



Universiteit Utrecht

Narrating the People of Macau:
An Investigation on How the Chinese, the Portuguese and the Macanese
Express Their Identities in Relationship with Macau in Their Songs

Master Thesis

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Who can say his/her blood's pure?
And even it were, then what?
A rainbow's beauty lies in its colours if
All flowers were red
What would you think of them?

This small city has a hometown's flavour
And foreign sentiments
A quaint tradition has come into being
Most fixed this land
It's on people's faces in their words
And flowing hair

History demands we remember
Yes like to every new-born babe
We smile and we bid welcome

—

Macau Poems - Mixed Blood, Han Mu¹

¹ Christopher (Kit) Kelen and Anges Vong, *I Roll the Dice - Contemporary Macao Poetry*, (Macau: Association of Stories in Macao, 2008), 52.

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Abstract

Since the coming of the Portuguese in the mid-sixteenth century, Macau has been a hub of western and eastern cultural exchange. Different types of indigenous hybrid cultural heritage, like music, language and poetry, has been created. Yet, as reflected by sociologist Li Zhanpeng and musicologist da Veiga Jardim, little has been done in documenting the aforementioned cultural products and in investigating the identity of the people living in Macau.² By studying songs depicting Macau written by different people groups, this paper explores how they articulate their identities and their ideologies about Macau through music. Specifically, in my project, I will look into the Chinese songs “Song of Seven Sons” and “Song of Macau”, the Portuguese songs “Macau, My Land” and “Good-Bye, Macau”, and the Macanese songs “This is Macau” and “A Macanese House”, using the discourses of music and identity, as well as theories of hybridity and post-colonialism as discussed by Simon Frith, Stuart Hall and the others. I will analyze these selected works regarding their languages, musicality, appearance, and the politics behind them. I argue that although one group might have contradictory thoughts and ideas with another in terms of identity, power and beliefs, their understanding about themselves and Macau constructs a collective memory and recognition to this place. Over time it can also be seen that there is an evolution in terms of their narratives of identity and the audience’ perception, resulting in a mobile identification of the people. In the end, this investigation, by examining the musical aspects of Macau’s culture, sheds light on delineating the rarely acknowledged yet complicated identity of the people from Macau.

² Zhanpeng Li 李展鵬, *Yinxing Aomen - Bei Hushi De Chengshi He Wenhua* 隱形澳門 - 被忽視的城市和文化, [Invisible Macau - The Ignored City and Culture] (Xinbei: Walkers Cultural Enterprises, Ltd, 2018), 24-37 and Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By – Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau, 1818-1935*. (Macau: Cultural Affairs Bureau, 2018), 1.

Introduction

Macau (or Macao Special Administrative Region) was a Portuguese colony for around 450 years before it was handed over to China in 1999. Different cultures have mixed considerably since the first encounter between the Portuguese navigators and the officials from the Ming Dynasty. Traces of the ex-colonizer still prevail on this small piece of land. Both cultures have inevitably imposed their impacts on Macau, and at the same time, cultural hybridization between the two has also occurred here - the Portuguese festivities, like the Procession of Our Lady of Fatima, the Chinese belief, like that of *Mazu* (the Mother Goddess of Sea), the Macanese creole language *Patuá* and their arts, as well as the unique architectural style that fused the East and West, the governmental system of “One Country, Two Systems”, to name just a few. Certain distinctive characteristics can arguably be reflected from this place and the people from Macau.

However, when asked “who are the people from Macau?” and “what characters does a person from Macau possess?”, the people can seldom give a concrete and representative answer. To some extent it is due to the complicated history of Macau.³ As Macau has been a nod that ties the West and the East, it has also long been the victim of the conflicts between the powers struggling for their own interests. Neither the Portuguese, the Chinese nor the local government had a complete decisive power over the matters of Macau before the hand-over, as this small piece of land served mainly as a battlefield witnessing four centuries long of power struggle, unstable, and

³ Xiyuan Li 黎熙元, “Nanyi Biaoshu De Shenfen - Aomenren De Wenhua Rentong 難以表述的身分 - 澳門人的文化認同,” [An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau] *Ershiyi shiji*, 二十一世紀 [Twenty-first Century] vol. 92, (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005), 16-18.

constantly disturbed. Thus, Macau could hardly yield a singular and leading ideology for its own, let alone a collective identity for its people.⁴

Nevertheless, the discussion of identity has been encouraged by various political initiatives after 1999, such as the inscription of Macau Historical Centre on the World Heritage List of UNESCO in 2005, and the declaration of Patuá as a critically endangered language in 2009. These movements have greatly influenced how the people of Macau perceive their own history, culture and identity with reference to the Chinese, the Portuguese and the Macanese culture. This paper, therefore, serves as a relevant step and a humble purpose in delineating the communal memories shared by the aforementioned people groups by investigating one of the crucial aspects where cultural identity can well be asserted and expressed - music.

This investigation, thus, explores how these people groups articulate their identities, ideologies and feelings about Macau through their music over time. I will look into the Chinese songs “七子之歌 - 澳門” (Song of Seven Sons - Macau) and “澳門之歌” (Song of Macau), the Portuguese songs “Macau, Terra Minha” (Macau, My Land) and “Adeus, Macau” (Good-Bye, Macau), and the Macanese songs “Macau Sâm Assi” (This is Macau) and “Unga Casa Macaísta” (A Macanese Home). Based on the discourses of music and identity discussed by Simon Frith, and following the theories of “identity”, “post-colonialism” and “hybridity” depicted by Stuart Hall, Frantz Fanon and others, this paper hopes to clarify how the three people groups express feelings of belonging to Macau, how their narratives correlate with the historical context, and how identity is constructed through music.

As Brazilian-born musicologist Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto points out, “specific discussions on Macau’s music are virtually nonexistent...materials that can be relied

⁴ João de Pina Cabra 賈淵 and Nelson Lourenço 陸凌梭, “Qiyuan Wenti - Aomen Tusheng De Jiating Yu Zuqunxing 起源問題 - 澳門土生的家庭與族群性,” [The Question of Origin - the Macanese Family and Their Societal Features in Macau] *Review of Culture*, Chinese edition, vol. No. 15-16, (Macau: Cultural Institute of Macau, 1993), 30 and Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 20.

upon to support a research on music in Macau have been limited.”⁵ Regardless of the music by the Chinese, the Portuguese or the Macanese, little can be found or has been sorted to keep a good record. Besides, Macau sociologist Zhanpeng Li (李展鵬) also observes that little has been done in researching the humanistic and cultural sides of Macau, let alone the cultural development of the different people groups living in Macau.⁶ This paper is well justified, as it revisits some of the musical aspects of Macau, and at the same time helps to shed light upon the construction of the rarely acknowledged yet complicated identity of the people in Macau. This project also explores how different narratives of the same piece of history can be re-told by different people groups in the post-colonial era.

To present the discourse clearly, this paper will start with the methodology and the explanation of the chosen repertoire, followed by a review of the theoretical frameworks used in this investigation. Specific historical context of Macau, which reveals the complexity of the identity formation of the people of Macau, will then be presented. In the case studies, by looking at related documents and lyrics, the languages, the musicality, the historical contexts and the politics related to the repertoire will be discussed to see how the identification of these people groups as well as the people from Macau as a collective has been narrated over time.

⁵ Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By – Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau*, 1.

⁶ Li, *Yinxing Aomen - Bei Hushi De Chengshi He Wenhua* 隱形澳門 - 被忽視的城市和文化, [Invisible Macau - The Ignored City and Culture], 24-37.

Methodology

In my project, I will investigate six songs composed by the Chinese, the Portuguese and the Macanese. Sung in Mandarin Chinese, although the verse of “Song of Seven Sons - Macau” was written by the poet Wen Yiduo (聞一多) in 1925, the song itself was composed by Li Haiying (李海鷹) in 1998. “Song of Macau”, also sung in Mandarin, was written by the Taiwanese lyricist Preston Lee (李安秀) and the Macau composer Keith Chan (陳輝陽) in 2009. “Macau, My Land” is sung in Portuguese, was produced by the the Portuguese/Macanese band Thunders and was released in 1970. “Good-Bye, Macau”, on the other hand, though sung in Portuguese, was written by the Macanese Filomeno Jorge (Russo) and released in 1994. “This is Macau” by the Macanese José “Adé”, and “A Macanese Home” by the Macanese Henrique Senna Fernandes, are sung in Patuá, the Macanese’ language, and were released in 1994 and in 1997 respectively.

This repertoire is chosen because of a few reasons. Firstly, as provoked by their titles, they explicitly express a relationship with Macau. Secondly, despite the fact that the literal verses for the songs were written over a long period of time, their productions took place from 1970 to around 2010, the period where the Portuguese and the Chinese governments actively talked about the issues of the transfer of Macau’s sovereignty, where the transition of the two governing powers took place, and where the Macanese’ status has been encouraged in the name of cultural diversity. Thirdly, they all appear continually in significant moments where a large public can attend to and have mutual musical experience.

Specifically, the investigation revolves around the usage of language - how they exploit different wordings and languages to represent themselves in the relationship with Macau in the lyrics;⁷ the musicality - how they make use of different styles and genres in linking themselves with those who also practise these genres; the

⁷ The complete lyrics and their respective English translation can be found in the appendices.

performances and the politics behind these songs - where, when and for what these songs have been played and how these songs are related to the specific time and space in the history of Macau. The theories of cultural identity, cultural hybridity and musical identity is used alongside to delineate how these people groups narrate the history of Macau, and how they manifest their identity and their relationship with this place through their music.

Theoretical Framework

As migratory and mobile as the history and cultures of different people living in Macau can be, identity as a fluid, ongoing process, as argued by Stuart Hall,⁸ will be a worthwhile concept to let us gain insight into the process of cultural identity formation of the people from Macau. The essentialist way of defining one's identity, which I, as well as many of my peers, have learnt from families or in schools - "your skin is yellow and you speak Cantonese, therefore you are a Chinese," "you have a Portuguese surname and you are a Catholic, therefore you are a Portuguese," - cannot effectively ease the discourse of identity happening in Macau, as it has been happening for a long time. Besides, I will also demonstrate why, in our case, music is a meaningful cultural aspect to look into when investigating the fluid identification process as put forward by Simon Frith.⁹

The Fluidity of Identity

According to cultural theorist Stuart Hall, there are at least two distinct ways of interpreting "cultural identity". The first way can be understood as a group of people sharing a common history, ancestry, a "one true self" that makes the group "one people".¹⁰ The second way, on the other hand, does not provoke an essential "core". Rather, identity formation is a process of finding "who we have become",¹¹ suggesting a mobilizing and evolving property. The first way of interpreting identity, in Hall's words, "played a critical role in all postcolonial struggles",¹² and in constructing postcolonial identities. However, as Hall has also stated, by researching and *retelling* history, we tend to reproduce "an imagined community" by narrating "an

⁸ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Diaspora and Visual Culture : Representing Africans and Jews*, Nicholas Mirzoeff, ed., (London: Routledge, 2000), 23.

⁹ Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall, ed., (Los Angeles, California: Sage, 2011), 124-125.

¹⁰ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 21-22.

¹¹ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 23-24.

¹² Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 22.

imaginative history”.¹³ Identity is, therefore, based on the narratives of history. Macau, as a former Portuguese colony, has doubtlessly been a witness of different versions of its own history retold by its people in their books, architectural styles and even folktales. This paper thus serves to investigate if different narratives of history can also be seen in their respective music.

By narrating history, aspiration and aggression are also exerted upon the group being narrated.¹⁴ According to Frantz Fanon, by “reading” the people group and by providing specific narratives, “[an] external gaze seeks to name them” with a specific identity.¹⁵ Besides, this “look” also does so “in the ambivalence of its desire”.¹⁶ Our identity, thus, arises by internalizing what and how people narrate us - how we are “interpreted” from the “external gaze”. We become what the others think we are, and at the same time we carry on their fantasies, desire and hostility - we are attached to a narrow spectrum, a limited horizon.¹⁷

However, the profoundly different cultures existing in Macau and the troubled history of Macau has not allowed the people of Macau to be fixed simply by a single narrative. Rather, there are “narratives” from different people groups. Those belonging to one group and being represented by the other(s) would see the other’s/ others’ narratives as “external gazes”. There are nevertheless conflicts and disunity among these narratives, which actually allow the people from Macau to negotiate with these gazes - have a “space of possibility”¹⁸ where they can reflect on how their identity is being told, instead of accepting who they are fixed to be.

¹³ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 22-23, 28, Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised, London: Verso, 2016 and Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Penguin, 2003), 55.

¹⁴ Jillian Paragg, "Ambivalence, Negotiation and the Everyday Gaze: Exploring Mixed Race Identity," *Journal of Religion and Culture*, (2011): 147 -148 and Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 29.

¹⁵ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 109, Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 29 and Paragg, "Ambivalence, Negotiation and the Everyday Gaze: Exploring Mixed Race Identity," 147 -148.

¹⁶ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 29.

¹⁷ Paragg, "Ambivalence, Negotiation and the Everyday Gaze: Exploring Mixed Race Identity," 148.

¹⁸ Paragg, "Ambivalence, Negotiation and the Everyday Gaze: Exploring Mixed Race Identity," 148.

This becomes inconsistent to the claim of the oneness, fixedness of identity, and thus has led to the second way of interpreting identity as provoked by Hall, where, instead of asking “who we are”, identity is more about “who we have become”, reflecting on the fact that identification is never a process proceeding “in a straight unbroken line from some fixed origin”.¹⁹ Identification is a question of how we use the resources of history, language, culture, space and time, as well as the how we interpret the equilibrium of different powers and politics.²⁰ There is no essence behind an identity, but identity is all about a positioning by a given narrative.²¹ Studying identification, therefore, is a process of finding how we have been positioned by external gazes and how this has an impact on how we might represent ourselves.²² This provides us the premise on which a re-studying of the songs produced by the different people groups who comprise the collective culture of Macau can provide us insight in understand the identification of the people. It is best to look at how and what their narratives of Macau and the people of Macau “have become”, in order not to blind us from seeing only one narrative.

Hybridity and Culture’s “In-betweenness”

To study the identity and culture of the people from Macau, it is best to contemplate this identity and culture as a hybrid product, a “culture’s in-between”, or

¹⁹ Hall writes that “cultural identity... is a matter of “becoming” as well as of “being.” It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous “play” of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in mere “recovery” of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.” Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 23-24.

²⁰ Stuart Hall, “Who Needs Identity?” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall, ed., (Los Angeles, California: Sage, 2011), 4.

²¹ Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 24.

²² Hall, “Who Needs Identity?” 4.

in Homi Bhabha's words, a "partial culture".²³ "Hybridity", according to Marwan Kraidy, refers "mostly to culture but retains residual meanings related to the three interconnected realms of race, language, and ethnicity."²⁴ In the post-colonial era, living in hybridity inevitably means co-existing with the Others and accepting the assimilation of the Others. This phenomenon can naturally be seen in terms of culture and identification, after a long history of colonialism, migration and assimilation. Apparently in Macau, as the Macanese have emerged from the two greater nations, this "partial culture" is meant to be the "connective tissue between cultures."²⁵ This situation can easily be observed in their cultural products like poetry and music, where they have expressed their uniqueness through distinguishing themselves as a culture "in-between".

Living in hybridity, however, also stresses on the mobile and changeable nature of powers, where the positioning of identity varied and the identification of the people became ambiguous as time goes by. This became particularly recognizable in Macau, where people can hardly give a specific "name-tag" of themselves, in comparison with the Hong Kongers or the mainland Chinese.²⁶ This has arisen because of the century-long amputated political environment before the hand-over, where neither the Portuguese nor the Chinese have imposed a complete influence over the people of Macau - the general public of Macau themselves have also become a culture "in-between".²⁷ This has resulted in the problematic situation I have disclosed in the beginning of this chapter, where having an essentialist claim of identity does not work effectively for everyone in Macau.

²³ Homi K. Bhabha, "Culture's In-between," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall, ed., (Los Angeles, California: Sage, 2011), 54 and Emily Yu Zong, "Rethinking Hybridity: Amputated Selves in Asian Diasporic Identity Formation," in *Worldmaking: Literature, Language, Culture*, Tom Clark, Emily Finlay & Philippa Kelly, ed., (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017), 191.

²⁴ John Tomlinson, "Cultural Hybridity and International Communication," in *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, Marwan M. Kraidy, ed., (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2005), 1.

²⁵ Bhabha, "Culture's In-between," 54.

²⁶ Li, "Nanyi Biaoshu De Shenfen - Aomenren De Wenhua Rentong 難以表述的身分 - 澳門人的文化認同," [An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau] 16.

²⁷ Li, "An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau," 24.

To clear such vagueness of identification, it is important to be able to “reinscribe the past, reactivate it, resignify it.”²⁸ This further supports the need to re-study and re-investigate the cultures and narratives of history of Macau by the different people groups residing there. Instead of plotting an identity for the people of Macau, it is best investigating the identification process of the people of Macau. To know clearly how the people from Macau “have become”, it is worthwhile to study how the narratives of history have been told, how they have evolved and how they differ from the others. This is where music comes to play an important role, where narration becomes malleable and mobile, and where emotions and fantasies of a people group can best be conveyed.²⁹

Identity and Music

With so many different aspects under the term “culture” - paintings, sculptures, literature, architecture, etc., music is among one of the most powerful and meaningful ways in constructing and expressing people’s identity.³⁰ Music also serves as “a catalyst in the social chemistry which produces the feeling of belonging to a group”.³¹ Music does not only act on insiders, but can also be “geared towards the audience”. Music evokes a communal memory and experience that, in specific time and space, exert a vision of “who we are” most powerfully on “us” as well as on “others”.³²

According to Simon Frith, social groups “know themselves as groups through cultural activities.”³³ In making music, they know who they have become. Identity is

²⁸ Bhabha, "Culture's In-between," 59 - 60.

²⁹ Philip V. Bohlman, “National Music,” in *Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*, Philip V. Bohlman and Michael B. Bakan, ed., (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 83 and Frith, “Music and Identity,” 123.

³⁰ David G. Hebert and Patricia Shehan Campbell, "Rock music in American schools: Positions and practices since the 1960s," *International Journal of Music Education* 1 (2000): 14-22.

³¹ Anders Hammarlund, "Från gudstjänarnas berg til folkets hus," [From the mountain of worshipers to the people's houses] *Musik och Kultur [Music and Culture]*. Lund: Studentlitteratur (1990): 65-98.

³² G. Folkestad, “National identity and music,” in *Musical identities*, R.A.R. MacDonald, D.J. Hargreaves and D. Miell, ed., (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 151–162.

³³ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 111.

positioned in the process of making music, but not merely expressed on a score, in a venue, or by a specific person. On the other hand, in experiencing music, the listeners are also “drawn into emotional alliances with the performers.”³⁴ Frith argues that,

Music is obviously collective. We hear things as music because their sounds obey a more or less familiar cultural logic, and for most music listeners (who are not themselves music makers) this logic is out of our control...[Music] stands for, symbolizes and offers the immediate experience of collective identity.³⁵

Experiencing music does not only involve the lyrics nor the sounds, but social movements. - how the audience makes sense of the music, the people, time and space - everything that comes along with the whole experience. The narrative of this whole musical experience - the process of making sense of music - plays a central role in positioning an identity and “enable[s] us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives.”³⁶ Like how we insert our ideals and fantasies when we narrate our history and position our identity, musical identity is also “always fantastic, idealising not just oneself but also the social world one inhabits.”³⁷

Vividly described as “something we put or try on” by Frith,³⁸ the musical identity also possesses a fluid quality. How we narrate changes over time and space. It carries the ideals and fantasies we have for a specific moment, and only the most convincing narrative appeals to a group of people. As Frith finalizes his argument, there is no destined identity for a people group, but cultural and musical identity is ever evolving - “we are only where the music takes us.”³⁹

³⁴ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 121.

³⁵ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 121.

³⁶ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 124.

³⁷ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 123.

³⁸ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 122.

³⁹ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 125.

In short, while there is no simple “law of origin”⁴⁰ to label any people group with a single narrative of identity in this post-colonial, highly migratory world, it is worthwhile to study the people group’s identity by re-investigating the past and cultures of those from which this people group has emerged. Thus, it is justifiable to study the cultures of the Portuguese, the Chinese and the Macanese when we study the “positionings” of the identity of the people from Macau. By the virtue of the malleability of music in expressing the identity and culture of a people group, the musical cultures of the three people groups of Macau have been chosen to be the focus of this paper. I will investigate how narratives have been constructed by the people groups and how the narratives align with the concurrent social ambience, to shed lights on how they position their identities as well as how they construct together with the communal “*Macauness*” of the people of Macau.

⁴⁰ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 24.

Historical Background of Macau

Before investigating the repertoire, it is best to understand the migrant history of Macau - to provide the basis to comprehend “who the people of Macau have become”,⁴¹ it will be useful to first look into “how Macau has become”.

The Coming of the Portuguese

The Portuguese had always wanted to search for “a distant Asian kingdom”, called *Chyns*, “with pearls, musk, porcelain and silk”.⁴² “You shall inquire the *Chyns*,” thus wrote King Manuel I (r. 1495–1521) extensively to the Viceroy of India at that time, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira,

whence they come, and from how far, when they come to Malacca or to the places where they trade, [...] in what they believe or what they worship, and what costumes they observe, toward what place their country extends and upon whom they border.⁴³

With the appeal of this mystery, the wish to trade with these people, together with the urge of the king, the Portuguese set sail from India in 1508, through Malacca and reached in 1513 the land of *Chyns* — China, which was then under the rule of the Ming Dynasty (1368 - 1644), at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 23-24.

⁴² Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By – Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau*, 21.

⁴³ “Preguntarees pelos Chyns, e de que partes weem, e de cam longe, e de quamto e mquamto vem a Mallaca, ou aos lugares em que trautam, [...] em que creem ou a que adoram, e que costumes guardam, e pera que parte se estende sua terra, e com quem comfynam.” Quoted in T’ien-Tsê Chang 張天澤. *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644 : A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources*. (Leyden: Brill, 1969), 33 and António da Silva Rêgo. *Documentação Para a História Das Missões Do Padroado Português Do Oriente. [Documentation for the History of the Missions of the Portuguese Patronage of the East]*. (Lisboa: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca Agência Geral das Colónias, 1947), 64.

⁴⁴ Benjamin Videira Pires, “Origins and Early History of Macau,” in *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*, Rolf D. Cremer, ed., (Hong Kong: API Press, 1991), 9.

The first contacts between the Portuguese navigators and the Chinese officials, however, were not peaceful.⁴⁵ After a few unfruitful attempts to trade with the Chinese,⁴⁶ in 1554, during an “unexpected invitation” by a local maritime overseer at the Pearl River Delta,⁴⁷ some kind of document was signed, allowing the Portuguese to trade on the Chinese coastline within a specific area.⁴⁸ The Portuguese yet took advantage of this somehow tolerant attitude from the Chinese government to explore the southern Chinese coastlines, and “occupied” Macau by building houses and bringing settlers to the land. Yet, according to some historical sources, the allowance of “trading activities” as aforementioned was “no more than briberies”, and “the occupation of the territory was not accepted in pacific manner.”⁴⁹

Barbarian vessels that docked in Macau under the pretext that their boats had been damaged by the storm...Initially, they only built a few thatched huts, but in some time, they started building houses...With the tall houses piling up one after the other, as time went by, the foreigners ended up occupying this land.⁵⁰

1557 was the year generally accepted when Macau finally became a Portuguese’ settlement.⁵¹ However, the ownership of Macau started by this rather ambiguous and

⁴⁵ Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644 : A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources*, 47 - 48 and Videira Pires, “Origins and Early History of Macau,” 9.

⁴⁶ Videira Pires, “Origins and Early History of Macau,” 9 - 10.

⁴⁷ António da Silva Rêgo, “Macau no tempo de Luís de Camões,” [Macau in the time of Luís de Camões] *Macau*, vol.1, no.0 (November - December 1980), 8.

⁴⁸ Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By – Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau*, 24, Carlos Augusto Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macau*. 1902, reprint (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1984), 20 and Ruilin Zhang 張汝霖 and Guangren Yin 印光任, *Breve Monografia de Macau, [Brief Monograph of Macau (Ou-Mun Kei-Leok) 澳門紀略]* Translated by Jin Guoping 金國平. (Macau: Instituto Cultural, 2009), 105.

⁴⁹ Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By – Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau*, 25 and Silva Rêgo, “Macau no tempo de Luís de Camões,” [Macau in the time of Luís de Camões] 9.

⁵⁰ “...Barcos bárbaros que aportaram a Macau, a pretexto de terem os seus barcos danificados pela tempestade...De início, fizeram apenas umas cabanas de colmo, mas passado algum tempo construíram casas...Com as casas altas que se amontoam umas atrás de outras, esta terra, com o correr do tempo, acabou por ficar ocupado por eles.” Zhang and Yin, *Breve Monografia de Macau, [Brief Monograph of Macau (Ou-Mun Kei-Leok) 澳門紀略]*, 79.

⁵¹ Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By – Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau*, 28.

controversial Portuguese domination created disputes that were never resolved by the Portuguese and the Chinese until much later. Even with the Manchus' overthrow of the Han-dominated Ming dynasty in 1644, the continuous growth of Chinese residents in the city, and the fierce "energetic measures" carried out by the 79th governor of Macau, Ferreira do Amaral in 1846 to assert Portuguese power had little to do with the settlement of the disputes of the ownership over Macau. It was not until the end of 19th century, when the Treaty of Friendship and Trade (1862), and the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking (1887) were signed by the two parties, when China confirmed the Portuguese' possession of Macau.⁵² The equivocal start of the Portuguese's takeover of, the long unrecognized and disputable administration in, as well as the late-coming acknowledgement of the Portuguese rule over Macau have, to some extent, resulted in the loose and sparse documentation of the Portuguese' possession of the land, as well as in the faint imposition of the Portuguese identity to the people.

The Influence from the Chinese

The Chinese' impact, particularly that coming from the mainland, was able to permeate into Macau more directly. Starting from the late 17th century, the Chinese population has become the majority ethnic group living in the city. Indeed, According to *Xiangshan Xianzhi* (香山縣誌, *Monograph of Xiangshan County*), *Ou-Mun Kei-Leok* (澳門紀略, *Brief Monograph of Macau*) as well as *Qing Shigao* (清史稿, *Historical Draft of the Qing Dynasty*), the Chinese government had constantly sent officials to Macau to surveil the order in the city, until the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking was signed.⁵³

⁵² Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By – Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau*, 29.

⁵³ Li, "An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau," 19 - 20 and Zhiliang Wu 吳志良, *Shengcun Zhidao - Lun Aomen Zhengzhi Zhidu Yu Zhengzhi Fazhan* 生存之道 - 論澳門政治制度與政治發展, [*The Way to Survive - On the Political System and the Political Development of Macau*] (Macau: Association of Education of Adults of Macau, 1998), 268 - 269.

The conflicts arisen among the foreigners should be settled down by the Portuguese governor, yet files recording such cases should be sent to the Chinese government. When some decisions and deeds were made in contradiction to the will of the Chinese officials, the Portuguese Senate would, most of the time, make a compromise under pressure.⁵⁴

After the signing of the Treaty, though, the Chinese living in Macau still relied heavily on the support from the mainland China. Educational force, trading partners, organisations of conciliation as well as daily goods and needs for many people in Macau were by large provided by the Chinese from the mainland. When the Portuguese were facing the downturn of their economy after the English and French became dominant over the seas, the colonial government relied their financial support even more on the Chinese. Finally, towards the second half of the twentieth century, the Chinese were also admitted to various governmental posts.⁵⁵

The 113th governor of Macau, António Lopes dos Santos (in office: 1962-1966), has stated in his memoir that,

Macau is tightly linked to the Chinese mainland, and surrounded by the Chinese water. We have almost no natural resources. In such a situation, a governor of Macau would wish to keep a pacific relationship with our Chinese neighbour [...] In our opinion, on one hand, we need to accept their (the Chinese') participation in our administration, on the other hand, we also have to admit

⁵⁴ “外國人之間的糾紛由葡人理事官處理、但要報中國地方政府備案。當某些行為或決定激怒了中國官方而受到壓力時，澳葡議事會大多屈服。”Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 19 and refer to Zhang and Yin, *Breve Monografia de Macau [Brief Monograph of Macau (Ou-Mun Kei-Leok) 澳門紀略]*.

⁵⁵ Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 19 - 22.

that, Portugal can inevitably only pose a symbolic image on Macau in order to guard our lowest dignity.[...] ⁵⁶

From this fragment, it becomes clear that, although Portugal had already gained full sovereignty over Macau entering the 20th century, the Portuguese administration actually experienced impediment constantly, that the Portuguese power could in the end never control and administrate Macau independently towards the hand-over in 1999. Meanwhile, although the Chinese' influence was huge, and even overshadowed that from the Portugal in the 20th century, the Chinese had never become the legitimate owner of Macau before 1999. The administrative power was still by large under the Portuguese command. In addition, the Portuguese and the Chinese had segregated living areas as well as ruling powers on the same piece of land for a long period of time.⁵⁷ Both powers could not completely control this piece of land, not to mention giving a concrete identity to the people. Macau, until the hand-over, was characterized as “diarchal”, “incomplete”, and lacking a “unity”,⁵⁸ making the identification of the people from Macau as a collectivity at the turn of the millennium problematic.

The Birth of the Macanese

To further complicate the identity problem, there is yet a third social group living in Macau - the Macanese. The term “Macanese” does not refer simply to the people from Macau. A person who was born or raised in Macau is merely called a “澳門人” (person from Macau). A Macanese, or “土生葡人” (Portuguese born in the land), however, in the broadest sense, is the offspring from generations of

⁵⁶ “澳門緊緊與中國大陸相連，周圍是中國的水域，幾乎沒有自然資源。這樣的地理位置使澳門的總督希望與中國大陸保持友好的睦鄰關係[...]我們認為，一個是應始終尊重中國利益，接受他們在地方行政中的參與，另一個也許就是葡萄牙在那裡僅以一個象徵的形象保持其最低的尊嚴[...]” António Lopes dos Santos, “By Santa Sancha - Memoire of the Former Governor of Macau António Lopes dos Santos,” *Review of Culture*, Chinese edition, vol. No. 15-16, (Macau: Cultural Institute of Macau, 1993), 3-7.

⁵⁷ Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 19, 22.

⁵⁸ Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 21, 23.

intermarriage between mainly the Portuguese and the Chinese, as well as fusing in blood from the people from Malaysia, Timor, India and even Japan, brought by the Portuguese navigators from time to time.⁵⁹ The very first generation of Macanese are actually people of half Portuguese blood and half Indian/Malay blood brought over to Macau from the Portuguese-occupied Goa and Malacca,⁶⁰ before further adding the Chinese blood into the genetic pool. This explains the vast usage of vocabulary from the Southeast Asian languages in Patuá, as well as the adoption of Malay surnames by the Macanese.⁶¹

Indeed, since the first generation, for a long period of time, the Macanese tended to intermarry among themselves, or marry with the Portuguese, until the 20th century came when they started to marry the Chinese. They have developed their own distinctive cultures, such as craftsmanship, gastronomy and naturally, language.⁶² Though segregated for a long time, they have also contributed significantly to Macau's collective identity and culture.

Yet, what is notable is that the Macanese has nevertheless only a fond connection to the Portuguese culture. While they linked themselves to Portuguese culture, the Portuguese seldom saw the Macanese as part of themselves until much later.⁶³

Their (the Macanese') ancestors have navigated in the Southeast Asia for almost five hundred years, and have constructed relationship with different people groups by marriage or adoption. They did not obey the straight Catholic rules. They might have smuggled opium. They might have done human-trafficking.

⁵⁹Ana Maria Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil: the First Decade of Luso Chinese Diplomacy," *Review of Culture*, English edition, vol. No. 20, (Macau: Cultural Institute of Macau, 1996), 13-68.

⁶⁰ Manuel Teixeira, *Os Macaenses, [The Macanese]* Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1965 and Manuel Teixeira, "The Origin of the Macanese," *Review of Culture*, English edition, vol. No. 20, (Macau: Cultural Institute of Macau, 1996), 85 - 130.

⁶¹ Graciete Nogueira Batalha, *Lingua de Macau*, (Macau:Imprensa Nacional, 1979), 28.

⁶² Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil: the First Decade of Luso Chinese Diplomacy," 13-68.

⁶³ Vanessa Amaro, "Linguistic Practice, Power and Imagined Worlds: The Case of the Portuguese in Postcolonial Macau," *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37.1 (2016): 33-50 and Li, "An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau," 23.

They might have adopted many concubines and slaves. At the same time, they lived a tough life suffering from storms on the sea, attacks from the pirates, expulsions from the Eastern countries, and discriminations from the locals.⁶⁴

Because of their origin, they have experienced isolation and mockery by both the Chinese and the Portuguese for a long period of time. They could nevertheless only make compromises with the two powers, as well as to show segmented assimilation to the two cultures that suit their way of life.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, they have been striving to keep themselves distinct. “We are not Chinese. We are not Portuguese. We are ourselves,” thus expressed by the Macanese students during the student riot occurred in 1988.⁶⁶ After all, while Portuguese and Chinese can mean both nationality and ethnicity, Macanese can only signify an ethnical meaning.

Today’s Situation

Before the Portuguese transfer of sovereignty over Macau to China on 20th December, 1999, we could see very segmented, even opposing and hostile communities co-existing in Macau. After 1999, however, many traces from the colonial time have been kept and even appreciated. Portuguese, alongside with Chinese (Cantonese as the spoken Chinese and Traditional Chinese as the written Chinese), constitutes to the official languages of Macau. As of September 30, 2019, Portuguese-speaking or Portuguese-born officers still occupy about 3% of the total

⁶⁴ “土生族群是葡萄牙人的先輩在東南亞拓殖近五百年、與當地人通過婚姻或收養的關係爾形成的人群，這些來自葡萄牙的先輩並沒有嚴格遵守天主教徒的生活戒律，他們可能販賣煙土、人口，可能妻妾、家奴成群，同時他們也要經受海上的風暴襲擊、海盜的搶掠、東方國家的驅逐、本地人的歧視等生活的艱難。” Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 23.

⁶⁵ Cabra and Lourenço, “The Question of Origin - the Macanese Family and Their Societal Features in Macau,” 30 and Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 23 -24.

⁶⁶ Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 24.

working force in the government.⁶⁷ In terms of the total population makeup, as of the census done in 2016, 1.4% of the total population possesses the Portuguese nationality, while 1.8% of the total population possesses a Portuguese lineage (including both the Portuguese and the Macanese, as well as those with at least one Portuguese parent). In terms of language skills, 2.3% of the total population is proficient in using the Portuguese language.⁶⁸

Culturally speaking, as a member of the Lusophone, the Portuguese-speaking sphere, Macau is also home to many Portuguese communities, such as Casa de Portugal em Macau (the Portuguese Association of Macau), Santa Casa da Misericórdia (the Holy House of Mercy), Insitute International Macau (the International Institute of Macau) and Instituto Português no Oriente (the Oriental Portuguese Insitute). Together with a handful of Macanese communities such as the Council of Macanese Communities, the Macanese Association, Tuna Macaense (Macanese Music Troups) and Dóci Papiaçam di Macau Drama Group, the Portuguese-speaking families host regularly exhibitions, carnivals and shows such as the Lusofonia Festival, “Parade through Macau, Latin City”, as well as performances during the Arts Festival and International Music Festival. In addition, the Macanese Gastronomy, the Patuá Theatre, the Procession of the Passion of Our Lord, the God Jesus, and the Procession of Our Lady of Fatima inherited from the Portuguese are recognized as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Macau and are provided with “adequate safeguarding” by the Macau government.⁶⁹

The Portuguese and the Chinese still meet constantly in Macau, regarding topics of trading and cultural exchange, as it has always been for more than four centuries. Forums and organisations for economic and trading matters between China and

⁶⁷ According to “Dados Estatísticos Trimestrais dos Recursos Humanos da Administração Pública da RAEM (09/2019),” [Quarterly Statistical Data on Public Administration Human Resources of the Special Administrative Region of Macau (09/2019)] Board of the Services of Public Functions and Administrations of Macau, accessed March 28, 2020, https://www.safp.gov.mo/wcmpro/groups/public/@safp/@ext/@information/documents/web/wcm_007947.pdf

⁶⁸ According to “Intercensos 2016, Resultados Globais,” [Mid-term Census 2016, Detailed Results] Department of Statistics and Census Services, accessed March 28, 2020, https://www.dsec.gov.mo/getAttachment/bfa0112a-eaf3-49a9-9168-b5add46e9d65/C_ICEN_PUB_2016_Y.aspx

⁶⁹ “Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage,” Cultural Heritage of Macau, assessed March 28, 2020, <http://www.culturalheritage.mo/en/detail/2264>

Portugal, such as Portuguese Commercial Association in Macau and Forum dos Empresarios de Lingua Portuguesa (Portuguese-speaking Entrepreneurs Forum), have also been set up. Besides, Macau also hosted the first Lusofonia Games in 2006, symbolising again the importance of Macau as a node among the Portuguese-speaking countries, as well as the lingering influence from the Portugal.

In short, though Portuguese was the officially recognized authority in Macau for a significant period of time, they had always been undermined by the Chinese influence. After the hand-over, yet, the Portuguese still sustain their impact in Macau, by continuing cooperation with the Chinese as well as the local government. The Macanese' culture, on the other hand, has been recognized, studied and promoted since around the hand-over. The three cultures, constituting the collective history of Macau, continue to play important roles in shaping the collective identity of the people from Macau.

Case Studies - the Narration of History and Identity

To better present the discourse of musical identification, I will present the cases in chronological order. I will juxtapose the productions and performances of these songs with the historical events and political movements happening in the society of Macau over time. In this way, the correlation between the narratives and the social context, the alternating dominating narratives as well as the change in the audience's acceptance can also be better perceived.

Before the Hand-over

In 1966, the 12-3 incident occurred, where a conflict regarding to the expansion of a school campus had led to unrest between the Portuguese colonizers and the Chinese communists partisans. This resulted in the Portuguese' surrender, admittance of Chinese left-wing participation in politics, as well as a grave loss in the Portuguese' governing power.⁷⁰ At the same time, colonial wars were happening in many then European colonies, including those under the Portuguese rule. At the wake of the seventies, there was also social turmoil in European Portugal, which finally led to the Carnation Revolution in 1974, and the consequential democratization and decolonization. These incidents had at some points led to an uncertainty felt by the Portuguese and the Macanese living in Macau. Simultaneously, their voices and opinions had become inferior to the Chinese', when, after the 12-3 incident, ever more Chinese stepped into the political circle, underscoring the Portuguese' prestige. From this time on until the hand-over, various poems, writing and songs had been produced

⁷⁰ Zhongli Liang 梁仲禮, "Tongshi Daoshang: Xianggang You 'Liuqi', Aomen You 'Yiersan', Zuopai Douzheng de Liangzhong Shouchang 通識導賞：香港有「六七」 澳門有「一二三」 左派鬥爭兩種收場," [A Guided General Education: '6-7' in Hong Kong, '12-3' in Macau, the Two Endings of Left-wing Partisans] accessed in April 26, 2020. <https://ol.mingpao.com/ldy/cultureleisure/culture/20161127/1480185208262/%E9%80%9A%E8%AD%98%E5%B0%8E%E8%B3%9E-%E9%A6%99%E6%B8%AF%E6%9C%89%E3%80%8C%E5%85%AD%E4%B8%83%E3%80%8D-%E6%BE%B3%E9%96%80%E6%9C%89%E3%80%8C%E4%B8%80%E4%BA%8C%E4%B8%89%E3%80%8D-%E5%B7%A6%E6%B4%BE%E9%AC%A5%E7%88%AD%E5%85%A9%E7%A8%AE%E6%94%B6%E5%A0%B4>.

by them to express their longing of the “good-old days”, as well as the “haziness” of their future paths.⁷¹

“Macau, My Land”, having its debut amidst this era, played a special role in the hearts of the Portuguese as well as the Macanese. This work was produced by the Portuguese-Macanese band Thunders. Its debut appeared in 1970 on the album *Macau*.⁷² Compared to their former albums which were mainly centred around songs about romance, the four tracks on *Macau* focus on topics about home and friends. Although this song is sung in Portuguese, Thunder itself was composed of members from both Portuguese and Macanese origin, and was presumably one of the famous bands in Macau and Hong Kong, particularly among the youths. After its debut, this song “has become one of the most representative songs of Macau, and has been played in many major events and programmes.”⁷³

Having its first release gifted to the then governor, Nobre de Carvalho,⁷⁴ who had given way to the Chinese in 1966, this music also reached the governing party, and I argue that there is a political implication behind such an act. By presenting this sentimental work to the colonial government, the Portuguese governor could have felt assured that their governing legacy had at least an echo from the public, and in turn, more people would listen to this piece of music, attracting more to experience the narrative provoked by this song.

A persona speaking out to Macau is portrayed in this brief expressive piece:

⁷¹ Vera Borges, “Poesia de Macau: Ideologia e Eternidade,” [Poetry of Macau: Ideology and Eternity] accessed in April 29, 2020. https://www.academia.edu/31725705/Vera_Borges_-_Poesia_de_Macau_ideologia_e_eternidade.pdf.

⁷² “Macau Terra Minha by The Thunders” Youtube Video, 1:43, “BelaMacau,” May 15, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5HWz5ZUzbGw>.

⁷³ Li, “*Gangshi Xiyangfeng - Liushi Niandai Xianggang Yuedui Chaoliu* 港式西洋風 - 六十年代香港樂隊潮流.” [*Western Trend with Hong Kong Style - The Trend of Hong Kong Bands in the Sixties*] 190.

⁷⁴ Li, Xinjia 李信佳. “*Gangshi Xiyangfeng - Liushi Niandai Xianggang Yuedui Chaoliu* 港式西洋風 - 六十年代香港樂隊潮流.” [*Western Trend with Hong Kong Style - The Trend of Hong Kong Bands in the Sixties*] (Hong Kong: Chunghua Book Publishing Ltd., 2016), 190.

Macau, my land, [...] Macau, you always lived far from your mother./ Macau, you are the smallest in your family.[...]75

The recurring use of the informal “you” in the Portuguese language reflects a close appellation of Macau. Nevertheless, by addressing Macau as “the smallest” child who “lived far” from the “mother”, this song also attempted to arouse a familial feeling, a sense of belonging to Portugal. In addition to the notation of mother, the song also tries to cast a nostalgic sensation to the audience: as a “quiet and beautiful *quinta* (garden) covered with leaves and flowers of joyful colours”, and a “land of legends” full of stories, “historical monuments” with a “Portuguese atmosphere”, Macau is depicted with “good-old times”, aligning with the characteristics of its contemporary literature.

Musically-speaking, the instrumentation consists of an orchestra, electric guitars, bass, and percussion.⁷⁶ Although not composed with the traditional instrumentation,⁷⁷ the musical style of this song likens a “Fado”, a Portuguese national singing style most renowned around the world. Meaning “fate”, “Fado” is the “the most Portuguese of all songs and the liturgy of the nation’s soul,” writes Ventura de Abrantes.⁷⁸ In Fados, the lyrics often express a feeling of sadness, loss, longing, tragedy, or the satirical turn of fate, or even passionate, erotic, sensuous and rustic sensations.⁷⁹ In short, a feeling of *saudades*, loosely translated as a “lost, nostalgic and yearning” sensation, can always be felt in Fado.⁸⁰ In terms of the metre, the common time is

⁷⁵ Excerpt from “Macau, My Land”. Please see appendix for the complete lyrics.

⁷⁶ Li, “*Gangshi Xiyangfeng - Liushi Niandai Xianggang Yuedui Chaoliu 港式西洋風 - 六十年代香港樂隊潮流*,” [*Western Trend with Hong Kong Style - The Trend of Hong Kong Bands in the Sixties*] 190.

⁷⁷ A conventional instrumentation of Fado usually consists of a bass guitar, one or two accompanying guitars, a pear-shaped *guitarra portuguesa* which plays the melody or mandolins, and a singer, male or female. See Gallop, Rodney. “The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate).” *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 1933, 199–213.

⁷⁸ Rodney Gallop, “The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate),” *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 1933, 201.

⁷⁹ Gallop, “The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate),” 200.

⁸⁰ Gallop, “The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate),” 211-212.

used conventionally, with a syncopated “half-bar” rhythm. In some cases, the unsyncopated half is sometimes substituted also by a syncopation to suit the lyrics:⁸¹



In this song, the syncopated rhythm is felt through the piece, as shown in the following diagram depicting the first verse:

By portraying an icon of a mother and a fantasy, and assimilating the idea of Fado in the song, the lyricist might have tried to ease the Portuguese situation as a colonizer in the late twentieth century, as well as to sooth the disquietude experienced by the Portuguese and the Macanese.

While we cannot say that this song represents the Portuguese and the Macanese as a collective, let alone all the people in Macau, the making of this song as well as its popular acceptance and prominent status among the Portuguese society provide us a hint of how the historical and societal background has an impact on the expression and sensation of this identity. As Hall writes, in narrating a history in the post-colonial era, an imagined identity is shaped, and by doing so, a particular desired goal is

⁸¹ Gallop, “The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate),” 208-210.

always deemed to achieve.⁸² This desired goal, naturally, depends on what the historical context is. I argue that, amidst the uncertainty felt by the Portuguese and the Macanese, a voice who could comfort the people and can be heard as a consolation is needed to hold them in solidarity. By “voicing out” this persona with musical reference to the Portuguese culture and sensational lyrics, Thunders was able to provide a narrative that this audience could make sense of, because such a narrative “obey[s] a more or less familiar cultural logic” to them.⁸³ In this way, musical identity is drawn and built, directing the audience with a centripetal force to the narrative. The cultural, societal and political experiences of the Portuguese and the Macanese have assimilated in and shaped Thunder’s experience of making music,⁸⁴ which in turns are also sensed by the audience, reinforcing their perception of identity.

Around the Hand-over

A narrative of history and cultural identity can only be significant when it can relate the people with a context in a specific timeframe. Cultural identities are something that we think of “in the context of cultural relationship”, because identity does not yield any meaning “in isolation”. Only under the turbulence of the societal context where we can “consider identities in terms of experience of relationships” does the discourse of identity opens to “the question of dynamism versus closure”.⁸⁵ The narrative in “Macau, My Land” is appreciated and embraced by those who make sense of it when it appears under such a dynamic, unstable circumstance, where the audience is able to echo with it. But the question of identity and different narrations only became more actively and confrontationally expressed when the Portuguese and the Chinese were conscientiously engaged in discussing the issue of Macau, and when the hand-over in 1999 drew nearer.

⁸² Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 21-23, 28-29, Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised, London: Verso, 2016, Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Penguin, 2003), 55.

⁸³ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 121.

⁸⁴ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 111.

⁸⁵ Kevin Robins, “Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe,” In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall, ed., (Los Angeles, California: Sage, 2011), 79.

In 1986, China officially entered negotiations with Portugal over the problem of Macau, and in the following year, the Joint Declaration on the Question of Macau was signed between the two countries, stipulating the hand-over of the sovereignty of Macau to China in December 25, 1999. In 1993, Macau Basic Law was decreed, further assuring the legitimate issues after the hand-over. We can see that, years before 1999, the fate of Macau's "future" was already fixed. Yet such a "fate" has different meanings for the Portuguese, the Macanese and the Chinese, and have aroused different interpretations of their own identity and their relationship with Macau.

The Portuguese

For the Portuguese, the fate is their retreat. As the hand-over drew nearer, the uncertainty of leaving became more intense. Such a feeling is well observed in the song "Good-bye, Macau", sung in Portuguese, written by the Macanese Filomeno Jorge (Russo), produced by Tuna Macaense and released in their album *Macau Sã Assi* in 1994.⁸⁶ There are fourteen tracks in this album, with both instrumental and vocal works sung in Portuguese and Patuá. "This is Macau" (which will be discussed later), sung in Patuá, is also first recorded in this album.

Tuna Macaense, founded in 1935, actually reflects a Portuguese influence. The term "Tuna", indeed, generally refers to a Portuguese musical group that consists of strings instruments such as mandolin, guitar, violin and bass. Drums and vocals are also present in some groups. From "fresh-mopping" around the quarters to performing on designated stages; from mainly an instrumental, student group to one consisting of mostly elderly; from performing mainly Portuguese/Patuá repertoire to singing in various other languages, Tuna Macaense has actually been playing a role in curating the Portuguese and the Macanese culture by different means. They themselves were

⁸⁶ "14. Tuna Macaense - Adeus Macau" Youtube Video, 4:40, "TradisomLda," December 2, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MxCAfITb-ts>.

also awarded the “Medal of Cultural Merit” from the colonial government in 1984 for their cultural contribution to the society.⁸⁷

“Good-bye, Macau” makes use of mandolins, who play the melody, guitars, who provide the harmony, a bass guitar and percussion, following the conventional set-up of a Tuna and a Fado. Furthermore, the theme - the longing of the past and the sadness of an inevitable fate, resembles a Fado. The music starts with two verses of rhetoric questions and answers where an unwillingness to leave and a yearning to return is expressed, followed by personifying Macau in the chorus - Whatever the change is, Macau, as the “home”, the “heart”, the “passion”, is going to be missed. The song does not just portray a future reunion, but links the future with the past:

Away from the sun that shined during my birth/
Away from the world where I
started to walk/
Away from the people whom I learnt to understand/
I know that
I am going to cry.⁸⁸

By resorting to the past and depicting an uncertain future under the Other’s rule, exploiting adjectives of emotions, asking rhetoric questions in roles, and likening Macau as a “home”, the narrative of this song does not only provide an “ideal” past, re-tell a fine version of history and try to affect the identification of the people of Macau who listen to this song.⁸⁹ Like Thunder’s “Macau, My Land”, “Good-bye, Macau” also serves as a relief for those who feel anxious of their future. Like “Macau, My Land”, the popularity of this song owes to the observation that the audience could “make sense” of its narrative. It exemplifies how an imagined voice is constructed in order to sooth the people who have been living on this land for more than three centuries and who were going to be governed by an Other.⁹⁰ Similarly, it gives insight

⁸⁷ Si Man Chan, “*A Study of Macanese Music through Tuna Macanese Group in a Postcolonial Perspective (1935-2017)*,” master diss., (Portugal: University of Aveiro, 2018), 55 - 60.

⁸⁸ Excerpt from “Good-bye, Macau”. Please see appendix for the complete lyrics.

⁸⁹ Simon Frith, “Music and Identity,” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall, ed., (Los Angeles, California: Sage, 2011), 123.

⁹⁰ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 121.

in how an “imagined collective identity” is needed to hold them together when in the future they would disperse.⁹¹

Nevertheless, according to Frith, those who can make sense of the narratives can sense such an identity.⁹² For the Macanese, the song illustrates how they could feel “victimized” by the unpredictability of the future like the Portuguese. However, another perspective - another “identity” - is also expressed in their songs.

The Macanese

With their affinity to the Portuguese, the Macanese were able to share part of the prestige enjoyed by the Portuguese. The hand-over might mean a loss of such prestige: “They were worried about the loss of their culture in the future. They were worried about the loss of the Portuguese nationality. They were concerned about their children continuing living in Macau.” Before 1999, such a concern, referred to as the “Shock of 1999” (九九震盪), became a norm among the Macanese (and possibly the Portuguese, and even some of the local Macau Chinese communities).⁹³ Nevertheless, long surviving in between the two powers, the Macanese have another narratives of themselves and their presence in Macau under such a historical current - instead of expressing in relationship to the past and the future, they treasure more the intimate present, as seen from “This is Macau” and “A Macanese Home”.

“This is Macau” was written back in around 1950s by José “Adé”, who is considered one of the few revivalists of the dying language of Patuá by compiling words into dictionary, writing lyrics and sonnets, as well as recording songs and speeches into

⁹¹ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 123 and Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 22-23.

⁹² Frith, “Music and Identity,” 124.

⁹³ Tiexun Leng 冷鐵勛, “‘Yiguo Liangzhi’ Xia Aomen Tusheng Puren De Quanyi Baozhang “一國兩制”下澳門土生葡人的權益保障,” [The Protection of the Macanese’s Rights and Benefits Under “One Country, Two Systems”] *Yiguo Liangzhi Yanjiu* 一國兩制研究 [*The Study of One Country Two Systems*], Vol. 37, no.3, (Macau: Macau Polytechnic University, 2018), 50.

cassettes.⁹⁴ The first known recorded performance of this song, however, was by Tuna Macaense and was released in their album *Macau Sã Assi* in 1994.⁹⁵ Lyrically and musically, the song was actually written based on an even earlier Portuguese version “É Assim Lisboa” (“This is Lisbon”) sung in the style of Fado by Milú,⁹⁶ a Portuguese female singer, in the film “Doze Luas-de-mel” in 1944.⁹⁷ Besides, using the conventional mandolin-guitar-bass orchestration plus an accordion, and singing out a rustic passionate daily life, the composer shows a fondness of Portuguese’ culture in assimilating Fado in his work. Interestingly enough, “This is Macau” is more well-known by the Portuguese-speaking people than “This is Lisbon”, though having problems in understanding the lyrics, which is in Patuá.

“Patuá”, the Macanese’ language, is a creole language. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, creole languages are “vernacular languages that developed in colonial European plantation settlements in the 17th and 18th centuries as a result of contact between groups that spoke mutually unintelligible languages.”⁹⁸ Patuá is, therefore, a product of years of mixing and hybridising between the Portuguese and the Chinese, as well as traces of the other cultures the Portuguese colonizers brought with them.

Thanks to the publishing of *Maquista Chapado*, arguably the only one compiled work collecting Patuá expressions and vocabulary, we can now decipher much of the Patuá language and see how the language inflects influences from the Portuguese, the Chinese and some other cultures.

⁹⁴ Elisabeth Larrea, “Patuá, the Sunset Creole,” *Unravel*, September 20, 2016. <https://unravellingmag.com/articles/patua-the-sunset-creole/>

⁹⁵ “01. Tuna Macaense - Macau Sã Assi” Youtube Video, 3:15, “TradisomLda,” December 2, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJOAhu6QfDM>.

⁹⁶ “Milú - Lisboa é Assim” Youtube Video, 2:03, “Miguel Catarino, ” May 31, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mTz7xu4poUY>.

⁹⁷ Leocardo, “É Assim Lisboa,” [Lisbon is like this] *Bairro Do Oriente [Neighbourhood of the East]*, July 21, 2011. <http://bairrodooriente.blogspot.com/2011/07/e-assim-lisboa.html>

⁹⁸ Salikoko Sangol Mufwene, “Creole languages,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 1, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/creole-languages>.

Janela co fula/ Nho-nhónha cantá. Min-pau quente-quente/ Padêro gritá/ Sol fórti di riva/ Têng-têng-lou di basso/ Assi sãm Macau! (Windows with flowers/ Girls are singing/ Fresh hot bread/ Baker is yelling/ Sun blazing above/ Scrap iron collector downstairs/ Macau is like this!)⁹⁹

While the language itself resembles a Romance language and uses Latin characters like the Portuguese, many Asian words and grammatical structures are adopted into Patuá. “Nho-nhónha”, for instance, which means “Girls”, is an interesting case. This is a Malay/Vietnamese-based word instead of a Cantonese word, while duplicating the word, or a part of the word, to signify plural (as in NHO-NHÓNha) or an augmented intensity (as also in QUENTE-QUENTE, or “hot-hot”, which means “very hot”) is a common grammatical feature for South-East Asian language.¹⁰⁰ “Teng-Teng-Lo”, a local oldie (“佬” as in Cantonese, pronounced as “Lo”), who collects scrap metal from door to door, with his little cymbal making sounds of “Teng-teng” announcing his coming, is also a descriptive Cantonese-derived word used in the language.

Nevertheless, with an estimated number of 50 living speakers, Patuá was declared a critically endangered language by UNESCO. Expressing and representing themselves in Patuá in songs, the Macanese, therefore, place themselves as a distinct culture in between the powers and amidst the post-colonial struggle. Macanese artistic groups such as the Tuna Macaense and Dóci Papiaçam di Macau Drama Group has also been promoting the use of Patuá in their performances, reviving the language with great effort.

The song starts with describing nuanced scenes seen in everyday Macau - old roofs, clothes drying, baker shouting, girls singing from the window, and moves on to “chit-chatting” and “gossiping” around Macau. By narrating such a petty, amusing, even

⁹⁹ Excerpt from “This is Macau”. Please see appendix for the complete lyrics. The Patuá lyrics are translated with the help of *Maquista chapado: vocabulário e expressões do crioulo português de Macau* and the text given by *Dóci Papiaçam di Macau*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JmPYVbKWF70&t=128s>.

¹⁰⁰ Geneviève Escure, and Armin Schwegler, eds. *Creoles, contact, and language change: Linguistic and social implications*. Vol. 27. John Benjamins Publishing, 2004, 12.

risible and somehow romanticized everyday life in Macau, this Macanese persona is seen to have a relatively intimate relationship with Macau. In this narrative, neither ambitious desire nor hostility is shown. Instead, living a light-hearted life with little dramas happening everyday would best suit those who live in Macau. Such an intimacy can yet be better perceived in “A Macanese Home”, released three years later.

“A Macanese Home” consists of a text written by Henrique Senna Fernandes, one of the few Patuá poets, at around 1953. However the publication of this song was made by the drama group Dóci Papiaçam di Macau in 1997 into the album *José dos Santos Ferreira ‘Adé’*.¹⁰¹ Like “This is Macau”, “A Macanese Home” is adapted from another Portuguese Fado song, “Uma Casa Portuguesa” (“A Portuguese House”), sung by the world-renowned Portuguese Fado singer Amália Rodrigues.¹⁰² Again, an affinity to the Portuguese heritage is observed here. According to some old Macanese, before being publicised, this song was sung among the Macanese children as a folk rhyme.

The song depicts a Macanese home that welcomes everyone although they might be living a tough life (“poverty”, “small house”) Instead of expressing sentiments like the Portuguese, a hybrid gastronomy is praised by the Macanese in this songs:

They have chicken, they have capon/ Tamarind pork paste/ Stir-fried slim beef/
A mug with wine/ A flavourful drink, [...] In the window, the scent of basil/
Makes you feel happy/ There are cookies in front/ Sweet young melon/ Tea with
sugar, sweet-sweet/ All the time, they have it on the table [...] ¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ “Casa Macaísta” Youtube Video, 2:46, “José dos Santos Ferreira ‘Adé’ - Topic,” December 14, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=91VefhOhvRI>.

¹⁰² “Uma Casa Portuguesa” Youtube Video, 2:44, “Carlosferreira960,” February 18, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU-Z0SiQKgU>.

¹⁰³ Excerpt from “A Macanese Home”. Please see appendix for the complete lyrics.

With such a trivial and intimate description of a Macanese home, it can be seen, again, that instead of yearning for a lost past or a future reunion, the persona provoked in this song, as well as that in “This is Macau”, plausibly adheres to the philosophy of *Carpe Diem*.

To conclude from the Macanese’ repertoire, although lyrically-speaking the Macanese are seen to occupy a status in between the Portuguese and the Chinese, in terms of musicality, reminiscence of the Portuguese culture is seen in the songs. Using Frith’s theory about musical identity, the authors and musicians of the aforementioned repertoire represent themselves as a carrier of such a culture when they are making such music, and on the other way round, they show affinity to the Portuguese culture.¹⁰⁴ While they incorporated their creole language, local lives and hybrid gastronomy in their songs, they decided to use Fado to voice out their narratives. By doing so they implicitly “recognize themselves as a group” that has inherited (part of) the Portuguese culture,¹⁰⁵ liken themselves with the Portuguese, and at the same time “gear towards the audience” that they have stemmed from the Portuguese heritage.¹⁰⁶

Nevertheless, for a “partial culture” like the Macanese, to survive among bigger cultures is to be able to uptake elements from these surrounding cultures which best suit their identification and permanence.¹⁰⁷ This can be seen by their expression in the creole language, incorporation of different gastronomies, and their hospitality. They treasure local food as much as the Portuguese Fado - “peculiar types of culture-sympathy and culture-clash appear” in their narrative.¹⁰⁸ Rather than adhering to a fixed identity, they occupy a spectrum in equilibrium between the Portuguese and the Chinese, a “connective tissue between cultures” with a negotiable identity is

¹⁰⁴ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 111.

¹⁰⁵ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 111.

¹⁰⁶ G. Folkestad, “National identity and music,” in *Musical identities*, R.A.R. MacDonald, D.J. Hargreaves and D. Miell, ed., (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 151–162.

¹⁰⁷ Bhabha, “Culture’s In-between,” 58 and Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 17.

¹⁰⁸ T.S. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, New York, 1949, 63-64.

formed.¹⁰⁹ Such a narrative in the Macanese' songs actually resonates with "lusotropicalism",¹¹⁰ an ideology that the Portuguese colonizers, in contrast to other colonizers, encouraged a more "humane and progressive racial and cultural mixing" with a creation of a distinct local identity "with national characteristics and qualities of permanence."¹¹¹ However, they insert their optimism and fantasy in music in the expense of the adverse side of colonialism. A "happy hybridity", where suppressed histories are masked, is depicted here.¹¹² "Luso-tropicalism", I argue, is just a derivative from "happy hybridity". In the end, such a narrative does not receive much appreciation until after 1999, when the status of Macanese is more widely recognized.

The Chinese

As the hand-over drew nearer, the Chinese, another "mother", also started to show a "welcoming" gesture to the people of Macau. This explicitly depicts a contradiction with the Portuguese narratives, and exemplifies how malleable and mobile history can be retold.

In 1998, a year before the hand-over, a grand documentary about Macau, "The Ages of Macau" (澳門歲月) was produced to celebrate the "home-coming" of Macau. During the production, the director-in-chief came across the nationalist poem, "Song of Seven Sons" (七子之歌) written by the Chinese nationalist poet Wen Yiduo during his study in the United States in 1925. Concerning the weak status of China and the continual ceding of territories to other countries, Wen wrote a set of seven poems, each dedicated to a ceded land, with the first entitled "Macau". The Chinese composer

¹⁰⁹ Bhabha, "Culture's In-between," 54, 58.

¹¹⁰ Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande e Senzala [The Masters and the Slaves]*. Global Editora e Distribuidora Ltda, 2019.

¹¹¹ Cathryn H. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the edge: Macau & the question of Chineseness*. Vol. 324. (Harvard University Press, 2009), 53 and Cathryn H Clayton, "The hapless imperialist? Portuguese rule in 1960s Macau," *Twentieth Century Colonialism and China*. Routledge. (2012): 226-237.

¹¹² Jacqueline Lo, "Beyond Happy Hybridity: Performing Asian-Australian Identities," in *Alter/Asians: Asian-Australian Identities in Art, Media and Popular Culture*, Ien Ang, Sharon Chalmers, Lisa Law, and Mandy Thomas ed., (Sydney: Pluto, 2000), 153.

Li Haiying was invited to compose a song using the verse about Macau. Li then “composed the work within one night while shedding tears”.¹¹³ “Song of Seven Sons - Macau” became a huge success, and continued to appear on occasions such as the China Central Television Chinese New Year's Gala in 1999,¹¹⁴ as well as in numerous concerts and galas celebrating the hand-over.

Do you know that Macau is not my real name/ I have left you for so long,
mother/ But what they have seized is my body/ You have still kept the soul in
my inner heart. Call me *Aomen*/ Mother! Mother! [...]¹¹⁵

By announcing the name as “Aomen” (澳門 in Mandarin, the Gateway to the Bay) but not “Macau” (a name given by the Portuguese), the Chinese challenged the status of the Portuguese starting from the beginning. The metaphor of a physical body and a soul also provoked the superficial Portuguese impression imposed onto the people of Macau. By expressing this, the Chinese also assumed how bad and hard life was under a foreign rule. The repetition of “mother”, the depiction of China as the bearer of Macau, and the negative portrayal of the colonizer is exploited in this song, trying to arouse a “home-coming” sensation at the turn of the millennium. Yet, like how “mother” and “home” are used by the Portuguese, the Chinese also use these notions in soothing the uncertainty existed in the society as the aftermath of colonialism. Finally, through such a nationalistic poem written even before the establishment of the New China, a particularly strong sentiments about Macau and hostility against the Portuguese colonialism can be observed. I argue that, under this historical moment of hand-over, this song is exploited by the Chinese, more so by the mainlander Chinese, to draw the people of Macau towards the Chinese desire in a most intense way.

¹¹³ “‘Wode Zhongguo Xin’ Chongwen ‘Qizizhige - Aomen’ 《我的中國心》重溫 《七子之歌 - 澳門》,” [‘My Chinese Heart’ Revisiting ‘Song of Seven Sons - Macau’] *Sina.com.cn*, last modified November 13, 2009. <http://ent.sina.com.cn/v/2009-11-13/11212768596.shtml>.

¹¹⁴ “1999年央视春节联欢晚会 歌曲《七子之歌——澳门》容韵琳等| CCTV春晚” [China Central Television Chinese New Year's Gala in 1999 Song “Songs of Seven Sons - Macau” Rong Junlin and the others| CCTV New Year's Gala] Youtube Video, 2:10, “CCTV春晚,” [CCTV New Year's Gala] January 12, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VqVYywPn6Ps>.

¹¹⁵ Excerpt from “Song of Seven Sons - Macau”. Please see appendix for the complete lyrics.

In terms of the musicality and production, “Son of Seven Sons - Macau”, according to the composer, made use of folkloric elements typically heard in Southern China. This is a deliberate choice made by the composer.¹¹⁶ Melody-wise, the pentatonic scale, a typical representation of Oriental music in Edward Said’s sense, is solely used. This song is sung in Mandarin, which is not the daily language of the people of Macau. Furthermore, this piece was produced in the mainland of China, except that a young Macau girl was invited to sing the verse as a soloist in the premiere, making this work by large a representation by the mainland Chinese.

Like how Thunder made use of the social experiences and provided their audience with a narrative they can make sense of, “Son of Seven Sons - Macau” arguably attained its fame in the same way. Around the hand-over, especially the mainlanders, the Chinese were eager to receive Macau after centuries. Provided that the Chinese saw Macau as a “child” finally returning back to the motherland, the narrative provided by Wen and the musical reference given by Li can be made good sense. This exemplifies again the musical identification put forward by Frith, where the musicians realize them as a group with a identity - Chinese as the proper “owner” of Macau in this case, and provide a narrative that their audience can understand under such a historical moment, further drawing the audience near to this identity.¹¹⁷

When we compare the Chinese and the Portuguese repertoire, we can actually see how “external gazes” are exerted by different people,¹¹⁸ and how they differ when narrating the same piece of history. While a cozy farmland before their retreat and a rather gloomy uncertain future are described in the two Portuguese songs, “Son of Seven Sons - Macau” paints Macau as a persona who was seized by a foreigner and could finally come back to the mother’s bosom. Besides, they simultaneously claim Macau as their “child”. A subjective history and identity of the people of Macau is

¹¹⁶ “‘Wode Zhongguo Xin’ Chongwen ‘Qizhige - Aomen’ 《我的中國心》重溫 《七子之歌 - 澳門》,” [‘My Chinese Heart’ Revisiting ‘Song of Seven Sons - Macau’] *Sina.com.cn*, November 13, 2009. <http://ent.sina.com.cn/v/2009-11-13/11212768596.shtml>.

¹¹⁷ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 111, 121.

¹¹⁸ Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, 109.

told in different songs. They vividly exemplify how a people group can project desire and aggression onto those being gazed upon when narrating a piece history, as suggested by Hall and Fanon.¹¹⁹ In addition, none of these songs are sung in the major spoken language of the people of Macau - Cantonese. By narrating Macau in other languages, desires are again seen by the Chinese and the Portuguese to liken the people to their respective cultures. In re-telling Macau's history, they also attempted to fix the people of Macau in accordance with their wishes and imaginations.

I argue that there are two reasons behind exerting subjective emotions in the narratives in their music. The first reason is to comfort the people in the post-colonial era, as I have demonstrated before. The second reason is to intentionally impose an identity to the people. By compare ourselves with the Other,¹²⁰ by portraying a fine image of "us" and an obscure image of "non-us", the Chinese and the Portuguese draw those who agree with their narratives towards their desires,¹²¹ consolidating the identity as gazed upon by them, and "paralyzing" the audience with their narratives.¹²²

However, as different as the narratives can be, the people of Macau can only experience the respective musical identity by connecting to the persona that they can make sense of. This, on one hand, explains why a specific repertoire can only be popular among a specific people group, who have a similar social experience in a specific timeframe to make sense of specific songs. On the other hand, this also explains the alternating popularity of different songs over time, where the musical identification experience also take the historical and social context into account,¹²³ which in the case of Macau, changes radically around and after the hand-over.

¹¹⁹ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 28-29 and Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, 109.

¹²⁰ Robins, "Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe," 79.

¹²¹ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 29.

¹²² Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, 109.

¹²³ Frith, "Music and Identity," 124.

After the Hand-over

As time goes by, we can see a change in the narratives and in experiencing the same song - a fluid identity and a possibility to negotiate with the narratives.¹²⁴ The uncertainty after 1999, after all, did not turn to be as gloomy as the Portuguese had thought. They, as well as the Macanese, could continue to work in the government - some until nowadays are even holding high ranking posts, to celebrate their beliefs and festivals, speak their languages and voice their opinions, etc.. In fact, different events and measures have been carried out to promote the hybridity and the uniqueness of Macau culture, and in turn have promoted the presence of the Portuguese and the Macanese after the hand-over.

Two of the most prominent political moves that trigger the promotion of the Portuguese and the Macanese' cultures are the inscription of Macau Historical Centre on the World Heritage List of the UNESCO in 2005, and the declaration of Macanese Patuá as a critically endangered language by the UNESCO in 2009. While the former is initiated with the aim of giving the people of Macau pride and to revealing the uniqueness of Macau,¹²⁵ the later revealed to them a warning signal in preserving their heritage. Nevertheless, the two events have finally let them aware of and think of "who the people of Macau has become".¹²⁶ Through initiatives like these, the status of the Portuguese and the Macanese has been raised and institutionally recognized. And in turn, their culture - their music has also been "revitalized" and praised in the following manners.

¹²⁴ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 23-24 and Paragg, "Ambivalence, Negotiation and the Everyday Gaze: Exploring Mixed Race Identity," 148.

¹²⁵ Never had the topic of cultural hybridity been so actively discussed before 2005. For example, during the preparation of applying the Macau Historical Centre to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, the "hybrid identity" of the people of Macau was raised and discussed in the general public. One of the "identities" was given by the scholar and historian Benjamin Videira Pires as follow: "Macau is a masterpiece inherited from the Portuguese in the East. It is a crystal formed harmonically by the Chinese and Portuguese cultures and nationalities." (澳門是葡萄牙人在東方留下的傑作，是葡中兩國民族及文化和諧融合的結晶) Li, "An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau," 16.

¹²⁶ Li, "An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau," 16.

Tuna Macaense themselves have once again received “Medal of Cultural Merit” in 2007 from the Macau government.¹²⁷ The Portuguese and the Patuá repertoire has been played in many events, such as “Encontro”, a Macanese’ meeting happening every three years, Lusofonia Festival and International Art Festival. “Macau, My Land” is revitalized in 2008 in the production of the documentary “Filho da Terra” (“澳 · 土”, “Sons of the Land”),¹²⁸ which talks about the Macanese, their cultures and their presence. In 2011, “This is Macau” is made popular again through a video by the Dóci Papiaçam di Macau,¹²⁹ who uses this along with other clips as promotional tools for the society and the language. This time, not only does the Macanese community, but also the general public of Macau appreciates this song, as well as their music, language and culture. According to the Cultural Institute, the performance of Dóci Papiaçam di Macau has become one of the most anticipated events during International Art Festival. During the course of my student’s life in Macau, I was also able to see a trend where the Portuguese and the Macanese cultures were explained and appreciated more at schools. As of 2013, the Patuá theatre and language was also listed as one of the intangible cultural heritage of Macau.¹³⁰ Throughout this chronicle, the general public in Macau have reflected on their identity with more reference to their colonial past, making sense of the Portuguese and the Macanese’ narratives, and recognizing their presence in Macau’s culture.¹³¹ The lyrics do not simply only carry their literal meanings and emotions now, but a trace of Macau’s special history.

Not only do the people in Macau have become engaged in discussing their hybrid culture, but such a hybridity is also embraced in “Song of Macau”, composed and

¹²⁷ Chan, “A Study of Macanese Music through Tuna Macanese Group in a Postcolonial Perspective (1935-2017),” 61.

¹²⁸ “Filhos da Terra 澳 · 土 · Sons of the Land” Youtube Video, 38:06, “BelaMacau,” December 16, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wI9osSzbnvA&t=1261s>.

¹²⁹ “Macau Sâm Assi (This is Macau) - Dóci Papiaçám di Macau (HD)” YouTube Video, 4:43, “Miguel Fernandes,” June 24, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JmPYVbKWF70>.

¹³⁰ “Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage,” Cultural Heritage of Macau, assessed March 28, 2020, <http://www.culturalheritage.mo/en/detail/2264>.

¹³¹ Li, “An Identity Hard-Explained - The Cultural Identity of the People of Macau,” 16.

dedicated to the tenth anniversary of Macau's hand-over in 2009. Composed by the Macau Chinese composer Keith Chan (陳輝陽) and Taiwanese lyricist Preston Lee (李安秀), and sung by the Hong Konger singer Andy Liu (劉德華) in Mandarin, this song also appears in many Chinese chronicles and documentaries. After its release, it is most appreciated in Hong Kong and in the mainland China. From this song, we can see a radical change in the Chinese narrative about Macau.

Wandering around the Ruins of Saint Paul,/ The Sun is pouring golden rays.
[...] The encounter of the East and West/ Emanates glowing beams. [...] ¹³²

From the lyrics, the two cultures are embraced. Various iconic images of Macau are depicted, such as the Ruins of Saint Paul, A-ma Temple, Holy Mary, a patron for the Catholic Portuguese and Tian-hou (天后), a patron for the Chinese fishermen. The song goes on to express the uniqueness and position of Macau in China and in the world in the chorus.

What a beautiful white Lotus/ Swaying on the Southern Sea/ Her elegant,
attractive appearance/ Is our pride/ What a blossoming white Lotus/ Blossoming
to the world/ She is not fear of wind, not even rain/ Determined, growing in
mother's bosom. [...] ¹³³

Specifically, the word "Lotus", the symbol of Macau by the Chinese, recurs here. By describing the qualities of the Lotus - "white", "attractive", "our pride", etc., the Chinese impose a wish about the future of Macau, who is now "back" and "growing in mother's bosom". Interestingly, to the Chinese, lotus is a flower that symbolizes the

¹³² Excerpt from "Song of Macau". Please see appendix for the complete lyrics.

¹³³ Excerpt from "Song of Macau". Please see appendix for the complete lyrics.

quality of “keeping oneself pure though growing in sludge”.¹³⁴ By the repeated usage of “Lotus”, the Chinese on one hand wish for an untainted present and future for Macau, and on the other hand also refer Macau’s past as a “sludge”. Though appreciating the uniqueness of cultural hybridity, aggression can nevertheless still be seen in the diction.

“Song of Macau”, unlike “Song of Seven Sons - Macau”, resembles rather a pop song. Using mainly synthesizers, keyboards, percussion and voices, composer and music producer Keith Chan characterizes this song with as a modern one rather than traditionalism. Born and raised in Macau, later educated in China and the U.S., and working in Hong Kong, Chan apparently expressed to some extent his multiculturalism in his composition. With a Taiwanese lyricist and a Hong Kong singer, the production of this song is a collaboration of people with different backgrounds, which I see as a metaphor of Macau’s migrant culture and as a result of increasing globalisation.

Besides “Song of Macau”, “Song of Seven Sons - Macau”, like the others, is also promoted in various manners. It has been performed in various events, mainly those related to promoting Macau in China, and celebrating anniversaries of the hand-over and Chinese national day. For example, among other nationalistic music, such as the Chinese national anthem and the Yellow River Cantata, “Song of Seven Sons - Macau” is listed under the “100 Excellent Songs” to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the establishment of People’s Republic of China in 2019.¹³⁵ It has also

¹³⁴ Such a meaning is derived from the poem written by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 in 1063, entitled “Ai Lian Shuo 愛蓮說” [An Ode to Lotus]. In the poem, Zhou likened the qualities of a gentleman to that of a Lotus. Two of the verses read as the following: “I appreciate the qualities of lotus for its growing out from the sludge, but keeping itself pure; Swaying on clear water, and retaining its elegance and attitude” (予獨愛蓮之出淤泥而不染，濯清漣而不妖) From then on, lotus as a symbol of pureness out of impurity has been engraved in the Chinese’ mindset.

¹³⁵ “Qingzhu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Chengli Qishi Zhounian Youxiu Gequ Yibai Shou 慶祝中華人民共和國成立70週年優秀歌曲100首,” [100 Excellent Songs to Celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of People’s Republic of China] *Renmin Ribao* 人民日報 [*People’s Daily*], June 17, 2019.

been remade into different versions, such as the one by the City University of Macau,¹³⁶ to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of Macau's hand-over.

To summarize, after the hand-over, the narratives of the Chinese have changed considerably, though retaining still its aggression. The Portuguese and Macanese repertoire have also received its popularity in the name of cultural hybridity - the meanings of these songs have evolved from their original intentions to the witness of cultural hybridisation. The changes in their popularity have a profound implication in understanding the identification process of these people groups, as well as the general public of Macau.

¹³⁶ “Xianli Aomen Huigui 20 Zhounian | Aomen Chengshi Daxue ‘Qizhige - Aomen’ MV Fabao 獻禮澳門回歸20周年 | 澳門城市大學《七子之歌-澳門》MV發布,” [Homage to the Twentieth Anniversary of Macau's Hand-over | City University of Macau Release of Music Video] *City University of Macau*, last modified December 18, 2019. <https://cityu.edu.mo/zh/%E7%8D%BB%E7%A6%AE%E6%BE%B3%E9%96%80%E5%9B%9E%E6%AD%B820%E5%91%A8%E5%B9%B4-%E6%BE%B3%E9%96%80%E5%9F%8E%E5%B8%82%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%B8%E3%80%8A%E4%B8%83%E5%AD%90%E4%B9%8B%E6%AD%8C-%E6%BE%B3%E9%96%80/>. Besides, in the mainland of China, to celebrate the hand-over of Macau, many choirs and music groups from different provinces have also performed the piece in their own arrangements, whose videos can be found abundant on the Internet.

Conclusion

Seeing the alternating fame and popularity of different repertoire at different time, the analysis of the lyrics and the use the songs in a political debate illustrate how different parties have made use of the malleability of music to influence people's reflection on their identification. The different moves carried out to promote the various songs have different aims, and these, I argue, always have a political component: be it to sustain a specific group's legacy among the people, be it to exert a "gaze" and an identity to the people in a "top-down" manner, or be it to promote the presence of a specific group. From the case of Macau, the narratives change according to the social context, and thus the purposes exerted by the "top" and the meanings understood by the "bottom" change. From embracing the big Chinese family and leaving the maleficent colonizer, to treasuring the uniqueness of a migrant culture, the Chinese narratives have changed in terms of the content. From merely an expression of longing and nostalgia to a recognition of a distinctive past, the Portuguese narratives have changed in terms of the meaning. From a song shared by a minority to a heritage shared by everyone, the Macanese' narratives have changed in terms of the perception. While all of these changes correlate with the historical and societal changes, their narratives can only make sense under specific historical moments and societal background. This reflects a fluidity in narratives.

In turn, we can also see how the people have made sense of the narratives, and have been "placed in a particular position" at different moments.¹³⁷ During the final years of the Portuguese' rule, when people were dazzled about the past, songs and literature resonating with the nostalgia and uncertain future were written and prevailed the society. Around the year of hand-over, music that provokes a sense of home-returning earned its popularity. As time goes by, pieces that echo the uniqueness of Macau and celebrate the encounter of different cultures have acquired importance (again). The narratives evolve, the "positoinings" alter, and the audience' perception also changes. The change of popularity of this repertoire over time reflects two things: the number

¹³⁷ Frith, "Music and Identity," 120 - 124.

of people who can make sense of the narratives provoked by these songs has changed over time, and more importantly, the cultural logic, which intrinsically allow the public to align with certain qualities and identities provoked by the narratives and to make sense of the narratives, has changed over time. This reflects the fluidity of identification among the people.

From the case studies, each of the works I have presented might have plotted a specific spot in defining “who the people of Macau are”. However, if we look at a modest length of time, we can actually see “who the people of Macau have become”.¹³⁸ Music serves as a pliable carrier through which different stories and hostility can be told and well transmitted to the receivers. And through the whole experience of music, from the producing people, through the lyrics and the musicality, to the audience, in a social context, the portrayal of an identity to a group of people can be profoundly drawn and engraved in the people’s hearts.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, also because of the pliability of music, different narratives can be made over time, and different versions of portrayal can be asserted to the same group of people. The repertoire I have dissected has provided us an insight that cultural identity is mobile. What we have become at this moment could continue to evolve in the future. I argue that, as seen from the musical examples, identity is never static, let alone a collective identity to the people, while identification is never a one-off process. As mobile and timeless as it can be, music “defines a space without boundaries,”¹⁴⁰ and musical identity knows no final destination. There is no end in finding the “best” identity for a group of people, but only can we accept the fact that musical identity is changeable and fluid.

The “*Macauness*”, after all, is mobile, yet distinctive; is easily covered by the nearby cultures, yet significant in the human history. It represents a post-colonial struggle, and exemplifies how a migrant culture has evolved, yet only persists when we

¹³⁸ Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 23-24.

¹³⁹ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 121-125.

¹⁴⁰ Frith, “Music and Identity,” 125.

constantly contemplate it. I am aware that only six pieces of music were chosen for my case studies out of a rich collection of musical works written about Macau and its people. More and further research is yet to be done on investigating the the identity of the people of Macau through artefacts. The identity question of the people of Macau (or, *Macauer*, if there were such a word in the future) is but an open-end question, which calls for our efforts to study and re-study the vast, complicated, intriguing and vibrant history and culture inherited on this piece of land. The *Macauer* might be marginalised in this dynamic era and undermined by aggressive neighbours, but their distinctiveness still exists in a resilient way.

Appendix

Macau, Terra Minha	Macau, My Land
Macau, terra minha, Trazes a lembrança de uma quinta. És coberta de folhas e flores. São alegres as suas cores.	Macau, my land, You remind me of a garden. You are covered with leaves and flowers, Whose colours are joyful.
Macau, terra de lenda, Os contos são suas fazendas. Os monumentos históricos que tens, E o ambiente português que manténs.	Macau, land of legend, Drapery made of stories. You are full of historical monuments, And you retain the Portuguese atmosphere.
Macau, viveste sempre longe de sua mãe. Macau, és o menor de sua família. És tranquila e bonita, Símbolo de paz e de beleza, Macau, terra minha.	Macau, you always lived far from your mother. Macau, you are the smallest in your family. Your are quiet and beautiful, Symbol of peace and beauty, Macau, my land.

Adeus, Macau	Good-bye, Macau
<p>Quantos destinos incertos ao partir. Quantos famílias separadas a pedir. Que um dia venham tornar-se a reunir, E voltar a sorrir.</p>	<p>How many uncertain destinations when leaving. How many families need to be separated. May one day they could come together, And smile again.</p>
<p>Quantas palavras deixadas por dizer, Esperanças vas quantos estão a alimentar. De um dia voltar e ficar até morrer Na terra que é o lar.</p>	<p>How many words are left to say, Hopes that are nurtured. One day to return and stay until death, On the land that is home.</p>
<p>Adeus, Macau, minha paixão. Sem ti estou a sofrer. Adeus, Macau, meu coração. Revoltado quero te ver</p>	<p>Good-bye, Macau, my passion. Without you, I am suffering. Good-bye, Macau, my heart. I keep wishing to see you.</p>
<p>Longe do sol que raiou o meu nascer, Longe do mundo onde comecei a caminhar, Longe do povo que aprendi a compreender, Eu sei que vou chorar.</p>	<p>Away from the sun that shined during my birth, Away from the world where I started to walk, Away from the people whom I learnt to understand, I know that I am going to cry.</p>
<p>Quando as memórias não conseguirem me aquecer, Quando as saudades forem difíceis de suster, Quando me falta um lar para me amar, Eu sei que vou voltar.</p>	<p>When the memories could not further keep me warm, When the nostalgia was difficult to stand with, When I miss a home to love me, I know that I am going to return.</p>

Macau Sâm Assi	This is Macau
<p>Telado qui vêlo Co rópa sugá, Escada qu'istrêto, Janela co fula, Nho-nhónha cantá.</p>	<p>Old rooftops With clothes hanging to dry, Narrow staircases, Windows with flowers, Girls are singing.</p>
<p>Min-pau quente-quente, Padêro gritá. Sol fórti di riva, Têng-têng-lou di basso, Assi sâm Macau!</p>	<p>Fresh hot bread, Baker is yelling. Sun blazing above, Scrap iron collector downstairs, Macau is like this!</p>
<p>Chiste qui papia na Guia Corê vai Dona Maria Chega cedo San Ma Lou,</p>	<p>Chit-chatting that started at Guia Spreads through Dona Maria Arrives quickly at San Ma Lou,</p>
<p>Qui azinha como doda Ta pulá na tudo boca Chunambéro pa Lilau,</p>	<p>It goes fast like crazy Being talked about in everyone's mouth From Chunambéro to Lilau,</p>
<p>Nhum fala Macau sã grándi, qui foi? Nôs senti que nunca sã. Sai pa rua cedo cedo, Vai di Barra Porta Cerco, Ola gente conhecido.</p>	<p>Someone says that Macau is big, who said that? We do not feel so. Go out to the street early, Walk from Barra to the Boarder, Meet People who know you.</p>
<p>Abri na janela, Masqui seza alto, Nhu-nhum nuvílero Corê vêm gudam, Azinha iscuta.</p>	<p>Open the window, Although the sun is shining above, The nosy old man, Come running downstairs, Quickly takes a peep.</p>
<p>Começa má-lingu, Tudo corê vêm. D'intunga manera, Na casa intero. Qium logo escapá.</p>	<p>The gossips start, Everyone runs along. Situations like this, Happen everywhere. Who can escape?</p>

Unga Casa Macaísta	A Macanese Home
<p>Unga casa macaísta, vós olá, Têm carinho na pobréza. Si têm gente batê pórtá pôde entrá, Vêm comê cô nos na mêsa. Genti pobre, genti rico sâ gostá, Cativá tudo visita. Ma qui seza unga casita, Têm su chiste cô alegria Tudo óra, tudo dia.</p>	<p>A Macanese house, you see, Has richness in poverty. If people are knocking on the door, they can enter, Come and eat with us at the table. Poor people, rich people are welcome, We host those who visit. Though it is a small house, We have humour and joy Every hour, every day.</p>
<p>Mêsa cô toália bordado, Vaso di fûla na châm. Pisunto china bafado, Têm galinha, têm capám. Porco balchám tamarinho, Vaca chaucháu maragoso: Unga caneca cô vinho, Quanto bebinga sábrôso. Unga casa macaísta fazê vista Sâ fazê vista unga casa macaísta.</p>	<p>Table with an embroidered cloth, The vase with flowers on the ground. A Chinese drink, They have chicken, they have capon. Tamarind pork paste, Stir-fried slim beef: A mug with wine, A flavourful drink, You see a Macanese home? Yes, you see a Macanese home.</p>
<p>Siara-siara sabe abrí su coraçám Lôgo ri pa tudo genti Na janela sã cherá mangericám Fazê vós ficá contente. Tem biscoito cô ôbrêa na fontám Camalénga fetó dóci Chá-co-sucrí dóci-dóci Tudo óra têm na mesa Quim querê fazê fineza.</p>	<p>It knows how to open its heart, Right away all men laugh. In the window, the scent of basil Makes you feel happy. There are cookies in front, Sweet young melon, Tea with sugar, sweet-sweet, All the time, they have it on the table Who want to have an end.</p>

七子之歌 - 澳門	Song of Seven Sons - Macau
<p> 你可知Macau 不是我真姓 我離開你太久了 母親 但是他們擄去 是我的肉體 你依然保管我 內心的靈魂 那三百年來 夢寐以求的生母啊 請叫兒的乳名 叫我一聲澳門 母親啊母親 我要回來 母親 母親 </p>	<p> Do you know that Macau is not my real name. I have left you for so long, mother. But what they have seized is my body. You have still kept the soul in my inner heart. Three hundred years have passed! I dream of you, the mother who bore me! Please call my infant name, Call me <i>Aomen!</i> Mother! Mother! I yearn to come back, mother! Mother! </p>

澳門之歌	Song of Macau
<p>走在大三巴 灑下金色陽光 牌坊上 牡丹菊花 伴著 聖母像 藍天和碧海 相約東望洋燈塔 讓時空交匯 東西交融 發出了光芒</p>	<p>Wandering around the Ruins of Saint Paul, The Sun is pouring golden rays. On the façade, peony and chrysanthemum Are accompanying the statue of Holy Mary. Blue sky and clear sea Are meeting at the Guia lighthouse. Let the time mix with the space, The encounter of the East and West Emanates glowing beams.</p>
<p>你一定要來到媽閣廟 看一看天后娘媽 濠江 真是順風順水啊 等你嚐一口葡國菜香 喝一口亞婆井水 你會感到全身舒爽 好運就來到</p>	<p>You should come to the A-ma Temple, Visit Tian-hou the Holy Mother. <i>Haojiang</i>, a place of tranquility and peace! You should have a bite of the Portuguese cuisine, Take a sip of the water from the spring at Lilau. You will feel refreshed all over. Luck is approaching you.</p>
<p>這朵美麗的白蓮花 搖曳南海上 她雍容迷人風華 是我們的驕傲 這朵盛開的白蓮花 向全世界綻放 她不怕風 她更不怕雨 在母親懷抱裡茁壯</p> <p>世界 只有 這一朵 唯一的 這一朵 永遠的 這一朵 白蓮花</p>	<p>What a beautiful white Lotus, Swaying on the Southern Sea. Her elegant, attractive appearance Is our pride. What a blossoming white Lotus, Blossoming to the world. She is not fear of wind, not even rain, Determined, growing in mother's bosom.</p> <p>The World, only has, this one, Solely, this one, Forever, this one, white Lotus.</p>

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