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CHAN SI MAN

A STUDY OF MACANESE MUSIC THROUGH TUNA
MACAENSE GROUP IN A POSTCOLONIAL
PERSPECTIVE (1935-2017)

UM ESTUDO DA MÚSICA MACAENSE ATRAVÉS DO
AGUPAMENTO A TUNA MACAENSE NA PERSPECTIVA
PÓSCOLONIAL (1935-2017)

Dissertation presented to the University of Aveiro to fulfill the requirements for obtaining the Master in Music – Musicology, carried out under the scientific guidance of Doctor Susana Bela Soares Sardo, assistant Professor of Department of Communication and Art of the University of Aveiro

Jury

Presidente

Doutor **Jorge Manuel de Mansilha Castro Ribeiro**

Professor Auxiliar, Universidade de Aveiro

Vogais

Doutora **Ana Flávia Miguel** (arguente)

Investigadora, Inet-MD Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança

Doutora **Susana Bela Soares Sardo** (orientadora)

Professora Associada, Universidade de Aveiro

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Keyword

Ethnomusicology, Postcolonial Theory, Macau, Macanese music, Portuguese-Macanese music, Patuá, Cultural value

Abstract

It has been several centuries since the “Age of Discoveries” of Portugal, but the results of this past still exist in some places of the world where Portuguese had passed by. Those results are mainly related to Catholicism, music and language. Macau was one of the colonies of Portugal but after the transfer of sovereignty to China, Macau didn't become an independent country. It was integrated into China and had become one of the special administrative regions of China. In Macau different kind of communities are living, namely, the Chinese, the Portuguese and the Macanese. In the last one we have people who define themselves as Portuguese-Macanese and others who prefer to be identified as Chinese-Macanese. This dissertation is dedicated to the role of music in the context of the Portuguese-Macanese who can be distinguished from the other communities by a singular cuisine, music and language. The language *Patuá* is a distinctive *Creole* and was classified as a “critically endangered” language by the UNESCO in 2009. The Portuguese-Macanese is making effort to keep this language alive and one of the ways is through music. Music is one of the specialities of the Portuguese-Macanese community and *tuna* is one of the icons of the Portuguese-Macanese music. *Tuna Macaense* was formed in 1935. It is the unique remaining *tuna* in Macau nowadays and the members are still producing new music to keep the band fresh. *Patuá* in their generation was already not widely used but they still use their limited *Patuá* or taking the elements from the *Patuá* poems to fill in the lyrics in order to keep this language alive. As the average age of the members is about 60, after their generation, the Portuguese-Macanese music may not be existed or would become another thing. In this dissertation, I will describe the history of *Tuna Macaense* and the processes through which this musical group is using music in order to retain language in a social post-traumatic context.

Palavras-chave

Etnomusicologia, Teoria póscolonial, Macau, Música macaense, Música português-macaense, Patuá, valor cultural

Resumo

Já havia vários séculos desde a Era dos Descobrimentos de Portugal, mas, comunidades misturas ainda estão existe e funcionam em alguns lugares no mundo onde os portugueses passaram. Um dos identidades icónicas destas comunidades está sempre associada com o catolicismo e os outros podem ser a música e a língua. Macau foi uma das colónias de Portugal mas depois da Transferência de soberania, Macau não se tornou um país independente. Macau foi integrado na China e tornou-se uma das regiões administrativas especiais da China. Enquanto a comunidade português-macaense em Macau tem os ambos elementos portugueses e chineses, a cultura foi naturalmente formada, e foi transformado em uma mistura étnica com uma cozinha, uma música e uma língua singular, etc. A língua Patuá é um crioulo distinto e foi classificado como uma língua “criticamente ameaçada” pela UNESCO em 2009. O português-macaense está a fazer um esforço para manter esta língua viva e uma das maneiras é através da música. A música é uma das especialidades da comunidade português-macaense e a *tuna* é um dos ícones da música portuguesa-macaense. A *Tuna Macaense* foi formada em 1935. Hoje em dia, é a tuna única que está em Macau e os membros continuam a produzir novas músicas para manter a banda viva. O Patuá em geração deles já não estava muito usado, mas eles ainda usam seu limitado patuá ou pegam os elementos dos poemas do Patuá para preencher as letras, a fim de manter essa língua viva. Como a idade média dos membros é de cerca de 60 anos, após a geração deles, a música português-macaense pode não existir ou tornar-se à outra coisa. Nesta dissertação, vou descrever a história da Tuna Macaense e os processos que este grupo musical está a usar a música, a fim de manter a língua em um contexto social pós-traumático.

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Introduction

Nowadays, the majority of people in Macau that identify themselves as Macanese¹ are with a sentiment of ambivalence. On the one hand, they commemorate the antique Macau which corresponds the period of Portuguese Macau when, especially in the last 100 years, they were living with tranquillity and with a low competitive level. Macau was a place managed by human relations and complicities without the oppression of the touristic and gambling industry which is clearly transforming the contemporary environment of the territory. On the other hand, they are in high spirit of celebration. This celebration utters a political tone in connection with Chinese taking over Macau's administration in 1999, thus terminating the existence of Portuguese colonial sovereignty of almost 442 years (1557-1999)². The celebration also conveys a message to the world that the oriental culture will prevail over the mainland of China hence the colony of Macau.

The Portuguese anthropologist Marisa Gaspar, who presented her doctoral thesis about the Portuguese-Macanese community, explored the concept of ambivalence³ and sustained that:

“A comunidade é muito dinâmica e funciona sobretudo em rede – o que move a comunidade são redes de pessoas e determinadas pessoas dentro da comunidade...O que se tinha passado desde 1999 – a grande alteração social, económica e cultural em Macau – e a forma como isso se estava a reproduzir em termos de alterações identitárias na comunidade...Macau é diferente da China, tem uma cultura e uma identidade próprias e é isso que está a ser inculcado diariamente. Os macaenses, como filhos da terra que são, têm aqui um papel muito importante – mostrarem ao mundo como duas culturas tão diferentes se misturaram e resultaram nesta comunidade...Em situações em que convém ser mais ocidental, são mais ocidentais; quando convém ser mais oriental, são mais orientais. Não estando em nenhum dos dois mundos mas estando no meio deles, a verdade é que sabem estar em ambos... Esta ambivalência será também identitária, porque haverá alturas e situações em que se deve, se pode ou é mais proveitoso identificar-se com determinados parâmetros, e noutras com outros...A verdade é que a comunidade é isto: são várias redes de pessoas que têm ligações por laços familiares, mas não só, por laços de afectividade que

¹ The concept of “Macanese” will be discussed later after P.25.

² Portuguese arrived in Macau in 1514 but the Portuguese sovereignty started only in 1557.

³ See: <https://hojemacau.com.mo/2016/11/14/marisa-gaspar-antropologa-a-identidade-molda-se-as-situacoes/>

ficou dos tempos da escola, que se continuam a relacionar e a mover... Há a necessidade de manter os laços bem activos com Macau e de perceber que ‘a minha terra continua ali e as minhas origens são aquelas.’” (Garpar, 14th November, 2016, newspaper)

Inês Gonçalves, a Portuguese journalist working for the Lusa News in Macau, has interviewed several young people from Macau whose ages are between 15-18, which have no memories of the period of Portuguese Macau. However, these young people know about the Portuguese heritage of Macau. When they talked about Macau, they appreciated the encounter of cultures and the freedom that the territory enjoys, especially when compared with the situation lived in the mainland of China:

Wallis Lau, 15 years old refers that:

“Na China, os estudantes aprendem que há muitos limites, não podem saber muita coisa que para nós significa liberdade. Macau é um pouco como um país estrangeiro, as pessoas, aqui, podem pensar nas coisas que o Governo chinês não deixa... Ser de Macau é para mim uma coisa muito interessante. A China e Macau são muito diferentes, na cultura e principalmente na educação”.

Venus Leong, who is 17 years old, agreed with Wallis Lau: “Acho que em Macau tenho mais liberdade. Na China são obrigados a aprender sobre alguns assuntos políticos. Macau é mais liberal.”

At the same time Dorothy Leung who is 18 years old refers to Macau in a very emotional way. According to her Macau “é um sítio muito especial, não é China, não é Portugal. É Macau.” She confessed that she only knows a bit about the Portuguese presence in Macau because their parents don’t refer that frequently but she is a little afraid about the presence of China in the territory: “Neste momento, as coisas estão bem, mas não podemos receber mais da China, mais políticas, mais envolvimento. Já estamos no máximo. A China não é uma coisa positiva para nós. Sinto-me de Macau, e, aqui, não amamos a nação como os outros.”

However, and according to job opportunities, other testimonies are very vibrant. Stephen Wong who is 16 years old and Linda Han who is 17 years old believe that what differentiates the city from the rest of the world are the casinos, which is the wealth of the territory. Wong said: “Daqui a 10 anos haverá muitos empregos para mim.” And Han: “Acredito que, se der o meu melhor e criar oportunidades, o futuro vai ser bom.”

In this newspaper article, Gonçalves concluded:

“Ao contrário dos europeus, os jovens de Macau são extremamente otimistas em relação ao futuro, nem sempre por acreditarem que a sua terra natal, com um dos maiores Produto Interno Bruto per capita do mundo, lhes dará as oportunidades que desejam, mas porque a prosperidade do território os impede de prever dificuldades incontornáveis.” (Gonçalves, 18th December, 2014, LusaNews)

Since Portuguese arrived in Macau in 1514, Macau has started to be a mixture of encountering the East and the West in the context of China⁴. We can see it through the presence of the particular kinds of architectures in thousands of postures, the coexistence of diverse religions, the variety of languages and different kinds of traditions expressed in diverse ways of eating, praying, singing and performing culture, in dialogue between western and Chinese traditions. This can be also mirrored in a very interesting way of living together for a very different kind of communities, as Macau was a repository of migrants from different places who, through the Portuguese, arrived in the territory like people from Africa, India and Southeast-Asia.

The population of Macau is around 650 900 inhabitants according to the intercensus of August 2016, being the majority of the population, 43,6%, born in the Mainland of China and 40,7% born in Macau⁵. According to Pina-Cabral (2002:21), this population can be defined in

4 Portuguese navigations to Asia produced a lot of these territorial enclaves, mainly in India, Malaysia, Indonesia, East-Timor, Thailand and, of course, in China where Macau is the most important example.

5 According to the census of 2011, the population of Macau was 552,503. However Macau organized an intercensus in 2016

3 main groups: Chinese, Portuguese and Portuguese-Macanese. Chinese has been a principal part of the population in Macau until now. However, as Macau has been a very important commercial port, a melting pot of cultures grew up in the territory. And, as Portugal had been the suzerain of Macau during 442 years, it is obvious that Portuguese culture influenced Macau a lot. Therefore, as Pina-Cabral points out, the proximity between the two main powerful cultures (the Chinese by origin and the Portuguese by suzerainty) gave rise to a Portuguese-Macanese community.

In 1999, the Transfer of Sovereignty of Macau from Portugal to China brought a radical change to the Portuguese-Macanese community. According to Senna Fernandes: “Neste momento, somos uma associação respeitada e com lugar no mapa. Não temos projectos concretos para o futuro mas o sonho é sermos uma entidade chave não só dentro de Macau mas por toda a diaspora.”⁶ As this is a minority and also a testimony of colonial times, it becomes a problem for the new Chinese sovereignty because it represents a kind of resistance to the new political status of Macau.

As a result, this small community of around 5000 to 8000 people (Pina-Cabral and Lourenço 1993) is more and more shrunk in part because people left the territory and adopting other places as their country of residency, such as Portugal. On the other side, as there are no more local context to feed their otherness, Portuguese-Macanese are adopting Chinese ways of living which overlays their specificity.

which the results are not yet published but can be seen here:

<http://www.dsec.gov.mo/Intercensos2016/LatestNews.aspx?NewsGUID=e94c44b1-b53c-466f-ac00-fded1afb0104&lang=pt-PT>

⁶ See: <https://hojemacau.com.mo/2016/10/17/associacao-dos-macaenses-comemora-duas-decadas/>

In this dissertation, I am going to map the actual situation of this community which we call Portuguese-Macanese. I would like to know about their desires, their self-image, the way as they imagine their future and, if it is possible, to create a possibility for them to find a space for surviving. I will use, as a theoretical support, bibliography that was written about Macau especially related to the period of transition, and also related to similar processes of post-colonial conditions of integrated territories, which means, former colonial territories that after colonization didn't become independent and were integrated in other countries. I'm particularly interested to analyse how music is important for this community in their way of identification and how music could be important to maintain the community alive.

Motivation

I was born in Macau in 1989. During the time when I was born, Macau was still the Age of Portuguese Macau. Ever since Portuguese arrived in Macau in 16th century, they established their developments mainly in the southern part of Macau, such as launching government organizations, constructing churches, etc, plenty of Portuguese people were gathered and Portuguese culture was sprouted and assembled in this south district. As I was raised in this district of Macau and as I am a catholic which is the same religious belief as most of the Portuguese and Portuguese-Macanese, I used to meet many of them in the church. In the course of time, I was imperceptibly influenced by their culture and they gave me an impression which made me want to comprehend more about it.

When I was born, my country gave me a nationality as Chinese. This is logical since my parents are both from the mainland of China. However, I have a sister who is 8 years older than me and when she was born, she got a Portuguese nationality. Since I was young, I am

confused about this. As I grown up, I tried to figure this out. I don't have an answer but I believe there's an answer.

Since my Kindergarten until secondary school, I had been in an educational system which provides Chinese and English lessons. It didn't provide official Portuguese language lessons, only for students who are interested in traditional Portuguese folk dance and Portuguese language then they would take it as extracurricular activities. At the time when I finished my secondary school, I reached 20. The first 10 years of my life was the period of Portuguese Macau and the second 10 years was the period of Chinese Macau. In these 20 years, I could realize the radical changes inside Macau. Not only when occurred the Transfer of Sovereignty over Macau in 1999, but also before that, the Portuguese-Macanese in Macau realized gradually that they would have a great change and challenge in their community. Especially in 2002, when the Macau government ended the monopoly system and 3 casinos operated concessions of gambling rights. Later on, casinos sprang up like mushrooms. These radical changes produced a strong impact on people in Macau, because they incremented the gambling tourism and transformed Macau in a kind of "casino city".

When I was 20, I started my university with Music Education. During this 4-year university life, I had contact with people and culture of the Portuguese-Macanese. Meanwhile, I started to take Portuguese language course in order to strike up another way to know more about the Portuguese-Macanese culture. In the final year, I wrote my bachelor thesis under the topic "The Music Affection of The Macanese People – The Investigation of The Music Progression of Tuna Macaense". At the time I was already conscious that music has some importance on the way as Portuguese-Macanese community identify themselves and wanted to be represented. After this, I come to Portugal to take Portuguese language course in the

University of Coimbra for a year in order to improve my Portuguese. Meanwhile, I started a connection with the professors in the University of Aveiro. After this year, I decided to study Master of Musicology in order to make a deeper study of the Portuguese-Macanese culture and its music. There are plenty of studies about the colonial and post-colonial phenomenon in Macau. However, there're no studies from the musicological perspective. Therefore, this would be the 1st time to make a study of Portuguese-Macanese culture in the point of view of Musicology. Here I dedicate my master dissertation to my hometown, Macau.

Problematic and goals

As we can see by my personal case, there are many nationalities in Macau. Even in one family, there can be 2 nationalities: my sister has Portuguese passport and I have Macau SAR (Special Administrative Region) passport. It does mean we have different nationalities, but does it mean we have different self-identities?

“Macanese” literally mean the inhabitants who own the identity cards of Macau. But what does Macanese originally mean? A person who was born in Macau and has Portuguese blood is Macanese? A person whose parents are from Hong Kong and Macau, born in Hong Kong but raised in Macau, is it a Macanese? A person who was born in Mozambique and immigrated to Macau is a Macanese? A person who was born in Macau and immigrated to Canada when he was still a baby is a Macanese? A person who has Portuguese, Indian, Malaysian blood but no Chinese blood is a Macanese? A person who was born in the mainland of China immigrated to Macau and got a Macanese identity card is a Macanese? These cases are discussed in the Macanese society every day. Especially the Transfer of Sovereignty in 1999 gave an impact to the Portuguese-Macanese, which set off an alarm of

their self-identity. Therefore, it stimulated discussions and studies of localism and cultural identity.

The Portuguese-Macanese community in Macau will be the unity of analyses of this dissertation and, in particular, the musical group Tuna Macaense. There is no doubt that they had been dominating the society since the moment that they were consolidated. However, as some impact broke into their community, they become abnormal in the society. This process of transformation, which is also a traumatic process, will be the focus of my analyses. It's important to understand what kind of impact did the transformation of a central community into a marginal one had in people. And especially, what kind of tools is being used by the community in order to overlap the consequences of trauma (Andermahr 2016).

According to my preliminary fieldwork I realized that music has a particular role in this community. Music is an argument for living together but also a way of disseminating and exposing a cultural difference in the context of Macau. Therefore, the Tuna Macaense – a group that was formed in 1935 – will be my central focus with which I developed a very collaborative work since 2012. In this sense, the main goal of my work is to demonstrate how, in the case of Macau, musical practices are being used as a way to retain identity.

The Portuguese brought Tuna culture to Macau where, as we can see later, it was developed in a different way as we can testify in Portugal. Until 21st century, “Tuna Macaense” was the only remaining Tuna in the society of Macau. This band contributed a lot to its own community and to the society as a symbol of the Portuguese-Macanese music by maintaining the use of “Patuá” in their songs which a language in danger of extinction. Some of the members composed songs with their limited Patuá, in order to use music to keep this language alive. But

Tuna's action is not confined to the maintenance of the language. It's important to analyse how through music, the language, the sound aesthetic, the history and the way of living is also maintained as a way to retain identity.

Methodology

In order to collect information for my dissertation I used mainly two research methods:

Bibliographical research and Fieldwork. Bibliographical research was made in Macau Central Library, Sir Robert Ho Tung Library, S. Lourenço Library and Taipa Library. I was interested to know about the question related to Macanese community, the history of Macau's colonization and the relation between the territory and Portugal before and after 1999, the music in Macau and also some theoretical issues like post-colonial theory, issues on cultural identity and also in trauma studies.

In addition I developed non-systematic fieldwork from September 2015 up to March 2017.

In spite of knowing and being observing the Tuna's activities since 2012, the fieldwork for the master research was circumscribed to the period above even if during some of the time I was out of field taking classes in Portugal. During my fieldwork I carried out non-participant observation. In spite of my efforts in order to cooperate with Tuna in their different activities I was welcomed but never integrated in those activities. People were happy with my presence and were also available for giving me interviews and all the information that I needed.

However I didn't get the possibility to participate in an active way in the activities of the Tuna. As "Tuna Macaense" used to have rehearsal every week, I attended their rehearsals and I did observation of 10 public presentations:

28th June, 2015. Calçada da Igreja de S. Lázaro. Arraial de São João.

24th October, 2015. Casas-Museu da Taipa. 18º Festival da Lusofonia.

4th June, 2016. Lago Nam Van. Weekend show.

5th June, 2016. Lago Nam Van. Weekend show.

11th June, 2016. Anfiteatro das Casas-Museu da Taipa. Evening Concert.

12th June, 2016. Lago Nam Van. Weekend show.

18th June, 2016. Lago Nam Van. Weekend show.

19th June, 2016. Lago Nam Van. Weekend show.

25th June, 2016. Calçada da Igreja de S. Lázaro. Arraial de São João.

30th October, 2016. Casas-Museu da Taipa. 19^o Festival da Lusofonia.

Thesis Overview

In this dissertation, I will develop 3 chapters: In chapter 1, I will give a brief introduction of my hometown Macau. There will be the contextualization of the Portuguese-Macanese community in the context of Macau and the self-identity of myself and the people from this community. In chapter 2, I will develop the concept of trauma in the postcolonial contexts by using the points of religion, naming system and language, and to demonstrate the situation of the Portuguese-Macanese community in Macau nowadays to reflect to these points in order to verify the concept of trauma. In chapter 3, I will talk about the difference between the Portuguese *tuna* and the *tuna* in Macau. As Tuna Macaense is the unique remaining Portuguese-Macanese band in Macau since it was formed in 1935, I will talk about its history, the rise and decline, development, difficulties and the future. This dissertation is mainly to record the Portuguese-Macanese music in a postcolonial perspective in order to retain the history.

Chapter 1 The Portuguese-Macanese community in the context of Macau

1.1 Macau

Before the Portuguese arrived (1514), Macau was a region under the jurisdiction of Panyu County, Nanhai Prefecture of the Canton Province of China. In 1557, Macau was rented to Portugal by China as a trading port and Portugal was given consent for a permanent and official Portuguese trade base at Macau. The Portuguese administered this region under Chinese authority and sovereignty until 1887, when Macau became a colony of the Portuguese Empire. On 20th December, 1999, the sovereignty over Macau was transferred back to China. Macau is now an autonomous territory of China, officially Macau Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. It located on the southern coast of China, at the south of Canton Province, on the western side of the Pearl River Delta, bordered by the city of Zhuhai in Mainland China to the north and the Pearl River Estuary to the east and south. It has a size of 30.3 km² and with a population of 650,900 (until August 2016), comprised by the Macau Peninsula, Taipa Island and Coloane Island.



Figure 1: Map of Macau – 2017
 (Source: Direcção dos Serviços de Cartografia e Cadastro)

There are 2 official languages in Macau: Chinese and Portuguese. Cantonese is the Chinese language spoken in Macau. Due to the history of Macau's relation with Portugal, Portuguese language is still remained official. Although English is not an official language, it is widely used. We could see that this is a multilingual Macau. This is also expressed on the way as Catholicism is performed as we have masses in Cantonese, Portuguese, English, Mandarin, Tagalog (Philippine language), Bahasa (Indonesian language), Korean and Vietnamese, which are celebrated every day and week.

Domestic workers, a strong industry in Macau, which almost every family employs, are also an important variable for increasing multilingualism. Many of them are from the Southeast Asia and when working as babysitters they also generate language mixtures among children. Therefore, different Southeast Asian languages are also used. There is a small area in Macau called Rotunda de Carlos da Maia, where returned overseas Chinese use to gather in common places like restaurants, grocery stores, and so on. They mainly come back from Myanmar, Indonesia and Thailand. In this case, their languages are also used in this small area. We also see kebab shops on the streets managed by Egyptians and Iranians. Though they are minorities in Macau, their languages are also circulating in the area.

Among this multi linguistic tissue the Macanese language Patuá is a distinctive Creole still spoken in only several Portuguese-Macanese families. It was classified as a “critically endangered” language by the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, in 2009. The Portuguese-Macanese community in Macau used to speak Patuá in their daily life but now the language is fading in the world. This community is making efforts in order to save its own language through which they also intend to maintain their self-identity.

According to writings we have in Macau three kinds of alphabets: the roman, the traditional Chinese and the simplified Chinese. Traditional characters have been used since ancient times and now it is still used but only in Macau, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Simplified characters started to be widely used since 1940s in the Mainland of China. The debate on traditional and simplified Chinese characters is a continuing debate concerning Chinese orthography among users of Chinese character. These 2 characters are also the implications of political ideology and cultural identity. In the case of Macau, traditional characters are used in the official notes along with roman characters because all of the official information is displayed in the two official languages of Macau: Portuguese and Chinese.

Macau is a secular place where different religions are present. According to the “Macau Basic Law” (“Lei Básica da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau da República Popular da China”)⁷:

ARTIGO 34.º

Os residentes de Macau gozam da liberdade de consciência.

Os residentes de Macau gozam da liberdade de crença religiosa e da liberdade de pregar, de promover actividades religiosas em público e de nelas participar.

And,

ARTIGO 128.º

De acordo com o princípio da liberdade de crença religiosa, o Governo da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau não interfere nos assuntos internos das organizações religiosas, nem na manutenção e no desenvolvimento de relações das organizações religiosas e dos crentes com as organizações religiosas e os crentes de fora da Região de Macau. Não impõe restrições às actividades religiosas que não contrariem as leis da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau.

As organizações religiosas podem fundar, nos termos da lei, seminários e outros estabelecimentos de ensino, hospitais e instituições de assistência social, bem como prestar outros serviços sociais. As escolas mantidas por organizações religiosas podem continuar a

⁷ See: <http://cedis.fd.unl.pt/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/LEI-BASICA-1993.pdf>

ministrar educação religiosa, incluindo a organização de cursos de religião.

As organizações religiosas gozam, nos termos da lei, do direito de adquirir, usar, dispor e herder património e de aceitar doações. Os seus direitos e interesses patrimoniais anteriores são protegidos nos termos da lei.

According to Ms Magdalene Chan, the vice director of the Office of Diocesan Commission of Catechetical Formation of the Macau Diocese (Escritório de Comissão Diocesana de Formação Catequética de Diocese de Macau), religious beliefs are a private issue for the residents of Macau. In fact, when the government conducts census data in household surveys, religious beliefs are not included in the surveys.

According to a survey released in 1999, 49% of the population followed Chinese folk religions, 11% were Buddhists, and only 3% Christians. Another survey conducted between 2005, 2007 and 2009, over half of residents in Macau claim to have no religious beliefs, while one quarter of the respondents believe in the Chinese folk religion, about 1/10 claim to be Buddhists or Taoists, while around 5% call themselves Catholics or Protestants. (Wan and Zheng 2010)

Although the census may not be completely accurate, the residents in Macau have their rights to choose religious beliefs. People's religions can be vague, which can be a mixed religion, such as a person adopted the Catholic belief in a Catholic-background school, but as he is from a Buddhist-background family, he can both attend masses in the churches and offer incense in the temples. However, as Chinese is the majority population in Macau, it is natural that Chinese folk religions are the majority.

Due to the existence of Portuguese in Macau for almost 500 years, once they arrived, Christianity started to grow through the process of evangelization. Today there are more than

15 catholic churches in a city which is 30.3 km² large. Also, Macau is divided by parochialism. There are many Catholic schools in Macau and there is a Macau Catholic Schools Association (Associação das Escolas Católicas de Macau). This association was established by the Bishop of Macau Paulo José Tavares in 1967 and was supported by the priests of Salesians and Jesuits. The purpose of this association is to unify all the catholic schools which are locating in Macau, promoting moral education and spreading the Gospel and related issues.⁸ There is bilingual mass in Macau, which is a mass celebrated in both Portuguese and Cantonese, and sometimes even English is also added. As Roman Catholic is the main religion of the Portuguese-Macanese, the religious ritual is also an important element to maintain and reinforce their self-identity.

According to the Australian historian Geoffrey Gunn (1996a) there are three periods that we can identify in the relationship between Macau and Portugal: the first was between 1557-1887, marked by an almost commercial relation with China and using Macau as a Portuguese trading place after a payment of a rent to the Chinese Nation. During this period Portuguese established a distinctive form of local government, unique in the East, founded upon quasi-democratic principles. To be extent, this epoch had given an enough time to the Portuguese-Macanese community to emerge and grow in the society.

The 2nd period was between 1887 and 1967. It was built upon the challenge posed by Western mercantilism with the opening of British trade with China towards the end of 18th century, and the various depredations suffered by China at the hands of the Western powers following the first Opium War (1840-1842). This situation offered new opportunities for the Portuguese

⁸ See: <http://www.mcsa.org.mo/index.html>

to redefine the relationship and status of the territory culminating in the Treaty of 1887 under which China formally recognized Portugal's sovereignty over Macau. From 1887 to the Chinese Cultural Revolution in 1967, when Portuguese authority was replaced by local pro-communist capitalist interests, might be characterized as a period of defence of sovereignty, against both perceived and real Chinese depredations. The 3rd period was between 1967 and 1999, starting with the effective surrounding of sovereignty to China in 1967 until the transfer of sovereignty of Macau from Portugal to China in 1999.

1.2 The Portuguese-Macanese Community

1.2.1 My self-identity according to my experience

As I was born in Macau, I am a Macanese. To be in detail, I am a Macanese ethnic Chinese (Chinese-Macanese). When I go out of Macau, I would introduce myself as Macanese, literally – I was born in Macau/I am from Macau. However, “Macanese” has several meanings. Somehow I have ambivalence towards myself as I see myself as a Macanese since I was young and I don't have a strong feeling of being a Chinese, and for sure I am not Portuguese-Macanese.

Since I started to study in Portugal, gradually a concept came to my mind which I didn't realize, that the word “Chinese” represents a negative racist feeling for people. I had this consciousness when I was in the university, when I was doing shopping or in the restaurants, and when I was meeting new friends. People made fun of my Chinese name, and I got teased on the streets, shouted “Hello, Chinese!” with an ironic smile. These experiences made me more confused and gradually thought that “Chinese” is negative for the non-Chinese.

On the contrary, as I live in Portugal, I found that there are similarities with my life in Macau: The cobble-stone streets (*calçada portuguesa*), the Portuguese style architectures, the street signs are in Portuguese, especially the eating habits, coffee and bread in the morning, portions of hot food for lunch and dinner, and the habit of taking “lanche” (afternoon-tea), seeing churches every few steps, etc. I could easily merge my life in Portugal and I feel like “at home”. Sometimes when people asked where I am from, after knowing that I am from Macau, they started to talk to me joyfully or even treat me a piece of cake in the coffee shop. Some of the Portuguese think that Macanese and Chinese are different because of its relationship with Portugal. In this situation, my sense of *Portugalidade* was becoming strong. However, even these cases, wouldn't turn me a Portuguese or Portuguese-Macanese biologically. Meanwhile, I asked myself if being a Chinese is a problem. Later on, I realized that the word “Chinese” and its semantic meaning is a way of classifying people, which is completely subjective.

Since I was born, my nationality is Chinese. After the transfer of sovereignty in 1999, my country reaffirmed that I am a Chinese, because Portugal had given Macau back to China, Macau is a part of China. Later on, I got an explanation: according to “Lei da Nacionalidade Portuguesa”: Segundo a Lei n.º 37/81, de 3 de Outubro, a partir de 1981, para um nascido em Macau obter a nacionalidade portuguesa originária, é necessário que ele seja um filho de pai ou mãe portugueses. As my sister was born in June, 1981, that's why she obtains a Portuguese nationality. As I was born in 1989 and my parents don't have Portuguese nationalities, therefore I don't have Portuguese nationality⁹. In Macau, it might be normal that there are 2 nationalities in one family when one sibling was born before 3rd October, 1981 and another one was born after this date. However, it is quite ironic that in my family the one who speaks

⁹ The legal diploma can be consulted here:
http://www.sef.pt/portal/v10/pt.aspx/legislacao/legislacao_detalle.aspx?id_linha=4458

Portuguese doesn't have a Portuguese nationality while the one who doesn't speak Portuguese has.

In a certain sense, being a Macanese is living in a kind of liminal situation according to what Victor Turner proposes:

“The attributes of liminality or of liminal personae (“threshold people”) are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon.” (Turner 1969, 359)

I think it is an honour that I could witness the important incident in 1999 in Macau, the Transfer of the Sovereignty. I was only 10 at that time and I was too young to know until after the other 10 years of my life, the more I grew, the more ambiguous of my self-identity was. Making a decision of learning the Portuguese language was one of the symbols to find my feeling of Portugalidade back. Knowing that the period of Portuguese Macau has already become history but Portuguese language is still remained as an official language in Macau, it would be shameful for me if I hadn't learnt it.

Studying here in Portugal is another symbol to find the feeling of Portugalidade because I can find so many elements in Portugal as the elements of Macau in antique time. But meanwhile, my self-identity was still ambiguous and it is judged by the local: Youngsters such as university students in town like to make fun with how I look as I look Chinese to them and they like to create some Chinese-like pronunciation to tease me; middle-age and the old would like to talk to me as they know that I am Macanese and found that I am different from Chinese. These

experiences made me feel confused about my self-identity and, in a certain way, address the liminal condition that was proposed by Turner.

As Macau didn't become independent after the Transfer of the Sovereignty but integrated into China, by law, I am a Chinese; by custom, I can be a mixture such as I celebrate the eastern and western festivals in my hometown, I can be more Portuguese such as I am a catholic and such as I have western eating habits, etc. The end of the period of Portuguese Macau didn't change my nationality and my life habits but it gave me an impact to consider who I am and what I am. As the first 10 years of my life was in the period of Portuguese Macau, it buried a mixed sense that I have a sentiment of Chinese and Portuguese, but at the same time, I don't feel myself as Chinese, Portuguese-Macanese, or Portuguese. I am Macanese.

1.2.2 What is “Macanese”?

In the TV news, when an accident happened in Macau, you would hear that how many Macanese got injured, but you wouldn't hear how many of them are Chinese-Macanese or Portuguese-Macanese. There are so many opinions of what Macanese is, but there's not a strict agreement. I have been observing the Portuguese-Macanese community. In October, 2012, I attended a symposium named “COLÓQUIO MACAENSES – UM OLHAR COLECTIVO SOBRE A COMUNIDADE” in Macau. In that symposium, I guess I was the only Chinese-Macanese there. This symposium was principally in Portuguese. At that time my Portuguese was not good enough and I could only catch some words. The Portuguese-Macanese there had been discussing about what “Macanese” is. Someone said that Macanese don't need to speak very good Portuguese but have to speak at least a little bit. Someone said that when somebody has Portuguese-Macanese food as his main cuisine, he is a Macanese. Someone apologized that she couldn't speak Portuguese before she gave her

opinion, then she used English to explain that as she has a self-identity of being a Macanese. After the discussion for an afternoon, they had no conclusion about what “Macanese” is, but we could believe that people there got inspired.

According to Tang, in his book “Macaenses”:

“Portuguese-Macanese is whose paternal ancestors are from Portugal, whose maternal ancestors are from different places of Asia, a community of Eurasian who are born and raised in Macau.” (Tang, 2009)

For his part, the anthropologist Pina Cabral, in his book “Em Terra De Tufões”, argues that:

“Quando que se diz que alguém é macaense, isto significa os crioulos de Macau. Estes, falam português e cantonense, frequentam principalmente o ensino de língua veicular portuguesa, são geralmente mestiços e a sua ascendência é, em parte, portuguesa. O que é certo, é que todos são cristãos baptizados, possuindo nomes tipicamente portugueses.” ... “Macaense é aquele que ou nasceu em Macau, ou vive naquele território há mais de 10 anos; é o natural de Macau. Um esclarecimento deve, contudo, ser salvaguardado. Por diversas razões de política conjuntural, a expressão "macaense" tem sido por vezes usada ultimamente para significar todas as pessoas nascidas em Macau, independentemente da sua identidade étnica.” ... “Macaense é o português do Oriente, é aquele que resulta da miscigenação de vários sangues, é o crioulo de Macau, é aquele que se considera como tal.” (De Pina Cabral & Lourenço, 1993)

However, during my fieldwork I also came across to other feelings about being a Macanese.

When I asked Mr. Miguel de Senna Fernandes (a Portuguese-Macanese lawyer who is the president of the Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses) if Macanese are Eurasian and their paternal origin are from Portugal, their maternal origin are from different countries or cities of Asia, he thinks that this is a very difficult question to answer especially because the place of born is not the variable to define identity. Macau, for Senna Fernandes, is a kind of homeland:

“Actually there’s no definition of this identity. What could identify a community? There’s no. If you ask what Chinese is, if someone who was born in China is a Chinese? There’s no such thing. As what you mentioned was right, but not absolute. Because... eh... if to talk about the definition of Macanese, we might find it in a cultural field. Because... eh... if someone is a Portuguese if his father is from Portugal? There’s no such thing. I even don’t

know that if my ancestor was from Portugal, we don't know... But anyway, our family... has been using this name, Fernandes... for 2 centuries, so... if we are Chinese? Hahaha, which is... actually... the example that I mentioned... could tell that there's no definition. Eh... it doesn't make sense to talk about a definition. There's no such thing. But to see it in a cultural perspective, it is half-breed definitely. Also... anyway... we Macanese must refer to Macau. Wherever in the world we go, our sense of belonging to Macau is very strong. There's not a Macanese doesn't agree with this point. We should see Macau as our root. Even if a Macanese resides in another place, he must refer to Macau because Macau is his hometown. But... there are so many people who were born in Macau, when they go to the other places, they have the same sense of belonging, the sense of belonging to Macau, the Macau of the Macanese. Or we would describe like this, the position of Macanese... we are a big Portuguese family. This question is not easy to answer actually." (M. Senna Fernandes, 25th June, 2016, interview)

By his side, António Assis (Portuguese-Macanese, leader of The 22nd Scouting Group of Macau), prefers a more official definition based the place of birth:

"Macaense são as pessoas quem nascem em Macau, com nacionalidade portuguesa, e então, nós chamamos macaense... Se o pai é português, os filhos que nascem em Macau, também são macaenses... Se os parente... os seus pais não são portugueses, então, os filhos que nascem em Macau, é natural de Macau mas não é macaense... normalmente nós chamamos macaense é... pessoa que nasce em Macau... são macaense, pode ser chinês." (Assis, 28th December, 2014, interview)

By his turn, the Chinese-Macanese Antonio Ng, who is a member of the Macau Legislative Assembly, founding chairman of the pro-democratic political party New Democratic Macau Association and leader of the political pressure group Union for Democracy Development, prefers to refer to Macanese according to an historical period of Macau:

"Portuguese-Macanese is a group of different people who inhabit in Macau during the Asian development of Portugal before the period of The Republic of China or even before the Ching Dynasty (Manchu Dynasty). As I know, there was sexual discrimination for Portuguese during the Asian development, which means, they stood for men than women to participate this development. As Portuguese men arrived Asia, they found women from different places in Asia... they might have got married. Later on Macau featured in business and trade, therefore, whoever Portuguese married with, African, Indian, Asian or the others, after they got married, they brought their family and inhabited in Macau. This formed a unique community in Macau. Portuguese thought that they are the master/host of Macau. Chinese didn't think so, Chinese thought that they were the host of Macau. In this case, they had no way to communicate with each other politically. They didn't want to fight a battle so they just maintained the existences of each other." (Ng, 1st December, 2015, interview)

The Portuguese-Macanese Carlos Lemos thinks that this is a question can be discussed for the whole day and he used an interesting metaphor to talk about Macanese:

“The question in what is a Macanese, is a very difficult question. In my opinion, each of us has our own definition what a Macanese is. I like always to use the example of what is “Minchi”¹⁰. If you ask a Macanese family, what is “Minchi”? One family will tell you minchi is made of beef with potato, fried potato. If you ask another one, they will say, well, minchi is made of pork and beef, and potato. If you ask another one, the one will say minchi is beef, potato, then they have some... hmm... hmm... turmeric. Then another one is... minchi is beef with rice noodles, fry together. So, if you ask each one, they will give you a different definition of what a minchi is. The same thing ask a Macanese what a minchi, each of us will give you a different definition. Some will say Macanese have... ‘Must’, Must’, I use the word ‘must’ because somebody has used it before, have Portuguese blood. This is not true. So, Macanese is a mix of many races. Some may not have Portuguese blood. I have friends that they are Macanese. They don’t have Portuguese blood. And a typical example is my brother-in-law. My brother-in-law is from the Badaraco family. His father is from... I believe from Peru, and his mother is from China. So, he has no Portuguese blood at all. But yet, the Badaraco family is a very popular Macanese family. So, I think what is a Macanese is very hard to define in words. I think what is Macanese is how each of us feel to be Macanese... Self-identity, and... you have to feel that you belong to that group rather than by birth or by language. Of course, it can be by birth, can be by language, but I think it’s not only limited to this. I guess the Dr Miguel de Senna Fernandes has said that also. It’s not that easy to define it because... it’s not straight forward what it is... I think to be born in Macau is very important. A Macanese born in Macau... that piece is important. But... any other thing is just... I think is how you feel... and... we would like to use assimilate to what it is... so... it’s complicated... hahaha... you can discuss for the whole day and refine the differences.” (Lemos, 9th December, 2016, interview)

José Santos, one of the members of Tuna Macaense, thinks that Macanese is a mixture and they are born locally in Macau:

“Portuguese-Macanese for me, I think we are the descendants of Portuguese only we were not born in Portugal but in Macau, then we become “Portuguese-Macanese”. When you are born in the other places, such as Africa... if you are born in Moçambique, then you are Portuguese-Mozambican. It’s the same, Portuguese-Macanese is, either one of the parents has different nationality, who are born in local. So many people think that Portuguese-Macanese is one of their parents is Chinese, another one is Portuguese, it’s a mixture. Therefore, its definition, Portuguese-Macanese is also Portuguese, only in their families, there are different nationalities, one Chinese and another Portuguese. People have been saying the same for a long time. For me, Portuguese-Macanese is the Portuguese descendant who is born in Macau, which is born in local... My father is Portuguese and my mother is Chinese. I look like a foreigner. Formally, I should inherent the family name and blood of my father, which I am a Portuguese. However, as my mother is Chinese, I should at least have some blood from my mother. I think I at least have 30% Chinese blood. I am

¹⁰ Minchi: Traditional Macanese dish made with minced pork or beef and fried with onion and other condiments. (Senna Fernandes and Norman Baxter 2004:109)

Portuguese and Chinese at the same time.” (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

Rogério Monteiro thinks that Macanese can be anyone who is born in Macau, which can be Portuguese-Macanese or Chinese Macanese. And he feels good to be a Macanese although he moved to Portugal for several years and he still thinks that he belongs to Macau:

“Macaense, é um indivíduo que nasceu em Macau. Tanto pode ser, descendente de portugueses, como pode ser descendente também de chineses, não tem de ser exatamente filho de um português, pode ser também chinês natural. Por exemplo, a Flora também é uma macaense porque a Flora nasceu em Macau. E por isso, é isso que é um macaense. Agora, eu sou macaense mais propriamente. As pessoas consideram um macaense é o filho de descendente de portugueses. O meu caso é diferente porque eu sou filho de um português que veio de Portugal para cá para uma comissão de serviço militar. E depois, por tempo ficou aqui em Macau, veio apaixonar com uma chinesa, casou, formou a sua vida aqui em Macau, teve filhos, e ficou aqui por muitos anos...A mãe é 100% chinesa, e o meu pai é 100% português...A minha mãe sabia falar um pouco do português. Depois de Segunda Guerra Mundial em Macau, em 1946, o meu pai, com a minha mãe, e os 2 filhos, eu e o meu irmão mais velho fomos daqui para Portugal, e ficámos ali quase 5 anos... de 1946 até 1951. Voltámos para Macau. Mas já com mais 3 filhas.” (Monteiro, 9th March, 2017, interview)

1.2.3 Analysis and partial conclusion

According to Stuart Hall, there are 2 ways to respond the question on “Who needs identity”. The first is to observe something distinctive about the deconstructive critique to which many of these essentialist concepts have been subjected. Unlike those forms of critique which aim to supplant inadequate concepts with “truer” ones, or which aspire to the production of positive knowledge, the deconstructive approach puts key concepts “under erasure”. This indicates that they are no longer serviceable – “good to think with” – in their originary and unreconstructed form. But since they have not been superseded dialectically, and there are no other, entirely different concepts with which to replace them, there is nothing to do but to continue to think with them – albeit now in their detotalized or deconstructed forms, and no longer operating within the paradigm in which they were originally generated.

The second is to answer to the question of agency and politics. By politics, it means both the

significance in modern forms of political movement of the signifier “identity”, its pivotal relationship to a politics of location - but also the manifest difficulties and instabilities which have characteristically affected all contemporary forms of “identity politics”. By “agency” he expresses no desire whatsoever to return to an unmediated and transparent notion of the subject or identity as the centred author of social practice, or to restore an approach which “places its own point of view at the origin of all historicity – which, in short, leads to a transcendental consciousness.” (Stuart and Gay, 1996:1-2)

Although the “cultural identity of the Macanese” is discussed every day in the society, as the definition is ambiguous and hard to define, there is not a key answer of what it is and how it is. Especially before and after the Transfer of the sovereignty in 1999, the group of people that designate themselves as “Macanese” or “Portuguese-Macanese” become with ambivalent feelings about their own identity. They were no longer dominating the society but they could only polarized themselves by become more Portuguese or more Chinese because, “Os Portugueses do Oriente – ‘macaenses’ ou ‘filhos da terra’, como são também conhecidos – são o produto de séculos deste diálogo entre duas civilizações” (Pina-Cabral 1993:11). After my fieldwork experience trying to understand what a Portuguese-Macanese is I realized that self-identity is a lot more important than an accurate definition of being Portuguese-Macanese.

Chapter 2 The concept of trauma in the postcolonial contexts: The case of Macau

2.1 To define the colonial and postcolonial period of Macau

In this subchapter I will discuss about the timeline of the colonial and postcolonial period of Macau. The transfer of sovereignty of Macau from Portugal to China occurred on 20th December, 1999, but does it mean that the colonial period of Macau was before this date and postcolonial period was after this date? As Susana Sardo points out: “Independente dos limites temporais da situação poscolonial do planeta - que tem suscitado múltiplas versões e interpretações - Leela Gandhi marcou, de algum modo, uma posição consensual ao definir e legitimar os conceitos de *poscolonial* e de *poscolonialidade* atribuindo-lhes significados diferenciados e complementares (Sardo 2011:55)”:

The theory may be named “postcolonialism” and the condition it addresses is best conveyed through the notion of “postcoloniality”. And, whatever the controversy surrounding the theory, its value must be judged in terms of its adequacy to conceptualise the complex condition which attends the aftermath of colonial occupation. (Gandhi 1998:4, apud Sardo 2011)

There were some incidents to argue when the postcolonial period of Macau started such as the Carnation Revolution that happened in 1974 led Portugal to give up all the overseas colonies in order to grant freedom. However, the Chinese government refused to follow the colonial approach so it refused to receive the Portuguese colony, Macau, and the British colony, Hong Kong because China prevented these 2 places to obtain independent rights. Therefore, Macau was considered to be a special region until 1976, the “Estatuto Orgânico de Macau” was approved and the Portuguese legislation reclassified Macau as a “Chinese territory under Portuguese administration”. In this case, Macau continued its colonial period only until 20th December, 1999.

Another example is the “12.3 Incident” that happened in 1966. The residents in Taipa Island of Macau tried to obtain permission to build a private school which sponsored by leftist organisations. Although they had been granted a plot of land by the Portuguese authorities, officials in the public works bureau delayed the processing of the building permits, as they had failed to get any bribes (Cheung 2009:16). Having received no reply from the authorities, the residents went ahead and started building without the proper permits (Clayton 2009:47-48). Later on, urban services officers blocked the construction of the school, leading to a confrontation between the protesters and Macau Police which injured over 40 people, of whom 14 were later detained. On 3rd December, a group of around 60 students and workers demonstrated outside the Governor’s Palace to the Taipa residents and the Red Guards¹¹ began to riot, denouncing the Portuguese authorities for “fascist atrocities”. The government ordered the rioters to be arrested and this stirred up the anger of the general public and more people came to protest. They pulled down the statue of Colonel Vicente Nicolau de Mesquita¹² and tore the right arm off the statue of Jorge Álvares¹³ (Lindsay and May Ride and Wordie 1999:23-25). At the city hall, portraits of former governors were torn off the walls, while books and city records were tossed into the street and set on fire. As a result of the protests, 8 people were killed by police and more than 200 people were injured (Hao 2011:215). In January of the following year, groups of Macau Chinese residents mounted the “Three No’s” campaign, paying no taxes, selling no goods, and providing no services to the Portuguese (Bryna and David Goodman 2012:218). Later on, the Portuguese governors were obliged to sign of apology in the office of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce under a huge

¹¹ Red Guards were a fanatic student mass paramilitary social movement mobilized by Mao Zedong in 1966 and 1967, during the Cultural Revolution in China.

¹² Vicente Nicolau de Mesquita (1818-1880) was an officer of the Portuguese Army in Macau.

¹³ Jorge Álvares was a Portuguese explorer and he is credited as the first European to have reached China by sea during the Age of Discovery.

portrait of Mao Zedong and after this incident, the Portuguese authority in Macau was said to be essentially broken (Maxwell 2003:279). Second by Lei, the “12.3 Incident” is an historical turning point that the Portuguese authority had already gone from Macau during this incident. (Lei 2001:182-183)

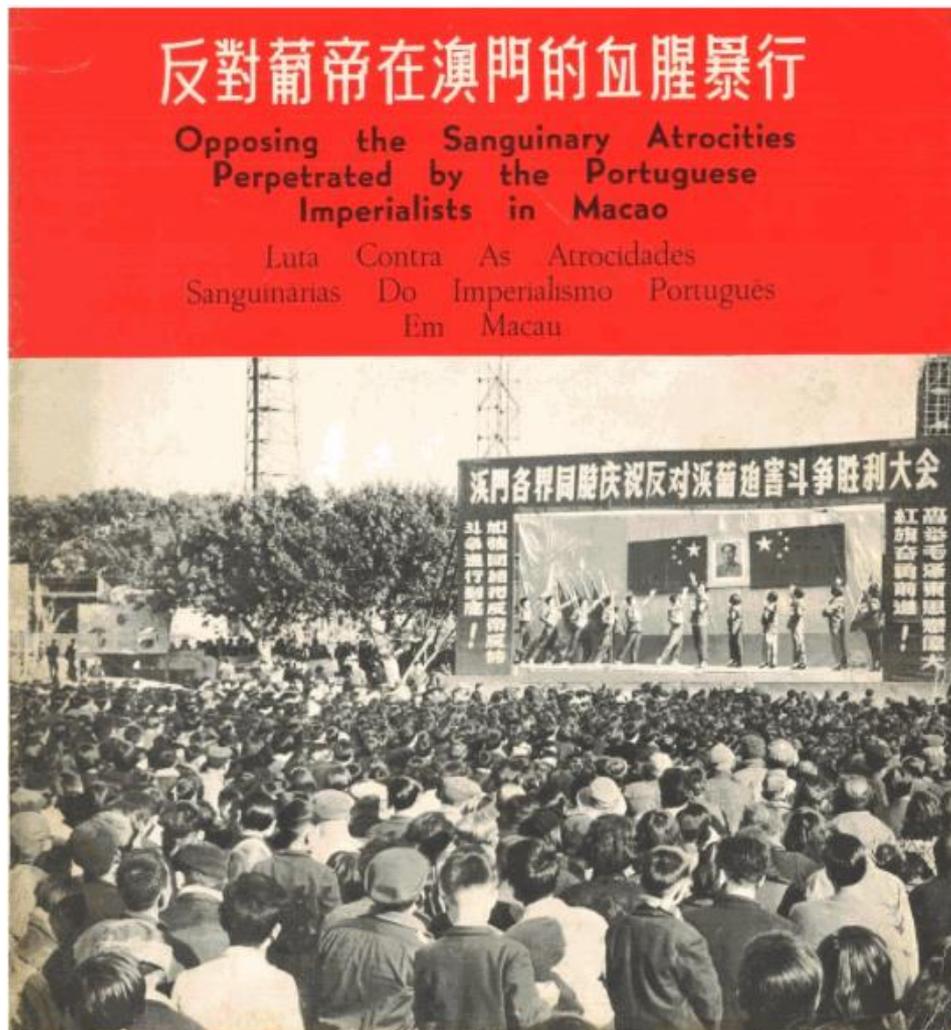


Figure 2: The “12.3 Incident” happened in 1966
(Source: Lei Hau Chi)

According to Ng, he thinks that before the transfer of sovereignty, the postcolonial attitude had already existed and people started to think about what would happen in Macau after the colonial period:

A bit longer before the transfer of sovereignty, they had different limitations. It includes... the one who had the real power to rule Macau, especially the administration, was those Portuguese who were from Lisbon but not Portuguese-Macanese. It has been the same since the period of Portuguese Military. This limitation was unfair for the Portuguese-Macanese but couldn't be changed at the moment, it's a long-term fact. Another limitation is, if the Chinese regime or people who advocate the Chinese regime would give an impact to the sovereignty to Macau. This was another issue they had to face. Actually it had happened in 60s. There were anti-colonial struggles in extensive area in Asia. Singapore even gained independence in 60s. Eh... there was also a struggle in Hong Kong but they lost. In Macau, those Chinese people who advocate the Chinese government had an uprising and they won. However, the Chinese Communist Party decided not to take back Macau. It gave a shock to the place where Portuguese-Macanese felt comfortable to settle. As time passed, the Chinese Communist Party decided not to take back Macau and didn't claim when to take back. (Ng, 1st December, 2015, interview)

To conclude, 20th December, 1999 was the official date of the transfer of sovereignty of Macau from Portugal to China. However, before this date, there were various incidents happened and the postcolonial attitude had already existed. People started to have an emotion to “welcome” the postcolonial period but in the case of Macau, after the transfer of sovereignty, it didn't become independent but integrated into another country and continues to be a special administrative region of China.

2.2 The relationship between the Portuguese-Macanese community and Portugal

In this subchapter I will take religions, naming system and language to discuss about the relationship between the Portuguese-Macanese community and Portugal.

➤ Religion

Macau was given the name “City of the Name of God” because:

During the Spanish Interregnum over Portugal (1580-1640), the flag of Portugal continued to wave in Macau as a sign of faith and loyalty. When Portuguese rule was re-established after 60 years under the Union of the Crowns by Spanish dominion, Macau, being the most prosperous colony, made a great donation to the new monarch, King João IV. He in turn gratefully decreed the name of Macau by adding ‘não há outra mais leal’. Hence the whole given name of Macau is ‘Cidade do Nome de Deus de Macau na China, não há outra mais leal’, or ‘City of the Name of God of Macau in China, there is none more loyal’, and translated into Chinese as ‘天主聖名之城, 無比忠貞’. (...) (Cheng 1999:48)

Although Macau was given such a holy name, it doesn’t only believe in Christianity. On the contrary, as the residents in Macau have their own freedom to choose what they believe or not, this makes Macau a place which contains many and various religions.

According to Fok, the 3 mains religions in Macau are Christianity, Buddhism and Taoism. (Fok 2009:77) There is no doubt that the main religion of the Portuguese-Macanese community is Christianity and for the Chinese-Macanese community is the Chinese folk religions (Buddhism and Taoism, etc). At the same time, this brings out another clue, which is, there is a distance between these 2 communities – they don’t totally differentiate themselves but at the same time they don’t mix too much with each other. Therefore, there is also a distance between the Christianity and the Chinese folk religions in Macau. However, as time passed, people of the Portuguese-Macanese community are more and more close to the Chinese face of Macau and simultaneously, there is a crossover of religions among them – from monotheism to

polytheism.

➤ Naming system

In the Chinese naming system, the surname comes before the first name such as mine: my surname is Chan, followed by my father's surname, and my first name is Si Man, so my full name is Chan Si Man. And yes, the Chinese naming system is mostly only followed by patrilineality. As I reside in Portugal, my first name is always misunderstood and the Portuguese think that Si is the middle name but in fact I don't have a middle name and Si Man is my complete first name. Besides this, Flora is my name of baptism but it doesn't exist in my identity card. This also makes the Portuguese confused and they doubt why my name of baptism is not included in my official name. Some Portuguese think that it's interesting and some think that it is not necessary such as my previous Portuguese professor in Coimbra. She thinks that students don't need to create another name for the professors to call them easier, but we should introduce ourselves with our official names in order to protect our names and our identities. Therefore, instead of the western naming system – Flora Chan, she used to call me according to the Chinese naming system – Chan Si Man. I was inspired by this professor and since then I started to pay attention to use my official name more.

For the Portuguese naming system, like most of the naming system in the world, the first name comes before the surname. Most of the Portuguese would agree that parents are free to choose their first name but they are not free to choose the surname. It is said that a person must receive, after a first name, his/her mother's paternal surname followed by his/her father's paternal surname. As most people in Portugal have rather long names (usually consisting of 3 to 4 surnames), it is common practice to use an abbreviated form in everyday life. (Pina-Cabral 2002b:146-147)

In the case of the Portuguese-Macanese community, how is their naming system? Is it again, a mix of both the Chinese and the Portuguese system?

It is interesting that one of the commonplaces of Portuguese ethnocentrism in Macau should be a lack of understanding of the Chinese system of the first names. For the Portuguese, it is considered bad taste and personally challenging for a person to receive a name that is not traditional. Preferably, the name should not mean anything and should be attributed in honour of an ascendant lineal kinsperson. Most parents opt for one or two of a very reduced list of traditional first names: Manuel, António, José, João Pedro, etc. (Pina-Cabral 2002c:148)

The Chinese and Portuguese naming system are so different, but this dual systems of naming exists in Macau. It is common that for the Portuguese-Macanese to have a Chinese name and vice versa, it is also common that for the Chinese-Macanese to have a Portuguese or English (first) name such as I would present myself as *Flora Chan*.

The Chinese usually adopt a European alias and an alphabetical transliteration of their Chinese surname. Thus, they will present themselves as *John Tam* or *Philip Tse* or *Mário Lam*. Their full Chinese name remains the official designation, but they identify themselves completely with these forms of address, often preferring them even when used by other Chinese. Contrariwise, the Portuguese (Macanese or otherwise) who adopts a Chinese name, seldom uses it on formal occasions. This name is for Chinese-speaking persons as a gesture of politeness towards them. A Macanese man emphatically stressed: 'Our name properly speaking is the Portuguese name, the Chinese name is only a convenience.' This same person explained to me why he was not capable of telling me the Chinese names of his friends and family. He did not know them as he had no use for them. 'If I were to refer to them by that name,' he said, 'they would be furious. They would immediately retort, "Have we arrived at 1999 already, that you should be calling me in such a way?"' (Pina-Cabral 2002d:150)

The Portuguese naming system is more preferred to be used among the Portuguese-Macanese community. Furthermore, we could still see there is a bunch of people in Macau whose names include the Portuguese surnames such as *Coutinho*, *Jacinto*, *da Silva* etc. However, among this bunch of people, some of them can have Portuguese blood and some don't. "Os católicos mantêm os seus nomes cristãos de origem portuguesa (...)" (Sardo 2011:111) In most of the

cases, people who have Portuguese surnames but don't have Portuguese blood is because they adopted the surnames from their godfathers who have Portuguese surnames. Overall, the Portuguese-Macanese use their Portuguese name to maintain and to reveal their self-identities which they are proud of it.

➤ Language – Patuá

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the Macanese language Patuá is a distinctive Creole and this Creole is based on the Portuguese language:

Chamam-se de *base portuguesa* os crioulos cujo léxico é, na sua maioria, de origem portuguesa. No entanto, do ponto de vista gramatical, os crioulos são línguas diferenciadas e autónomas. Sendo a língua-base aquela que dá o léxico, podemos encontrar crioulos de diferentes bases (...) Os crioulos de base portuguesa são habitualmente classificados de acordo com um critério de ordem predominantemente geográfica embora, em muitos casos, exista também uma correlação entre a localização geográfica e o tipo de línguas de substrato em presença no momento da formação.¹⁴ (Dulce Pereira)

This Portuguese-Macanese language, as any other language with origins in a multilingual context, has in its lexicon words from several sources, which have undergone different influences and developments. In this sense, most Patuá words are of Portuguese origin. At the same time, Patuá contains words of non-Portuguese origins. In order of greater to lesser influence, the contribution of non-Portuguese languages is: Malay and Cantonese, English, Konkani-Marathi, Japanese, Tamil-Malayaian, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindustani, Dutch, Spanish, French and Dravidian (Senna Fernandes and Norman Baxter 2004). Moreover, according to Pereira:

Apart from the Malay influence, the *language of Macau* was influenced by the Indian *canarim* or language of Goa, due to the continued and ancient relations between Macau and Portuguese India, from which it was dependent. And the Chinese element, the greater part of the syntactic forms is of Chinese origin, which must not surprise, since there has been

¹⁴ Can be consulted here: <http://cvc.instituto-camoes.pt/hlp/geografia/crioulosdebaseport.html>

continuous contact between the Chinese and the Portuguese inhabitants. Furthermore, one should not forget the Spanish element, due to the proximity of relation with the Philippines and, more recently, the English element. (Pereira 1984 [1889], I: 54)

However, Patuá is now suffering from extinction in the society of Macau and even in the whole world:

(...) surge em Macau a partir de 1557, trazido por portugueses vindos de Malaca. Nas primeiras décadas do século XX ainda era falado por muitos como língua materna bem diferenciada do português, mas o desenvolvimento do ensino da língua oficial, depois de 1850, acelerou o seu processo de descrioulização. Por volta dessa data migra mais uma vez com os «filos de Macau» (filhos de Macau) para a recém formada colónia inglesa de Hong-Kong. Com o desaparecimento das gerações mais antigas vindas de Macau (que, além da língua materna crioula, dominavam o português escrito, o cantonês e o inglês), e com o êxodo dos macaenses desencadeado pelos ataques dos japoneses durante a segunda guerra mundial, o macaísta foi-se tornando cada vez menos funcional em Hong-Kong, tendo desaparecido como língua de grupo e sobrevivendo apenas na memória de alguns. (Dulce Pereira)

This is the situation of the Portuguese-Macanese language Patuá and nowadays, even some youth in Macau don't know there is such a language in Macau. Although the Portuguese-Macanese community is putting efforts to save this language, as this language is no longer a tool, it is more becoming a cultural heritage and Patuá could still be alive through literal notation, theatre or music, etc.

2.3 The status of the Portuguese-Macanese community in Macau

In this subchapter, I will describe the status of the Portuguese-Macanese community in Macau nowadays to reflect the 3 points in chapter 2.2 and then use 2 examples of the concept of trauma to analyse the status.

➤ Religion

“The Catholic religion was one of the most powerful instruments in the process of

colonization carried out by the Portuguese in Goa, as well as in other areas of India and the Orient” (Sardo 2010:60). In the many and multi-religion Macau, the development of Christianity was important because it started to develop synchronously with the history of Macau since 1514. As the Portuguese-Macanese community was gradually formed, they were described to be the “Portuguese Catholic society” of Macau. (Gunn 1996b:7). Besides, “In a short-term attempt to increase the population, Portuguese citizenship was conferred upon all Catholic converts, regardless of race” (Sarkissian 2000:22). In fact, the Catholic religion is one of the icons of the Portuguese-Macanese. I used to be an acolyte in the church during my teenage so I had chances to serve masses and the sacraments of baptism which made me get to notice that the Catholic religion is one of the self-identities in a Portuguese-Macanese family.

Nowadays in Macau, the Portuguese-Macanese could have mixed religion such as they both attend masses in the Catholic churches and offer incense to worship gods and ancestors in the Buddhist temples. I remember once a parish priest said that he never seen a Portuguese-Macanese is not a Catholic, but some of them also have Chinese folk religious belief. This reminds me that once I passed by a Portuguese-Macanese restaurant and there was the sacred image of Virgin Mary inside so I assumed that the boss is a Portuguese-Macanese. At the same time, I saw the boss was offering incense to *Tudi* (God of the Soil and the Ground)¹⁵ in order to ask this god to bless his business. In this case, this Portuguese-Macanese has a double religious beliefs and it is becoming common among the Portuguese-Macanese community.

¹⁵ Tudi is worshiped as the god of wealth and fortune. Merchants and businessmen pray to him to bless their job and business.

➤ Naming system

In the last subchapter, I stated that the Portuguese naming system is more preferred to be used among the Portuguese-Macanese community and they are proud of it because they use their Portuguese last name to reveal their family history.

What about the generation nowadays? Here is an example: I have a friend who welcomed his first child in May, 2017. Later on, he needed to register the birth of the baby and an official name was needed. My friend, Chiang, is a Chinese-Macanese, and his wife has 1/8 Portuguese blood, which one of her great-grandparents was Portuguese and the surname Agostinho is kept in her name. If Chiang hasn't told me his wife has 1/8 Portuguese blood, I wouldn't have known that she is a kind of Portuguese-Macanese since I didn't see her having a lifestyle as the Portuguese-Macanese. As a result, the official name of this baby girl is Sénia Agostinho Chiang. As the maternal side of the baby has some Portuguese blood so her maternal grandmother chose her a Portuguese first name and of course, this baby was already given a Chinese name by the paternal side even before she was born. I was interested and I asked Chiang why he wants to keep "Agostinho" in the baby's name as the baby should adopt the Chinese naming system which is followed by patrilineality. He answered that this is not only to preserve an element from the maternal side, but also to keep the heritage alive and he added that in the current Chinese naming convention, there has no way to honour that heritage.

➤ Language – Patuá

The Portuguese-Macanese language Patuá is suffering from decreolization in Macau nowadays, or some Portuguese-Macanese think that their language had already disappeared. Although Patuá was classified as a "critically endangered" language, the Portuguese-Macanese community is putting efforts to save this language such as the book "Maquista Chapado" was

published in 2001 which is a book and a dictionary to record the vocabularies of Patuá. The theatrical group “Dóci Papiçám di Macau” was formed in 2003 which members give dramas and musicals mainly with Patuá in order to keep this language alive. The name *Dóci Papiçám* means the sweet conversation. The drama they play every year is included in the Macau Arts Festival in every May and this makes the residents of Macau, the Portuguese-Macanese and the non-Portuguese-Macanese to be alert to this endangered language. Tuna Macaense, the Portuguese-Macanese musical group that was formed in 1935 and the band is still running at the moment and by playing the music, Patuá was kept alive. With these examples, although this language is faded in the society of Macau, the Portuguese-Macanese is still doing something to record and to make it alive, also to remind the society the existence of Patuá once in a while.

2.4 Portuguese-Macanese: A post-traumatic community of the Portuguese-Macanese described above

I believe that we can explain their behaviour by using traumatic theory. Their actions are very much like the captives who have been relieved but still have a certain feeling attached. The Macanese are no longer living in a colonial state, but many aspects of the lives still have a very strong attachment. From religious practice, naming of a baby and rescuing a dying language, all showing a total cut off is not referred to.

According to the theory of trauma applied to social sciences, some metaphors are used to understand the behaviours of people after being submitted to a traumatic situation.

➤ The Concentration Camp metaphor

After Frankl went out of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp, he wrote the famous book

“Man’s Search for Meaning”. In the first half of the book, he describes the everyday life in the camp and how it reflects in the mind of the prisoners. He then goes on, also describes how was the mental status situation of after the prisoners after they were released went outside of the camp. He concluded there were three types of situation: 1. People come out with hatred and could not put down what had happened inside the camp so they couldn’t live a normal and real life. 2. People come out without knowing how to survive and wanted to re-enter the camp again even though the living conditions were terrible. These people gained back their freedom but didn’t know how to survive because they adapted the environment of the camp. 3. People come out with sadness and sorrow, but somehow they could return to live a normal life (Frankl 1946).

➤ The Stockholm Syndrome metaphor

The term Stockholm syndrome was coined after the 1973 robbery of Kreditbanken in Stockholm, Sweden, in which 2 robbers held 4 bank employees hostage from 23-28 August. During this time, the victims shared a vault and became very familiar with their captors – in fact, they wound up emotionally attached and even defended them after the ordeal. Stockholm syndrome is viewed as a psychological response of a hostage or an individual in a similar situation in which the more dominant person has the power to put the victim’s life in danger.

Stockholm syndrome is a paradoxical psychological phenomenon wherein a positive bond between hostage and captor occurs that appears irrational in light of the frightening ordeal endured by the victims. In essence, eventually, the hostage views the perpetrator as giving life by simply not taking it. Individuals involved in situations resulting in Stockholm syndrome display three characteristics, although these do not always exist together (...): 1. Hostages have positive feelings for their captors. 2. Victims show fear, distrust, and anger toward the authorities. 3. Perpetrators display positive feelings toward captives as they begin to see them as human beings. (Fabrique, Romano, Vecchi and Hasselt 2007:11-12)

Before trauma, there is always attachment. The 2 examples, the experience in concentration

camp and the bank robbery in Stockholm, seem extreme but they are the same as colonization, terrible missions. During this short or long period of attachment, Nazi and the prisoners, robbers and the hostages, colonizer and the colonized, constructed an attaching relationship and when they separated, anxiety come into their minds and different kinds of extreme emotion started to affect their action because they have trauma to be separated with what they got used to.

➤ The case of the Portuguese-Macanese community

In the case of the colonization of Portugal to Macau, although people in Macau were not treated as the prisoners in the concentration camp or as the hostages in the bank, an attaching relationship had already constructed with the colonizer, Portugal. Not even until 1999, the Portuguese-Macanese started to have a traumatic feeling because they had already known that they would separate from the colonizer, with which they already had an attachment for more than 450 years. This change must have affected their emotion and they took action and tried to adapt into the new environment.

After 20th December, 1999, the Portuguese-Macanese didn't convert from Catholic to the others religions, neither to change their names from Portuguese to Chinese, and they still use Portuguese and Cantonese as their daily languages as the role of Patuá is vague in the society. "Religion and not colour should be the criterion for full Portuguese citizenship, and that all Asian converts to Christianity should be treated as equals of their Portuguese co-religionists." (Boxer 1963:69-70) Although they didn't totally convert their Catholic religion, the other beliefs started to integrate into their Christianity which it is acceptable for them. Portuguese naming system is more honourable than the Chinese naming system for the Portuguese-Macanese that's why they keep their Portuguese surnames to make the history of

the family and of the city alive. Patuá is the language belongs to the Portuguese-Macanese community and even though this language is suffering from disappearing, the community use many methods to give effort to save this sweet language in order to keep it alive.

In the concept of trauma, the Portuguese and the Portuguese-Macanese co-created a relationship although this relationship was totally not equal, at the same, these 2 partnerships had already adapted to each other. When they separated, different kinds of emotion come to them such as, the night before 20th December, 1999, the Portuguese in Macau gathered together in bars and restaurants to witness the history. They cried together because they knew that their country was going to give back Macau to China. On the other hand, years before the transfer of sovereignty, the Portuguese-Macanese noticed that this might bring them a radical change so some of them decided to leave Macau and immigrate to the other countries because they have fear. Nevertheless, most of the Portuguese-Macanese can live a normal life and chose to stay in their hometown Macau and the community is still working hard to protect their culture and keep it alive.

Chapter 3 Macanese Music – Tuna Macaense

3.1 Tuna

In Macau the word “Tuna” refers to a musical group which represents a symbol of Portuguese-Macanese music. Although there are musical groups also called “tuna” in Portugal, they are different from the one we have in Macau. Even in Portugal there are tunas with quite different profiles. According to Conceição Capela and Leonor Cruz, the word tuna refers to a:

Grupo musical constituído por instrumentos de corda dedilhada: bandolins, bandolas, bandolinetas, bandolincelos, viola baixa e violas. A instrumentação da tuna pode, no entanto, variar com a inclusão de instrumentos de corda friccionada, flautas, percussão e de uma secção vocal. Algumas tunas estão estruturadas segundo a faixa etária (tunas infantis, juvenis, seniores) e o género dos seus elementos.

The authors suggest that in Portugal there are three types of tunas according to the context where they belong: *tunas tradicionais*, *tunas-orquestra* and *tunas académicas*. The first, also called *toccatas* or *estúrdias*, had an associative profile, especially in rural contexts, and were constituted exclusively by men. Their repertoires include traditional music, theatre music and transcriptions of music broadcasted by the radio in order to be performed in balls and rural parties.

The *tunas-orquestra* were urban ensembles, included men and women, and were much bigger than *tunas tradicionais* (between 50 to 120 members). They included all sets of instruments present in a symphonic orchestra and also fingering string instruments. Their repertoire was especially imported from the art music mainstream which they performed in concerts and soirées.

Finally the *tunas académicas*, also named as *estudantinas*, were originally created in some

Portuguese universities or secondary schools (lyceums) in urban contexts. They had humanitarian goals which they materialised by promoting concerts of solidarity. They have a formal model that include an instrumental section of string instruments, percussion and sometimes accordion, and a vocal section. Their repertoire included Portuguese traditional music and original music composed by the members of the tuna. The first academic tunas aroused in the second half of the 19th century. In our days all the Portuguese universities had at least one tuna (masculine, feminine, mixt, tuna of a degree, tuna of the faculty, etc).

At the beginning of my stay in Portugal, my idea of Tuna was restricted to Tuna Académica. At the time, I reside in Coimbra, a city which has strong academic atmosphere and I could sometimes meet “Tuna Académica” in the faculties or on the streets. What I testified was groups of students wearing uniforms draped with black capes, who are 10 to 20 in groups, holding different (traditional) instruments: guitar, Portuguese guitar, mandolin, cavaquinho, violin, flute, recorder, accordion, bass drum, etc, singing always in Portuguese. Sometimes 2 to 3 students were holding tambourines, dancing in front with rhythmic movements. Harmonic singing voices spread all over the squares and the streets. There are always passers-by halting and fascinated by these events. These groups of Tuna are an iconic representation of their faculties and universities.

At the time I also thought that *tunas-orquestra* was not considered as Tuna until I joined TAUC (Tuna Académica da Universidade de Coimbra). One day in February, 2014 on the street, I met somebody holding a cello and I went to ask him if there are any orchestras in Coimbra and if he is a member. He answered me there is a student orchestra of the University of Coimbra and he is a member of it. Later on, he brought me to this orchestra, the TAUC. I talked to the conductor who was Mr André Granjo at that time and he arranged a cello for me, putting me into the cello section. At the time when I joined TAUC, we were 4 in the cello

section. The one whom I met on the street was a Brazilian student, and then a Portuguese and a German, and me, Macanese. I realized that Tuna Académicas are not only for local students, it can be international like the cello section was.

According to Conceição Capela and Leonor Cruz, TAUC is:

“Agrupamento musical integrado na Universidade de Coimbra. Oficialmente fundada em 1888, com a designação Estudantina de Coimbra, a TAUC deu o seu primeiro concerto em Aveiro, em Maio do mesmo ano. O seu início foi impulsionado pela visita a Coimbra da Estudantina Universitária de Santiago de Compostela (...) (2011: 1285)”

At the beginning, I didn't realize that I was in an orchestra which has a history of almost 130 years until I was told by a member of the orchestra. At the time that I joined TAUC, there were around 20 to 25 members, playing violin, viola, cello, double bass, mandolin, Portuguese guitar, flute, clarinet, oboe, French horn, trumpet, trombone, keyboard and percussion, etc. We played overtures, arias, dances such as waltz and tango, traditional Portuguese repertoire and the academic hymn of TAUC. Until nowadays, TAUC is still continuing its activities to maintain the Tuna. During my participation for about one year in TAUC, we gave performances in different concert halls in Coimbra such as Teatro Académico de Gil Vicente (TAGV), Conservatório de Música de Coimbra, etc. I remember that TAUC played an important role at the beginning of the academic week “Queima das Fitas” that we gave the 1st performance on the 1st night of the week. There was a soiree after the concert which the first-year students were treated by the other senior students. The first-year students were also “baptized” by pouring red wine on their heads.



Figure 3: TAUC performed in the soirée of *Queima das Fitas* in Coimbra in May, 2014.
(Source: Facebook of TAUC)

In 2015, I experienced the election of the new conductor. There were 3 candidates conducting the same repertoire, every member of TAUC scored each of the conductor. The result comes out with Mr Leandro Alves as our new conductor. Although I didn't belong to any faculties of the University of Coimbra, I joined TAUC which is one of the most antique Tuna in Portugal. It is my honour to make music with this orchestra. Joining TAUC and giving performances with them was my great experience to know about Tuna in Portugal which gave me the opportunity to understand the difference between the concept of Tuna in Portugal and the one that we have in Macau.

3.2 Macanese Music

3.2.1 The definition of “Macanese Music”

The expression “Macanese Music” can be associated to various kinds of music which exist and are performed in Macau. These different kinds of music, by their turn, are associated with different profiles like, for example, music related to religious contexts (Catholic, Taoist, Buddhist) and music related to different styles (jazz music and folk music). In this dissertation, my subjects are the Portuguese-Macanese people and Tuna Macaense, which is an iconic band created by the Portuguese-Macanese. This band performs a kind of music which pretends to be unique and different from all other kinds of music that are performed in the territory. Their performers claim that their music is the real Macanese music. Therefore, in this dissertation I will use the expression “Macanese music” referring to the music performed by the Portuguese-Macanese community, in religious or secular contexts.

Why the Macanese music is important? “Portuguese-Macanese music” is not Portuguese music or Chinese music but a result of the contact between people from China and people from Europe through the presence of the Portuguese in Macau. We may say that it is a result of a big journey started in Portugal in 15th century when the Portuguese undertake their colonial mission. In fact, the Portuguese colonization was not only based on the conquest of the territories and seas, but was also marked by the attempt to spread their customs, etiquette, religion, eating habits, language and also music. During their colonial mission they tried to erase cultural features and substitute them by their culture where music is included especially through religion. The community today is identified as Portuguese-Macanese is a result of this process. They adopted Catholicism and the religious ritual, along with all other cultural ingredients related to western or European habits. That’s why this community is also said to

be the “Portuguese Catholic society” of Macau.

In fact, in their mission of promoting Catholicism, the Portuguese and missionaries who travelled with them, adopted a policy that Susana Sardo calls as the “Policy of the 3 P’s”: the Prohibited all music which was related to religious rituals – so they also erase religion which cannot be performed without music; they Permitted some kinds of local music that was not considered as “dangerous” to their colonial mission; and they Promoted western religious music, based on polyphonic and harmonic style, as the music allowed to be freely performed (Sardo 2011). This was a very common process especially applied by the Portuguese in Asia. Many ethnomusicologists already wrote and carried out research about it, namely Ana Cristina Almeida in Damão (Almeida 2013), Susana Sardo in Goa (Sardo 2011), Raan-Hann Tan in Jakarta (Tan 2016), Margaret Sarkissian in Malaca (Sarkissian 2000), Margareth Kartomi in Sumatra (Kartomi 1998). Many of these works are also presented in the collection of *The Journey of Sounds* which was published in 1998 and integrates 12 CDs about the musical soundscape related to the Portuguese colonial presence in the world. Among these CDs we can find also one related to Macau but it was not prepared by an ethnomusicologist or made with a real research approach. That’s why my dissertation is also a different proposal in the context of the works related to Macanese music and an addition to the research already made about the postcolonial musical contexts related to Portugal.

In the case of Macau, I am taking *Tuna Macaense* as my subject because *Tuna* is a musical icon of the Portuguese-Macanese community and has a history of 83 years. There are several generations of members and they are stilling producing new repertoires nowadays.

3.2.2 The concept of Tuna in Macau

Tuna groups were rising in Macau in 1930s. At the beginning, their aim was “Happy Together”. Tuna used to entertain themselves and people around. As time passed and also the society experienced the war, the situation and the performing form of Tuna changed. They are trying to keep their own culture and music then to entertain themselves. Up to the present, “Tuna Macaense” is the unique remaining Tuna in Macau. This might be the last Tuna of the Portuguese-Macanese history. As the average age of the members is around 60, after their generation, will their following generation still process Tuna? If yes, will the performing form of the following generation be the same as the previous generation? If there is no one maintains Tuna, an icon of the Portuguese-Macanese music in Macau, will the Portuguese-Macanese community do something for them, or even will the society of Macau do something for them? No one could guarantee whether Tuna would be disappeared or not in the world, or the performing form of Tuna would become totally different. However, it is necessary to record the history of the Portuguese-Macanese culture and its music has ever existed in the world.

There are some fragmental descriptions to describe groups of Tuna in Macau. According to the description of Henrique de Senna Fernandes:

As “tunas” ou grupos de músicos esfalfavam-se nos bandolins, nas violas e violinos, nos *eukaliles* e outros instrumentos, em marchas e valsas, entre risadas e brincadeiras carnavalescas. Antes de chegarem à casa que iam “assaltar”, percorriam as ruas tortuosas e estreitas da velha “cidade crista”, passando obrigatoriamente pela Praia Grande, com dezenas de mascarados atrás, em cauda, desfolhando brejeirices, com grande espanto de circunspectos chineses que não tomavam parte e, no íntimo, censuravam aquele cortejo de loucos, próprio da “gente bárbara”. (Senna Fernandes 1992:39)

According to the description of Rogério Coelho, tuna is also “a rapaziada da corda”:

Tunas houve muitas, entre os anos 30 e fins de 40, já que nem o período da guerra tirou aos macaenses o gosto pelo convívio e pela folia. Nomes como a Harmonia e a Tuna Macaense são ainda lembrados por quem participou nos assaltos e desfiles carnavalescos (...) Salvo raras exceções, as tunas faziam-se e desfaziam-se com certa facilidade. Tratando-se de associações de constituição livre e espontânea, muitas vezes bastava qualquer dissídio sobre a chefia da tuna (posição ambicionada pela popularidade que granjeava), para que o conjunto desafinasse (...) As tunas formavam-se por altura do Carnaval e de uma especificidade local - o Micareme (cerca de 40 dias depois do Entrudo), nascida do facto das pessoas não se contentarem com uma semana de folia e tentarem prolongar a festança, mesmo contra as críticas dos párocos que achavam muito pouco adequado foliar durante a Quaresma (...) As tunas tocavam alto, música alegre e especialmente marchas muitas das quais trazidas de Portugal e interpretadas tal-e-qual ou então adaptadas ao doce dialecto de Macau, o patois (...) Julga-se que tenha sido a partir da década de 60, com um reavivar da tuna, que esta passou a funcionar mais ou menos regularmente (e em moldes semi-profissionais), tocando em festas e chás-dançantes, tendo alargado também o seu repertório. (Coelho 1990: 60)

Once I asked Santos, one of the members of Tuna Macaense, “What is Tuna? Why it’s called ‘Tuna?’” He explained, “Tuna implies tuna fish. As tuna fish is always in group, and in the band, we are also in group. That’s why we are Tuna!” (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

As the Portuguese-Macanese community was influenced by the Portuguese, it is normal that Macanese Tuna was influenced by the Portuguese Tuna. I wouldn’t say there are how many per cent of Portuguese Tuna in the Macanese Tuna, like we wouldn’t say there is how many per cent of Portuguese blood in a Portuguese-Macanese. Yet we could find some Portuguese element in the Macanese Tuna such as performing forms, languages and instruments, etc.

There were groups of Tuna in Macau. Nevertheless, Tuna Macaense is the unique group that I’ve seen during my lifetime: Middle-aged men wearing simple polo shirts, who are 5 to 7 in group, holding different instruments, guitar, bass guitar, mandolin, drum kit, sometimes percussions such as tambourine, maracas; also a principle singer and the others do the harmonic voices. Usually they give performances on stage, sometimes in parties, banquets,

ceremonies. Nowadays, Tuna Macaense mainly performs as guests such as, when associations need performances in their gatherings, they hire different performing groups and Tuna Macaense is one of the choices. This is a change, even a radical change in the performance practice of Portuguese-Macanese music.

In 21st century, Tuna Macaense is the only remaining (or “leftover”) group of Tuna in the context of Portuguese-Macanese music in Macau. Although I’ve only seen Tuna Macanese since I started my fieldwork in my university life, I am glad that I have interviewed with the members of this band and the people of the Portuguese-Macanese community, also receiving information from seniors, in order to know a lot more about the past of the Portuguese-Macanese music and the gradual change of their performance practice. In the following subchapter, I am going to display the rise and decline of Tuna Macaense.

3.3 Tuna Macaense

At the 3rd year of my university life, there was an elective subject called “Music of Macau” and I took it because I think it’s necessary for me to know more about different kinds of music in my birthplace especially among the classmates from Macau and from the mainland of China. In this course, our learning and discussions were conducted using vivid and accurate first hand material on musical events that took place in Macau so we attended various events during the course such as about religions, secular and folk music, etc. However, one kind of the real “music of Macau” which I was familiar with since I was a young, the Portuguese-Macanese music, was not included in the course. Meanwhile, it was the beginning of bringing my interest of Portuguese-Macanese music to the academic life because the professor of the course encouraged me to study about the Portuguese-Macanese culture and its music and he asked me to attend the rehearsal of Tuna Macaense in order to observe them and to interview with

them.

My 1st time to start to be in touch with Tuna Macaense was in April, 2012 and at that time the band had its rehearsal in the Associação dos Macaenses (ADM) where located in a flat of a residence building. I was a bit nervous to be meeting them at the beginning because I have some experiences that some of the Portuguese-Macanese don't talk to people beyond their community. As I was in the rehearsal of Tuna Macaense for my 1st time, I felt that this band is very welcoming and the members have open minds. The members arrived to the rehearsal one by one, shaking hands with each other, giving me kisses on cheeks like the Portuguese style greetings does. Then I started to talk with the leader of the band Mr Filomeno Jorge (He is also called 'Russo' because as he told me, his friends said that he looks like Russian since he was young) and he told me a bit the history of Tuna Macanese as he knows especially the stories of the band after 1989 which was the year that he joined Tuna Macaense. After a brief talk, the rehearsal started and as one of the singers of the band was absent on that day, Russo invited me to sing with them. It's my honour to be participating with Tuna Macaense and I have sung 2 of their repertoires, "Macau, terra minha" in Portuguese and "Macau sã assi" in Patuá with the band. This was my first experience to be in touch with Tuna Macaense.

After keeping in touch with Tuna Macaense for 5 years and to interview with some of the members, I summarized the history of the band and divided the development of the band into 3 periods: the 1st is the rise and development of Tuna Macaense, the 2nd is the new Tuna Macaense and the 3rd is Nowadays' Tuna Macaense.

3.3.1 The rise and development of Tuna Macaense (1935)

When I talked with one of the members of Tuna Macaense, Mr José Santos, the bass guitar player, and asked him what “Tuna” is and how was the beginning and the development of Tuna Macanese, this is his respond:

“Tuna” is actually a musical group. There are many groups of Tuna in Portugal. There were also quite many groups of Tuna in Macau and “Tuna Macaense” was a bit more well-known. In 1935, there were about 30 members in a group of Tuna. At that time, a group of Tuna was formed at least by 30 members... There were people in Tuna Macaense who loved music a lot and they liked to bring partying atmosphere. In the 1930s, such as in a wedding party, they suddenly dropped in the house and gave a “flash mob”. They were not there to disturb but just wanted to be “Happy Together” and this was their aim at the beginning. That’s why they were really popular. Members were accumulated as time passed and maximum there were more than 30 members. You can see the photo from the album “Jardim Abençoado” which was exactly from 1935! However, Tuna Macaense had been functioning like this until the Segunda Guerra Mundial and it stopped. It was because of the war and no one tried to extend this performing form then this brought Tuna Macaense to a pause. Until people could think up Tuna Macaense and the Portuguese-Macanese music, it was already in the 1980s and Tuna Macaense started to be reorganized. (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)



Figure 4: Tuna Macaense in 1935
(Source: Provided by Russo)

Tuna Macaense was formed in 1935 and there were around 30 members at the beginning. When I asked Russo who was founder of Tuna Macaense, he said that he doesn't know and there is no information about it, therefore, no one knows. He added that the groups of Tuna joined together because of their culture and their music, especially the band used to play string instruments such as guitars, mandolins and violins. Giving "flash mob" to someone's house or parties was a very iconic performing form of Tuna Macaense at the beginning. They used to bring partying atmosphere to people and they performed without music scores but improvising harmonic music.

Although there is no information about who was the founder of Tuna Macaense, we could believe that before the band started in 1935, there were already some core members had an intention to organize a band and the performing form of giving "flash mob" had already preliminarily existed. This performing style lasted until the 1940s and once the 2nd World War started in 1939, the society had lost calm. People didn't care about anything besides the war and the groups of Tuna went downhill. Until 1945, the war ended and the society returned calm gradually. There is no information of the situation of Tuna Macaense after the Second World War in the 1950s and 1960s, but we could believe that they were still operating. Otherwise, they wouldn't have lasted until nowadays.

When I asked Mr José Santos how Tuna Macaense from after the war in 1945 to the 1980s was, and he answered:

It stopped for quite a long period of time. Since the society started to be peaceful, no one thought about the Tuna until the 1980s, such as some old people... I still remember in 1976, there were some people playing music from Tuna Macaense, and some of them were the members of the Tuna Macaense before the war, they were already at the age of more than 50. There was something like Tuna at that time but it was just a band and not approved by the Macau government, only until 1982, Tuna Macaense registered as an official associação

in the Macau government and they wanted to recruit some sócio. I still remember they were all old people at that time and that's why they wanted to recruit some young members. There were only 2 to 3 old members left but how could a band only run by 2 to 3 members? That's why they needed to invite some newbies to join them. But it was impossible to reorganize Tuna Macaense as the performing style from 1935. (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

In the 1970s to 1980s, the performing style of Tuna Macaense changed as some of the members turned old, some of them had passed away and some of them weren't interested in the music group anymore. Therefore, the members of the group had decreased although it was still running. According to Russo, Tuna Macaense has become an official association of the Macau government in 1982 and in the following year in 1983, Tuna Macaense was awarded "Medalha de Mérito Cultural" by the Macau Government. Russo hasn't joined the band at that time but only until 1989. In the following paragraph, I am going to talk about Tuna Macaense after Russo joined the band and become the leader.



Figure 5: Tuna Macaense in 1983
(Source: Provided by Russo)

3.3.2 The new Tuna Macaense (After 1989)

Russo, the leader of Tuna Macaense nowadays, joined the band in 1989 but he was not the leader at that time. Here is the description of the beginning when he joined the band:

When I entered Tuna Macaense, there were only 5 repertoires in Patuá and the other repertoires are in Portuguese. It is because Portuguese was mainly used among Portuguese-Macanese. Also, Chinese languages were not allowed to speak at school. Therefore, the repertoires of Tuna Macaense were mainly in Portuguese and a few in Patuá. (Russo, 24th April, 2012, interview)

In 1999, Portugal had returned Macau to China. Some of the group members had an idea to dismiss the group because they had different opinions such as some previous members insisted to perform their repertoires in Portuguese and Patuá in order to keep their self-identity, but Russo thinks that as Macau was integrating into China, they should have started to perform their repertoires in Chinese, no matter in Cantonese or Mandarin, they should use the Chinese language to interpret the multiplicity of the band. Also, in 2003, they were facing a difficulty about the tax problem and it led the band to a danger:

There was a period of time we were required to pay for a business tax to the Macau government. There were some members didn't want to pay for the tax and one of them was the leader of the band, they wanted to dismiss the band, or they would leave Tuna Macaense and organize another band. We were thinking what would happen if the band was dismissed. Later on, Russo and I insisted to run the band and we planned to write a letter to the government to claim that we are non-profit making organization but a cultural band, at the same time we didn't get sponsor from the government. Our income was only to operate the band such as making group uniform, maintenance of instruments and amplifiers, and transportation, etc. And then Direcção dos Serviços de Finanças de Macau sent us an instruction, claiming that we are non-profit making organization so that we don't need to pay the tax. (Santos, 19th June, 2016, interview)

As some members didn't want to deal with the tax problem, the leader said that he wouldn't be the leader and would leave the band. Mr. Santos added:

In this case, Russo stated that if these members didn't want to run the band, he would. As

we sent a letter to the government and we got reply that we don't need to pay tax, these members stayed in the band. This was one of the chances Tuna Macaense would have dismissed, we were really in danger! (Santos, 19th June, 2016, interview)

Fortunately, Russo kept the group eagerly and after this period of hard time, some members left and Russo took over the band and has become the leader, he also composes new repertoires for the band. As he was born in Macau, he speaks Cantonese but doesn't understand written Chinese, when he has composed a new repertoire, he asked some friends of him to write the lyrics in Chinese for him. And as he said that there are not so many people can write lyrics in Patuá, he took the poems of his uncle and he gives melodies to these lyrics. His uncle was José dos Santos Ferreira (1919-1993), a famous Portuguese-Macanese poet and wrote many poems in Patuá, he was also a defender of the Patuá language (Rangel 2012:66-70). Russo thinks that it is important to show their variety of the band to the audience:

Macau is a melting pot and we are said to be “filhos da terra”, that's why in every performance, we sing in several different languages: Besides Portuguese and Patuá, there are also Cantonese, Mandarin, English, or even Japanese. Our band gave performances in many places such as the mainland of China, Asia, America, Europe and Australia, etc. We play all kind of music in every performance we give, such as we play the repertoires of the others, but at the same time we must perform our own music in order to keep our tradition and to show our multiculturalism. (Russo, 24th April, 2012, interview)

In 2007, Tuna Macaense was awarded again the “Medalha de Mérito Cultural” by the Macau Government and this was their 2nd time. When I mentioned about these awards, Mr. Santos was so excited and said:

There were 2 times! We are extremely proud of it! What we got was called “Medalha de Mérito Cultural” in Portuguese. We got it twice, one occurred during the period of the Portuguese Macau and another occurred during the period of the Chinese Macau! (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)



Figure 6: Tuna Macaense in 2007

Left to right: Vitor Pereira, Filomeno Jorge (Russo), Carlos Pereira, Belita Carvalhal, Edward Ho, José Santos, Arnaldo Gomes
(Source: Provided by Russo)

Meanwhile, Mr. Santos added that, “However, our members feel like Tuna Macaense is an orphan. Although we are a bit famous and have merit medals from the government, we don’t have a place to stay.” At the beginning when I was in touch with Tuna Macaense, their difficulties have already existed. In the following paragraph, I am going to talk about the current situation of Tuna Macaense and their difficulties.

3.3.3 Nowadays’ Tuna Macaense and the difficulties

Tuna Macaense has been facing 2 main difficulties: They don’t have their own place to stay and they don’t have their next generation. Continued from the preceding paragraph, Mr. Santos stated that there are 2 reasons why the band has no place to stay:

First of all, none of our member has tried to fight for a place to have rehearsal, there’s no

one. If you don't ask, the government wouldn't offer a place. That's why we are now here and there. Second, we relied too much to the Instituto de Formação Turística (IFT). We used to be there and to give shows every Friday and of course, we had our rehearsal there. As IFT offered place to us to have rehearsal, we entered their place 2 to 3 times freely every week, then we settled and didn't think it's necessary to find another place. Until the transfer of sovereignty in 1999, there are some people who don't like much Portuguese-Macanese, they wanted us to leave but they didn't have excuse since we have been there for a long time. A bit later, we had a request but they said that they couldn't fulfill us and then they had an excuse to ask us leave. We used to give shows in IFT. Every Friday, we needed to move our instrument to the stage and you know the instrument is really heavy. As we were already quite old and didn't want to get hurt, we asked them if we could put our instrument on the stage and hide it with some curtain. When we had rehearsal, we only needed to open the curtain and start to practice. They rejected us at once and said that they could not make it. As they could not fulfill us, we needed to stop for a bit and to think of the other ways. When we come back to them, they said that they don't want us anymore and asked us to move out all our stuff. In this case, we had no rehearsal for a while. (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

Luckily, a place found us later but the band keeps moving since these years and until nowadays, they still have no place to rehearse:

Later on, the Associação dos Macaenses (ADM) invited us to play in their birthday parties of every month. ADM said that as we didn't ask them to pay to us, they could offer us their place to rehearse, and we were settled again in ADM. After a period of time, there was maintenance in ADM and we had to leave there. And then, we went to the Associação de Danças e Cantares Portuguesa "Macau no Coração" in an industrial building. Not even a year, the lease of the industrial building was ended and we all had to move out, then we had to move again. We don't have a place to rehearse now. Sometimes we rent a place to rehearse but we need to pay by our own. (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

When I asked Mr Santos if the band still couldn't find a place, what else would they do and he answered:

We can only dismiss our band. If we want to continue, we need to rent a place to rehearse even we will have to pay by our own. In my opinion, I would rather keep our culture, our language Patuá and the reputation of Tuna Macaense, the only way is to rent a place and pay by our own. We really have no way, there's no place but sometimes we have to rehearse. It is not possible that when we have performances or people invite us to give shows without rehearsing. We are now having bad memory as we are old, that's why we need rehearsal. Even we have to pay by our own, we need a place! (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

Another difficulty that Tuna Macaense has to face is they don't have their next generation and

it is hard to train a new group of youth. Portuguese-Macanese is no longer domination the society of Macau therefore it's normal that its music is not a mainstream and youth think that it's not the music of their generation. Mr Santos gave us an example:

If you invite some youths to join us nowadays, they would say, 'No, this is old-fashioned! Those repertoires are not my type!' These youths wouldn't join us even we tried hard to invite them. Even those mums will only bring them to study piano or violin, but who would study this old-fashioned Portuguese-Macanese music? Our instrument such as mandolin is not popular that youths don't like it, their mums don't like it and no one will learn it! This is really our difficulty. When you asked how long Tuna Macaense will be running, I really have no idea. Maybe it disappears after all of our members die! (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

Also, they are lack for mandolin players in the band because mandolin is not a popular instrument in Macau and the band always needs to deal with the problem of mandolin:

We were lucky that soon later we got a mandolin player but it's not enough. We tried to find a second mandolin player but we couldn't find anyone. No one is willing to learn mandolin that's why our band only has one mandolin player. Once we were in a studio to record a CD album and there was a song includes 2 mandolins. Our player needed to record the first mandolin part and then the second to make the 2-voice melody. Therefore, we really hope that there is one more mandolin player in our band! (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

When I asked Mr Santos if they have some solution, he answered:

It is very difficult. First of all, we would like to go to some schools and give shows to the youth. But before this, we need a connection such as by the government or some other organizations. We have no method to connect with the schools. We want to give shows in some schools such as Escola Portuguesa de Macau or those schools which are emphasize on music, in order to develop the interest of the youth and to promote the Portuguese-Macanese music. We need a manager to do this! Such as the promotion of the album "Jardim Abençoadado" last time, we didn't know how to do and only organize a buffet in ADM and invited some government officials as the government has sponsored us, we even didn't demonstrate our music. This is how our promotion is since we really don't know how to do, only to take some photos, to be interviewed and to publish in the newspaper. We have no manager, we just keep trying and do it all by ourselves. (Santos, 19th June, 2016, interview)

Mr Santos insisted that it's very important to keep the band going and the other members also

agreed with him because they have the spirit of unity:

I found that the spirit of unity is extremely important. Without this spirit, we wouldn't have run for such long time. This is our goal. We couldn't imagine that we are still running the band but we really had a hard and dangerous time. Also one of our members has heart disease because of playing percussion too much but he insisted that even we are only 4, we will still run the band! (Santos, 13th March, 2017, interview)

Repertoires

➤ Macau Sã Assi

TELADO QUI VÊLO

CO RÓPA SUGÁ

ESCADA QU'ISTRÊTO

JANELA CO FULA

NHO-NHÓNHA CANTÁ

MIN-PAU QUENTE-QUENTE

PADÊRO GRITÁ

SOL FÓRTI DI RIVA

TÊNG-TÊNG-LOU DI BASSO

ASSI SÃ MACAU!

CHISTE QUI PAPIA NA GUIA

CORÊ VAI DONA MARIA

CHEGA CEDO SAN MÁ LOU

QUI AZINHA COMO DODA

TA PULÁ NA TUDO BOCA

CHUNAMBÉRO PA LILAU
NHUM FALA MACAU SÃ GRÁNDI, QUI FOI
NÔS SENTI QUE NUNCA SÃ
SAI PA RUA CEDO CEDO
VAI DI BARA PORTA CERCO
OLA GENTE CONHECIDO
ABRI NA JANELA
MASQUI SEZA ALTO
NHU-NHUM NUVILÉRO
CORÊ VÊM GUDAM
AZINHA ISCUTA
COMEÇA MÁ-LINGU
TUDO CORÊ VIEM
D'INTUNGA MANÉRA
NA CASA INTERO QUIM LOGO ESCAPÁ

See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wAeGYtGyKQI>

➤ Não precisa

Você diz que não precisa

Viver sonhando tanto

Que vivo a fazer

Demais, por você

Diz que não precisa

A cada vez que canto
Uma canção a mais, pra você
Mas tem que ser assim
Pra ser de coração
Não diga não precisa
Tem que ser assim
É seu meu coração
Não diga não precisa
Eu já sonhei com a vida
Agora vivo um sonho
Mas viver ou sonhar
Com você, tanto faz
Não diga não precisa
Eu digo que é preciso
A gente se amar demais
Nada a mais
Mas tem que ser assim
Pra ser de coração
Não diga não precisa
Tem que ser assim
É seu meu coração
Não diga não precisa

See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=txppX4D3_bo

➤ Quero ficar contigo

Teu olhar sensual

Teu corpo sexual

Sinto meu coração

Batendo anormal

Tuas faces coradas

Sinal de pecado

Desejo de paixão

Quero ficar contigo

Assim perdido

Para mais uma noite

Em prol do amor

Como é bom sentir assim

Juntos neste jardim

Desejava que esta noite

Nunca tivesse fim

Para conseguir estar

Sempre ao lado de mim

See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZbE1gWUmYfc>

Conclusion

1. Self-belonging is more meaningful than a definition

Here is a folk rhyme in Patuá which is about the Lilau Well because according to the legend, when Portuguese arrived in Macau, they asked for water and the local people fetched them water from the Lilau Well.

Quim bebê águ do Lilau,
nádi esquecê Macau.
Quim bebê da bica lô,
casa e volta para Macau.

This rhyme brings out the message that, whoever drinks the water from the Lilau Well/String will never forget Macau. Even only one sip of it, will come back and stay in Macau.

After studying about the Portuguese-Macanese community and according to my life experience for years, there is not an exact definition of what Portuguese-Macanese is, or I would say the definition can be always moving. If you ask the Portuguese-Macanese or non-Portuguese-Macanese what the definition of Portuguese-Macanese is, they would have different answer. Self-identity is more important than an exact definition and this rhyme implies that being a Portuguese-Macanese would see Macau as their root and feel Macau as their home. As I have been living nearby the Lilau Well/Spring since I was born and got nourished by the atmosphere, it buried a seed for me of getting to know more about the Portuguese-Macanese and this made who I am today.

2. The polarization

The Portuguese-Macanese community was constructed by the Portuguese-Macanese since it was formed many years ago. As the boundary of the community is becoming vague, the

culture and lifestyle of the community is merging into the society of Macau, the blood of the Portuguese-Macanese is being “diluted”, people of the community think that their culture is fading or even faded. A bunch of them don’t mind to merge with the other elements while a bunch of them are putting effort to keep their culture and their self-identities. Therefore, the community is being put in a situation of cultural ambiguity.

As people in the society of Macau had to welcome the radical change, the transfer of sovereignty in 1999, and this was a problem for the Portuguese-Macanese community that they polarized themselves to be more Portuguese or more Chinese. This implicates ideologically that, for those who chose to become more Chinese were ready to be merged with the other communities in Macau or even with the mainland of China; for those who chose to become more Portuguese stayed at their comfort zone, giving effort to maintain their community and make it alive. It is because they have a traumatic feeling and prefer to stay in the past, and at the same time they commemorate the antique period of Macau as the society keeps changing without waiting for them. I remember one time I tried to talk to a Portuguese-Macanese woman and asked if I could interview her. She refused me and even not that willing to talk more with me. On the contrary, members of Tuna Macaense are open-minded that they welcome all kinds of people to interview them and to see their rehearsal. This is a good sign that they retain their culture, music and language, and at the same time they are open to public.

3. Living in the same city but not feeling in the community

Since 2012, I started to get in touch with Tuna Macaense and my position is an observer and researcher. The members of the band and I am living in the same city, but we have different self-identities, different life styles and different minds, etc. As the average age of the members

is around 60, they feel like after they pass away there will be no one to continue the band. Therefore, they need to invite and train some new members in order to keep the Portuguese-Macanese music alive. They supposed to aim for their children firstly, but their following generation is not interested to this music so they started to find newbies beyond their community. As if the non-Portuguese-Macanese has no feeling of being a Portuguese-Macanese, even they learn this music, it will become another thing like they are just copying the performing style, learning the language, the repertoires, and giving derivative performance.

There were several times they invited me to join their band but I don't think I have that feeling, the feeling of belonging to the Portuguese-Macanese community. Even if I join their band and give derivative performance, I can sure it will become another different style of music and the audience wouldn't see authenticity in me. In this case, I would rather observe about them until this band or this music fades, and of course, to tell people in the future about the past of Tuna Macaense and this great band had ever existed in the society and in the world.

4. To create an opportunity

I was lucky that I got a teaching job last month and supposedly in this coming September, I will be a teacher of music in a primary school and to start a new page of my life. As the members of Tuna Macaense mentioned that they need promotion of the band and the Portuguese-Macanese music, teaching in a school is one of the good ways to start even though it wouldn't be easy.

Youth nowadays are not interested in Portuguese-Macanese music, thinking that it is old-fashioned. Therefore, it is extremely difficult for the band to bring up their following

generation. People outside of the community or even inside the community don't think that this culture is important and somehow want to abandon it. In this situation, it is important to recall the history of Macau in order to let the new generation know the past of Macau. And as I will be a music teacher, I have a mission that to teach the students various kinds of music in Macau and Portuguese-Macanese music is existed. In the future, the youth might continue the Portuguese-Macanese music, or at least they would have interest to know about this music and do something to contribute to it.

5. Taking an urgent step to save the history in a way to retain the history

As the Portuguese-Macanese music is suffering extinction as the Portuguese-Macanese language Patuá, but the music is not concerned as the language. Furthermore, it is obvious that the Macau Government doesn't support much the band and when the band is lack for sponsor, it is hard to run. Especially they are lack for places to have rehearsal, it is important that to have rehearsal and warm-up before every single performance although they are familiar with their repertoire. The members of Tuna Macaense could foresee that their culture and music are fading, what their wish is the society could still remember their music and this culture has ever existed in Macau. That's why they compose various kinds of repertoire and ask for help to record their repertoire, in order for people to know their history. However, I am not a Portuguese-Macanese, neither a part of Tuna Macaense, I would rather define myself as an observer or researcher of the band and I am glad to be in this position. If someday the members ask me to learn the music in order to continue the band, I would choose another way: record and notate their repertoires, in order to put them into the history and to tell people that the music from the window between China and Europe – the Portuguese-Macanese music – has ever existed in the world.

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Attachment

Interviews

Interview 1: M. Senna Fernandes, on 25th June, 2016. Square of Lazaro Church.

Interview 2: António Assis, on 28th December, 2014. António Assis's home in Macau.

Interview 3: Antonio Ng, on 1st December, 2015. Office of New Macau Association.

Interview 4: Carlos Lemos, on 9th December, 2016. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Macau.

Interview 5: José Santos, on 13th March, 2017. McDonald's in Nam Van, Macau.

Interview 6: Rogério Monteiro , on 9th March, 2017. Round-The-Clock Coffee Shop, Grand Lisboa, Macau.

Figures

Figure 1: Map of Macau – 2017

Figure 2: The “12.3 Incident” happened in 1966

Figure 3: TAUC performed in the soirée of Queima das Fitas in Coimbra in May, 2014.

Figure 4: Tuna Macaense in 1935

Figure 5: Tuna Macaense in 1983

Figure 6: Tuna Macaense in 2007

Videography

Video 1: Macau Sã Assi: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wAeGYtGyKQI>

Video 2: Não precisa: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=txppX4D3_bo

Video 3: Quero ficar contigo: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZbE1gWUmYfc>