children and grandchildren gather around her in particular for Christmas.

For the majority of Macao Chinese in my 23 years of experience and interviews, *Qingmingjie* is the second most important festival after the Chinese Lunar New Year. The third festival is the Winter Solstice.

MAKING BUDDHIST STATUES IS ALSO A PART OF IMMATERIAL CULTURE

Macao has a long history of wood carving for religious purposes.

'Tai Cheong's decades of work received prestigious recognition in June 2008: the State Council included Macao's religious figure carving on the National Intangible Cultural Heritage List, the first time the territory has received such an award.

Tai Cheong's story began in 1910, when the grandfather of Tsang opened the shop on Rua da Madeira, near the Inner Harbour where fishing boats were berthed. Then, a third of Macao's population were fishermen who needed small statues and tablets for the worship of their ancestors and gods on their boats'.⁵⁸ Fishermen were the first inhabitants of Coloane and therefore at the origin of Macao's society.

SOCIETY, THE STRUCTURE THAT SUPPORTS PATRIMONY AND RELIGION

In a more modern way, 'religion's deep penetration into its traditional social fabric, China [and Macao] can be used as an equally important case study of the relationship between traditional religions and the modern transformation of society'. 'The interests of local kinship and community groups (such as in Chinese associations), religion also (is) very importantly involved'.⁵⁹

CHINESE CHARITABLE ASSOCIATIONS

Charitable associations are, in principle, non-religious, but the Kiang Wu Association controls many temples in Macao.

TUNG SIN TONG AND KIANG WU ARE THE MAIN CHARITABLE ASSOCIATIONS. MACAO DAILY ASSOCIATION CANNOT BE IGNORED⁶⁰

In 1852, before the health development that took place in Europe after 1870, the cure and prevention of smallpox, typhus, typhoid, cholera and scarlet fever were just starting in Hong Kong and Macao. Power and charity are linked with the Chineseness of rich families. Sponsoring charitable associations is common among rich Chinese entrepreneurs.

The two main charitable associations of Macao, Kiang Wu and Tung Sin Tong (in Cantonese), assure the social stability of the society, particularly for those who need sustained medical and social support. The Macao Daily Association is very important. Because it is part media and part charity we will not discuss this question here. The International Red Cross has close links with Tung Sin Tong.

TUNG SIN TONG CHARITY SOCIETY

This society is dedicated to the people of Macao. It was founded in 1892 by a group of influential

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Chinese leaders and businessmen. It manages an important clinic of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), a Western Medicine Clinic, and pharmacies. In 2011, as with other Associations in Macao, two boards structure the association—the higher board includes the President, six Vice-Presidents—and the lower board is composed of four Inspectors and 38 Directors (2012).

This is very important in understanding how Macao's society and associations work. As mentioned, the management of Tung Sin Tong is different from that of the Tung Wah Hospital in Hong Kong.⁶¹ Tung Wah was influenced by the British administration under the Ordinance of 1870. However, since 1892 Tung Sin Tong has functioned well, and it continues to help Macao Chinese and other patients and poor people who are in need. Tung Sin Tong illustrates both the advantages and inconveniences of the Portuguese model and it has its own system of management different from that of Tung Wah. Under the Anglo-Chinese system of Hong Kong, and also under the present system of Macao, Chinese prefer to be governed according to Chinese law and customs. Tung Sin Tong sticks to this rule.

Like the Caritas charitable association, Tung Sin Tong assists and alleviates working families' burdens by helping take care of their children and managing a secondary school. Since 1976, it has run four nurseries in the highly populated northern, southern and central districts, with a total capacity of 500 children, free of charge.

OTHER RELIGIONS

This list is not exhaustive, but many other religions are well-represented in the MSAR. Christianity was an important part of society. Intra-muros society in the citadel of Macao initially did not include Chinese, but Xiangshan, now Zhongshan, was an essential and huge part of Guangdong Province. In 2014, the MSAR was mainly Chinese. We have seen the importance of the concept 'Chineseness', but we cannot forget Macao's historical immaterial culture coming from religions other than Chinese religion.

CHRISTIAN RELIGION

My survey of the 'Macao Chinese' mentioned around 7 percent of Macao Chinese who, in 2012, did celebrate Christmas as a sort of 'festival'. Chinese

parents also go to Hong Kong with their children to look at the Christmas decorations in the streets, different from those in Macao.

Chinese also often ask a church or other religious association, to solve their problems. This is why in Macao Caritas (Mingai) is popular among Chinese elders, for example. Its office in Macao has a staff of 600 employees and volunteers. Caritas Macao is a non-governmental charity organisation (NGO) that provides a wide spectrum of social services to individuals and families both economically and morally.

The late Fr Luis Ruiz Suarez, started his social action in Mainland China in 1941 and dedicated his entire life to needy people. He resumed his relief services after the war. His Cantonese name was 'Luk Ngai'. In 1945, in Macao's 'Casa Ricci Social Services', he assisted refugees from Mainland China with food, shelter, jobs, education and integration into society. It became Caritas Macao in 1971 when it was incorporated into the Catholic Diocese of Macao.

The late Fr Lancelote Rodrigues served for many years as Catholic Relief Services' country representative in Macao. He was known for his conviviality, which was useful in successfully financing Caritas. He was known for his work with refugees from China, Vietnam and even Timor, a former Portuguese colony now independent under the name East Timor. He was 89 when he died on 17 June 2013. Caritas Macao provides housing for homeless people and runs a food bank to distribute food to many elderly and low-income families who frequently use the service, roughly one percent of all families in Macao. Nursery services are provided in the highly populated northern, southern and central districts. In October 2014, the head of Caritas in Macao, Paul Pun, launched a more sophisticated community group to solve family psychological problems.

MORMONS

Mormons, or the followers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, are active in the MSAR. Their Messianic movement prefers to use the concept of 'Restoration' meaning reestablishing the original organisation founded in 1830. This concept represents a similar concept to the Messianic idea of change. There are around 300 active Mormons in Macao and 1500 followers. Volunteer 'missionaries' have the duty of normally working for two years and are associated in teams of two.

It is interesting to understand the reality of current social relations in China and the impact of Millenarian movements on the Chinese, in Macao as well as in Guangdong Province. The Mainland and Macao are quite different. Macao follows its own Basic Law. In comparison in Guangzhou, for instance, it is not allowed to really 'preach' and the followers cannot congregate in groups of more than 20 at a time.⁶² The Mormons have no 'Church' in Mainland China.

It is interesting to note that this 'Mormon Association' follows the rule of six Rotary Clubs of Macao who report to a Governor in Hong Kong. Mormons in Macao report to the mission president in Hong Kong.

How do these Chinese use their religious connections (guanxi)? My main interviewee, from Hong Kong, has family members in Guangzhou. He never preaches or speaks of religion with his late father's family in Guangzhou. The concept of 'family' is essential for the Mormon, and almost equivalent to the *danwei* 单位 or working unit in the Mainland). If Messianic movements cannot play this role, might interviewees abandon it after a certain time? Many Chinese seek to migrate to the United States. The U.S.A. attracts them more than other countries. So, for the Chinese majority of Macao, what is the popularity of these Messianic movements? We cannot say that these Mormons have a great impact in the MSAR where many Filipinos, mainly women, are active followers. Teams are very dynamic and can be seen doing their mission actively in the Peninsula of Macao and in Taipa Island.

ISLAM HAS BEEN PRESENT IN MACAO BEFORE THE MING DYNASTY

Islam was brought to the area by Arab traders who established an ancient historical harbour in Quanzhou, Fujian Province.⁶³ A so-called Quanzhou ship, a sailing ship that sank some time after 1272, was recovered in 1973-1974.⁶⁴ The Chinese name *gongbei* 拱北, meaning tomb in Arabic, indicates an ancient tomb which disappeared from history; it was just on the other side of the Macao border of the Mainland, in the present Special Economic Zone of Zhuhai. It constituted a significant toponym and landmark. There are numerous tombs of famous Muslims also called *gongbei* in the Province of Gansu and in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China. The mosque is

small and located in the Rua dos Mouros (*Molo Yuan* in Chinese *pinyin* meaning 'The Garden of the Arabs' which gives a historical and 'toponymic' definition). This historical space in Macao, with a cemetery, was much larger in the early 20th century than the present garden which still has ancient trees. There are around 8,000 Muslims in Macao. MSAR's associations are key cultural markers to define its society. The Muslim association is called The Macao Islamic Association.

BAHÁ'Í COMMUNITY IN MACAO

'Macao was one of the areas chosen for the Baha'I expansion plan... In 1953, Frances Heller, of California, USA, was the first Bahá'í in Macao. In 1954, Harry P.F. Yim [(Yim Pui Fung), a businessman from Canton, Guangzhou] became the first Chinese resident to convert to the Bahá'í religion... On 21 April 1959 the first Local Spiritual Assembly was elected and by 1962 the religion had spread to the islands of Taipa and Coloane. In 1989, Macao formed its first National Spiritual Assembly. [In the 1990s]... there [were] four Local Spiritual Assemblies with 400 members in total, and are collectively known as the Macao Bahá'í Community'. In the *2009 Macao Yearbook* Bahá'í included around 3,000 residents.⁶⁵

CONCLUSION

Religion is part of the life of the MSAR, in a society which does not give priority to 'religion'. Quantitative and qualitative research on the society and associations confirm the existence of religion as a significant 'way of life' of Macao which is duly protected by the Basic Law of the MSAR.

China is so large that in the 'socio-political and cultural sphere' religion is just one cultural concept among others. However, the MSAR needs to develop culture and creativity in order to become an international city. Society and religion will continue to be key sociological concepts for the MSAR that can function as both a globalising and secularising force. The Macao Chinese majority is still the key part of the society and its Chinese religion also continues to deserve special attention from planners and scholars. 

ANNEX

AUTHOR'S SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MACAO ENROLLED IN 2011-2012 (FROM RESEARCH-BASED ON 225 HOUSEHOLDS)

1	MF	58 males 42 females	
2	Mb	Macao born	54
3	Mar	Married	44
4	M	Macao's identity	38
5	ChM	Macao Chinese (identity)	46
6	Ch	Chinese (identity)	19
7	U	University education	37?
8	C	Cantonese speaker	100
9	H	Hokkien or Minnan speaker	16
10	Int	International link	14
11	Hu	Total of persons in 100 households (3.57 persons per household)	357
12	As	Member of an association	43

Questions about religion and short questionnaire

Chinese festivals (in Macao, in inland China...). Chinese New Year, *Qingmingjie*, others...

您怎样过中国节庆（在澳门、在中国内地）：春节、清明节、其它

Which religion (or no religion) do you belong to? How many times per year do you go to the pagoda? or church?

您信仰哪种宗教？每年去多少次庙宇或者教堂

17	Cj	Lunar New Year celebrated in family	97
18	Qmj	<i>Qingmingjie</i> celebrated in family	81
19	Dj	Winter solstice celebrated in family	30
20	Xm	Christmas is a family festival	7
21	R	Religion worshippers (0 = 'no religion')	29

NOTES

- During this research, undertaken between 1995-1999 and 2011-2014, the methodology for the fieldwork in Macao is based on quantitative research on questionnaires, anthropological type of participant observation, and interviews.
- Geoffrey Gunn in Jean A. Berlie, *The Chinese of Macau: A Decade after the Handover* (Hong Kong: Proverse, 2012), p. 12.
- <http://www.macaunews.com.mo/content/view/2788/6/lang,english/> (accessed on 10 October 2014).
- http://www.macaomagazine.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=48:digging-up-macaos-past&catid=34:issue-1 (accessed 9 October 2014). Macao Magazine, 24.
- All the Chinese characters are transliterated in pinyin. If Cantonese transliteration is used it will be mentioned.
- Marcel Granet, *La religion des chinois*, p. 19. (English translation: *The Religion of the Chinese People*, Harper Collins, 1977, introduction by Maurice Freedman).
- See questionnaire in Annex.
- Zheng's three Macao's surveys did not explain how many households were surveyed. The bibliography mentions the following excellent authors: Durkheim, the founder of sociology, Marks, Parsons and Weber. The dialectic of this article about these authors is brief in page 95. See Victor Zheng and Po-san Wan, 'Aomen juminde zong jiao xinyang yu sheng huo jingyan' 澳门居民的宗教信仰与生活经验 (Religious Beliefs and Life Experiences of Macao's Residents), *Dangdai Zhongguo yanjiu* 当代中国研究 ('Modern China Studies'), Vol. 17, No. 4, 2010, pp. 91-130.
- Table: Religious Composition by Country, in Numbers. See Table: Religious Composition by Country, in Numbers (18 December 2012 on UN data in 2010).

(Est.2010 Christian Popul.)	(2010 Muslim Popul.)	(Unaffiliated Popul. (no religion))	(Buddhist Popul.)	(Folk relig. Popul.)
Macao 40,000	<10,000	80,000	90,000	320,000

- <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/table-religious-composition-by-country-in-numbers/> (accessed 18 October 2014).
- Marcel Granet, *La religion des chinois*, p. 15. See an article by a specialist of Cantonese Chinese religion: Goran Aijmer, 'A Structural approach to Chinese ancestor worship'. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde*, 124, 1968, pp. 81-98.
- Granet, *La religion des chinois*, p. 228.
- Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Vol.1, General Preface, p. 8.
- The Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, adopted 31 March 1993, entry into force of original text 20 December 1999. See: <http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/details.jsp?id=6824> (accessed 5 November 2014) [World Intellectual Property Organization].
- Taiwan has 78 Daoist temples much bigger than Macao's temples. In Taiwan many Chinese temples are part of the economic guanxi's system of relationship. It is also true for Macao's two Nezha (Nacha) temples. This was confirmed in an interview by Fong Kin Fu, the president of the board of the Daoist Temple located at Calçada das Verdades no 15 (26 October 2014). <http://www.refworld.org/docid/519dd4da16.html> (accessed 12 October 2014).
- Cathryn H. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge: Macau and the Question of Chineseness* (London: The Harvard University Asia Center, 2009). See also author's books *Macau 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) and *The Chinese of Macau*.

- Stephan Feuchtwang, *The Imperial Metaphor. Popular Religion in China*, p. 60.
- Victor Zheng and Po-san Wan, 'Aomen juminde zong jiao xinyang yu sheng huo jingyan', p. 91.
- Business Daily* (and *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, p. 05) 29 October 2014, p. 6.
- In the year 2000, the former Chief Executive Edmund Ho visited the main temple of Guanyin to pray for good weather *fengtiao yushun* 风调雨顺 (crops and favorable weather) demonstrating the importance of religion and Buddhism in particular. We have also to notice that without the generosity of Dr Edmund Ho the second Temple of A-Ma (Mazu) in Coloane Island will not be so elegant and restructured.
- In my survey of 100 selected households, 16 percent spoke their own language, the dialect of the Hokkiens, *Oklo oe* (*Minnanhua* in *Putonghua*). This important language, classified 'dialect' is spoken in Fujian Province and Taiwan (called *Taiwan Oe* there).
- C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, pp. 72-73. To understand the role of T'ien Hou in South China see J. Watson, '... the promotions of T'ien (Hou Empress of Heaven) along the South China Coast, 960-1960', D. Johnson et al., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
- Jill McGivering, *Macao Remembers* (Hong Kong/New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) and Jean A. Berlie, *The Chinese of Macau*.
- Interview on morning Sunday 12 October 2014.
- Borget was a French artist who is best known for his drawings and prints of exotic places, in particular China. He was born in 1808 in Issoudun, Indre. At age 21, he went to Paris where he became a close friend of Honoré de Balzac (d. 1850), the famous French novelist. Borget periodically exhibited at the Paris Salon from 1836 to 1859. Beginning in 1836, he traveled through North and South America before stopping briefly in Honolulu in May, 1838, on board the ship Psyche, on a world tour. He went to Canton in September 1838 and stayed mainly in Macao (added by the author) for ten months (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Auguste_Borget--accessed 8 October 2014).
- C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, pp. 72-73.
- Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: The Growth of a Religion*.
- Peter N. Gregory and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, 'The religious and historical landscape', in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, edited by Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, p. 24.
- Wang Yi'e 王宜峨, *Daoism in China*. Translated from Chinese (Beijing: China International Press, 2004), p. 104.
- By the time of the Tang dynasty (618-906 CE) the imperial family claimed to descend from Li (the family of Laozi 老子). Laozi was venerated by royal decree. Officials received Daoist initiation as Masters of its philosophy, rituals, and practices. See <http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/582972/Daoism/42149/Daoism-under-the-Tang-Song-and-later-dynasties> (accessed 30 October 2014). Livia Kohn, *Introduction to Daoism*, p. 169.
- Before quoting knowledgeable scholars outside China it is necessary to quote a major work: *Ming Zhengtong Daozang* 明正統道藏 (The Daoist Canon of the Ming Dynasty), http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_674f4e6e0102vrdc.html (accessed 15 April 2016). To facilitate a modern study of Daoism, is not published according to the Ming Canon's classification. Henri Maspero in France is a pioneer of Daoist studies. Isabelle Robinet, *Histoire du taoïsme des origines au XIVe siècle*. English title: *Taoism: The Growth of a Religion*. Maspero died in 1945, but his works are still classics in the field. Robinet's death in 2000 is another blow to the study of Daoism. The author interviewed in his office, Joseph Needham, the editor of *Science and Civilisation in China*, many times in Cambridge before he passed away. Needham

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- considered Daoism to be the 'source of intuitive scientific philosophy' in China (John Derbyshire, 'In search of Chinese science', *The New Atlantis*, 2009). See also: Livia Kohn, *Introduction to Daoism*; John Lagervey (ed.), *Religion and Chinese Society*. Vol. II: *Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, pp. 520-927; Arthur P. Wolf (ed.), *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*.
- N.B. In Lagervey's vol. II, Alexei Volkov (p. 520) pointed out that Needham treated Daoism as 'a theist and super-naturalist religion'. Volkov (p. 521) reformulated Needham's claim of Daoist root of Chinese science [using Nathan Sivin's article 'Taoism and science' in *Science in Ancient China: Researches and Reflections*, p. 16. Volkov (p. 523) reestablished finally that Needham's thesis of the affiliation of Daoism with science was more exact than Sivin's comments suggested.
- 31 K.M. Schipper. 'The written memorial in Taoist ceremonies', in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, edited by Arthur P. Wolf, p. 309. See also Peter N. Gregory and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, 'The religious and historical landscape'. Daoism 'may have drawn heavily from popular religious practices' but 'always defined itself in contrast to popular religious practices.'
- 32 Geoffrey Roper, 'The Drunken Dragon Dance and the Tam Kong (Tam Kung) Festival: Notes on the RAS HK Visit to Macau, May 1997', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. 38, 2000, pp. 323-327.
- 33 Léon Vandermeersch was first met at the EFEO, where he was the director of the French Oriental Institute in Paris (EFEO), just before late Denys Lombard. Vandermeersch started his academic career, as a Sinologist, in Aix-en-Provence, which incidentally is the author's family origin. See Vandermeersch's article to understand the important question of law, spirit of law and way of life in Hong Kong in 2014: 'An enquiry into the Chinese conception of the law', in *The Scope of State Power in China*, edited by S. Schram (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1985).
- 34 Laozi is said to be the author of *Daode jing* 道德经 which starts with the words: 'The Dao that can be told is not eternal Dao'. In the Fifth century B.C.E. Laozi's life is legendary.
- 35 See Zhao Bichen 赵避尘's book in Chinese on Neidan, *Xing Minfa Juemingzhi* 性命法诀明指 (reprinted). http://www.chinadmd.com/file/66asxvezprc3pc3arxuzeszv_1.html (accessed 27 October 2014). See also Isabelle Robinet, *Introduction à l'alchimie intérieure taoïste. De l'unité et de la multiplicité* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995).
- 36 He is also named Jade Emperor of the Heavenly Golden Palace' (昊天金阙至尊玉皇大帝 *Haotian jinque zhizun yuhuang dadi*). According to *The Handbook of Daoism*, (Henan, 1993), pp. 7-8. The Daoist deities are classified into eight categories: 1. Nature worship of clans; 2. Ancestor or hero's worship; 3. Five sacred mountains, which includes Mount Hua, Shaanxi, and four sacred rivers; 4. Those of heaven, earth, four directions and name's place; 5. The three supreme Daoist deities and four emperors of the heaven and one queen; 6. Deities from Buddhism; 7. Folk and local deities and 8. Sect founders, Daoist masters and immortals.
- 37 Guandi 关帝 or Guanyu 关羽 was deified as early as the Sui dynasty and is still worshipped by many Chinese people today, especially in southern China, Hong Kong and Macao, and among many overseas Chinese communities. Macao's main Daoist Association follows southern China's Daoism, so it is not surprising to have this divinity close to the Daoist Masters, Guandi (Emperor Guan) is a figure in Chinese folk religion and popular Daoism, often called Guangong (Lord Guan). The main Guandi Temple in Macao is located in the center near the main post office.
- 38 See Zhu Zhengming 朱正明, *Guan di wen hua* 关帝文化 (The Guan Yu Culture). Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongguo xinwen chubanshe, 2003. Le oldest Guandi Temple in located at his birthplace, Xiezhou, Shanxi Province.
- 39 Stephan Feuchtwang, 'Domestic and communal worship in Taiwan' in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, edited by Arthur P. Wolf, p. 129.
- 40 K.M. Schipper, 'The written memorial in Taoist ceremonies', in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, edited by Arthur P. Wolf, pp. 311-312.
- 41 Wu Bingzhi 吴炳鋈 and Wang Zhongren 王忠人, *Aomen Daojiao keyi yin yue* 澳门道教科仪音乐 (Macao Daoist Music for Services and Rituals). Macao: Macao Taoist Association, 2009 pp. 43-45. See http://www.baidu.com/s?ie=utf-8&f=8&rsv_bp=0&rsv_idx=1&tn=baidu&wd=Daojiao%20keyi%20yinle&rsv_pq=e5f1af7a0001e9cb&rsv_t=84827qSwTBiENzOMOPVouMHZXXZTigUJF9Notj%2Bq5ujyczSRXEyo6vnBgLaw&rsv_enter=1&rsv_sug3=1 (accessed 15 April 2016).
- 42 Macao Museum Newsletter 24, 2013.
- 43 Neky Tak-ching Cheung, 'Women's Salvation and Collective Order: A Penitential Ritual for Deliverance from the Lake of Blood Performed in Hong Kong'. *Journal of Chinese Studies* 58, 2014, pp. 287-314. <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/journal/articles/v58p287.pdf> (accessed 4 November 2014).
- Concerning the quotation of Schipper ('An Outline of Taoist Ritual'): He did his main research in Taiwan 1960-1970. It concerns Sacred Daoist rituals in relationship with the family for instance. These rituals do not need a particular altar. Rite and rule mainly. 'Sequences of rites...'. They are 'rites without religion for Schipper' (review by Brigitte Steinmann, *L'Homme*, 1998, tome 38 no. 148, pp. 271-275).
- 44 Livia Kohn, *Introduction to Daoism*, p. 196.
- 45 Sthephan Feuchtwang, *The Imperial Metaphor. Popular Religion in China*, pp. 178-179.
- 46 See K.M. Schipper, 'The written memorial in Taoist ceremonies', in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, edited by Arthur P. Wolf.
- 47 'A teams of 60 members of Daoist Orchestra (Singapore), a subsidiary of Lorong Koo Chye Sheng Hong Temple, led by its leader Mr Tan Thiam Lye took part in the following events in Guangzhou on 21.5.2005 and 22.5.2005 at Xing Hai Musical Hall, Guangzhou. A total of 10 various Taoist musical troupes from mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore took part in the performance. They were from Shanghai, Longhu Shan Tianshifu Classic Orchestra, Wudangshan, Chengdu, Hong Kong Zhihe Taoist Chinese Orchestra, Taiwan Kaoshuing Culture Centre National Music Troupe and Taiwan Nantou Jade Emperor Temple National Orchestra'. See <http://www.shtemple.org.sg/dao-yue-tuan-eng.htm> (accessed 20 October 2014).
- 48 See the Chinese film directed by Jessey Tsang, about Ho Chung village in the New Territories of Hong Kong, presented at Macao Cultural Center in NAPE, on 1 November 2014. It shows the importance of Daoism in the rural religious practices and the presence of Daoshi for the annual festival of Ho Chung. It is consequently not strange that Tanka, one of the earlier group of inhabitants of Macao and its islands, are Daoist oriented.
- 49 Sthephan Feuchtwang, *The Imperial Metaphor. Popular Religion in China*, p. 25.
- 50 Sthephan Feuchtwang, 'Domestic and communal worship in Taiwan' in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, edited by Arthur P. Wolf.
- 51 Manuel de Castro Sampaio, *Os Chins de Macau*.
- 52 'Way of life' is a term invented by the British Premier, Margaret Thatcher. Way of life is another manner to demonstrate the importance of immaterial and material patrimony. The immaterial patrimony is an essential concept in the 21st century.
- 53 Arthur P. Wolf, 'Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors', in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, p. 170.
- 54 Marcel Granet, *La religion des chinois*, p. 226. See 'Ethnography of a funeral on 29 October 1995 from 8.00 a.m. to 2.30 p.m.' at the Temple of the Bambou Forest (Juklam Mio in Cantonese) (pp. 144-146) by Jean Berlie (Han Lin) in 'A Preliminary Study of the Chinese Society of Macau,' in Rufino Ramos, José Rocha Dinis, Rex Wilson and D.Y. Yuan (eds.), *Macao and its Neighbours in Transition* (University of Macau/Macao Foundation, 2000), pp. 137-150. (Research founded by the Cultural Institute of Macau between 1995 and 1999). See also by the author, 'Religion' in *Macao 2000*, pp. 27-29 and *The Chinese of Macau*, pp. 160-164.
- 55 Robert P. Weller, 'Identity and Social Change in Taiwanese Religion', in *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by in Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), p. 341.
- 56 *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 17 January 2010.
- 57 Arthur P. Wolf (ed.), *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, p. 176.
- 58 http://www.macaomagazine.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=81:buddhist-art-in-macao&catid=38:issue-3 (accessed 15 October 2014).
- 59 Myron L. Cohen, 'Religion in a State Society: China'. In *Asia: Case Studies in the Social Sciences*, edited by Myron L. Cohen. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1992. See 'Introduction. Central points'.
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- 61 Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity. A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong* (Hong Kong University Press, 2003) (1st ed. 1989), chapter 4: 'Management, Organization, and Development 1869-1894', pp. 50-81.
- 62 Interview of a Hong Kong Chinese 'Mormon missionary' in Macao on 30 October 2014.
- 63 Zaytun's (also Zayton currently called Quanzhou) was one of the world's busiest harbour trading jewels and spices for Chinese silks, porcelain and tea. In Zayton, Fujianese embraced a variety of religions: Islam, Buddhism, Judaism, Hinduism, Manicheism, Nestorianism and Catholicism. See <http://chinatourist.freechinalink.com/minnan.htm> (accessed on 8 November 2014).
- 64 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quanzhou> (accessed 22 October 2014).
- 65 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Macao (accessed 22 October 2014).

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