Macau and Catholic Sacred Music Across the Sino-Western Divide

Jen-yen Chen

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Note on the Transliteration of East Asian Names

The names of East Asian individuals, when written in the scripts of their original languages, place family names before given names. Transliterated into the Roman alphabet, these names sometimes reverse their order, according to personal preferences, customary practices in specific contexts, or both. For instance, East Asian scholars active in Western academic domains tend to set their romanized family names last (e.g., Yosihiko Tokumaru rather than Tokumaru Yosihiko), though those from the People's Republic of China represent the major (but not automatic) exception. In this book, I adhere to personal preferences, insofar as I have been able to ascertain them. Otherwise, I follow the Western ordering only in the case of authors whose published writings are primarily in European languages. A special situation arises, however, with Chinese Catholics in Macau, who adopt a Portuguese given name (and sometimes also a Portuguese family name) after they have been baptized. They may thenceforth refer to themselves by either their Portuguese or their Chinese given name (the latter usually in the Cantonese dialect), though rarely both simultaneously. Nevertheless, in order to convey this multiplicity of identity, I have included all names in first mentions of Macau's Chinese Catholic persons, in the following order: Portuguese given name, Portuguese family name (if there is one), Chinese given name, Chinese family name (e.g., João Evangelista Him-Sang Lau). Afterwards, I use a shortened form consisting of the Portuguese given name and the Chinese family name (e.g., João Evangelista Lau) or the Portuguese family name if this is an individual's preference.

For the romanization of Mandarin Chinese names of persons who have not chosen their own preferred spellings, I draw upon the *pinyin* system

current in the People's Republic of China. This is done for reasons of consistency, as romanization practices in other territories such as Taiwan and Hong Kong are relatively unstandardized; it does not reflect a particular political stance.

Acknowledgments

I first became aware of Macau and its musical cultures as a potentially rich topic of investigation in 2013 during a brief stint as a visiting faculty member at the University of Hong Kong, where I was invited to teach five weeks of the introductory seminar in musicology. I express my gratitude to Professor Giorgio Biancorosso for this invitation, for encouraging me to take up Macau as a scholarly focus, and for sending me a copy of a master's thesis on the history of Macau's military bands, written by one of his department's graduates, Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto. Several years later I met Veiga Jardim in Macau, where he has lived and worked as a conductor and musical researcher for nearly four decades and where I received invaluable assistance from him, including an introduction to the music archive of the Seminary of St. Joseph. At around the same time I also met his frequent collaborator, the pianist, former dean of the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, and active participant in Macau's contemporary musical life, Margaret Lynn, through an introduction provided by Professor Suyin Mak of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, whom I thank here. Dean Lynn and Graça Marques, her co-author on several publications exploring the work of the composer-priest Father Áureo Castro, arranged for me to visit the Academia de Música São Pio X and view the manuscripts of Father Castro stored there. She also connected me with a number of this institution's teachers and pupils who became important interlocutors for my research, including one I cannot name because of her wish to remain anonymous but to whom I nevertheless express my thanks. The others are Nelson Ngok Meng Leong, Vivian Wai Hang Ng, and Carol Weng Ian Sou.

Father João Evangelista Him-Sang Lau of St. Lazarus Church, the parish church that served as the focal point for the Chinese Catholic community in Macau beginning in the nineteenth century, generously replied to all

my requests for information, especially concerning the years immediately before the late 1960s, the turning point when Macau's return to Chinese sovereignty became an inevitability. I am grateful also to two other interlocutors of the same generation as Father João, Alberto Botelho dos Santos Hon Chio U and António Heng Seong Leong, who provided me with their insights on the lives and music of Chinese Catholics in Macau during the heyday of Portuguese rule over the city. Francisco de Sales Him Wing Lao, the younger brother of Father João and director of the choir of St. Lazarus Church, the Coro Jubilorum, warmly welcomed me to attend his group's rehearsals. Together with his wife, Viola Wai Heng Ho, Mr. Lao participated in an interview in June 2019 that proved exceptionally valuable for the third chapter of this book (originally published as a journal article). I became acquainted with another crucial interlocutor for this chapter, João Seng Hong Ng, the director of Macau's Coro Perosi, only after the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, and to this day I still have not had the opportunity to meet him in person. But Mr. Ng has enthusiastically assisted my work and shared with me, via online communications, his passion for his city's music history, and I would like to express my appreciation of his willingness to accept this style of interaction.

I fortuitously met Father Cyril Jerome Law, chancellor of the Catholic Diocese of Macau and dean and professor at Macau's University of St. Joseph, one morning in October 2017 while working in the archive of the Seminary of St. Joseph, and have greatly benefited from our discussions of Catholic sacred music ever since. I was also referred by Father Cyril to António K. Wong, director of the Cathedral Schola and the Diocesan Choir of Macau, who kindly agreed to my request for an interview. Father Jojo Peter Ancheril, who oversees the seminary archive, a collection one can visit only by prior arrangement, flexibly and promptly accommodated all my requests for an appointment.

While the above individuals enabled me to gather a trove of fascinating information about the history of music in Macau during the past hundred years or so, I have been particularly keen to uncover the earlier stages of this history, going back to the sixteenth century, which have been largely ignored by music researchers, perhaps understandably given the difficulties involved. In managing the challenge of studying old documents and their special expressive idioms, encompassing languages, scripts, and worldviews starkly different from those familiar to a modern person, I owe thanks to the following colleagues: Ricardo Bernardes, musicologist, conductor, and director of the Fundação da Casa de Mateus, who introduced me to the col-

lections of the Biblioteca da Ajuda during a visit I paid to Lisbon in 2015; to Maria de Fátima Gomes of the Biblioteca da Ajuda and Dario Scarinci of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, who handled my requests for reproductions of documents from their institutions; to Anna Yu Wang, who brought to my attention a number of online databases of historical Chinese documents, especially Donald Sturgeon's monumental Chinese Text Project; to Yang Yuanzheng and Qingfan Jiang, who provided valuable advice on the translations of classical Chinese texts; and to my research assistants, Yicksau Lau, Yun-Hsien Peng, and Shura Ng Taylor, all graduate students in the institute of musicology at National Taiwan University, who variously compiled source materials in Chinese, clarified the meanings of some difficult written passages, and served as my access to the intricacies of spoken Cantonese.

My research was supported by Taiwan's National Science and Technology Council (formerly the Ministry of Science and Technology), which awarded me subsidies during the 2015–16, 2017–18, 2019–21, and 2023–24 academic years.

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Among the various conferences where I have shared my research on Macau, the 2020 meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology furnished the rewarding opportunity of a collaboration with Susana Sardo and Panayotis League, whom I joined in presenting a session, "Theorizing Indigeneity in the Postcolonial Lusophone World," that sought to develop a larger framework for exploring native musical practices in Goa, Paraíba (Brazil), and Macau. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, whose definitive work on Portuguese music in global contexts served as a model for the three of us, attended the session and later connected me with her doctoral student at the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Enio Souza, through whose auspices I delivered a paper at a 2023 conference in Lisbon on Chinese music, jointly hosted by this city's Centro Científico e Cultural Macau and CHIME. I would also like to thank Dinko Fabris for an invitation to participate in the program of *Chiesa, musica: Testi e contesti*, the 2021 conference on music of the Vatican's

Pontificio Consiglio della Cultura (now part of the Dicastero per la Cultura e l'Educazione). All of these scholars, through the events they helped to organize and also through their intellectual and personal collegiality, have significantly enriched my thinking about the wider resonances of music's meanings as they were fostered at a "small" locale.

Two anonymous reviewers provided detailed comments that brought about a better organization of the book's material, a strengthening of its central arguments, and broader coverage of relevant primary sources, among other contributions. I am indebted to their meticulous reading of my manuscript but remain solely responsible for any deficiencies in the final version.

It was my fortune to work with an extraordinary team at the University of Michigan Press who oversaw the progress of this book from its initial proposal to its appearance in print: Kay Kaufman Shelemay and Kate van Orden, editors of this publisher's *Musics in Motion* series; Sara Cohen, senior acquiring editor; Kianna Delly, editorial assistant; Danielle Coty-Fattal, publicity manager; and Mary K. Hashman, senior production editor. In particular, Professors Shelemay and van Orden and Dr. Cohen offered numerous suggestions that significantly improved the quality of the text, including urging a revision of the title as well as greater care in reproducing the essentializing stereotypes contained in the historical documentation examined for this study.

This book draws upon a number of my earlier articles (listed in the bibliography), whose publishers have kindly granted permission for the reuse of material under their copyright. For this permission, I thank the International Musicological Society, publisher of the journal *Acta Musicologica*; the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres, publisher of the journal *Fontes Artis Musicae*; and Aracne Editrice, which issued a volume of proceedings of the aforementioned conference organized by the Pontificio Consiglio della Cultura.

It remains to express appreciation of the friends, teachers, mentors, and fellow researchers whose encouragement, generosity, and passionate internationality have left their positive marks on my own efforts to cultivate a global spirit in the following book: Giorgio Biancorosso, Daniel K. L. Chua, Maria Alexandra Iñigo Chua, Dinko Fabris, David R. M. Irving, Qingfan Jiang, Hedy Law, Johnny M. Poon, Nancy Yunhwa Rao, Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Kate van Orden, Anna Yu Wang, Helan H. L. Yang, and Yang Yuanzheng. Proof against the stereotype of the isolated academic, they exemplify human connectedness as the defining trait of scholarship. Finally, my deepest debt is to my wife, Yan-Di Chang, for her support and love during the many years needed to bring this work to fruition.

Introduction

Sonic Mobility in the Making of a Global City

This book relates a history of Catholic sacred music in Macau,[1] a former Portuguese colony located on the southern coast of China that functioned as a crucial site for enabling, furthering, and managing the European presence in East Asia during a period of approximately three hundred years, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The prevalent image nowadays of Macau as a gambling mecca tends to obscure, yet also is not wholly irrelevant to, this city's historical legacy as a nodal point in globalized networks of commercial exchange, particularly under conditions of restricted foreign access to Japan and China.[2] The pragmatic circumstances determining movement within the region affected not only trade but also the Christian missionary endeavors that relied upon the mercantile sphere for transport and financial support. Indeed, the twin aims of economic and religious domination arguably formed a single unified project, which Charles R. Boxer has aptly characterized as a "military and maritime enterprise cast in an ecclesiastical mould."[3] With regard to China in particular, Macau played an especially significant role in facilitating mobility: For most of the three hundred years before the mid-nineteenth century, it served as the only point of entry for Western individuals approved by the Chinese imperial government. As such, it gained the status of a kind of special administrative region in 1557: The Ming court in Beijing sanctioned its supervision by Portugal but nevertheless ceded no rights of sovereignty. This ambiguity would engender a "sort-of-sovereignty,"[4] with the Lusofication of Macau gradually coming about as a result of both China's effort to limit interaction between natives and Europeans and the growth of the territory as a Catholic bastion.[5] The uncertainty of political identity, reflected in a simultaneity of official restriction

and surreptitious furtherance of the flow of persons and resources, persisted as late as the twentieth century, during which Macau served as a financial conduit for a People's Republic of China that outwardly rejected commercial activities not conforming to its socialist ideology.[6]

As a study of mobility, the topic of Catholic sacred music in Macau encompasses the political rivalries of "great" Asian and European powers, which were deeply invested in notions of exceptionalism and conquest and involved in attempted control of geographical spaces. More broadly, an interpretative framework anchored in concepts of space implicates linguistic and musical sounds in the constitution of physical and psychical domains, particularly as concerns an emergent urbanism arising out of the necessity of managing encounters across cultural difference. The development of Macau as a city reflected Iberian principles of metropolitan planning that found expression in Portuguese and Spanish colonies around the world, among them Goa, Colombo, Malacca, and Manila. For example, Pius Malekandathil has discussed how power in Goa was represented architecturally by gathering the buildings housing military, ecclesiastical, and commercial authority within a single district immediately apprehensible to the eye.[7] The attempt to evoke awe in the viewer by such means is also exemplified by Macau, with its juxtaposition of the Jesuit College of St. Paul and the Monte Fort upon a high hill, easily spotted from all points in this small peninsula as well as from the surrounding waters (see figure 1).[8] Ivo Carneiro de Sousa notes a classical European mode of urban construction according to which "cities must be seen and appreciated from the seas that bring foreigners."[9] Simultaneous concentration and elevation imparted both widespread visibility and widespread audibility. It is a central argument of the present study that listening takes its place alongside seeing in shaping an early conception of a globalized metropolis, where relatively enclosed cultures and traditions experienced an intensified fracturing of their attempted self-bounding.[10] Francisco Vizeu Pinheiro, Kogi Yagi, and Miki Korenaga observe a contrasting Chinese preference for a city's physical arrangement within a flat expanse and against a backdrop of hills, down which "good luck will run."[11] Yet it is Chinese testimonies of Catholic sounds in Macau—including the ringing of church bells, the playing of the organ, and choral singing—that particularly explore spatial fluidities arising through the stimulus provided by conspicuous physical positioning, and that thereby transgress boundaries of cultural identity as well as the differentiation of natural and human activity. A few preliminary examples serve to illustrate this point briefly.

The following lines from a poem of 1718, "The Western Organ" by Liang

Figure 1. Wilhelm Heine, *Macau from Penha Hill* (Philadelphia: [1856]). The ruins of the College of St. Paul and the Monte Fort are at the upper left.

Di 梁迪 (dates unknown), a native of Xinhui in nearby Guangdong Province, relate the experience of listening to the organ of the Church of St. Paul, part of the complex of the Jesuit college. Seeking to comprehend the unusual timbres of this alien instrument, the author presents a succession of similes that interrelate diverse elements drawn from the human and animal worlds:

> Played from the top of the Church of St. Paul,
> the [organ's] sound can be heard far and near.
> The sound is not of silk or wood but of metal and stone,
> penetrating finely, emanating strongly, filling the heavens.
> [It is as] subtle as [the sound of cutting] scissors in the maiden's room,
> clear as a crane crying beyond the heavens.
> Melodious as a swallow singing in the red mangrove,
> sorrowful as a monkey moaning at the jade screen.[12]

This organ's impressive audibility, enhanced by the transmission of its sounds from the church's elevated location to the surrounding areas, engenders an integrative outlook whereby specific aural elements acquire meaning through their linkage with other elements, both aural and non-aural, rather than through their internal traits. This tendency toward interconnectedness shapes a practice of signification whose pronounced mobility takes form in intensive engagements with a broad sensory realm.

A different poem, "The Bell of the Temple [i.e., Church] of St. Paul at Daybreak" by Yin Guangren 印光任 (1691–1758), likewise joins together discrete components within a shared environment but at the same time articulates a notable intercultural stance. Yin, who served as *tongzhi* 同知, or vice-prefect, of Macau from 1744 to 1746[13] and who is best known as the author of the *Aomen jilüe* 澳門紀略 (Record of Macau, 1751), co-written with one of his successors, Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 (1709–69), who held the position from 1748 to 1750, captures his experience of hearing the ringing bell of the Church of St. Paul as follows:

> From the delicate bell of a far-off temple,
> comes a single sound (*sheng* 聲) out of the quiet realm of sound (*lai* 籟).[14]
> Immersing the clear moon[light] deep into the sea,
> accompanying the cold clouds passing over the mountain,
> early morning twilight encounters the break of dawn,
> all nature is myriad yet undivided.
> One may ask the barbarian monk,
> how actually to understand this interplay (*ceng neng shi ci guan* 曾能識此關).[15]

A gentle dialectic between individuality and undifferentiated totality finds expression in these lines, in which nature is simultaneously myriad and undivided, so that a single concrete sound (*sheng*) originates from a mystical sonic domain (*lai*). Remarkably, Yin's Sinocentrism, manifested in his characterization of the church's European priest as a barbarian monk, does not preclude recognition of the limits of his knowledge; he asserts the value of asking the representative of a "lower" culture for insight into the bell ringing's marvelous integrative power. An incipient globalism that does not locate understanding exclusively within the civilized self but sometimes discovers them in one's others thus seems to emerge in this poem. Boundaries of cultural identity, with their associated notions of superiority, are retained; but their absolute permanence is also brought into question.[16]

Sources: Polylingual Decenterings

In exploring spatial, sonic, and ideological mobilities in this book, as they emerged in connection with Catholic sacred music in Macau, I wish to illuminate subtle decenterings of identity and the resulting production of reconfigured subjectivities that one might characterize as "sort-of-Chinese," "sort-of-Western," and the like. Particularly important to this aim is an engagement with different languages, the coexistence of which furnishes the impetus toward a foregrounding of marginal viewpoints and a subversion of triumphalist historiographies that variously buttress one or the other side of a "great encounter."[17] In presenting my arguments and analyses, I have therefore striven to give roughly equal attention to documentary sources in both Chinese and European languages and thereby to demonstrate a careful awareness of the danger of unequal power relations effected by the representational appropriations of a single dominant tongue. The research methodology I have followed thus is fundamentally *polylingual* in character.

This methodology may be initially demonstrated through the example of an early account in Portuguese of Holy Week celebrations held at the College of St. Paul during the years before this institution's official founding in 1594.

> The Holy Week offices were performed with much devotion and majesty, and what most amazed the Chinese was the Resurrection procession at dawn (*o que mais admirou os Chinas foi a procissão da madrugada da Resurreição*). . . .
>
> There sounded a large number of shawms, flutes, viols, fifes, and drums, which they [the musicians] flourished with much air; and with the grace of the mounted fencers, and various other dances, in addition to the innumerable torches of the people, that accompanied the Host, and young girls seen through their windows, the procession was carried out with great solemnity.
>
> A Chinese of Chincheo [Quanzhou], a hundred leagues from Macau, dreamed for three nights that a religious of the company appeared to him with a jar of water in his hands persuading him to undergo baptism; he surrendered (*rendeusse*) with the third vision, and the father baptized him and assigned him the name Diogo.[18]

Native documentary sources cast a subtly different light upon Chinese amazement at the spectacle of Catholic processions, and thus stand in contrast to the Portuguese representation, which indicates a notable force of per-

suasion, illustrated also by the tale of Diogo's surrender to the inevitability of baptism. They thus undercut the appropriation of voice and the presumption to speak for others that often characterize reports such as the one above. The fourth of a set of thirty quatrains devoted to the subject of Macau by the Chinese Jesuit author, painter, and musician Wu Li 吳歷 (1632–1718), also known as Wu Yushan 吳漁山 and Simão Xavier da Cunha, who enrolled at the College of St. Paul when he was nearly fifty and later was ordained as a priest, articulates the military aspect of a procession in honor of St. Francis Xavier (1506–1552), especially with respect to its aural dimension.[19]

> Holding candles, burning high,
> they welcome the great saint;
> banners, pennants flap in wind,
> cannon roar like thunder (*pao cheng lei* 砲成雷).
> On all sides streets are spread with grass,
> green like tapestry:
> pedestrians are not allowed to trample it to dust.[20]

In Wu's account, amazement edges toward fear of the violence of European arms: thunder (*lei* 雷) forms one of the commonest local responses to Western sounds, as numerous examples later in this book detail. A single example may be offered here, taken from a report of 1653 by Li Qifeng 李棲鳳 (1594–1664), Grand Coordinator of Guangdong Province, which relates an aggressive attempt to reconfigure the existing power structure enforcing China's dominance of international commerce in this region:

> The nation of the Franks [i.e., Portugal] had never offered tribute, [instead] one of their large ships suddenly dashed into the mouth of Guangdong Harbor, the sound of its guns like thunder (*chong sheng ru lei* 銃聲如雷), "seeking imperial recognition before paying tribute, an unheard-of occurrence.[21]

The matter of languages and their diverse, often incompatible, mediations occupy a place of central importance in any globally oriented investigation such as the present one. Mikhail Bakhtin rightly urges a "critical qualified relationship to one's own language (as merely one of many languages in a heteroglot world)."[22] Even the term "language" itself does not denote a universal concept transcending differences among cultures. Thus, the varying ramifications of the word, in the several languages covered by

this book, will form a central thread linking the discussions in the following chapters. A few of these ramifications may be briefly previewed here, with one example drawn from each of the first three chapters:

- A near equivalence of language with speech and more specifically with the tonal inflections of speech is illustrated by some of the documents in Chinese examined in chapter 1. For instance, an 1812 report concerning a Chinese "traitor" who had become proficient in the tongue of his foreign employers describes this individual as "fluent in the barbarian tones (*yiyin* 夷音)."[23] The particular importance of tones, or *yin* 音 in Mandarin and other Chinese "dialects"[24] such as Cantonese and Fujianese has to do with the function of speech inflections in the Sino-Tibetan language family (to which the dialects belong) in constituting the very identity of words; this function contrasts with their more typically "ornamental" expressive quality in other languages. This difference complicates cross-linguistic endeavors such as the adaptation of practices of Latin text setting to Cantonese by composers of Catholic sacred music in contemporary Macau, since tones in Latin have a less determinative semantic role and afford a greater independence of words and musical sounds from one another.
- As discussed in chapter 2, Jesuit missionizing strategies in southern China during the seventeenth century manifested a conception of ritual-theatrical spectacles as a "language" of proselytism that regularly won over a substantial number of converts. In the words of the annual letter of 1616 of the College of St. Paul, "since these external displays should be the best languages and sermons, they always reap some fruit from them [the local populace], always baptizing some of them each year" (*como estes apparatos exteriores sejão as melhores lingoas, e pregaçõens, que hà, sempre se colhe delles algun fruito, bautizandose sempre alguns cada anno*).[25] Specifically rhetorical in nature, this understanding of language nevertheless demonstrates an affinity with that of the previous example in that both foreground orality or "performed" speech. But it also extends language's domain beyond spoken and written words to encompass all communicative resources (visual art, music, dance, etc.) employed for the purpose of persuasion.
- A number of Catholic adherents in Macau whom I interviewed as part of my research expressed a multifaceted view of language, emphasizing the importance of observing the specific meanings of liturgical words (in the performance of choral music, for instance),

> yet also arguing for another mode of comprehension that did not involve reception of semantic content. Adopting a somewhat critical position of the reforms undertaken by the Second Vatican Council of 1962–65 and preferring to retain a place for the Latin language in his practice of worship, one of these adherents, the choral director Francisco de Sales Him Wing Lao 劉炎榮 (1961–), opined: "Because [the scholar of liturgy] doesn't understand music, he'll focus on preaching, using the local language to let people understand more clearly. Because he's not a musician, he won't know that in music there's much that doesn't need to be said, that doesn't need language, but rather is felt directly."[26] As I shall discuss in Chapter 3, such a viewpoint, while seeming at first to set an opposition between music and language, in fact advocates for both media as channels of interiorized, sublime, and "unspoken" communication, with Latin especially well suited to this role in the context of Catholic religiosity.

In this study, I rely for Chinese-language materials upon a number of principal sources. The greater part of these materials has not hitherto been examined in a scholarly publication in English, and their detailed analysis below represents an original contribution of the present study. In addition, the aim to make accessible to readers outside the Sinophone world historical documentation of often striking and extraordinary character supplies a rationale for the language in which this book is written. The *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti dangan wenxian huibian* 明清時期澳門問題檔案文獻彙編 (Collection of Records and Documents on the Macau Problem of the Ming and Qing Eras) is a six-volume compilation prepared by Chinese scholars and published in 1999, and it offers a wide-ranging set of primary materials related to the history of Macau's four and a half centuries as a Portuguese territory. Since the city served as the exclusive gateway for the entry of Europeans into China from the mid-sixteenth century until 1685, when the Kangxi 康熙 emperor (reigned 1661–1722) opened all of China's ports to foreign trade (an arrangement revoked in 1757 by his grandson the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor, who thereby created the more restrictive framework for global commercial exchange known as the Canton System[27]), it took on a crucial role as the initial contact zone of the Sino-Western encounter. Hence many of the items in the compilation vividly relate the acute challenges of intercultural exchange across the boundaries of stark cultural difference. I further rely upon the *Aomen jilüe* of Yin Guangren and Zhang Rulin, who, as previously mentioned, both served as vice-prefects of Macau.[28] The offi-

cial responsibilities of this position involved oversight particularly of coastal defense but not direct management of Macau, which, in the Chinese view, came under the administration of Portugal through the permission of the Ming imperial state. However, dissenting notions on the part of the Portuguese regarding their allegedly subservient status fueled a contestation over historical truth and helped to intensify Macau's state of liminality, caught amid the rivalry between two political powers.[29] The resulting climate of mutual distrust furnishes the context for Yin's and Zhang's barbed critiques of Western others, which reflect Sinocentric prejudice toward all non-Chinese as barbarians yet do not simply offer crude caricatures of foreigners, as shall be seen. A third set of Chinese-language texts that furnish valuable material for the discussions in this book is the diverse body of poems written by members of China's literatus class such as Wu, Yin, Zhang, and Cai Xianyuan 蔡顯原 (an imperial civil servant who visited Macau in 1827 and recorded his musical impressions there, including an extended description of the organ of the Church of St. Paul)—verses that articulate diverse individual responses to Europeans' growing presence and influence in the southern coastal region of China.[30]

Western perspectives on the early phases of Macau's development as a Catholic bastion are afforded by a number of documentary repositories. Chief among them are the Japonica-Sinica collection of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus) in Rome and the Jesuítas na Ásia (Jesuits in Asia) collection in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon. Another original contribution of the present study is the consultation of these records for a specifically *musical* history of Macau, especially one that stretches back well before the nineteenth century, the most recent two hundred years of this history having previously received substantial and indeed exclusive attention.[31] In particular, the musical life of the College of St. Paul, which I cover in chapter 2 of this book, represents a significant research lacuna, though this institution would crucially shape religious practice in ways that continue to affect the Catholic communities of contemporary Macau, as I shall demonstrate. While the materials of the repositories have been diligently perused by scholars of missionary history, mercantile history, and other related fields,[32] they have remained mostly unexamined by musicologists, perhaps because a reader must seek their rich and copious yet sporadic data concerning music amid a great many pages devoted to nonmusical topics. Furthermore, this data does not accord with valorized musicological concepts of the work and the composer but instead foregrounds events and sensory experiences of a generally ephemeral nature,

with the orality of the described cultures having left its traces as written artifacts and requiring imaginative reconstruction therefrom.[33]

The documents in Rome are original materials related to the Jesuits' Japan and China missions, while those in Lisbon form a single, massive (though incomplete) copy, dating from the 1740s, of the Jesuit archive in Macau, which actually served as a depository for reports concerning the evangelizing activities of the Society of Jesus (as the Jesuits are formally known) throughout East and Southeast Asia, including in Japan, China, southern Vietnam (Cochinchina), Singapore, and Timor.[34] Related to the latter, and part of the collections of a different institution in Lisbon, the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, is a further important assemblage of data, the *Apparatos pera a história ecclesiástica do bispado de Macao* (Materials for the Ecclesiastical History of the Bishopric of Macau), compiled by one of the scribes of the Jesuítas na Ásia volumes, Father José Montanha, who clarified, "I have obtained these reports from old papers, which are preserved in the estimable archive of the College of St. Paul of the city of Macau" (*Estas noticias t*[*i*]*rei de papeis antigos, que se conser*[*v*]*ão no estimavel cartorio do Collegio de São Paolo da cidade de Macao*).[35] Altogether, these sources can furnish the basis for a wide-ranging historical investigation of Christian missionizing in the western Pacific Rim. The present study examines only those specifically related to Macau, which though not concerned in the first place with music and certainly not written by musicians nevertheless abound in descriptions of musical events and personnel. In particular, the annual letters sent to the Society's various administrative headquarters in Europe provide especially valuable data for the sections of this book that aim to illuminate the proselytic subjectivities of the missionaries who had accomplished the long and arduous journey to eastern Asia. Concerning these letters, Eugenio Menegon has observed that "the Litterae Annuae were relations on the state of each college or mission, written as apologetic and hagiographic accounts, but often rich in ethnographic information not available elsewhere."[36]

The century and a half following the preparation of the Jesuítas na Ásia documents witnessed the gradual but inexorable expulsion of the Jesuits from the various European imperial territories and the formal suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV, followed by the restoration of the Society in 1814 and the eventual ascendancy of European colonial activities in East Asia, including along the southern Chinese coast where the establishment of Hong Kong as a British colony in 1841 contributed indirectly to the consolidation of Portuguese sovereignty in nearby Macau. This new circumstance marked the concluding phase of Macau's

history under Portugal's governance, during which a sizable community of native Catholics emerged for the first time, transgressing a long-standing segregation enforced by the Chinese imperial regime that sought to erect a bulwark against cross-ethnic interchange.[37] However, the entanglement of competing exceptionalist discourses during the twentieth century, when an idealized Portuguese vision of successful cultural mixing under an allegedly beneficent style of colonial management vied with a resurgent Chinese nationalism aimed at throwing off the shackles of past Western exploitation, engendered a fraught, deeply liminal positioning of Macau's Chinese Catholics in relation to uncertain, shifting conditions of political power.[38] The issue of mobility here takes the form of a self-construction of identity against essentializing notions of "Eastern" and "Western" cultures that undergirded the aforementioned discourses. Central to such self-construction is again the matter of language, as applied in this instance to liturgical observances and their associated uses of music. Both Latin and Cantonese, the native tongue of ethnically Chinese persons in Macau, feature prominently in these observances, and the latter, serving as the principal medium of expression for interlocutors with whom I conducted interviews for this study, represents a distinctive window through which to view the cultivation of Catholic belief within an Asian milieu. In particular, continuing efforts toward the creation of a vocal style adapted to the idiosyncratic traits of Cantonese and hence effective in promoting a sublimity of faith among congregants by enhancing their reception of sacred words form a primary focus of the concluding segment of this book.[39] I would here propose a notion of a "Latinized Cantonese" as an illustration of Mikhail Bakhtin's principle of the *interanimation of languages*, with two distinct tongues cohabiting dialogically within the web of viewpoints, interests, and experiences that constitute each of my interlocutors as unique individuals.[40]

The work of Bakhtin, in its magisterial critique of linguistic singularity and unity and its cogent advocacy of heteroglossia, inevitably demands the attention of scholars of global history. Drawing upon the genre of novel as his principal example, Bakhtin repeatedly challenges literary and cultural analyses "within the frame of a single language system . . . that express, directly and without mediation, an authorial individuality in language. The whole of the novel and the specific tasks involved in constructing this whole out of heteroglot, multi-voiced, multi-styled and often multi-languaged elements remain outside the boundaries of such [studies]."[41] The novel, as well as any subject matter with an affinity to this genre's comprehensive quality, is fundamentally dialogic and hybrid, as compared to "the monologic utter-

ance of the individual."[42] Bakhtin regards discourses of linguistic unity as the outcome of historical tendencies enforcing a centripetal ideological outlook, so that "a unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited—and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia."[43]

It is because of the realities of heteroglossia that languages interanimate one another: "Languages do not *exclude* each other, but rather intersect with each other in many different ways. . . . They may all be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically."[44] This idea of dialogic interrelation will inform my discussion in chapters 3 and 4 of the Latinization of Cantonese, a marvelous insight into their positioning with respect to these two tongues articulated by my interlocutors in Macau, and one that illustrates a practice of "look[ing] at one of these languages through the eyes of another language."[45]

In offering a closing argument involving the mutual interanimation of Latin and Cantonese for an investigation that aspires to capture something close to the full richness and complexity of "intercultural" interactions, I have two aims in mind: first, that the historical background presented in the first two chapters, extending back several centuries earlier than what usually receives attention from music historians, prompts a rethinking of that history that they *do* write about; and second, that the more ethnographically oriented approach of this book's latter half demonstrates the valuable complementarity of document- and fieldwork-based research methods, both of which should strive to envoice the lived realities of human agents, whether still living or not.

Interpreting Mobility: Divides Imagined, Differences Refused

The following study takes as its basic point of departure the notion that cultural divides and boundaries, such as the one indicated in the title of this book, do not exist as a matter of course but come about through dynamic processes of imagination, construction, contestation, and negotiation. Though particular conditions, above all differences of language, may greatly facilitate these processes, the divides are never an inevitable outcome, even as they often gain a discursive power in the long term that forces the agents within a sociocultural web to confront their constraining influences, whether or not they wish to do so. Yet opportunities of de-emphasis, deflection, refusal, and even refutation always remain available to the agents, pre-

cisely because of the processive nature of determining that specific persons and things belong or do not belong to concrete categories. Indeed, these categories possess no objective existence prior to acts of classification: The latter precede the former, and then rely on steadfast reiteration, in order to retain their power, sometimes over a period of time spanning centuries.

This book presents such a protracted case study, exploring the imaginings of a Sino-Western dualism and the subsequent reinforcements but also subversions, from its early inception up to the present day, of a cultural boundary that nowadays enjoys such widespread acceptance and usage as to constitute a platitude. It offers detailed evidence for the effect of the first substantial arrivals in China of Europeans, including their sounds—intensifying and creating anew the long-standing ideology of a civilized center and allegedly uncivilized peripheries, embedded within the very name of China in its original language (*Zhongguo* 中國, "Middle Kingdom"). At the same time, this polarized worldview, though of consistent discursive force, could sometimes admit impressive and even admirable traits of the Western other, as shall be seen, so that the "truth" of Chinese superiority could not permanently envelop itself in an impregnable certainty but sometimes had to reveal its status as an idea or an imagination.[46] As for the missionaries who traveled to Chinese shores, the aspiration to convert natives to Christianity perhaps seems the antithesis of division, and might appear to be an effort to bring the entire world into the fold of a unified, "universal" religion. Yet their evangelizing fervor hardly precluded the categorization of persons, above all by ethnicity and nationality. For instance, the question of the full participation of Chinese Catholics in the conduct of the faith, as epitomized by controversies over conferring pastoral and administrative responsibilities upon them,[47] eventually engendered distinct communities of believers (including differing musical practices), a process evident already in the seventeenth century and still continuing to shape the socio-religious topography of contemporary Macau.[48] The second half of this book is devoted to a detailed examination of a group of living believers' responses to an age-old legacy of divided, essentialized identities. It draws in part upon postcolonial critical strategies for confronting the non-dialogic assignment of categories and identities to others, such as, first, the analysis of mimicry, or the making of colonial subjects into members of the colonizers' culture, but not quite full members, so that a continued differentiation of European and Chinese Catholics was reinforced, and, second, the relocation of agency to these subjects, including their privilege to *refuse* difference.[49] Two choral directors, Francisco de Sales Lao and João Seng Hong Ng 伍星洪 (1947–), and two composers, Father

Áureo da Costa Nunes e Castro (1917–1993) and Doming Ngok-pui Lam 林樂培 (1926–2023), who, as shall be seen, individually represent distinctive modes of engagement with the inheritance of the Sino-Western divide, will serve as principal examples in an examination of the durable yet also imaginary nature of categories, whose "reality" is constantly remade into surprising, unforeseeable new forms. The idea of a Latinized Cantonese as a central facet of Catholic sacred music in contemporary Macau, drawing together two languages between which lies a seemingly unbridgeable disparity of expressive style, will particularly highlight my arguments concerning borders and their diffusion through the mobility of sounds.

In a discussion of borders as a historiographical construct shaping modern-day thinking about Macau, Sheyla Schuvartz Zandonai applied the concept of imaginary to her subject matter, understanding the existence of borders as invented and then negotiated over time, and therefore as an outcome of processes that are neither inevitable nor irreversible.[50] Among the significant acts of bordering that created Macau in the imagination, Zandonai counted the 1574 erection by the imperial authorities of the Portas do Cerco (Gates of Siege), a barrier extending across the thin strip of land that separated Macau's peninsular territory from the mainland of China and aimed to limit interaction between natives and Europeans (figure 2); as well as a wall built within the peninsula during the eighteenth century, creating a Portuguese zone in the south and a Chinese zone in the north, indicating that the Portas had not prevented imperial subjects from settling in Macau and therefore served to exemplify the ultimately illusory nature of borders.[51] Nevertheless, these delineations of fictive boundaries left their concrete impact—in the case of the eighteenth-century wall, distinct Portuguese and Chinese jurisdictions, with their legal customs and practices tailored to their specific communities, engendering what Zandonai terms "two cities within the same city."[52] While such a situation encourages a view of borders as inherently divisive, and hence the very antithesis of connectedness, a further negotiative act that removed the wall during the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when the leading European powers gained the upper hand over China and when Portugal established what came closest to a colonial regime during the 442 years of its administration of the territory, suggests otherwise. Following this political transformation of Macau, symbolized by the cynically named Treaty of Friendship and Commerce Between Portugal and China that the debilitated Qing rulers agreed to sign in 1887, Macau came forcibly under a single jurisdiction. The city's Chinese residents thereafter suffered a discriminatory integration within legal, bureaucratic, and educational systems often ill-suited to them,

Figure 2. Pedro Barreto de Resende, Planta de Macau (Plan of Macau), from António Bocarro, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (Book of the Plans of All the Fortresses, Towns, and Villages of the State of India in the Orient, 1635). The Portas do Cerco can be seen at the bottom left of this map.

especially given the status of Portuguese as a quasi-official language.[53] The mobility conferred by the elimination of borders is therefore not necessarily free of the problems of unequal power, a point emphasized by Norbert Meyn, Peter Adey, and Nils Grosch, who caution against valorizing movement as the clear-cut opposite of stasis and urge recognition of "the importance of (im)mobility and the often contradictory associations of identity and nationalism with music, place and space, mobility and immobility, and fluidity and fixity."[54] The cogency of this remark and also its relevance for historical research on auditory cultures are readily illustrated by the numerous documented cases of European ships charging across and effectively erasing the boundary set by the Chinese authorities upon the waters surrounding Macau and Guangdong for the management of trade, such unilateral seizure of mobility greatly enhanced by the booming, terrifying firing of cannons. A set of examples, to be presented in the next chapter, will reinforce the element of aggression already evident in the earlier citation above ("One of their large ships suddenly dashed into the mouth of Guangdong Harbor, the sound of its guns like thunder").

Recent theoretical work on the concept of mobility furnishes a valuable interpretative framework for my discussions of Catholic sacred music in Macau and its development and practice within a context of encounters across the spaces of stark cultural differences. Concerning the essentially mobile nature of music, Kay Kaufman Shelemay has written, "When sounded, music's presence is temporal and spatial, moving through time and space simultaneously and carrying with it a surprising capacity to reaffirm and level boundaries, whether they are physical, social, or symbolic. Music might be described as a sonic chameleon as it adapts in the context of performance to new circumstances and settings."[55] Movement can be literal, of course, and the early centuries of the transmission of European sounds to Chinese shores usually involved a harrowing year-long journey by traders and missionaries aboard ships that departed from Lisbon and circled around the African continent past the Cape of Good Hope toward southern and eastern China.[56] More broadly, mobility across such an extraordinary expanse (for its time) reflected the new modernity of the global imperial ambitions pursued by the Iberian kingdoms of Portugal and Spain. Central to the realization of these overseas projects was the transfer across wide distances not only of persons and materials but also of information and ideas, constituting a distinctive type of epistolary culture that Toby Green regards as buttressing colonial power on a hitherto unprecedented geographical scale.[57] The reports, letters, and other documents written by individuals participating in the evangelization of China, which furnish a primary source of evidence for the present study, exemplify such a culture.

However, in this book I devote equal attention to movements of a more internal, psychical nature that occurred at or near a single "marginal" site of convergence, the small territory of Macau whose land area originally totaled less than three square kilometers.[58] Stephen Greenblatt rightly conceives a type of mobility located within the sphere of metaphor, but with the caveat that interpretations stemming therefrom never lose sight of actual physicality: "Only when conditions directly related to literal movement are firmly grasped will it be possible to understand the metaphorical movements: between center and periphery; faith and skepticism; order and chaos; exteriority and interiority."[59] This dialectical conception of mobility as shaping both event and discourse necessarily guides an investigation of encounters with alien others and of the resulting impact upon the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of interlocutors on both sides. However, Shelemay notes the predominant interest in recording the experience of journeying afar and hence the relative neglect of the other half of the tale, that concerned with the recep-

tion (voluntary or forced) of visitors from outside: "While individual travels are often valorized through song, encounters with those who have entered one's homeland may or may not be so benign or light-hearted, depending on whether these incursions occur through diplomatic initiatives, missionary activity, colonial expeditions, or invasions. Narratives of travel tend to narrate more often about someone travelling abroad rather than discussing those entering a home space."[60] The present book thus aims to counterbalance the scholarly tendency to concentrate upon how Europeans saw or listened to Asians; it endeavors to do so by presuming compelling powers of sensory observation, interpretative commentary, and ideological construction on the part of all sides involved in cross-cultural exchange.

Overview of Chapters

The following exploration of an Asian Catholic sound world as it interacted fluidly with diverse political and ethnic spaces is divided into four chapters. The first chapter, based upon my examination of official, scholarly, and imaginative prose and poetic texts in Chinese, offers a survey of native responses to European sounds as they were heard in the area of Guangdong Province, at whose southern perimeter lay Macau. Eugenio Menegon has described this region as a "liminal zone, straddling the oceanic world and the dense socioeconomic fabric of late imperial China."[61] The state of liminality encompassed interminglings, clashes, and attempted integrations of heterogeneous sonic domains as both local Chinese and visiting Europeans sought to make sense of incomprehensible listening experiences. Misunderstanding and othering frequently marked the interactions, as illustrated on the native side by frequent references to the "barbarian songs" of Westerners. Yet mutual intolerance did not represent the inevitable fate of this global encounter, in which gestures toward appreciation of the value of alien culture make themselves felt to modern students of the documentary record. In focusing on Chinese-language documents, this chapter seeks to provide a foundation for retellings of a cross-cultural encounter through the medium of sound that do not skew heavily or exclusively in favor of sovereign European voices, but rather embrace the chaotic intertwining of competing viewpoints, with the various protagonists aiming to marginalize their others yet also demonstrating a certain appreciation for the human value of alien culture.[62]

The second chapter turns to Western-language sources, above all in Portuguese. It examines the narratives and constructions of the Jesuit evangeliz-

ing project in East Asia as they emerge from the viewpoint of the missionaries and as they were associated specifically with rituals, ceremonies, and teaching involving music. The documents of the Japonica-Sinica and Jesuítas na Ásia collections supply the principal data supporting this aim. They exemplify the aforementioned relation between the written word and global imperial power and particularly articulate the theme of spiritual conquest of "the ends of the earth," as carried out by ardent devotees of the Catholic faith, some of whom earn the "palm of martyrdom" (*palma de Martyrio*).[63] On the whole, the effort to disseminate Christianity to these regions took on distinctly militaristic and triumphalist overtones, as in a description of the College of St. Paul as "a beach of soldiers' arms (*armas de soldados*), where, as from the Trojan Horse, they emerge to scorch (*abrazar*) the Towers of Idolatry, which the enemy of the human race has raised up and maintained in this Asia for many years," in the college's annual letter of 1649.[64] Such a vision of the aims of education naturally guides the scholarly investigation of teaching and learning at this institution, including the teaching and learning of music. This chapter's examination of the musical activities of collegiate faculty and students will thus maintain a careful awareness of the Jesuit conception of evangelization as a martial project, realized above all by deploying a wide range of aesthetic resources in public spectacles intended to amaze and astonish the unconverted.

A brief "interlude" precedes the latter half of this book and aims to draw together, yet without eliminating their contrast and dialogic relation, differing musical histories that took place during the early modern heyday of imperial power, on the one hand, and the rise of the modern nation-state, on the other. It sketches the nadir and eventual re-emergence of Catholic sacred music practice in Macau from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, a period when a ban of Christianity in China remained in force and the Society of Jesus suffered a worldwide suppression. Above all, I hope to demonstrate the mutual enrichment of archival and ethnographic methodologies of scholarship, brought to the fore especially by research topics of a global nature, and to underscore the conventional segregation of these methodologies as yet another imagined boundary and one therefore meriting an active interrogation.

The last two chapters turn to the twentieth century, a period that saw the revitalization of the Catholic faith in southern China following its banning in the Middle Kingdom and the suppression of the Jesuits during the eighteenth century, and then the restoration of the Society of Jesus, the lifting of the prohibition, and the growth of an indigenous Chinese Christian com-

munity during the nineteenth, as part of a wider context of increasing European encroachment upon a weakening Qing regime. These chapters explore the persistent legacy in modern times of the Sino-Western divide, usually formulated through the cliché of "East vs. West," a crude binarism that, on the one hand, arose out of the manifest differences of culture and language originally confronting the participants of this "great encounter," but, on the other hand, became ever more reified as a consequence of exceptionalist tendencies on both sides. In closely examining the problems of the dualistic worldview in the second half of this book, I aim to illuminate some of the ways the histories bequeathed upon living peoples operate as a dehumanizing, objectifying politics of categorization, marked by significant colonial dimensions, but at the same time furnish rich opportunities for the compelling self-construction of identity and subjecthood in a postcolonial context, sometimes through distancing from those very postcolonialist critiques that seek to undercut colonialism's dehumanizations yet actually work inadvertently to reinforce them.

The third chapter explores the perspectives of Chinese Catholic interlocutors in contemporary Macau gathered through on-site fieldwork up to 2019 as well as subsequent online communications (necessitated by the Covid-19 pandemic). The comments voiced by these native believers cogently indicate the agency of the members of this community amid a current political reality that marginalizes their faith, formerly the *de facto* state religion. In their intensive and localizing cultivation of traditional genres of Catholic liturgical music such as Gregorian plainchant and vocal polyphony, my interlocutors subvert an easy distinction between lingering colonialist acculturation and conformity with the new Chinese ascendancy, in particular by implicitly *refusing* an essentializing designation of this music as "Western" and "foreign" and hence "colonial" and "not ours." Though potentially open to the criticism of downplaying a history of discrimination and dominance, such a deflection of binaristic categorization might also point the way to breaking the stranglehold of the colonial temperament that often bedevils modern efforts to foster cross-cultural respect through emphasis of difference.

The fourth and final chapter discusses the creation during recent decades of Catholic liturgical music with texts in Cantonese and adumbrates a future for such music in Macau. One of my interlocutors, Francisco de Sales Lao, choir director at St. Lazarus Church, located in the parish of Macau where the city's first substantial community of Chinese Catholics came into being, regards Cantonese as a kind of Latin, capable of fostering the same kind of sublime religiosity achieved in Gregorian chant and the works of Giovanni

Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594).[65] However, a specific technical challenge not faced by composers setting texts in Latin involves the meaning-constitutive nature of vocal inflections in the Sino-Tibetan language family (to which Cantonese belongs), whereby the very identity of words depends on tonal variations such as rises and falls in pitch. The aspiration to develop a melodic idiom that unites evocation of the divine with expression through the medium of the local tongue confronts the difficulty of matching linguistic and musical contours, while simultaneously retaining Western conventions of harmony and meter in accordance with the historical expectation of listeners inculcated in Catholic tradition.[66] The eventual outcome of this project to renew an age-old piety within a modern, cross-ethnic context, especially in terms of its reception by the faithful, cannot be predicted with confidence, given the continuing politics of categorization that implicate Macau's past in the realization of its future. Yet the quality of presentness that marks the history discussed in the following pages functions not only as constraint but also as opportunity, encompassing the imagining of alternatives within acts of memory and generating fluid, mobile spaces between different temporal spheres. The existence of such spaces, which is central to the religious experience nowadays of Macau's Chinese Catholics as they negotiate their sort-of-European, sort-of-Asian identity, not least through their musical involvements, underscores the formidable self-determinative potential of a colonial heritage.

ONE

The Sounds of Western Others and Their Chinese Listeners in the Guangdong Region

As a topic of investigation, the encounter of China and the West has accumulated a vast scholarly literature whose disciplinary emphases include commerce, religion, science, linguistics, poetry, and music.[1] Yet the aural dimension of this meeting of different cultures remains a fertile and largely unexplored area, especially with respect to Chinese responses to Western sounds.[2] The present chapter offers an initial survey of these responses, drawing upon copious extant documentation in Chinese that spans the early sixteenth to mid-twentieth century and specifically concerns the region of Guangdong Province, where Sino-Western interactions were notably intensive because of the active maritime trading took that place there.

Though a discourse of civilizational superiority prevails in the texts examined below, according to which Europeans were fierce, savage, and lawless, these written materials do not afford a uniform interpretation of Chinese viewpoints. Rather, they reflect a human complexity that covers the gamut from hardened prejudice to active welcoming of strangeness. While vocalizations of foreigners, whether speech- or song-like, tended to induce disgust, and the thunder of firing cannons from their ships excited great fear, two distinctive sound sources garnered more favorable responses, both of them associated with Macau's Church of St. Paul. The ringing of the church's bell generated a wide range of vivid and poetic descriptions from Chinese earwitnesses; many of these descriptions were actual poems that constructed associative links with the more familiar bell ringing of Buddhist temples but also with natural phenomena such as rain and reflected light from surrounding

seas.[3] The tendency toward imaginatively joining remembered experiences of different sensate realms, characteristic of poetic traditions in both "East" and "West," also emerges in the native reception of the church's organ, characterized in one account as generating "a jumble of wonderful sounds . . . a plate of beads collecting in fragments one after another."[4] However, this same testimony reveals a struggle to comprehend the anomalous effect of the instrument, describing an uncanny mixing of the pipa and the *guzheng* (Chinese instruments of the lute and zither categories, respectively), so that the propensity to integrate heterogeneous elements could not eliminate the stark dissonances arising from the meeting of disparate cultures.

A diverse selection of documentary examples will furnish the basis for further elaboration of this initial set of points. First, some theoretical concerns touching upon the investigation of bygone sonic traditions require a brief consideration. Reconstructing past modes of listening, to the degree that surviving sources enable such an endeavor, presents a richly promising opportunity for historical researchers but also notable methodological challenges having to do especially with the disappearance of actual sounds, at least in the case of scholarship on eras predating the invention of recording technology. The unavoidable reliance upon textual evidence, which belongs to a visual rather than an aural domain, potentially serves to perpetuate historiographical biases favoring the written word, so that a keen consciousness of the distinctive features of sonic culture forms a crucial counterbalancing element.[5] These features include the centrality of experience and the foregrounding of subjective affect in preference to a treatment of sounds as objects to be characterized dispassionately; the importance of environment, locale, and place, which are never conveniently separable from "the sounds themselves"; and a performative quality arising from the ephemerality of aural events and the consequent re-creative function of memory and imagination in establishing traditions of sonic practice. The following discussion necessarily performs its own acts of re-creation through extrapolative[6] and imaginative interactions with the documentary sources, thereby addressing the lacunae imposed by the loss of the actual sounds described in a majority of these texts and exemplifying the nature of history as a dialogue between researcher and research subject. Specifically, it posits a significant role for listening in the transcultural processes of the past half millennium of Sino-Western exchange, implicating sonic reception in discourses of colonialist and imperialist power[7] but also in more sympathetic approaches to cultural others.

In its examination of documents specifically in Chinese, this chapter aims at undercutting dominant narratives of a cross-cultural encounter founded

upon near-exclusive consultation of European-language sources. This historiographical disruption furthermore provides the opportunity to undercut the essentializing tendency inherent in terms such as "Chinese" and "Western." Indeed, the term used in modern-day written and spoken Mandarin to denote "Western," *xi* 西, occurs less frequently in the textual excerpts discussed below than do two qualifiers, *yi* 夷 and *fan* 蕃, both indicating "barbarian" or "foreigner,"[8] and the term *folangji* 佛朗基, or "Franks," a moniker for the Portuguese.[9] An even more fundamental consideration for the present discussion is the existence of a distinctive vocabulary in the Chinese language for referring to aural phenomena and behaviors that does not lend itself to straightforward translation into English equivalents such as "sound," "song," and "melody." The next section of this chapter will detail some particulars of the linguistic challenge facing scholars of the Sino-Western sonic encounter who aspire to transcend interpretative one-sidedness. The general point I wish to emphasize for now is that the fluid, mobile nature of language, with the meanings of words contingent upon specific historical times and places, opens the way to a more hybrid conception of identities that evades the fallacy of a hard binarism. Even as stark disparities of outlook unquestionably marked the global intercultural exchanges that took place in China's Guangdong region, with differing native tongues implicated in the incompatibilities of understanding, there nevertheless occurred gestures toward a style of interaction with the foreign that did not ineluctably engender a rigid division of "we" and "they." Scholarship of present times, if actively pursuing a dialogic relation with the past, should likewise explore the potential of intercultural hybridity that comes about above all through engagement with linguistic multiplicity. And as a result global history, so called, cannot be a history told through only one language or one set of related languages if it is to overcome the colonialist discourses of essentialism it sets out to critique, rather than inadvertently reproduce them.

Sonic Terms in Chinese

Because sound-related terminology in Chinese does not map neatly onto an analogue in a different language such as English, the analyses below of documentary evidence inevitably engages in repeated crossings of the gaps arising from diverse cultural horizons.[10] The alternative of writing about a historical subject matter in the native tongue of its representatives, while indisputably advantageous in important ways, does not, however, eliminate

the need for hermeneutical practices of interpretation or result in unmediated truth. Chinese words in the twenty-first century do not signify precisely what they did in earlier times, even if changes in meaning are sometimes more connotative than denotative in nature; furthermore, the very qualifier "Chinese," itself a horizon, may refer to a broad range of "dialects" such as Cantonese and Fujianese, or else to the *guanhua* 官話[11] of the class of imperial scholar-officials and nowadays to the Mandarin Chinese that serves as the official language in China and in Taiwan. However, a certain stability of linguistic content is provided especially by the *hanzi* 漢字, or Chinese written characters, that the so-called dialects share to a large extent.[12]

With the foregoing considerations in mind, I offer now an overview of the principal Chinese terms that denote sound, as exemplified by the documentary source material examined in this chapter: *sheng* 聲, *xiang* 響, *lai* 籟, *yin* 音, and *yun* 韻. *Sheng* serves as the most general signifier in Chinese of sound, so that humans, animals, and inanimate objects, whether natural (e.g., mountains, seas, clouds) or artificial (e.g., artillery, musical instruments), all produce *sheng*. Reflecting this generality, the *Kangxi Dictionary*[13] provides the following acoustical-biological definition: "A wave that when generated from a vibrated object arouses the auditory capacity." The more specific meanings of *xiang*, *lai, yin*, and *yun* are perhaps best clarified by observing textual excerpts in which they appear in close proximity to *sheng* and that therefore motivate the question of why a writer uses more than one word to convey their notion of sound. Establishing semantic differences presents a notable challenge, however, as there do not exist unambiguous distinctions among the five terms and the authors of the historical documents seem at times to employ them interchangeably. Furthermore, the Chinese language habitually joins two individual characters to form compounds, such as *shengxiang* from *sheng* and *xiang*, thereby tending toward integration of what might otherwise remain understood as discrete elements.[14] Indeed, an integrative or organic perceptual outlook characterizes many of the passages examined below and arguably represents a hallmark of the mode of sensual reception that they exemplify.

Xiang occurs together with *sheng* in a pair of lines from the poem "Observing the Various Machines of the Barbarians" by Cai Xianyuan: "The sound (*sheng*) was merely [that of] snapping bamboo / the sound (*xiang*) can resonate more continuously."[15] Relating the cumulative impact of listening to an exploding gadget or toy of the so-called barbarians, Cai draws in his second line upon the more expansive connotation of *xiang*, which suggests the idea of reverberance or echo, to underscore an aural totality of environ-

mental scope. A similar notion of *xiang* is illustrated by a passage from the novel *Chi bei ou tan* 池北偶談 (Casual Talks by the North Side of the Pond, 1701) by Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634–1711) that narrates the ringing of the bell of the Church of St. Paul in Macau over the course of a day: "By striking its form, and also through the rotation of its mechanism, it punctually generates sound (*xiang*), from one sound (*sheng*) at the end of *zi* 子 until twelve sounds (*sheng*) at the start of *wu* 午, then one sound (*sheng*) at the end of *wu*, until twelve sounds (*sheng*) at the start of *zi*, day and night cycling through without any deviation."[16] Here, *xiang* stands apart from *sheng* in its emphasis of sound as a generalized collectivity, rather than as individualized quantifiable items (one sound, twelve sounds). As such, it represents a more organic conception of aural experience whereby discrete elements gain meaning only through their interrelationships with one another.

Similar in its environmental significance is *lai*, a term that brings sound within the domain of religion and spirituality.[17] The compound *tianlai*, with *tian* 天 (heaven or sky) as prefix, originates from one of the fundamental texts of Daoism, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (late fourth century BCE) and expresses the concept of the "sounds of heaven or nature"; in later times, it underwent adaptation to become an important idea in Chinese Catholic theology, as illustrated by several lines from the poem "Bamboo Lyric of Italy" by You Tong 尤侗 (1618–1704): "Sounds (*yinsheng*) change in manifold ways, becoming words / seeking to create the song of Jesus's Cross / The Catholic hall [i.e., church] when opened presents the sounds of heaven (*tianlai*)."[18] On its own, *lai* conveys an elevated notion of sound, as in lines from another poem by Cai Xianyuan, "Listening to a Western Barbarian Woman Playing the *Yangqin*," that describe the organ of the Church of St. Paul: "The rising and falling [of the music] are not at odds / its wonderful sounds (*lai*) are gathered together harmoniously."[19] In Yin Guangren's "The Bell of the Temple [i.e., Church] of St. Paul at Daybreak," *lai* distinguishes itself from *sheng* as indicating an ethereal aural domain from which emerge concrete individual entities: "From the delicate bell of a far-off temple / comes a single sound (*sheng*) from out of the quiet realm of sound (*lai*)."

The next term I consider, *yin*, appears together with *sheng* in the following phrase from the *Guangzhou fuzhi* 廣州付志 (Gazetteer of Guangzhou), a document dating from the late nineteenth century, though its contents include material from earlier periods:[20] "Its sound (*yin*) is lips and tongue, its sound (*sheng*) is clear."[21] This description of a local dialect is drawn from a report titled "Xiangshan County" by the Yuan-dynasty (1279–1368) philosopher Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333), and its citation by the *Guangzhou*

fuzhi's authors, who belonged to the region's literatus class, reflects the historical context of their efforts to set their southern, marginalized culture within the Chinese mainstream centered in the country's north, in part by promoting linguistic uniformity.[22] *Yin* relates in particular to spoken language, as illustrated also by the example above of "sounds (*yinsheng*) . . . becoming words"; thus the two segments of the phrase from the *Guangzhou fuzhi* establish a subtle contrast by shifting the signifier for sound, from the more specific *yin* to the less specific *sheng*, the quality of clearness thereby counting more as a general aesthetic observation.[23] Another illustration of the association of *yin* with speech, dating from an even earlier period than the aforementioned report, is a free citation in the *Aomen jilüe* of the *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Records, 1161), an encyclopedia by the Song-dynasty (960–1279) historian and bibliographer Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162), according to which "Sanskrit is transmitted orally, hence Sanskrit has a limitless number of spoken words (*yin*); Chinese is transmitted visually, hence Chinese has a limitless number of written words (*zi* 字)."[24] The association persisted until recent times, as in a reference to *yiyin*, the languages of non-Chinese peoples, in an account of a "Chinese traitor" who had become proficient in the tongue of his foreign employers, written shortly after 1812 by the Qing-dynasty official Huang Lezhi 黃樂之 (1787–?)";[25] and "On the Authentic Accents (*xiangyin* 鄉音); of Fujian and Guangdong" (1729), the title of another report appearing in the *Guangzhou fuzhi*.[26] Yet the verbal aspect of *yin* is by no means absolute and sometimes the word tends closer to "tone" in its definition, though even here a trace of the connection with speech lingers since vocal pitches and inflections in the Sino-Tibetan languages possess a meaning-constitutive function.[27]

Related to *yin* and yet more specific in its meaning is *yun*, which one might translate as "rhyme," "end tone," or a "pleasing and harmonious sound." The *Kangxi Dictionary* defines *yun* as the vowel of a spoken Chinese character, or else as all of this character's sonic components following its initial consonant. For the purposes of the analyses of documentary excerpts below, this technical definition needs loosening; otherwise textual examples such as "touching [the keys] with the fingers produces harmonious sounds (*yun*)" from Cai's "Listening to a Western Barbarian Woman Playing the *Yangqin*" and "The sunlight shining upon both sides of the mountain reflects the sea's mirror / at six o'clock the bell's sound (*yun*) mixes with the organ," from an epistolary poem by Cheng Jiu 成鷲 (1637–1722), "Living in Pou Chai Temple, Writing to the Donglin Scholars," would present difficulties.[28] However the intriguing suggestion that bells and organs might themselves possess a certain kind of linguistic capability subverts the notion of language

as an exclusive human preserve and advances yet another integrationist idea, challenging the assumption of humanity's definitive uniqueness.

Chinese Modes of Listening

Before covering specific examples of Chinese listening to the sounds of Western others during earlier times, I would like to explore several additional points concerning this listening (to sounds generally and not those of particular cultures), which will serve to enrich the interpretative framework of this chapter. I draw here especially upon the material of the *Guangzhou fuzhi*, which indicates the prevalence of a number of characteristic, interrelated auditory habits: emphasis of the reach of sounds across wide spaces and their audibility over long distances in outdoor environments; a keen responsiveness to percussive sounds in particular; the characterization of the sounds of nature through analogy to those of musical instruments; fascination with the power and fury of nature, as manifested in part through sonic phenomena of awe-inspiring force (such as thunder and crashing waves); and a tendency to recall episodes of military history.

This enumeration of Chinese modes of listening, presented here synchronically for convenience, should not be taken to imply an atemporality that would reinforce exoticizing tropes of others as unchanging and stagnant. As an explanation of the term "exoticizing," I refer to Edward Said's related notion of textualizing other human cultures and persons, by which he means a simplification of their complex, subjective realities that effectively dehumanizes them: "What seems unexceptionable good sense to these writers [Voltaire and Cervantes] is that it is a fallacy to assume that the swarming, unpredictable, and problematic mess in which human beings live can be understood on the basis of what books—texts—say; to apply what one learns out of a book literally to reality is to risk folly or ruin. . . . It seems a common human failing to prefer the schematic authority of a text to the disorientations of direct encounters with the human."[29] Disorientations obviously include acceptance that knowledge of the present does not necessarily confer knowledge of the past and future, yet Said expresses a valid point in noting the rarity of this kind of "unexceptionable good sense."

Though it contains some passages dating more than half a millennium before its publication in the late nineteenth century, the *Guangzhou fuzhi* mainly provides a snapshot of Chinese topography and society during the late Qing era, and not for all of China but specifically for one of the empire's

southern provinces and its nearby areas. Even when auditory *topoi* from the Song and Yuan dynasties recur centuries later, such persistence furnishes evidence not of stasis but rather of the push and pull between competing forces of continuity and change exemplified by all cultures, so that an example of the former should not serve to perpetuate the Orientalist stereotype of a "timeless China."[30] The latter part of this chapter will thus adopt a diachronic as well as thematic organization, offering a more or less chronological presentation of examples illustrating three predominant facets of the reception of Western sounds: fear of the violence of Western arms, including their sonic violence; abhorrence of the vocalizations of European persons, both spoken and sung; and attraction toward the sounds of the organ and of church bells. In elaborating upon these aspects of listening, I give particular consideration to what seems to me the most significant turning point in Chinese history since the sixteenth century, the tipping in the balance of power in favor of Europe during the nineteenth century and the resulting weakening and fall of the Qing dynasty. By contrast, what might appear an equally cataclysmic development, the Qing defeat of the Ming dynasty during the mid-seventeenth century, achieved through an intensity of warfare felt by the Jesuit missionaries in China as "nothing short of Armageddon,"[31] evinced a notable continuity in that the empire's new rulers, who hailed from Manchuria, a non-Han region, sought to legitimate their regime as authentically Chinese by adopting the ceremonial, ritual, and administrative practices and the linguistic discourses of their predecessors.[32] My analyses below therefore do not presuppose a profound transformation of auditory culture in the Middle Kingdom following the establishment of its final dynasty, even as I acknowledge the validity of an alternative framework that would prefer to foreground the impact of the political change.

The *Guangzhou fuzhi* includes numerous depictions of natural sites in this region of southern China, many of them pictorially named so as to convey their striking physical traits. Examples include Sloping Mountain (*Po shan* 坡山), Gongs and Drums Mound (*Luogu gang* 羅鼓岡), and Gong Stone (*Tongluo shi* 銅鑼石), whose descriptions mention sounds that can be heard over long distances.

> *Sloping Mountain*: In the seventh year of the reign of the Hongwu 洪武 emperor [1374], the provincial official Wang Guangyang 汪廣洋 [d. 1379] cast a forbidden bell and hung it there; it is an enormous bell that when struck can be heard from far away (ten *li* 十里).[33]
>
> *Gongs and Drums Mound*: To the west of Damang Mountain, the sound

> (*sheng*) of arms is produced by striking stones; in ancient times it was said that there were stone drums on the mountain, whose self-sounding could be heard for many *li*.[34]
>
> *Gong Stone*: In the middle of Guanghai Sea is a shape like a gong, which when shaken by wind and waves produces sound (*sheng*) that can be heard from far away, filling the ear with ringing.[35]

Another illustration of audibility over a large distance, one not connected with sound originating from natural phenomena, is the following account of the playing of a bronze drum for a Cantonese celebration of a sea god (possibly Matsu) on the thirteenth day of the third month, drawn from a section of the *Guangzhou fuzhi* evidently intended to supplement Zheng Qiao's *Tongzhi*.[36]

> It is struck by the Cantonese people to entertain the god, its sound (*yin*) is [that of] an indistinct drum that rumbles like thunder or is covered with leather, or an urn filled with water and lidded then struck, its sound (*sheng*) can be heard more than ten *li* away.[37]

The foregoing examples highlight a preoccupation with percussion instruments, and the second and third in particular demonstrate a tendency to record the impressions produced by natural sounds through reference to such instruments, in what might appear an act of anthropomorphizing. But the descriptions of mountains and seas as consisting of drums and gongs are perhaps better understood not as compelling the "non-human" to conform to human conceptions, but rather as an insight into agency as a faculty not restricted to our own species. This is underscored especially by the characterization of Gongs and Drums Mound as "self-sounding" (*zi ming* 自鳴). An integrative perspective that sees the two components joined in a metaphor as equals, rather than an assimilationist one that subsumes all of reality under a dominant human paradigm, should therefore guide interpretation of the many instances in the *Guangzhou fuzhi* where instruments serve to convey nature's sounds to the gazetteer's readers, of which the following represents but a sample.

> *Burnt Stone Ridge*: There are stones, the sound (*sheng*) of whose knocking is like bells, they are named stone bells.[38]
>
> *Fairy Stone*: On the mountainside there are stone drums, which produce sounds (*sheng*) when tread upon.[39]

Drum Tower Lake: At the foot of Stone Drum Tower Mountain, in ancient times it was said that there was a stone cave like a hall, a room where the water rushes in furiously, clanging like the sounds (*sheng*) of drums.[40]

Bronze Drum Sea: At the foot of Bronze Drum Mountain, stones emerge from out of the sea; the waves when raging produce sounds (*sheng*) like bronze drums.[41]

The furious, raging waters of Drum Tower Lake and Bronze Drum Sea exemplify a broader association of sonic energy and power with fear, violence, and combat, sometimes of a military nature. In the following descriptions, the original Chinese terms for what I translate simply as "gongs and drums" (for the sake of concise English renderings) are *zhenggu* 鉦鼓 and *jingu* 金鼓, which more specifically refer to drums (*gu*) used to command troops to march and gongs (*zheng*, *jin*) used to command them to halt.

Five Horses Ridge: Forty-five *li* to the west of the city of Suining [lies Five Horses Ridge], named after its shape, at the top [of which] are sounds (*sheng*) of stones like gongs and drums (*zhenggu*).[42]

Gongs and Drums Horn Mountain: One *li* to the north of the city, in what was formerly a coastal area, one experiences the sounds (*sheng*) of gongs and drums (*jingu*) hence its [the mountain's] name.[43]

An overtly martial element sometimes serves to represent nature's aural intensity, with bygone clashes between armies seeming to persist as a ghostly presence at the sites where they had taken place.

Stone Drum Mountain: Twenty *li* to the southwest of the city, there are stones like drums. Once Lu Xun 盧循 [d. 411] came here to invade, there are faint sounds (*sheng*).[44]

Bronze Ridge: Ten *li* to the east of the city, [there is] a village of pomegranate flowers. Xiong Fei 熊飛 [d. 1276] of the Song [dynasty] fought a battle here with the Yuan [i.e., representatives of the Yuan dynasty]. During cloudy and rainy weather, one always hears the sound (*sheng*) of gongs and drums (*jingu*).[45]

Bronze Ridge Battlefield: At the village of pomegranate flowers, where General Xiong Fei defeated the Yuan army, there are always faint sounds (*sheng*) of gongs and drums (*jingu*) in cloudy and rainy weather.[46]

Like the Manchus of the Qing dynasty, the Yuan were non-Han, originally Mongolian, and hence susceptible to identification as foreign. The opportunity provided by the above texts to regard Xiong Fei's victory as a triumph over "barbarians" lends them a blunt oppositional aspect, defining a sharp boundary between "us" and "them." Chinese writings of much earlier periods than the *Guangzhou fuzhi* also indicate an involvement of auditory culture in such a binaristic worldview, as in the following passage cited in the gazetteer from the Book of Jin (*Jinshu* 晉書), a history of the Jin dynasty (266–420 CE) published in 648 CE.

> When the barbarians (*manren* 蠻人) attack, the approaching bronze drums, generating sound (*sheng*), are like clouds.[47]

The Sinocentric discourses of sound discussed below in connection with the European presence in southern China may therefore have merely extended preexisting habits of constructing others, rather than necessitated significant rethinking of "intercultural" relations, at least before the nineteenth century.

Naval Incursions, Thundering Cannons

When the terms and concepts surveyed in the preceding section of this chapter serve as the medium for representing Western sounds, the management of otherness undoubtedly resembles the transmission of Chinese melodies to European readers by means of staff notation in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (1735–36).[48] The first of these melodies was later reprinted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768)[49] and used by composers such as Carl Maria von Weber and Paul Hindemith. In this type of cross-cultural interaction, authenticity should not constitute an urgent concern; rather, the remaking of purportedly authentic material from the standpoint of a different people's horizons offers a powerful defamiliarizing and decentering potential, though not one without the danger of a quasi-imperialist assimilation of cultural others, if the centrifugal energy of global encounters is ultimately redirected into a renewed centripetal self-absorption. In the following examination of documentary excerpts, I endeavor to discern the workings of both tendencies, with the aim of highlighting the complex, multifaceted, and disunified

nature of the responses to alien sounds made newly available during the early phases of the European presence in China.

The brief documentary excerpts already cited make readily apparent that the Chinese reception of Western visitors and their sounds conformed to a long-standing habit of dividing the human world into civilized and barbarian persons. In fact the term for the latter in Chinese, *yi*, indicated foreigners in general and did not necessarily bear a strongly negative connotation, so that one could translate it alternatively as "non-Chinese" or "non-Han." Nevertheless, the binaristic discourse embodied in this umbrella designation for all other persons clearly implied a relation of inequality and reflected a Sinocentric ideology. Though *yiyin* might signify the relatively innocuous "foreign language," its use in the aforementioned report by Huang Lezhi possesses a sinister cast, with an accusation of treachery and the assignment of a pejorative moniker suggesting "lowlife" or "subhuman":

> There is also a native thoroughly fluent in the barbarian tones (*yiyin*) and employed in the service of the barbarians, named Shawen [lit. "a small fly"], who attracted [other Chinese] traitors.[50]

An intense antipathy toward particular categories of European sounds (though not all categories, as shall be seen) emerged already at an early stage of the Sino-Western encounter and persisted well into the Qing era, excited above all by the frightening thundering of the foreigners' artillery. Descriptions abound of the shocking effect of cannons fired from ships, generating such volume as to shake an entire surrounding area. The overwhelming power of these weapons contributed to constructing an image of Europeans and specifically of the Portuguese as exceptionally fierce and brutal, ever ready to commit trespasses into the territories of others, disrespectful of law, and deceitful. But it also inspired an admiration of Western technological achievement that would persist as late as the twentieth century (as in the May Fourth Movement), yet without undercutting China's sense of its cultural and moral superiority.

> The red[-haired] barbarians are plunderers by nature. During the Ming era [they] repeatedly entered Guangdong to seek out trade, relying on their enormous cannons, which when fired could shatter a stone city, shaking [the area] to a great distance, so that the myth of the red barbarian cannoneers came into being.[51] (Ming dynasty, after c. 1500)

> The Franks are most fierce and deceitful, their weapons the most perfected of all the barbarians. Last year a large ship drove into Guangdong Province, the sound (*sheng*) of its guns and cannons shaking the city walls; those that remain at their stations violate the prohibition against communication; those that enter the capital are of a violent nature and vie for supremacy.[52] (1519)

> The guns firing, the shots fall like rain; they are invincible. Their guns are cast from bronze, with the large ones weighing more than one thousand *jin* 斤 [a Chinese unit of weight equivalent to approximately half a kilogram], hence they are called Franks. However they are used expertly only by the barbarians; the Chinese are not as skillful.[53] (early seventeenth century)

> Afterwards, the large Western ship arrived, recovering its enormous cannon. They are called the red[-haired] barbarians. Its length was over two *zhang* 丈 [a Chinese unit of length equivalent to approximately three and one-third meters], its weight up to three thousand *jin*; it could thoroughly shatter a stone city, shaking [the area] to a great distance.[54] (reign of the Wanli 萬歷 emperor, 1572–1620)

> Western cannons are cast from bronze, round like bronze drums. When fired, people and horses within half a *li* are startled to death.[55] (1637)

> Like last year, more than thirty marauding ships (*wochuan* 倭船),[56] carrying a great number of traitors, were anchored for a long time at Baisha in Quanzhou. When they passed as a group, the sound (*sheng*) [of their arms] shook the city.[57] (1638)

The musical element in the penultimate of these citations, where the appearance of the cannons is compared to that of bronze drums, takes on a more concrete form in a passage from the *Aomen jilüe* describing a ceremony to welcome imperial officials and judges at the Gate of St. Paul near the college that took place early in the reign of the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor (reigned 1722–36). Again, the firing of cannons constitutes a main feature of the soundscape, but now complemented by the addition of soldiers playing drums and horns.

> All imperial officials, from Macau's judges to those of lower rank, were received outside the Gate of St. Paul; from the cannon platform of St. Paul large cannons were fired, the dignified squadron of barbarian soldiers, one struck the drums, one waved the flag, the captain was attired in a headscarf, boots, and trousers, in the lead brandishing a gun, and advanced in this manner. Entering to pay their respects, they sat in rows on both sides. When they ascended to the cannon platform, the barbarian soldiers arrayed themselves, playing horns and performing battle formations, and were rewarded with gifts (*niu jiu* 牛酒 [food and drink, lit. "cattle and wine"]). The rate of cannons firing was three or five rounds, seven rounds, for paying tribute.[58]

The poem by Wu Li describing a procession in honor of St. Francis Xavier that was cited in the introduction similarly links military and religious domains through sound. Part of a collection titled *Sanba ji* 三巴集, or *St. Paul Anthology*, it likely dates from the 1680s, the period during which Wu studied at the College of St. Paul.

> Holding candles, burning high,
> they welcome the great saint;
> banners, pennants flap in wind,
> cannon roar like thunder.
> On all sides streets are spread with grass,
> green like tapestry:
> pedestrians are not allowed to trample it to dust.

In the above citations, which record the vivid aural presence of firing cannons in the Sino-Western contact zone, "thunder" functions variously to signify unjust power, fear, and awe. Originating from Portuguese ships charged with carrying out trade in a fashion that seems at times to have been coercive, the impressive sounds gradually entered into the religious sphere, where they did not necessarily transmit a lesser affective violence, given the discourses of conquest that marked the evangelizing projects carried out by Christian missionaries in Asia (see figure 3, which reproduces an illustration from the front matter of the Brazil-born Jesuit missionary P. Francisco de Sousa's *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia de Goa* of 1710 or "The Orient Conquered for Jesus Christ by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Province of Goa.").

Figure 3. Illustration from front matter of P. Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia de Goa* (Lisbon: 1710).

The Reception of Western Speech and Song

The next categories of sound discussed in this chapter particularly involve the Church and College of St. Paul and the adjoining Monte Fort. The *Aomen jilüe* offers a broad sense of the relation of these buildings to Macau as a whole during the middle of the eighteenth century.

> Nowadays the city consists of sturdy, low buildings. There is one large gate, called the Gate of St. Paul. There are three small gates, called the Little Gate of St. Paul, the Gate of Shalitou [a section of Macau located in the city's northwest], and the Gate of the Flower King Temple [Church of St. Anthony]. There are six cannon platforms, the largest is the cannon platform of St. Paul.[59]

The aforementioned ceremony welcoming imperial officials and judges certainly took place upon this last-named platform. In addition to the written passage above, the *Aomen jilüe* supplies a map that shows the relative positions of a number of the mentioned sites (figure 4): The complex of the College and Church of St. Paul (*Sanba si* 三巴寺), in which the church façade, the bell tower to its right, the steps below the church, and the college's residential quarters to the right of these stairs are all recognizable; the "cannon platform of St. Paul" (*Sanba paotai* 三巴礮台), whose placement in the map indicates that it is the cannon platform of the Monte Fort to the upper right of and overlooking the college (see figure 5); the Gate of St. Paul (*Sanba men* 三巴門) to the left of the fort; and the Flower King Temple (*Huawang miao* 花王廟) still further to the left. Also appearing in the map are the Igreja da Nossa Senhora do Amparo (Church of Our Lady of Refuge), or Chinese People's Temple (*Tangren miao* 唐人廟), located to the left of the college, and the Portas do Cerco lying across the narrow isthmus at the top.

The authors of the *Aomen jilüe* continue with a detailed description of the Church of St. Paul.

> Chief among the temples is St. Paul's, located in the northeast of Macau, set against the backdrop of a mountain, in height several *xun* 尋 [a Chinese unit of length equivalent to approximately eight feet]. The door is located at the side of the building; the structure is narrow and long. The stone is carved [and] shines golden green (*jinbi* 金碧[60]), the upper portion is like a curtain; the engraved windows at the sides are exceptionally beautiful. She who is venerated [here] is called the Heavenly Mother, her name is Mary, [and] her appearance is like that of a young girl. She holds an infant; he is called Lord Jesus. The[ir] attire is not sewn; from head to toe, it is drawn on a flat surface, fixed upon stained glass, seeming like sculptures when gazed at. To the side appear around thirty figures. Their left hands hold armillary spheres, [and] their right hands point as if they are engaged in debate. The men who are standing stiffly seem angry, those who are stirring seem happy; the[ir] ears are heavy wheels, noses high, eyes as if staring,

Figure 4. Map of Macau (1751), from Yin Guangren and Zhang Rulin, *Aomen jilüe*.

> mouths as if announcing. There is an upper floor, which conceals musical instruments. There is a platform for timekeeping. An enormous bell overflows its edges and extends beyond its corners; it [the bell] is of a shape to be struck; through its rotation, it generates sound (*xiang*) at regular intervals. The monks' residence accommodates over a hundred persons; among them a great many barbarian monks.[61]

As will be seen in chapter 2 when I discuss the extant records concerning the living space at the College of St. Paul, the possibility of accommodating

Figure 5. Cannons of Monte Fort, Macau.

somewhat more than one hundred residents only exaggerates the actual situation slightly: The highest number of these residents, and a figure considered too large to permit comfortable cohabitation, was reached in 1615, when a total of ninety-six fathers and brothers shared the available quarters.

The surviving documentation indicates that, in addition to their fear of the sounds of firing guns and cannons, some Chinese listeners also felt threatened by Western speech and song, and that they regarded these types of sound as particularly corrupting of social order and morality. In fact the recorded denunciations of the vocalizations of European foreigners date mostly from the early eighteenth to early nineteenth century, spanning the period of the official proscription of Christianity in China, and may thus reflect an intentional strategy of dehumanizing Western others, at a time of especially intense antipathy toward them. The example of "Shawen," the Chinese "traitor" despised by the authorities for his fluency in one or more Western languages and also for his ability to attract compatriots who might join in the alleged treachery, implicitly indicates the existence of an opposing response to the speaking and singing of the Europeans, one that found these

sounds appealing and an encouragement to adopt the alien religion. This might help account for a certain urgency in the condemnations of Catholic chanting, as in the following passage from the *Aomen jilüe* concerning an attempt to establish a church in the neighboring province of Fujian.

> In the eleventh year [of the reign of the Yongzheng emperor; 1732] in Fujian there were Western barbarians who promoted Catholicism, inciting men and women to found a hall [i.e., church] and to chant, greatly harming popular feeling and social custom, so that there arrived an imperial order of prohibition.[62]

This order of prohibition apparently served as a local reinforcement, since a general ban of the Christian faith had been announced eight years earlier by the emperor. If so, then it points to continuing challenges in handling the missionaries still living in imperial lands and their interactions with natives. With respect to southern China, the Supreme Commander of Military Affairs in Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces, Kong Yuxun 孔毓珣 (d. 1730), proposed that those missionaries unable or unwilling to return to their native countries because of advanced age could take up residence in the region's Catholic churches, on the strict condition that they not attempt to convert natives; chanting by these natives is specifically mentioned as an especially objectionable manifestation of an illicit faith.

> If old persons [among these foreigners] are sick and unwilling to return [to their native countries], they may live in the Catholic churches in the provincial capital of Guangzhou, are prohibited from going elsewhere. In case they do not obey this requirement [and] incite men and women to practice the religion and to chant, they will be punished and expelled.[63]

More than twenty years after the Yongzheng emperor's ban, worries persisted about interactions between natives and foreigners. Yin Guangren, vice-prefect of Macau between 1744 and 1746, sought to regulate these interactions by means of systematic investigation and recordkeeping, especially targeting "treasonous" locals who were "tempted to do wrong," namely, adopt the alien religion.

> The barbarians are living temporarily in Macau; they are constructing ships and houses and need local craftsmen for the purpose. It is

> to be feared that there are unscrupulous and treasonous craftsmen, [who are] greedy for profit and encourage wrongdoing. We request that the county deputy magistrate personally investigate and register all types of craftsmen in Macau, and organize and manage them in households (*jia* 甲), from which reports are collected providing mutual guarantees of each member's identity and conduct. If there is a violation, the *jia* and its neighbors are collectively guilty.[64] With each new year, the record is to be submitted for inspection and verification. If there is an increase of incidents, it is to be explained in the record.[65]

Although Zhang Rulin, a later vice-prefect, would boast in a report that, together with the measures adopted by his predecessor such as this registration system, his own monitoring efforts had succeeded in eliminating the problem of "Chinese bandits," the claim is ultimately not borne out by the survival and subsequent history of the native Catholic community in Macau. From such a perspective supplied by hindsight, a certain aspect of futility can be seen to imbue the following remarks in the report, particularly Zhang's insistence that his proposed steps would successfully segregate Chinese and barbarians.

> If people of the Celestial Empire were to adopt the foreign barbarian religion, it would contravene decency and proper order (*titong* 體統[66]), and lest the barbarians' cunning nature should encourage the treachery of Chinese bandits, it is urgent that we nip the problem in the bud. To eliminate trouble, stopping up the source is better than cutting off the flow, [thus] we should demolish the Converts' Temple or seal it up. The idols and scriptures in this temple are to be burned or put in order and handed over to the barbarians for collection. The inhabitants of every county are all forbidden to enter Macau to worship, violators will be arrested and investigated. . . . The barbarians in Macau have need of Chinese labor, and it is difficult to prohibit this contact. Working in their service, it is easy to come to follow their teachings. If they [the laborers] are not monitored according to law, it is certain they will covertly disobey while outwardly complying (*bi zhi yin wei yang feng* 必致陰違陽奉). An order is to be given to the barbarians' leaders and the local authorities that when the barbarians employ Chinese people, each case should be investigated and reported and at year's end a written guarantee submitted stating that

> there are no secret Chinese converts. This register is to be submitted for inspection once per year, and if it is updated because of new cases, the circumstances behind them should be accurately explained. In this way, the inspections will work more directly, and Chinese and barbarians will not mix.[67]

The "Converts' Temple" is the Igreja da Nossa Senhora do Amparo, or Church of Our Lady of Refuge, a structure that no longer survives, though nowadays its memory is preserved by the Portuguese name of the street on which it stood, the Rua de Nossa Senhora do Amparo. However, a new center of Chinese Catholic worship in Macau would arise during the following century, St. Lazarus Church, located at the site of a hospital for lepers established during the sixteenth century in the area north of the inner city wall. Suggesting a continuity linking the two churches, the Chinese name of the later echoed the Portuguese name of the earlier: *Wangde shengmutang* 望德聖母堂, or Church of Our Lady of Hope.

The efforts to suppress the interactions ultimately could not impose a hard constraint against movement across religious, cultural, and physical boundaries. An earlier section of Zhang's report indicates both the porousness of the border separating Macau from the surrounding counties and the significant extent to which those Chinese who had taken up the Christian religion observed its rites. As the vice-prefect relates, a Mr. Lin, together with a fellow adherent named Zhou Shilian, assumed leadership of the native Catholics whose practice of the faith took place especially at the Church of Our Lady of Refuge. In the report, Mr. Lin appears in a particularly harsh light, which is sonically articulated through a crude nickname; his objectionable nature evidently has to do in no small part with his teaching of chanting.

> Following the investigation of Xiang County, I came near [the territory of] Macau's barbarians [and] feared in my heart that within this place are those called Catholics, who chant in order to lure people; carrying out a detailed and discreet investigation, [I found that] in fact there are not such lawless persons in either the urban or the rural areas. Macau is the only place where Chinese and barbarians interact. There are two kinds of Chinese who join this religion, in addition to the barbarians who of their own initiative construct temples [and] practice the religion, which needs no comment: One kind joins the religion in Macau; the other kind comes from all the counties and visits Macau

once each year to join the religion. Those who joined in Macau have lived a long time in the territory of Macau, the imprint is already deep, [and their] language and customs gradually became that of the barbarians. But among them there are also many, who change clothing and join the religion, or who join the religion without changing clothing, or who marry foreign [lit. "demon"] women and raise children, or who borrow capital in order to carry out trade, or who are artisans, or who are soldiers. Furthermore, there are families that associate with the barbarians, [though] weaving their hair in the foreign manner and wishing to attach themselves to the converts, in order to interact with the barbarians. This kind come suddenly and go suddenly, [thus] their names cannot be [easily] found out. At present nineteen people, Mr. Lin, Zhou Shilian, etc., have been found out. Mr. Lin's barbarian name is Make Barking and Chirping Noises (*jifeijichao* 咭吠嘰吵), he oversees the Converts' Temple, [and] leads his children and his followers in devoting themselves to spreading the religion. Zhou Shilian's barbarian name is Open-Mouthed and Gurgling (*anduoerye* 安哆爾咽 [possibly "André"]); he is also called Chicken-Seller Zhou, is like the master of a barbarian ship, goes abroad to carry out trade, [and] has a wife and children. These two are the particular leaders of the converts in Macau. Once each year converts from all counties go to Macau; the reason is because a Catholic hall has been constructed below the Temple of St. Paul; its name is the Converts' Temple, it is a place specially for Chinese converts, constructed in the eighteenth year of the reign of the Kangxi emperor [1678], repaired and expanded in the fifty-eighth year [1718]. Barbarian monks conceived its establishment, while Chinese persons collected funds for its construction. Mr. Lin previously lived there and outwardly practiced medicine but actually was a missionary. Every year [up until] ten days before Tomb Sweeping Day, everyone abstains from meat for forty-nine days; it is called [the period of] fasting. The period up to the winter solstice is one of worship. Coming from Nanhai, Panyu, Dongguan, Shunde, Xinhui, Xiangshan Counties in the vicinity [of Macau], worshippers arrive one after another, among whom are even some from other provinces; the greatest in number come from Zini 紫泥 in Shunde county.[68] Following the worshipping, there are those who return home immediately; there are those who remain two or three days. Having already converted, when they go to Macau for various affairs, they also enter the temple to worship, as a matter of course. All the converts seek advanced instruction in chanting from

> Mr. Lin. This kind of person, there are not more to be exposed nowadays. Previously when vice-prefect Yin [Guangren] prohibited and apprehended them, those coming [to Macau] gradually became fewer. When I assumed the post, the prohibition was repeated, Lin immediately fled, [and] that temple is now guarded by barbarian soldiers.[69]

The trope of repugnant Western liturgical song still prevailed in the early nineteenth century, as illustrated by Cai Xianyuan's poem "Listening to a Western Barbarian Woman Playing the *Yangqin*," written during a visit paid to Macau after the author had successfully passed the imperial civil service exam in 1827. Cai attended a service at the Church of St. Paul and recorded his response to the vocal manner of the celebrant as below. Notably, this text offers evidence for the continued observance in Macau of the Catholic liturgy over one hundred years after the Yongzheng emperor's ban, yet before the heyday of European power in the region commenced with the British victory in the First Opium War of 1839–42.

> The Western monk [priest] clasping his hand offers his self-confession,
> his muttering and whispering are unpleasant for people to hear (*nanwen* 難聞).[70]
> The Western monk's head nodding while chanting,
> the babbling and chirping are as loathsome as the mosquitoes of autumn.

The Organ and Bell of the Church of St. Paul: Timbral Abundance, Sensory Integration

The disgust felt by Cai toward the priest's singing did not preclude his more favorable response to a different category of Western sounds, that of church organs. Their appeal for Chinese listeners seems to have had much to do with the instrument's complex mechanism and thus once again with an admiration for the foreigners' technological prowess, but in this case without the menacing aspect of the ship cannons. A century before Cai's sojourn in Macau, a different commentator, Liang Di, had noted the unusual sonic heterogeneity of the organ of the Church of St. Paul, in a poem cited in the introduction.[71] In attempting to represent this heterogeneity through the medium of words, the author resorts to an imagistic

abundance but only adumbrates the matter of technology through a brief mention of materials.

> Played from the top of the Church of St. Paul,
> the [organ's] sound (*sheng*) can be heard far and near.
> The sound (*sheng*) is not of silk or wood but of metal and stone,
> penetrating finely, emanating strongly, filling the heavens.
> [It is as] subtle as [the sound of cutting] scissors in the maiden's room,
> clear as a crane crying beyond the heavens.
> Melodious as a swallow singing in the red mangrove,
> sorrowful as a monkey moaning at the jade screen.

The reasons for the appeal of the organ to Chinese ears, while these same ears found Western singing and speaking distasteful, remain a speculative matter. Zhang Wenqin has observed that "the organ produces such a rich variety of sounds that the poet turns to nature for suitable descriptive imagery, and in so doing, through the skillful mastery he shows, brings to mind better-known examples of Tang dynasty poetry describing musical qualities."[72] In this analysis, the instrument's aural diversity, which inspires the drawing of poetic connections with a wide range of non-aural elements, constitutes its special quality. Hence the susceptibility of certain sounds to the formation of interrelationships with other components of a broad sensory world, rather than any "internal" traits of the sounds themselves, seems to have inspired a meaningful reception on the part of Chinese listeners. Even within an exclusively sonic realm, the predilection for experiential totality is suggested by a passage from a report by a contemporary of Liang, the imperial official Zhang Qu 張渠 (1686–1740), who held various administrative posts in Guangdong Province between 1729 and 1735.

> There is wind music [i.e., an organ], hidden within a leather cabinet. Inside are arrayed more than one hundred pipes; outside is a sack that one presses. When gentle wind is blown into it, sound (*sheng*) is emitted from the cabinet. It is as if the eight instruments (*bayin* 八音) are played together, thus it is called an organ.[73]

Here, *bayin* (lit. "eight tones") refers to a traditional classification of Chinese musical instruments on the basis of eight different materials: silk, bamboo, wood, stone, metal, clay, gourd, and animal skin. Because each material produces a distinctive aural color, Zhang's notion of the organ as defined by the

combination of all eight highlights the exceptional timbral heterogeneity of this instrument.

Cai's "Listening to a Western Barbarian Woman Playing the *Yangqin*" more fully confronts the wonderment engendered by the large number of pipes contained within an organ. It opens with an extended prose description of a domestic example of the instrument. His remarks mix fascination with a certain measure of perplexity at the workings of an unfamiliar device.

> The shape of the zither (*qin* 琴) is long like a writing desk; its surface is covered, four legs, with a belly. At first sight one does not know that it is a musical instrument. This zither is two *chi* 尺 [a Chinese foot, measuring approximately one-third of a meter] six *cun* 寸 [a Chinese inch, measuring one-tenth of a Chinese foot] in height, three *chi* in length, one *chi* two *cun* in width. Lifting its cover, one sees bronze wires [i.e., pipes] like cauldron rods *xuan* 鉉 [used for carrying *ding* 鼎, or three-legged cauldrons by insertion between the cauldrons' handles], a great many strands bound together; the rods pass from top to bottom [and] keys abut the belly; the belly contains a hidden mechanism, which interacts with the rods in the upper section; activating the rods in a regular rhythm by touching [the keys] with the fingers produces harmonious sounds (*yun*).

In endeavoring to make sense of an alien machine, Cai unsurprisingly does so with recourse to indigenous concepts such as the *qin* and the *xuan* inserted between the handles of a *ding*, or triple-legged cauldron, a ritual object of great antiquity and prestige in China (figure 6). Choosing such a valued symbol as the analogue for the pipes of the organ undoubtedly presented the foreign musical instrument in a favorable light. This kind of praise mediated through native terminology, a clear instance of hybridity in its meaningfulness for those undertaking the construction of meaning, also characterizes Cai's reception of the sounds he heard from the organ in the Church of St. Paul, as expressed in the verse segment where the poem's focus turns from the domestic context to that of a worship service.

> It was the time when the wind blows gently and the hour had just entered noon,
> the self-sounding bell sounds clangorously (*zheng-zheng* 錚錚).
> Instantly a jumble of wonderful sounds (*yin*) arises,
> a plate of beads collecting in fragments one after another (*fen-ren* 紛紛).

[They are] not brittle, not rough, not coarse,
[but] like the rubbing, stroking, plucking of a zither.
At first [they] sound like the plucking of the *guzheng* and pipa,
it is silk yet not silk, transcending the ordinary.[74]
The ten fingers like spring onions gracefully follow the rhythm,
pressing [the keys], they immediately respond with clear and even sound.[75]
Often like [the sound of] ornamental horses hanging from eaves set in motion,
further like a small bell speaking insistently (*zhun-zhun* 諄諄).

The representation of the church bell's ringing and the organ's music by means of the sound of repeated Chinese characters (*zheng-zheng*, *fen-fen*, *zhun-zhun*), an idiosyncratic trait of the spoken language that underscores the intention that this poem be recited aloud, serves as a hybridizing pathway to a general appreciation of the aurally foreign. The appreciation is not unambiguous, as Cai experiences some confusion at hearing what he apprehends as the incongruous mixing of two familiar instruments. On the whole, the encounter with a strange multiplicity ("jumble") of sounds provided anomalous yet not unpleasing listening for Cai.

The other type of Western sound regarded favorably by native listeners, the ringing of the bells of Christian churches and chapels, presented a less pronounced degree of strangeness than did the organ, since similar ringing issued from Buddhist temples in the Guangdong region. Even so, contextual factors such as ritual function, time of day, and physical location undoubtedly distinguished the reception of sounds that superficially resembled one another and helped to mark boundaries of religious faith.[76] A confrontation with the defamiliarizing effect of cultural difference remained necessary, and the outcome consisted usually of the associative linkages that aimed at an environmental comprehensiveness.

In order to provide a broader historical frame for my discussion of the significance of bell ringing in the Chinese consciousness, I begin with an example from a much earlier period, the Tang dynasty (618–907), which Zhang Wenqin noted for its outstanding imagistic poetry integrating natural and aural phenomena. The Suzhou literatus Zhang Ji 張繼 (flourished eighth century) composed a celebrated quatrain, "A Night Mooring at Maple Bridge," in which he sketches a nighttime scene whose loneliness is evoked through a concentrated plethora of scenic ele-

Figure 6. Chinese triple-legged cauldron (*ding*), Western Zhou dynasty (1046–771 BCE), National Museum of China, Beijing. Photograph by Charlie Fong.

ments (setting moon, cawing of crows, frost, and so forth), culminating in the ringing of the bell from the temple atop the distant Cold Mountain (Hanshan Temple 寒山寺, which still stands today). I reproduce the rather free English rendering by the American poet and translator Witter Bynner (1881–1968).

> While I watch the moon go down, a crow caws through the frost;
> Under the shadows of maple-trees a fisherman moves with his torch;
> And I hear, from beyond Su-chou, from the temple on Cold Mountain,
> Ringing for me, here in my boat, the midnight bell.[77]

Moving ahead one millennium to a time close to the heyday of the Canton System, and with the focus shifted from Buddhist temples in Suzhou to Catholic churches in Guangdong, one finds a similar poetic luxuriance arising from the deployment of bell ringing as a concrete sensual image. The following example from a 1697 poem by Cheng Jiu, cited earlier in this chapter, brings together landscape and seascape, light and sound, and the particular sounds of a church bell and an organ within two lines. The Pou Chai Temple (Puji chanyuan 普濟禪院) in the poem's title, "Living in Pou Chai Temple, Writing to the Donglin Scholars," is located in Macau and commonly referred to nowadays as the Kun Iam Temple (Guanyin tang 觀音堂), devoted to the Buddhist goddess of mercy, Kun Iam in Cantonese or Guanyin in Mandarin.

The sunlight shining upon the mountains on both shores
    encompasses the sea's mirror,
at six o'clock the bell's sound mixes with the organ.

About fifty years after Cheng, Yin Guangren expressed an especially rich set of impressions of the bell ringing that he heard, including that emanating from the Church of St. Paul, during his two years as vice-prefect of Macau, from 1744 to 1746. The *Aomen jilüe* includes a set of ten scenic representations, written in verse by Yin and perhaps intended by him as a unified group, despite their dispersal throughout the volume, since they all follow an identical poetic structure of eight lines with five characters per line. These poems each carry their own individual titles in the *Aomen jilüe* but have since been often disseminated under a single title not originating with the author, "*Haojing shi jing*" (濠鏡十景), which translates literally as "Ten Scenes of Moat Mirror" and which refers to the third poem, "Moat Mirror in the Moonlit Night" ("*Haojing yeyue*" 濠鏡夜月). The idea of a "moat mirror" conveys the luminous quality of the waters bordering Macau, a distinctive trait of the surrounding seascape already given prominence in Cheng's "Living in Pou Chai Temple, Writing to the Donglin Scholars." Of Yin's ten poems, the fourth, seventh, and eighth, "Misty Qingzhou Mountain," "The Bell of the Temple of St. Paul at Daybreak" (cited in the introduction), and "Waves and Light by Lan Temple," feature the sounds of ringing bells.[78]

"Misty Qingzhou Mountain" describes a small island that lay to the northwest of Macau in earlier times (called Ilha Verde, meaning "Green Island," by the Portuguese; one of the meanings of *qing* 青 in Chinese is "green").[79] It gathers together a pronounced diversity of natural, animal, and human elements: sea, land, and sky; the four seasons; flora and fauna; arti-

ficial creations of humans such as sails, a bell, and a building; and an actual person. The interconnectedness arising from such a density of content particularly emerges in the third line, whose second half in the original Chinese is *dong yi xia* 冬疑夏, literally meaning "winter doubts summer." Significantly, the boundary between the two seasons most obviously different from one another (rather than spring and autumn) comes under suspicion, as the poem's author strives for an ontological unity whose manifestations include a correspondence between the sonic reach of the bell and the topographic reach of the island.

> The sea and sky display many scenes,
> the mist reaches Qingzhou Mountain.
> The vegetation is lush, winter is confused with summer,
> the blue color is concentrated, in spring and in autumn.
> The sound (*sheng*) of the bell sinks upon the broken shore,
> the shadows of sails disturb the drifting birds.
> The scenery surpasses [that of] the Xiao and Xiang Rivers,
> who is the far-off man leaning against the building?

Like Cheng's poem, Yin's "The Bell of the Temple of St. Paul at Daybreak" specifically conjoins mountain and sea, light and sound, and different kinds of sounds, or rather, in Yin's case, different conceptions of sound (*sheng* and *lai*). Most notably, as I discussed above, it welcomes alien others within its vision of an undivided existence, regarding them as a legitimate contributing element among the myriad ones constituting reality and thereby seeming to undercut their repeated demonization in the pages of the *Aomen jilüe*. The stimulus for this kind of integrative outlook, an attitude that suggests a skepticism of borders, was housed within a tower standing to the right of the church's façade (see figure 7).

> From the delicate bell of a far-off temple,
> comes a single sound (*sheng*) out of the quiet realm of sound (*lai*).
> Immersing the clear moon[light] deep into the sea,
> accompanying the cold clouds passing over the mountain.
> Early morning twilight encounters the break of dawn,
> all nature is myriad yet undivided.
> One may ask the barbarian monk,
> how actually to understand this interplay.

Figure 7. George Chinnery, *St. Paul's Church* (1834). The bell tower, to the right of the church, was severely damaged in a fire in 1835 and is no longer extant.

The third of the poems, "Waves and Light by Lan Temple," most intensively questions the limiting power of boundaries and thereby aspires to a kind of sublime conception of the world, where shores extend further than the eye can see, light breaks through mist and clouds, and sounds such as that of a bell fill the vastness of space. The linkage of aurality and spatiality, already noted at the outset of this book as a central theme of the present study, and explicit also in "Misty Qingzhou Mountain," receives an especially definitive illustration here.

The monk speaks toward the seashore,
gazing into the vast distance.
Brightness pierces the realm of mist and clouds,
soaring to the heights of the sun's and moon's light.
The air is clear as if the *shen* 蜃[80] were hiding,

broad and mighty feels the expanse of the sky.
Beyond the wind the bell's sound (*sheng*) is dark,
the cold frost of a vast space (*wanqing* 萬頃).

Complementing the evidence of Cai Xianyuan's "Listening to a Western Barbarian Woman Playing the *Yangqin*" of 1827, a different poem by a contemporary imperial official, Huang Dejun 黃德峻 (1796–1850), indicates that liturgical services continued to take place at the Church of St. Paul well into the nineteenth century, perhaps right up to the catastrophic fire that destroyed most of the college on 26 January 1835. This poem, titled "Macau," appeared in the multivolume *Chu Ting qi jiuyi shi* 楚庭耆舊遺詩 (Posthumous Poems of the Elders of the Court of Chu), published between 1842 and 1849 and compiled by Wu Chongyao 伍崇曜 (1810–63), a literary collector and prominent businessman of the Canton System known to European merchants as Howqua IV.[81] As with the examples already discussed, a sensory comprehensiveness of which the ringing of bells forms an integral part stands out as a conspicuous aspect of the text, which opens as follows.

Its [Macau's] shape is said to resemble a lotus flower,
a lonely islet floating at the southern edge of the waters.
At low tide the gateway to the sea divides into two cross shapes,
there are upper and lower cross-shaped gateways to the sea.
The bell rings at the mountain temple in honor of St. Paul.
On the mountain is the Temple of St. Paul, at an interval of every seven days,
towards dawn an enormous bell is struck, the sound (*sheng*) can be heard far away.
The barbarian men and women all gather and listen to the monk's address, it is called worship.

In the twentieth century, one still finds poetic articulations of the profoundly environmental quality of bell ringing, despite the enormous political and cultural changes that took place during this period, including the end of the imperial era and the establishment first of the Republic of China (1912) and then the People's Republic of China (1949), as well as a transformation in the practice of the arts that saw the widespread adoption of Western concepts of the individual creator and work. "Western Surroundings,"

a brief poem of 1952 by Liang Yinan 梁隱盦 (1911–80), also links visual and aural elements, but here for the purpose of intimating a painful passage of time and a loss of something treasured, though the author offers no specifics.

> The sunset at the western surroundings [possibly Sai Van Lake in Macau][82] is richly autumnal,
> do not dream of that which is dimly familiar, how can one bear to recall it?
> The sound (*sheng*) of the bell from the holy house is as in old times,
> but alas the mood is now changed.[83]

Whether the loss is of a personal nature, or more at a social or political level (perhaps connected with the recent cataclysmic conflicts of World War II and the 1945–49 Chinese Civil War), the reader perceives, on the one hand, a cyclic permanence in the recurrent phenomena of the setting sun and the ringing bell, and on the other hand, a "different sameness," with the sun now autumnal in character and the bell's sound associated with a new mood of pity. The dynamic tension of an apparent contradiction between regularity and change represents a general condition of human culture, but also a particularly potent problem of the most recent half millennium of history in which global transcontinental interactions and clashes have occurred with an intensity not possible in "premodern" times.[84]

Chinese Listening in Recent Eras

The foregoing discussion of textual excerpts from primary documentary sources has sought to highlight the intercultural dynamics of the Sino-Western encounter through the specific medium of sound and especially to capture the human subjecthood and complexity of a set of participants sometimes rendered one-dimensional in the critical literature. Often prejudiced and chauvinistic practitioners of what we might call reverse Orientalism, particularly toward local celebrations of the Catholic rites, the authors of these passages nevertheless witnessed an unmistakable European penchant for violence.[85] This however did not result only in stereotypical characterizations of Western others as savages, despite the mental habitus formed by prevalent linguistic usages (*yi*, *fan*). Rather, certain of the foreign sounds inspired a degree of appreciation that, while not necessarily transcending exoticism, as perhaps illustrated by the fascination with the technological complexity of the organ, at least did not constrain the "barbarian" within

the boundaries of a generalizing caricature. In this instance, the exoticism consists in the appeal of an alien curiosity, alluring but perhaps also threatening and therefore subjected to the double requirement of ready access and ready abandonment, that is, treated as a toy that one could freely enjoy and then dispose of.[86] But even if the organ initially stimulated only a short-lived fascination, its entry into a foreign environment planted the seeds of a more lasting change. Chinese music remained "superior" for the elegance of its *qin* 琴, especially the courtly *guqin* 古琴, but Europe, too, could produce a type of *qin*, the *fengqin* 風琴, literally "wind zither," which became the Chinese language's term for the organ. Indeed, this kind of openness toward others, even if decidedly limited and in no way disruptive of the Sinocentric worldview, could nevertheless engender changes at the basic level of language: From the older definition of *qin* given in the *Kangxi Dictionary* as "An ancient stringed instrument, in earliest times strung with five strings, later increased to seven strings," the term expanded its meanings as a result of the transcultural encounter, nowadays serving, according to the *Ministry of Education Mandarin Chinese Dictionary*, as "a general indicator of the following instrument categories: (1) Among instruments of the Chinese orchestra (*guoyue* 國樂),[87] the [five-stringed] *guqin*, the seven-stringed *guqin* (*qixianqin* 七弦琴), the moon lute (*yueqin* 月琴), the hammered dulcimer (*yangqin* 揚琴), the two-stringed fiddle (*huqin* 胡琴), etc.; (2) Among Western instruments, the piano, the harmonica, the accordion, the pipe organ. etc."[88] As for bell ringing, its occurrence within a variegated landscape, an ancient and elevated Chinese poetic image, underwent a hybridizing process to take in the new ringing of bells from Catholic institutions.

Further investigation of the present topic needs always to remain sensitive to the multiplicity of human auditory modes. There is no single unified method by which a given culture listens to sounds and music, nor do sounds and music mean anything as objects in and of themselves, independent of the ways they are received. Above all, resisting the inclination to de-historicize Chinese listening and refusing the tropes of Chinese antiquity, inertia, and inability to evolve that go back as far as Charles Burney represent tasks of particular importance.[89] That the subjects of such an investigation did not remain forever the same, if for no reason other than their identity as humans, would seem too obvious a point to have to belabor, yet earlier research has not consistently avoided the Orientalist fallacy of the timeless other. The work of a comparatively recent author, Wang Zhaoyong 汪兆慵 (1861–1939), offers an example of a stark change in attitude toward the bell ringing of Christian churches. One of Wang's "Forty Bamboo Lyrics," which

constitute a part of his collection *Aomen zashi* 澳門雜詩 (Miscellaneous Poems of Macau, compiled in 1918), regards such ringing as a manifestation not of the exalted sphere of *lai* but rather of the illicit nature of a religion marked by superstition and economic privilege.

> Achieving [Buddhist] enlightenment is elusive,
> pity those whom superstition causes to wander aimlessly.
> But hearing the bell sound (*sheng* 聲) of the barbarians' temple raise a racket (*nao* 鬧),
> one knows that there is a rich and powerful family proceeding to the cemetery.
> Following the death of a wealthy Chinese or western Christian,
> his family pleads with the church to strike the bell and offer a prayer.[90]

Another example, not specifically concerned with sound but with civilizational discourse in general, demonstrates how Portugal seemed to have gained the upper hand in representations of others, apparently reversing the positions of cultivated and savage persons to a sufficient degree in some Chinese minds as to necessitate a challenge. The following lines are drawn from the poem "Sentiment of Macau" by Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (1842–1922), author of the influential *Shengshi weiyan* 盛世危言 (Warnings to a Prosperous Age, 1893).

> In past times there was a Portuguese governor [João Maria Ferreira do Amaral] who was extremely tyrannical,
> in the end, he was executed by righteous persons for his evil.
> To call himself civilized was truly blind,
> [he was] ignorant of public law [and] suffered from foolishness.
> I ask those who know Western law well,
> to try considering whether this situation could have been tolerated.[91]

The composition of these poems around the turn of the twentieth century is of course relevant to their attitudes toward Western culture. By this period, China had experienced decades of semicolonial exploitation by various European powers, which contributed decisively to the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912. Perhaps even more significant than concrete military and political might, discourses of cultural greatness had shifted profoundly in favor of the European arts, as for example in the emergence

of the musical canon, an ideology whose impact in East Asia persists in the twentieth-first century.

The disruptive impact of intercultural encounters, with their mutually incompatible assertions of cultural hierarchies and the consequent vagaries of power relations, presents difficult methodological challenges to researchers willing to confront a liminal subject matter comprised of multiple coexisting languages and worldviews, and to perform the necessary contextualization of each set of competing claims about the other. And when the basic material of such scholarship is something as mobile, fluid, and ephemeral as sound, the challenges only become greater. Yet there arises at the same time the particular opportunity to write an authentically multivoiced global history that consists of more than a renewed colonialist narrative focusing exclusively on how one part of the globe views the rest. It is with this vital consideration in mind that I turn in the next chapter to Portuguese documentary sources, which might seem to offer an autonomous, self-contained telling of the history covered in this book, disconnected from the accounts discussed in the foregoing chapter. Owen Wright, discussing "exchanges" between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, expresses a salient critique of the tendency to regard the importance of such interactions as self-evident: "It is clear that each culture had a self-sufficient and constantly renewed repertoire, and possessed in addition a body of authoritative texts that not only provided theoretical backing to practice but also discussed more abstract concerns. Neither experienced a sense of inadequacy, and certainly no pressing need to learn from the other; if it overheard something, it usually judged it wanting, and certainly lacked sufficient stimulus to seek out and appropriate what might be on offer."[92] These remarks forcefully undercut the colonialist argument sometimes found in writings about the European presence in Macau that Portugal brought indispensable cultural gifts to Asian peoples. Relative autonomy constitutes a legitimate condition of a society's existence, and "speaking past one another" amid purported exchange often characterizes cross-cultural encounters. Still, even as both sides of the specific encounter detailed in this book pursued a centric preoccupation with their own concerns (keeping afar "barbarians," saving "souls"), their meeting on the global stage, as it were, inevitably exposed the ultimate impossibility of the monologic worldview, repeatedly buffeted by the destabilizing impact of exposure to the alien and unfamiliar. Against possible efforts by one's research subjects to exclude this impact, a historian should actively explore its consequences, which consist above all of imbuing all knowledge with a "sort-of" quality and setting it within the domain of mobility and liminality.

TWO

Devout Spectacles, Triumphal Conversions

The Music Activities of Macau's College of St. Paul

St. Francis Xavier, one of the founders of the Society of Jesus and the first Jesuit missionary in Asia, spent the final months of his life on Shangchuan Island, located off the southern Chinese coast approximately ninety kilometers to the west of Macau, awaiting the ship of a local merchant that was to bring him to his next target of evangelization, following the journeys he had undertaken to Malacca, the Moluccan Islands, and Japan.[1] Though at this time the Chinese imperial authorities treated unapproved entry by foreigners as a capital offense, Francis Xavier's vision of a triumphant spiritual conquest drove him to attempt the trespass, despite its extreme peril. A set of final letters, composed several weeks before his death of a fever during the early days of December 1552, reveals both the lofty dream of converting the region's largest kingdom as well as the intense fear of a failure to reach China, should the pre-arranged transportation not materialize. One written on 12 November to Diogo Pereira, an influential Portuguese trader resident in Malacca and friend of Francis Xavier who agreed to provide twenty *picos*[2] of pepper as payment to the local merchant, offers the following praise of this essential contribution to the mission, since only such a generous compensation could persuade any native to incur the risk of severe punishment for abetting a crime:

> I call on all my brothers, the fathers of the Society of Jesus who are serving the holy Church in different places in India, to be my helpers and assistants. Certainly all would have performed this duty of their own accord; nevertheless I have, so to speak, added spurs to their

> willing by ordering them to show you all the offices of most friendly goodwill as an eminent patron of our Society and commend you to God in their daily prayers and sacrifices as a mainstay of the Christian religion in this country on whom rests the chief hope of seeing the holy law of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, preached in the empire of China and of spreading his glory to the ends of the earth.[3]

A letter of the following day, the last Francis Xavier was ever to write and addressed to Francisco Peréz in Malacca and Gaspar Barzeo in Goa, both fellow missionaries active in Asia, expresses a fiery condemnation of those who hindered access to the Chinese mainland. Included among these were the Jesuit Álvaro Ferreira and Dom Álvaro de Ataíde da Gama, a son of Vasco da Gama (1469–1524) and commandant of Malacca. Francis Xavier recruited the former as an aide in his project to enter China but then expelled him from the Society of Jesus for his inability to provide useful assistance; he urged the excommunication of the latter for disrupting a formal embassy to the Chinese kingdom ordered by the Portuguese viceroy of India and to have been led by Diogo Pereira, thereby necessitating the attempted journey from Shangchuan Island.[4]

> The devil has an unspeakable dread of the Society of Jesus entering China, and every effort in this direction seems to wound the very apple of his eye; it makes him rage with impotent fury, and lash himself up and boil over with passion. Take my most certain word for it. In this port of Sanchoão [Shangchuan], where fresh obstacles to our passage to China are raised every hour, he keeps contriving them in swarms, one after another, as though he thought the first to be nothing and that new ones were always needed; and if I were to describe them by letter or by word of mouth, I should never end. I perceive most clearly that the war cry has sounded in the camp of hell, and the spirits of darkness, all in consternation, are arrayed against us as if to defend their last entrenchments.[5]

In a sense, Francis Xavier did eventually attain his goal of an actual physical arrival upon Chinese soil. Following his death, his incorruptible body was returned to Goa via Malacca, reaching its destination in early 1554. During the next decades, the practice began of detaching pieces of this body as sacred relics; among these was the right arm, removed in 1614 and brought to Rome by order of the Jesuit Superior General Claudio Acquaviva (1543–

1615), who acted upon a request of Pope Paul V.[6] A segment of the right humerus reached Macau some time before 1619; one can view it nowadays in the Church of the Seminary of St. Joseph.[7] The annual letter of the College of St. Paul for 1621 records the following local celebration of the beatification of Francis Xavier, which Paul V had approved in 1619. The report, which mentions the relic, merits excerpting at length for its detailed descriptions of the theatrical and musical performances that took place as part of the celebration.

> Once we received the happy news of the Beatification of the Glorious Father, there immediately began a celebration with general pealing [of bells] not only in our College, but in all the parishes of the City.
>
> For Vespers of the Holy Father a solemn and grave procession was held, in which the Lord Bishop of Japan, Dom Diogo Valente, standing under a rich canopy, carried the Holy Relic of his [Francis Xavier's] arm, with which the Vice-Provincial wished to enrich the Province of Japan, which is deposited at this College . . . The procession proceeded along the principal streets of the City, which were further decked out in tapestries, and in certain of the most ventilated locations and passages were erected some theaters, where there were some performances.
>
> In the first, the Guardian Angel of the City appeared gloriously dressed, who, with great joy, pleasure, and satisfaction, congratulated the City for adopting as its patron and defender the Glorious Saint, promising it great blessings and prosperous successes with such a Patron and Advocate, and, directing his words to the Saint, asked him if he wished to accept that City that by his account was for them both to guard and to defend; and so delivered it to him in the name of the residents, and following this delivery, in order to celebrate with them, asked a chorus of very lustrous Angels to remain still and to sing to the sound of their sweet instruments, and [they], after dancing and offering them soft music, joined the procession.
>
> Following this, there appeared at another place the Kingdom of Japan dressed in his [i.e., "Japanese"] fashion, who, speaking with the Saint with great joy in the Japanese language, expressed gratitude for desiring to honor his land, he being the first who sowed the seed of the word of God there, and in order to thank him, and to celebrate his [feast] day, arranged some performances and dances in the Japa-

nese style, which were very diverse, including to the eyes, and very pleasing to the Portuguese who had never witnessed a similar celebration; this [performance] finished when Japan rode up upon a beautiful and well-adorned horse with a banner in his hand on which were depicted his arms, bringing ahead of him his representatives, and the dancers executing their moves, and then he followed the procession.

This act was followed by another not less worth seeing, in which the Kingdom of China, dressed very richly and adorned with gold and silver, precious stones, and other riches that he possesses in the company of Shangchuan Island, where the Holy Father passed from this life, went out to meet the Saint; the Kingdom of China complaining of being so unlucky as to control the gates but not take in a treasure richer than any he enjoys and possesses; and the Island exulting in being so fortunate, that upon his beaches he had collected it [the treasure], and passed from them [the beaches] to Glory, regarding himself now as more noble, [despite] being a small Island, than all the Kingdom of China with his monarchy; and thus the Kingdom, regretting his omission, and in order to celebrate, ordered praises be sung to him [the Island] and to his natives who danced and performed festivities; and the Island in gratitude urged the shepherds who live there and tend their cattle there also to celebrate with dances and farces in the pastoral style; these having finished beautifully, both [the Kingdom and the Island] joined [the procession] riding upon their no less beautiful horses, rich with the precious jewels that they bore upon themselves, and adorned with which they proceeded, bringing before them the dances and farces of which we spoke.[8]

This account makes plain the degree to which Japan and China occupied the consciousness of the European missionaries and ecclesiastics in eastern Asia, as principal sites of desired spiritual triumph. The former so dominated the Jesuit idea of the region that it lent its name to the Society's designation of a single vast mission territory, the so-called Province of Japan that initially included China within its compass, with the latter gaining a measure of "autonomy" as a recognized vice-province only in 1615. Macau served as the province's administrative headquarters but also demonstrated close ties to Japan (aside from those related to commerce) as a refuge for Christians fleeing the severe persecutions that occurred there during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These Christians took part in constructing the

Figure 8. Façade of the Church of St. Paul, Macau

ornate façade of the Church of St. Paul, nowadays the only surviving remnant of the college (see figure 8); the bones of persecuted victims can be viewed by twenty-first-century visitors to the museum located behind the façade.

The performances recorded in the annual letter retell a history in which, on the one hand, Francis Xavier's two years in Japan were seemingly not followed in the subsequent decades by a violent rejection of his faith, and on the other hand, the Chinese rue their "incorrect" choice to close their doors to the missionary, though they too were to enact a general ban of Christianity about a century later. The imaginative representation of what others should have done (rather than what they in fact did), which silenced the voices of these others through acts of ventriloquistic appropriation, deployed

an impressive range of aesthetic resources in the service of proselytism. The question of the Jesuits' interest toward the arts and especially toward music has received significant attention in earlier scholarly literature. For example, discussing the Society's original conception of music's role in contributing to the spread of the Gospel, David Crook observed the following:

> What shaped sixteenth-century Jesuit musical thought and practice above all else was an extreme ambivalence about the role of music in the Society's ministries—an ambivalence firmly in place from the beginning, as the fifth chapter of the 1539 version of the 'Formula' so clearly demonstrates. . . . Ever mindful of the need to resist the seductive powers of music lest they be diverted from their primary vocations, sixteenth-century Jesuits nevertheless embraced music's ability to arouse and move the souls of their students. At once both deeply suspicious and profoundly respectful of its power, Jesuits came to define music almost exclusively in terms of its function within their pastoral and pedagogical ministries.[9]

Respect for music's capacity both to nurture belief and to persuade nonbelievers is illustrated by statements appearing in the surviving documents. For instance, the annual letter of the College of St. Paul for 1649, reporting the death of Father Vicente Ribeiro, who participated in the Japan mission and afterwards served as rector of the college, where he also taught music and provided organ accompaniment for the chorus during church services, asserts that the "practice (*exercicio*) of choral music and singing being necessary in these parts, let it not sometimes be lacking in our churches, so that the devotion, reverence, and affection of the neophyte people for sacred things (*couzas sagradas*) be magnified."[10] The letter of 1652 states of such practice that it has "for some time in this [College] been employed to sing to the neophytes and gentiles, among whom we live, of greater veneration and devotion for the things of the Church and of our Holy Faith," in a notice of the death of Father Duarte Ferreira, who taught music at the college and served in the "office of Mestre da Capela in the feasts of our Church."[11] Suspicion of music's effects upon its listeners, on the other hand, was directed in particular toward polyphony on account of its ornateness, seen as incompatible with sacred propriety.[12] But such an attitude in no way indicated a deemphasis of music as a whole on the part of the Jesuits, and scholars of present times should avoid a bias favoring sophistication of training, technique, and theory (not to speak of composers and works).[13] As detailed later in this

chapter, numerous primary documents reveal the conspicuous presence of musical sounds and idioms of apparently "simple" orientation in Macau's public religious observances and liturgical services, as well as in the curriculum of the College of St. Paul.[14] Above all, sonic phenomena constituted an essential component of a totalizing Catholic environment fostered at a site located at "the ends of the earth" and manifesting a vision of Christianity's global dominion.

The comprehensive representation of spiritual glory by means of elaborate visual and aural displays in outdoor settings receives an illustration in a report detailing the arrival from Japan of the remains of Christian martyrs in 1640. This document, titled "How the City of Macau Received the News of the Glorious Martyrdom of Its Ambassadors; with Extraordinarily Joyous Celebrations," includes descriptions of bell ringing, firing of artillery, and vocal and instrumental music.

> The entire City, running, speeding, gathered at the same place [where the ship bringing the remains had landed]; souls stirring, hearts leaping with joy, the most happy Martyrdom and glorious triumph of these natives were revealed; there was neither sadness nor thought of future miseries[,] all were full of congratulations, each to everyone else, for the glory and honor of his City, for such a beautiful and luminous group of glorious martyrs to Heaven; mothers, children, and kin of the glorious Ambassadors rejoiced with everyone, there was neither closing of windows, nor clothing or [other] signs of Death; they dress as for the finest gala [and] fill their windows with pleasant lights, [while] groups of shawms were heard everywhere; all the music [was] very concerted and rousing through the streets (*tudo musicas muy concertadas, e acordadas pelas ruas*). . . .
>
> A meeting of secular and ecclesiastical authorities was held . . . which concluded that before the general pealing [of bells] and public festivals, the Governor would authenticate the glorious Martyrdom of the Blessed Ambassadors and their most blissful companions, a task that he soon carried out by collecting, through a judicial proceeding, the eyewitness testimony of the thirteen who came from Japan; and on the following day, the Martyrdom certified, the bells were rung, beginning at the Mother Church [the Church of St. Paul], where a Te Deum laudamus was sung with great solemnity; the Most Holy Sacrament was presented at the same time [i.e., in a procession], with the assistance of all the City and people, with a Royal Salute of artillery, music with all the festive instruments, and demonstrations of joy.[15]

The account of shawms heard everywhere and of the presence of festive instruments (probably including viols, flutes, trumpets, and drums, in addition to the shawms) indicates that the musical sounds heard in Macau in liturgical and para-liturgical contexts extended well beyond singing. The documentary sources offer no information about the identities of those who played these instruments, but they likely comprised in part students of the college and its affiliated school (which focused on pre-collegiate instruction, including native children among its pupils). Maria Isabel Lopes Monteiro's study of wind music and musicians in sixteenth-century Portugal, though primarily concerned with European practices, includes evidence of the widespread use of shawms in religious ceremonies at the Jesuit missionary sites in India and argues that teaching of the instrument must therefore have taken place at the Society's educational institutions in the region, such as the College of St. Paul in Goa.[16] This conclusion applies as well to the identically named institution in Macau, as is supported by documentary evidence that includes mention of the study of solfege and musical instruments in the college's annual letter of 1692 (*tem tambem seu tempo de estudar solfas, e aprender os instrumentos muzicos*) and a reference to an upper area of the Church of St. Paul for the storage of instruments in the *Aomen jilüe*.[17]

The above citation details the response of Macau's native residents (*naturaes*) to the arrival of the relics, in another instance of an appropriative speaking on their behalf. Later in the report, one hears the "voices" specifically of non-Christian Chinese who express admiration of the celebrations.

> The Chinese neophytes then chose for the feast a Sunday. . . . During the previous night [there were] many fireworks, [and] on the day of the Mass there was a grand provision of music, and shawms; one of Our Fathers preached, with much participation of the Chinese and of the women of the City, [and] everything was approved by the Chinese gentiles, who delighted to see the reciprocal love with which the Christians celebrated their Blessed Martyrs. All the twenty days were spent in these and other festivities, and contests with prizes; the nights in very lustrous and costly masques (*encamisadas*), with music and happy revelries.[18]

Further descriptions of encounters with these gentiles reveal that a principal technique of Jesuit evangelization in the Asian lands consisted in a profusion of sensory impressions whose affective power served the goal of conversion with apparently as much potency as a method based more upon ideas or appeals to rational intellect; or, rather, an essentially performative basis

lay at the core of the Society's missionary approach. In pursuing their aim of spreading the glory of the Christian faith worldwide, the Jesuits offered a vivid demonstration of what Giovanna Zanlonghi has analyzed as their notions of human totality and of the anthropological unity of the person, conjoining body, soul, and heart, as well as rhetoric, persuasion, and theater.[19] Thus, for example, we read the following in the annual letter of 1616 of the College of St. Paul.

> A procession took place on Easter, such as is to be seen in Europe, in which, in addition to the fireworks that one hears as part of it and the dances performed by the children of the school, the acolytes (*donicos*)[20] of the seminary who arrived from Japan participated, wearing their surplices; after them came the Brothers, and at the end fifty priests, all ours [Portuguese], wearing Asperges capes and holding lit candles in their hands, which could hardly fail to inspire devotion [among those] seeing such a large number of priests here at this end of the earth, and amidst such a vast gentile populace: and since for the common folk and th[os]e people who are all the gentiles living in this city, these external displays should be the best languages and sermons, they always reap some fruit from them, always baptizing some of them each year.[21]

The characterization of the external displays as languages and sermons of a kind, successfully converting at least some Chinese gentiles each year, is telling, as it suggests an integrative attitude whereby all the diverse evangelizing strategies employed by Jesuits, whether speech, theater, or music, were regarded as interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Above all, an intent to astonish and to amaze, not lacking militaristic undertones, seems to have lain at the heart of the realization of liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies by the missionaries in Macau. For instance, on Good Friday in 1643 a number of the city's "Moors" resolved to adopt Christianity after witnessing "a devout spectacle":

> The Friday processions were carried out with as much solemnity as devotion, following the sermon, and passion [Good Friday observance], with the music of the Litanies, in which all the people participated with lit candles, astonishing the Moors (*Mouros*), who came to see such a devout spectacle: Some of them undertook to leave [their mother cult] and joined the flock of Christ; to them, in order to be

> able to escape death, the punishment that, because of the barbarity of that kingdom, those Moors who became Christian incurred, was given secret flight away from that kingdom. [22]

At an earlier place in this annual letter, the phrase "Macaçá, terra de Mouros," or "Makassar, land of the Moors," serves to identify the Moors of the above passage.[23] Makassar, capital of the Kingdom of Gowa, located in the southern part of Sulawesi Island, Indonesia, had become an important Portuguese trading post during the 1640s but experienced the dispersal of its Portuguese community following the Dutch conquest of the city in 1667–69. Approximately 530 members of the community emigrated to Macau, some, however, moving on further to Siam.[24] But the annual letter predates this event by a quarter century and also characterizes the "Moorish" kingdom as barbarian (demonstrating that the application of this pejorative moniker traveled in both directions of the cross-cultural encounter), so that the new converts were certainly native Makassarese, resident in or visiting Macau through involvement in overseas commercial trade. In addition, the use of the term "Moors," a phenotypic indicator denoting black skin, lends the cited excerpt a marked aspect of othering, highlighting a process of signification akin to, but in the reverse direction from, the Sinocentric discourses examined in this book's previous chapter.

The conception of Jesuit evangelization in Asia as a quasi-military campaign against enemy idolators existed from the inception of the missions, as exemplified by St. Francis Xavier's words, projecting bellicosity onto the imagined foe: "I perceive most clearly that the war cry has sounded in the camp of hell, and the spirits of darkness, all in consternation, are arrayed against us as if to defend their last entrenchments." In the drive toward victory, the Society's colleges occupied a central place:

> This College [of St. Paul in Macau] is like a Seminary of Missionaries, or a beach of soldiers' arms, where, as from the Trojan Horse, they emerge to scorch the Towers of Idolatry, which the enemy of the human race has raised up and maintained in this Asia for many years. There is nothing lacking here in all the exercises in letters, and the studies proper to our colleges: Here there is a course in moral theology, and one in philosophy, and one in humanities and grammar, which three Fathers who have professed the four vows[25] are teaching at present; and [there is] in addition a Priest who teaches for the greater part of a year at a school, where he teaches reading, writing, arithmetic, and music.[26]

In this excerpt from the annual letter of 1649, the function within the Jesuits' East Asian missionary endeavors of the College of St. Paul, an institution that had by then enjoyed more than half a century of existence, is firmly articulated as martial in nature, one of overcoming the dominion established in Asia by none other than Satan himself, as Francis Xavier made clear in his reference to the "devil [who] has an unspeakable dread of the Society of Jesus entering China." In discussing the college's curriculum and specifically its teaching of music, as I shall do in the following pages, it is thus necessary to keep always in mind the militarism fueling the arrivals at distant shores by the Jesuits who went forth from the Trojan Horse[27] in order to fulfill the fourth, special vow of their Society, obedience to the Pope in serving missions.[28] And in this spirit of worldwide travel, an exceptional and aggressive mobility emerges with particular clarity.

A Predecessor Institution: The College of St. Paul, Goa

With respect to the global administration of the Jesuit missions, Macau fell under the purview of the Diocese of Goa, a vast ecclesiastical jurisdiction approved by Pope Clement VII in 1533 that extended from eastern Africa to Japan and East Timor. Already an active Catholic center well before the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1542, the city of Goa, located on the Western coast of India and captured in 1510 by Afonso Albuquerque (c. 1453–1515), came to occupy a vital place in the Society of Jesus' vision of global spiritual conquest. In 1548, the Jesuits established the College of St. Paul in Goa, creating this institution out of a school for the education of local Christians originally founded in 1541 by a Confraternity of the Conversion to the Faith (Confraria da Conversão à Fé) but whose management increasingly fell to members of the Society.[29] A brief consideration of this predecessor of the College of St. Paul in Macau can serve not only for comparative purposes but also illuminate some of the shared aims and procedures of the wider Jesuit project in Asia.

In both cities, collegiate studies in a strict sense, consisting above all of courses in dogmatic theology, moral theology, and philosophy and intended specifically for the training of future priests and missionaries, came into existence as an expansion of "pre-collegiate" instruction in reading and writing (in Portuguese and Latin), arithmetic, and music. Though it is easy to lend disproportionate attention to the college proper, given its "higher" status, the impact of the pre-college was arguably greater since it contributed more

directly to the formation of native Catholic communities, especially through the regular participation of students in liturgical singing. A letter of 7 October 1545 from Father Antonio Criminali (1520–1549) to the founder and superior general of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), noted of Father (Micer) Paulo Camerino (–1560), an instructor at the school (and later Jesuit mission superior in Goa), that he joined the students in singing Mass and the Office Hours (Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline) on feast days, and also prayers at meals. Obviously cognizant of Jesuit reservations about the use of music in the observance of faith, Criminali emphasized that this singing possessed no special musical qualities but consisted only of intonation (*entoado*) or half-sung recitation. He also opined that the conversion of gentiles would occur only with the aid of sung Masses, even if attended only up to the Offertory. These considerations led to the hiring of a music teacher, Pero d'Almeida, to instruct students in Gregorian chant and vocal polyphony.[30]

By 1552, with the school formally established as a Jesuit college, a set of written *Regulae Collegii Goani* (Rules for the College of Goa) governed the pedagogical, ritual, and other aspects of life at this institution. Its noteworthy details include the stipulation of the times and manner of bell ringing, as for example once at 5:30 a.m. to announce each day's first Mass; the participation in outdoors processions by those students chosen to sing in Masses because they possessed sufficient musical ability; and the singing in polyphony by these same students in the Tuesday Masses of the college's brothers, joined by the choir of the city's cathedral (the Basílica de Bom Jesus), with instrumental accompaniment consisting of "charamellas, frautas, and saquabuxas" (shawms, flutes, and sackbuts).[31]

A letter of 15 November 1588 written by Father Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560–1640) to his brother Marcantonio indicates that the Goan liturgy in the late sixteenth century included music by Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599), Palestrina, and Tomás Luis de Victoria (c. 1548–1611).[32] According to Cattaneo, the city's gentiles found such music appealing and therefore wished to hear more of it. He therefore requested that additional publications of these composers' works be sent to India, mentioning their utility in gaining new converts. His enumeration of desired volumes informs us of those that had already reached Goa: Palestrina's second book of motets for four voices (1584) and second to fourth books of motets for five, six, and eight voices (1572, 1575, and 1584), as well as prints (unspecified) of music by Guerrero and Victoria published not later than 1584. The letter further explains that "canzoni e villanelle o madrigali" in Spanish and other works in Latin by any

of the three composers would be very precious (*molto care*), but especially the sacred genres, since in Goa the singing of a "cancione o vilanella" customarily substituted for that of a motet.

Comparably detailed evidence concerning liturgical repertories has not survived for Macau during a similar period (so far as I have been able to ascertain), so the above information possesses extrapolative value for the following discussions. The existing documentation at least confirms that Catholic musicking in southern China included vocal polyphony as well as accompaniment by festive wind instruments; furthermore, the most recent phases of Macau's religious musical history demonstrate the significant place of folkloric pieces, with texts in vernacular languages. Though considerable uncertainty remains a facet of investigating the sounds and musics that resonated within and around the space of the Church of St. Paul in Macau, the example of the earlier collegiate complex in Goa affords a measure of likelihood in recovering a bygone aural environment.

The Establishment of the College of St. Paul, Macau

Like its predecessor, the College of St. Paul in Macau emerged as a further development of a school (usually referred to as "Escola" in the primary documents) originally founded for the education of local children. It came into being specifically through the impetus of Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), Visitor to the Province of India (which at the time encompassed the Jesuits' East Asian missions).[33] Evidently inspired by the ongoing efforts toward the creation of the Ratio Studiorum, the standardized curriculum for the seminaries, universities, and colleges of the Society of Jesus around the globe, Valignano, who devoted much of his career in Asia to missionary work in Japan (1579–82, 1590–92, and 1598–1603), sought to establish a program of advanced training in Macau for Japanese Jesuit students, in a locale secure from the persecutions taking place in their homeland. He first proposed this idea at a General Consultation of Missionaries held in Nagasaki in 1592, two years before its implementation.[34]

The progress toward realizing a Jesuit center of higher learning in Macau occurred in the wake of two key events that crucially furthered the position of the city as a principal Asian site for the dissemination of Portuguese-Catholic paradigms of discovery and expansion: the agreement reached in 1557 with the Chinese imperial regime to allow Portugal's administration of the territory and the establishment of the Diocese of Macau in 1576 by Pope

Gregory XIII. A document of 1617 or later, titled "Memoria do principio do Collegio de Macau, ou caza primeyro antes de ser Collegio . . ." (Record of the Beginnings of the College of Macau, or [of] the First Institution Prior to [Its] Being a College), sketches the general demographic situation of the territory near the end of the sixteenth century, suggesting ready ground for a substantial promotion of the Jesuits' evangelizing mission by means of a systematized educational program: "There were at this time in the captaincy (*capitania*) of Macau nine hundred Portuguese, in addition to a large number of native Christians, who all provided plentiful material for the exercise of our ministries, attended the devotions (*sacramentos*) of eight, or fifteen days; on Sundays, and holy days, nearly a thousand slaves, with whom many fruits were obtained, assisted the [carrying out of] doctrine."[35] The casual mention here of slavery and its usefulness in propagating the faith, a type of abhorrent comment occasionally encountered in historical Jesuit documents, underscores the violence, at once psychological and material, that marked the Society's global missions.[36] The information contained in this report, if accurate, indicates that the policy of containing the mobility of Chinese persons across the border between Macau and Guangdong Province experienced limited success, despite the repugnance felt toward the adoption of a foreign religion by imperial subjects.

The school that preceded the college came into existence in 1572 and initially offered instruction in reading and writing of Portuguese, with classes in Latin, arithmetic, and singing added at a later point.[37] According to the college's annual letter of 1594, its very first, the number of students at the school had exceeded 250 by that time.[38] At the same time as this teaching of local children continued, the newly established higher division served the aim of training and preparing missionaries to carry out the task of evangelization in sites throughout eastern Asia, among them Japan, China, Cochinchina (southern Vietnam), Tonkin (northern Vietnam), Laos, and Cambodia. It also assumed the role of providing refuge for Christians, both native and European, fleeing persecutions in Japan and China, at times causing an overcrowding of the available living space, as noted in the annual letter of 1616, a year in which the number of residents, 92, nearly reached its highest recorded total, surpassed only by the 96 residents of one year earlier.[39] This burden was further increased by the cutoff of the college's principal source of funding, the trade with Japan especially of Chinese silk over which the Portuguese had enjoyed a monopoly since the establishment of Macau as a foreign-administered territory in 1557.[40] A number of the primary documents detail the financial impact of the interruption, which resulted from

the general (though not total) closure of Japan to the outside world, a policy known as *sakoku* adopted by the Tokugawa shogunate in the early seventeenth century and lasting until the Meiji Restoration of 1868.[41]

As cited above, the annual letter of 1649 specifies the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, and music at the school for pre-collegiate students. Additionally, it mentions the similarity of this pedagogical arrangement to that implemented by the Jesuits in India, and relates a donation by a Japanese cleric of a quantity of leather amounting to twelve thousand *taeis* that would permit twelve Japanese children to undertake a full program of studies, progressing from the school to the college and eventual priestly ordination, with the hope that these freshly trained missionaries would return to their homeland to resume the conversion of natives. Such generosity notwithstanding, the cessation of trade with Japan still caused economic hardship, so that the author of the letter, Father Mathias da Maya (1616–67), then the procurator general of the Province of Japan, expressed his hope of a resumption of this trade in the near future. Three years later, in 1652, Father António Francisco Cardim (1596–1659), who had served as rector of the college from 1632 to 1636 and preceded Maya as procurator general, an appointment begun in 1638, secured a promise of three thousand *cruzados* from King João IV of Portugal. One thousand *cruzados* would be provided from income derived from properties north of Goa and two thousand from the profits of the Japanese commerce, the disruption of which however hindered this second, larger amount from ever reaching its intended beneficiary.[42]

The college received a further two thousand *cruzados* in 1690, again funded from properties in India.[43] A different problem arose on this occasion, as detailed in a petition submitted one year later by the procurator general at that time, Father Manoel Ferreyra, to King Pedro II, a son and successor of João IV. Ferreyra believed the "alms" (*esmola*) should be exempt from a royal tax, the *meyas annatas*, yet the king's representatives in Goa did not concur and withheld the subsidy, leading the procurator to request a formal declaration from Lisbon of the exemption.[44] A different, contemporaneous petition, also submitted by Ferreyra to Pedro II, sought a regular annual sum of at least one thousand *cruzados* from thenceforth, thereby indicating the severity of the financial pressure stemming from Japan's continued closure. With the unavailability of the former principal mission site of the Jesuits in East Asia, a shift of focus to the education of neophytes from China and Vietnam at the school occurred, but with the college's fathers each having to support five or six pupils at their own personal expense. Royal subsidies thus remained an urgent necessity, and in his effort at persuasion, Ferreyra spe-

cifically invoked the glory that would redound to the monarch should the latter advance the cause of the faith by supplying vital monetary assistance for the training in Macau of native missionaries, just as his predecessors had done in India.[45] This tale of the college's struggles plainly illustrates the close intertwining of religious, political, and commercial spheres, which in the context of the present study are best understood as forming a single domain.

College Demographics

Though complete data regarding the number and makeup of the residents of the College of St. Paul does not survive, the available documentary records nevertheless afford a general picture of the demographic situation at this seminal Jesuit institution during the first century of its existence. In 1594, around 30 persons occupied its living quarters, consisting of 19 fathers, Visitor Valignano, and 8 to 10 Japanese brothers (see table 1).[46] The significant presence of Japanese persons right from the outset reflected the ongoing persecutions that had motivated Valignano's founding of the college in the first place. After several years, the average number of residents settled at approximately 60, but then declined to around 45 or fewer, probably because of an increased rate of departures from Macau to missionary destinations by those who had completed their training. However, in 1614, a sudden influx of new arrivals more than doubled the collegiate population. The official prohibition of Christianity in this year by the ruling shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616), sparked an exodus southward from Japan, as related in the annual letter of 1615: "So long as Daipo [Daimyo[47]], also known as Axorgum [Shogun], who drove the persecution and exiled us at the end of 1614, still reigns, there remain many fathers and brothers from Japan in this College, who together with those previously here, came to a hundred and ten in the course of the year 1615."[48] Such a pronounced spike may have been quickly followed by some departures for other lodgings, for the same document gives the figure of 96 residents "at present," consisting of 44 fathers and 52 brothers. Precisely one-quarter of this population was Japanese, 3 fathers and 21 brothers. The annual letter also specifies a total of 33 fathers and 26 brothers expelled from Japan.[49]

The Jesuits did not accept the disruption of their mobility, seeking to maintain it and indeed even to expand it by still attempting to enter Japan during the coming years[50] and also by redirecting their evangelizing energies toward other nearby kingdoms, including China, Vietnam, and Siam. By 1621, the number of the college's residents had dropped to 67, despite

Table 1. Number of Residents at the College of St. Paul, Macau, 1594–1692

	Fathers	Brothers	Novices	Total Residents
1594	20	8–10 (8–10)		28–30
1595				<40
1597				54
1598	27	35		62 (9)
1599	29	32 (3)		61
1602	22	32		55*
1603	31	31		62
1608	19	22		41
1611	25	20		45
1614	16	26		42
1615	44 (3)	52 (21)		96
1616	51	41 (10)		92
1617	47	37		84
1618	39	39 (>12)		78
1619	47	39		86
1620	45	35		80
1621	43	34		77
1622	33	34		67
1627	38	27	3	68
1647–48	23	17		40
1659–60	34	23		57
1692	11	15	1	27

Note: The numbers in parentheses indicate Japanese persons. The annual letters for 1620, 1621, 1627, and 1647–48 also mention the presence of Japanese persons, without providing specific numbers. See "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da cidade de Macao" (annual letter of 1620), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, codex 49-V-5, f. 285r (duplicate copy in codex 49-V-7, f. 173r); António Leite, "Carta annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos de Macao" (annual letter of 1621), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-5, f. 336r (duplicate copy in codex 49-V-7, 275r); Jerónimo Rodrigues junior, annual letter of 1627, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Japonica-Sinica collection 18, f. 80v.; and "Do Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1647–48), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-13, f. 586r. Blank cells indicate a lack of available data. Costa and Fernandes Pinto, *Cartas ánuas do Colégio de Macau (1594–1627)*, 49, mistakenly attributes the annual letter of 1627 to Jerónimo Rodrigues senior.

*Although the figures of 22 fathers and 32 brothers should result in a total of 54 residents, Diogo Antunes, "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deus da Companhia de Jesu de Machao, e residençias da China do ano de 602," Japonica-Sinica collection 46, f. 318r, gives the number as 55, possibly in error.

new arrivals from Europe and newly exiled fathers from China, where the Society of Jesus also experienced an increasing degree of persecution.[51] The diminished figure stemmed in part from deaths of members of the community (each one duly reported in the annual letters), but also from frequent dispatches to the various surrounding mission sites. In 1627, for example, two Japanese fathers were sent to Manila and one to Siam, while two other

fathers, presumably European because one is described as "know[ing] passably the language of Cochinchina" and the other as "know[ing] well the language of Japan," prepared to depart for Tonkin.

The extant demographic data for the college becomes sparser in subsequent years, because of the lower survival rate of the annual letters after 1627. That for 1659–60 mentions that there were ordinarily not less than 30 residents, and presently 57 (34 fathers, 23 brothers), with many (evidently not included in the count) having headed to Japan and China.[52] The final letter offering this kind of information, for 1692, records only 27 persons then occupying the college.[53]

The College's Curriculum

The annual letter of 1594 mentions classes in grammar, humanities (*humanidade*), and moral theology offered at the college in its first year, as well as the plan to introduce an Arts course (*Curso das Artes*) during the following year; furthermore, private instruction in dogmatic theology was given by two fathers.[54] In October 1597, Valignano attempted to systematize the teaching at both the college and school by means of a written document, the "Ordem . . . para as escollas deste Collegio de Macao" (Instruction . . . for the Schools of This College of Macau).[55] The fourth chapter of this document clarifies of the nature of the Arts course, whose principal concerns were dialectic and logic, as manifested particularly through skill in verbal communication. Hence, for instance, each Thursday afternoon a debate took place in which two students defended an argument presented during the lesson of the previous day, while the other students challenged it. The course lasted three years in all and concluded with a public examination that conferred master's degrees upon the candidates, if passed successfully. As detailed by Valignano, this examination involved a great deal of ceremonial, including music that, by the 1630s at the latest, included shawm players brought as part of the retinue of a candidate's family, in yet another example of the conspicuous presence of wind instruments in Macau's soundscapes.[56]

The college's curriculum would eventually embrace the formal teaching of dogmatic theology, the "highest" of all subjects, specifically intended for the training of future priests and missionaries. Examination of the surviving evidence concerning this curriculum prompts consideration of the extent to which the programs of study offered at Macau's College of St. Paul paralleled those of Jesuit institutions in Europe, or differed from them in consequence of the Asian context. While the courses of instruction essentially followed

the Ratio Studiorum, Liam Matthew Brockey has written of a "Ratio Studiorum for China," centered upon the acquisition of proficiency in the Chinese language and specifically in *guanhua*. However, this training adapted to the locality was not offered in Macau, but inside China, in the nearby province of Jiangnan, taught and attended by those who had already entered their mission site. Such an arrangement offered the obvious practical advantage of regular and direct contact with the regional tongue(s), a situation mostly absent in the segregated enclave of Macau.[57] Moreover, as Brockey notes, this Chinese Ratio Studiorum perhaps took form as an actual systematic teaching program only infrequently, given the persistently low number of Jesuits in China that would not have usually justified the organization of formal classes. The learning of the language probably occurred above all through active interactions with natives.

Where the college seems most clearly to have taken on an "Eastern hue" was in its attached school, whose teaching served in part to educate native children from the surrounding areas, aiming at their future entry into collegiate studies and perhaps ordination as priests, following which they could contribute invaluably to achieving new conversions in their own lands. The school's instructors included teachers of Asian ethnicity, among them Father Costantino Dourado (c. 1567–1620), a Japanese Jesuit who had accompanied Valignano and four young converts on the famed Tenshō Embassy to Europe (named after the Tenshō Era of Japanese history), a journey that lasted from 1582 to 1590. A report of the death of Father Dourado that appears in the annual letter of 1620 notes that he taught Latin to *dojucos*[58] at the school for twelve years and was also a very good organist as well as an outstanding scribe, and zealous that the *dojucos* "form friendships with the Europeans, and learn our good customs" (*se germanessem com os Europeos, e aprendessem nossos bons costumes*).[59]

In addition to their study of Latin reading and writing, pupils enrolled in the school received instruction in arithmetic and singing. Most of the surviving annual letters refer to the teaching of singing simply as a course in "cantar," but that for 1616 more specifically mentions a teacher responsible for the "capela do cantar," while that for 1620 provides the uncharacteristically detailed information that the course in singing served the purposes of "the Divine Offices, which we celebrate here on the principal feasts and jubilee days that take place in the church of this college, and on Compline during Fridays of Holy Week, as has been the custom for many years."[60] Hence, this course prepared its students to participate in liturgical services, where they sang Gregorian chant and perhaps simple multipart music. Sometime before century's end, the musical training had come to include solfege and, most

notably, instruments, as mentioned in the annual letter of 1692. This latter element surely reflected the growing festiveness, encompassing a significant martial dimension, of the soundscapes surrounding the College of St. Paul as the intensity of the Jesuits' fervor in carrying out their East Asian mission deepened over time. The same annual letter reports a total of 140 students at the school, seventeen of whom hailed from Japan, China, and Tonkin.[61] Still, no more than two teachers seem ever to have taken up instructional duties at this lower division of the college, with one assigned to cover reading, writing, and arithmetic and the other music (and in some years a single teacher taught all four subjects).

The curriculum offered at the collegiate level included the full set of graded courses enumerated in the Ratio Studiorum, in which students progressed methodically from the lowest subject, grammar, through humanities and philosophy and finally reaching the highest subject, theology (divided into dogmatic and moral branches). The documentary records indicate a total of twenty students in 1603, around a decade after the founding of the college, but subsequent years did not see an increase in this figure, as an accelerating pace in the completion of programs of study and the dispatching of newly qualified missionaries to sites around East Asia precluded further growth, even with some of the many refugees from Japan and other nearby areas embarking upon the college's regimen of evangelical training. By century's end, in 1692, the number had diminished to merely four, reflecting the ever greater foothold of the Jesuits inside the borders of the Middle Kingdom, while at the same time the affiliated school maintained its high enrollment, continuing to lay the groundwork for the emergence of the indigenous Catholic community discussed in the next two chapters of this book.

The birthing of this community, a distinctive, liminally positioned group of Asian believers who, by subversively furthering their own power of mobility, transgressed the Chinese imperial government's attempt to impose a hard cultural and ethnic boundary (an essentializing ideology that also figured later in the Portuguese administration's colonial policies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), undoubtedly stemmed in part from the dual aspect of student life at the college and school, encompassing both academic study and active liturgical participation. The information recorded in the annual letters and other documents preserved in the various Jesuit repositories make clear this duality of religious experience. The native pupils were obligated to attend and contribute to a regular schedule of worship services, including taking part in choral singing. A "congregation of students of the Annunciation of the Lady" established at the college in 1615, which was probably

identical to the group formally named elsewhere in the primary sources as the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Incarnation, specifically aimed at the recruitment and training of children of distinguished local citizens (*huma congregação de estudantes da Annunciação da Senhora na qual entrarão os filhos dos principaes da terra*). According to the annual letter of 1615, the Father Provincial instructed these students to continue carrying out their obligation to sing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the antiphon *Salve Regina* "em cantão d'orgão" (vocal polyphony) every Saturday, as had taken place from the first. That such singing had indeed taken place since the early days of the institution receives confirmation from Valignano's "Ordem" of 1597, which states that "each Saturday afternoon, shortly before the end of the lesson, the instructors of Latin, who teach lay students, will recite the Litany of Our Lady at the foot of the image [of the Virgin] with the students responding to them."[62] It is not clear, however, if in 1615 and later the Litany continued to function specifically as the conclusion of a session of the Latin class. The annual letter also mentions the existence of "a large house to accommodate the many boys who study at our school" (*huma grande casa para caberem os muitos meninos que na nossa escola aprendem*).[63] The members of the congregation also undertook charitable work in the St. Lazarus parish, the district where Macau's first large Chinese Catholic community would emerge during the nineteenth century.[64]

The involvement of native students in concrete ritual practice occurred at other ecclesiastical institutions in the city besides the collegiate church, including one particularly intended to serve Chinese neophytes, the Church of Our Lady of Refuge. According to the annual letter of 1692, a Father (not identified) celebrated Mass each Sunday and feast day at this church; this document further mentions the singing "'em lingua sinica" by Chinese congregants of "prayers" (*oraçõens*) for the Adoration of the Holy Cross on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. However, the principal set of observances that took place in the church occurred at the end of the Chinese New Year celebrations, consisting of the praying of the Novena to Our Lady in a concourse of "all the people of Macau" as well as daily Masses with instrumental music and other solemnities.[65]

Music in the Collegiate Liturgy

The extant records permit the reconstruction of a rich, if still incomplete (because not all of the annual letters of the College of St. Paul have survived)

schedule of liturgical observances celebrated at the collegiate church and other ecclesiastical institutions of Macau, many of them involving students as crucial participants. The following overview presents a roughly diachronic account of the development of the liturgical calendar in seventeenth-century Macau, with a synchronic table (table 2) that conflates rituals, feasts, and services introduced in different years as the outcome of such a narrative. Though problematic as descriptive history, this manner of disseminating a fragmentary record is compelled by the impossibility of chronological precision (namely, the fully accurate determination, in most instances, of the first occurrence of a regular observance). More significantly, it may still provide a compelling sense of that sensory totality of Jesuit proselytism discussed earlier, whose concentrated intensity served the essential aims of overwhelming infidels, glorifying martyrs, and bringing the Holy Faith to the Earth's "furthest" reaches.

The summary presented in table 2 demonstrates the prevalence of singing, above all by the students of the college and its associated confraternities. Whether this singing tended more often toward monophony or polyphony cannot be ascertained from the historical record; the omission of specific mention of a musical trait on the part of an author does not automatically imply its absence, of course. In any case, the daily exposure to traditional Catholic sounds undoubtedly served to naturalize a distinctive musical language for these students, making it into a kind of native tongue and laying the foundation for the eventual emergence of an indigenous Catholicism in southern China beginning in the nineteenth century, as the following chapters will discuss. The organ seems to have enjoyed a near equal ubiquity in the liturgy of the collegiate church, while other instruments formed an occasional presence. The variety of feasts, celebrations, and observances covered by the documents includes Masses and the Divine Offices (such as Vespers and Compline), as well as public services for Macau's general populace (especially those featuring processions) and more private ones. The totality of this musicking could not but have caught the attention of Chinese non-Catholics, as chapter 1 of this book already corroborated.

The earliest surviving account of a celebration of Mass at the College of St. Paul that included singing appears in the annual letter of 1603, in a report of the completion of a new collegiate church, undoubtedly the one whose elaborate façade remains standing today (see figure 8). This new church replaced an older one at the same site. According to the report, Alessandro Valignano presided over the final Mass at the latter and the first at the former. The second of these events, which took place on Christmas Eve of 1603,

Table 2. Liturgical Observances at the College of St. Paul, Macau featuring music, 1603–92

Days/Occasions	Liturgical/Musical items	Participants
Daily	Vespers; choral singing of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the antiphon *Ave, maris stella*, and the hymn *Sub tuum praesidium*	Students of the College of St. Paul
Thursdays throughout the year	Mass; choral singing and organ accompaniment	Confraternity of the Holy Spirit
Saturdays throughout the year	Mass; choral singing	Confraternity of Our Lady of the Incarnation
Saturday afternoons throughout the year	Choral singing of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the antiphon *Salve Regina*	Confraternity of Our Lady of the Incarnation, students of the affiliated school of the College of St. Paul
Sundays throughout the year, principal feast days, and jubilee celebrations	Mass of the *solené* (solemn) class, the Divine Offices; choral singing	General
Sundays throughout the year	Mass; choral singing	Confraternity of the Holy Spirit
Forty Hours' Devotion	Mass; choral singing in three-part polyphony and instrumental accompaniment	General
End of Chinese New Year celebrations	Daily Masses with instrumental accompaniment	Chinese congregants of the Church of Our Lady of Refuge
Fridays during Lent	Singing of Psalm 50, *Miserere mei* (during exercises in mortification)	Confraternity of Our Lady of the Incarnation
Maundy Thursday and Good Friday	Adoration of the Holy Cross; choral singing "em lingua sinica"	Chinese congregants of the Church of Our Lady of Refuge
Good Friday	Compline; choral singing	General
Between the feasts of the Ascension and Pentecost, daily at 7 p.m.	Mass; choral singing and instrumental accompaniment	Confraternity of the Holy Spirit

was followed by a procession through the streets neighboring the college, which carried relics, religious images, and torches to the accompaniment of music and dances and came into view of five ships in the harbor that fired "much artillery" (*muita artelharia*), in a sonic joining of urban and marine environments.[66]

The annual letter of 1615, which actually covers events at the College of St. Paul up to the early weeks of the following year, relates the celebration of a Mass on 10 January 1616, the Sunday of the Octave of Epiphany. The Mass honored a piece of the wood and a nail of the Cross (*Santo Lenho, e Santo Espinho*) found in Japan by fathers exiled from this kingdom, and featured singing in three-part polyphony (*de tres*) as well as a procession on the preceding day that carried the wood and nail and the relics of martyred Japanese Christians to the cathedral and the Church of St. Dominic before returning to the college.[67] Polyphony is mentioned again in the annual letter of 1643, in an account of an observance of the Forty Hours' Devotion, the period of continuous prayer that took place usually during the Triduum of Holy Week in connection with the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. This account states, "More than is the case in Portugal with this observance, here it is customary on all days to include a sung Mass in three parts with good instrumental accompaniment (*Missa cantada á tres com boa muzica)*."[68] The degree of technical sophistication of the three-part polyphony, in both 1615 and 1643 as in other years, remains uncertain given the available evidence and may have ranged from a simple texture akin to fauxbourdon to the more artful counterpoint of a Palestrina. Even if publications such as those of the four-, five-, six-, and eight-part motets of the Roman composer reached Macau, as they had reached Goa, the performance of this music may well have reduced the number of parts actually sung, with the remaining texture taken up by an organ, a kind of practice that continues to the present day in Macau.[69] As for the instrumental accompaniment, the liturgical prescriptions of the Lenten season in the Catholic nations of Europe called for a markedly reduced usage of instruments, seen as appropriate to a somber period of the church calendar. Hence the "boa muzica" in Macau probably included only a few instruments in addition to the organ. A hint as to its makeup is provided by Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto's study of musical bands in Macau, which refers to the Jesuit António Cordeiro's description of the Goa residence of Guilherme Pereira (brother of Diogo Pereira, who held the post of "captain-major" (*capitão-mor*) or governor of Macau appointed by Portugal from 1563 to 1565). The different types of ensembles that may have supplied music at gatherings in this home

include the "*música*," which perhaps consisted typically of singers, vihuelas, dolzainas, guitars, viols, and flutes.[70]

As noted earlier, the teaching of singing at the college served to furnish music for the Offices on major feast days and jubilee occasions as well as for Compline on Good Friday; furthermore, the documentation of this circumstance, in the annual letter of 1620, emphasized that such had been the customary practice "for many years."[71] Choral music therefore must have regularly accompanied the observance of both Masses and Offices since or not long after the college's founding in 1594. The 1620 letter records that the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Incarnation, which by this time numbered 43 members, celebrated this year's Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) with particular splendor, because of a papal announcement of the upcoming jubilee year in 1625. These members participated in a Vespers service, a sung Mass officiated by the Bishop of Japan, Diogo Valente (1567–1633), and a solemn procession around the Church of St. Paul, with Visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues senior (1567–1628) carrying a hair of the Virgin in a costly reliquary.[72]

Rodrigues' Visitor's report of 1620 confirms the importance of music in the observance of Vespers. Aiming to systematize worship at a time of marked growth in the number of the college's residents, including an increasing presence of Asian persons, this report offered a set of detailed musical and ritual instructions, among them a prescription that the Litany (presumably the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary), the antiphon *Ave, maris stella*, and the hymn *Sub tuum praesidium*, typical components of the Vespers Office, be sung on a daily basis. Rodrigues specified that the performance of these items take place even during the summer months if students ate dinner "on the island" (perhaps one of the islands of Taipa and Coloane, at the time not yet consolidated through land reclamation into the single territory of nowadays). He further ordered that all choir members should rise at "Sit Nomen Domini benedictum," the second verse of *Laudate pueri Dominum*, if this Psalm (112 in the numbering of the Latin Vulgate) were featured in the service, and that for this verse and also for the concluding doxology they should bow their heads during the consecration of the Host.[73]

Evidence from later in the century demonstrates the continuing role of students in providing choral music for worship. The annual letter of 1643 notes the celebration at seven in the evening every day between the Feast of the Ascension and Pentecost of a *Messa rezada* or "spoken" or "prayed" Mass by another student group, the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit. The qualifier *rezada* probably indicated singing in a monophonic or simple polyphonic texture, a likelihood reinforced by the mention of "texts" (*letras*) performed

by a chorus to the "sound of musical instruments." These daily observances included a "grand accompaniment of torches and other lights." In detailing an evident insufficiency of funding, the letter also explained that the confraternity held its regular weekly Masses on Thursdays (implicitly throughout the year), again requiring lighting as well as the services of an organist who was customarily paid.[74] Other confraternities likewise observed their weekly "spoken" or "prayed" Mass, with similar provisions and expenditures. Finally, the letter pointed out the existence of another group of students, the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Incarnation, which had set up their own private chapel four years ago and every Saturday afternoon sang the Litany (again, presumably the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary) and the *Salve Regina* (thus conforming to the instructions in the annual letter of 1615 from the Father Provincial), thereby incurring still further expenses for lighting.[75]

Nearing the century's end, as the College of St. Paul approached the hundredth anniversary of its establishment, the active musical participation of students in liturgical worship seems to have continued as previously. According to the highly detailed annual letter of 1692, members of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Incarnation attended Mass every day before their classes, and also "assisted" at (i.e., provided the music for) a Saturday Mass in their private chapel. During the Fridays of Lent, they performed exercises in mortification while singing Psalm 50, *Miserere mei*.[76] Meanwhile, at the school, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary was still sung every Saturday, thus maintaining this long-standing practice.[77]

Two reports of 1680, one by Father Sebastião Almeida (1622–1683), Visitor to the Province of Japan and Vice-Provincial of China, and the other by Joseph François Tissanier (1618–1688), Visitor to the Vice-Province of China, suggest by their prescriptions limiting the frequency and elaborateness of liturgical activity the lively, vital quality that the celebration of feasts and rituals had developed by the closing decades of the seventeenth century in Macau. Almeida ordered that no more than one sung Mass, with the occasion adorned by lit torches, take place per day in the Church of St. Paul (*Não averà na nossa Igreja no mesmo dia mais Missa cantandas, e tochas que huma*), specifically criticizing the three Masses with choral music and torches celebrated on a single Sunday by the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit that he had witnessed.[78] Tissanier, for his part, stated that in addition to a Mass belonging to the *solené* or solemn class of liturgical feast, only one other should feature singing by a chorus (on the same day, by implication).[79]

In addition to the regular liturgical calendar enumerated in the foregoing pages, special commemorations and observances took place in response

to particular situations and circumstances. As documented in the historical records, these included the 1621 celebration of the beatification of Francis Xavier; the welcoming of the relics of Japanese martyrs in 1640; the resolution, through a procession and exhibition of a consecrated Host, of a dispute in 1643 between the *Leal Senado* (lit. "Loyal Senate"), the local municipal council that served the interests of private tradesmen, and the captain-major regarding the election of the council's next members[80]; a series of Masses and prayers in 1663 or 1664 seeking divine intercession amid the hardships caused by the ongoing wars that resulted eventually in the overthrow of the Ming dynasty two or three years later; and a celebration of the Edict of Toleration issued by the Kangxi emperor in 1692, approving the free practice of the Christian faith within China. Similar to the annually occurring liturgical services, these one-time events featured a notable aural dimension, including a conspicuous outdoors presence, and thereby contributed significantly to generating the rich Catholic soundscapes of Macau that came into being during the first full century of Portuguese administration.

Hence, for instance, the report of the festivities associated with the beatification of Francis Xavier, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, includes the following description:

> The celebration commenced fifteen days before the Saint's day with the raising on the grounds of our Church of a beautiful banner on which was depicted the Blessed Father, which occurred to the sound of trumpets, and shawms, ringing of bells, [and a] great quantity of fireworks.[81]

Nearly two decades later, the celebrations marking the arrival of the remains of the Japanese martyrs spanned fully twenty days of competitions, theatrical and musical performances, and other revelries.[82]

The crucial ties binding the Jesuit endeavors in Macau to the financial networks and structures that motivated the very establishment of this Portuguese enclave came to the fore in 1642, when news reached the city of the dissolution of the Iberian Union of 1580–1640 that had joined Spain and Portugal under the sole rule of the former's monarch (Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV successively). The Leal Senado, supporters of Portugal's autonomy because of concerns with Spanish encroachment upon the profitable trade routes along the eastern Chinese coast, more generally adopted a stance of militant independence and resistance toward what it regarded as outside interference, including from the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon and Goa.

With respect to this tension between assertions of local self-governance and the larger effort to unify a far-flung empire politically and economically, the Jesuits occupied a fraught position: Dependent on Macau's wealthy merchant class for the material means to realize their evangelizing projects, while receiving vital legitimation of their global spiritual quest from the Portuguese crown, without, as we have seen, necessarily obtaining adequate subsidies from this particular source.[83] At the same time, however, they may have been enabled to serve as important mediators.

The discord between the municipal council and the captain-major, the notoriously violent Sebastião Lobo da Silveira, came to a head in late 1643, when no agreement could be reached concerning the procedure for electing new council members. According to the apologetical account in the annual letter of this year, both sides had already taken up arms, despite the fathers of the College of St. Paul having spared no effort (even during the Christmas season) to facilitate communication between the disputants.[84] In the end, the Vice-Provincial, Gaspar de Amaral (1594–1646), decided upon a procession that would carry the "Santissimo," namely, a consecrated Host, from the college to the Monte Fort. Preceded the evening before by Masses and prayers in the Church of St. Paul, the procession commenced at noon to the sound of ringing bells and arrived at the fort, from which Lobo da Silveira emerged and knelt down in a gesture of deference. Reminded by an accompanying cleric, Amaral lifted the Host and displayed it to the captain-major. The annual letter continues: "Wonderful thing, to behold that without any new action of prayer, or of the arm, if not of that powerful one of God, he [Lobo da Silveira] surrenders, and says that he will cease the [firing of] artillery, and suspend the [use of] arms" (*couza maravilhosa; eis que sem nova força alguma de rezão, ou braço, se não do poderozo de Deos, se rende, e diz que pára com a artelharia, e suspensa as armas*). With the church's bells ringing once more, both Amaral and Lobo da Silveira then proceeded to the "Capela,"[85] the former placing the Host within this chapel, following which a Te Deum was sung, a prayer said to the "Santissimo," and the procession returned to the college.

Trade with the outside world, already a topic of pressing concern in the annual letters from several decades earlier because of the upheavals in Japan, gained a fresh urgency for the Jesuits in Asia shortly after mid-century, as China's Ming dynasty fell to the Qing forces originating from Manchuria but its representatives continued to pursue a claim to power as late as the 1680s, though the suicide in 1644 of the last Ming ruler, the Chongzhen 崇禎 emperor, is conventionally taken to mark the dynasty's end. The author

of the annual letter of 1663–64, Father Bartolomeu da Costa (1629–95), described the particular situation in Macau as follows: "The Tartar Mandarins . . . impeded us from [carrying out] all manner of commerce, and navigation of the seas, where relief and preservation of the people lie, and with this prohibition indirectly condemning us to a cruel death, closing the door to every means by which we could seek our relief."[86] The new Qing rulers may well have undertaken a deliberate effort to eliminate the Portuguese presence from Macau and to end, by a strategy of starvation, the foreign management of the territory approved by their predecessors,[87] though they ultimately did not pursue this goal to the point of actual realization. Amid such a crisis, the city's authorities arranged a series of daily novenas to be prayed before the relic of Francis Xavier in the saint's dedicated chapel located within the Church of St. Paul. Masses took place during the mornings, with leading clerics serving as celebrants, and included the singing of the Lamentations of Jeremiah (whose effect was such that "some citizens could not hold back their tears so long as this song lasted"), as well as the Litany of the Saints, an antiphon and prayer to the "Santo Padroeiro" (Holy Patron; i.e., Francis Xavier), and the Proper of the Mass of Rogation.[88] Music for afternoon services consisted of a Litany of Our Lady (sung "very devoutly") and Psalm 50, *Miserere mei*, while the evenings featured three public sermons and culminated on the last day of this special period in a "devotissimo" procession of the relic of Francis Xavier through Macau's principal streets. In addition, the Church of St. Augustine and the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedies (Confraria do Senhor dos Remedios, associated with the Church of St. Lawrence) organized their own novenas and processions. Finally, a concluding Mass was held at the cathedral, in which the governor of the Bishopric of Macau, Miguel dos Anjos, assumed the role of celebrant and the city's most distinguished clerics recited the Litany of the Saints "with great tenderness and outpouring of tears."[89]

By century's end, with the Qing dynasty firmly established and China's rulers no longer in doubt, a different circumstance sparked an entirely contrasting set of religious observances. On 11 May 1692, news reached Macau of the Edict of Toleration, issued on 22 March by the Kangxi emperor, which legalized Christianity in China, granted protection to Christian churches inside the kingdom, and allowed Chinese subjects to worship in these churches. To celebrate this momentous development, the Church of St. Paul was ornately decorated for the exhibition of a consecrated Host. The formal occasion began with the arrival of the governor of the Bishopric, José da Silva, together with the city's clergy, and the singing of a Te Deum

to which all the clergy responded with a versicle. Then followed more vocal music, accompanied by the organ, of such devoutness (*devoção*) and piety (*piedade*) that those in attendance, including Macau's nobility and most of its people, shed "tears of consolation, and joy." Yet further singing in the form of a Missa Solené took place, during which the Host was presented to public view. The liturgical service inside the church concluded, its participants carried the Host in a procession to the cathedral, whose chorus sang a Laudate Psalm (probably Psalm 116, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*). The documentary record of these events mentions an additional three days of celebration, the last featuring a flotilla of eighteen ships with leading citizens as passengers that sailed to the front of the College of St. Paul (that is, the western bank of the peninsula of Macau in the vicinity of the college), where musicians accompanied by instruments sang a Laudate Psalm (again, probably Psalm 116) and "various other songs no less magnifying God's mercy [as revealed] in this singular work of his powerful hand, than praising the Society [of Jesus] for what He achieved through it" (*varios discantes não menos engrandecendo a Mizericordia de Deos nesta singular obra de sua poderoza mão, que louvando a Companhia pello que nella trabalhou*).[90]

Repertoire

The documentary records examined in the present chapter offer no information that allows us to identify specific musical pieces, an unsurprising circumstance given their authorship by nonmusicians. Nevertheless, on the basis of indirect evidence, we may infer some details of the liturgical repertoire of the College of St. Paul. This further reconstruction of a lost sound world, beyond that carried out thus far, may afford a still more distinctive characterization of Macau's dynamic aural environment during the early phases of the city's history.

The study of Gregorian chant, the most basic subject matter in the musical training offered as part of a Catholic education, may have taken place in Macau through the use of two textbooks that reached China, though not initially since these textbooks were not published until the early seventeenth century: *Arte de canto chão* (1618) by Pedro Thalesio (c. 1563–c. 1629) and *Arte de musica de canto dorgam, e canto cham* (1626) by António Fernandez (dates unknown).[91] Since at this time Macau functioned as the principal conduit for the entry of materials and persons into the Middle Kingdom from outside, Thalesio's and Fernandez's works could well have

first arrived in the Portuguese territory before traveling northwards. In *Arte de canto chão*, Thalesio provided a comprehensive overview of chant practice, oriented particularly toward the day-to-day requirements of liturgical musicians. Covering not only strictly musical topics such as modes and psalm recitation formulas but also the training of church music directors, the textbook sometimes supplies the complete musical items needed for specific worship services, as illustrated by the entirety of a Missa de Beata Maria Virgine per Annum, suitable to the major Marian feasts, that includes both the Ordinary and Proper segments.[92] By contrast, *Arte de musica de canto dorgam, e canto cham* is a work of a more theoretical nature whose material extends beyond chant to encompass vocal polyphony (*canto d*[']*orgam*), even including explanations of isorhythm.[93] Since there exists no concrete evidence that music of such metrical complexity in Macau was sung during the seventeenth century (and nowadays pre-sixteenth-century polyphonic compositions, for instance by Ockeghem and Josquin, are also not to be heard in the city's Catholic churches), the likelihood of a significant usage of Fernandez's textbook in the College of St. Paul seems smaller than is the case for Thalesio's.

The precedent of the apparent singing in Goa of polyphonic works by Guerrero, Palestrina, and Victoria perhaps hints at the existence of a similar practice in Macau some decades later, the more so because the music of Palestrina and Victoria in particular has remained an important feature of Macau's Catholic sonic world in contemporary times. However, a crucial political shift that surely affected the musical domain occurred during the period when the latter's College of St. Paul became a settled, smoothly running (if often overcrowded) institution, namely, the events beginning in the 1620s that intensified Portuguese-Spanish tensions and eventually resulted in the declaration of a restored Portuguese monarchy 1640. Rui Fernando Vieira Nery's study of the massive music catalog of Portugal's first king following the restoration, João IV (ruled 1640–56), demonstrated the prevalence at the Lisbon court not of the aforementioned composers but rather of representatives of a more recent Iberian tradition, especially the Spaniard Gabriel Díaz Bessón (c. 1580–1638) and the Portuguese Francisco de Santiago (c. 1578–1644).[94] Possibly the sea change in the conditions of governance helped to prompt a parallel development in music, though not one that reflected any kind of simplistic anti-Spanish attitude but that rather manifested the excitement of achieving a long-cherished goal through a renewal and updating of repertoire. In any event, Lisbon undoubtedly served as an

exemplar for cultural practice in the overseas colonies. At the same time, pragmatic factors in the transfer of materials overseas may have made emulation more an ideal than reality. For instance, Nery drew his conclusions about the royal catalog based upon a focus on the collection's manuscripts, which he argued transmitted a more distinctive set of significances than its prints, seemingly accumulated in a haphazard manner. Yet prints could travel long distances with much better chances of survival than manuscripts, as demonstrated by the example of Goa. It is perhaps telling that music by Bessón, Santiago, Géry de Ghersem (c. 1573/75–1630), Philippe Rogier (c. 1561–1596), and other composers well represented in the catalog do not enjoy a presence in Macau's modern liturgies.

On the other hand, the non-Latin repertories discussed by Nery, among which the villancico occupies a place of particular importance, may have left a lasting impact in the form of the continuing folkloric bent in recent Catholic music in Macau (as I discuss below in chapter 3). João IV's collection included fully 2,351 manuscripts of villancicos, originally a secular musico-poetic form associated with rustic or popular themes that became the preeminent genre of polyphonic sacred music set to vernacular texts during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Hispanic world.[95] In more recent times, a two-volume compilation of vocal compositions by "teachers, professors, and students" of the Seminary of St. Joseph,[96] titled *Exultate* and published in 1996, includes, out of a total of 224 items, 47 with texts in Portuguese, among them a "Missa em Português" (an incomplete Mass Ordinary setting consisting of the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei) by Áureo Castro and an arrangement of a villancico of the fifteenth to sixteenth century, "Ay, Santa Maria," again by Castro. Notably, Pope St. Pius X declared, in his motu proprio of 1903, "Tra le sollecitudini," that "the language proper to the Roman Church is Latin. Hence it is forbidden to sing anything whatever in the vernacular in solemn liturgical functions."[97] Yet such a strict regulation ultimately could not suppress a practice that had already existed for several centuries. Even long past its heyday in the seventeenth century, the villancico evidently still persisted as a significant cultural memory. Near the end of 1863 at the Seminary of St. Joseph, during an "Academia poética em honra ao Menino Jesus" (Poetic Academy in Honor of the Infant Jesus) that took place as part of end-of-term activities, students performed two musical works (the identities of whose composers have not come down to us): "Le lacrime del bambino Gesú" (The Tears of the Infant Jesus) and "Los Villancicos."[98] Hinted at primarily by subsequent history,

the musical expression of faith through the medium of non-Latin, "popular" sacred genres seems to have constituted a major strand within the diverse fabric of Macau's Catholic religiosity since its early phases.

Transitions

The Kangxi emperor's approbation of the Jesuit mission in China, which must have seemed to the members of the Society of Jesus to justify their long years of hardship and sacrifice in this "distant" land, contained the seeds of eventual failure three decades later: In 1721 the Chinese monarch banned the Jesuits' evangelizing activities, and then in 1724 his successor enacted a general prohibition of Christianity (although a few of the missionaries were allowed to remain in imperial service in the capital). The approval granted to the free practice of the faith in 1692 released an energy that contributed to bringing about the Chinese Rites Controversy, as increased interest at the Holy See toward the propagation of Catholicism in Asia prompted the papal authorities to enforce theological orthodoxy against the Jesuits' flexibility in allowing Chinese Christians to maintain indigenous rituals such as the worship of ancestors. Not unexpectedly, the hardline position in Rome motivated a comparably hardline response in Beijing. This episode in the history of intercultural "dialogue," which brought tolerance to the brink of the intolerable, to adapt Brockey's formulation, represents a significant break in the centuries-long narrative of attempted, fitful exchange across the Sino-Western divide.[99] As for the College of St. Paul, all activities of the Jesuits, who had retreated to Macau from China's mainland following the proscription of Christianity, ceased in 1762 when members of the Society of Jesus were expelled from the territory; this expulsion followed the suppression of the order in Portugal (including the kingdom's overseas possessions), initiated in 1759 under the direction of Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, the chief minister to King José I familiarly known as the Marquis de Pombal (1699–1782). The institution met its final demise in the disastrous fire of 1835. However, the Seminary of St. Joseph, a second institution established in 1728 specifically for the training of missionaries destined for China (whether or not they could actually reach there during the ban of the faith), survived such vicissitudes and continues its teaching program to the present day at the new premises of the University of Saint Joseph (founded in 1996).

The next two chapters move this study of Catholic sacred music in Macau into contemporary times, beginning in the mid-nineteenth cen-

tury when a declining Qing regime increasingly targeted by emboldened Western powers lifted the ban on Christianity in 1844 and hence enabled a native Catholic tradition to take root widely, with St. Lazarus Church as the spiritual heart of this indigenous community. In the following discussions, I particularly focus on the eight decades since the World War II, a period that encompasses both Portugal's Estado Novo (New State, 1933–74), which actively disseminated ideas of this nation's world-historical significance, and the People's Republic of China (established 1949), which has obsessively sought to correct the historical "injustice" of European exploitation in the nineteenth century and pursued the recovery of territories such as Macau and Hong Kong. One clearly perceives in these competing discourses the continuance of the triumphalist proclivities that marked the early phase of Sino-Western interactions in southern China and still persist there after the end of Portuguese rule of Macau in 1999. Caught, as it were, between the rival exceptionalisms are this former colony's Chinese Catholics, who negotiate a meaningful identity as devout adherents of a "foreign" religion by implicitly refusing an East-West polarization. And in such refusal, they buck their historical inheritance and its implication of the exotic status of their faith in Asia, allegedly adopted out of fascination with the alien, even as they have demonstrated a long-standing, passionate commitment to the distinctive ritual practices related in this chapter. These practices include elaborate processions displaying a consecrated Host on major feast days, with musical accompaniment provided by police bands consisting of players of wind and percussion instruments. The militaristic dimension of such events has not vanished in the present day, and I do not intend to gloss over the possible varnishing of histories of dominance by those who evade the cultural categorizations of past eras.[100] I would propose, however, that such evasion need not equate automatically with apologism; the following chapter takes up this theme in detail.

Before delving into the topic of Catholic sacred music in Macau during a recent, late and post-monarchical era (the reigns of the last Chinese imperial ruler, Emperor Puyi 溥儀, and the last Portuguese king, Manuel II, having come to an end nearly simultaneously, in 1912 and 1910, respectively), I offer a brief interlude that aims to draw the two halves of this book more closely together, yet without reducing a sense of a sharp counterpoint between them and thereby thrusting the diachronic nature of history into the background. Rather, I hope to cultivate the spirit of temporal interlinking expressed in the celebrated opening lines of T. S. Eliot's "Burnt Norton," the first poem of *Four Quartets* (since my investigation has relied significantly upon poetic

writings): "Time present and time past / Are both perhaps present in time future, / and time future contained in time past."[101] Similarly, I aim to demonstrate the mutually enriching yet still distinctive and independent character of documentary and ethnographic methods, as an essential research principle for a globally oriented investigation.

In expanding its coverage to the twentieth- and early twenty-first century, this book does not aim at an encyclopedic accounting of works and composers, information concerning which is available in earlier published literature of a principally descriptive (and arguably positivist) character.[102] Rather, its purpose is to provide, through illustrative case studies of two choral directors and two composers, an interpretative framework that can persuasively illuminate the multiplicity of Catholic musical styles and practices in late colonial and postcolonial Macau, without constraint by reductive, objectifying terms of continental, national, and ethnic identification. This framework emphasizes, above all, the profound fluidity and mobility of human experiences and significances, especially at a microsocial level, and cautions against generalizing abstractions that, though useful in buttressing worldviews invested in dominion, impoverish knowledge and understanding of culture.

INTERLUDE

Nadir and Re-Emergence

Catholic Sacred Music in Macau During the Proscription of the Faith

The interval of approximately one hundred years between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century arguably count as a nadir in the history of Catholic sacred music in Macau. Following the banning of Christianity in China in 1724, the Jesuit missionaries who had carried out evangelizing activities in the Middle Kingdom maintained a presence in Macau until 1762, when even this "marginal" territory became off-limits to them. The Society of Jesus's lowest point, in East Asia as elsewhere, was reached during the period of its official suppression, from 1773 to 1814. The examples in chapter 1 above of Chinese listening to Western sounds in fact include none definitely datable to these four decades, suggesting that their audibility had approached silence. However, Cai Xianyuan penned his unflattering description of a liturgical service in the Church of St. Paul well before the lifting of the imperial prohibition in 1844; since he identified the celebrant of this service as a "Western monk," he must have observed a gathering overseen by a different Catholic order, such as the Dominicans or the Lazarists. In any case, even during the most severe years of the proscription, the conditions for an eventual re-emergence seem to have persisted, one that would manifest a new paradigm of Western dominance, resulting in an acculturation of European religious and musical values, though I shall argue later that the alternative concept of transculturation offers the preferable explanatory resource. The following "interlude" covers a number of loosely related topics that together indicate how Catholicism and Catholic music in Macau during this period stand as another instance, among so many, of cultural survival in the face of attempted erasure.

The preceding chapter discussed the College of St. Paul as the foundational Jesuit institution in southern China. But by the early eighteenth century, plans had come about for the establishment for a second center in Macau of missionary training and religious teaching, the Seminary of St. Joseph. With the expansion of Jesuit evangelization in East Asia, this second institution aimed at preparing members of the Society to enter the specific mission field of China, with Japan remaining the purview of the College of St. Paul. Its existence began in 1728, though it did not occupy its current site, in another hilltop area to the south of the College of St. Paul (though of somewhat lower elevation than the earlier location), until 1758. Only four years later, with the expulsion of the Jesuits, both the college and the seminary ceased operations, though the latter, unlike the former, did not close its doors permanently since it was able to reopen in 1784 under the management of the Lazarists. Still, repeated vicissitudes marked the seminary's subsequent history, above all a cycle of closings and reopenings amid shifting political conditions, such as the Liberal Wars of 1828–34, a Portuguese succession conflict following the death of King João VI in 1826, and the December Third Incident of 1966 (discussed in the following chapter). In addition, the restored Society of Jesus periodically resumed oversight of the institution, for instance in 1882, only to suffer removal again in the wake of a sharp turn of events, for example, the fall of the Portuguese monarchy in 1910.[1]

Despite these challenges, the seminary furnished an environment where Catholic sacred music could maintain a continued if tenuous life in the region of southern China. The eminent Sinologist Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves (1780–1844) resided within its quarters from 1813 until his death more than three decades later, unable during these many years to enter China, where he aimed to carry out linguistic and missionary work. Famed for his *Art China* (1829) (a study of Chinese grammar), *Dicionário China-Português* (1831), and *Dicionário Português-China* (1833), he also taught music classes at the seminary,[2] numbering among his students José Martinho Marques (1810–1867), the author of an 1853 textbook, *Princípios elementares da música ao alcance de todos* (Elementary Principles of Music for General Use). As suggested by its title, Marques's work is modest in scope and dimension, totaling fifty-six pages in all. Though claimed by Veiga Jardim to have "probably circulated widely among local music students and amateurs during the second half of the nineteenth century,"[3] the Portuguese text of the *Princípios elementares* would have excluded the readership of most of Macau's Chinese population, precisely at a time of its marked growth, following the end of the long-standing segregationist policy of the Chinese imperial authorities.

Another slender textbook (forty-five pages) that appeared in print some sixty years later, *Xiyue jiejing* 西樂捷徑 (A Short Guide to Western Music, 1912) by Father Jacob Lau 劉雅覺 (1870–1951), undoubtedly played a more significant role in facilitating the cross-cultural transmission of musical knowledge.[4] A native of Guangdong who was ordained in 1894 and began teaching music at the Seminary of St. Joseph (where he probably had also studied) around the turn of the century, Father Lau presented his brief overview of Western tonal music theory in Chinese, thereby bridging different conceptual worlds to some degree. *Xiyue jiejing* opens with an explanation of *shengyin*, nowadays the common signifier for sound in the Chinese language.[5] Like the *Kangxi Dictionary*, it defines *sheng* as the vibration of air, and then goes on to clarify the meaning of *yin* as the differentiation of *sheng* into higher and lower pitches. *Shengyin* thus might be understood as "pitched sounds," and its reception by listeners is *yue* 樂, or "music," according to Lau. Finally, *yun* denotes a whole tone, divisible into two *banyun* 半韻, "half tones" or semitones.[6] *Xiyue jiejing* demonstrates that the terms used in earlier times to express Chinese notions of sound, discussed in chapter 1, had undergone semantic reformulation or expansion some time before the early twentieth century, clearly under the pressure of a newly familiar musical idiom of Western tonality that necessitated a vocabulary enabling Chinese speakers to discuss it.

The initial milestones in the process of familiarization include the arrival in Macau in 1862 of the Jesuit Father Francesco Saverio Rondina (1827–1897), who took up the position of director of the Seminary of St. Joseph (and who is notable for both his condemnation of the coolie slave trade as well as his later alignment with anti-Semitic tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church), followed around one year later (at Rondina's invitation) by that of the Roman conductor and composer Luigi Antinori (1816–1873), who helped to establish and train a choir and orchestra at the seminary, named the Capela de Santa Cecilia.[7] These significant developments eventually confronted another occurrence of political turmoil, fueled by a zealous nationalism that would extend far into the twentieth century. Amid the emergence of Portuguese colonial ascendancy in Macau, an 1871 royal decree imposed the requirement that all of the seminary's instructors be Portuguese subjects, resulting in another Jesuit departure from the city. Again, the absence proved temporary, as members of the Society of the Jesus returned in 1890, asked by Bishop António Joaquim de Medeiros to resume teaching at the Seminary of St. Joseph. The freedom to hire non-Portuguese clergy (not necessarily Jesuit) as seminary faculty continued into the twentieth cen-

tury, as illustrated by the appointment in 1923 of the Italian Ferdinando Maberini (1886–1956) and in 1939 of the Austrian Guilherme (Wilhelm) Schmid (1910–2000), both recruited to offer instruction in music. Yet such freedom existed in an uneasy tension with nationalistic fervor. The emphasis of vocal polyphonic music that followed in the wake of St. Pope Pius X's 1903 motu proprio, "Tra le sollecitudini," a text calling for greater propriety and "authenticity" of church music style, brought about the frequent singing in Macau of music by Renaissance composers and also by more recent composers who wrote in a predominantly choral idiom. In November 1924, the Capela de Santa Cecilia presented a concert in honor of a visit by the Archbishop of Goa, Mateus de Oliveira Xavier (1858–1929), featuring a program of works by Victoria, Lodovico Viadana, Palestrina, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Andrea Gabrieli, and Maberini. Twelve months later, during a speech for the ceremony marking the end of the academic year, the seminary's rector, Francisco Bonito Bragança, expressed his dissatisfaction with this prevalence of non-Portuguese European polyphonists and called for greater attention toward the "Évora School, representing Portuguese religious polyphony of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[8] This sentiment portended another approaching sea change in Portugal's political situation, namely, the overthrow of the First Republic in 1926 and the founding of a nationalist-fascist regime that would rule the country until the 1970s, initially a military dictatorship, the Ditadura Nacional, and then the Estado Novo, following the writing of a new constitution in 1933. The impact of this particular ideological environment upon the practice of Catholic sacred music in Macau forms a major theme of the following chapter.

THREE

Postcolonial "East" and "West"

Sacred Music and the Chinese Catholic Community in Contemporary Macau

This book has examined two competing exceptionalist visions in relation to the Catholic sacred music practice of Macau: China's civilizational superiority vis-à-vis its "vassal" states, on the one hand, and Portugal's economic and religious conquest of "discovered" lands, on the other. The present chapter turns to recent times and draws upon the specific examples of two choral directors in order to illuminate the persistent legacy of the Sino-Western divide as well as the significant acts of deflection undercutting essentializing notions of "East," "West," and their "mixture." In the following discussion, I consider the ways the historical context of the European presence in Macau has functioned not only as a constraint but also as a resource in the construction of a meaningful worldview by the territory's Chinese Catholics, whose adherence to a religion perceived as alien by other Chinese engendered special difficulties in their broader social positioning. However, to understand such a community principally through the lens of its subjection to macropolitical forces would be to overlook the dialectical implications of subjecthood that encompasses both agency and reception. To a significant degree, the agency of these Catholics involves their absorption in the traditional liturgical rites of the Roman Church, whose language and musics, namely, Latin, Gregorian chant, and Renaissance-style vocal polyphony, operate as a kind of native idiom transgressive of long-standing binaristic discourses.

Macau's historical legacy as a site of political and ethnic differentiations persists in contemporary times, as illustrated by notions in governmental, scholarly, and popular domains of a grand encounter between the macroscopic cultural entities of East and West[1] and concretely symbolized by

Figure 9. Portas do Cerco, Macau

the enduring presence of the Portas do Cerco (Gates of Siege), the barrier constructed in 1574 by the Chinese imperial regime to restrict interactions of Portuguese and Chinese individuals and which was continually rebuilt thereafter (see figure 9). Within the realm of the Catholic faith, Father João Evangelista Him-Sang Lau 劉炎新 (1947–), current head priest of Macau's St. Lazarus Church, has written of a conflict of personhood affecting the city's Chinese Catholics, who simultaneously embody Portuguese and native identities not susceptible to entering into harmony with one another.[2] Yet such harmony has formed the goal of twentieth- and twenty-first-century multicultural ideologies advanced variously by Portuguese and Chinese political regimes, which in their utopian notions of boundaries erected then erased have deflected attention from the symbolic or actual violence of the policies implemented to effect such erasure.

Macau's native-born musicians have largely eschewed overt stylistic hybridity, evading the essentialization of difference that enables so-called mixture in the first place. My principal case study in support of this thesis will be Francisco de Sales Lao, the younger brother of Father Lau and director of the choir of St. Lazarus Church, the Coro Jubilorum (*Huanhu geyong-*

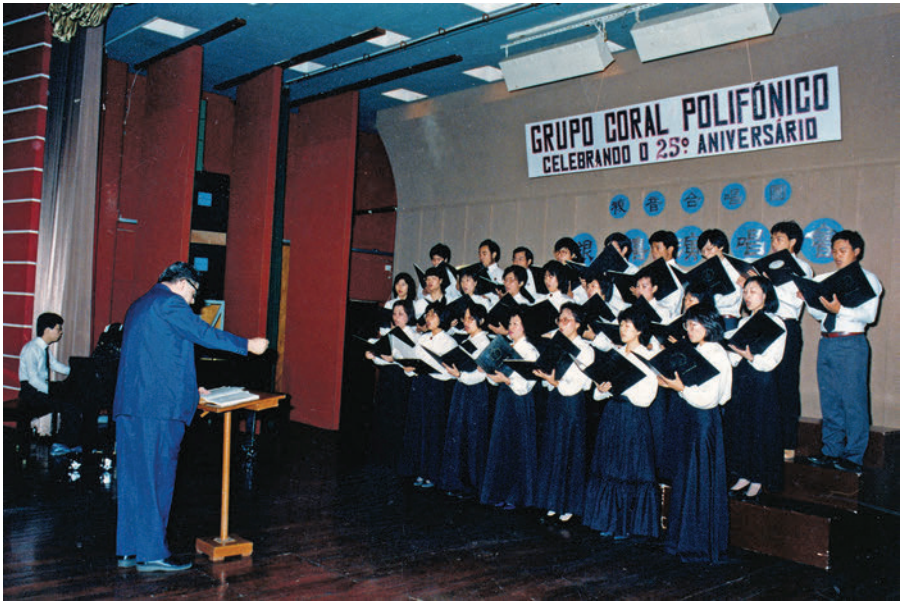


Figure 10. Father Áureo Castro and the Grupo Coral Polifónico on the occasion of the ensemble's twenty-fifth anniversary concert, 9 June 1985. Francisco de Sales Lao stands in the back row, first from left.

tuan 歡呼歌詠團).[3] As a young man Mr. Lao sang in the Grupo Coral Polifónico (see figure 10), a vocal ensemble founded by the Portuguese priest and composer Father Áureo Castro, who lived in Macau for most of his life, sometimes incorporated "Chinese" elements into his works, and, I shall argue, exemplified a colonialist patriarchalism deriving from the nationalist-globalist ideologies of the Estado Novo, Portugal's governing regime from 1933 to 1974. Despite this background, Lao's own musical passions do not involve bringing together "East" and "West," a binary pair that does not possess compelling meaning for him, but instead reflect a keen and exclusive dedication to traditions conventionally designated by the latter term. Such a *refusal* of dualism presents a crucial opportunity for the free development of subjective selfhood in the face of objectifying classifications inherited from a colonial history. Since no community necessarily speaks (metaphorically) a predetermined music, selected according to criteria such as nationality and ethnicity, as its mother tongue, I aim to undercut the fallacy of reifying any music as inherently European or Asian, thereby bringing about a decoupling of language and identity.

Local responses to ingrained practices of essentialization negotiate a difficult balance between continued reference to and strategic circumvention of the identity categories that had arisen as a result of colonial policy, especially as concerns the designation of certain cultural groups as others. Simply assuming that a once potent asymmetry of self and other no longer exists in a newly postcolonial society ignores the persistent ideological strength of a binaristic discourse whose vocabulary and symbols do not immediately cease to transmit their former meanings. However, critique of the discourse with the intent of defanging it may produce the opposite outcome, in that discussion that renews a particular topic as the intensive focus of attention tends to result in a recentering, rather than a decentering. This problem is one that can bedevil a decolonizing project. The value of the critical-interpretative techniques developed by postcolonial theorists in foregrounding the troubling power dynamics underlying the processes of differentiating cultures, which might otherwise be taken as straightforward telling of fact, seems to me unquestionable. The restrictive force of categorization, coercively representing others as "not-self," tangibly confines the autonomy of these others. At the same time, one must not exaggerate these pressures and constraints, in order to avoid inadvertently augmenting them while suppressing the reality of agency and choice. Postcolonial theory's discursive practices include the danger of reinscribing the articulation of difference and are thus double-edged weapons. The present chapter therefore aims to carry out a delicate dialectic that assumes neither history's convenient erasability nor its overdetermination of the future.

For Macau's Chinese Catholics, history consists not only of the political legitimation of their faith, including the liturgies, texts, musics, and architectures that manifest this particular religious culture, but also of socioeconomic benefits available to none of the city's other Chinese residents. For example, a native ordained as a Catholic priest enjoyed the status of a civil servant in the employ of the colonial government. No other form of upward mobility existed for Chinese persons in Macau, who were bound within a rigid system of racist class differentiation.[4] Now that this system has entered an apparently irrevocable historical past, its memory might serve as motivation to greater social equity, or else perpetuate the entrenchment of "self-evident" racial categories. It is from the perspective of the latter concern that I would like to argue for the validity of the refusal of difference that characterizes the outlook of numerous Chinese Catholics in today's Macau, who acknowledge the problematic intercultural relations of earlier eras without feeling that they need shape a critical attitude toward the Portuguese legacy.

Though this could seem like another instance of apologism, it need not automatically constitute an irresponsible evasion of an unjust history.

The notion of refusal of difference is found in earlier musicological literature, as in Geoffrey Baker's *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*, which proposes that Andean musicians at times fully embraced Spanish musical practices as a way to undercut a colonial ideology of exoticism and "to step beyond a narrow Spanish definition of indigenous culture that threatened containment within a folklorized past."[5] In other words, these musicians did not accept conceptions of "theirs" and "ours" as a natural and inevitable division articulating a relation of superiority. In the same way, a "Western" tradition such as Catholic Latin sacred music does not necessarily count as foreign in the context of Macau. A critical-philosophical strain of thought extending back to the late nineteenth century, whose key representatives include Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault, has exposed the fallacy of the idea of pure origins, the search for which perpetually ends in failure because human conceptions such as "the West" are never discoveries of a priori truths but rather a posteriori constructions or "performances."[6] Related to this problematizing of origins, the theory of colonial mimicry formulated by Homi Bhabha concerns the assignment to colonized persons of a status of "almost the same, but not quite" so that Macau's Chinese Catholics are almost the same as Europeans, but not quite, as a result of their belated participation in the traditions of the so-called West. But to deny full belonging to their involvement in emblematic forms of Catholic culture such as the Latin language and Gregorian chant because of this belatedness or nonpresence at the mythic point of origination, both diminishes their religious faith and renews the essentialist assumptions of colonial ideology.

The following discussion of the Chinese Catholic community of postcolonial Macau takes as its starting point the agency of this community's members in producing a self-identity that does not conform neatly to the generalizing cultural and ethnic categories imparted to them by their city's past. It specifically locates these acts of production (or "performances") in the textual-musical domains associated with the traditional liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church that had predominated before the 1960s, that is, before the Second Vatican Council enacted its momentous reforms. In fostering an intense affinity with this liturgy, to the extent of rendering its expressive media their native cultural tongue, these Catholic adherents draw upon music's power as a "technology of self," a notion developed by Tia Denora. According to Denora, "Focus on intimate musical practice, on the private or one-to-one forms of human-music interaction, offers an ideal van-

tage point for viewing music 'in action', for observing music as it comes to be implicated in the construction of the self as an aesthetic agent."[7] Viewing Catholic sacred music in action in Macau's postcolonial milieu, I hope to demonstrate how an idiom brought from abroad centuries earlier now functions as a potent strategy in the agential formation of a selfhood that transgresses the dehumanizing politics of categorization.[8]

The Estado Novo as Music Patron: Father Áureo Castro

The initial three centuries of the Chinese-Portuguese encounter, which furnished the principal material for the first two chapters of this book, in some ways assumed the character of a non-encounter, with the imperial authorities in Beijing maintaining a relatively detached stance toward foreign management of a small outpost that nevertheless brought substantive economic benefits. Although suspicious of their European "collaborators," they adopted a mostly tolerant attitude toward them, especially as long as the latter's activities within the mainland remained of limited impact. The Jesuit missionaries, for their part, succeeded in converting a significant number of Chinese natives yet did not establish Christianity as a widespread religion in the Middle Kingdom.[9] Compelled to withdraw to Macau following the Yongzheng emperor's prohibition of their faith in 1724, they departed the Portuguese territory altogether in 1762 as part of the ongoing global suppression of the Society of Jesus, not returning until the early nineteenth century.

The nature of Chinese-Portuguese relations changed dramatically in the middle of this century as Western encroachment of China intensified and achieved its first notable gain with the establishment of Hong Kong as a British colony in 1842. Macau began its own transformation into a territory under full Portuguese control especially in the aftermath of the assassination of Governor João Maria Ferreira do Amaral in 1849 and its subsequent military response. These kinds of defeats and humiliations, suffered by the ruling Qing dynasty throughout the remainder of the century and eventually contributing to its fall in 1912, fueled a postimperial nationalistic zeal, whose aims included the recovery of lost "possessions" such as the two colonies located at the mouth of the Pearl River. Within Macau itself, a different nationalistic tendency held sway especially during the middle decades of the twentieth century under the impact of the Portuguese fascist regime known as the Estado Novo and led for most of its duration by António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), who served as prime minister between 1932 and 1968. The overthrow of the Estado Novo in 1974, together with the earlier

December Third Incident of 1966–67 in which a large number of Macau's residents aggressively protested a crackdown on the unrest stemming from a construction project begun without official approval, marked the onset of the colonial government's decline. Nowadays, two decades after the end of Portuguese rule, the historical legacy of rival sovereign claims over Macau furnishes an essential context for understanding the continuing practice of a tradition such as Catholic sacred music, which tenuously maintains some of its earlier prestige but more generally signifies the deepened liminal identity of a formerly advantaged community.[10]

The transitional period between the December Third Incident and Macau's handover in 1999 unfolded in a curious environment in which Portugal and China advanced overlapping and mutually resonant discourses of multicultural harmony. The ideology of Lusotropicalism, formulated by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto de Mello Freyre (1900–1987) and appropriated by the Estado Novo, supplied a benevolent interpretation of Portugal's global imperialist activities, casting them as a "better" colonialism that peacefully fostered the beneficial mixing of races and therefore did not even count as true colonialism, whose practice belonged to the purportedly more violent nations of northern Europe. As applied to Macau, such an interpretation happened to find favor in China because of its coincidence with claims that Portugal had never succeeded in colonizing Macau but had only been welcomed to manage the territory as a "special administrative region."[11] Thus the lengthy foreign occupation of Macau served to buttress related narratives of an amicable bringing together of "East" and "West," on the one hand, and a fruitful implementation of two coexisting "systems" within an overarching and unified Chinese framework, on the other. Reflecting their gilding of the past, these idealized visions of peaceable diversity conveniently excluded the numerous coercive practices employed to realize the ostensible harmony. In such a context, gestures of multiculturalism function covertly as enforcements of dominance, and hence the refusal to adopt them may well serve to undercut and diffuse power. With regard to musical practice in Macau, it is telling that conspicuous syncretism occurs almost exclusively in works of European-born composers such as Father Castro. The possibility exists to understand hybridity as a colonial technique, whereby so-called fusions of cultures reflect the exoticizing bent of hegemonic groups or persons for whom the public embrace of difference forms a tactic in constructing an elite self-identity—exoticizing, because the fusions depend in the first place upon the creation of a cultural other ("they") that then becomes susceptible to combination with the self ("we").[12]

The combined nationalist-imperialist orientation of the Estado Novo

found a musicological voice in the work of Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro (1898–1966), who served as a faculty member at the National Conservatory of Music in Lisbon and counted Father Castro among his pupils.[13] Through his endeavors as collector and editor of Portuguese liturgical and folk musics and as director of a choir, Polyphonia, whose concerts and recordings served to publicize these efforts, Sampayo Ribeiro attempted to promote greater awareness among his fellow citizens of what he regarded as a musical culture of preeminent value. His particular interest in old vocal repertories associated with Portugal's cathedrals, whose archives he scoured with the intent of uncovering a lost patrimony, reveals an important political dimension of the music-historicist movement known as Cecilianism that valorized the putatively authentic church music styles of Gregorian plainchant and Renaissance vocal polyphony. The published outcome of Sampayo Ribeiro's work, a series titled *Cadernos de repertório coral polyphonia* [Notebooks of Choral Polyphonic Repertoire], featured an epigraph, "Pro Deo, Pro Arte et Pro Patria" [For God, For Art and For Country], which makes explicit the specific ideological bent of his scholarship. In fact, the volumes of the *Cadernos* include not only sacred vocal music but also a substantial quantity of folk and popular music. This pairing of disparate yet complementary traditions functioned as mutual reinforcement of a Lusocentric worldview, joining together spiritualist and populist conceptions of a unified community. Regarding the nationalistic interest in folkloric culture, Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco has argued for its link to global imperialist ambitions, noting that during the Estado Novo, events such as "a cycle of commemorative expositions inaugurated in 1880 with the tercentennial of the death of the sixteenth-century Portuguese poet Luís de Camões (1524–80) . . . exhibited stylized representations of the rural world as well as indigenous people and artifacts from the former Portuguese colonies, in an attempt to configure a continental national identity grounded in rural patrimony, and an overseas one encompassing the ethnic diversity of the Portuguese Empire."[14]

Father Castro, born in 1917 in the Azores, had arrived in Macau at the age of fourteen and been ordained as a cleric by the time he undertook a lengthy sojourn in his native land, where he pursued advanced musical studies at the conservatory in Lisbon between 1951 and 1958 and counted Sampayo Ribeiro among his teachers. Following his return to Macau, he established both a school, the Academia de Música São Pio X (St. Pius X Academy of Music), and a vocal ensemble, the Grupo Coral Polifónico. The latter deliberately emulated Sampayo Ribeiro's own Polyphonia in the programming of its concerts, typically dividing a performance into two halves

consisting, respectively, of sacred and folk musics. In his own compositions and arrangements, Father Castro likewise evinced these paired interests: His works include recreations of sixteenth-century vocal polyphonic style as well as folk-like pieces that adapt elements of the vernacular musical traditions of Portugal and China. In the next chapter I offer analyses of a number of these compositions, proposing that they reveal a globalizing embrace that sought to challenge boundaries of time and space but ultimately positioned their composer as representative of the idealizing Lusotropicalist worldview that simultaneously delineated and elided cultural differences in the name of patriarchal harmony.

In offering such a contention, I do not intend to commit my own act of essentialization by reducing Father Castro to the identities of Portuguese, European, and colonizer, or by liberating (as it were) Francisco de Sales Lao from the constraints of reductiveness while denying human complexity to an ostensible Westerner who lived nearly three-quarters of his life in the "East." Indeed, the conclusion of this chapter suggests the validity of a favorable reception his syncretic compositions that diverges from my own readings of this music as Orientalist. Without refusing agential individuality to Father Castro, I would nevertheless argue for the significant influence of his patronage by the Estado Novo and training under Sampayo Ribeiro, some of whose cultural agendas he pursued immediately following his return to Macau in 1958. Because he seems to have offered few explicit statements of his views on cross-cultural relations, insights into this matter necessarily rely on the indirect evidence of his career and music.[15] These suggest a comfortable self-placement within the circumscribed world of Macau's Catholic domain, even after the December Third Incident and during the impending return of the territory to China, with few indications of active engagement with non-Catholic Chinese communities such as practitioners of Buddhism, whose ritual music he appropriated in some of his compositions, including an "Oração Budista" (Buddhist Oration), one of the three pieces of the piano suite *Cenas de Macau* (Scenes of Macau). Operating within the essentializing sociopolitical context of the waning years of Portuguese colonial rule, Father Castro enjoyed access to privileges available only to a "Catholic European man" and manifested no apparent psychical conflict with this situation.[16] The analyses in chapter 4 will particularly note the retention in his works of dominant paradigms of expression and thought, left undisrupted by the encounter with the unfamiliar and nonnormative.

As noted earlier, the members of the Grupo Coral Polifónico included, for a time, Francisco de Sales Lao, the current director of St. Lazarus

Church's Coro Jubilorum (figure 10). Mr. Lao's personal background as a devout Catholic of Chinese ethnicity, whose exposure to the musical traditions of his faith occurred in part through personal acquaintance with Father Castro, marks him as a significant case study in the local response to Macau's historical legacy of Portuguese-Chinese division. In the next section of this chapter, I argue that, against Castro's syncretic approach, the indigenous musical voices of Macau's Chinese Catholics are audible not at a phenomenal level of overt stylistic mixing but at a noumenal one of symbolic meaning, whereby European sacred musical traditions signify a native identity. Eluding discourses of multicultural exchange founded upon reified ethnic origins, these Catholics do not manifest their religious commitment in a way that conforms to colonial mimicry, or the state of being almost the same, but not quite. Recognition of a devotional ethos unmarked by the otherness of an exoticized Westernness that allegedly is foreign to them and somehow not theirs therefore represents the crucial starting point for a sympathetic exploration of this community.

"Indigenous" Catholicism in Macau: Francisco de Sales Lao, João Ng

A sizable community of local Catholic believers did not come into being in Macau until the second half of the nineteenth century, when increasing Western encroachment upon the Middle Kingdom contributed to disrupting the latter's previously rigid separation of Portuguese and Chinese peoples in Macau. The concessions granted by the Qing regime in the aftermath of its defeat in the First Opium War included the lifting two years later of a prohibition against the baptism of Chinese individuals as Catholics, in force since 1717. From fifty in 1844, the number of native adherents in Macau increased to over one thousand by 1864, in part as a consequence of refugees fleeing the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64), and continued growth over the following six decades ultimately led to the establishment of the St. Lazarus parish in 1923 as an administrative and cultural locus of Chinese Catholic worship.[17]

This localization of the faith did not occur without significant difficulties. In an essay of 2016, Father João Evangelista Lau noted the fundamental tension in the identity of a Chinese Catholic in Macau that arose from the requirement of Portugueseness as a legitimation of one's membership in the Church.[18] Acquisition of a Portuguese given name (and sometimes also a surname) and mastery of the Portuguese language accomplished the

necessary remaking of self, yet also resulted in ostracism by the larger Chinese populace.[19] Though conversion to what was effectively the state religion offered substantive economic advantages, the negative perception by other Chinese locals of the baptized Chinese as foreign intensified the liminal, precarious condition of this indigenous Catholic community, whose fragile positioning between more firmly established identities made it particularly susceptible to the changing tides of political fortune.

The fieldwork that I carried out for the purposes of the present discussion occurred primarily at St. Lazarus Church, where Father Lau has served as priest for over twenty years. Through observation of the Coro Jubilorum's rehearsals for and participation in Mass services and interviews with Francisco de Sales Lao and other Chinese Catholics, including members of other churches as well as teachers and former students of the Academia de Música, I have sought to understand the religious and musical agency of my interlocutors within a postcolonial context variously depicted according to the sweeping ideological constructs of East-West rivalry and East-West harmony. With the waning of Portuguese dominance in Macau beginning in the 1970s, the indigenous Catholic community gradually lost the social capital that had existed through its association with the colonial administration. Two nearly contemporaneous developments further added to the sense of upheaval felt by these local believers. The Second Vatican Council of 1962–65 set ecumenical church policy at the forefront globally through momentous decisions such as the discontinuation of Latin's obligatory place in the Catholic liturgy, though this language held a place of deep value in Macau; at the same time, the Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1966–76, whose impact extended to Macau in the form of the December Third Incident, advanced a radical program that included an uncompromising opposition to all things linked culturally to the West.[20] The collective impact of such events would necessitate a reconceiving of the purposes and significances of participation in the Catholic way of life by native members of the faith.

A 2017 monograph by the sociologist Hon-Fai Chen, titled *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau: Changing Meanings of Religiosity, Morality and Civility*, argues that a strengthening of religious conviction among Chinese Catholics in Macau occurred following the 1999 handover of the territory and the concomitant decline of church authority. Noting the special power of Catholic ritual to foster a "thoroughly religious environment" in modern times, in part through the continued, voluntary use of Latin, the author emphasizes the reality of native converts initially motivated by pragmatic concerns who nevertheless formed an entrenched inner sincerity of faith over time:

"The so-called 'flavor Catholics' [were] those Chinese believers who joined the Church to receive its relief, services and other non-spiritual goods. We have seen that Mrs. Chan was baptized because of her marriage to a 'Macanese.' But her experience also serves to remind us that what started as a liturgical way of life and means of sponsored mobility under colonialism could eventually evolve into a Christocentric piety that should not be dismissed lightly."[21] My own research has similarly discerned a significant autonomy of individual engagement with Catholic spirituality, in this instance through energetic involvement in Catholic musical genres of a highly traditional cast yet also reflecting a certain degree of localization.

For the celebration of Mass at St. Lazarus Church, Francisco de Sales Lao prepared a musical compilation, *Songs of Hope and Rejoicing* (*Wangde huanhu geji* 望德歡呼歌集), whose title echoes the Chinese names of both the church and the Coro Jubilorum.[22] This privately printed volume organizes its material into sections for the Mass Ordinary; the Temporale, or Proper of Time; and something akin to the Sanctorale, or Proper of Saints. The musical selections consist variously of Gregorian plainchant (in notation photocopied from the *Liber Usualis*, the widely used compilation prepared by the monks of Solesmes Abbey, France and first published in 1898); polyphonic settings of the sixteenth to eighteenth century by composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; Cecilianist works of the turn of the twentieth century by representative figures of this nineteenth-century movement toward establishing purportedly authentic styles of church music; and settings of Latin liturgical texts by European musician-priests such as Father Guilherme Schmid (1910–2000) and Father Castro, who worked for extended periods in Macau, and also of these texts in Cantonese translation by local, ethnically Chinese composers. Table 3 lists the full contents of *Songs*.

On 22 June 2019, I conducted an interview with both Francisco de Sales Lao and his wife, Viola Wai Heng Ho 何惠馨, who is a member of the Coro Jubilorum. I asked a series of questions concerning the place of Chinese Catholics in Macau's postcolonial society and the diverse musical styles and languages featured in the liturgy of St. Lazarus Church, posing my queries in Mandarin. Francisco de Sales Lao spoke mostly in Cantonese while Viola Ho served as a translator of his words into Mandarin. However, she sometimes amplified upon and added to her husband's remarks in a way that made her an interlocutor of virtually equal importance; thus, some of the transcribed passages cited below include both of their responses.[23] In the following discussion I shall focus especially upon the viewpoints that the two

of them shared with me, but to provide a fuller ethnographic account of the issues raised in this study, I refer occasionally to those of other interlocutors whom I also interviewed.

As a preface to my discussion of Francisco de Sales Lao's and Viola Ho's interview responses, I reproduce the following brief written account, shared with me at a later time by Mr. Lao, of the development of his musical interests:

> I was born into a Catholic family and was delivered at birth by a nun who was originally from Canada. During my childhood and adolescence, I assisted priests in arranging services, Masses, weddings, and funerals, and also participated in other church activities. In the 1980s, the time when I sang as a member of the Grupo Coral Polifónico, I started to gain some knowledge of Latin-texted vocal repertoire. The Catholic Church was undertaking a liturgical reform during this period of my youth, because most believers did not understand Latin, and as a result the practice of liturgy shifted to the use of local languages. Since I too was affected by the change, I read some books related to this topic, such as *Church Music: Collected Lectures and Writings* (*Zongjiao yinyue: Jiangzuo yu wenji* 宗教音樂：講座與文集) by Li Zhenbang 李振邦 and *Collected Writings on Sacred Music* (*Shengyue wenji* 聖樂文集) edited by Cai Shiya 蔡詩亞. What most touched my heart was a passage in Li's book citing the prodigy Mozart, who, when he heard the celebrant at a Requiem Mass sing the Praefatio, exclaimed in amazement that he would abandon his life of composing musical masterpieces in order to be able to create such pious, sincere, and simple Gregorian pieces. As a result, I became even more active in exploring Latin-texted melodies used in liturgical rituals. During this period, I also sang in the parish choir, as well as served as conductor of the choir of Our Lady of Fátima Church, the St. Cecilia Choir of St. Lazarus Church, and the Coro Jubilorum that I still direct. While training these singers, I also conducted research on vocal music, especially focusing on exploring a liturgically suitable vocal timbre, and on a "method of environmental-resonant singing" (*huanjing gongming gechangfa* 環境共鳴歌唱法). I consulted *Method of Natural Singing* (*Ziran de gechangfa* 自然的歌唱法) by Sun Qingji 孫清吉 and *Qigong and Vocal Breathing* (*Qigong*[24] *yu shengyue huxi* 氣功與聲樂呼吸) by Song Maosheng 宋茂生.
>
> Moving ahead to 2000, the Diocese of Macau attempted to rein-

Table 3. *Songs of Hope and Rejoicing*: Table of Contents

Title	Composer/Source
Kyriale:	
垂憐曲 [*Chuilian qu*; Kyrie]、歡呼頌 [*Huanhu song*; Sanctus]、羔羊頌 [*Gaoyang song*; Agnus Dei]	Tadeu Si Yan Tang [鄧思恩]
垂憐曲 [*Chuilian qu*; Kyrie]、光榮頌 [*Guangrong* song; Gloria]、歡呼頌 [*Huanhu song*; Sanctus]、羔羊頌 [*Gaoyang song*; Agnus Dei]	Lucas Leung [梁加恩]
垂憐曲 [*Chuilian qu*; Kyrie]、歡呼頌 [*Huanhu song*; Sanctus]、羔羊頌 [*Gaoyang song*; Agnus Dei]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau [劉志明]
Missa de Angelis	Gregorian plainchant
Missa de Orbis Factor	Gregorian plainchant
Missa de Deus Genitor Alme	Gregorian plainchant
Missa pro Defunctis	Gregorian plainchant
Adventus:	
主耶穌來吧 [*Zhu Yesu lai ba*; Come, Lord Jesus]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
幽谷, 深淵何足懼 [*Yougu, shenyuan he zu ju*; The Valley, the Abyss, They are Not to Be Feared]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
哦, 對唱詠 [*O, duichangyong*; O, Antiphon]	Lucien Deiss
至聖至仁天主 [*Zhisheng zhiren Tianzhu*; Lord Most Holy, Most Merciful]	Anonymous
Creator Alme Siderum	Gregorian plainchant
Veni, Veni Emmanuel	Gregorian plainchant
Nativitas—Epiphania:	
天主子 [*Tianzhuzi*; Son of God]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau, arranger
天使作樂 [*Tianshi zuoyue*; Angels We Have Heard on High]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
Adeste Fideles (A)	Traditional
Adeste Fideles (B)	Áureo Castro, arranger
O Come, All Ye Faithful	Tadeu Si Yan Tang, arranger
Dominus Dixit ad Me	Áureo Castro
Laetentur Caeli	Guilherme Schmid
Puer Natus (A)	Costante Adolfo Bossi
Puer Natus (B)	Áureo Castro
Verbum Caro	Áureo Castro
Quadragesima—Tempus Passionis—Hebdomada Sancta:	
Adoramus Te Christe	Théodore Dubois
Attende Domine (A)	Gregorian plainchant

Attende Domine (B)	Áureo Castro
Christus Factus Est	Noël Darros
Parce Domine	Áureo Castro

Pascha—Pentecostes:	
請眾高歌 [*Qing zhong gaoge*; Let All Sing]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
聖神，請來！ [*Sheng Shen, qing lai!*; Come, Holy Spirit!]	Tadeu Si Yan Tang
Alleluia O Filii	Gregorian plainchant
Surrexit Dominus	Áureo Castro
Ascendit Deus	Anonymous
Veni Creator Spiritus	Gregorian plainchant

Cor Sacrum:	
Cor Dulce Cor Amabile (A)	Anonymous
Cor Dulce Cor Amabile (B)	Anonymous

Dominus Deus:	
天主經 [*Tianzhu jing*; Our Father]	Lucas Leung
請你們稱謝上主 [*Qing nimen chengxie Shangzhu*; Praise the Lord, All Nations]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
Bonus Est Dominus	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina
Cantate Domino (A)	George Frideric Handel
Cantate Domino (B)	Valentino Miserachs
Da Pacem, Domine	Áureo Castro
Discite a Me	Áureo Castro
Exaudi Domine	Lorenzo Perosi
Laudate Dominum (A)	Lorenzo Perosi
Laudate Dominum (B)	Kaspar Ett
Misericordes Sicut Pater	Paul Inwood
O Lord, My God	Swedish folk melody
O Quam Suavis Est	Áureo Castro
Pater Noster	Gregorian plainchant
Suscipe Domine	Louis Lambillotte
Te Decet Hymnus	Áureo Castro
The Lord's My Shepherd	Jessie Seymour Irvine

Jesu Christe:	
耶穌我信你 [*Yesu wo xin Ni*; Jesus I Trust in Thee] (A)	Tadeu Si Yan Tang
耶穌我信你 (B)	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
跟隨基督 [*Gensui Jidu*; Follow [in the Footsteps of] Christ]	Tadeu Si Yan Tang
求主慈悲 [*Qiu Zhu cibei*; Lord Have Mercy]	Benny Ka-ming Chow [周家明]
Jesu Dulcis Memoria (A)	Gregorian plainchant
Jesu Dulcis Memoria (B)	Traditional

Jesu, Rex Admirabilis	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina
Jesu, Salvator Mundi	Martin-Joseph Menegali
Pie Jesu	Andrew Lloyd Webber
Eucharistia:	
Adoremus	Áureo Castro
Adoro Te Devote	Gregorian plainchant
Ave Verum (A)	Gregorian plainchant
Ave Verum (B)	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
Ecce Panis Angelorum	Lorenzo Perosi
Domine Non Sum Dignus	Guilherme Schmid
Domine Non Sum Dignus	Traditional
Lauda Sion Salvatorem (A)	Gregorian plainchant
Lauda Sion Salvatorem (B)	Federico Caudana
O Sacramentum	Peter Griesbacher
Panis Angelicus (A)	Guilherme Schmid
Panis Angelicus (B)	Michael Haller
Panis Angelicus (C)	César Franck
Panis Angelicus (D)	Áureo Castro
Panis Angelicus (E)	Louis Lambillotte
Pange Lingua	Gregorian plainchant
Beata Maria Virgo:	
聖母經 [*Shengmu Jing*; Ave Maria] (A)	Tadeu Si Yan Tang
聖母經 (B)	Doming Lam [林樂培]
奉獻中華於聖母歌 [*Fengxian Zhonghua yu Shengmu ge*; Dedication of China to the Virgin Mary]	Johann Sebastian Bach
花地瑪聖母歌 (*Huadima Shengmu ge*; Our Lady of Fátima)	Tadeu Si Yan Tang, arranger
人世光明 [*Renshi guangming*; Light of the World]	Anonymous
Alma Redemptoris Mater	Gregorian plainchant
Ave Maria (A)	Gregorian plainchant
Ave Maria (B)	Franz Schubert
Ave Maria (C)	Jacques Arcadelt
Ave Maris Stella (A)	Gregorian plainchant
Ave Maris Stella (B)	Guilherme Schmid
Ave Maris Stella (C)	Áureo Castro, arranger
Ave Regina Caelorum	Gregorian plainchant
Invocatio	Guilherme Schmid
Maria, Mater Gratiae	Guilherme Schmid
O Cor Mariae	Áureo Castro
O Sanctissima	Ludwig van Beethoven, arranger
O Virgo Pulcherrima	English melody
Regina Caeli	Gregorian plainchant
Salve Regina	Gregorian plainchant

Stabat Mater Dolorosa	Gregorian plainchant
Sub Tuum Praesidium	Louis Lambillotte
Totus Tuus Ego Sum	Anonymous
Varia:	
請接受我們的禮品 [*Qing jieshou women de lipin*; Accept Our Gifts]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
上主，萬有的天主 [*Shangzhu, wan you de Tianzhu*; Lord, God of All Creation]	Anthony Chi-Ming Lau
溫馨的讚禮 [*Wenxin de zanli*; Warm Praise]	João Su Sam Chao [巢樹森], arranger
匝加利亞讚主曲 [*Zajialiya zanzhu qu*; Song of Zechariah]	Tadeu Si Yan Tang, arranger
Et Incarnatus Est	Áureo Castro
Mysterium Ecclesiae	Lorenzo Perosi
Sancta Cecilia	Guilherme Schmid
Ut Queant Laxis	Gregorian plainchant

stitute the Latin Mass, and the Coro Jubilorum took responsibility for the singing component, thereby gaining a better understanding of the related Mass repertory. In 2017 I compiled the *Songs of Hope and Rejoicing* which the Coro Jubilorum uses nowadays.[25]

The interview in 2019 began with my mention of Father João Evangelista Lau's views regarding the incompatibility of Portuguese-Catholic and Chinese identities. Dissenting from his older brother, Francisco de Sales Lao preferred instead to see his religious community as an internally coherent entity that arose in the context of a rigid segregation of ethnic groups imposed by the colonial government. According to this interpretation, the Portuguese regime in Macau represented a mostly distant, abstract presence that did not regularly enter the daily consciousness of the territory's Chinese residents. The departure of the regime in 1999 only underscored the "irrelevance" of Macau's colonial legacy, as the local Catholic community maintained its ongoing religious life without significant change.[26]

F. LAO: As I see it, my older brother brought up more of a historical problem, that is, for a very long time in the past there was the Chinese community and the Portuguese community, with the two at very different social levels. Actually there was very little

> mutual interaction . . . before the handover, before 1999, because Macau was a Portuguese colonial territory, so in certain Portuguese social contexts they had a special position. And we say that actually at that time there were not necessarily many people who could directly encounter the Portuguese, because even some of the so-called government officials, they were still not something that you could normally be. So in general they were mainly Portuguese, or Macanese. . . . It [Catholicism's loss of its high social position in Macau and its patronage by the colonial government] did not have a particular impact upon my identity. Previously the Chinese Catholic community and the Portuguese Catholic community were separated as if there were a boundary line.

The differing understandings articulated by the two brothers of their city's recent history and of the position of native Catholics in relation to this legacy possess equal legitimacy. Born fourteen years apart, with the younger of the two still a child during the turning point of 1966–67, Father Lau and Francisco de Sales Lao have exploited the diverse possibilities offered by this history in order to formulate individually meaningful responses to the question of what it means to be Catholic in postcolonial Macau. For Francisco de Sales Lao, the ambivalent othering of the local Chinese, treated as susceptible to assimilation to a "higher" Western and Catholic identity yet still standing permanently apart from a full European selfhood, does not define his personal faith by inexorably engendering an inner psychical tension. The historical circumstance of a multicultural coexistence that lacked actual intercultural exchange affords, for him and others, the "option" of distancing from a heritage of symbolic violence. Among other consequences, Portugal and Portuguese culture do not nowadays constitute for them a reverse other, to be set as an antithesis to their own culture.

Other interlocutors with whom I held interviews during my fieldwork expressed a similar view of the former colonial presence. For example, a current teacher at the Academia de Música who is a Chinese Catholic and whom I shall not identify because of her desire for anonymity conceded the historical injustice of unequal treatment of Portuguese and Chinese individuals, yet also shared her personal belief that the legacy of Portuguese rule matters little in the contemporary intercultural relations of twenty-first-century Macau.[27] In fact she draws a clear distinction between her own identity and that of recent immigrants from the People's Republic of China, while feeling a bond of affinity with the members of the most tangibly Por-

tuguese of Macau's postcolonial communities, the Macanese, whose fluency in Cantonese serves as an important marker of their perceived native status.[28] Another interviewee, Alberto Botelho dos Santos Hon Chio U 佘漢釗, a Catholic who considers himself both Macanese and Chinese, disputed in no uncertain terms Father Lau's thesis of the contradictory personhood of a native Catholic believer in Macau. When I mentioned the latter's essay, Mr. Dos Santos responded with a vociferous and unequivocal denial that there exists any such contradiction.[29]

The personal experiences of Catholic sacred music detailed by my interlocutors likewise suggest that an originally European practice had become internalized as a native idiom, to the extent that the specificities of its historical origins and development did not represent circumstances of meaningful importance. Although one may thus perceive evidence of a successful acculturation, a more balanced view consists in discerning an overall transculturation that comes about through acts of localizing the principal Catholic musical styles. These acts specifically involve the use of Cantonese for the texts of liturgical works and a favoring of monophonic plainchant over vocal polyphony that stands counter to the valorization of the latter illustrated by Sampayo Ribeiro's Polyphonia and Father Castro's Grupo Coral Polifónico.[30]

To elaborate the above points, I begin with information provided to me by the teacher at the Academia: She explained that her father habitually and casually sang Gregorian chant at home during her childhood. As a result, she assimilated this music in a fashion not unlike the acquisition of a mother tongue that occurs through exposure to a sonic environment and at an instinctual level below any consciousness of identity formation. In the case of Francisco de Sales Lao, it was a later encounter with the melodies that likewise engendered a full-fledged affinity; his example is notable for its connection with a choir explicitly devoted to polyphony, namely, the Grupo Coral Polifónico, which he joined during his early twenties. Nowadays, Francisco de Sales Lao's long experience as a Catholic believer and active musical practitioner furnishes the basis from which he can articulate the personal dimensions of his involvement with chant in vivid detail, as demonstrated by my interview with him. Our conversation (extracted below) also touched upon a series of related topics, including the differences between Catholic and Protestant uses of music and the coexistence of the Latin and Cantonese languages in the liturgy of his church.

F. LAO: Gregorian chant is one of the treasures of the Catholic Church. How to express it? The feeling is that one has been given

a mission at a particular point in time, to bring it [the chant] back again.

V. HO: He has a feeling of a mission, to bring the sublime melodies of this treasure to believers.

J. CHEN: I'd like to ask, in Protestant churches there isn't the opportunity to listen to this music, so Protestant believers, is their experience of faith different? They too have their sacred music.

F. LAO: The difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is that [Protestant] choral singing is like a kind of performance (*xianchang* 獻唱), while our Catholic choral singing should be a ritual (*liyi* 禮儀). . . . The inner world is stronger in Catholicism. The way I would make them [the choir] feel while singing, what we always refer to [in Chinese] as "sounds of nature" (*tianlai zhi yin* 天籟之音), [spoken in English:] *Angel Voice*, or [spoken in Latin:] *Spiritus*, is feeling through music that within Catholicism is the presence of the Holy Spirit.

V. HO: What we pursue is a "sound of nature," [spoken in English:] *Angel Voice*, as if the voice of the Lord entered into the heart (*neixin* 內心) of the believer. Our singing is not simply singing—it has to enter the heart. It's not enough just to sound good to the ear, it has to be able to touch the believer's heart. Gregorian chant is better able to achieve this effect.

F. LAO: The feeling I've had for so many years, when many choruses sing polyphonic music—they frequently emphasize the tuning of voices, or the beat. Yet they often still cannot achieve the timbral layering of the voice parts.

J. CHEN: So this doesn't count as ritual music.

F. LAO: It's only a kind of choral singing.

V. HO: They're also not necessarily rituals, perhaps they're performances, or they're rituals that have not achieved this effect.

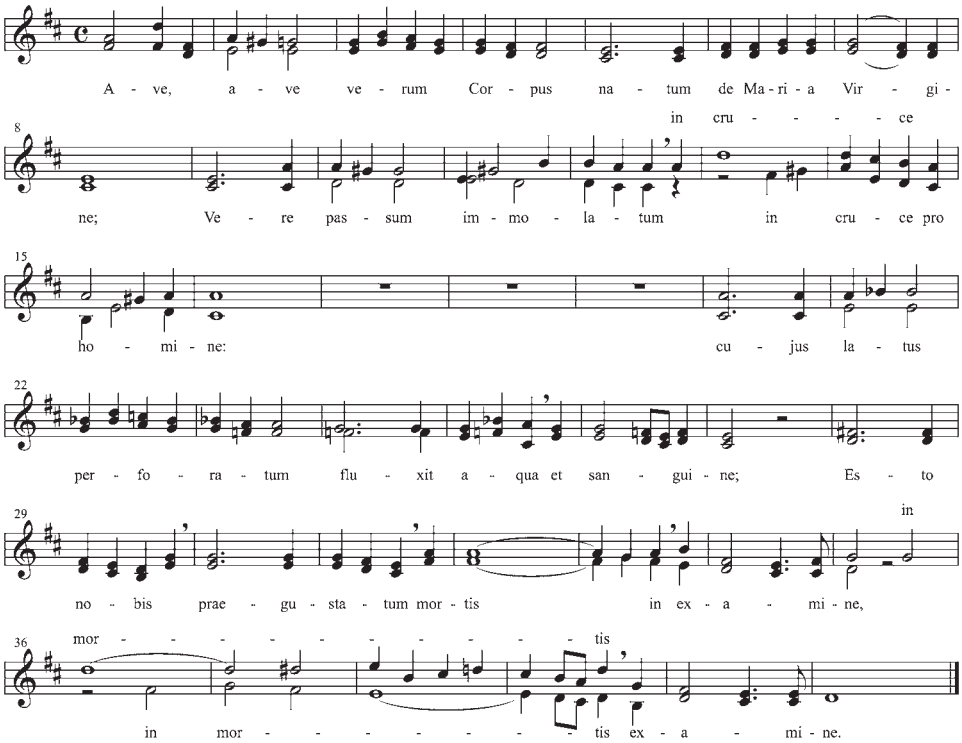
F. LAO: An example, Mozart's *Ave verum*, frequently sung, they can't express what Mozart wanted to express. Especially "in cruce," "crucifixion," frequently the meaning is not clearly understood by the singers. It's sung with a big crescendo.

These remarks implicitly link Catholic sacred music as epitomized by Gregorian chant to Hon-Fai Chen's notion of a thoroughly religious environment. In their distinction of choral singing in the Catholic and Protestant faiths as one of ritual versus performance, they underscore the aspects of interiority

and transcendence that define the Roman liturgy and its associated musics, with regard to which Francisco de Sales Lao disapproves of the concern with producing technically accomplished renditions as a secular preoccupation. And for this reason, he finds a greater danger in vocal polyphony of distraction from a communion with the "sounds of nature," *Angel Voice*, and *Spiritus* and thus from the attainment of a comprehensive religiosity. The way out of the danger lies in a focus upon text, by means of which music in several parts can also achieve a ritual character, as the diverse material of the *Songs of Hope and Rejoicing* demonstrates. Even so, the polyphonic selections in this volume sometimes appear in arrangements that reduce the number of parts, as in a version of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Ave verum corpus* for two voices (musical example 1).[31] Other members of the Chinese Catholic community of Macau share Francisco de Sales Lao's view of the primary importance of language in religious music. For example, Alberto Botelho dos Santos prefers monophonic chant for its lucid transmission of words, which serves to activate his religious feelings, but dislikes the complex textures and lesser clarity of polyphony.[32]

The issue of language came especially to the fore during the interview when we came to discuss the inclusion of both Latin and Cantonese texts in the music sung at St. Lazarus Church. Though Cantonese dominates the spoken portions of the worship services of this church, the two languages share a roughly equal prominence in the musical portions, as may well be expected in an institution that retains the practice of Gregorian chant.[33] I asked Francisco de Sales Lao and Viola Ho about the significance of this circumstance, given the decision of the Second Vatican Council to end obligatory use of Latin in the Roman Catholic liturgy. Their responses illuminated the complexity of their understanding of both the nature of ritual and the transmission of meanings through linguistic and musical media. While the viewpoints presented below may at first seem inconsistent with those expressed earlier in the interview, I believe that they actually provide some telling clarifications. A challenge in translation arises with the term *liyi*, a rich signifier that can variously connote ritual, liturgy, ceremony, and etiquette.[34] Though rendered above as "ritual," I opt for "liturgy" in the following passages in order to convey Francisco de Sales Lao's and Viola Ho's evident meaning.

F. LAO: The reason a problem arises in this connection is because Catholicism includes the scholar of liturgy (*liyi*), but he's not a musician. He belongs purely to liturgy. Because he doesn't under-



Music example 1. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Ave verum corpus*, K. 618, arrangement for two voices in *Songs of Hope and Rejoicing*.

stand music, he'll focus on preaching, using the local language to let people understand more clearly. Because he's not a musician, he won't know that in music there's much that doesn't need to be said, that doesn't need language, but rather is felt directly.

v. HO: Following this council [the Second Vatican Council], there were some scholars of liturgy—they were liturgists, not musicians—they believed that using the language of each locale to celebrate Mass allowed the congregation to understand clearly. But music doesn't require language, music has music's language. Using Latin in music also transmits the inner content to the heart of the believer. This is what the scholars of liturgy don't understand. They believe that using local languages means that Latin is no longer needed.

F. LAO: There's another point, which is that the contemporary world acknowledges that Latin is a feature of Catholicism, whether in music or text. When we use Latin to sing, it's equivalent to an emblem.

Shifting to a different implication of the term *liyi*, one emphasizing the interiority and "heart" (*neixin*) that they consider the special province of music, my interlocutors voiced their belief that meaning does not consist only in explicit denotation (notwithstanding the importance of this element, as illustrated by Francisco de Sales Lao's example of Mozart's *Ave verum corpus*) but also in something less concretely definable that touches upon the full depth of the ritual experience. In this sense, Latin's emblematic status in Catholicism relates to its indispensable function in intimating a realm beyond the tangible and the everyday.

Cantonese then fulfills a complementary role, its coexistence with Latin in the services of St. Lazarus Church engendering a dialectic between transcendence and presentness. But this dialectic comes at a cost, in that the tonal nature of the Sino-Tibetan language family, whereby vocal inflections are constitutive of meaning, produces clashes between textual content and melodic contour when the latter does not precisely match the former. Especially in polyphony, whose regulation of dissonance imposes greater limits on freedom of melody, the hindrance to comprehensibility can become severe. During the interview, I raised this problem of mismatch between word and music in the Cantonese-texted selections of *Songs*. My interlocutors' response again indicated that "comprehension" for them operates at several levels and not only at the one of literal denotation, which in any case did not suffer excessively, in their view. The inclusion of two languages serves a crucial aim of mediation, in that the "flavor" of Latin emerges in a form easily understood by all congregants.

F. LAO: There's a piece written by Father Si Yan Tang, itself a Gregorian chant, expressed through singing Chinese.[35] Concerning the form of Gregorian chant singing, there's the matter of grouping. It [Tang's composition] can likewise put the words group by group and still reflect its [Latin's] flavor (*weidao* 味道) when sung.[36] . . . When the words are changed to Cantonese, is the progression smooth? The same as in Latin? The same, the same. . . . But very often, some places in the Chinese will be harder to deal with, that is in polyphony. Because of the different parts, the tones [i.e., inflections] of the sung words are changed.

J. CHEN: Do you feel this is OK?

F. LAO: In general it's OK, it's not a big problem. In some circumstances, especially in Chinese, very often we're talking about musical effect. . . . If we emphasize the flavor, then we must always go back to singing Latin.

V. HO: The flavor of Latin is better. When we use Cantonese we also have to try to suit the flavor of Latin as much as possible.

Not opposed to the Vatican's ecumenical policy, yet also refraining from a full embrace of its intent, my interlocutors wish the music sung by the Coro Jubilorum to include Latin words because spirituality encompasses both active social participation (which they see as the Protestant liturgy's hallmark) and access to the sublime dimensions of faith. In fact, the matter of Latin's place in the modern Roman Catholic liturgy has generated much recent controversy, as two papal decrees of the twentieth-first century, Pope Benedict XVI's *Summorum Pontificum* of 2007 and Pope Francis's *Traditionis custodes* of 2021, both sought to promote inclusiveness in the Church, by entirely opposite means. The former legitimated the desire of traditionalists who felt that the old Latin Rite provided the most compelling experience of holy worship by approving a substantial restoration of this earlier ritual practice, while the latter reinstated the limitations upon the Latin liturgy with the rationale that its adherents fomented division, regarding themselves as the sole representatives of authentic Catholicism and rejecting the spiritual validity of the reforms undertaken by the Second Vatican Council.[37] Francisco de Sales Lao, Viola Ho, and other members of Macau's St. Lazarus Church do not adopt such an extreme stance toward the value of Latin, as is apparent in their acceptance of the local vernacular in their own liturgy. Rather, Mr. Lao, in proposing that Cantonese words, when transmitted in a manner that retains the flavor of traditional Catholic ritual, become themselves a kind of Latin, conceives a productive relationship of one language to the other.

The project of Latinizing Cantonese presents significant technical challenges, however, having to do with the particular complexity of the Cantonese tonal system, which consists of nine inflections (compared with four for Mandarin). Mr. Lao, though not considering the hurdle insurmountable, nonetheless admitted the difficulty ("But very often some places in the Chinese will be harder to deal with"). More detailed insights into the problem of developing a characteristic religious musical style appropriate to the special nature of Cantonese were afforded to me by this chapter's other prin-

cipal interlocutor, João Ng, the director of Macau's Coro Perosi (*Yingming hechangtuan* 嚶鳴合唱團), a vocal ensemble devoted to the performance of Catholic sacred music.[38]

Born into a family of Catholics and baptized in 1963 at the age of sixteen, João Ng became a member of the chorus of the Church of St. Augustine in this year and then a member of Father Castro's Grupo Coral Polifónico three years later. Ng assigns to music a key role in cultivating his personal religious belief: "Through gaining understanding of sacred music, I have strengthened and consolidated my faith."[39] Like Francisco de Sales Lao, he regards interiority as the hallmark of Catholic worship founded upon the Latin language and its associated musical forms. His specific term for this trait is *noi-sing* 內省 in his native Cantonese tongue (*neixing* in Mandarin), which may be defined as "introspection" or "reflection."[40] The first of the term's two characters, *noi* (or *nei*), which by itself means "inner," also appears as an important word in the interview with Lao. The two men differ, however, in that Ng feels a strong liking for polyphony, thereby highlighting a diversity of attitudes toward religious music among Macau's Chinese Catholics and, of particular significance for the discussion to follow, an embrace of the especially knotty technical hurdles in coordinating words and multivoiced musical textures when the former are in Cantonese. Of the polyphonic compositions of the Renaissance era, my interlocutor expressed his fondness for them, because of their

> layered structure, with the melodic parts imitating one another, yet each one freely developing according to its own individuality, without overstepping the rules; since the harmonic effect generated by the vertical simultaneities occurring among the melodic parts is not as complex as today's harmonic sounds, it is therefore easy to produce a stable and tranquil atmosphere, within which one feels an unaccustomed nobility, sincerity, [and] simplicity of noble religious sentiment begin to emerge; because the melodies imitate one another, the meaning of the entire composition is unified, and readily inspires contemplation.[41]

Growing up in Macau during the 1950s and early 1960s, Ng regularly experienced sacred polyphonic vocal music set to Latin texts in the city's churches, which powerfully enriched the contemplative spiritual dimension of his faith. Following the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, such music became less frequently heard in his hometown, which, like most

Catholic milieus, underwent a process of localization that mostly or entirely supplanted Latin with vernacular languages. Ng does not dispute the importance of this landmark development: "The use of local languages in the liturgy is inevitable, because this is the only way to fulfill the aim of localization, to allow believers to 'participate' in ritual, rather than just 'watch' (in the past we used to speak of 'Watch Masses')."[42] At the same time, the new inclusiveness did not come without a cost, namely, the diminishment of *noi-sing*. In Ng's view, the predominance nowadays of Cantonese in Macau's Catholic liturgy lessens the experience of introspection and contemplation, which for him derives above all from the sensitive matching of religious words and musical style in the traditional Roman Rite.

The Coro Perosi seeks in part to address the loss, through their performances of Latin-texted sacred vocal music in secular venues or in church spaces outside of a liturgical context. An illustrative occasion is the group's annual concert of 2016. A promotional video for the event, produced by its sponsor, the Macao Foundation, opens with a title, in Chinese, that translates approximately as "Program of Portuguese Music at the Church of Saint Dominic—The Coro Perosi and Sacred Music—'Motion' Brings 'Calm.'"[43] Later in the video, Ng characterizes the polyphonic idiom of the featured works by drawing upon a Chinese literary image: "I have one aim: This aim is to think of everyone's calm and spiritual tranquility. Sacred music brings tranquility, contemplation, and reflection to people. 'Calm' is not deathly calm. In China we have a poetic phrase. *The buzzing of cicadas makes the forests calmer, the warbling of birds makes the mountains more secluded*." Polyphony, in this view, is not perturbing in its complexity (an opinion not shared by Alberto Botelho dos Santos), but soothing in its gentle activity and "layered structure."

As for music for strictly liturgical purposes, the restriction of the use of Latin texts and consequent shift to Cantonese engendered an awkwardness detrimental to religious feeling. Already unhappy with what he regards as a decline in the technical proficiency of church musicians, Ng opined that "furthermore the tones [of Cantonese] and the melodies are greatly mismatched, making it even harder to inspire appropriate religious sentiment through singing liturgical songs."[44] He offered the following colorful illustration of the problem:

> In Gregorian chant, a fixed pitch can be repeated across a series of syllables, such as "Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo," without losing the quality of naturalness. Using this Latin melody to sing

> the phrase with the same meaning in Cantonese, 願主與你們同在。也與你的心靈同在, sounds truly repellent! It becomes 寃豬於喱燜通災。吪於喱的心拎通災 [a nonsensical, ungrammatical string of words, generated by speaking all the characters of the original phrase in the Cantonese first tone (a high, level tone) while otherwise retaining their pronunciation, which one might forcibly translate as "Unjust pigs in grain stew and transmit disaster. Oh, in the heart of the grain lift up and transmit disaster."]. It's completely meaningless and unbearable to the ear![45]

The severity of this problem clearly varies from one Cantonese speaker to another, with Francisco de Sales Lao considering it less a hurdle than João Ng to a rapprochement between his native tongue and the traditional Catholic musical styles. The possibility of a flexible relationship between text and music would seem to become greater in the specific case of listeners already deeply familiar with a particular set of words, such as pious Catholic believers. In the following chapter, I shall offer a detailed discussion that draws upon the sacred vocal compositions of Doming Lam in order to explore possible solutions to Ng's concern with the impact of localization on the practice of liturgical music.

João Ng feels that, with the right expertise, a kind of localization that manages to retain the introspective character of the Roman Rite is possible. In skilled hands, Cantonese sacred vocal compositions might eventually reveal a comparable power in transmitting sublime religiosity as the older Latin-texted repertoires. Catholic music in Macau thus remains a work in progress, and in this regard, it too manifests agency, in that it points to an unrealized future while taking account of a vivid past.[46] The discussion in the following chapter also orients itself to the future, imagining possible directions in the composition of Macau's liturgical music in coming years.

The Agency of Macau's Chinese Catholics

Identifying deeply with the religious and musical traditions established in their territory during the Portuguese colonial era and confronted with a new Chinese sociopolitical framework, the subjects of this chapter's research illustrate the nature of agents' decisions as "informed by the past . . . but also oriented toward the future . . . and toward the present."[47] Their process of constructing meaningful selfhood encompasses three principal facets

that variously demonstrate acceptance and reformulation of Macau's historical legacies: a distancing from the sharp Portuguese-Chinese divide that had dominated the city before the 1970s; an affinity for the quintessential Catholic musical styles of Gregorian plainchant and vocal polyphony; and an understanding of the interactions among music and the Latin and Cantonese languages in which diverse modes of communication, some tending toward the explicit and others toward the implicit, foster a complementarity of immediacy and sublimity. Concerning the disinclination to preserve the memory of earlier segregation, one may regard such an attitude as an evasion of a troubling past, especially by those who enjoyed notable privileges during this past; however, the opportunity for a more positive interpretation lies in acknowledging the de-emphases and deflections that necessarily mark the act of "imagin[ing] alternative possibilities." Hence, I would argue for the legitimacy of differing investments in the histories that all persons inherit without freedom of choice but that may then be reshaped in significant autonomy. And this reshaping, even when it downplays legacies of discrimination and injustice, need not automatically count as whitewashing, if it offers the prospect of breaking the stranglehold of a self-other polarization. More broadly, the subjective agential lens through which each individual mediates reality never evades its susceptibility to moral critique, but this critique should occur on a case-by-case basis that counters the generalizing abstractions of discourse analysis.

From such a standpoint, one may validate the love for the Chinese-themed works of Father Castro professed by a number of teachers and students of the Academia de Música, even though contemporary humanistic scholars would tend to regard these works as Orientalist and therefore embodiments of a colonialist ideology. This concern with an inequality of power gains credence through the circumstance that native Catholic composers did not pursue overt syncretism as a means of fostering putative cross-cultural exchange, therefore suggesting that the capital of intercultural communication lay elsewhere and that hybridity constituted a form of privilege. Still, Father Castro's exoticizing music, which includes the piano compositions *Danças de Siu Mui Mui*, *Nostalgia*, and *Cenas de Macau*, has garnered responses such as the following from a current teacher and an honorary music consultant of the Academia, respectively:

> As a young Macanese musician, I always aim to seek out music that can represent our own culture and style. Fr Castro's *Danças de Siu Mui Mui* is a perfect example illustrating our history, our cultural heritage, and our rhythm in living. (Cecilia I-ian Long)[48]

> Fr Castro was probably the only western composer in Macau whose innate understanding of the Chinese musical idiom allowed him to assimilate it into his own musical language. (Margaret Lynn)[49]

Although one can readily criticize the idealized multiculturalism of these remarks, an alternative interpretative possibility consists in regarding such "naïve" attitudes as offering a potential pathway out of what Homi Bhabha has called implacable oppositionality. In other words, agential choice in a postcolonial context encompasses options beyond "the simple inversion of the relation of oppressor and oppressed."[50]

A similar framework can illuminate the deeply spiritual identity of Chinese Catholics in Macau such as Francisco de Sales Lao and Viola Ho. Passionately invested in ostensibly foreign sacred musics brought to their region centuries ago as a result of endeavors of religious and economic conquest, they have undoubtedly internalized some of the ideological discourses associated with these musics, yet cannot be reduced to the status of acculturated subjects. Rather, the diverse significative resources furnished by the territory's long history of cultural and political contestation have represented the opportunity for their formation of a selfhood arguably no less indigenous than that of practitioners of overtly "native" or "Eastern" traditions. The agential process of constructing a meaningful worldview involves neither a wholesale opposition to hegemonic mainstreams nor a purely submissive relationship to forces operating at the macrosocial level, but lies instead within a dialogic realm of fluid, crisscrossing interchanges whose directionalities do not conform to patterns determinable in advance of their actual occurrence.

FOUR

Latinized Cantonese and Contemporary Sacred Music Composition in Macau

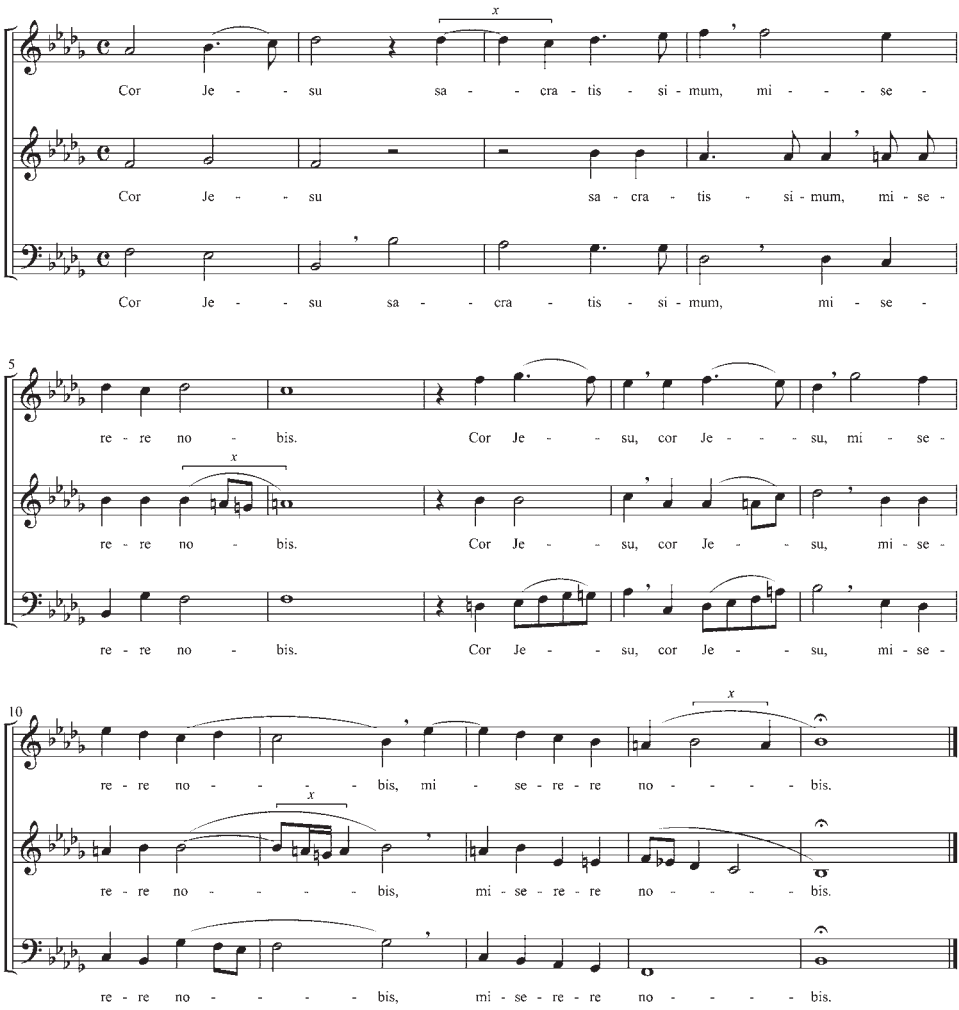
This chapter, the second of two on Catholic sacred music in Macau during contemporary times, examines selected works of two representative but contrasting composers, Father Áureo Castro and Doming Lam, to elucidate further the principal themes advanced in the foregoing discussions. With regard to Castro, I adduce below specifically musical evidence to support my earlier contention that he exemplifies the ideologies of multicultural harmony and syncretism originating from his Portuguese homeland as well as its former colonies such as Brazil. In the case of Lam, my aim is to explore more fully the degree to which he realized the project of a Latinization of the Cantonese language in the liturgical choral music of the later phase of his career.[1]

Colonial Hybridity: Musical Others in the Compositions of Father Castro

Father Castro's most concentrated period of compositional activity occurred during his seven years as a student at the National Conservatory of Music in Lisbon; following his return to Macau in 1958, his duties as a priest, choral conductor, and educational administrator undoubtedly left little time for the writing of new works. A rough overview of his *oeuvre* is now possible thanks to a recently published catalog, prepared by Graça Marques and Margaret Lynn, of some 150 of his manuscripts stored at the Academia de Música São Pio X, covering a substantial portion of his output.[2] I select four works

for analysis that variously illustrate Castro's historicizing and Orientalizing proclivities: the *Cor Jesu,* a *jaculatória* for unaccompanied chorus (1956);[3] the Te Deum for chorus and organ (1958), later recast in a version with orchestral accompaniment;[4] *Yu guang qu* 漁光曲 (Song of the Fishermen, 1962), an arrangement for chorus and piano of an original song by Ren Guang 任光 (1900–1941) for the 1934 Chinese silent film of the same name, directed by Cai Chusheng 蔡楚生 (1906–1968);[5] and *Gong tchi fa chai* 恭喜發財 (Happy New Year) for unaccompanied chorus, composed for the 1964 Chinese New Year concert of the Grupo Coral Polifónico.[6] This small sampling reveals a gifted artist whose praise from local musicians seems well justified and whose talents included a comfortable fluency in assimilating diverse styles within his own predominantly contemporary idiom.

Father Castro's student productions include a series of brief motets for unaccompanied chorus, to which the *Cor Jesu* belongs (musical example 2).[7] Though outwardly evoking the vocal polyphonic manner of the sixteenth century through its deft individualization of the three voice parts by means of syncopations as well as dissonant suspensions resolving downwards into consonances (in mm. 2–3, 5–6, 11, and 13–14, at the places marked *x* in the notation), this music nonetheless demonstrates a fully modern character and hence an appropriative relation to an earlier style, which functions to supply an antique flavor as a signifier of "tradition."[8] Such a relation takes concrete form in at least two ways. First, against the older idiom's diatonicism or "white-note" pitch content, which formed the basis of the musical language of modality that prevailed in Europe up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, Father Castro set *Cor Jesu* not in a mode but in the key of B-flat minor, whose abundance of black notes relative to other keys seems like a deliberate emphasis by the composer of this motet's belonging to a later age; also contributing to the "declaration" of modernity is the presence of secondary dominants, namely, the chords of B-flat major and A-flat major on the second beats of measures 7 and 8, which momentarily shift the tonal focus to the keys of E-flat minor and D-flat major, a kind of technique characteristic of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rather than of the sixteenth. Second, these secondary dominants help to generate a conspicuous patterning: The musical content of measure 7 recurs in measure 8 at a lowered pitch level for the twofold restatement of the text's opening words (though the recurrence is not precise in every detail, as for example in the reshaping of the eighth-note figure in the bass voice), with the result of undercutting the older polyphony's aesthetic of a linear flow that precluded the regular, predictable segmentation of melody. In thus marginalizing the



Music example 2. Father Áureo Castro, jaculatória, *Cor Jesu*

stylistic hallmarks of an earlier music, rendering them signs of an exotic, textualized, and hence objectified antiquity, *Cor Jesu* implicitly asserts the continued preeminence of its own contemporary modes and techniques of expression.[9]

The Te Deum received its first performance on 8 March 1958 in Lisbon's Church of São João de Deus, in an original version for four-part chorus and organ. Father Castro may have intended this impressive work as

an expression of thanks for the successful conclusion of his seven years of conservatory studies in Portugal. Some time before his return to Asia, he began to orchestrate the music, proceeding as far as bar 120 but abandoning the task with thirty-three measures remaining. Simão Barreto (1940–), Castro's student at the Academia de Música São Pio X, eventually undertook the completion of the orchestration, and this version of the Te Deum received its premiere on 20 January 2013 in Macau's Church of St. Dominic, two decades after the composer's death, with the choir of the Academia de Música (including former members of the Grupo Coral Polifónico, among them Alberto Botelho dos Santos and António Leong), the Coro Perosi, the Sanctus Thomas Choir, and the Macao Youth Orchestra co-directed by João Ng and Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto.[10]

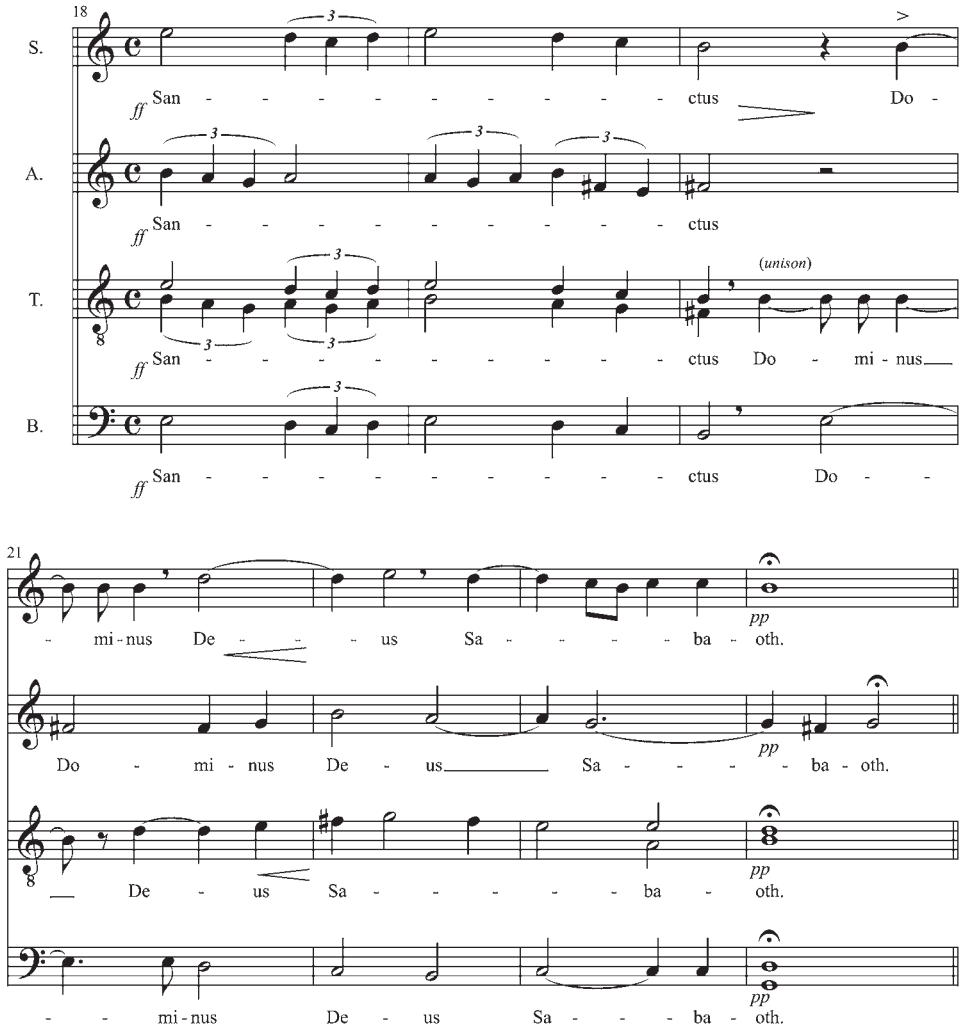
Father Castro structured his composition as an alternation between two textures, with the entire liturgical text presented in linear fashion: monophonic statements with organ accompaniment of phrases of the plainchant Te Deum designated *tonus simplex* in the *Liber Usualis*; and polyphonic settings for four-part chorus and orchestra of the textual segments not covered by the monophonic statements, which represent Castro's actual creative work. A published analysis by Veiga Jardim notes the modal harmonies of the latter and also mentions the composer's interest in "the Middle Ages and the music played in Eastern Orthodox rites," another instance of exoticism since Father Castro does not seem to have pursued a substantive knowledge of Orthodox liturgical music and thus transmitted a stereotypical notion of its sounds, in a textualizing simplification that takes the place of an actual encounter with another culture.[11] Veiga Jardim further suggests that the organ accompaniment for the monophonic sections reflects study of Flor Peeters's *Practische Methode voor Gregoriaanse Begleidung* (1943; French title: *Méthode pratique pour l'accompagnement du chant grégorien*) and Jean Parisot's *L'Accompagnement modal du chant grégorien* (1914) during Castro's years as a pupil at the Seminary of St. Joseph, though exemplars of these treatises are not currently found in the seminary archive.[12]

However, a different characteristic of the Te Deum, the prevalence of parallel fourths and fifths (see musical example 3), which Veiga Jardim regards as an evocation of medieval organum, may hint at a connection to a surviving item in the archive. Parallel voice leading at perfect intervals is also a notable trait in the liturgical music of Doming Lam, who, like Castro, studied at the Seminary of St. Joseph. This institution's collection of theoretical-pedagogical works includes *Harmony in Chinese Folksong* (1968) by Hwang Yau-tai 黃友棣 (1912–2010), which discusses and illustrates the

addition of harmonies to Chinese folk melodies.[13] For Hwang, such an adaptation of native music represented an opportunity to improve it greatly: "China possesses a rich folk song tradition, in just the way China possesses inexhaustible ore deposits; but there is need for a greater number of technically capable persons who will undertake a long-term effort to extract and refine [these ore deposits], and who can finally make it into a source of [our] national wealth." But the assimilation of a prevalent feature of Western music required care in preserving China's distinctiveness: "In providing Chinese folk songs with accompaniments, one should avoid a wholesale use of European-style harmony. The character of the folk (*minzu* 民族) cannot be ignored."[14] Parallel motion at the fifth, which Hwang regarded as counter to "European-style harmony," furnished one resource for fulfilling the aim of national individuality. An example of such voice leading in *Harmony in Chinese Folksong* is the harmonization of *Deng qinglang* 等情郎 (Waiting for the Beloved) (musical example 4, mm. 6 and 12).

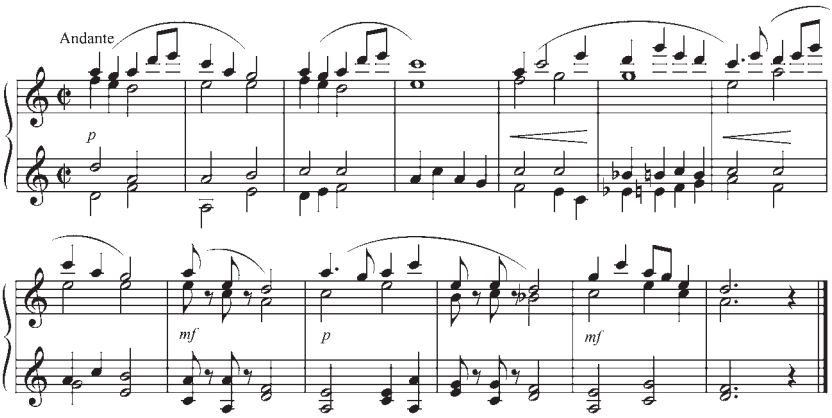
The two interpretations of the parallel voice leading at perfect intervals in the works of both Castro and Lam, as a reference to medieval organum and as a distancing from a dominant stylistic convention of European music, need not conflict with one another since musical creativity does not derive only from single sources of inspiration. In any event, if *Harmony in Chinese Folksong* did exert an influence upon the two composers, it must have done so indirectly: Its publication postdates the Te Deum as well as Lam's earliest use of parallel fifths in his liturgical music, as in the *Missa Laudis in Honor "Our Lady of China"* of 1960–62.[15] The circumstantial evidence of a shared connection with Macau's Seminary of St. Joseph thus can only suggest a general "Chinese" aesthetic of voice leading, possibly cultivated at this institution by a larger body of intellectual and educational materials, which might be reflected even in the work of an ostensible Westerner like Castro. At the least, the absence of a marking for the voice leading in the Te Deum as culturally other and hence of an implicit claim to mixing different cultures (which contrasts with the two examples discussed next) might better support a view of the composer's "innate understanding of the Chinese musical idiom" that does not become entangled in the problematic utopian ideology of multicultural harmony.

Yu guang qu and *Gong tchi fa chai* testify more strongly to Father Castro's exotic interest in the indigenous musical traditions of his adopted land. The twenty-fifth anniversary concert of the Grupo Coral Polifónico, an event that took place on 9 June 1985 and in which Francisco de Sales Lao participated (see figure 10), featured *Yu guang qu* in its program. The piano intro-



Music example 3. Father Áureo Castro, Te Deum, mm. 18–24 (vocal parts only)

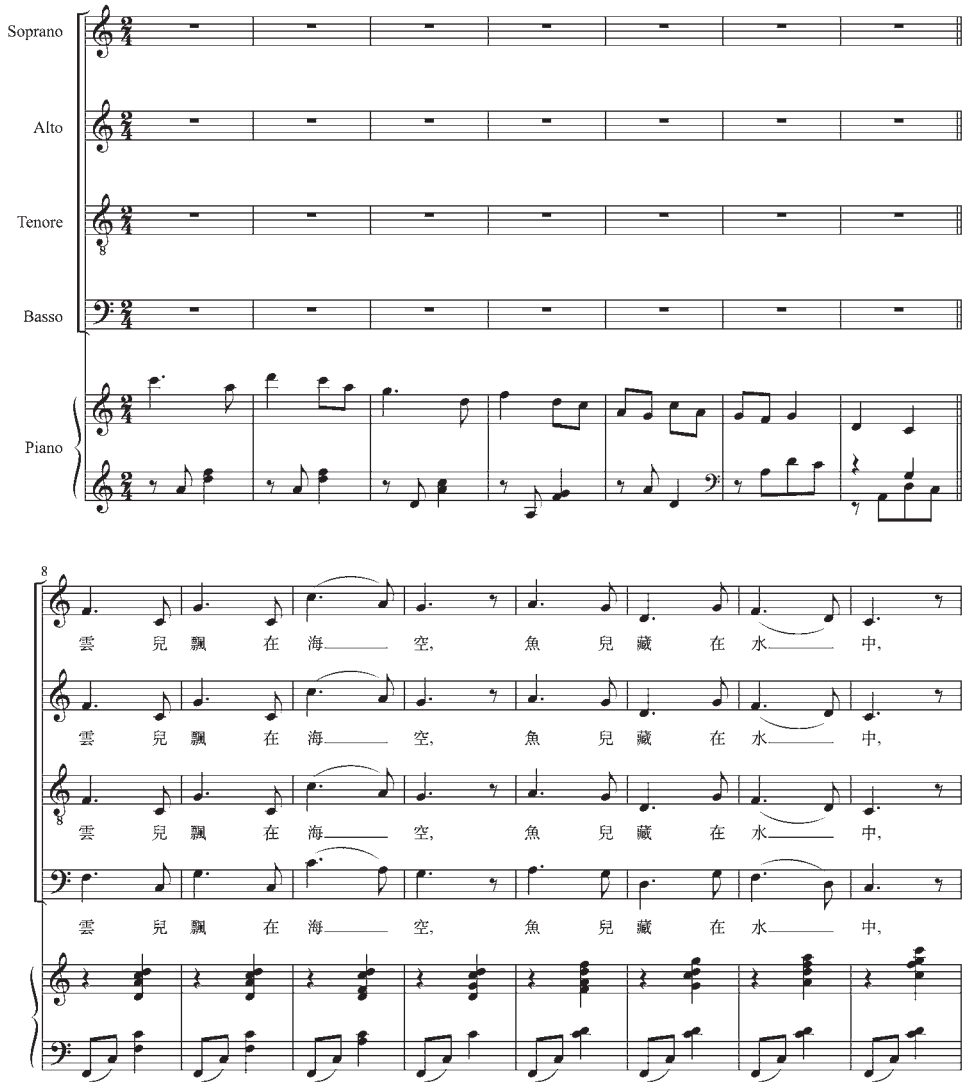
duction of this arrangement initially presents pentatonic sonorities at a high tessitura and then descends to a lower range where, beginning with the entry of the chorus at measure 8, the pitch F is strongly established as the tonic of a major-key composition through its repeated occurrence on the downbeat of each measure as well as the dominant function articulated by the pitch C (musical example 5). Though the pentatonic flavoring continues to impart



Music example 4. Hwang Yau-tai, *Harmony in Chinese Folksong*, harmonization of *Deng qinglang*

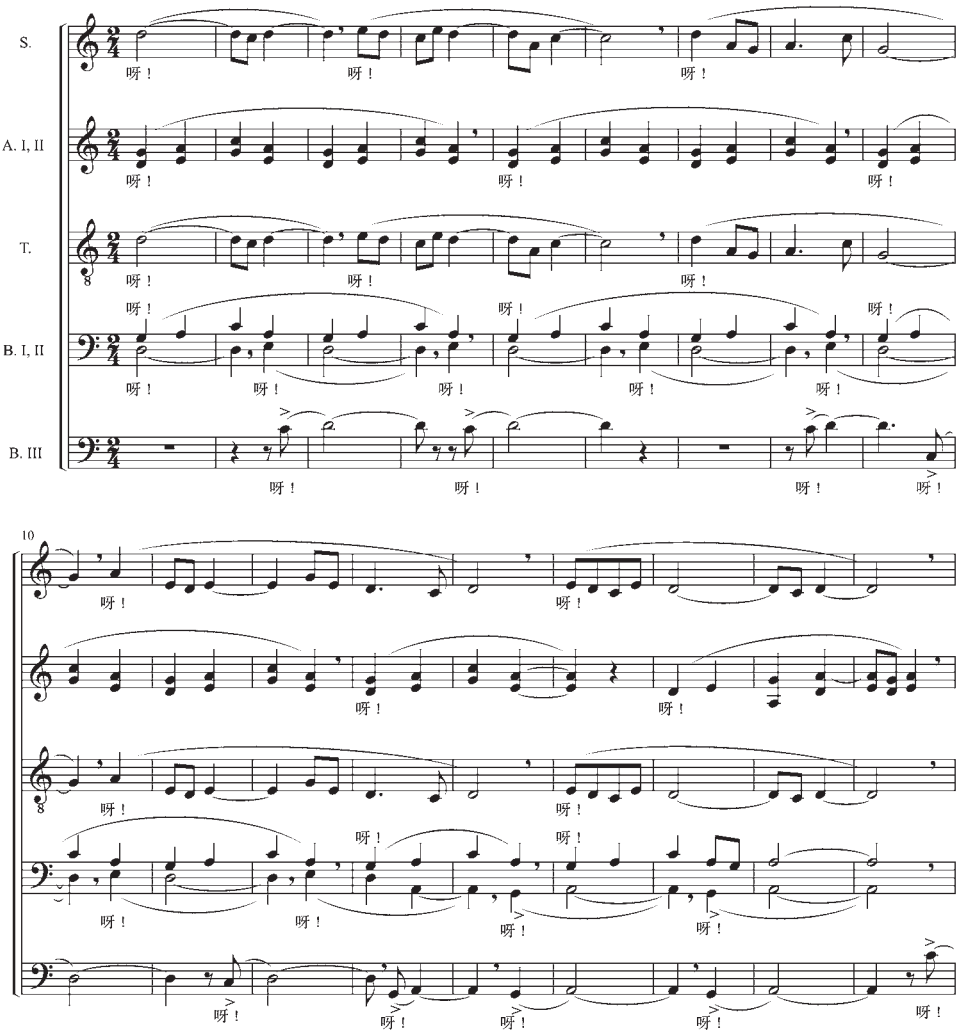
"spice" to the music, it persists as a subsidiary element and not as a determinant of the fundamental stylistic grammar, which is that of functional tonality. The arrangement thus evinces the same hierarchy of structure and ornament as in *Cor Jesu*, with the sounds of "others" (Western Europe of the Renaissance period, Eastern Europe, China) not disturbing the governing paradigms that shaped Castro's musical understanding prior to his encounter with cultural difference. Several of the manuscript and published sources of his version of *Yu guang qu* listed in Marques and Lynn's catalog indicate the subtitle *Barcarola* or *Barcarola chinesa*, thus reinforcing a Western aesthetic perspective through identification with a Venetian genre, qualified by a certain measure of "Chineseness." This relatively superficial "integration" of culture across continental boundaries serves as another instance of what Castelo-Branco characterized as "stylized representations of . . . artifacts from the former Portuguese colonies, in an attempt to configure . . . an overseas [identity] encompassing the ethnic diversity of the Portuguese Empire,"[16] though in this case the colony was not yet a former one. It also suggests again a capital of intercultural communication, whereby ostensible hybridity operates as a form of privilege for those with an allegedly special capacity for diffusing cultural boundaries.[17]

Gong tchi fa chai, written for the 1964 Chinese New Year concert of the Grupo Coral Polifónico, sets a text by Thomas Shih (Shi Mingye 時明曄), one of the choir's members.[18] This work for unaccompanied chorus opens with a pentatonic melody in the sopranos and tenors proceeding in parallel motion at the interval of an octave, joined by an oscillating figure in the first



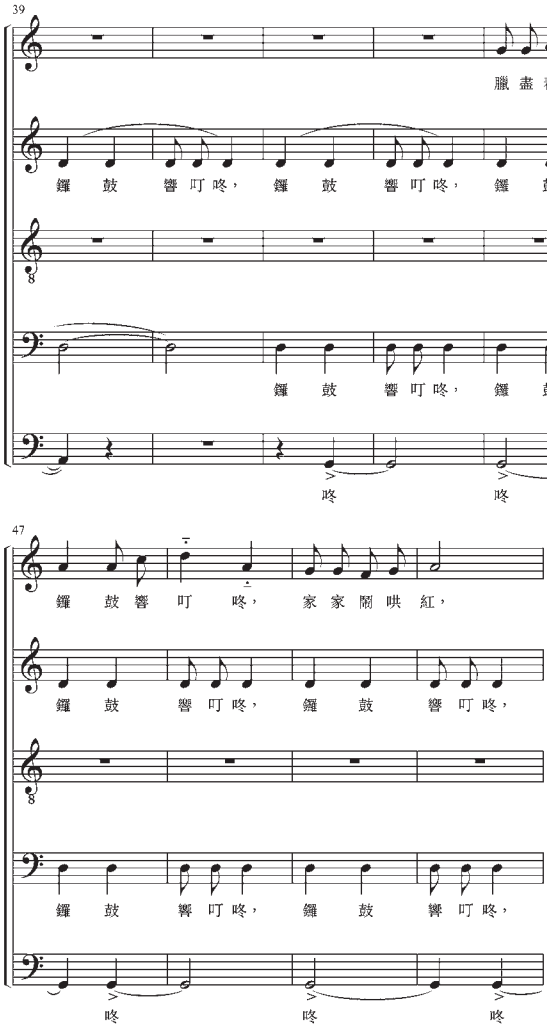
Music example 5. Father Áureo Castro, arrangement of Ren Guang, *Yu guang qu*, opening

and second altos and first basses that likewise proceed in parallel motion, at the intervals of an octave between the first altos and first basses and a fifth between the second altos and first basses (musical example 6a). Beginning at measure 39, repeated intonations of the pitches D and G perhaps convey an aural image of Buddhist chanting, a possibility given Father Castro's awareness of Buddhist ritual music in his adopted city, even though the more overt



Music example 6a. Father Áureo Castro, *Gong tchi fa chai*, opening

meaning of "gongs and drums sound[ing] ding-dong" is expressed through the sung text (musical example 6b). In an article published in 2021, I argued that these characteristics of *Gong tchi fa chai*, occurring within the framework of a polyphonic idiom predicated upon the rich internal differentiation of contrapuntal-harmonic content, cannot but represent Chinese music as primitive and exotic.[19] I would now qualify this contention by noting the



Music example 6b. Father Áureo Castro, *Gong tchi fa chai*, mm. 39–50

foregoing points made in connection with the parallel voice leading in the Te Deum. Nevertheless, the independence of all the strands of a multipart texture, each capable of standing alone as its own distinctive melody, has formed a powerful expressive ideal within Catholic domains since the late Middle Ages.[20] It thus remains necessary to take account of the contextual factors, both personal and social, that potentially made the composition of *Gong tchi fa chai* into an act of enforcing an alterity of "Chinese" sounds.

And this problematizing outlook applies no less to the works of Doming Lam than to those of Father Castro.

Latinized Cantonese as Local Sublime: Text Setting in the Sacred Vocal Compositions of Doming Lam

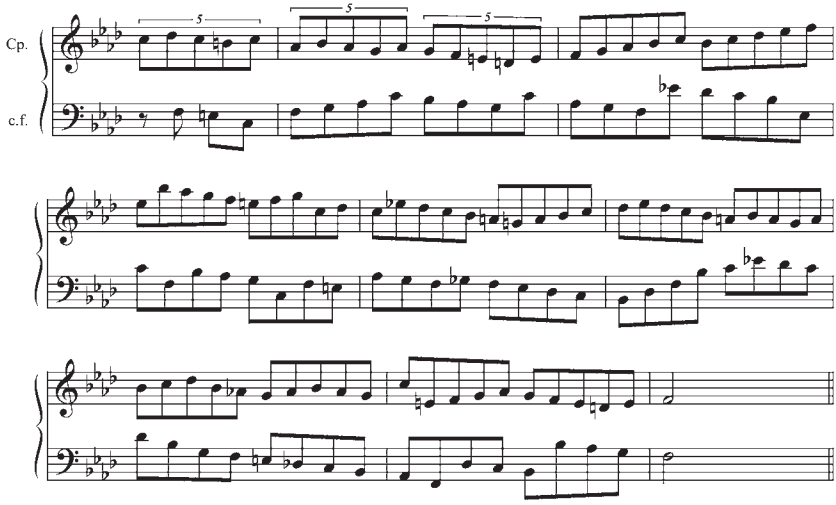
Born and educated in Macau, where he studied at the Seminary of St. Joseph, Doming Lam went on to gain an international reputation as a leading composer from the Sinophone world of avant-garde concert music. However, beginning in the 1980s, he returned to his "roots" with an intensive commitment to the composition of sacred music for the liturgical use of Catholic communities in his native city and in Hong Kong. My approach to the interpretation of this body of relatively modest works (in terms of their performance demands) consists in examining what I discern as an aspiration to remake Catholic sublimity, specifically by means of a treatment of the Cantonese language akin to the close matching of Latin text and musical gesture in earlier Catholic repertoires. As mentioned earlier, the most significant technical problem confronting such an endeavor stems from the tonal nature of Cantonese. The difficulty of transmitting these words through a Western polyphonic-diatonic medium, the "natural" musical choice for a "colonized subject" such as Lam, thus forms the central consideration in the analyses presented below. But even if not ultimately convincing, the effort to achieve a Latinized Cantonese may still serve to exemplify the productive destabilization of former essentialisms in a postcolonial context.

A necessary preliminary is the consideration of Lam's possible participation in the exoticization of others and hence in the utopian ideology of multicultural harmony, a question I have explored with respect to Father Castro. Though a native Cantonese speaker and of seemingly indubitable Asian identity, Lam does not automatically elude the question, unless one were to engage in a double standard and abandon critique of essentializing categorization when doing so allegedly benefits colonized others.[21] Notable aspects of this composer's work include titling such as "Oriental Pearl" for the sonata for violin and piano (1961); remarks such as "traditional Chinese flavour" to describe the piece "Catching Butterflies," part of the *Uncle Suite* for piano (1960);[22] and the use of Chinese instruments such as *dizi*, pipa, and *erhu* in the context of a modernist style closely tied to contemporary trends in the Euro-American musical world. With regard to the last of these, however, Lam can hardly be said to have pursued a superficial inter-

est in an alien curiosity. Following his departure from Macau at the age of twenty-three, he received his training in composition at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto and at the University of Southern California. He later became closely involved with the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra and sustained a long collaboration with this ensemble, with a resulting output consisting of *Autumn Execution* (1978), *Insect World I* (1979), *Silent Prayer* (1981), and *Kung Fu* (1987). In this compelling group of works, Lam demonstrated a keen awareness of the timbral richness of Chinese instruments, which afforded him the opportunity to deepen the strongly coloristic bent of his personal musical style.

Lam's years as a student at Macau's Seminary of St. Joseph may help to illuminate his affinity for timbre, a trait manifested also in his liturgical compositions. The seminary's archive currently includes an exemplar of *Polyphonic Music* (1933) by Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892–1936), a Chinese-language introduction to the species counterpoint method made famous by Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725). Wang belongs among the Chinese intellectuals of the early twentieth century who, regarding their own culture as backwards, called for its modernization through Western knowledge (including musical knowledge). Yet despite this admiration of things European, *Polyphonic Music* did not transmit a reverentially faithful copy of its subject matter. Rather, it reinterpreted the precepts developed by Fux (and later Western authors such as Knud Jeppesen) to such an extent as to suggest the inevitability of cultural difference, thereby undercutting the universalist, rationalist aspirations underlying the formulation of those precepts. Wang's illustrations of species counterpoint include chromatic pitches in the cantus firmus, faster rhythmic values in the cantus firmus than in the added counterpoints, and complex cross-rhythms such as four notes against three and five against four (see musical example 7).[23] The effect of these "misreadings" is to reconceive the aim of polyphony, supplanting the hierarchy of consonances and dissonances with the enrichment of texture through melodic-timbral layering as the central aesthetic premise.[24]

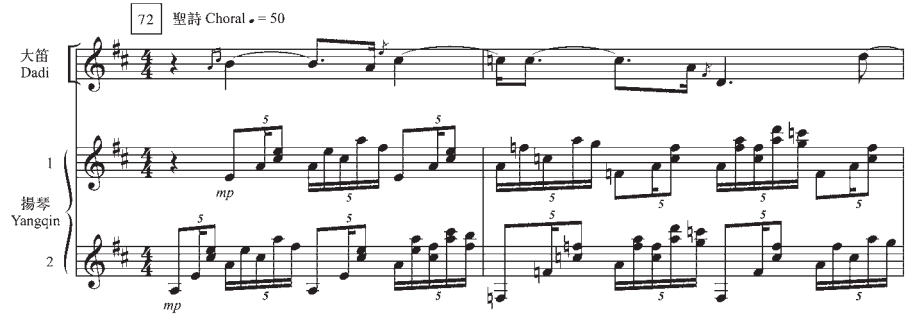
The treatment of polyphony as a technique for generating exuberance of musical surface and florid coloristic detail, which contrasts with a tendency in counterpoint treatises by European authors to emphasize a dialectical notion of freedom achieved through strictness,[25] finds representative examples in Doming Lam's works. For instance, *Silent Prayer* features a section titled "Choral" where the *dadi* 大笛 (large flute or bass flute) presents a melody in dotted-eighth rhythm, while at the same time an active figuration consisting of sixteenth notes in quintuplet groupings is played by the two



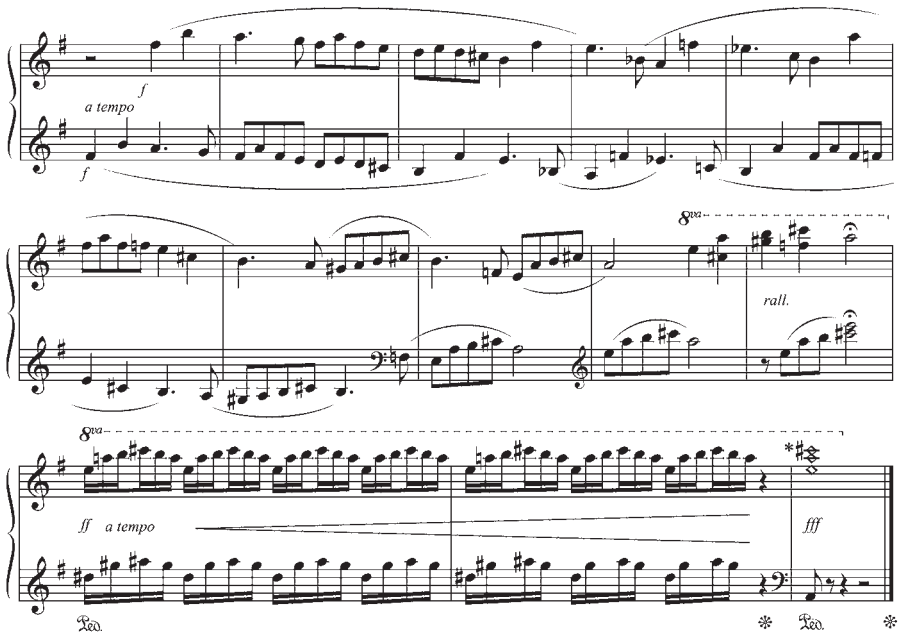
Music example 7. Species counterpoint example from Wang Guangqi, *Polyphonic Music*

yangqin, or Chinese hammered dulcimers (see musical example 8, which does not reproduce the entire score but only these three parts). The resulting five-against-four interaction produces the kind of elaborate, vivid texture that constitutes a hallmark of Lam's avant-garde style. Even extremely modest works by this composer can demonstrate such an aesthetic of sound, as in the *Uncle Suite*, intended as "little exercises . . . to give a simple but comprehensive introduction to some modern techniques in composition."[26] These exercises, totaling five in all (corresponding to the number of Lam's nephews and nieces, the suite's dedicatees), include the aforementioned "Catching Butterflies," described as "a canonic piece with traditional Chinese flavour. It illustrates the subtle effect of contrapuntal writing."[27] Subtlety of effect is plentiful at the conclusion of this piece, where the music ascends toward the piano's highest register first in rhythmic augmentation then rhythmic diminution of the predominant melodic motif, with the latter segment featuring a texture of three notes against two. In addition to the tessitura, the aural richness of the passage is enhanced by the fortissimo dynamic increasing to triple forte and a final sonority consisting of harmonics activated by a low fundamental (musical example 9).

The foregoing discussion of an apparently indigenous proclivity for understanding polyphony as a sensuous heightening of the melodic-timbral



Music example 8. Doming Lam, *Silent Prayer*, mm. 72–73



* ◇ = Harmonic: Press down keys without sounding.

Music example 9. Doming Lam, *Uncle Suite*, "Catching Butterflies," ending

basis of traditional Chinese music, rather than as rationalist control of the interactions between consonances and dissonances, has sought to offer evidence of a rather different engagement with the "Sino-Western divide" on Doming Lam's part than is the case with Father Áureo Castro's compositions, particularly those featuring "Chinese" elements. Instead of covertly retaining a dominant musical-grammatical paradigm while incorporating some of the merely external traits of cultural others, the paradigm itself is substantively altered. This thesis furnishes an important starting point from which to examine Lam's liturgical music and the idea of a Latinized Cantonese.

To begin, we can recall Francisco de Sales Lao's remark: "[Father Tadeu] Tang's composition can likewise put the words group by group and still reflect Latin's flavor when sung. . . . If we emphasize the flavor, then we must always go back to singing Latin. . . . The flavor of Latin is better. When we use Cantonese we also have to try to suit the flavor of Latin as much as possible." Doming Lam's sacred works can serve to illustrate this project of imparting Latin's flavor when setting Cantonese texts. For instance, his Te Deum of 1982 for three-part chorus and organ reflects the same organizational principle as Castro's contribution to this same genre, alternating sections of vocal monophony and polyphony, with the former citing the *tonus simplex* version of the plainchant melody (musical example 10). However, a main difference lies in the translation of the original Latin words into Cantonese. The frequent repetitions of the pitch A in the Gregorian Te Deum engenders difficulty in the comprehension of these words, as they do not accurately capture the inflections upon which the transmission of verbal meaning depends. A brief description of the tonal system of Cantonese as spoken in Macau and Hong Kong (where the pronunciation differs slightly from that in neighboring Guangdong Province) is necessary to elucidate the problem.

This system comprises, according to most linguists, nine tones. However, three of the tones (numbers 7 to 9), termed "entering," are identical to three others (number 1, 3 and 6, respectively), apart from their shorter length due to abrupt consonantal stops (see table 4).[28] For convenience, I consider the system to consist of six tones when discussing the possible correspondences between text and melodic shape, since the briefer durations of the entering tones do not seem to have significantly affected Lam's musical choices. Two components differentiate a given tone from the others, beginning pitch and subsequent maintenance of this pitch or else its movement upwards or downwards. Greatly simplifying the system for clarity of explanation, one may enumerate the tones as follows.

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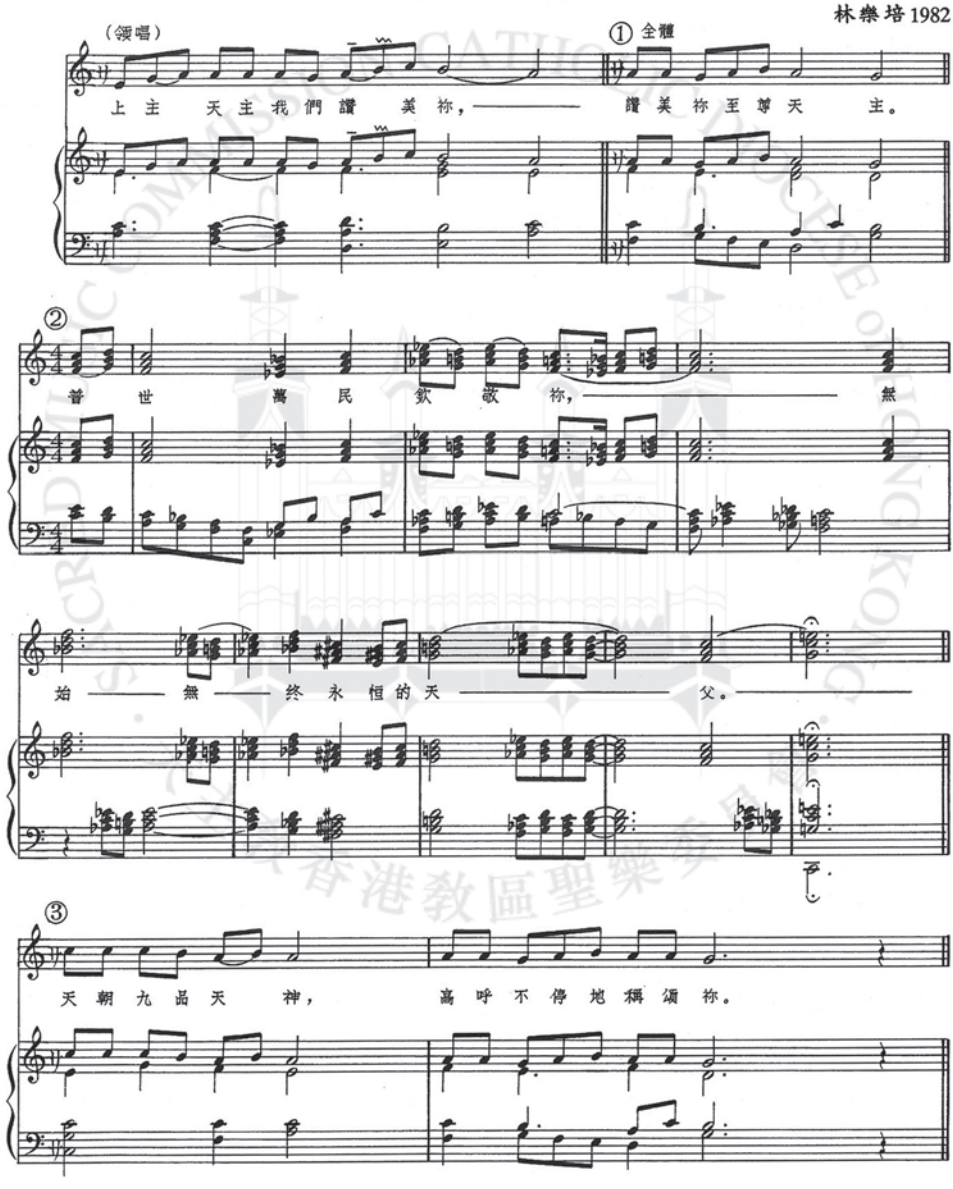


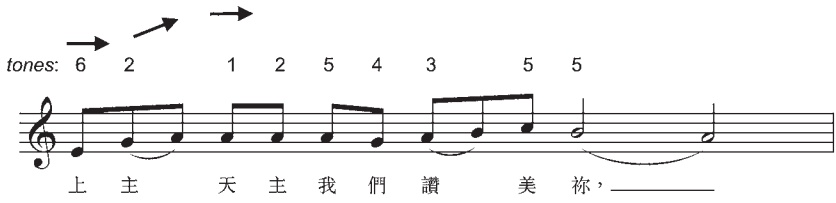
Music example 10. Doming Lam, Te Deum, opening

Table 4. The Cantonese Tonal System

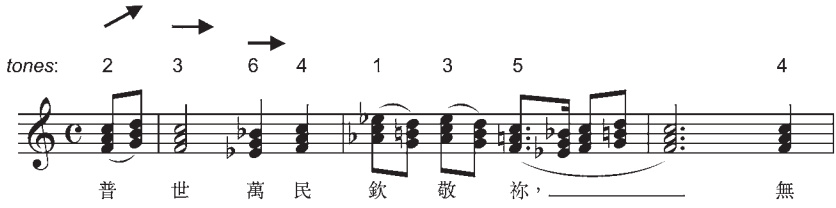
Tone Number(s)	Tone Name
1 and 7	High Level
2	Middle Rising
3 and 8	Middle Level
4	Low Falling
5	Low Rising
6 and 9	Low Level

At the opening of Lam's Te Deum, the initial rising contour of the Gregorian melody fortuitously matches the tones of the first three Chinese characters, which together with the fourth character translate "Te Deum" (musical example 11).[29] Afterwards, this kind of correspondence ceases as the vocal line enters into the repetition of a single pitch. Lam adopts a similar procedure in the first polyphonic segment, containing his own composed music. The shape of the melody here accords with the tones of the first three characters, which together with the fourth translate "omnis terra" (all the earth) (musical example 12). Having first established a unity of words and music, Lam then allows the two expressive forms to go their independent ways, as if the opening bar of the segment by itself sufficiently transmitted the entire phrase of text to devout Cantonese-speaking Catholics who know it by heart. Since the polyphony assumes the form of voice leading in parallel motion, the entire chorus participates in the mutual reinforcement of verbal and musical pitch contours for the single bar, thereby strengthening this cue for its listeners. As for the choice of parallel triads in root position, rather than in first inversion (for example), which would accord with Hwang Yau-tai's "European-style harmony" (i.e., the principles of counterpoint formulated during the Renaissance era that forbade parallel motion in perfect fifths), Lam might plausibly have aimed at evoking a medieval sound world, like Castro. Or, equally possible, he may have sought a distancing from prevailing Western musical aesthetics, a hypothesis I proposed in the discussion above of *Harmony in Chinese Folksong*.

Most of the following segments do not integrate words and music, even initially. Many of Lam's sacred compositions reflect a formalistic musical logic, as could not but be the case with a polyphonic-harmonic idiom premised on the independence of individual melodic strands (the parallel triads of musical example 12 notwithstanding). Instances of such logic include sequences for successive units of text and contrary motion in different vocal parts singing the same words, which obviously generates a clash of textual



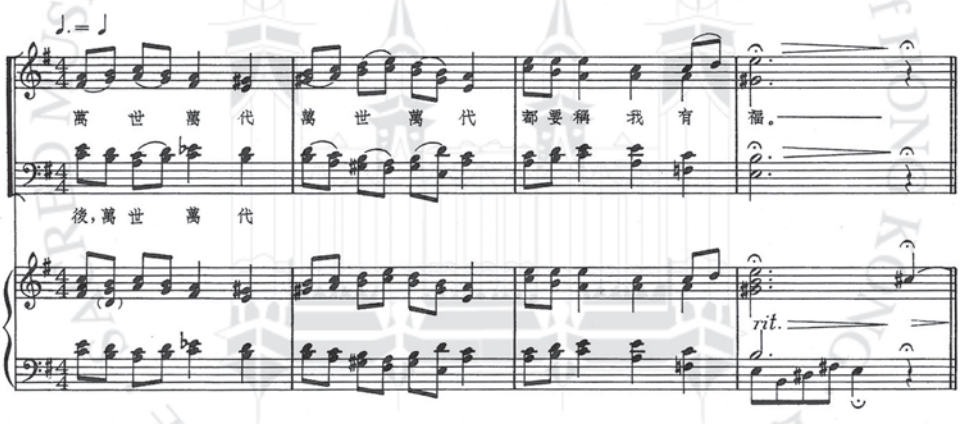
Music example 11. Verbal-melodic contour of Doming Lam, Te Deum, "Te Deum"



Music example 12. Verbal-melodic contour of Doming Lam, Te Deum, "omnis terra"

and musical inflections in at least some the parts. The latter trait is illustrated by the passage at "beatam me dicent omnes generationes" (all generations shall call me blessed) in the Magnificat (1982) (musical example 13).

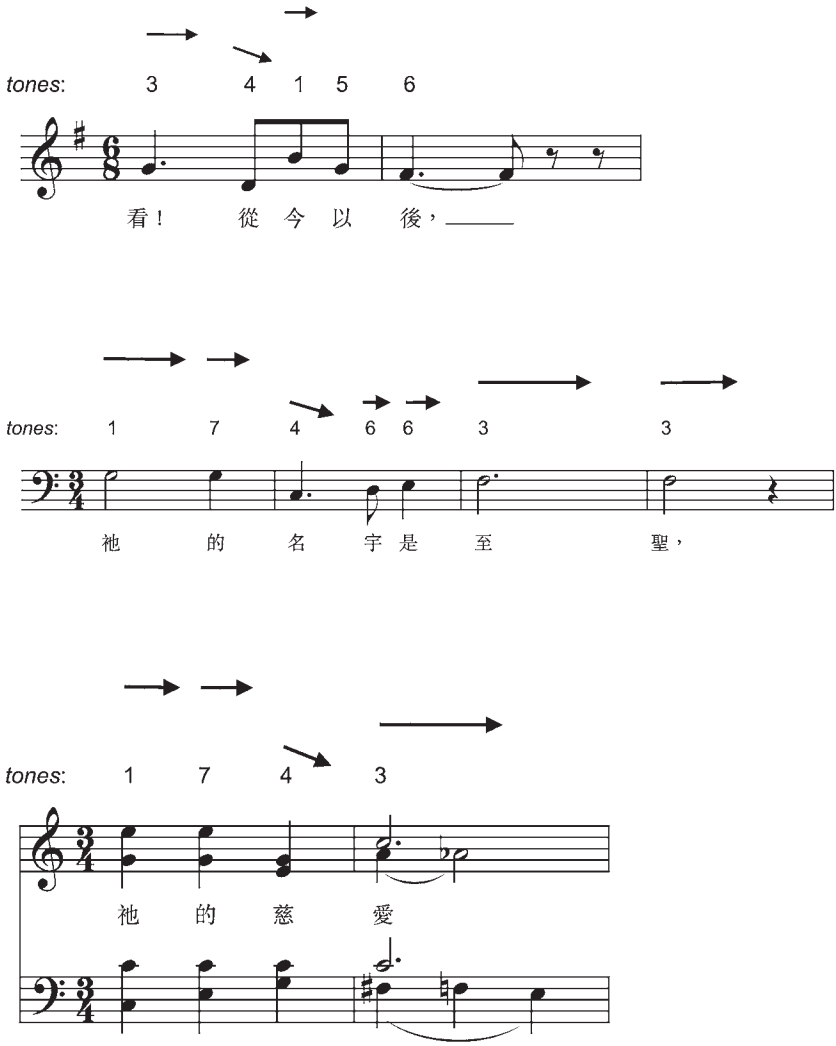
The ideal of a seamless fusion of literature and music has historically articulated a characteristic progression from an initial, dogmatic rigor to a pragmatic flexibility that implicitly acknowledged the fundamental differences between the two art forms. Hence, for example, the nearly continuous recitative of the earliest operas by Jacopo Peri (1561–1633) and Giulio Caccini (1551–1618) gave way to a partial restoration of closed musical forms such as the strophic aria in the operas of Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643). Despite this "compromise," Monteverdi's achievement in immeasurably strengthening the dramatic and emotional impact of the recitative style is unquestionable. The attitude of pragmatism therefore did not vitiate the pursuit of the ideal; rather, the very act of foregrounding the issue of integration served to elevate general consciousness of the mutually amplifying power of words and music, whose concrete realization subsequently attained ever more impressive results. Doming Lam's religious compositions likewise heighten the experience of hearing the sacred texts of the Catholic liturgy, and do so specifically by means of a melodic technique that assigns themes at least to the soprano part on the basis of a keen sensitivity to the pitch inflections of words. Examples of such a technique occur consistently throughout the Magnificat, as at "Ecce enim ex hoc" (For behold, from henceforth), "et



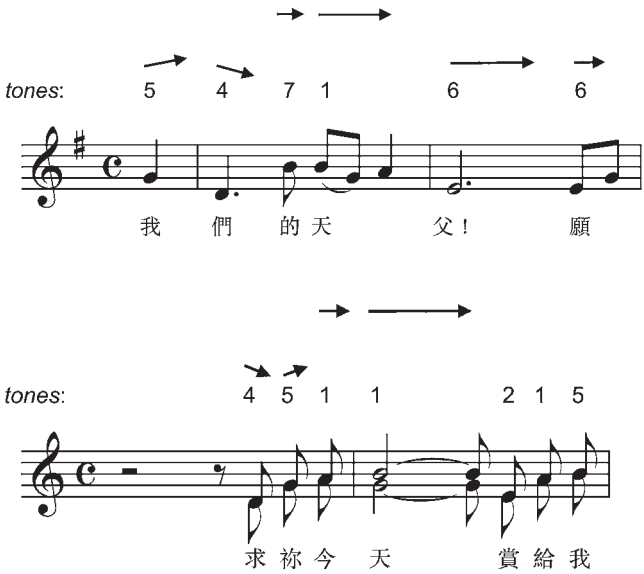
Music example 13. Doming Lam, Magnificat, "beatam me dicent omnes generationes"

sanctum nomen eius" (and holy is his Name), and "Et misericordia eius" (And his mercy) (musical example 14). Similarly, in the *Pater noster* of 1973, a derivation of melody from the tonal content of the text is apparent, as at "Pater noster" (Our Father) and "da nobis hodie" (give us this day) (musical example 15).

The foregoing discussion can serve as evidence that languages, too, partake in movement across cultural divides and that speakers may reshape the identities of their native tongues, thereby transgressing the essentializing tendencies that attempt to fix these identities. Cantonese, not widely regarded as an elevated, transcendent medium of expression, whether religious or secular, but more often as a marginal language spoken at China's southern periphery and among impoverished communities in the global Chinese diaspora, nevertheless demonstrates its susceptibility to transformation into a sort-of-Latin and thus its own potential as a pathway to religious sublimity, in the hands of an outstanding musical creator such as Doming Lam. Especially relevant in this connection is the view expressed by a number of my interlocutors in Macau that Catholic spirituality manifests its most characteristic nature in a deeply interiorized and contemplative mode of accessing the Divine. Lam's sacred works facilitate this access through a flexible yet intimate binding of text and music, engendering a melodic idiom that somehow melds "Western" polyphonic-harmonic textures with the pitch inflections of Cantonese. And in crossing two distinct cultural worlds in such a manner, contravening persistent investments in their separation, they epitomize the rich intercultural opportunities of the postcolonial situation.



Music example 14. Verbal-melodic contours of Doming Lam, Magnificat, "Ecce enim ex hoc," "et sanctum nomen eius," and "Et misericordia eius"



Music example 15. Verbal-melodic contours of Doming Lam, *Pater noster*, "Pater noster" and "da nobis hodie"

Conclusion

Global History and the Gift of Babel

Look carefully at the multitude of copper rods,
Denser than a comb, brighter than silver.
Crystal screens and golden mirrors exchange reflections,
Like clear autumn waters flowing wide and deep.
Removing the cover, one could not believe the sight of the bones
[i.e., pipes],
Hundreds in a chain whose reality one still sees now.
It is called a *qin* but only resembles one,
How does the bony collection hold together without *yanzhu* 雁柱?[1]
—from Cai Xianyuan, "Listening to a Western Barbarian Woman Playing the *Yangqin*"

One may ask the barbarian monk,
how actually to understand this interplay.
—from Yin Guangren, "The Bell of the Temple of St. Paul at Daybreak"

Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of the earth.
—Book of Genesis 11:9 (King James version)

Who am I to judge?
—Pope Francis

This investigation of Catholic sacred music in Macau has sought to elucidate how a practice of religious music at a longtime site of convergences developed its expressive, cultural, and spiritual significances across a sharp divide to which I have chosen to refer, for convenience but also opportunity of critique, by the prevalent but simplistic binarism "Sino-Western." The categories of "Sino" and "Western" do not exist naturally, of course, yet the

pragmatic consequences of the widespread (but not universal) *perception* of their existence are not a matter of doubt. Above all, differences of language and the resulting difficulties in communication, crucial factors in engendering the perception, have caused numerous misunderstandings of others. The present study has striven to take careful account of this basic condition of intercultural exchange and to set the listening to a multiplicity of linguistic voices at the center of its research methodology (to the modest extent permitted by my abilities).

As a concluding example in this book, I take the organ, which figured prominently in the attempted crossings of the Sino-Western divide, as a paradigmatic case study of the problem of language. Since the instrument did not exist in China prior to the arrival in East Asia of the earliest European missionaries, the Chinese language possessed no word by which to refer to it and native observers initially termed the alien object a *qin*, which at the time transmitted the more restrictive meaning of "zither"; it was only later that it would indicate a more general category that additionally included bowed and struck chordophones (e.g., the violin and the piano) as well as keyed aerophones (e.g., the organ), precisely because of the type of transcultural process discussed here. The awkward application of an unsuitable signifier generated a plethora of qualifiers, in the attempt to comprehend just what it was that had arrived in the Chinese lands, as Joyce Lindorff has enumerated: *xiqin* 西琴 (Western zither), *daxiyangqin* 大西洋琴 (Atlantic zither), *yaqin* 雅琴 (courtly or elegant zither), *fanqin* 蕃琴 (barbarian zither), *tianqin* 天琴 (heavenly zither), *tiesiqin* 鐵絲琴 (metal-stringed zither), *qishierqin* 七十二琴 (seventy-two[-stringed] zither), *shouqin* 手琴 (hand zither), *yangqin* 洋琴 (Western or foreign zither), and *dajianqin* 大鍵琴 (large keyed zither).[2]

The principal difference between an organ and a traditional Chinese zither lies in performers' manner of employing their fingers or, more simply, how many fingers they use. An incident at the Beijing court recorded by Father Matteo Ripa (1682–1746), involving the Kangxi emperor's playing of a harpsichord, vividly illustrates the difficulty of intercultural musical empathy:

> When the sovereign occasionally touched a key with only one finger, it was enough to fill the courtiers with admiration according to the extravagant flattery of the court.[3]

Ripa's judgment of an imperial musical deficiency stemmed from an application to his observations of a many-fingered standard, whose inappropri-

ateness to the given situation lay beyond his imagination. The playing of traditional Chinese *qin* instruments, to which a digital surfeit provided no advantages, involved the economical use of just a few fingers, and the Kangxi emperor understandably had recourse to what was normative for him in attempting to learn a new instrument.

I shall return to the matter of languages shortly. Before then, I wish to highlight two other themes that have emerged from this study, concerning the theatrical, performative, and hence spatial (since performances take place in spaces, even the spaces of the mind) quality of music's roles in the religious practices related in this book.

First, the musical theatricality and performativity illustrated by numerous examples in this book, such as the processions from the Church of St. Paul, underscores multiple mobilities: across divides between body and mind; sensuality and abstraction; materiality and immateriality; interiority and exteriority, as mediated by both words and music, concerning which we may recall the dialectical understanding of Catholic spirituality articulated by Francisco de Sales Lao and Viola Ho; and the moveability of sounds and their persistence at single sites. The last of these mobilities finds a clear instance in the flourishing of a native Catholic community and its associated musics in Macau beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, despite the Chinese imperial regime's suppression of Christianity for over a hundred years, so that the initial steps toward indigenizing the faith among locals, connected especially with the affiliated school of the College of St. Paul, achieved a degree of permanence through the workings of memory. One might draw a comparison here with the more dramatic example of the Kakure Kirishitan (Hidden Christians) of Japan, the underground believers discovered during the late nineteenth century to have maintained their religion and religious music for over two hundred years.[4]

Second, while some observers might favorably view this unbending spiritual commitment under harsh conditions of oppression and suffering, persistence can take the more negative form of stasis and even aggressive positionality. In connection with Catholic sacred music in Macau and other globalized locales, such aggressive positionality tends to emerge concretely as a standing atop, implying a trampling upon: That position might be atop/upon a high hill (e.g., the College of St. Paul) and even the entire earth (see figure 3), or on top of one's idolatrous enemies (see figure 11, a carving upon the façade of the Church of St. Paul of the Virgin Mary standing atop a seven-headed dragon[5]); and, in a converse power relation, the persecuted Christians in Japan who, with ironic cruelty, were forced to stomp

Figure 11. The Virgin Mary atop a seven-headed dragon. Stone relief, façade of the Church of St. Paul, Macau.

upon the *fumi-e*, a tablet depicting Jesus, to prove *their* acceptance of the "true" religion, namely, the state-sponsored Buddhism.[6] If we bring sound into this problematizing of vertical positional relations, we can consider that elevated situations sometimes serve to enable silencing, whether by disproportionately amplifying one's own aural productions (e.g., martial music played upon the hill where the Monte Fort was perched), or more directly by means of targeted suppression, as in the case of the Kakure Kirishitan and

their music. I would even propose that contemporary academic research on global topics, in its continuing proclivity for privileging dominant voices through linguistic one-sidedness (e.g., the persistent concentration upon Western-language documentary sources), practices silencing as well, despite and against its self-representation as a democratizing, inclusive scholarly direction. In place of this verticality of "outreach" (which in fact is a turning inwards and a surreptitious conversion of decentering into recentering), one can instead foster a horizontal or multilateral approach to others that manifests itself above in a polylingual temperament and a willingness to accept that one's habitual terminology cannot encompass complete understanding of phenomena such as "sound."

Consequently, and to return finally to the matter of languages, incomplete knowledge or not-knowing constitutes a profoundly humane way of knowing.[7] In other words, a shrinkage of comprehension, or more precisely, *consciousness* of this shrinkage, is paradoxically also its increase (though the paradox is a superficial one, willed into existence by bluntly totalizing attitudes). And this shrinkage-cum-increase is most vividly highlighted by the diversity of languages, or what we might concisely refer to as Babel, with the "confusion" engendered by the allegedly disorderly naming of the organ standing as a quintessential example. Of course, such an argument does not intend to justify half-hearted effort and disinterest in gaining detailed awareness of the speech forms of others, which is yet another practice of stasis. Rather, global outreach, which demands movement and mobility, needs to be lateral and positioned at the bottom of the Tower of Babel, not at the heights.

From this "lower" perspective, the condition of Babel becomes a richly advantageous one, the conventional interpretation of polyglotism as punishment notwithstanding. It heightens awareness of the potential of space both as a tool of control and as a bestowal of permission and freedom. Hence, the Chinese imperial government sought to create separate, divided spaces for natives and foreigners, through occasionally violent enforcement of physical borders. Yet numerous individuals, both European missionaries and indigenous converts, gave themselves permission, as it were, to "violate" the divide, bringing their beliefs, ideas, sounds, and, when feasible, material objects (such as musical instruments) to new locations. My ironic reference to violation should not be taken as a utopian, romanticized notion of mobility, as if entry into other spaces is always a humane and compassionate act, and never invasion; it aims rather to point out the frequent character of containment and exclusion as profoundly coercive too. Mobility, then, covers the gamut of human behaviors and motivations, and it can be notably empowering,

as I have attempted to argue with respect to the Chinese Catholic community of Macau, who refuse immobilization by conformity to rigid constructions of their identity and music as colonial European or native Asian. Yet I have also endeavored to balance such an interpretation by taking care to call attention to the troubling circumstance of this community's de-emphasis of past discrimination against non-Catholic Chinese. Again, a celebration of mobility should not uncritically turn a blind eye to its attendant dangers, especially when the privilege of movement is not shared equally. The tale of the Jesuits' "journey to the East," which has sometimes assumed an epic and mythic aura in modern historiography, may be legitimately admired for the extraordinary perseverance maintained in the face of the extreme difficulties that confronted the missionaries in Asia.[8] At the same time, the militancy and aggression underlying the world-encompassing movements undertaken by the Society of Jesus serves to underscore a comfortable affinity of mobility with exceptionalism and triumphalism. The single case study of Catholic sacred music in Macau explored in this book therefore might help to indicate some directions toward an increased centering of ethics in scholarship on musics in motion and global music history.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. The spellings "Macau" and "Macao" both appear in the documentary record, with the latter occurring with rather greater frequency. However, in this book, I adopt the former, which accords with the orthographic reform that took place shortly after the fall of the Bragança monarchy and the establishment of the First Portuguese Republic in 1910.

2. The destructive activities of Japanese pirates along the Chinese coast during the first half of the sixteenth century led to a disruption of official economic ties between the two empires. The highly profitable export of Chinese silk was nonetheless maintained through the expedient of Portuguese sea merchants based in Macau who served as intermediaries. However, both Japan and China sought to exert strict control upon the foreign element of this arrangement of convenience, at once lucrative and threatening, especially as European interests in the region expanded into the religious domain.

3. Charles R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415–1825: A Succinct Survey* (Witwatersrand University Press, 1969), 18. See also Toby Green, "Policing the Empires: A Comparative Perspective on the Institutional Trajectory of the Inquisition in the Portuguese and Spanish Overseas Territories (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," *Hispanic Research Journal* 13, no. 1 (February 2012): 11, which observes that the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions were implemented overseas with varying degrees of commitment according to which colonies most effectively served economic, political, and social aims in any given period; for example, "As Goa was one of the major centres for expanding Portuguese power in the sixteenth century, the establishment of the inquisitorial tribunal there followed a commercial and institutional rationale as much as it did a purely religious one. This is, of course, not to deny the proselytizing ambitions of Francis Xavier, but rather to contextualize the success of his appeals to the monarchy back in Portugal." Isabel dos Guimarães Sa, "Portuguese Colonial Charity: The Misericórdias of Goa, Bahia and Macao," in *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds: Essays in Honor of Kirti N. Chaudhuri*, ed. Stefan C. A. Halikowski Smith (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 328, notes that Macau's religious orders subsidized their missionary activities through profits from trade. This kind of financial dependency

is readily confirmed by the primary historical documentation, as in the annual letter of 1649 of the College of St. Paul, which relates a donation of a quantity of leather amounting to twelve thousand *taeis* by a Japanese cleric to support the studies of twelve Japanese students at the seminary (the section of the College devoted to pre-collegiate education), though the funds raised could make up only partially for the loss of trade with Japan as this kingdom embarked upon an isolationist policy; and several petitions of 1691 submitted by Father Manoel Ferreyra to King Pedro II of Portugal, requesting economic relief and exemption from taxation during Japan's continuing closure. See Mathias da Maya, "Collegio de Macao" [College of Macau] (annual letter of 1649), 26 January 1650, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, codex 49-IV-61, f. 3r (duplicate copy in codex 49-V-13, f. 642r); Manoel Ferreyra, "Petição de Manoel Ferreyra a el Rey sobre a izenção de pagar as meyas annatas" [Petition of Father Manoel Ferreyra to the King Concerning the Exemption from Paying the *Me*[*y*]*as Annatas*], 1691, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 84r–v (duplicate copy in codex 49-VI-1, f. 2r); and Manoel Ferreyra, "Petiçam do Padre Manoel Ferreyra a el Rey Nosso Senhor sobre a fundaçam do Seminario de Macao" [Petition of Father Manoel Ferreyra to the King Our Lord Concerning the Founding of the Seminary of Macau], 1691, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 83r–84r (duplicate copies in codex 49-VI-1, f. 2r–v, 2v–3r). The *tael* (singular of *taeis*) was a unit of weight or currency common in East and Southeast Asia during this period. The aforementioned documents are examined in more detail in chapter 2, "The Establishment of the College of St. Paul, Macau."

4. Cathryn H. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge: Macau and the Question of Chineseness* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 33–58.

5. Sheyla Schuvartz Zandonai, "Borders Within the City: Retracing Macao's Identity," *Revista de cultura / Review of Culture* (international ed.) 30 (2009): 27, comments as follows on the construction in 1574 of the Portas do Cerco (Barrier Gate, lit. Gates of Siege), a physical boundary regarded by the author as an attempt to make an imaginary divide into a real one: "The Barrier Gate served either to prevent newcomers from accessing the continent or to dissuade the Chinese from entering the peninsula—a twofold role it had in common with similar constructions in China, such as the Great Wall. By such means, Chinese authorities could prevent the Portuguese from reaching the densely populated Guangzhou (Canton), the most important trade city in the south of China, while controlling the distribution of food supplies and other necessities to Macao. Later on, government officials were also able to manage the flow of Chinese who steadily sought work in the peninsula. Last, but not least, the Barrier Gate came to prove who was effectively in command of the situation, giving China the upper hand against unexpected, although at this point rather unlikely, Portuguese moves towards the mainland." See Figure 9 for a photograph of the current incarnation of the Portas do Cerco.

6. João de Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe: Person, Culture and Emotion in Macao* (Continuum, 2002), 135, observes: "In the 1950s, the economic blockade of China by the Western powers meant that, once again, China was faced with its age-old problem of isolation—which had been at the basis of Macao's very foundation four centuries earlier. . . . Macao became a passageway for enormous amounts of products that were indispensable for the survival of Mao's regime: petrol, metals, cars, chemical products, etc. These were purchased by the PRC's representative in the Territory, the Nam Kwong Consortium."

7. Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-City of Goa, 1510–1700," *Studies in History* 25, no. 1 (2009): 13–38.

8. The College of St. Paul, the principal Jesuit institution in Macau until the eighteenth century, will occupy a position of central importance in this study. It is also referred to in historical sources as the "Collegio da Madre de Deos" (College of the Mother of God).

9. Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, "The 'View of Macau' by Gaspard Duché de Vanchy in the Atlas of La Pérouse voyage around the world (1787)," *Academia Letters* (August 2021): 3.

10. It is important not to regard a mobility that allegedly loosened once fixed physical and cultural boundaries as a distinctive trait of "modern" peoples; rather, one can argue only for an *enhancement* (through technology) of mobility, of which Stephen Greenblatt notes that it "can indeed lead to heightened tolerance of difference and an intensified awareness of the mingled inheritances that constitute even the most tradition-bound cultural stance, but it can also lead to an anxious, defensive, and on occasion violent policing of the boundaries. The crucial first task for scholars is simply to recognize and to track the movements that provoke both intense pleasure and intense anxiety." Stephen Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 6–7.

11. Francisco Vizeu Pinheiro, Kogi Yagi, and Miki Korenaga, "The Role of Iberian Institutions in the Evolution of Macao," *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering* 4, no. 2 (November 2005): 287.

12. Liang Di 梁迪, "Xiyang fengqin shi" 西洋風琴詩 [The Western Organ], reprinted in *Aomen jilüe* 澳門紀略 [Record of Macau], comp. Yin Guangren 印光任 and Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 (Chengwen 成文, repr. ed., 1968), 252. Translation modified from Zhang Wenqin, "Catholicism in the Poetry of Macao During the Qing Dynasty," *Review of Culture* (2nd series, English ed.) 30 (Spring 1997), http://www.icm.gov.mo/rc/viewer/20030/1202.

13. For translations of administrative titles of the Chinese imperial bureaucracy, I have drawn upon Ying Zhang, Susan Xue, Zhaohui Xue, and Li Ni, *Chinese-English Dictionary of Ming Government Official Titles* (2017), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2bz3v185 (accessed 14 July 2022). Though this source relates specifically to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), I have used its translations also for the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), as the latter, a "foreign" Manchu regime, sought to represent itself as Chinese and hence legitimate rulers of the Middle Kingdom by appropriating the ceremonial and bureaucratic practices of the former. The title of vice-prefect derives from the status of Macau as a sub-prefectural unit within Guangdong Province.

14. The original text of this line of the poem, *lai jing yi sheng jian* 籟靜一聲間, may be rendered as "one sound (*sheng*) amid a quiet of sound (*lai*)," with both *sheng* and *lai* denoting "sound." *Lai* suggests a more spiritualized conception of sonic phenomena, which I have attempted to convey through my translation. All translations in this book are mine unless otherwise noted. I transcribe Chinese characters according to their pronunciation in modern-day spoken Mandarin, employing the system of pinyin romanization that is prevalent in the People's Republic of China.

15. Yin Guangren, "Sanba si xiaozhong shi" 三巴寺曉鐘詩 [The Bell of the Temple of St. Paul at Daybreak], in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 213. This poem is one of

ten scenic representations by Yin of "Moat Mirror" (*Haojing* 濠鏡), a historical name for Macau.

16. The boundaries persisted into contemporary times, as underscored by the dual Portuguese and Chinese naming of individual streets in Macau, with the name in one language having no relation to that in the other. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 194, characterizes this situation of coexistence without interchange as "the irrelevance of Portuguese sovereignty to the lives of the majority of Macau residents" and "two different cities in the same place." Vincent Ho, "'Aocheng' or 'Cidade do Nome de Deus': The Nomenclature of Portuguese and Castilian Buildings of Old Macao from the 'Reversed' Gaze of the Chinese," in *Culture and Identity in the Luso-Asian World: Tenacities & Plasticities*, ed. Laura Jarnagin (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012), 253, similarly notes the independent naming of Macau's churches in the different languages, for example, "Board-Covered Temple" (*Banzhang miao* 板樟廟) for the Church of St. Dominic, "Relaxed Dragon Temple" (*Longsong miao* 龍鬆廟) for the Church of St. Augustine, and "Windy Message Temple" (*Fengxin miao* 風信廟) for the Church of St. Lawrence: "The difference between the original Portuguese and Castilian names and the Chinese names is that the latter were usually just descriptions of the physical appearance of the building or the social function of the churches, rather than a reference to the deities being worshipped there. . . . As most of the Chinese people at that time did not know any Portuguese, they created different names for the buildings in Macao established by the Portuguese merchants and missionaries." The Chinese othering of Europeans in Macau and the neighboring province of Guangdong was of course reciprocated, especially in later centuries during the heyday of Western colonial activities in the East Asia region. Examples include the exclusion of natives from civil service appointments in Macau (with the sole exception of ordained priests) and the enforcement of graded salary tiers for Portuguese, baptized Chinese, and non-Catholic Chinese persons; see Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 285. Hao Zhidong, *Macau: History and Society* (Hong Kong University Press, 2nd ed., 2020), 113, notes that the possession of a European name could by itself result in higher pay.

17. David Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800* (Rowman & Littlefield, 4th ed., 2012).

18. "Memoria do principio do Collegio de Macau, ou caza primeyro antes de ser Collegio [. . .]" [Record of the Beginnings of the College of Macau, or [of] the First Institution Prior to [Its] Being a College [. . .]], 1617 or later, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-IV-55, p. 82 (internal pagination). A Portuguese league (*legoa*) was equivalent to approximately six kilometers.

19. On Wu, see the essays in *Culture, Art, and Religion: Wu Li (1632–1718) and His Inner Journey: International Symposium Organised by the Macau Ricci Institute, Macao, November 27th–29th 2003* (Macau Ricci Institute, 2006); Jonathan Chaves, *Singing of the Source: Nature and God in the Poetry of the Chinese Painter Wu Li* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1992); Jonathan Chaves, "Wu Li (1632–1718) and the First Chinese Christian Poetry," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122, no. 3 (July–September 2002): 506–19; and Jonathan Chaves, "Wu Li's Vision of Zither Music as Resonating with Christianity: Tones of Western Wonder," *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 36 (2014): 7–13.

20. From Wu Li 吳歷, *Sanba ji* 三巴集 [St. Paul Anthology]. Translation from Chaves, "Wu Li (1632–1718) and the First Chinese Christian Poetry," 515.

21. Li Qifeng 李棲鳳, "Guangdong xunfu Li Qifeng tibao Helan chuanzhi lai Yue yaoqiu maoyi kong yu zhu ao puren fasheng maodun xu congchangjiyi ben" 廣東巡撫李棲鳳題報荷蘭船隻來粵要求貿易恐與住澳葡人發生矛盾須從長計議本 [Report of the Grand Coordinator of Guangdong Province Li Qifeng Concerning the Need for Lengthy Consideration of the Conflict Arising Between the Dutch Ships Arrived at Guangdong Issuing a Trade Ultimatum and the Portuguese Residing in Macau], 1653, reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti dangan wenxian huibian* 明清時期澳門問題檔案文獻彙編 (Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 6v., 1999), 1:27.

22. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (University of Texas Press, 1982), 285.

23. Huang Lezhi 黃樂之, "Xieli jingjidao jiancha yushi Huang Lezhi zouqing chicha Yingguo bingchuan shanchuang neihe ji youwu hanjian zousi chuanbi deng qingzhe" 協理京畿道監察御史黃樂之奏請飭查英國兵船擅闖內河及有無漢奸走私串弊等情摺 [Request of Huang Lezhi, Assistant Investigating Censor for the Transport Circuit, for an Investigation of an English Warship That Trespassed the River's Interior and the Possible Presence [Onboard] of Traitors Who Smuggle [and] Collude] (after 1812), reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 2:313.

24. *Fangyan* 方言 is often translated as "dialect." But a better rendering is "topolect" (the linguistic practice of a particular region), since an ability to comprehend the speech of one of the so-called Chinese dialects does not confer the same ability in another dialect; for example, speakers of Mandarin cannot understand Cantonese in the way that speakers of British English understand American English.

25. Manuel Dias junior, "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Jesus de Macao do anno de 1616" [Annual Letter of the College of the Mother of God of the Society of Jesus in Macau in the Year of 1616], 8 January 1617, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-5, f. 183v (duplicate copy in codex 49-V-7, f. 97v). The annual letters were reports sent yearly by Jesuit missionaries from abroad to their superiors in Europe, and provided regular updates on the progress of the global evangelizing project.

26. Interview, 22 June 2019, Hotel Royal, Macau.

27. The Canton System was established to regulate foreign trade by restricting it to a single dedicated port and was known in Chinese as *yikou tongshang* 一口通商 ("one-port commerce"). On the history of the Canton System, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong University Press, 2005); and Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong University Press, 2011). "Canton" is an old European name for both Guangdong Province and its capital city, Guangzhou.

28. The *Aomen jilüe* is partially reprinted in the *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 6:280–318. For the citations in this book, I use the complete reprint edition of 1968 (see n. 12).

29. Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macau: A Cultural Janus* (Hong Kong University Press, 1999), 39–41, offers a summary of the historiographical disputes concerning Macau's origins.

30. A useful compilation of poems related specifically to Macau is Zhang Wenqin 章文欽, ed., *Aomen shici jianzhu* 澳門詩詞箋注 [Annotated Collection of Macau Poetry] (Zhuhai chubanshe 珠海出版社, 4v., 2002).

31. A sampling of published writings on music in Macau includes Dai Dingcheng, "A Survey of Liturgical Compositions in Macao in the Twentieth Century: Musical Life with São José as Its Centre," in *Macao: The Formation of a Global City*, ed. Katrine K. Wong and C. X. George Wei (Routledge, 2014), 136–55; Dai Dingcheng, *Catholic Music in Macao in the Twentieth Century: Music Writers and Their Works in a Unique Historical Context*, trans. Tang Yating (Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao S. A. R. Government, 2015); Li Hongjun 李宏君, *Aomen yinyue* 澳門音樂 [The Music of Macau] (Sanlian shudian 三聯書店, 2009); Margaret Lynn and Graça Marques, eds., *Yue. Ji: Ou Shida shenfu jinianji* 樂.跡.:區師達神父紀念集 / *Áureo Castro: Retrato de um músico* / *Áureo Castro: A Portrait of a Musician* (Diocese de Macau—Academia de Música S. Pio X, 2015); Aurelio Porfiri, "When Saint Cecilia Meets Confucius: Doming Lam's '*Missa Laudis*' in the Context of the Music Culture of Macau," *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra [International Journal of Sacred Music]*, new series 35, nos. 1–2 (2014): 249–75; and Aurelio Porfiri, "Making Music in the Dragon's Land: An Italian Priest and Macau in the 1920s," *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, new series 36, nos. 1–2 (2015): 335–61.

32. An example is Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007). In a review of this monograph, Rui Magone observes that, to write his book, Brockey evidently read more than thirty thousand pages of documents, "which, by the way, tend to be rather indecipherable to the untrained eye." See Rui Magone, "Reseña de 'Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China' de Liam Matthew Brockey" [Review of 'Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China' of Liam Matthew Brockey], *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 14 (June 2007): 119.

33. Kate van Orden, "Introduction: Music and Mobility," in *Seachanges: Music in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Worlds, 1550–1800*, ed. Kate van Orden (I Tatti—The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2021), 13, emphasizes the importance of a focus on orality for scholarship on global history. Referring to Francesco Spagnolo's contribution to the volume, on synagogue music in Corfu, Greece, she notes that "Spagnolo's disentangling of the various strains of Jewish ritual on Corfu employed an archive of mid twentieth-century field recordings made by ethnomusicologists, a strong reminder that written records, too, can be studied as 'sound recordings' from the past." For my own work on Macau, I have sought to "listen" to my documentary materials as recordings of a kind that preserve, in a sense, sounds still susceptible to audition, even if the tangible immediacy of these sounds has been lost.

34. Francisco G. Cunha Leão, coord., *Jesuítas na Ásia: Catálogo e guia* [Jesuits in Asia: Catalog and Guide] (Instituto Cultural de Macau, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico da Biblioteca da Ajuda, 2v., 1998), provides a listing by title of all documents copied in the collection. As described in Josef Franz Schütte, "Wiederentdeckung des Makao-Archivs: Wichtige Bestände des alten Fernost-Archivs der Jesuiten, heute in Madrid" [Rediscovery of the Macau Archive: Important Holdings of the Old Jesuit Archive of the Far East, Now in Madrid], *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 30 (1961): 90–124, the production of the copy originated from two distinct

impulses, one connected with the desire of the Jesuit authorities in Rome to compile a systematic record of the debates surrounding the Chinese Rites Controversy and the other with the aim of the Academia Real da História Portuguesa to produce a comprehensive history of Portugal, including its overseas territories. Schütte also details the survival of the original documents of the Jesuit archive in Macau (preserved nowadays in several institutions in Madrid) and the overall concordance with their duplicates in Lisbon. The critical literature on the Chinese Rites Controversy, which concerned an effort by Jesuit missionaries to accommodate the native practice of ancestral worship among converted locals, is copious; David Mungello, *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning* (Steyler Verlag, 1994), provides an overview of the principal issues shaping the dispute.

35. José Montanha, *Apparatos pera a história ecclesiástica do bispado de Macao* [*Materials for an Ecclesiastical History of the Bishopric of Macau*], Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, codex 1659, fol. 1r. For a discussion of the relationship of the *Apparatos* to the Jesuítas na Ásia collection, as well as a general description of its contents, see Josef Franz Schütte, "P. Joseph Montanha's 'Apparatos' und die Abschrift des Fernost-Archivs S. I. im Rahmen der Initiative der Academia Real da História Portuguesa" [Father Joseph Montanha's 'Materials' and the Copying of the Far East Archive of the Society of Jesus in the Context of the Initiative of the Portuguese Royal Academy of History], *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 31 (1962): 225–63. A modern edition of the annual letters of the College of St. Paul written between 1594 and 1627 is available in João Paulo de Oliveira e Costa and Ana Fernandes Pinto, *Cartas ánuas do Colégio de Macau (1594–1627)* [Annual Letters of the College of Macau (1594–1627)] (Fundação Macau, 1999). I would like to express particular thanks to Jingyi Zhang and Lucas Reccitelli for sending me scans of excerpts from the copy of this volume in the Harvard University Library, which allowed me to read several documents for which I could not obtain reproductions of their originals.

36. Eugenio Menegon, "Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus) and Their China Holdings," https://blogs.bu.edu/emenegon/files/2012/01/Menegon-Archivum-Romanum-Societatis-Iesu-on-China.pdf (accessed 4 July 2023). A further crucial source for understanding the attitudes and motivations that fueled the far-reaching, global journeys of the Jesuits is the *litterae indipetae*, or "letters of petition for the Indies," submitted by applicants for overseas missions to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, from whom approval was required to undertake such missions. The Digital Indipetae Database hosted by Boston College has made these letters, which number in the thousands, available for online consultation, at https://indipetae.bc.edu. A representative set of *litterae indipetae* are the three written by Carlo Sarti in 1728–29. The first describes the petitioner's evangelizing fervor as "such a fire inside" and the second refers to the "Holy Japanese Martyrs" (the twenty-six Catholics executed in Nagasaki, Japan, on 5 February 1597), in a telling linkage of key missionary tropes. On Sarti, see Elisa Frei, *Early Modern Litterae Indipetae for the East Indies* (Brill, 2023), 122–24.

37. Hon-Fai Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau: Changing Meanings of Religiosity, Morality and Civility* (Routledge, 2007), 5–11, details the growth of this community.

38. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 52–58.

39. I discuss this aim of a "local sublime" in two recent articles: "Institutional Religion and Personal Religiosity in a Postcolonial Context: Sacred Music and the Chinese Catholic Community in Contemporary Macau," *Acta Musicologica* 93, no. 2 (2021): 199–218; and "Scents and Flavors: Catholic Music in the Service of *Noi-Sing* in Macau," in *Chiesa, musica: Testi e contesti* [Church, Music: Texts and Contexts], ed. Carlos Alberto Moreira Azevedo and Richard Rouse (Aracne, 2021), 137–46.

40. I am indebted to Kate van Orden's keynote lecture, "Language Stories," at the Sixth Congress of the Regional Association for Latin America and the Caribbeans of the International Musicological Society (ARLAC), Mexico City, Mexico, 7–10 August 2024, for indicating the applicability of the idea of interanimation of languages to my subject matter.

41. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," 265. Here we may note yet another variant meaning of "language," illustrated by an expression such as "the language of Shakespeare," which usually refers not to English but rather to this writer's literary style (whether or not such reference valorizes Shakespeare's authorial individuality).

42. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," 269.

43. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," 270.

44. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," 295–96 (emphasis in original).

45. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," 295.

46. I find Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt's notion of aporia a useful interpretative tool here. By "aporia," these two scholars mean the flaws, or "tears," in representation that bring into the foreground representation itself, which depends upon concealment for its persuasive force. See Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, "The Wound in the Wall," in *Practicing New Historicism*, ed. Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt (University of Chicago Press, 2000), 108–9.

47. Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 141–51, offers a detailed discussion of the likely reasons for Jesuit reluctance to ordain a native clergy, during the seventeenth century when the order suffered a severe shortage of manpower in overseeing the growing number of converts. He regards the strength of the Society's corporate identity, fostered among its members by their shared experience of intensive training in the order's European seminaries, as a key explanation. Though Brockey's interpretation seems largely convincing to me, it nevertheless glosses over substantive evidence of racist attitudes within the Jesuit ranks, most disturbingly manifested in a penchant for ownership of slaves. See chap. 2, n. 36.

48. Macau's first Chinese bishop, Domingos Ka-tseung Lam 林家駿 was not appointed until 1987. Concerning the social hierarchy that prevailed in late colonial Macau, with Chinese Catholics enjoying privileges from which other Chinese were excluded, but standing below European Catholics, see n. 16 above.

49. Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994), 122 states: "Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (italics in original). For an illuminating example of the refusal of difference, see Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Duke University Press, 2008), 53–54.

50. Zandonai, "Borders within the City," 25. Closely related to the notion of an

imaginary of borders is Edward Said's imaginative geography. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Knopf Doubleday, 1979), chap. 4, "Imaginative Geography and Its Representations: *Orientalizing the Orient*" (49–73).

51. Zandonai, "Borders within the City," 26.

52. Zandonai, "Borders within the City," 28.

53. Zandonai, "Borders within the City," 29–30. Though the present book focuses on the Sino-Western divide and thus lends particular attention to the European and Chinese communities in Macau and Guangdong Province, it must be emphasized that there existed, and still exists today, a hybrid group, called "Macanese" in Western languages and "native-born Portuguese" (*tusheng puren* 土生葡人) in Chinese. Mostly descendants of the immediate offspring of Asian mothers and European fathers (not only those settled in or visiting Macau, but any of various sites in the Estado da Índia, or State of India, the name given by the Portuguese to their territories in the Indian Ocean region and East Asia), the Macanese have crossed two different cultural worlds with relative ease, above all because of their fluency in both Portuguese and Cantonese. Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 41, calls this advantage *the capital of intercultural communication*, a notion that underscores the potential alignment of hybridity with social privilege, rather than necessarily with egalitarianism. Within the class structure mentioned in n. 16 above, the Macanese occupied a position lower than the European Portuguese but higher than Chinese Catholics; for example, they could readily obtain positions within Macau's civil service system. On the emergence of the Macanese as a distinctive hybrid community, see Roy Eric Xavier, "Luso-Asians and the Origins of Macau's Cultural Development," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 57 (July 2017): 187–205.

54. Norbert Meyn, Peter Adey, and Nils Grosch, "Foregrounding Mobility Rather Than Belonging: A Conceptual Framework for Engaging with Music Shaped by Transnational Migration," *Acta Musicologica* 95, no. 1 (2023): 9.

55. Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Hearing Geography in Motion: Processes of the Musical Imagination in Diaspora," in *Territories and Trajectories: Cultures in Circulation*, ed. Diana Sorensen (Duke University Press, 2018), 47.

56. Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 234: "The Society's Asian enterprises saw more men die aboard ship than arrive at their destinations. The seventeenth-century Jesuit chronicler of the overseas missions, Danielo Bartoli, described the number of unrealized vocations that ended in burial at sea as 'the annual tribute that the Society pays to the ocean.'"

57. Green, "Policing the Empires," 9.

58. Land reclamation projects during the twentieth century enlarged Macau to its present size of approximately thirty square kilometers; on the earliest of these projects, see Philippe Forêt, "Globalizing Macau: The Emotional Costs of Modernity," in *Globalization and the Chinese City*, ed. Fulong Wu (Routledge, 2006), 108–24. The idea of Macau's marginality reflects perceptions not only of the city's geographical remoteness but also of its secondary political and economic importance relative to Beijing, Lisbon, and Hong Kong, among other "centers"; Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 65–69, even suggests a "pathological" marginality associated with excessive permissiveness toward illicit activities (unregulated entry of foreigners, dubious monetary exchanges such as gambling). It is my contention that marginal, peripheral, and remote condi-

tions of being enable mobility to an extent rarely possible in the centric state of mind, with its investments in continuity.

59. Stephen Greenblatt, "A Mobility Studies Manifesto," in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 250.

60. From Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Rethinking Music and Mobility," keynote lecture delivered at the NTU-CUHK Joint Music Forum, *Music & Mobility*, Taipei, Taiwan, 6–7 May 2016. I thank Professor Shelemay for sharing the text of this lecture with me.

61. Eugenio Menegon, "Interlopers at the Fringes of Empire: The Procurators of the Propaganda Fide Papal Congregation in Canton and Macao, 1700–1823," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 7, no. 1 (May 2018): 59.

62. Thomas Irvine, *Listening to China: Sound and the Sino-Western Encounter, 1770–1839* (University of Chicago Press, 2020), develops a narrative of the encounter between Europeans and Chinese based upon the author's exclusive consultation of Western documentary sources and hence conveys little sense of the entanglement of differing perspectives. Though European ideas of China varied widely, most nevertheless shared a common sense of a profoundly distant other, one consequently available to an unlimited freedom of imaginative constructions and tropes, without the inconvenience of having to take into account this other's substantive human realities.

63. "Collegio de Macau" [College of Macau] (annual letter of 1665), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-15, f. 228v. The "palm of martyrdom" is bestowed in this letter upon Father Giovanni Maria Leria (1597–1665), who worked as a missionary between 1642 and 1647 in the kingdom of Laos, where he was repeatedly subject to threats of physical violence, as reported by another Jesuit missionary, Giovanni Filippo de Marini (1608–1682): "More than once he came close to a glorious death, but the Father was not afraid, nor did he try to escape. It was the tyrant who decided not to execute the Father, even when he was not lacking the audacity or will [to kill him]." Translation from Cesare Polenghi, "Giovanni Filippo de Marini, *Delle Missioni* . . . (1663): An Annotated Translation of the Chapters on Cambodia, Siam, and Makassar," *Journal of the Siam Society* 95 (2007): 38. The notice of the death of Leria contained in the letter provides a dating for this document. The annual letters sent from Jesuit institutions around the world to the Society's administrative centers in Europe constitute a distinctive feature of this order's epistolary culture, and played a crucial role in maintaining the cohesiveness of an endeavor of massive geographical scope.

64. Maya, "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1649), 26 January 1650, f. 31r (f. 642r).

65. Jen-yen Chen, "Institutional Religion and Personal Religiosity," 212–15.

66. Jen-yen Chen, "Institutional Religion and Personal Religiosity," 215.

CHAPTER 1

1. For a comprehensive listing of writings specifically concerning the activities of Jesuit missionaries in China during a crucial early century, see Erik Zürcher, Nicolas Standaert, and Adrianus Dudink, eds., *Bibliography of the Jesuit Mission in China ca. 1580–ca. 1680* (Centre for Non-Western Studies of Leiden University, 5v., 1991).

2. Of necessity, research on this topic diverges from a certain mainstream of historical musicology in which concepts of the composer and the work furnish a primary framework for interpretation and analysis. These concepts do not usefully elucidate practices of Chinese listening before the nineteenth century. Hence the following discussion, though involving detailed examination of historical documentation, relies to a significant degree upon perspectives drawn from the new subdisciplines of ecomusicology and sound studies. It differs in its methodology from projects investigating, say, the reception of Beethoven in China or the formation of musical tastes among modern Chinese concert-going audiences. Earlier scholarly writings that provide detailed theoretical treatment of the issues relevant to the present subject matter include R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Destiny Books, 1977); Mark M. Smith, ed., *Hearing History: A Reader* (University of Georgia Press, 2004); Aaron S. Allen and Kevin Dawe, eds., *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature* (Routledge, 2016); and Aaron S. Allen, "Ecomusicology from Poetic to Practical," in *Handbook of Ecocriticism and Cultural Ecology*, ed. Hubert Zapf (De Gruyter, 2016), 644–63. Some notable recent examples of historical sound studies are Robert L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (Oxford University Press, 2002); Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford University Press, 2014); and Sarah Justina Eyerly, *Moravian Soundscapes: A Sonic History of the Moravian Missions in Early Pennsylvania* (Indiana University Press, 2020).

3. See Chen Yedong 陳業東, "Shilun Aomen jiuti shigezhong de zhongsheng yixiang" 試論澳門舊體詩歌中的鐘聲意象 [Essay on the Image of Bell Sounds in Old-Style Poetry of Macau], in *Zhongguo jindai wenxue lungao* 中國近代文學論稿 [On Modern Chinese Literature], ed. Chen Yedong (Aomen jindai wenhua xuehui 澳門近代文化學會, 1999), 226–35, which notes that the ringing bells of Buddhist temples, like flowing water (*liushui* 流水), form a prevalent image in Chinese poetry, so that no more than a modest adaptation was required to enable comfortable native reception of the ringing of the bell of the Church of St. Paul. Chen also elaborates the associative quality of Chinese poetic images as follows: "In the art of [Chinese] poetry, images (*yixiang* 意象) are, apart from [their role in] diction, also an important constitutive element. [Poetic] works of art are constructed out of images, without exception. Images are indicative of an organic manifestation of art's external form effected out of objective scenic or material phenomena in their entire appearances and concrete interactions, [they] are the profound correspondence of feelings and objects, the rich sentiments of the poet fused with the external materiality of artistic media" (227).

4. Cai Xianyuan 蔡顯原, "Ting xiyang yinü cao yangqin" 聽西洋夷女操洋琴 [Listening to a Western Barbarian Woman Playing the *Yangqin*] (1827), reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 6:830–31. Based on Cai's description, what he terms a "*yangqin*" 洋琴 is probably a domestic organ rather than a Chinese hammered dulcimer, with "Western zither" as a possible literal translation. On the historical dissemination of the organ in China, see David Francis Urrows, *Keys to the Kingdom: A History of the Pipe Organ in China* (Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2017).

5. For a critical discussion of the key role of textuality in shaping the character of the musicological discipline, see Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Musicology as Performance* (Oxford University Press, 2013), esp. 8–24.

6. I regard extrapolation as akin to memory, in that it attempts to grasp the unknown through reference to remembered patterns.

7. Irvine, *Listening to China*, 6, proposes the notion of "imperial ears" as a sonic analogue to that of imperial eyes. A recent study that examines the relationship of coloniality and listening and offers a critical assessment of "the whiteness of sound studies" is Dylan Robinson, *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020).

8. According to the *Kangxi Dictionary (Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典), a lexicon compiled by Zhang Tingyu 張庭玉 (1672–1755) during the imperial reign after which it was named and published in 1716, in ancient times *yi* and *fan* respectively denoted ethnic groups of the eastern regions of China and foreign clothing; later, they became more general terms for non-Chinese persons. In this book I have elected to translate both as "barbarian" in order to foreground their Sinocentric implications, though this English equivalent is connotatively harsher than the two Chinese words. The *Kangxi Dictionary* is available online at http://xh.5156edu.com.

9. Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes, "Introduction," in *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters*, ed. Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes (Bucknell University Press, 2008), 22–23, notes that *firanghis* was applied to the French in seventeenth-century Mughal India by the nobleman and scholar Karam Ali yet also served as a general term for European foreigners. In this same collection of essays, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "On the Hat-Wearers, Their Toilet Practices, and Other Curious Usages," in Chatterjee and Hawes, *Europe Observed*, 45–81, demonstrates how *firanghis* came especially to signify the Portuguese in the Indian consciousness because of their extensive and often violent endeavors along the western coast of the subcontinent. Such a meaning was eventually disseminated to eastern Asia, the furthest extent of Portugal's global maritime network.

10. I draw here upon the concept of horizon formulated by Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) in his *Wahrheit und Methode* [Truth and Method] (Mohr, 1960). According to Gadamer, a horizon is the boundary demarcating the limit of what an individual or culture can see or know because of their location or standpoint. The concept emphasizes that no one can stand at all points simultaneously and thereby possess omniscient knowledge. Crucially, it also underscores human dynamism, in that individuals and cultures repeatedly modify their locations or standpoints in order to form new horizons or knowledge and do so specifically through encounters and exchanges with others whose horizons differ from their own.

11. The term *guanhua*, which derives from the pairing of *guan* (official) with *hua* (language or speech), refers to the language of government administration in imperial China. This administration was staffed by those who had passed the civil service examination. *Guanhua* is the precursor of contemporary Mandarin.

12. Cantonese, Fujianese, and other "dialects" are sometimes considered primarily oral languages, even though a number of them have given rise to significant traditions of written literature.

13. See n. 8 above.

14. The most common conjunction indicating sound in contemporary Chinese, *shengyin*, does not occur in the historical documentary sources insofar as I have studied them, however.

15. Cai Xianyuan, "Guan yiren zhu qi" 觀夷人諸器 [Observing the Various Machines of the Barbarians], reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 6:826.

16. Wang Shizhen 王士禛, *Chi bei ou tan* 池北偶談 [Casual Talks by the North Side of the Pond] (1701), *juan* 21. This passage is partially reprinted, without attribution, in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 213, 249. *Zi* and *wu* represent the northern and southern points, respectively, of the ancient Chinese compass, the former equivalent to 11 p.m. to 1 a.m. and the latter to 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. in modern timekeeping.

17. According to the Han-dynasty dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (a title roughly meaning "explaining text, analyzing characters"), compiled around 100 CE by Xu Shen 許愼 (58–148 CE), *lai* originally referred to a kind of flute.

18. You Tong 尤侗, "Yidaliya zhuzhici" 意大里亞竹枝詞 [Bamboo Lyric of Italy], reprinted in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 203. The term "bamboo lyric" (*zhuzhici*) indicates a popular genre of poems or songs originating from China's Sichuan Province, which when recited or sung were accompanied by a flute ("bamboo," or *zhu*), drums, and dancing. Poets working in more "elevated" traditions later appropriated the style of these lyrics for their own aesthetic purposes.

19. See n. 4 above.

20. For a detailed discussion of the provenance and aims of the numerous gazetteers printed in southern China during the Qing dynasty, see Zheng Chen, "Becoming Chinese: A Study on the Cantonese and Hakka Gazetteers During the 18th and 19th Centuries in Guangdong, China," https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7688z7bp (accessed 24 August 2024). The *Guangzhou fuzhi* can be consulted online as part of Donald Sturgeon's Chinese Text Project, at https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=92437.

21. Wu Cheng 吳澄, "Xiangshan xian 香山縣 [Xiangshan County]," in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 10, 11b. Pei-ling Huang has suggested to me a translation of the final character of this phrase, *yu* 羽, as "clear" (though its more straightforward meaning is "feather") because *yu* is also the name for the fifth note of the Chinese pentatonic scale: *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, *yu* 羽. I would like to express my thanks to her for this advice. According to the *Record of Music* (*Yueji* 記), one of the three texts of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), itself one of the Five Confucian Classics, *gong* is muddy while *yu* is extremely clear."

22. Zheng Chen, "Becoming Chinese," 6–9. Xiangshan County is located within Guangdong Province.

23. According to the *Shuowen jiezi*, *sheng* comprises all sounds while *yin* is produced only by humans and animals. Some 1,500 years later, the meaning of *yin* had shifted to encompass the sounds of musical instruments and other objects.

24. Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 266. The citation joins together and adapts phrases from different pages of the *Tongzhi* 通志 [Comprehensive Records] edited by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵: "Chinese is transmitted visually, so that it must be detailed in writing, Sanskrit is transmitted orally like music" (*juan* 35, 20a); and "Sanskrit has a limitless number of spoken words (*yin*), while Chinese has a limitless number of written words (*zi*)" (*juan* 35, 22b).

25. Huang Lezhi, "Xieli jingjidao jiancha yushi Huang Lezhi zouqing chicha Yingguo bingchuan."

26. "Lun Min-Guang zheng xiang yin" 論閩廣正鄉音 [On the Authentic Accents of Fujian and Guangdong], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 1, 33a.

27. However, in Chinese these inflections are referred to as *sheng*, again illustrating the hazy distinctions among the terms.

28. Cheng Jiu 成鷲, "Yu Puji chanyuan ji Donglin zhuzi shi" 寓普濟禪院寄東林諸子詩 [Living in Pou Chai Temple, Writing to the Donglin Scholars], reprinted in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 78.

29. Said, *Orientalism*, 92–93.

30. Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility," 1–2, asserts: "There is an urgent need to rethink fundamental assumptions about the fate of culture in an age of global mobility, a need to formulate, both for scholars and for the larger public, new ways to understand the vitally important dialectic of cultural persistence and change. This dialectic is not only a function of triumphant capitalism, free trade, and globalization; it is, as we hope to show, a much older phenomenon."

31. Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 107.

32. "Han" is an adjective used to encompass ethnically Chinese peoples of differing political and social characteristics, who nevertheless are regarded as sharing a common cultural heritage.

33. "Po shan" 坡山 [Sloping Mountain], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 9, 11a. The *li* is a Chinese mile, equivalent to approximately half a kilometer. In the Chinese language, however, expressions such as "ten *li*," when the numbers are round figures such as ten, a hundred, or a thousand, are often used for emphasis, rather than to indicate precise measures.

34. "Luogu gang" 羅皷岡 [Gongs and Drums Mound], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 9, 37b.

35. "Tongluo shi" 銅鑼石 [Gong Stone], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 9, 45b.

36. Indications of days and months in Chinese historical documents refer to the lunar, and not the solar, calendar. Hence, a translation of "the thirteenth day of the third month" as "March 13" would be incorrect.

37. "Tongzhi canbu" 通志參補 [Comprehensive Records Supplement], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 59, 3a.

38. "Jiaoshi ling" 焦石嶺 [Burnt Stone Ridge], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 5, 20b.

39. "Xiannü shi" 仙女石 [Fairy Stone], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 6, 24b.

40. "Gulou tan" 鼓樓潭 [Drum Tower Lake], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 9, 43a.

41. "Tonggu hai" 銅皷海 [Bronze Drum Sea], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 9, 44b.

42. "Wu ma ling" 五馬嶺 [Five Horses Ridge], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 5, 20b.

43. "Jingu jiao shan" 金鼓角山 [Gongs and Drums Horn Mountain], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 6, 1.

44. "Shigu shan" 石鼓山 [Stone Drum Mountain], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 5, 36a.

45. "Tong ling" 銅嶺 [Bronze Ridge], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 5, 38a.

46. "Tong ling zhanchang" 銅嶺戰場 [Bronze Ridge Battlefield], in *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 9, 34a.

47. *Guangzhou fuzhi*, *juan* 59, 3a.

48. Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* [. . .] [Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political, and Physical Description of the Chinese Empire and of Chinese Tartary [. . .]] (P. G. Lemercier, 4v., 1735–36), 3:328–29.

49. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* [Dictionary of Music] (Marc Michel Rey, 1768), planchet (plate) N. For a discussion of this melody in relation to

contemporary Parisian networks of knowledge, see Nathan John Martin, "Rousseau's Air Chinois," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 18, no. 1 (March 2021): 41–64.

50. Huang Lezhi, "Xieli jingjidao jiancha yushi Huang Lezhi zouqing chicha Yingguo bingchuan."

51. Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 129.

52. Report (dated 1519) of the censor He Ao 何鰲, in *Ming shi lu* 明實錄 [The Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty], *juan* 191, reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 5:21–22.

53. Chen Renxi 陳仁錫, in *Huang Ming shi fa lu* 皇明世法錄 [Ming Political Encyclopedia], *juan* 82, reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 5:76–77.

54. "Wanli zhong" 萬曆中 [During the Reign of the Wanli emperor], in *Ming shi* 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty], ed. Zhang Tingyu, *juan* 82, "Shihuo zhi" 食貨志 [Foods and Goods], 6, reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 5:8.

55. From Song Yingxing 宋應星, *Tiangong kaiwu* 天工開物 [The Exploitation of the Works of Nature] (1637), reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 5:365.

56. Although the straightforward meaning of *wo* 倭 is "Japanese," the use of the word here clearly suggests *wokou* or "Japanese pirates" who carried out raids along China's coast and were not necessarily Japanese; the term gradually came to indicate any foreigners carrying out illicit maritime activities.

57. From Feng Zhang 馮璋 (Feng Yangxu 馮養虛), *Feng Yangxu ji* 馮養虛集 [Writings of Feng Yangxu], in *Huang Ming jingshi wen bian* 皇明經世文編 [Collected Writings on Ming Statecraft], ed. Chen Zilong 陳子龍, Xu Fuyuan 徐孚遠, and Song Zhengbi 宋徵璧, *juan* 280, reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 5:227.

58. Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 222–23.

59. Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 211.

60. *Jinbi* refers specifically to certain pigments used in Chinese painting that together produce a golden-green effect, as in Wu Li's painting *Yunbai shanqing* 雲白山青 [White Clouds and Green Mountains] (National Palace Museum, Taipei; reproduction viewable at https://theme.npm.edu.tw/selection/Article.aspx?sNo=04000986), which may be compared to a color image of the façade of the Church of St. Paul.

61. Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 213. Curiously, some of the phrases of this passage are taken entirely or nearly *verbatim* from a description of the *Nantang* 南堂 (South Church) in Beijing that appeared in *Dijing jingwulüe* 帝京景物略 (Record of Scenery and Mountains in the Imperial Capital, *juan* 4, 9a–b) by the seventeenth-century official Liu Tong 劉侗. This near repetition of textual material perhaps suggests a homogeneity of style and design in the Jesuit churches of East Asia. *Dijing jinwulüe* can be consulted online at https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=3048051. For a detailed architectural study of the Church of St. Paul, see César Guillén Nuñez, *Macao's Church of Saint Paul: A Glimmer of the Baroque in China* (Hong Kong University Press, 2008).

62. Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 134.

63. From Kong Yuxun 孔毓珣, "Liang Guang zongdu Kong Yuxun tiqing zhunxu xiyangren zai shengcheng Guangzhou juzhu yubian huiguo ben" 兩廣總督孔毓珣題請准許西洋人在省城廣州居住遇便回國本 [Request of Supreme Military Commander in Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces Kong Yuxun to Permit Westerners to Live in Guangzhou and Return to Their Native Country When Able] (fifth day

of the twelfth month, 1724). The text of the document is reprinted in the *Aomen xuni tushuguan* 澳門虛擬圖書館 (Macau Virtual Library), an online compilation of historical documents prepared by the Fundação Macau: https://www.macaudata.mo/macaubook/book252/html/014301.htm (accessed 24 August 2024).

64. In imperial China, the *baojia* 保甲 system consisted of *bao*, or communities, to which responsibility for law enforcement and civil order were assigned. Ten *jia* made up a *bao*.

65. Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 132.

66. *Titong* can variously mean decency, behavior befitting one's place, order, system, and rules.

67. Zhang Rulin, "Qing feng tangren miao zouji" 請封唐人廟奏記 [Request for the Closure of the Chinese People's Temple Submitted to the Emperor], in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 136–37.

68. *Zini* also refers to a purple-colored clay used to seal imperial edicts, or, simply, imperial edicts.

69. Zhang Rulin, "Qing feng tangren miao zouji," in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 134–36.

70. A straightforward translation of this line is "his muttering and whispering are hard to hear." However, the Chinese *nan*, when prefixed to one of the five senses, may signify not only difficulty but also displeasure; for example, *nankan* 難看 can mean both "hard to watch" and "ugly." I have chosen a rendering that aims to convey Cai's negative value judgment, which becomes explicit in the following two lines.

71. Kate van Orden has suggested to me that this organ may have been one in the Spanish style (with outward-facing trumpet stops). David Francis Urrows's *The Pipe Organ in China Project* supports such a possibility, since it proposes an origin of the instrument in the Philippines, at the time colonized by Spain. See the project's website, at http://organcn.org (accessed 24 January 2025).

72. Zhang Wenqin, "Catholicism in the Poetry of Macao."

73. From Zhang Qu 張渠, *Yuedong wenjianlu* 粵東聞見錄 [Hearsay from Eastern Guangdong], *juan* 1, "Macau," reprinted in *Ming-Qing shiqi Aomen wenti*, 6:682. An alternative version of this passage that appears in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 252, specifies the organ as that of the Church of St. Paul.

74. The original text translates literally as "it is silk and non-silk exceeding the established principles."

75. The original text translates literally as "pressing, there is immediately a clear and even response."

76. Chen Yedong, "Shilun Aomen jiuti shigezhong de zhongsheng yixiang," 229, notes the impressive height of the bell tower of the Church of St. Paul relative to those of Macau's Buddhist temples. The college's annual letter of 1603 relates the ongoing construction of the church, "with a tower for the bells, with a terrace, from which one sees the entire city" (*con huma torre para os sinos com seo terrado donde se descobre toda a cidade*). See Diogo Antunes, "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de JESUS de Macao" [Annual Letter of the College of the Mother of God of the Society of JESUS of Macau], 27 January 1604, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-5, f. 24v (duplicate copy in codex 49-IV-66, 87v).

77. Zhang Ji, "A Night Mooring at Maple Bridge" (*Fengqiao yebo*, 楓橋夜泊), trans. in Witter Bynner, *Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty, 618–906* (Book World, 1963), 4.

78. Yin Guangren, "Qingzhou yanyu shi" 青洲煙雨詩 [Misty Qingzhou Mountain], "Sanba si xiaozhong shi," and "Lan si tao guang shi" 蘭寺濤光詩 [Waves and Light by Lan Temple], in Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 85, 213, 215.

79. The island was later connected to the peninsula of Macau through land reclamation. For a detailed discussion of the site, see Li Yefei 李業飛, *Yanyu Qingzhou sibai nian* 煙雨青洲四百年 [Four Hundred Years of Misty Qingzhou Mountain] (Aomen ribao chubanshe 澳門日報出版社, 2016).

80. The *shen* is a Chinese mythological sea monster whose breath was said to form mirages.

81. Huang Dejun 黃德峻, "Aomen" 澳門 [Macau], in *Chu Ting qi jiuyi shi* 楚庭耆舊遺詩 [Posthumous Poems of the Elders of the Court of Chu], ed. Wu Chongyao 伍崇曜 (Nanhai wushi 南海伍氏, 1842–49), 3rd series, *juan* 16, 9a.

82. The Chinese title of this poem, "Xihuan," may subtly refer to "Xiwan" (or "Sai van" in Cantonese), an artificial lake in Macau created as a result of land reclamation (with a difference in the second of the two Chinese characters, 灣 rather than 環). If so, then the "holy house" of the third line could be the hilltop Chapel of Our Lady of Penha, located in the vicinity of the lake. I would like to thank Yicksau Lau for suggesting this possible reading.

83. Liang Yinan 梁隱盦, "Xihuan" 西環 [Western Surroundings]. The text of the poem is reprinted in the *Aomen xuni tushuguan*: https://www.macaudata.com/macaubook/book181/html/19201.htm (accessed 24 August 2024).

84. On the notion of an early modern period that began approximately five hundred years ago, see Charles H. Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Hamish Scott, "Introduction: 'Early Modern' Europe and the Idea of Early Modernity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750, I: Peoples and Place*, ed. Hamish Scott (Oxford University Press, 2015), 1–33; and Alan Strathern, "Global Early Modernity and the Problem of What Came Before," *Past & Present* 238, issue supplement 13 (November 2018): 317–44.

85. The penchant for violence characterized both sides of the cross-cultural encounter, as demonstrated by occurrences of open warfare such as the Battle of Sincouwaan of 1552 and the Battle of Passeleão of 1849.

86. See Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (Routledge, 1994), for an analysis of an ambivalence toward others, seen as simultaneously attractive and dangerous, which the author considers key to the colonialist temperament. Concerning keyboard instruments as "toys," see Jen-yen Chen, "Exotic Toys, Musical Centralities and Power Reversals: The Early Reception of European Keyboard Instruments in East Asia," *The Chopin Review* 4–5 (2022): 20–29.

87. The emergence during the early twentieth century of the *guoyue* (lit. "national music") or Chinese orchestra reflected the modernizing trends of China's May Fourth Movement, which regarded traditional culture as urgently in need of updating according to the "standards" of Western science (including musical science). It involved the application of the symphonic concept to Chinese music, which previously consisted of performances by soloists or small ensembles.

88. Li Xian 李鏾, ed., *Jiaoyubu chongbian guoyu cidian xiudingban* 教育部重編

國語辭典修訂版 [Revised Ministry of Education Mandarin Chinese Dictionary], https://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/index.jsp. Editing of this dictionary, a lexicon produced by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China and encompassing historical and modern definitions of Chinese words, began in 1931, with the publication in four volumes taking place in 1945. The most recent version of this reference work appeared in 2021.

89. Said, *Orientalism*, 96, notes that "Orientalism assumed an unchanging Orient, absolutely different (the reasons change from epoch to epoch) from the West." On Burney's judgment that Chinese music failed to progress toward the purportedly advanced traits of polyphony and harmony but was mired in a "ritual" past, see Irvine, *Listening to China*, 144–58.

90. From Wang Zhaoyong 汪兆慵, "Zhuzhici sishi shou" 竹枝詞四十首 [Forty Bamboo Lyrics]. The text of *Aomen zashi* 澳門雜詩 [Miscellaneous Poems of Macau] is reprinted in the *Aomen xuni tushuguan*: http://www.macaudata.com/macaubook/book257/html/085001.htm (accessed 24 August 2024).

91. Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應, "Aomen ganshi" 澳門感事 [Sentiment of Macau], in *Zheng Guanying ji* 鄭觀應集 [Collected Writings of Zheng Guanying], ed. Xia Dongyuan 夏東元 (Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 2v., 1982–88), 2:1343.

92. Owen Wright, "Turning a Deaf Ear," in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Routledge, 2013), 153. I am indebted to Kate van Orden for referring me to this valuable study. By the early twentieth century, the indifference described by Wright no longer prevailed; in China, for instance, the intellectuals of the May Fourth Movement considered the cultural traditions of their native land to be greatly outdated and in urgent need of reform according to Western "standards." Such a paradigm shift supports my earlier contention that the most significant turning point in Chinese history of roughly the past half millennium occurred during the nineteenth century. I discuss the impact of the shift upon musical composition and thought in Macau in my article "The Music Archive of Macau's Seminary of St. Joseph: Chinese Transmission and Reformulation of Western Music-Theoretical Knowledge," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 68, no. 4 (October–December 2021): 313–43.

CHAPTER 2

1. Francis Xavier had departed from Lisbon in 1541 and arrived in Goa one year later, initially spending three years in this administrative center of the Portuguese Jesuit mission in Asia. Goa would serve as the point of embarkation and return for his further travels.

2. One *pico* was equivalent to around sixty kilograms.

3. Translation from Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, "St. Francis Xavier's Letters from China (1552)," *Revista de cultura / Review of Culture* (international ed.) 19 (July 2006): 75.

4. Sousa, "St. Francis Xavier's Letters," nn. 2, 21. Francis Xavier's harsh reproach of these individuals appears also in a letter of 22 October and another of 12 November, different from that cited above.

5. Translation from Sousa, "St. Francis Xavier's Letters," 78.

6. See Liam Matthew Brockey, "The Cruelest Honor: The Relics of Francis Xavier in Early-Modern Asia," *The Catholic Historical Review* 101, no. 1 (2015): 41–64.

7. This bone fragment was originally housed in the Chapel of St. Francis Xavier, located to the left of the nave of the Church of St. Paul. Two other sections of the same bone were sent to the Jesuit colleges in Cochin (Kochi) and Malacca, and are no longer extant, apparently lost some time after the Dutch gained control of these territories during the middle of the seventeenth century.

8. António Leite, "Carta annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos de Macao" [Annual Letter of the College of the Mother of God of Macau] (annual letter of 1621), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-5, f. 341v–343r (duplicate copy in codex 49-V-7, f. 279v–281r).

9. David Crook, "'A Certain Indulgence': Music at the Jesuit College in Paris, 1575–1590," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (University of Toronto Press, 2006), 461–63.

10. Maya, "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1649), 26 January 1650, f. 6v (f. 645r).

11. Mathias da Maya, "Collegio de Macao" [College of Macau] (annual letter of 1652), 20 January 1653, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-IV-61, f. 196r.

12. See Crook, "'A Certain Indulgence,'" 457–60.

13. Ugo Baldini, "The Jesuit College in Macao as a Meeting Point of the European, Chinese and Japanese Mathematical Traditions: Some Remarks on the Present State of Research, Mainly Concerning Sources (16th–17th Centuries)," in *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552–1773)*, ed. Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami (World Scientific, 2008), 53, opines that "no formal teaching of 'music' (in a wide sense) appeared in the programmes [of the College of St. Paul]. Like anyone aspiring to become a member of the Catholic clergy, a young Jesuit had to learn Gregorian chant and practise it (described in the catalogues as 'cantus'); this, however, had no instrumental part, did not entail a theoretical approach and was restricted—in principle at least—to the memorisation and the modes of execution of the traditional pieces of the Catholic liturgy." Strictly speaking, the claim is accurate, in that the author evidently refers only to the higher, college-level studies at this institution. Such a partial focus results in an incomplete picture that neglects the historical significance of the college's affiliated school, however. In addition, the assumption that formal musical training consists of the study of instruments and theory unnecessarily devalues a practice of singing that was appropriate to the Jesuit missionary endeavor. Finally, as will be seen later in the chapter, there exists concrete documentary evidence that the teaching of instruments did in fact take place at the college.

14. David Crook, "'A Certain Indulgence,'" 462, offers a reminder that "today we struggle to appreciate the radical nature of the Jesuits' exemption from singing the Divine Office or canonical hours in choir."

15. "Como a cidade de Macao recebeo a nova do martyrio glorioso de seus embaixadores; com festas extraordinaria alegria" [How the City of Macau Received the News of the Glorious Martyrdom of Its Ambassadors; with Extraordinarily Joyous Celebrations], Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-2, f. 566v–567r.

16. Maria Isabel Lopes Monteiro, "*Instrumentos e instrumentistas de sopro no século XVI Português*" [Wind Instruments and Instrumentalists in Sixteenth-Century Portugal] (master's thesis, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, 2010), 99.

17. "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e missão das residencias de Cantão do anno de 1692. Capitulo 2º, De alguns mi[ni]sterios particulares do Collegio de Macao, e como se exercitão. Seção 2º, Do Seminario que hâ neste Collegio e como se crião os collegiaes delle" [Annual Letter of the College of Macau, and (of) the Mission of the Canton Residences of the Year 1692. Chapter 2, Of Some Particular Ministries of the College of Macau, and How They are Carried Out. Section 2, Of the Seminary That Exists Within This College, and How Its Students Are Educated], Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 101v; Yin and Zhang, *Aomen jilüe*, 213. Other documents from the archive of the College of St. Paul indicate that the practice of teaching music at its affiliated school followed the model established by the Jesuits in India and thus furnish additional evidence that instruction in playing instruments took place at the Society's colleges and seminaries in Asia. See Maya, "Collegio de Macao," (annual letter of 1649), 26 January 1650, f. 3r (f. 642r); and "Collegio de Macao" [College of Macau] (annual letter of 1691), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 69v.

18. "Como a cidade de Macao recebeo a nova do martyrio glorioso de seus embaixadores," f. 567v–568r.

19. Giovanna Zanlonghi, "The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan During the Eighteenth Century," in O'Malley et al., *The Jesuits II*, 538–39.

20. The copy of this annual letter in codex 49-V-5 of the Jesuítas na Ásia collection gives *novicios* (novices) here, while *donicos* appears in the duplicate copy in codex 49-V-7. I have opted for the latter reading, but interpreted it as a misspelling by one of the scribes of the Jesuítas na Ásia volumes of a term that arose in connection with the Jesuit mission in Japan and that was variously written (in singular form) as "dojuku," "dojuco," "dogico," and "doxico," among other possibilities. According to Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (University of California Press, 1951), 222–23, "dojuku, usually corrupted to dogico by the Portuguese, meant 'fellow lodger' or 'fellow guest.' It was taken over by the Jesuits from the Buddhists and applied to their lay acolytes."

21. Dias junior, "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Jesus de Macao do anno de 1616," f. 183v (f. 97v).

22. "Collegio de Macao" [College of Macau] (annual letter of 1643), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-13, f. 144v.

23. "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1643), f. 144v.

24. Stefan C. A. Halikowski Smith, "Seventeenth Century Population Displacements in the Portuguese Indies and the Creation of a Portuguese 'Tribe,'" in *Christians and Spices: Sri Lanka and the Portuguese Orient*, ed. Gaston Pereira (ICEKEY, 2010), 212, citing Manuel Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore (1511–1958)* (Agência Geral do Ultramar, 3v., 1961–63), 2:24, 100.

25. These are the vows taken by members of the Society of Jesus: poverty, chastity, obedience, and a particular obedience to the Pope with regard to missions.

26. Maya, "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1649), 26 January 1650, f. 3r (f. 642r).

27. This perhaps also hints at the founding by Aeneas of Rome, later the center of Catholic Christendom.

28. The other three vows are common to the Christian faith as a whole.

29. Felipe Augusto Fernandes Borges, "Considerações sobre o Colégio de São Paulo em Goa: Ciência, currículo e organização" [Considerations on the College of St. Paul in Goa: Science, Curriculum, and Organization], *Revista sítio nova* [New Site Journal] 4, no. 4 (October/December 2020): 78–79.

30. Antonio Alexandre Bispo, "Estudos jesuítas e análise de processos performativos e músico-educativos: Colégio de São Paulo—Brasil e Goa" [Jesuit Studies and Analysis of Performative and Music-Educational Processes: College of St. Paul—Brazil and Goa], *Revista Brasil-Europa: Correspondência Euro-Brasileira* [Brazil-Europe Journal: Euro-Brazilian Correspondence] 131, no. 17 (March 2011), https://revista.brasil-europa.eu/131/Goa-Colegio_de_Sao_Paulo.html (accessed 8 February 2025).

31. Bispo, "Estudos jesuítas e análise."

32. See Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "Music by Francisco Guerrero, Tomás Luis de Victoria and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina in the Soundscape of Goa (1588)," *Historical Soundscapes*, 15 July 2019, modified 20 January 2025, https://www.historicalsoundscapes.com/en/evento/986/goa (accessed 9 February 2025). The text of Cattaneo's letter is reproduced in full in Luigi Tommaso Belgrano and Achille Neri, eds., *Giornale ligustico di Archeologia, Storia e Letteratura* [Ligurian Journal of Archaeology, History, and Literature] 10 (Tipografia del R. Istituto dei Sordi-Muti, 1883), 113–18.

33. "Visitors" were periodically dispatched by Jesuit superiors to the Society's overseas provinces and vice-provinces, in order to examine the current conditions at these mission sites and provide instructions and recommendations for their improvement.

34. Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *Macau: Primeira universidade ocidental do Extremo-Oriente* / *Aomen: Yuandong diyisuo xifang daxue* 澳門：遠東第一所西方大學 / *Macau: The First Western University in the Far East* (n.p., 1994), 8–9 (Portuguese), 41 (Chinese), 70 (English). On Valignano's missionary strategies in Japan, see Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan* [Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan] (Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2 v., 1951–58).

35. "Memoria do principio do Collegio de Macau," p. 82. See introduction, n. 18. The "devotions of eight, or fifteen days" probably refer to the weekly liturgical cycles that extend from one Sabbath to the next (or two thereafter).

36. St. Francis Xavier expressed his implicit approval of slave owning in one of his final letters, dated 25 October 1552 and sent to Gaspar Barzeo in Goa: "I assure you it would be better to buy slaves—yes, slaves—for domestic employments than to admit into the Society persons unfit for it." Translation from Sousa, "St. Francis Xavier's Letters from China (1552)," 70. António de Faria e Sousa, a merchant who owned thirty slaves at the time of his death in 1548, at least twelve of whom were Chinese, instructed in his will that these twelve or more individuals be left to Francis Xavier; see Lúcio de Sousa, "Slave Networks and Their Expansion through Macao to Europe and America," *Revista de cultura* / *Review of Culture* (international ed.) 35 (July 2010): 89. In his *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental* (Book of the Plans of All the Fortresses, Towns, and Villages of the State of India in the Orient) of 1635, the historian António Bocarro (1594–1642) noted the presence of 850 families in Macau who owned "on the average six slaves capable of bearing arms, amongst whom the majority and the best are negroes and such like";

this statement is translated by Charles R. Boxer in his *Seventeenth Century Macau in Contemporary Documents* (Heinemann, 1984), 15 (cited in Hao, *Macau: History and Society*, 60). The involvement of Macau and of the Portuguese in global networks of slave trading is discussed in Tatiana Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila, 1580–1640," *Itinerario* [Itinerary] 32, no. 1 (March 2008): 19–38; and in Sousa, "Slave Networks and Their Expansion." Seijas observes: "As in parts of Africa and Latin America, it was the Jesuits in particular who appear to have held the most slaves. They were implicated as both apologists and slave masters" (27).

37. Gomes dos Santos, *Macau*, 8 (Portuguese), 41 (Chinese), 70 (English), citing Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas missões: Esboço histórico, superiores, colégios, 1540–1934* [The Society of Jesus in Portugal and in Its Missions: Historical Outline, Superiors, Colleges, 1540–1934] (Apostolado da Imprensa, 2nd ed., 1935), 62. Gomes dos Santos does not mention arithmetic and singing, though the primary sources repeatedly indicate the teaching of these subjects.

38. Duarte de Sande, "Caza da Madre de Deos" [House of the Mother of God], 28 October 1594, copied in Montanha, *Apparatos pera a história ecclesiástica*, f. 247r.

39. Nicolao da Costa, "Annua do Collegio de Macao desde Janeiro de 615 ate o outro de 616" [Annual Letter of the College of Macau from January 1615 to January 1616], 27 January 1616, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Japonica-Sinica collection 114, f. 2r; Dias junior, "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Jesus de Macao do anno de 1616," f. 183r (f. 97r).

40. See introduction, n. 2.

41. See introduction, n. 3.

42. "Collegio de Macao" [College of Macau] (annual letter of 1659–60), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-14, f. 723v–724r. These pages of the letter contain a notice of Cardim's death. For a detailed discussion of Cardim's role in disseminating knowledge of the Jesuits' Asian missions to Europe, see Federico Palomo, "Procurators, Religious Orders and Cultural Circulation in the Early Modern Portuguese Empire: Printed Works, Images (and Relics) from Japan in António Cardim's Journey to Rome (1644–1646)," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 14, no. 2 (December 2016), https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue28/pdf/v14n2a01.pdf (accessed 23 August 2023). The *cruzado* was a coin valued at 400 *réis* (singular: *real*), the principal Portuguese currency, since the sixteenth century but revalued to 480 *réis* at the end of the seventeenth century.

43. "Alvarà por que Sua Magestade hà por bem conceder licença aos Padres da Companhia de Jesus, da Provincia de Jappam que possão comprar na India, dous mil cruzados da renda para dote do Collegio de Macao, com as declaraçoens nelle expressada que vay por tres vias" [Permit by Which His Majesty Granted License to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, of the Province of Japan, to Obtain from India Two Thousand *Cruzados* of Funds Toward the Endowment of the College of Macau, with the Declarations Expressed Therein to Be Sent by Three Routes], 17 March 1690, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-20, f. 571r–572r.

44. Manoel Ferreyra, "Petição de Manoel Ferreyra a el Rey sobre a izenção de pagar as meyas annatas," f. 84r–v (f. 2r).

45. Manoel Ferreyra, "Petiçam do Padre Manoel Ferreyra a el Rey Nosso Senhor sobre a fundaçam do Seminario de Macao," f. 83r–84r (f. 2r–v, 2v–3r).

46. Sande, "Caza da Madre de Deos," f. 247r. "Father" was a title that in the Jesuit context referred to an ordained priest, one who had completed a full course of studies in theology, the preeminent subject of the *Ratio Studiorum*, the curriculum for Jesuit institutions of learning standardized by the Society of Jesus at the end of the sixteenth century. A father's responsibilities included the celebration of Mass, teaching, and spiritual guidance. A "brother," by contrast, did not aspire to priesthood but still took full part in the life of a Jesuit community, often undergoing training similar to that for fathers. They also served as teachers, as the following discussion of the documentary record will indicate, often of pre-collegiate subjects such as reading and writing.

47. Daimyos were feudal lords in Japan before the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

48. Nicolao da Costa, "Annua do Collegio de Macao desde Janeiro de 615 ate o outro de 616," f. 2r.

49. Nicolao da Costa, "Annua do Collegio de Macao desde Janeiro de 615 ate o outro de 616," f. 2r.

50. Frei, *Early Modern Litterae Indipetae*, 119, notes that the *litterae indipetae* submitted at this time continued to request Japan as a mission site, despite the country's closure, and suggests that the "palm of martyrdom" remained a driving motivation: "At the end of the eighteenth century, when the only possible outcome of an expedition to Japan would have been 'martyrdom' (as seen by the Catholic Church, or execution for breaking the law as seen by the Japanese), Jesuits seemed to insist on this decision with that main aim in mind."

51. The expulsion of Jesuit missionaries from China at this time was an outcome of the so-called Nanjing Affair, or Nanjing Persecutions (1616–23), which "exposed" these missionaries for their pretense in adhering to Confucian orthodoxy (e.g., dressing as Chinese literati) while backhandedly promoting an alien religion. See Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 66–69.

52. "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1659–60), 723r.

53. "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e missão das residencias de Cantão do anno de 1692. Capitulo 1º, Do numero dos sugeitos que de prezente ha neste Collegio, e do fervor com que nelle se trabalhão de algumas obras que nelle se fizerão, e cazos particulares com que Deos illustrou os nossos Santos" [Chapter 1, Of the Number of Subjects Presently at the College, and of the Fervor with Which Certain Works Implemented There are Carried Out There, and Particular Cases in Which God Illuminated Our Saints], Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 97r.

54. Sande, "Caza da Madre de Deos," f. 247r–v. The language studied in the grammar course was principally or exclusively Latin; in the European Jesuit seminaries, Greek also formed a subject of instruction, but no mention of this other classical language occurs in the documentary records for Macau's College of St. Paul. Regarding "humanities," Miguel A. Bernad has explained that this was a further course in language studies, intermediate between grammar and rhetoric, in which one acquired *cognitio linguae*, that is, a grasp of the expressive communicative possibilities of the language that extended beyond understanding of its merely mechanistic aspects (grammar) but did not yet attain to the level of a skilled rhetorician who could undertake the challenges of persuasion. See Miguel A. Bernad, "The Class of 'Humanities' in the Ratio Studiorum," *Jesuit Educational Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (March 1953): 197–205.

55. [Alessandro Valignano], "Ordem que deo o Padre Vizitador Alexandre Vali-

gnano em Outubro de 97. para as escollas deste Collegio de Macao" [Instruction That the Father Visitor Alessandro Valignano Gave in October 1597 for the Schools of This College of Macau], copied in Montanha, *Apparatos pera a história ecclesiástica*, f. 277r–283v.

56. [Valignano], "Ordem que deo o Padre Vizitador Alexandre Valignano em Outubro de 97," f. 279v–282r. Concerning the shawm players, see Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto, *Watching the Band Go By: Religious Faith and Military Defence in the Musical Life of Colonial Macau, 1818–1935* (Cultural Affairs Bureau of Macau, 2019), 83, which cites António Francisco Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus na sua gloriosa Provincia do Japão* [Battles of the Society of Jesus in Its Glorious Province of Japan] (Imprensa Nacional, repr. ed., 1894), 20.

57. However, the direct immersion within the local environment presented the difficulty of the profusion of spoken dialects, so called, yet in fact rather closer to discrete languages in that the ability to comprehend one did not confer the same ability for the others. Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 258–59, notes that, confronting this situation, the missionaries perhaps relied heavily on interpreters. Alternatively, he suggests that *guanhua* was reasonably well understood throughout China, because of regular interactions between imperial officials and the residents of the various provinces; furthermore, the dialects share with *guanhua* a largely common system of writing.

58. See n. 20 above.

59. "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da cidade de Macao" [Annual Letter of the College of the Mother of God of the City of Macau] (annual letter of 1620), Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-5, f. 287r (duplicate copy in codex 49-V-7, f. 174v–175r). The duplicate copy seems to provide a better transcription of the original text, reading "era muita bom organista, singular escrivão, e zelozos de que os dojucos Japõens se germanassem" instead of the other's "era muita bom organista, singular escrivão de coro de que os dojucos Japõens se governassem."

60. Dias junior, "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Jesus de Macao do anno de 1616," f. 183r (97r); "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da cidade de Macao," f. 285r (f. 173r).

61. "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e missão das residencias de Cantão do anno de 1692. Capitulo 2º [. . .] Seção 4º, Do ultimo ministerio deste Collegio, que he a escola dos meninos" [Section 4, Of the Final Ministry of this College, Which is the School for Children], Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 102v.

62. [Valignano], "Ordem que deo o Padre Vizitador Alexandre Valignano em Outubro de 97," f. 279v.

63. Nicolao da Costa, "Annua do Collegio de Macao desde Janeiro de 615 ate o outro de 616," f. 3v–4r.

64. The congregation additionally provided services to imprisoned persons. See "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da cidade de Macao," f. 288v–289r (f. 176r–v). On the emergence of the St. Lazarus parish, see Regina Campinho, "Hoping for Catastrophe: Epidemic Threat and Political Ambition in Colonial Macao's Early Attempt at Urban Sanitation (1885/1900)," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 30, no. 2 (2019): 33–46. Campinho discusses the old city wall of Macau, which had set the parish within a marginal outer territory, and its subsequent demolition intended in part to integrate a Chinese district formerly characterized as a "clustered breeding ground

of infection" (43) into the larger Portuguese metropolis. See also Sheyla Schuvartz Zandonai's analysis of this integration, discussed in "Borders within the City," pp. 30–31.

65. "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e missão das residencias de Cantão do anno de 1692. Capitulo 2º [. . .] Seção 2º," f. 99v–100r.

66. Antunes, "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de JESUS de Macao," f. 24v (f. 87v).

67. Nicolao da Costa, "Annua do Collegio de Macao desde Janeiro de 615 ate o outro de 616," f. 4r–v. The cathedral's full name is the Sé Catedral da Natividade de Nossa Senhora (Cathedral of the Nativity of Our Lady).

68. "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1643), f. 145v.

69. See chap. 3, "'Indigenous' Catholicism in Macau: Francisco de Sales Lao, João Ng," for a modern-day example in Macau of the singing of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's four-part motet, *Ave verum corpus*, K. 618, in a reduction to two voices with organ accompaniment. Though composers such as Palestrina and Victoria rarely wrote for fewer than four voice parts, to date I have not discovered concrete evidence of polyphonic singing in more than three parts at the College of St. Paul.

70. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 68. The description by Cordeiro appears in his *Historia insulana das ilhas a Portugal sugeytas no Oceano Ocidental* [History of the Islands Ruled by Portugal in the Western Ocean] (Antonio Pedrozo Galram, 1717).

71. "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da cidade de Macao," f. 285r (f. 173r).

72. "Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos da cidade de Macao," f. 288v–289r (f. 176r–v).

73. Jerónimo Rodrigues senior, "Algumas couzas que se fizerão com consulta, na visita que fez deste Collegio de Macao, o Padre Visitador Jeronimo Rodrigues no anno de 1620" [Some Matters Implemented Following Consultation, During the Visit to This College of Macau by the Father Visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues in the Year of 1620], Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-7, f. 205v.

74. Father Vicente Ribeiro, mentioned earlier in this chapter, occasionally assumed the role of organ accompanist to the chorus at Masses, despite his responsibilities as the college's rector, perhaps because the regular paid player was not always available.

75. "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1643), f. 146r–v.

76. "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e missão das residencias de Cantão do anno de 1692. Capitulo 2º [. . .] Seção 3º, Da classe e seus exercicios" [Section 3, Of the Class and Its Exercises], Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 102r.

77. "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e missão das residencias de Cantão do anno de 1692. Capitulo 2º [. . .] Seção 4º," f. 102v.

78. Sebastião de Almeida and Joseph François Tissanier, "Ordens para a igreja" [Instructions for the Church], 27 July 1680, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-17, f. 230r.

79. "This order is to be well understood, that apart from the sung solemn Mass, there will be no more than one other that is sung chorally" (*Esta ordem se entende assim, alem da Missa Solenè cantada, não haverà outra mais que huma em que se canta no choro*). Almeida and Tissanier, "Ordens para a igreja," f. 230r–v. In the customary organization of the Roman Catholic liturgy, solemn observances occupied the highest

class, typically celebrated on Sundays and special feast days. Though the copy of Tissanier's order in the Jesuítas na Ásia materials indicates no date, this documentary item appears alongside material belonging to the year 1680.

80. The council, established in 1582, was later named "loyal" for supporting the restoration of Portugal's sovereignty during the Iberian Union of 1580–1640. Concerning the position of captain-major of Macau, see Lúcio de Sousa, "Legal and Clandestine Trade in the History of Early Macao: Captain Landeiro, the Jewish 'King of the Portuguese' from Macao," *Bulletin of Kanagawa Prefectural Institute of Language and Culture Studies* 2 (2013): 51: "Once the news of large commercial profits between China and Japan became known to the Portuguese central authorities, officials rushed to obtain their share of the profits. Thereafter, after 1550 the trading voyages between China and Japan were transformed into a royal monopoly. The right to undertake such voyages was granted by the King of Portugal, or by the viceroy of Goa acting in the king's name, to important noblemen as rewards for services rendered to the crown. This system of rewards also increased the competition among Portuguese nobles to receive such a distinction, as it obtained for the holders great wealth. Initially, those distinguished with this reward received the title of 'Head Captain of the Voyages to China and Japan,' later shortened in the documents to simply 'Head Captain (Capitão-Mor).' In addition to the trading voyages to China and Japan, the Head Captain was also the official representative of the Portuguese authorities before the Chinese and Japanese and additionally was the highest judicial authority in Macao. During his stay in that city, the Head Captain had the authority to resolve quarrels between the Portuguese residents, as well as mollify the various interests of the traders in the city."

81. Leite, "Carta annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos de Macao," f. 341v (279v).

82. See the discussion earlier in this chapter of the document "How the City of Macau Received the News of the Glorious Martyrdom of Its Ambassadors; with Extraordinarily Joyous Celebrations."

83. On the complex power dynamics between local and global interests in Macau, see Elsa Penalva, "Contradictions in Macao," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 14 (June 2007): 7–20.

84. "Collegio de Macao" (annual letter of 1643), f. 147r–148v.

85. The annual letter does not specify the chapel.

86. Bartolomeu da Costa, "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e residencias a elle anexas com algumas cazos particulares dos annos de 63, e 64" [Annual Letter of the College of Macau, and [of the] Residences Attached to It[,] With Some Particular Cases[,] of the Years 1663 and 1664], 21 November 1664, Japonica-Sinica collection 22, f. 383r–v.

87. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 77–78.

88. In the Catholic liturgical calendar, the Rogation Days (divided into Major and Minor categories, observed respectively on 25 April and the three days before Ascension Thursday) are devoted to appeals to God for protection against catastrophes, both natural and man-made, and to pleas for forgiveness of human sin.

89. These details appear in Bartolomeu da Costa, "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e residencias a elle anexas com algumas cazos particulares dos annos de 63, e 64," f. 383r–384r. The governors of the Bishopric of Macau took up the responsibili-

ties of the Bishop of Macau when the latter position was unoccupied, as during the Portuguese Restoration War.

90. "Carta annua do Collegio de Macao, e missão das residencias de Cantão do anno de 1692. Capitulo 3º, Da solemnidade com que o nosso Collegio, e a cidade de Macao celebrou o despacho que deo o Imperador da China em ordem a publicação de nossa Santa Fè, e de outros favores que por nossa via se alcansaram dos Mandarins para a mesma cidade, e do felix trancito, e morte do Padre Francisco Xavier Filippuchi" [Chapter 3, Of the Solemnity with Which Our College, and the City of Macau Celebrated the Announcement that the Emperor of China Ordered to be Published Concerning Our Holy Faith, and of Other Favors Obtained From the Mandarins for the Same City, and of the Happy Transit, and Death of Father Francesco Saverio Filippucci], Jesuítas na Ásia collection, codex 49-V-22, f. 103v–104r.

91. I thank Qingfan Jiang for sharing with me her research that indicates the dissemination of these publications to China.

92. Pedro Thalesio, *Arte de canto chão* [Art of Chant Singing] (Diogo Gomez de Loureyro, 1618), 123–31.

93. António Fernandez, *Arte de musica de canto dorgam, e canto cham* [. . .] [Art of Vocal Polyphonic Music, and Chant Singing [. . .]] (P. Craesbeeck, 1626).

94. Rui Fernando Vieira Nery, "*The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604–1656): A Study of Iberian Music Repertoire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1990), 759–62.

95. Isabel Pope and Paul R. Laird, "Villancico," in *Grove Music Online*, https://doi-1org-100473793004c.han.onb.ac.at/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29375 (accessed 19 February 2025).

96. This is the description of the volumes given in the preface by Luis Lei Xavier, the seminary's rector at the time of the compilation's publication.

97. St. Pius X, "Tra le sollecitudini (On Sacred Music): Papal Letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome—December 8, 1903," Papal Cyclicals Online, last updated 15 May 2025, https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius10/tra-le-sollecitudini.htm (accessed 20 February 2025).

98. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 115.

99. See Brockey, *Journey to the East*, chap. 5, "Between Tolerance and the Intolerable" (164–203). This chapter includes an account of the failed visit of the papal legate, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), to Beijing, where he arrived in 1705, tasked by Pope Clement IX to enforce a prohibition against the practice of the Chinese rites by native converts and to present the position of the Holy See to the Kangxi emperor, who had already explained the secular nature of the Confucian rituals of ancestor veneration.

100. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, provides a comprehensive account of the military and police bands in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Macau, but without closely examining the ideological dimensions of these ensembles' links to religious practice.

101. T. S. Eliot, "Burnt Norton," in T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), 1.

102. See introduction, n. 31.

INTERLUDE

1. For a detailed account of the seminary's history and development, see Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 94–179.

2. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 111, citing Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua diocese* [Macau and Its Diocese] (Tipografia do Orfanato Salesiano, 16v., 1940–79), 12:346.

3. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 114.

4. I would like to express my thanks to João Ng for sending me an electronic file of Lau's textbook.

5. Jacob Lau 劉雅覺, *Xiyue jiejing* 西樂捷徑 [A Short Guide to Western Music] (n.p., 1912), [2]. This publication is unpaginated, and I begin my count of page numbers immediately following the title page.

6. Lau, *Xiyue jiejing*, [24].

7. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 114.

8. Veiga Jardim, *Watching the Band Go By*, 156–58. See also 592n174, which lists other Cecilianist repertoire performed in 1905 and 1906 by the Capela. In response to my inquiry as to whether the Gabrieli left unspecified in his book was Andrea Gabrieli (c. 1532/33–1585) or Giovanni Gabrieli (c. 1554/57–1612), Veiga Jardim informed me that, upon consultation of the relevant source ("Concêrt de polifonia sacra no Paço Episcopal" [Concert of Sacred Polyphony at the Episcopal Palace], *A Patria* [The Fatherland], 6 December 1924, p. 4), he has determined that the composer was Andrea Gabrieli (e-mail message, 9 April 2025).

CHAPTER 3

1. The official website of UNESCO characterizes Macau as "a unique testimony to the meeting of . . . East and West"; https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1110 (accessed 10 February 2021). Further examples include Richard Louis Edmonds, "Macau and Greater China," *The China Quarterly* 136 (special issue: "Greater China") (December 1993): 878: "[Macau's] historical importance in the early transmission of culture between East and West is well known"; Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 3: "The state [i.e., the Portuguese government in Macau] would repeatedly remind the world of the city's true historical identity as a 'four-century-old meeting-point between East and West,' the earliest and most enduring site of amicable, respectful relations between Chinese and Portuguese people"; and David Francis Urrows, "The Pipe Organ of the Baroque Era in China," in *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*, ed. Hon-Lun Yang and Michael Saffle (University of Michigan Press, 2017), 21: "Under Portuguese administration from 1556 to 1999, Macau continues to exude an almost mythological charm as one of the great crossroads of East and West." Pina-Cabral's *Between China and Europe*, though an admirable study on the whole, nevertheless resorts occasionally to the kind of generalizations arising from a simplified opposition of East and West, as in its examination of *the* Chinese concept of personhood (120–25), there being no single concept that typifies the enormously diverse historical and sociocultural phenomena encompassed by the qualifier "Chinese."

2. João Evangelista Him-Sang Lau 劉炎新, "Aomen huaren xinyou tuanti de 'ju' yu 'san'" 澳門華人信友團體的「聚」與「散」 [The "Gathering" and "Dispersal" of Macau's Chinese Community of Believers], in *Bainian suiyue: Ershi shiji tianzhujiao Aomen huaren jiaohui de chengchuan he fazhan* 百年歲月：二十世紀天主教澳門華人教會的承傳和發展 [A Hundred Years of Time: The Heritage and Development of the Chinese Catholic Church in Twentieth-Century Macau], ed. Pedro Chi Kin Chong 鍾志堅 and Fat Iam Lam 林發欽 (Aomen ligong xueyuan 澳門理工學院, 2016). As I have not yet been able to obtain access to a printed exemplar of the volume in which this essay appears, I would like to express my gratitude to the author for sending me an electronic copy. Other scholarly literature that examines questions of Chinese Christian identity include Hon-Fai Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life*; Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, esp. pp. 15–24, which discuss the outgoing Portuguese colonial administration's efforts to persuade Macau's Chinese residents to see themselves as "a different kind of Chinese" following the 1999 handover; Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, "The Question of Who: Chinese in Europe," in Chatterjee and Hawes, *Europe Observed*, 83–101; Catherine Jami, Peter Engelfriet, and Gregory Blue, *Statecraft & Intellectual Renewal in Late Ming China: The Cross-Cultural Synthesis of Xu Guangqi (1562–1633)* (Brill, 2001); Yu Liu, "The Spiritual Journey of an Independent Thinker: The Conversion of Li Zhizao to Catholicism," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 3 (September 2011): 433–53; Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, esp. chap. 7, "Naming: Personal Identity and Ethnic Ambiguity" (141–57), which explores divergent Portuguese and Chinese naming practices and their impact upon the individual sense of self; and Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Entanglements of a Man Who Never Traveled: A Seventeenth-Century Chinese Christian and His Conflicted Worlds* (Columbia University Press, 2020).

3. The romanization of Chinese names outside of the People's Republic of China is relatively flexible and unsystematized. Though they spell it differently, the two brothers share the same Chinese surname.

4. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 285; Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 36.

5. Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 53–54.

6. See Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (Columbia University Press, 1996), 17–31, for an illuminating discussion of the critique of origins. I thank Kate van Orden for bringing this work to my attention. Halikowski, "Seventeenth Century Population Displacements," 199, writing of the Portuguese Asian communities that arose during the "age of discovery," notes "an increasingly creolised society, which went everywhere remarked by European visitors. . . . Being Portuguese became something of a distant myth of origin that had little or [nothing] to do with realities, 'Portuguese' equating with status in the world of the Indies, even if the blood-links were extremely tenuous, if not simply invented."

7. Tia Denora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 46.

8. A useful conceptualization of agency is provided by the sociologists Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische, who regard the decisions made by agents within particular social contexts as "informed by the past (in its 'iterational' or habitual aspect) but also oriented toward the future (as a 'projective' capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a 'practical-evaluative' capacity to contextualize

past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment)." Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische, "What Is Agency?," *American Journal of Sociology* 103, no. 4 (January 1998): 962. I would like to thank Kay Kaufman Shelemay for bringing the work of these two authors to my attention. See also Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, "Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music," in their edited volume, *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (University of California Press, 2000), 6–7, which proposes that postcolonial discourse analysis be complemented (but not superseded) by a greater emphasis of individual agency.

9. Prior to the nineteenth century, the number of Chinese converts peaked at somewhat more than 196,000; this was the figure reported in 1703 by Vice-Provincial Antoine Thomas, who explained that he offered a conservative estimate. See Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 176.

10. See Hon-Fai Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life*, 12–13, concerning the indirect impact upon Macau's Chinese Catholics of the ongoing struggle between Rome and Beijing over jurisdiction of the Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China.

11. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 52–58.

12. See introduction, n. 53, regarding Pina-Cabral's notion of the capital of intercultural communication. The classic work on exoticizing discourses of othering is, of course, Edward Said's *Orientalism*.

13. On Sampayo Ribeiro, see José Augusto Alegría, *Mário Sampaio de Ribeiro: O musicólogo e o historiador da música em Portugal* [Mário Sampayo Ribeiro: Musicologist and Historian of Music in Portugal] (Academia Portuguesa da História, 1987). On Father Castro and his training under Sampayo Ribeiro, see Graça Marques, "1951–1958 nian Lisiben de rizi" 1951–1958 年在里斯本的日子 / "Os anos de Lisboa: 1951–1958" / "The Lisbon Years: 1951–1958," in Lynn and Marques, *Yue. Ji: Ou Shida shenfu jinianji*, 35–36 (Chinese), 49–50 (Portuguese), 61–62 (English).

14. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, "The Politics of Music Categorization in Portugal," in *The Cambridge History of World Music*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 664.

15. Father Castro's comments on Chinese music and musicians include the following, offered during an interview conducted in October 1992, several months before his death, by Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto: "But back to the war [World War II]: music did not develop much [in Macau] because almost none of the Chinese studied any music at all, only the odd one or two. After the war that changed completely, and young Chinese wanted to study European music but strangely they were not interested in studying Chinese music"; "Exam day [at the Lisbon Conservatory] dawned and the first question was 'What can you tell us about ancient oriental music?' Well, I spun them a merry tale about whatever I knew of Japan, and Chinese music. . . . I can't remember what nonsense I told them [laughter] but at a certain point they asked me to stop (I must have been trembling)." See Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto, "Cong Yasuer Qundao dao Aomen—xinnian he yinyue de shengming zhi lü" 從亞速爾群島到澳門—信念和音樂的生命之旅 / "Dos Açores a Macau—uma vida de fé e música" / "From the Azores to Macau—a Life of Faith and Music," in Lynn and Marques, *Yue. Ji: Ou Shida shenfu jinianji*, 27–28 (Chinese), 40–41 (Portuguese), 53–54 (English).

16. The privileges included the aforementioned opportunity to enter the civil service, from which all Chinese individuals except ordained priests were excluded. In addition, different levels of salary existed for Portuguese, Catholic Chinese, and non-Catholic Chinese, on which see Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 285. According to Hao, *Macau*, 113, emphasizing one's ownership of a Western name could by itself bring about higher pay. Hon-Fai Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life*, 36–37, notes "the supreme authority of the Catholic Church, which was buttressed by ethnic boundaries and the hegemony of the colonial class in Macau. . . . Upon becoming a Macanese, a person was entitled to baptism and admission to the Catholic community, which in turn granted the right of entry into Portuguese schools and other colonial privileges. The vestige of this social and cultural practice can still be seen today in the number of Macau Chinese bearing Portuguese surnames without any visible sign of foreign lineage." The term "Macanese" refers to a hybrid identity that came into being during the centuries of Portugal's administration of Macau: It refers, for the most part, to the descendants of the offspring of European men and native women, though it is not defined strictly by phenotype and can also encompass an individual's cultural orientation independent of his or her physical appearance. In highlighting Father Castro's apparent lack of commentary upon the social and ethnic inequalities that prevailed in colonial Macau, I do not wish to advance a binarism of complicit Portuguese and resistant Chinese. As will be seen later, while some of my Chinese interlocutors demonstrate a historical awareness of these inequalities, they also do not voice a strong condemnation of them, perhaps in part because of their once-advantaged position as Catholics. One of my central arguments is that agency enables complex attitudes toward ethical problems that both transcend dualistic thinking and leave one still subject to the possibility of critique.

17. The increase in numbers is detailed in Lau, "Aomen huaren xinyou tuanti de 'ju' yu 'san.'" See also Hon-Fai Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life*, 18–20, whose summary of the historical development of the Chinese Catholic community in Macau relies in part on Lau's essay.

18. Lau, "Aomen huaren xinyou tuanti de 'ju' yu 'san.'" The tension derived to a significant extent from the polarization of identities that typifies most colonial situations. Following the handover of Macau to China in 1999, the Portuguese-Chinese dualism lost much of its earlier force and has been largely superseded by a new distinction between "natives" and "mainland Chinese" (that is, recent immigrants from the People's Republic of China), with the hybrid Macanese self-identifying as the former through an act of agency enabled by their proficiency in Cantonese; see Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 220.

19. Lau, "Aomen huaren xinyou tuanti de 'ju' yu 'san,'" which cites Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *Zhongguo tianzhujiao chuanjiaoshi gailun* 中國天主教傳教史概論 [Introduction to the History of the Catholic Missions in China] (Tushanwan yinshuguan 土山灣印書館, 1938) concerning the adoption of Portuguese identity. On the unfavorable view of native converts that prevailed among Macau's non-Catholic Chinese, see Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 152–53.

20. Following the December Third Incident, the Catholic Church in Macau lost its political influence to such an extent that the Chinese government no longer considered it a significant rival. See Beatrice Leung, "Sino-Vatican Relations and the Inter-

mediary Roles of Hong Kong and Macau," in *Europe and China: Strategic Partners or Rivals?*, ed. Roland Vogt (Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 211–12.

21. Hon-Fai Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life*, 40.

22. These Chinese names are *Wangde shengmutang* 望德聖母堂 (Church of Our Lady of Hope) and *Huanhu getuan* 歡呼歌團 (Jubilation Chorus).

23. The interview took place in the lobby of the Hotel Royal Macau from 2:30 to 4:00 p.m. and was recorded with the permission of my interlocutors. I thank Yicksau Lau, who is a native speaker of Cantonese originally from Hong Kong, for his transcription into written Chinese characters of Francisco de Sales Lao's spoken remarks and his assistance in clarifying the meanings of idiomatic Cantonese usages that are not readily comprehensible to a Mandarin speaker. The translations of interview excerpts are otherwise my own, and I assume sole responsibility for any errors. Where I have occasionally indicated the original Chinese characters spoken by my interlocutors, because of the difficulty of capturing the nuances of these words in translation, I have also provided an alphabetic or *pinyin* transliteration but according to Mandarin rather than Cantonese pronunciation, since the former is more widely familiar.

24. Qigong is a Chinese traditional system of bodily and mental training that draws together posture, movement, breathing, and meditation.

25. E-mail message, 22 December 2024. Mr. Lao wrote his short biographical account in Chinese, which I have translated into English. I express my gratitude to him for providing this background information.

26. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge*, 194, shares an observation by the author's Portuguese friend that the ubiquitous practice in Macau of assigning both Portuguese and Chinese names to the same street, but without either one translating the other, encouraged residents to "inhabit two different cities in the same place." During my interview with Francisco de Sales Lao, he also mentioned Chinese priests who had mastered Portuguese and could therefore obtain civil posts, demonstrating his awareness of the social mobility available only to this select group of natives.

27. This interview took place at the Academia de Música São Pio X on 16 May 2019 from 3:00 to 4:30 p.m. and was not recorded. I spoke with my interlocutor in Mandarin and wrote detailed notes of her responses immediately afterward.

28. See n. 18 above.

29. Recorded interview in Mandarin at Café Disney, Macau, 23 June 2019 from 2 to 3 p.m. Mr. Dos Santos's close friend António Heng Seong Leong 梁慶湘 also participated in this conversation. Two representatives of a younger generation in Macau expressed the related viewpoint that their city's multiethnic character is culturally enriching but not the cause of mutually antagonistic identities. They are Vivian Wai Hang Ng 伍慧衡, a graduate in music of Oxford University and the University of Notre Dame who is a Macau native and Catholic and formerly studied at the Academia de Música São Pio X (recorded interview in English at the Cartório da Sé, Macau, 3 March 2019 from 4 to 5 p.m.); and Nelson Ngok Meng Leong 梁樂鳴, likewise a Macau native and former pupil of the Academia who however is not Catholic and is now a professional orchestral trumpeter (recorded interview in English at Tom N Toms Coffee, Macau, 17 May 2019 from 10 to 11 a.m.).

30. However, António K. Wong, director of the Cathedral Schola of Macau and the Diocesan Choir of Macau, expressed his view of the quintessentially sacred nature

of polyphony during an unrecorded interview that took place at the Cartório da Sé, Macau, on 18 May 2019 from 4:30 to 5:30 p.m. (conducted in English).

31. This arrangement, unattributed in *Songs*, retains the original soprano part for its upper voice while either adapting the original alto and tenor parts or inventing new material for the lower voice. Some vivid harmonies are lost as a result of the textural reduction, as at measure 12, which now implies a tonic sonority in place of Mozart's submediant. A rehearsal of the Coro Jubilorum following the interview with Francisco de Sales Lao included this arrangement, but sung with an organ accompaniment that supplied the missing harmonies.

32. Interview, 23 June 2019.

33. The spoken liturgies of Macau's churches actually feature a wide diversity of vernaculars, including Korean, Vietnamese, and Tagalog, although Cantonese remains predominant. For example, in 2019, the weekly schedule of St. Lazarus Church included two Masses each weekday, one anticipated Sunday Mass, and one Sunday Mass in Cantonese, as well as one Sunday Mass each in English and Portuguese.

34. The two Chinese characters of *liyi* 禮儀, when reversed to *yili* 儀禮, produce the name of the *Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*, one of the three parts of the *Book of Rites*.

35. Father Tadeu Si Yan Tang 鄧思恩 (1939–) served as assistant priest of the parish of Our Lady of Fátima in the northern section of Macau (which became a second locus of the city's Chinese Catholic community, after the St. Lazarus parish); he is a noted local composer whose works find a conspicuous place in the various compilations of liturgical music used in Macau's churches, including in *Songs of Hope and Rejoicing*.

36. *Weidao* can variously mean "flavor," "taste," and "scent." I choose to translate it here as "flavor," a more general rendering that avoids too restrictive an association with one of the five senses.

37. "New Norms Regarding Use of 1962 Roman Missal: Bishops Given Greater Responsibility," *Vatican News*, 16 July 2021.

38. I have corresponded with Mr. Ng via e-mail since December 2020, during a time when first the Covid-19 pandemic and then increasing political repression by the government of the People's Republic of China created difficulties in traveling to Macau. The discussion below draws upon material from my essay "Scents and Flavors."

39. E-mail message, 5 July 2024.

40. Mr. Ng first used this term as a part of our communications in an e-mail message of 5 January 2021.

41. E-mail message, 7 July 2024.

42. E-mail message, 10 July 2024.

43. *Meiguitang xianchang puqu—Yingming shengyue 'dong' zhong dai 'jing'* 玫瑰堂獻唱葡曲 嚶鳴聖樂「動」中帶「靜」 [Program of Portuguese Music at the Church of Saint Dominic—The Coro Perosi and Sacred Music—'Motion' Brings 'Calm'], posted January 13, 2017, by the Macao Foundation, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZky55Z7Ysc&feature=youtu.be.

44. E-mail message, 7 July 2024.

45. E-mail message, 8 July 2024.

46. See n. 8 above, where I refer to the work of the sociologists Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische on agency.

47. Emirbayer and Mische, "What Is Agency?" 962.

48. Cecilia I-ian Long, "Genzhi chuantong er chuangxin: Ou Shida shenfu gangqin zuopin 'Xiao Mei Mei wuqu' zhi tantao" 根植傳統而創新：區師達神父鋼琴作品《小妹妹舞曲》之探討 / "Inovação na Tradição: *Danças de Siu Mui Mui*" / "Innovation through Tradition: *Danças de Siu Mui Mui*," in Lynn and Marques, *Yue. Ji: Ou Shida shenfu jinianji*, 162 (Chinese), 184 (Portuguese), 205 (English). Concerning the meaning here of the adjective "Macanese," I thank Margaret Lynn for the following explanation (e-mail message, 12 September 2020): "Cecilia is using the word 'Macanese' like people born and living in Hong Kong for many years describing themselves as being 'Hong Kongers' as distinct from the Chinese in Mainland China. She was born of Chinese parents in Macau and has lived there for most of her life. She is not 'Macanese' in the sense of having mixed blood (Chinese and Portuguese)."

49. Margaret Lynn, ed., *Áureo Castro: Vocal Works* (Academia de Música S. Pio X, 2015), 20.

50. Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 28–29.

CHAPTER 4

1. A topic in the history of Catholic sacred music in Macau that I have not yet had the opportunity to investigate, and whose very susceptibility to investigation still remains to be confirmed, is the use in liturgical worship of *patuá*, a Portuguese-based creole containing elements of Cantonese, Malay, and Sinhala. The third edition of the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, edited by Christopher Moseley and published by UNESCO in 2010, lists *patuá* as a "critically endangered" language: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000187026 (accessed 24 August 2024). To date, I have not uncovered evidence to indicate the presence of this hybrid tongue in Macau's religious practices during earlier times, though a complete absence would seem unlikely. A contemporary choir, the Coro Docí Papiaçám di Macau, aims to cultivate a tradition of *patuá*-texted sacred vocal music; see Marco Carvalho, "Advent Hope in Patuá: Coro Docí Papiaçám Sings Again for the Glory of God," *O Clarim* [The Clarion], 18 December 2002, https://www.oclarim.com.no/en/2022/12/18/advent-hope-in-patua-coro-doci-papiacam-sings-again-for-the-glory-of-god. I thank Susana Sardo for bringing up this question of *patuá* as a significant language of religious expression among Macau's Catholics.

2. Graça Marques and Margaret Lynn, *Ou Shida shenfu: Yinyue zuopin shougao mulu—sheng Bihu shishi yinyue xueyuan cangpin* (區師達神父：音樂作品手稿目錄—聖庇護十世音樂學院藏品) / *Áureo Castro: Catálogo de manuscritos musicais de Colecção da Academia de Música S. Pio X* / *Áureo Castro: Music Manuscripts Catalogue—Academia de Música S. Pio X Collection* (Diocese de Macau—Academia de Música S. Pio X, 2017).

3. This *jaculatória* is contained in manuscript no. 14 in Marques and Lynn's catalog.

4. Marques and Lynn's catalog lists three sources for this Te Deum: no. 22 (version for chorus and organ); no. 23 (version for chorus and orchestra, with the orchestration left incomplete by Castro); and no. 24 (version for chorus and orchestra).

5. No. 103 in Marques and Lynn's catalog.

6. Not listed in Marques and Lynn's catalog.

7. A score of this motet is available in Margaret Lynn, ed., *Aurei Carmina: Choro* (Diocese de Macau, 2003), 103.

8. For more on the stylistic features and cultural contexts of sixteenth-century vocal polyphony, see Robert Kendrick, "Catholic Music," in *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 27–55; Lewis Lockwood, *Palestrina: Pope Marcellus Mass* (W. W. Norton, 1975); and Craig Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1–37.

9. A similar, famous example is the third movement of Beethoven's String Quartet in A Minor, op. 132, titled "Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenen an die Gottheit, in der Lydischen Tonart" (Holy Song of Thanksgiving of a Convalescent to the Deity, in the Lydian Mode). Beethoven's use of modality in this movement is likewise best characterized as exoticizing appropriation, in that the older style does not constitute a pervasive, deep-rooted compositional technique shaping all musical parameters; rather, the harmonic substance of the Dankgesang corresponds fully to the idiom of tonality, with Beethoven generating a "Lydian" pitch set (B in place of B-flat) by regularly turning the music from its main key of F major toward C major through frequent occurrences of the latter's secondary dominant chord of G major.

10. The foregoing details are drawn from Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto, "Ou Shida shenfu zuopin 'Xie Zhu qu': Xiandai yinyue yingyong yu jiaohui liyi de fanli" 區師達神父作品《謝主曲》:現代音樂應用於教會禮儀的範例 / "O Te Deum de Áureo Castro: Um exemplo de música moderna adequada à liturgia" / "Áureo Castro's *Te Deum*: An Example of Modern Music for Liturgical Use," in Lynn and Marques, *Yue. Ji: Ou Shida shenfu jinianji*, 164–73 (Chinese), 185–95 (Portuguese), 206–15 (English). A score of the orchestral version is available in Lynn, *Aurei Carmina: Choro*, 226–61.

11. Veiga Jardim, "Áureo Castro's *Te Deum*," 208. The Orthodox rite featured instruments only exceptionally and certainly not the kind of large-scale ensemble called for by the orchestral version of Castro's Te Deum. On an ultimately unsuccessful early-twentieth-century attempt to make instruments a regular feature of Orthodox music, see Maria Takala-Roszczenko, "Musical Instruments in Interwar Finnish Orthodox Worship: Localization Interrupted?," *Acta Musicologica* 95, no. 2 (2023): 113–30.

12. Veiga Jardim, "Áureo Castro's *Te Deum*," 209. For a current listing of the theoretical-pedagogical materials in the archives of the Seminary of St. Joseph, see Jen-yen Chen, "The Music Archive," 318–19.

13. Hwang Yau-tai 黃友棣, *Zhongguo minge de hesheng* 中國民歌的和聲 [Harmony in Chinese Folksong] (Zhengzhong shudian 正中書店, 1968).

14. Hwang, *Zhongguo minge de hesheng*, 13. On the belief that absence of harmony constituted a deficiency of Chinese music, see Jen-yen Chen, "The Music Archive," 325–38.

15. Furthermore, Father Castro evidently did not learn how to read Chinese, though he acquired a certain proficiency in speaking Cantonese.

16. Castelo-Branco, "The Politics of Music Categorization in Portugal," 664.

17. Cai Chusheng's 1934 silent film includes a recorded soundtrack comprising Western compositions (such as the second movement of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony and Schubert's "Ave Maria" in a version for cello and piano), original music by Nie Er 聶耳 (1912–1935), and Ren Guang's original song. Less "subtle" than Castro, Ren supplies an instrumental introduction to the song that states the vocal melody's opening four-bar phrase, with the final pitch altered from G to the tonic F. The language of functional tonality is thus established unambiguously at the outset and is not made part of a multicultural "discourse."

18. A score is available in Lynn, *Aurei Carmina: Choro*, 181–88.

19. Jen-yen Chen, "Institutional Religion and Personal Religiosity," 205.

20. This claim is not intended to gloss over the nature of Catholic music as a diverse, multifaceted phenomenon irreducible to a single characteristic such as polyphony, even during the later phases of its history when monophonic plainchant no longer held a dominant place in the tradition. Controversies and debates have marked efforts to define the "essence" of the music, such as the sixteenth-century Council of Trent's critique of polyphony and emphasis of simpler textures that allowed ready comprehensibility of text, with the result that the Roman composer Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina "rescued" sacred music with the composition of his relatively homophonic Mass, the *Missa Papae Marcelli* (1555); on this work, see Lockwood, *Palestrina: Pope Marcellus Mass*. Nevertheless, a defining *idea* (not necessarily objective factuality) of Catholic music that has undoubtedly shaped interpretation and analysis is its close association with counterpoint, such that Palestrina's works are today held as exemplary of vocal polyphonic compositional technique. A clear discursive manifestation of this situation is the concept of the "Palestrina style," on which, see Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Der Palestrinastil und seine Bedeutung in der vokalen Kirchenmusik des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* [The Palestrina Style and Its Significance in the Vocal Church Music of the Eighteenth Century] (D. B. Filser Verlag, 1929); James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Winfried Kirsch, ed., *Palestrina und die Idee der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Geschichte eines musikalischen Stilideals* [Palestrina and the Idea of Classical Vocal Polyphony in the Nineteenth Century: On the History of a Musical Style Ideal] (G. Bosse, 1989).

21. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argues, however, for a strategic essentialism in which one *temporarily* adopts a fixed identity as a form of empowerment against legacies of discrimination. See her essay, "Subaltern Studies. Deconstructing Historiography," in Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, eds., *The Spivak Reader* (Routledge, 1996), 203–35.

22. Doming Ngok-pui Lam 林樂培, *Uncle Suite*, op. 5 (Wenkai yinyue yishu fazhan 文凱音樂藝術發展, 1960), introduction (n.p.).

23. Wang Guangqi 王光祈, *Duipu yinyue* 對譜音樂 [Polyphonic Music] (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1933), 30–31. The common term in contemporary Mandarin for "polyphonic" or "contrapuntal" music is *duiwei yinyue* 對位音樂. Wang's use of the unusual qualifier *duipu* perhaps relates to an older meaning of *pu* as "composition" or "to compose," so that *duipu* signifies "composing across" or "composing against," that is, composing multiple parts against one another. I thank Anna Yu Wang for bringing up the question of the meaning of *duipu*.

24. For studies of Wang's life and work, see Hong-yu Gong, "An Accidental Musicologist—Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892–1936) and Sino-German Interaction in the 1920s and 1930s," in *The Strange Sound: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Musicology in Bonn, October 3–4 2014*, ed. Mariana Münning, Josie-Marie Perkuhn, and Johannes Sturm (Ostasien-Institut, 2016), 87–121; Han Liwen 韓立文 and Bi Xing 碧興, "Wang Guangqi shengping zongshu" 王光祈生平綜述 [An Overview of the Life of Wang Guangqi], in *Huangzhong liuyun ji: Jinian Wang Guangqi xiansheng* 黃鐘流韻集：紀念王光祈先生 [The Flowing Resonance of the Yellow Bell Collection: Commemorating Mr. Wang Guangqi], ed. Bi Xing and Yuan Shuqing 苑樹青 (Chengdu chubanshe 成都出版社, 1993), 537–52; Hu Yangji 胡揚吉, "Wang Guangqi zhushu ji yanjiu ziliao zongmu" 王光祈著述及研究資料綜目 [Complete Catalog of the Writings and Research Materials of Wang Guangqi], in Bi and Yuan, *Huangzhong liuyun ji*, 598–651; Huang Yu Jen 黃于真, "Yinyuexue guandianxia de yinyueshi fangfa—Wang Guangqi de yinyue yanjiu licheng yu ta de *Zhongguo yinyueshi*" 音樂學觀點下的音樂史方法—王光祈的音樂研究歷程與他的《中國音樂史》[Music Historiography from the Perspective of Musicology—Wang Guangqi's Musicology Studies and His *History of Chinese Music*], *Taiwan yinyue yanjiu* 臺灣音樂研究 [Taiwan Music Research] 24 (April 2017): 33–56; and Yan Manqiu 顏曼秋, "Shiping *Xiyang yinyue yu xiju*: Mianhuai Zhongguo yinyuexue de xianquzhe Wang Guangqi xiansheng" 試評《西洋音樂與戲劇》：緬懷中國音樂學的先驅者王光祈先生 [An Assessment of *Western Music and Theater*: Commemorating Mr. Wang Guangqi, Pioneer of Chinese Musicology], in Bi and Yuan, *Huangzhong liuyun ji*, 465–478. I discuss Wang's *Duipu yinyue* in greater detail in my article "The Music Archive," 328–33.

25. For example, Fux asserts in the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, "I can hardly say how useful these exercises are to the student and what ease they will give him in writing. With this training, later on, when the restraints of the cantus firmus are removed, and he is, so to speak, released from his fetters, he will find to his joy that he can write free composition almost as if it were play." Alfred Mann, trans. and ed., *The Study of Counterpoint: From Johann Joseph Fux's Gradus ad Parnassum* (W. W. Norton, 1965), 90.

26. Lam, *Uncle Suite*, introduction.

27. Lam, *Uncle Suite*, introduction.

28. For my description, I have relied on Lydia K. H. So, "Tonal Changes in Hong Kong Cantonese," *Current Issues in Language and Society* 3, no. 2 (1996): 186–89, which usefully summarizes earlier phonological studies of the Cantonese language. However, in place of this author's "High Rising" tone (tone 2 in the Cantonese tonal system), I have chosen to use the term "Middle Rising," as the pitch of this tone begins lower than that of the High Level tone (tone 1) and then rises to equal the latter (or still remains slightly below it). Modifying the terminology in this way allows for a more accurate representation of the melodic shapes in Lam's sacred music (whenever these seemingly attempt a matching of linguistic and musical inflections).

29. I would like to express my thanks to Shura Ng Taylor, a doctoral student in musicology at National Taiwan University who is a native speaker of Cantonese originally from Macau, for identifying the tones of the words in the texts of Lam's sacred compositions.

CONCLUSION

1. *Yanzhu* are the moveable bridges of traditional Chinese zithers. I would like to thank Fang Sz Chien for suggesting a translation of this final line of the poem.

2. Joyce Lindorff, "Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange in the Ming and Qing Courts," *Early Music* 32, no. 3 (2004): 405.

3. Translation from Wai Yee Lulu Chiu, "*The Function of Western Music in the Eighteenth-Century Chinese Court*" (PhD diss., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007), 104.

4. On the Kakure Kirishitan, see Ann M. Harrington, "The Kakure Kirishitan and Their Place in Japan's Religious Tradition," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 7, no. 4 (December 1980): 318–36; Christal Whelan, "Religion Concealed. The Kakure Kirishitan on Narushima," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 3 (Autumn 1992): 369–87; Peter Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 20, no. 1 (March 1993): 3–29; and Peter Nosco, "The Experiences of Christians during the Underground Years and Thereafter," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no. 1 (2007): 85–97.

5. The image seems actually to convey a double message in its simultaneous references to both the seven-headed beast of the Book of Revelation and a common Chinese symbol of auspiciousness. Given their intensive study of the languages and cultures of China, the Jesuits can hardly have disseminated this expression of a stark power difference inadvertently. Chinese characters carved upon the façade reinforce the visual image: 聖母踏龍頭 (*Shengmu ta longtou*, meaning "the Virgin Mary steps on the head of the dragon").

6. The novel *Silence* (1966) by the Japanese Catholic author Endō Shūsaku (1923–96) memorably dramatizes the strategy of the Japanese authorities to stamp out Christianity through use of the *fumi-e*. It has been adapted as a film three times, by Shinoda Masahiro in 1971, João Mário Grilo in 1996, and Martin Scorsese in 2016.

7. I discuss this issue in greater depth in my essay "Western Music History as a Teaching Topic in Taiwan: Pedagogy as Transculturation," in *Listening Across Borders: Musicology in the Global Classroom*, ed. Christoph Lynch and James Davis (Routledge, 2021), 11–22.

8. George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), is the best known example of this mythmaking. Scorsese's 2016 film version of Endō's *Silence*, while expressing some critique of the Jesuits' missionizing strategy, nevertheless stands clearly within the heroicizing trend.

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