Classifications and Representations of Macanese Cuisine: from Domestic Kitchen to Casino Hotel

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Declaration of Authorship

I (Annabel Jackson) hereby declare that this dissertation and the work presented in it is entirely my own.

Where I have consulted the work of others, that is always clearly stated.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to explore the complexities around representations and classifications of Macanese cuisine, and its position in post-colonial Macau. Its popular classification, as a fusion cuisine based on Portuguese traditions and Chinese ingredients with Asian accents, emerged as a contested space during previous research (2017) undertaken by this author. That research was particularly concerned with examining the status of Macanese cuisine in the Macanese diaspora, as the number of Macanese living outside Macau far exceeds those living within. Even as the contents of a single recipe, or indeed the need for a recipe, might be contested, the conflation of Macanese identity and Macanese cuisine has revealed itself. Such findings have led to the deeper exploration, through different theoretical approaches, of the core question as to the genesis and nature of Macanese cuisine, and what these findings might reveal about historic and contemporary socio-political relations in Macau. Tools such as theories of creolisation are utilised to reposition cuisine as a creative cultural force, therein raising the question of the nature of culinary authenticity. Even as Macanese cuisine has apparently gained traction in post-colonial Macau through government initiatives such as UNESCO listings, its visibility, and the understanding around it within its birthplace, are revealed as poor.

KEYWORDS: Macau, Macanese, Creolisation, Cuisine, Heritage

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1 – INTRODUCTION

Macau is a tiny territory of China, on the South China Sea. It comprises the area on the peninsula known as Macau, and the pair of islands of Taipa and Coloane, though these are now all connected by bridges or reclaimed land. Neighbouring Hong Kong is accessible by bridge and by sea. About 95 per cent of the 650,834 (Macau Census 2016 figure) population is Chinese/Cantonese, with around a third of those having arrived during the 1980s from Guangdong Province. The Portuguese community has never exceeded 7,000, while the Macanese community is estimated today at between 3,000-10,000.

The Macanese are a unique, hybrid people with roots in Portuguese, Southeast Asian and Chinese heritage, traditions, and broader influences. The Macanese consider themselves the "sons of the land" (*filhos da terra*) of Macau, and while the Chinese may have afforded the city its character, and Portuguese architecture delivered Macau an eclectic European look, "its soul lay with the *Macaenses* (Macanese)" (Pons, 1999 p. 101). Today, the term "Macanese" is popularly used to refer to anyone – or anything – coming from Macau.

The colonial project of Portugal was to marry local women, but when the Portuguese docked in Macau's Outer Harbour in the early 1550s, they found a place "sparsely populated" (see for example, Jorge da Silva, 2015 p. 29), though archaeological findings indicate (Chinese) activity in Macau from the period of the Han Dynasty. The Portuguese came ashore at the site of *A-Ma* Temple, dedicated to the goddess of the sea, and today a popular tourist attraction. The name "Macau" requires some explanation. The Cantonese rendering *Ao-Men* (sounds like: *Oh-Muun*) is usually regarded to derive from *A-ma Ao*, the characters for which are suggestive of the rendering of the *A-Ma* temple, while incorporating the sense of "bay". The Portuguese asked where they were, and the answer of "*A-Ma Goh*" could have been corrupted to "Macau".

Figure 1: Yiu, C. (2010) *A-Ma Temple* [Photograph]. Macau.

The inhabitants of Macau at this time are believed to have been fishing families (the Tanka) who lived aboard their boats (and tended the Temple): immigrants from nearby Fujian Province who, lacking sufficient land to cultivate at home, took to the sea (see for example Wong, 2003 p. 4). Certainly, the implication is that there were no land-based inhabitants here, so the Portuguese brought with them wives and servants from existing colonial outposts in Asia, principally Malacca and Goa, but also from trading partners such as Japan. The first workshops, warehouses and residences would have been decidedly Portuguese in style with colonial architectural tweaks – perhaps a covered veranda to provide airy shelter during the hot and humid typhoon season. Thus, early Macau would have looked architecturally European, rather than Chinese (or Asian). "Which it is I don't know, but I am seeing a Portuguese city on the seaside" (Fr. Manuel Teixeira, cited in Jorge da Silva, 2015 p. 121).

Ethnic classifications of the term Macanese remain problematic. In a 2013 global survey, a figure of people who identified as Macanese was given as 198,105, though it was immediately challenged to be no more than a tenth of that by a commentator who also argued that the very definition of who is Macanese "is still being debated" (Jackson, 2020 p. 133). We face here the conundrum of 'pure' versus 'mixed' blood Macanese; the idea of there being a notion of authentic hybridity which denies further intermixing. Hence, the offspring in Macau today of a Chinese woman and Portuguese man, or of a Macanese woman and an Indonesian man, may not be considered, or consider themselves, as Macanese. Where Macanese fit in post-colonial hierarchies is a question for debate here. It is a group which does not officially exist in the Macau Census, where the community may thus identify as Portuguese, or otherwise slot themselves into the "Other" category.

The complexities of Macanese identity, as the offspring of Portuguese colonialists while being neither Portuguese nor Chinese, have revealed themselves in different ways due to a number of historic circumstances such as World War 2, civil unrest in the 1960s, and Handover from Portugal to China in 1999; as well as improved socio-economic conditions due to elevated levels of tourism since 2002, and the rapid growth of Macau's casino industry. A new visibility for the Macanese has emerged through the medium of food, notably the listing of Macanese cuisine as UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage since 2012, and the 2017 naming of Macau as a UNESCO Creative City of Gastronomy. The Macanese have become part of the touristic curation of Macau by Beijing, creating an interesting case study in post-colonial identity formation where personal and state narratives overlap. Identity is both lived and performed. Macanese culture can thus be considered not as an absolute, but more as an imaginary constructed in particular times. Our understanding of the Macanese community is further complicated by the fact that a greater number of Macanese live as part of the diaspora, rather than in Macau.

Against the backdrop of these complexities, this dissertation seeks to explore Macanese identity through the lens of cuisine, and suggests that waves of

change in the representation, status and history of Macanese cuisine reflect the dynamically changing epochs of Macau the place. As a PhD by Publication, it builds on this author's existing body of work, revealing the contributions made to Macau Studies through decades of research, initially in a journalistic tradition, but increasingly in the academic arena.

1.1 Limitations of this research

The first limitation is that it is likely that those who have engaged with this author's research are already engaged with food. While contributing to Macau Studies through the lens of cuisine, it should be noted that this author has no sound knowledge of Macanese cultural tenets beyond cuisine, such as patois, and it is possible that informants were already specifically engaged with Macanese cuisine, and possibly other tenets, too. The access of source material only in English may also be a limitation, though it is noted that historical accounts in Chinese and Portuguese may reveal their own bias in terms of world view. While the author has visited Malacca on several occasions, visits to Goa (and various cities in India with strong historic Portuguese links) and East Timor have not (yet) been carried out. This research could also benefit from a multidisciplinary approach through the collaboration with, for example, linguists, particularly those with expertise in creole languages, as well as collaboration with scholars with expertise in cuisines with similarly complex backgrounds. It should also be noted that this research reflects a pre-COVID era, and it is likely that post-COVID the Macau landscape could, once more, change quite dramatically.

1.2 Overview of sections

Chapter 2 offers a brief look at the development of approaches to food studies in the social sciences, and argues for the potential of applying different theoretical models to cuisine. In Chapter 3, an overview of existing work and its contribution is offered, and key lines of further enquiry to be explored within these pages are outlined, notably difficulties around consensus about what constitutes Macanese cuisine, the problem and purpose of the recipe, and a

suggested conflation of cuisine and cultural identity. Chapter 4 critiques mainstream categories of cuisine, and attempts to introduce new ways of exploring and classifying cuisine, leading to a fresh and in-depth look at the very nature of Macanese cuisine in Chapter 5. The argument here is that "mixedness" should be seen as a creative process rather than an outcome, finding that theories of creolisation may be useful tools for understanding cuisines which cannot be viewed as products of place but rather as products of dual local and global forces. Chapter 6 traces the Macanese recipe as it moves from the comfort food dish of the domestic kitchen to a commodity on the casino hotel restaurant menu. This chapter also offers an exploration of Macanese cuisine as a component part of Macanese identity in post-colonial Macau with an economy driven by tourism, under the eye – and governance – of Beijing.

2 – FOOD: GOOD TO THINK WITH…?

Food as a relevant and reliable field of study within anthropology was recognised a half-century or so ago, no longer restricted to the margins of ethnography traditionally conducted around kinship groups, religion, magic, and myth. Across semiotic, structuralist, and materialist approaches, food began to be seen as a powerful, multi-dimensional tool in cultural studies, for consumption is never "just" a universal, everyday activity. The study of food and foodways contributes to relative understandings of the human body, nutrition, and health, but also shows how food is embedded in social relations; in notions of self-hood and identity. Food can be used as a lens through which to analyse society, historical change, power, and political economy.

This section is not a broad literature review, but acknowledges the influence of early food theorists and notes their success in bringing food studies centre-stage. It highlights some important texts which have subsequently emerged and similarly ponders whether, beyond functionalism and structuralism, other cultural theories/theorists might be deployed in the study of Macanese cuisine.

Three of the most important pioneering food theorists are widely considered to be Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), Mary Douglas (1921-2007) and Roland Barthes (1915-1980). Some of their ideas around food and culture are discussed here, leading us to an exploration of alternative, more contemporary ways of positioning food in cultural contexts outside of western-centric ideas, and beyond the strictures of structuralism.

The seminal Lévi-Strauss text, *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969) – the original French version, *Le Cru et Le Cuit*, was published in 1964 – has been described as "the most ambitious attempt to understand how people relate to food and how ideas about food reveal truths about society" (Oyangen, 2009 p. 323). It was the first volume of the four-part *Mythologies,* which recorded the ideas of Lévi-Strauss on myth and the savage mind (the original French *pensée sauvage*

can also be translated as "wild thought"), with his assertion of the universality of the binary structure underlying all myth: light/dark, water/earth, man/woman, and so on. He held that structures of language and linguistic classifications were universals, reflecting the universal nature of the human brain.

Lévi-Strauss was convinced that such a thing as a culinary system existed, through which ideas about food and cooking could be disseminated. From linguistics he borrowed the "vowel triangle" and the "consonant triangle" and therein conceived his famous food triangle of raw-cooked-rotten. He argued that all peoples think about food in similar ways, and that the symbolism of food reflects underlying structures of the human mind – and thus underlying structures of society.

British anthropologist Mary Douglas held that the ideas of Lévi-Strauss were too "grand" because of his failure to consider the nuances of lived experience around food in the domestic setting, instead seeking "a precoded, panhuman message in the language of food". She was interested less in (his ideas around) language and more in "categories" (Douglas, 1972 p. 37). One of her approaches was to examine patterns, in particular the dietary rules and food classifications of the Hebrews, as explored in *The Abominations of Leviticus* (1976). Creatures that are anomalous to their class are unclean – unholy, one might say – and their non-consumption becomes a metaphor for the purity of God. Such assertions are described as the "first clear exposition of the analogy between foodways and the holiness of a culture. Here a meal symbolises the cultural order" (Passariello, 1990 p. 55). And what constitutes the "meal"? Not the food itself, apparently, but its structure. Douglas' interest in the famous Chicken Marengo (named after the 1800 Battle of Marengo) of Napoleon was less that it comprised the curious assemblage of eggs, tomatoes, crayfish, chicken and garlic, and more that it represented in a single dish the structure of the prestigious French dinner: the soup course, the fish course, and the egg and meat courses.[1]

[1] Napoleon's chef was Marie-Antoine Carême, a leading exponent of the haute French cuisine introduced in Chapter 4.

She also asserted that in order to understand the meal or eating "act" it was necessary for them to be placed in the context of other meals. She was also concerned with meal patterns: who drinks or eats together and where; the time of the meal occasion; the day of the week. "The meal expresses close friendship," she writes, while "those we only know at drinks we know less intimately" (Douglas, 1972 p. 37). In fact, in the course of *Deciphering a Meal* she merely displaces language with grammar, reducing the meal to her patterned formula of A+B+C (Douglas, 1972 p. 43).

In *Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption* (1997), French intellectual Roland Barthes argued for reaching beyond Douglas' invocation of patterns of consumption; for moving instead towards systems of communication and classification that exist beyond the meal event. In France wine is more than wine; and in the USA, sugar is more than sugar. Both are inhabited with ideas and symbolism: they are "institutions". Wine is mystical and sacred, as well as being deeply rooted in the social life of rural communities. Sugar becomes a "time" – for example in the hit song "*Sugar Time*" (Barthes, 1997 p. 20); and he might also mention Tea. Tea-Time, Afternoon Tea and "Elevenses" transform a libation into an event; and the Cantonese *yum cha* – an array of small savoury (and sweet) snacks known as *dim sum*, typically consumed at breakfast or late morning – is always taken with tea (and conversation). *Yum cha* translates as 'drink tea' (飲茶. 飲 = drink 茶 = tea).[2]

Additionally, Barthes has widened out for consideration non-domestic, formalised, and international eating systems such as the Snack Bar and the Business Lunch, both reflective of changing habits, needs, and ideas. Building on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), he placed emphasis on the role of "taste" (differentiation in cultural terms), asserting the importance

[2] Traditional Chinese characters have been deployed here, and elsewhere in this dissertation, as their usage is the current practice in Hong Kong and Macau.

of changing "tastes" based on ideas about food – such as brown bread moving from the staple of the poor to a symbol of refinement.

* * * * * *

Subsequent pioneering texts have included Jack's Goody's *Cooking, Cuisine and Class* (1982) which argued for the need to analyse cooking within the broad context of the processes of production, preparation, and consumption of food. Sidney Mintz was also interested in consumption in his (1985) *Sweetness and Power*, which additionally demonstrated the role of an edible commodity in the development of capitalism. More minor but also inciteful is Carole Counihan's *Around the Tuscan Table* (2004). It began as a piece of research within gender studies, but was shifted to focus specifically on food, following in situ demonstrations of the deep relationship between gender and cooking.

What this dissertation seeks is to similarly explore cuisine not only through theories around food itself – its meanings, its symbols, its classifications – but to see to what extent other theoretical frameworks employed in the social sciences might place the study of cuisine in an alternative space, create differing shapes, and position cuisine as a process; as a creative cultural force rather than a static entity. Thus, most particularly for a cuisine such as Macanese – which might be referred to as fusion, hybrid, or creole – a different, creative approach will be deployed in order for it to be understood. The ideas of Clifford Geertz and Benedict Anderson will be shown to help guide us to a renewed approach in the study of creolised communities, where old orders are re-assembled, power relations are shifted, and the idea of the hybrid, a kind of sub-culture, or an in-between, emerges. This is what Homi Bhabha (1994) has influentially referred to as the Third Space.

The structuralists show scant interest in what people actually eat. But when people move, so do foods, including plants and seeds, creating and shaping narratives of seafaring, of trade, of communication, and community. The study

of food and foodways, here in the context of the Macanese, can be seen to allow insights into how creolised communities emerge, how they interact with other communities, and how they constantly realign themselves in their given contexts – here in the context of Macau's historic trajectory traced to the contemporary. As Geertz writes, a cultural artefact or pattern can be both a model "of" and a model "for" (Geertz, 2017 p. 99); and the proposition here is that a creole cuisine inhabits those dual cultural spaces. Food, then, can be seen as a symbol of identity, but simultaneously as a process through which to understand identity. Drawing on the ideas of Benedict Anderson, this dissertation contends that one of the styles in which the Macanese identify or "imagine" themselves is through cuisine.

2.1 The thin and the thick

When is thick, thick enough, we might ask, or even too thick? Is Clifford Geertz guilty of obscuring meaning beneath the weight of his purple prose? His contractors, including materialist Marvin Harris and positivist Paul Shankman, accuse his writing of being more "ivory tower musings" than "thickly descriptive"; as "deliberately illusive and perpetually inconclusive" (Harrison, 2013 p. 861). Geertz argues that the outcome of his interpretation of culture, by plunging into (the same) things more deeply and refining the debate (Geertz, 2017 pp. 27-32), *is* theory building. He asserts that, for example, while it is true that Chartres is made of stone and glass and is a cathedral, it is a cathedral built at a particular time within a particular society, and must therefore be seen as a specific architectural representation of that society's concept of the relationship between God and man (Geertz, 2017 p. 57).

He argues, further, that culture is best seen not as "complexes of concrete behavior [sic] patterns" such as customs and traditions but through the "control mechanisms" which are essential for ordering human behaviour. Without cultural patterns, or systems of symbols, "man's behaviour would be virtually ungovernable". Geertz argues that man depends, for the order of behaviour, on these "outside-the-skin control mechanisms" (Geertz, 2017 p. 50); forms of politicised primordial "legitimate authority" which can be understood in the term

"self in 'self-rule'" (Geertz, 2017 p. 289). This "control mechanism" view of culture begins, says Geertz, with the assumption that human thought is both social and public – of both the kitchen garden and the city square, we might say. The notion of culture as a collective phenomenon has been criticised for ignoring issues around cultural capital and the control and distribution of knowledge (Hoffman, 2009 p. 418), as well as power relations (Weinstein, 2005 p. 74). However, within the category of control mechanisms Geertz includes, alongside the plan and the program, the recipe, which is here privileged to allow cooking to take centre-stage.

The everyday recipe is seen to sit within identity politics as one of the "symbolic sources of illumination" to help man "find his bearings in the world" (Geertz, 2017 pp. 50-51). The recipe may help us to envision an interpretation of the system of social relations and the shape of life from which that recipe emanated. Even more, as Geertz would also have it, to understand the way the actors involved in the evolution, recording and practice of a recipe, *think*.

2.2 The imagined community

The foundation of Anderson's definition of nation is that it is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation are not acquainted with all their fellow members, yet each member carries with them an image of this community. Of particular interest to him is the concept of the "styles" in which communities are imagined. We explore through this medium "the subjective ways that the past is recalled, memorialized [sic], and used to construct the present" (Holtzman, 2006 p. 363). Food is a compelling medium for memory, perhaps most eloquently and famously explored by Marcel Proust with regards to the madeleine cake (see for example, Featherstone and Tamari, 2007). As embodied material culture, "experience of food evokes recollection, which is not simply cognitive but also emotional and physical" (Holtzman, 2006 p. 365). As an example, it was through her interaction with Macanese food in the diaspora among her extended family in Australia that Isabel da Silva believes any sense of her Macanese-ness was kept alive "indeed perhaps truly *discovered for the first time*" [itals added] (Jackson, 2003 p. 26).

Figure 2: Stone, R. (2003) *Isabel da Silva* [Photograph]. Macau.

Anderson has noted the powerful emotional bonds aroused in individuals by imagined communities (Anderson, 2016 p. 4). Cuisine, with its roots in family, and its role in commensality and celebration, is a particularly powerful cultural communicator of emotion, and of both individual and group identity. Food is "extremely affective; its taste on our individual tongues often incites strong emotions, while the communal, commensal experience of such sensations binds people together, not only through space but time" (Di Giovine and Brulotte, 2014 p. 1). Identification with food for the Macanese also allows for the negotiation of multiple identities including Portuguese, Southeast Asian, global, and local.

The Macanese have used different sources for social identity over time, and in the absence of – to borrow Anderson's categories – language (the Macanese patois is almost extinct), specific Macanese folklore, music or dance-forms, Macanese cuisine assumes the pedestal. As will later be explored, Macanese cuisine emerged in the broader public arena as recently as the 1990s, yet is venerated as something deeply rooted in the collective Macanese memory; as a "tradition that has been passed down generation after generation, the proudest moment for many families" (Loi, Kong and Robarts, 2020). It has since been continuously reinvented by a variety of actors within varying sets of social, economic, and political circumstances. We return to ideas around invention in Chapter 6 when we explore Macanese (and Portuguese) restaurant provision in Macau. But first, an overview of this author's existing work is offered.

3 – A REVIEW OF RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN

It is the aromas which hit you first. Has there ever been a kitchen of such olfactory profundity? The steam from a saffron-coloured chicken curry made with Goan spices rises to mingle with the subtle fragrances of chopped Chinese herbs and the rich fragrance of balichão *(Macanese shrimp paste), while from the stove comes the piquant smell of a shrimp curry simmering in coconut milk with garlic and local turnip. All completed by base notes of sweet, eggy desserts, powerful espresso, and Portuguese* vinho verde*. It is an unforgettable combination. You're beginning to get your first insights into what this cuisine might be all about. Continents meet in the Macanese kitchen.*

– Annabel Jackson*, Macau on a Plate: A Culinary Journey* (1994)

3.1 Background

The pioneering 2003 publication of *Taste of Macau: Portuguese Cooking on the China Coast* represented the first time that a volume of Macanese recipes had been published by an academic press (in English) for a global audience. That work was preceded by this author's inaugural book *Macau on a Plate: A Culinary Journey* (1994) which made a significant contribution to the understanding of Macau's social history through the lens of the three core cuisines – Cantonese, Portuguese, and Macanese. At that time, Southeast Asian cuisines such as Thai and Burmese were also visible in restaurants and cafés; and western restaurants serving French and Italian food were emerging. This book was written and researched by someone with a long interest in food culture and a self-taught journalist who had in childhood been a short-story competition winner, and who has a practice-based professional career in the hospitality industry: in the hotel sector, in culinary tourism, in restaurant marketing, and in wine event management. This text was the first time (at least in English) that Macau's

multi-culinary culture had been highlighted; and notably the first time that Macanese[3] cuisine had been privileged.

Ideas about Macanese cuisine were thereafter to continue to enter the public domain, its historic emergence heralded in the lifestyle media with stories of fearless Portuguese seafarers docking in tiny Macau with their weighty trading ambitions. Because the "enclave" was barely inhabited, they brought with them wives and servants – each with their own distinct cooking traditions as well as customs and language – from existing Asian colonies, particularly Goa and Malacca, and from other nations with which the Portuguese enjoyed trading rights, like Japan.

Indeed, the geographical attraction of Macau related specifically to the "Japan Trade" from which the Portuguese reaped such riches in the golden era from 1550-1650 (Pons, 1999 p. 50). Due to havoc caused by Japanese pirates along the China coast, in around 1480 *direct* commerce with Japan had been forbidden by the Ming Emperor – but the Portuguese were deemed good 'middlemen'. The Trade comprised principally the sale to Japan of Chinese silk, and sundry items such as copper and porcelain, in exchange for silver. Voyages would begin in Goa, Chinese silk would be taken on board in Macau, and from here ships would head to Japan (Boxer, 1948 pp. 5-7).[4]

The narrative would run that, exhausted after an arduous trip which included navigating pirate-infested waters, "Sir" would arrive home from a voyage longing for his mother's cooking. In the kitchen, he might have instructed a servant how to reconstitute *bacalhau* (Portuguese dried salted cod) in fresh

[3] "Macanese" is today frequently but erroneously used to refer to anything – or anyone – from Macau. Rather, the term refers to a specific group of people, the descendants of Portuguese colonialists, who developed their own cultural forms, including cuisine.

[4] This trade, as well as the strategic position of Macau, was highly coveted by the Dutch, who (in)famously tried to capture Macau in 1622 but were fought off by a sundry group of Portuguese sailors, Chinese merchants, and African slaves. These slaves were freed on the same day "in recognition of their bravery" (Clements, 2004 p. 33).

water, slice potatoes, green peppers, garlic and onions, layer everything with copious amounts of olive oil, and flavour with paprika. Covered and cooked slowly, the dish would closely resemble Portuguese salt cod stew *Bacalhau Guisado*. So far so good. But that same servant might judge a dish of braised pork belly with brown onion, or grilled shrimp with rice, somewhat tasteless. So, to these she would variously add warm spices and chilies; coconut milk and fermented fish paste; sour tamarind and papaya flowers.

3.2 The Macau backdrop

The backdrop of Macau is of itself complex, moving between significant epochs. It has occupied a profound status as a city "on the edges of nations, oceans, cultures, languages, economies, laws, and civilisations…" (Clayton, 2009 p. 67). Even its status as an official colony of Portugal is contested, and it is argued that Macau's ambiguous status was "precisely what allowed the city to become a major hub of world trade in Asia for over 300 years, anchoring trade routes that spanned the known world" (Clayton, 2009 p. 68).

Macau was settled by the Portuguese in 1557 with "the *agreement* of the Chinese authorities" [itals added] (Brookshaw, 2002 p. 12), never officially a colony. Rather, Macau should be viewed as a "classic" enclave whose enclosure was "less administrative than affective" (O'Neill, 2021 p. 113). A senior Chinese official resided in Macau, in the Mandarin House, and Chinese authorities could, for example, shut the border gate in order to cut off food supplies if the Portuguese were non-compliant. There was local fishing and hunting activity, and families might have kept chickens and maintained a kitchen garden. But the fact that Macau has never really produced food is an interesting aside. Macau's food insecurity, its reliance on imported foodstuffs including staples such as rice, has surely been a significant factor in the shaping of this tiny enclave. This author has written a little on this subject, but it is an area worthy of further research.

3.3 Early research

Research for cookbook *Taste of Macau* began as a mission to explore and communicate, and thereby help to preserve, Macanese cuisine. The first challenge was generating content at all. A handful of Macanese, whom this author had met when researching *Macau on a Plate*, supported and contributed to this work, such as Macanese restaurateurs Isabel Eusébio of Balichão and Sonia Palmer of Riquexó, and architect (and writer) António Jorge da Silva. Each were deeply concerned that their cuisine was disappearing, and wanted it to be recorded and communicated to a wider audience. It seemed that, beyond these three collaborators, a suspicion existed around sharing ideas – and most particularly recipes – with this author. A close Macanese friend, Isabel da Silva, asked her father to share their family recipes with her. He refused, on the grounds that she might then go on to share them – with this author.

It was becoming clearer that family recipes were regarded as closely guarded secrets, handed down – mostly orally – strictly within the family. They had been created in the hearth of the home, the domestic kitchen, and were treated like family heirlooms. Further, a pattern of "my" recipe being better than "yours" revealed itself, and the excitement around the cooking competitions which became part of the *Encontro das Comunidades Macaenses* (a conference for the Macanese diaspora held every three years in Macau) belied a fiercely competitive spirit between families both within and beyond the specific overseas *Casa de Macau* (about which more later) of which they were a member.

Although ostensibly a cookbook, *Taste of Macau* also represented as a piece of food anthropology, incorporating semi-structured interviews with a number of Macanese people, accompanied by photographic portraits. Once, this author had asked Isabel Eusébio: "What do Macanese *look* like"? Her answer was curious: "*We* know who we are". What the Macanese *look* like is intriguing. The Macanese community has always allowed a degree of ambiguity where assignment to a particular ethnic group is concerned. This assignment is not imposed, instead

allowing for a range of "personal identity options" (Ferraz de Matos, 2020 p. 64). Later, we seek to delve deeper and link such identity politics with personal relationships to, and the cultural status of, Macanese cuisine, seen through the lens of situational ethnicity.

These published profiles had at least two particularly important component parts in common. First, each interviewee traced Macanese food back to childhood.

> "As with most Macanese families, food has been and still is an integral part of our family tradition."

> "I have very vivid memories of my grandmother, and especially her baking."

> "My granny was famous for her *Sarrabulho*… and I was lucky enough to have tried it during my teenage years; but sadly she didn't leave the recipe written down for anyone. Those who remember say that when she cooked it, the whole neighbourhood would know, because of the unique aromas."

> "Living in California, I still carry on the traditions of my family. The recipes, which my mother sent me when I was in university in England, have been translated [into English] by me and passed on to my children. I have written some of my own, as my ancestors did."

> "I remember that food was incredibly important to Macanese families – and still is. Every gathering featured food very strongly. But if none of your daughters were getting married or none of your sons was getting baptized, everyone managed to find an excuse to get together to eat anyway" (Jackson, 2003 pp. 24-34).

The second striking similarity in their accounts was not only that Macanese food formed an important part of identity, but that the two seemed to be almost conflated.

Years later, in 2016, this author was invited to apply for culinary research funding by the Institute of European Studies in Macau (IEEM), founded in 1995 to function as a bridge between the European Union and the Asia-Pacific region. The application was successful, and a culinary research project which should draw together East and West was begun – in other words a new exploration of Macanese cuisine to build on existing work. It was time to unpack the nostalgia-tinged narrative of that weary sea captain, and to explore more deeply the issues of food and identity in the Macanese context, importantly beyond as well as within Macau.

3.4 The Macanese diaspora

The leaving of Macau for the pursuit of education, a better job or more opportunities, or simply to go somewhere "bigger" has gone through various waves since the 1850s. In the wake of the Opium Wars, many Macanese emigrated to Hong Kong, becoming the bedrock of the banking system, while a second tranche moved to Shanghai (Pons, 1999 p. 106). But the wave in the years preceding the (official) Handover of Macau from Portugal to China (1999) was more about socio-political concerns amongst the Macanese community. If the Macanese had been, at least nominally, privileged under the colonial Portuguese government, their sense of belonging was now seriously under question. Where would they "fit" under Chinese Communist rule?

Figures relating to the number of Macanese residing in Macau, and the number identifying as part of the Macanese diaspora, as mentioned earlier, are contested. However, it is clear that more reside outside Macau than within. Thus, given earlier findings in *Taste of Macau* of the strong relationship between Macanese food and Macanese identity, it was deemed important to look at, in this new research project, what "happens" to Macanese food among those in the

diaspora, and whether it might become a more important – or indeed less important – facet of identity.

The publication (1977) of *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain* was an important advancement within diasporic studies in the way that it examined experience at both ends of the migration chain – in the migrant's place of origin as well as in the chosen new home. The relationship between the Macanese and the Macanese diaspora is strong, strengthened and sustained by government initiatives in both colonial and post-colonial Macau. On the other hand, consideration was required as to what was happening to the Macanese and their cuisine in a rapidly changing Macau, with the passing of 17 years as an SAR (Special Administrative Region) of China and also, significantly, as a city which had moved from its moniker of Venice of the East in the sixteenth century to, today[5], the Vegas of the East. It is a city almost entirely dependent on tourism, and gambling-centric tourism at that.

In spite of problematics surrounding self-identification, the diaspora is highly organised through the establishment of the *Casa* movement. It has been argued that it is a pair of Macanese clubs established long ago in Hong Kong, Club Lusitano (1866) and Club de Recreio (1906), and not the physical proximity of Macau, which helped Hong Kong's Macanese community retain a strong sense of cultural identity (Jackson, 2020 p. 17). There are today *Casas* in cities across Canada, the USA, Australia, Brazil, Portugal, and the UK (the most recent, founded in 2016) all of which, since 2004, have been managed, together with a number of Macanese associations within Macau, by the *Conselho das Communidades Macaenses* (CCM),

3.5 Research methodology

For the IEEM-funded research project, the decision was made to initiate an original worldwide questionnaire (SurveyMonkey) through the *Casa* movement,

[5] It should be noted that this moniker was applied pre-COVID, and several other cities in Asia are now striving to attract the gambling tourist.

with presidents of each *Casa* disseminating the questionnaire via email (October 2017) to their members. None revealed precisely how many members received it, and one president failed to respond at all to the request. It is however estimated that the Survey reached 1,500-2,000 people, with a (deemed successful) response rate of 12-16 per cent. Questions homed in on matters such as Macanese identity, the extent to which cuisine played a part in this, how often Macanese food was consumed, childhood food memories, and relationship with the place of Macau. Questions were answered on a sliding scale of 1-5, from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree. There was provision at the end of the questionnaire for respondents to write comments, and also the opportunity to contact this author personally via email if they wanted to share more deeply.

A separate though not dissimilar piece of research was directed, via personal email, to Macanese living in Macau (12), and through the president of the Macanese Gastronomy Association, which has about 40 members. These initiatives were followed up a series of semi-structured, in-person interviews in Macau (October 2017), with culturally engaged Macanese (10), and with hospitality industry experts (6).

The IEEM-funded research paper formed a substantial part of this author's 2020 publication *The Making of Macau's Fusion Cuisine: From Family Table to World Stage*. This text would cement the author as a world authority on Macanese cuisine[6] and its status within the Macanese community in Macau and in the diaspora, as well as in the broader socio-economic and politically changing conditions of Macau. Out of this piece of original research some key findings emerged, which also threw up new questions and lines of enquiry, which are what fuelled this PhD by Publication journey.

[6] As an example, an informal google search using the key words Macau and Food (August 2022) threw up a list topped by https://cuisinen.com/macanese-cookbooks/. Three of the first four books featured here are by Annabel Jackson.

The results of the questionnaire were analysed firstly through the utilisation of bell charts, and secondly through the identification of emerging themes which appeared in written comments and commentary from respondents.

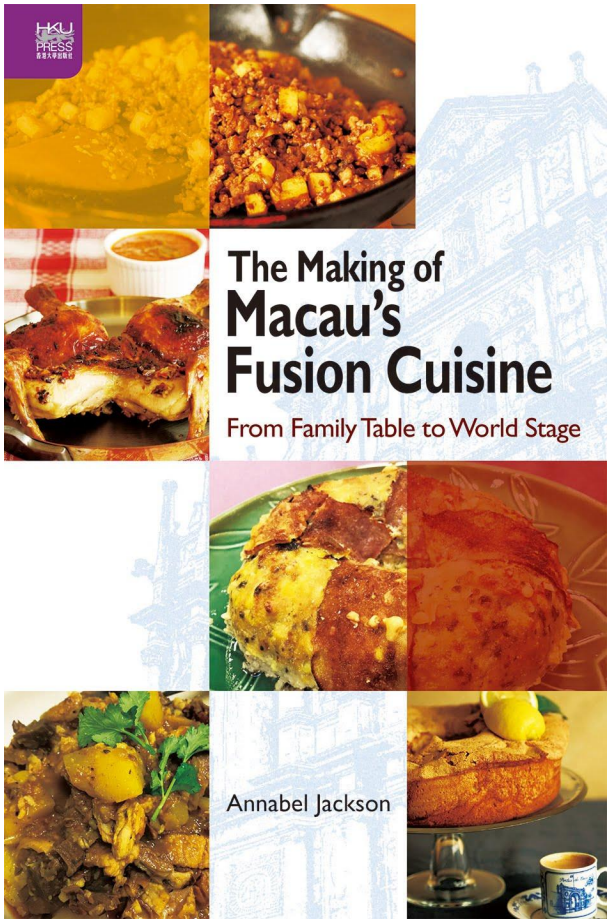


Figure 3: Book cover. *The Making of Macau's Fusion Cuisine: From Family Table to World Stage* [Scan]. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

3.6 Themes – cuisine and identity

The first key finding concerned the depth of the relationship between cuisine as part of identity, and the physical consumption of that cuisine. This theme had already emerged in the personal food stories in *Taste of Macau*, wherein food and identity seemed to have become consubstantial. It must be noted that each of the people featured in that volume already had a significant engagement with Macanese cuisine. However, this theme was also reflected among Survey responses. The two examples below also suggest that cuisine is not only

embedded in identity, but that a dish like Minchi has become emblematic of Macau the physical place, for some of those living geographically far from Macau.

"Minchi is more than just a dish, it's a dish that in some way represents the Macanese as a whole and a comfort food. The mere mention of the word Minchi would indicate one's connection with Macau."

"I like Minche [sic] and many others since childhood ages and when in Macau you are walking along the streets you feel like that you belong there and since the long absence you feel like you were born again there."

Of particular note was the fact that responses from the Macanese community in Hong Kong, in spite of geographical proximity to Macau, were similar to those in the broader diaspora. Within these categories, 65% of respondents ranked Macanese cuisine as an important part of their identity, even though only two-thirds of that number ate it weekly. Many only ate it annually, at their *Casa* – an indication of the importance of this movement for helping to keep Macanese identity alive. Within Macau, 75% reported that Macanese food was an important part of their identity, with nearly half of that number consuming Macanese food on a daily basis. Thus, paucity of consumption does not impact greatly on cuisine as part of identity formation: its importance is *embedded* in identity.

Such a conflation has been noted elsewhere, in the context of Macanese restaurants in Macau – of which there are really only two "authentic" spaces, the first of which is Riquexó which opened in 1978. Casual in style, it was established principally in order to deliver Macanese food to elderly Macanese who lived alone following, perhaps, the death of a spouse. The second restaurant, partially government-sub vented, and set within the premises of APOMAC (a club for retired Macanese civil servants) opened in 2001. Both are off-the-beaten track as far as tourists are concerned, though members of the

broader Macau community (Cantonese, Portuguese and so on) and in-the-know tourists are welcome – but they have undoubtedly served as spaces for the maintenance of Macanese cultural identity within Macau. Regular family meetings in restaurants are seen as important "for the constitution of their sense of identity" (de Pina-Cabral, 2002 p. 175), even to the point where "a particular cuisine is identified with a cultural community and turns into something that is consubstantial to its own identity" (Gaspar, 2014).

Figure 4: Jackson, A. (1994) *Riquexó restaurant* [Photograph]. Macau.

3.7 Themes – the recipe

The second important finding regarded recipes. It is proposed that there are at least two core narratives to pursue with regards to the (Macanese) recipe. Traditions of passing down recipes orally within the family are not unique to the Macanese community, but the depth of the dismissal of cookbooks in the 2017 Survey was surprising. Particularly since Macau became a UNESCO Creative City of Gastronomy (2017) there has been a proliferation of generic on-line Macanese recipe banks. For example, in conjunction with Macau Government Tourist Office (MGTO), the Macau Institute of Tourism Studies (IFTM) is now caretaker of a

bank of 30 Macanese recipes deemed to fully represent Macanese cuisine. Many attempts at such have been tried in the past, and abandoned. Hans Rasmussen, the Institute's Executive Chef, commented that its compilation was "a project in itself" (personal correspondence, April 2022), and while it has been shared with this author, at least for now it is (curiously) not to be communicated more widely. In the first place, we herein see the recipe moving away from the family-oral tradition into the public domain, but further than that, onto the casino hotel restaurant menu where the Chef becomes its custodian, and it is transformed into a commodified, "professional" recipe for consumption by the Other, the tourist. The second narrative regards the physical act of writing something down: the production of a recipe is a cultural force which reconfigures relationships between actors. For Clifford Geertz, the recipe, alongside the program and the plan, is a tool which serves to construct culture (Geertz, 2017 p. 50).

The existence of this recipe bank, which could be seen to finally "tie down" Macanese cuisine is deemed particularly important because the third significant Survey finding relates to the lack of consensus among the Macanese as to what constitutes Macanese cuisine itself, as well as lack of consensus about the precise ingredients required for individual recipes. It was posited that Macanese cuisine may have "progressed from traditional Portuguese to something in between Portuguese and Asian/Chinese (traditional or original Macanese) to a cuisine that is today almost entirely Chinese-influenced" (Mamak, 2007 p. 161). Whether or not we are in agreement with this argument, the cuisine has certainly changed over time, and means different things to different people at different times, as reflected in Survey responses. Many commented that it is not "what it used to be". Asked to name their favourite dish, some respondents offered what would be deemed a Portuguese dish. Comments included the idea that Macanese cuisine was very similar to Cantonese, or that it had much in common with the cuisines of Southeast Asia. Why such variance? The decision was made to go on to look at new ways of analysing and classifying cuisine, utilising etymology as one way to unpack such notions, such as through the names attributed to dishes. Ingredients themselves, and from where they emanate, as well as cooking techniques, can form a solid base from which to

analyse a cuisine, and so too does the examination of a dish which appears to be very similar to one from another cuisine.

This author also wanted to see if theoretical approaches not normally applied in the realm of food studies could deepen our understanding of cuisine and its place in identity formation – and to see how it might be viewed as plastic, and take its place as a component part of multiple, changing identities. This dissertation, then, works towards a deeper understanding of the nature of Macanese cuisine and of the recipe, in order to understand more deeply the changing status of the Macanese in Macau and in the diaspora.

Certain principles of anthropological and sociological thought around food are employed, as well as the application of etymology in food studies. More profoundly, perhaps, the subject is approached by situating Macau within the geographical and cultural arena of Area Studies, itself by definition multi-disciplinary, and revealing the shortcomings of research based on borders relating to colonialist/post-colonialist projects and, more recently, nationalist projects. Macau is thus imagined not only as a part of China, but within a broader sphere of regional influence, too. The substantiality of Area Studies has been criticised for using nebulous denotations such as "Southeast Asia" (could this really be a credible, unifying umbrella?); and for being realised "only in maps" (Haroontunian, 1999 p. 127). However, this dissertation has rendered Area Studies palpable – through cuisine. This focus on the potential for food to create and reinforce distinct cultural worlds has potential for the study of cuisines beyond Macanese – a secondary contribution to the literature.

3.8 Additional research

Given that the majority of the research findings explored here are from 2017, and that this author has not been in Macau since late 2019, two additional, minor pieces of research were carried out, though their importance must be viewed within the context of issues surrounding COVID-19, which has particularly challenged the tourism and hospitality sectors.

The first involved desk research to discover the extent of Macanese restaurants beyond Macau, their representations, and the kind of traction received. The problematic question of what a Macanese restaurant should look and feel like, and indeed show on its menu is discussed in Chapter 6, but it is pertinent to investigate how restaurants beyond Macau which call themselves Macanese reproduce Macanese cuisine and Macanese-ness.

Over the years, Macau or Macanese-style restaurants have appeared in Hong Kong, and Macanese or "Macau" dishes have appeared on restaurant menus. However, based on what is available on-line, it would appear that there are today four key restaurants beyond Macau which call themselves Macanese. Each appears to have been successful in communicating a clear message and received positive media coverage – though such findings will need to be critically analysed.

The long-established, award-winning **Fat Rice** (2012) in Chicago, though described as "just like any other southeast Asian restaurant" (Doris Lau Perry, trained chef, personal comment, May 2022), appears to have now closed, resurfacing as NoodleBird: an "Asian-inspired diner that brings the vibrant food scene of Macau and Asia to Chicago's Logan Square" (NoodleBird, 2021). **Fat Tea**, in Petaling Jaya (Malaysia), was researched through an industry friend. "Overall, Fat Tea represents Macanese dishes extremely well, and we also discovered a 'touch' of Malaysia in some of the dishes we sampled. For example, the use of lime (in the Piri Piri Chicken dish) or red chilies in the Porco Bafassa dish" (Jennifer Welken, Macau hospitality industry veteran, personal correspondence, May 2022). **Taberna Macau** in Lisboa is said to make up for a general lack of dedicated all-year-round (as opposed to Pop-Up) Macanese restaurants in Lisboa. Balichão algae chips, bao Macau, Riquexó shrimps, lacassá soup, and algae tapioca are some of the items listed on the menu (Machado, 2022) – though not all are recognisable as Macanese. The most recent, which opened in 2019, is **Macau Kitchen**, voted Best World Food Restaurant Edinburgh 2022, which "serves up a beautiful fusion of Asian and Portuguese

food, still found on the streets of Macau today, while also taking in the exotic influences of Goa and Melaka" (Armstrong, 2022).

The different ways in which Macanese cooking, or versions of it, inspire the opening of restaurants, cafés, and concepts around the world, would make for interesting further research. It is extremely likely that overseas Macanese have invented notions of their communities – and there is certainly potential for further diasporic studies within this particular dimension.

The second piece of additional research took the form of an e-interview with culturally engaged Macanese living in Macau, as well as hospitality industry figures. The response rate was 8 out of 13. This was followed by a single Skype call conducted with one respondent, Hans Rasmussen, a chef who had been mentioned as someone working at the forefront in Macau of trying to modernise Macanese cuisine. These findings are incorporated briefly in Chapter 5, and more extensively in Chapter 6. Next, however, in Chapter 4, we move towards suggestions for a classification of Macanese cuisine.

4 – THE CLASSIFICATION OF CUISINE

We begin by delving deeper into the monikers which cuisines may have had thrust upon them, and work towards the identification of the most pertinent classificatory tools. The dual desires of seeking other ways of looking at cuisine, and alternative ways of classifying it, have already been mentioned. We question, here, whether ideas around cuisine, since it is seen as an important part of cultural identity, manifest themselves in a similar manner to situational ethnicity – and indeed whether the two could be conflated.

A solution to the challenge of accounting for the range of phenomena encountered in "society" or a "social field" was the separation of research topics in a process defined as Situational Analysis. Its codification has been attributed to J. Clyde Mitchell (1987) who characterised it thus: "The intellectual isolation of a set of events from the wider social context in which they occur in order to facilitate a logically coherent analysis of these events" (cited in Rogers and Vertovec, 1995 pp. 6-7). Mitchell defines three distinct components which stand in relation to each other within a social structure. First is the set of events, activities or behaviours; second the meanings which the actors themselves attribute to an event or activity; and third the structural context of the setting in which behaviours take place – an analytical construct not necessarily shared by the actors themselves.

Within Situational Analysis, situational ethnicity is set in opposition to the primordial view. Edward Shils is thought to be the first (1957) to deploy the term "primordial" (Eller and Coughlan, 1993) – with reference to the nature of kinship attachments. These attachments, says Shils, derive their strength from "a certain ineffable significance… attributed to the tie of blood" (cited in Eller and Coughlan, 1993 p. 184). His ideas were later developed by Clifford Geertz in the context of attachments based on ethnic group membership. Ethnicity is seen as dependent on a series of 'givens' such as being born into a specific community with its own language, religion and set of cultural practices – which Geertz refers to as "congruities of blood, speech, custom". However, the idea of primordialism

is cemented, so to speak, by how such factors are shown to have "an ineffable, and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves" (Geertz, 2017 p. 278).

The use by Shils and Geertz of terms like "ineffable", as well as "spiritual" and "natural," has drawn heavy criticism for being unanalytical, vacuous and even downright "unsociological" in the implicit dismissal of the role of social relations and social interactions in identity formation (Eller and Coughlan, 1993 p. 183). However, a closer reading of Geertz reveals what he calls a tension in the lifting of primordial ties to the level of political supremacy; a tension "between primordial sentiments and civil politics [that] probably cannot be entirely dissolved" (Geertz, 2017 p. 296). The ability to "tune primordial sentiments up before elections and down after them", for example, is noted (Geertz, 2017 p. 291). Ethnicity, then, explains Richard Thompson, is a primordial sentiment not because ethnicity is biological, but because it is an historically important cultural identity that, "in certain parts of the world, has become particularly crucial or salient politically" (1989, cited in Shahabuddin, 2014).

We here suggest that the word ethnicity in the above citation could be substituted with the word cuisine. It is thus questioned whether cuisine, as a shared cultural practice, can be regarded as primordial, as a fixed entity which ties together families and communities, even nations, in ways similar to a shared language or religion, and generally shared cultural expectations and behaviours.

4a French cuisine as a primordial entity

We begin that discussion in France. French cuisine is offered as a powerful example of attempts to achieve "purity" in cuisine, with the attendant idea that it has always existed; it just "is". French food is the best in the world – because the French say it is, and it represents a startling example of the conflation of food and not identity per se but nation building and akin to the political supremacy proposed by Geertz, as mentioned above.

Its emergence relied on the elaborate conflation of sets of circumstances which were to reinforce each other over time. Published in 1651, *Le Cuisinier français* (The French Chef) by François Pierre de La Varenne, played a crucial role in the elevation of cooking (and the Chef) to a status enjoyed by the fine arts (and its practitioners).

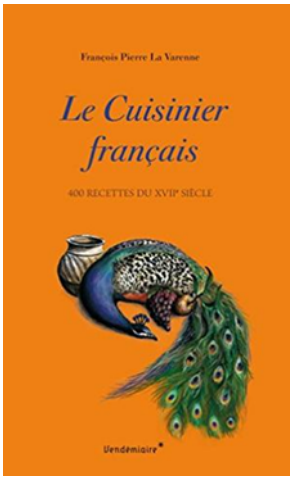


Figure 5: Book cover. *Le Cuisinier français* [Scan].

To appreciate fine food, diners would need to develop a distinct vocabulary through which to think and intellectualise about it, as well as a refined palate. *Le Cuisinier français* delivered the codification of culinary techniques, it theorised the culinary arts, and intellectualised the pleasures of refined food and fine wine. Having civilised food through cooking, this was to mark the beginning of the civilising of the act of eating on the part of the French. The move towards the "art of the table" is contextualised in the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715) who believed in "all things French". Nothing that could be produced in France should be imported, and he instigated the establishment of the luxury clothing, jewellery, and furniture industries. These industries would provide significant economic stimuli, while at the same time France would come to be seen as the arbiter of "taste" and, subsequently, for defining gustatory standards according to its refined cuisine.

In the European context of medieval cooking, where little differentiation between countries was evident, French cuisine elevated itself through first the rejection of the fashion for spice, and second through the assertion of the pre-eminence of its produce. With its rules and regulations, a catalogue of standardised and technically demanding stocks and sauces, and the distinctive use of butter and the bouquet garni, French cuisine established itself as a point of reference with a reputation for excellence. The world of fine wine became similarly codified, and the highly influential Bordeaux wine classification of 1855 remains almost entirely unchanged to this day, and France (most particularly in the wine region of Bordeaux) continues to assert global pre-eminence in the production of fine wine.

A cuisine which might have remained an imperial or regal cuisine could become a national cuisine because of what Florent Quellier refers to as "a powerful process of social imitation" (Quellier, 2013 p. 269). Thus, the French aristocracy imitated the King's table, the nobility that of the aristocracy, and the bourgeoisie that of the nobility. National French food identity was created on the basis of two tenets: image and belief. The single legitimate fine cuisine in the world was French, and it became a powerful political tool. "Everyone learned the lesson, from elite post-nobles and bourgeois restaurant-goers to housewives and the working class" (Tebben, 2020 p. 153). This process was amplified by the ability of the cookbook to crisscross social classes, and those who could not afford to cook certain luxuries could at least read about them. A distribution which cut through social class played a significant role in the identification of a nation with a prestigious, "primordial" cuisine. The construction of French cuisine simultaneously supplied a medium with which to bring together regions to imagine the nation, and "provided an instrument with which to *practice* nationalism" [itals added] (Ferguson, 2004 pp. 78-81).

4b The situation of Macanese cuisine

Cuisine is a cultural construct, but the example of French cuisine, and its primordial characteristics, is set in opposition to cuisines which are products of neither a monoculture nor a fixed geographical space but incorporate and

nuance dual notions of local and global. The intention, now, is to place the study of Macanese cuisine in the context of other cuisines which are similarly difficult to classify, and which may themselves have a relationship with Macanese cuisine itself. Malleable, these cuisines can deepen our understanding of processes and aspects of cultural and identity construction. These are the cooking traditions which have traditionally been ascribed monikers or classifications such as fusion, hybrid, and creole, terms which are here met with interrogation.

4.1 FUSION – A FORMLESS MONIKER?

UNESCO has described Macau as "combining eastern and western culture and home of the first 'fusion food' – the Macanese cuisine, now designated as Macao's intangible heritage by the local government" (UNESCOa (no date)). This "first" designation is contested, and the utilisation of the term fusion should also be critiqued.

The term "fusion" is traced to the 1550s, attributed as the "act of melting by heat" from Middle French *fusion* or directly from the Latin *fusionem* (nominative *fusio*) "an outpouring, effusion," noun of action from *fusus*, past participle of *fundere* "to pour, melt". By 1776 its meaning had become a "union or blending of different things; state of being united or blended"; and during the nineteenth century it was used in the realm of politics. Much more recently (1972), the concept has been applied to music ('Fusion' (no date)) and following that, to cuisine.

At least in the realm of cuisine, the term fusion is problematic. It has over the past few decades become part of the popular discourse in fashionable dining rooms. The moniker was coined in 1980s Los Angeles in Wolfgang Puck's Spago restaurant and, from the late 1990s, fusion cuisine restaurants were opening in many US cities (Mannur, 2010 p. 188). The movement was also taking root in hitherto culinary conservative London. In the late 1990s, New Zealand chef Peter Gordon opened The Sugar Club, just off Piccadilly Circus. He served a brilliant carpaccio of kangaroo with Thai fish sauce and a scattering of freshly

chopped coriander leaves. Fusion cooking of this kind has been defined as the "harmonious combination of different culinary traditions in order to create innovative and seamless dishes" (Stano, 2017 p. 904); and noted "for the ways in which foods intermingle to carve a space for new tastes and flavors [sic]" (Mannur, 2010 p. 186). Following this "golden" era, the term became open to multiple and often contradictory definitions; and indeed, the term "con-fusion" was deployed. Once considered the new vogue in cuisine, it began to be viewed as "faddish and "inauthentic"" (Mannur, 2010 p. 187).

The term has been deployed at government level. On the back of Malaysia's "Truly Asia" touristic pledge is the "Asia's original fusion food" mantra. Khoo Gaik Cheng (2019) contests that underpinning the term "fusion" is a hegemony placed in colonial contexts, as if there were no Asian techniques which could be applied, but only ingredients to fuse. She has mooted the use of the term "Modern Malaysian" in the context of attempts to offer a redefinition of the country's culinary legacy/legacies which officially recognises only a triumvirate of Malay, Indian and Chinese. However, Khoo's interest is in the cooking of Malaysia before the Columbian Exchange. That is, in tracing the *traditional* cooking of Malaysia.

4.1a Modern versus traditional?

Such a representation of "modern" cuisine might be examined in the context of Patricia Ferguson's (2004) distinction between traditional and modern cuisines, to see whether this is a credible, relevant, alternative way of classifying cuisines. Under the umbrella of traditional, she highlights its subsistence preparations, close relationship with the land, and constant threat of famine. A problem arises as to whether these traditional diets, cooking methods and preserving styles such as fermenting and pickling – practices shared within communities in diverse geographical habitats – constitute a "cuisine"? We recall Claude Lévi-Strauss and his proposition regarding cooking and the nature-culture binary. Cooking is not located entirely on the side of culture, he said, but determined by "man's insertion in nature in different parts of the world, placed then between nature and culture" (Lévi-Strauss, 1997 p. 33).

Modern cuisine, for Ferguson, concerns itself with freedom – freedom from place and community; freedom to intellectualise. She proffers a simple definition based on chronology: that modern cuisines come after traditional cuisines. "Fusion" or "hybrid" cooking traditions fit into her definition of modern, yet these cuisines have not always been pre-dated by traditional "cuisines", and they certainly contain "traditional" practices such as fermenting.

We are also confronted with the issue of what she terms, in relation to modern cuisine, its "highly self-conscious complexity" (Ferguson, 2004 p. 24). By self-conscious she seems to invoke the conscious decision to break free not only from land and community but tradition itself. However, the "traditional" cooking of Macau, of Mauritius, of Louisiana, can be seen as creative, imaginative enterprise. Modern, in other words, in just the same way as contemporary (or "modern") cuisines illustrate their "freedom to experiment and recast the material" (Ferguson, 2004 p. 24). One solution here may be to see traditional, modern and fusion as a trio of overlapping practices.

If dislocated peoples are able to prepare and consume their usual foods, the fact that these practices take place in a new context or environment "is as much an act of innovation, assertion, and transformation as it is an act of reproducing tradition" argues Knut Oyangen. He even posits that what might have passed as an unconscious reproduction of tradition "was often a conscious performance of identity" (Oyangen, 2009 p. 324).

4.2 HYBRID – HISTORICAL IMPURITY?

Since the term "fusion" has only been popularly applied to cuisine for little more than a half-century, its use appropriated by celebrity chefs, its value in the exploration of cuisines with hundreds of years of history is questionable. In its place, how helpful is the term "hybrid"?

The word has biological-botanical origins. In Latin, it referred to the offspring of a domesticated sow and a wild boar and, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "of human parents of different races, half-breed". Thus, historically, the term has carried strongly biological and negative connotations of impurity. More recently, particularly with regards to the influential work of Homi Bhabha (1994) and his Third Space, the term has been reclaimed so as to describe positive aspects of cultural synthesis.

The practice of hybrid cooking is argued to emerge where habits and traditions change *within* a culture: "Foods based on one culinary culture are prepared using ingredients, flavours and techniques inherent to another culture" (Stano, 2017 p. 904). Richard Wilk has observed how such cultural transformations and adaptions might take place in the culinary sphere by simply placing something new in a familiar "wrap"; or how an identical dish may be appropriated from one ethnic (or otherwise) group to another, yet the time or manner of consumption, or its position in the dietary system, changes its meaning (Wilk, 2002 p. 78).

4.2a Hybridity in the Asian context

Within Asia, the term hybrid in a culinary sense has perhaps most frequently been applied to Peranakan (Nyonya) cuisine. It is of particular geographical interest here because it was the product of an intra-Asia culinary conversation taking place beyond, or even prior to (Hun, 2016 p. 71), European colonial activity in Asia, and its study may help to reframe dominant colonial culinary discourse around cuisine development. It is also important because of its relationship, including crossover dishes, with Kristang cuisine – the Portuguese-influenced cuisine which was to emerge following the arrival of the Portuguese in Malacca in 1511. Both the

cooking of the Peranakan and the Kristang, as well as Malay cuisine, have influenced Macanese cuisine, as we explore in Chapter 5.

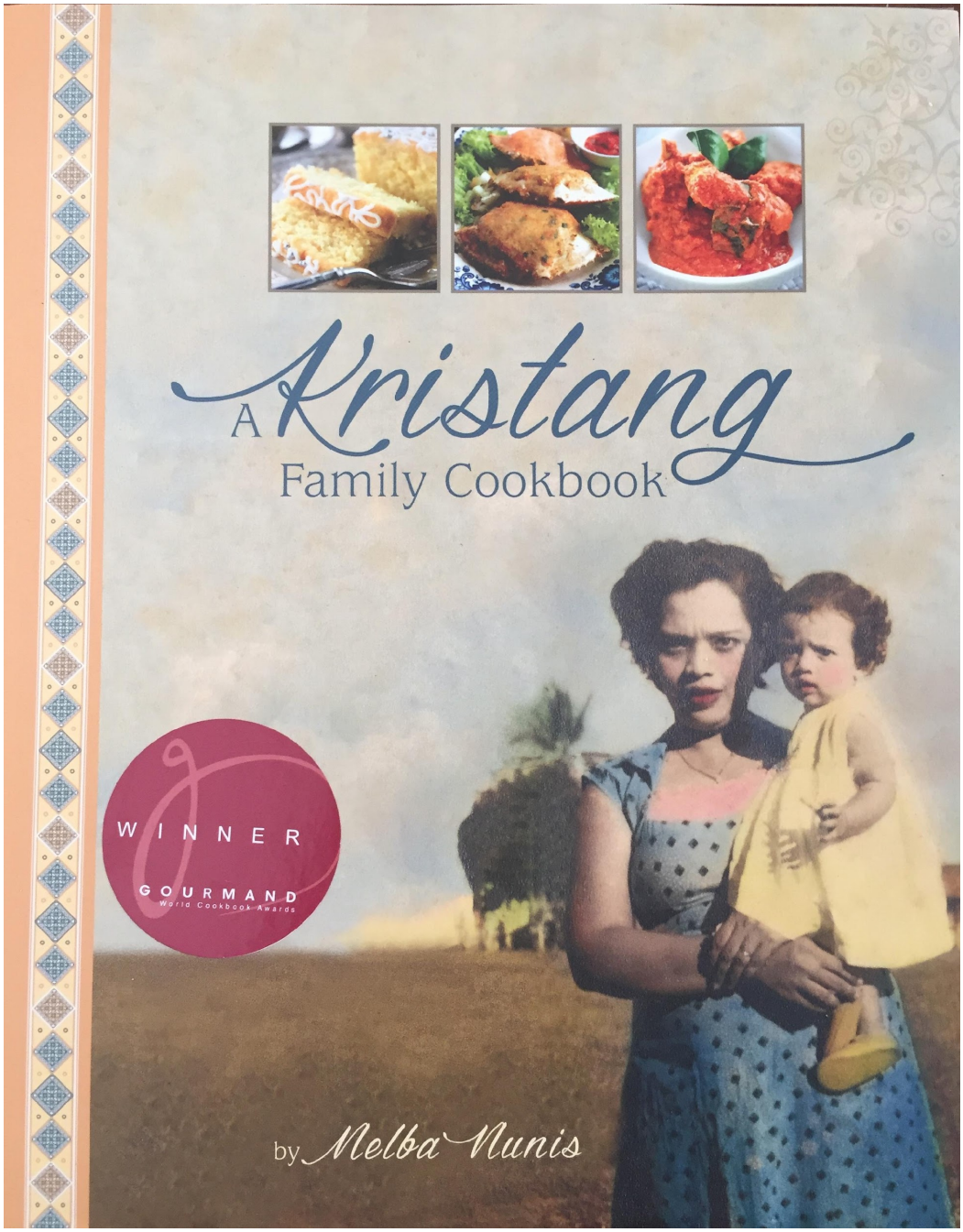


Figure 6: Book cover. *A Kristang Family Cookbook* [Scan]. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish.

Peranakan is used to refer to the descendants of early southern Chinese traders (also known as Straits Chinese), mostly of Hokkien ancestry who settled in Malacca during the sixteenth century and, because women were not legally allowed to leave China, married local non-Muslim Malay women and others including Siamese and Burmese (Ng and Karim, 2016 p. 94). Intermarriage between these groups eventually ceased, after which, for centuries, "the Babas married exclusively amongst their own, becoming an endogamous and elite group" (Lee, 2008 p. 162). They maintained a broadly Chinese identity and observed Chinese religious practices, customs, and festivals. To be defined as Straits Chinese, one had to adopt the exterior markers such as language – a creolised form of Malay and Javanese (Tan, 2007 p. 171) – and dress and food, which were principally of Malay origin.

Within Peranakan culture, males are known as Baba, and females as Nyonya. Nyonya cuisine is referred to thus because it was created in the domestic kitchen by women. It was based on local ingredients but informed by dual Malay and Chinese techniques, principles, symbolisms, and meanings. Is it the world's first hybrid cuisine? Anthropologist Tan Chee-Beng has conducted extensive research among the Peranakan, and argues that while it may be *convenient* to use the concept of hybridisation relating to Peranakan culture, its use generates sweeping assumptions that may not stand up.

In the case of Nyonya cuisine, "it is more helpful to study it as a product of cultural localization [sic], arising from Chinese and non-Chinese cultural interaction in the context of the Malayan environment" he argues (Tan, 2007 pp. 171-172). This blending of Chinese and Malay has been viewed less as "mixture" and more as "genuine synthesis – something which not only incorporates but also transcends the component parts out of which it springs" (Clammer, 1980 p. 1). Nyonya cuisine then, can be

extrapolated as being not strictly hybrid, that is, not arising from change within an existing culture, but as a newly emerging cultural form.

4.3 CREOLE AND THEORIES OF CREOLISATION

Following our discussion of the use of the terms fusion and hybrid in culinary contexts, what of the term creole? The idea of creolised cuisine emerges most obviously in the Creole cooking of Louisiana, alongside Cajun. The term Creole in this context refers to African Americans with French ancestry, who may or may not today refer to themselves as Creole (Dubois and Horvath, 2003 p. 193). The term Cajun is applied to Louisianan descendants of refugees from Acadia, a former French colony in what is now the Canadian Maritimes. Its French settlers were exiled by the English, and many thousands made their way to New Orleans in the period 1764-1788, bringing with them their own by-now adapted version of "French-ness". The majority did not take up residence in New Orleans, however, but created settlements in the bayous and swamps surrounding the city. During the nineteenth century the word Acadian was corrupted to Cajun, a term describing "a new American ethnic group that had emerged as the dominant cultural group – and the most numerous element of the population – in much of rural south Louisiana" (Gutierrez, 1992 p. 7). Thus, New Orleans is not a Cajun city but a Creole one, even though it is today marketed as Cajun to tourists.

It is worth spending time to understand the emergence of Creole and Cajun cooking traditions. The two are often lumped together, but separation attempts through analysis based on variations of ingredient use, for example, has not been particularly successful.[7] A more helpful trajectory may be to consider their genesis. This pair of cuisines developed out of eighteenth-century French

[7] Cajun cuisine is strongly associated with the one-pot gumbo, but defining the difference between Creole and Cajun is not straightforward, argues Paige Gutierrez, because of a general lack of familiarity with Creole cuisine. What agreement that could be found, in research carried out in the 1980s, defines Creole as "containing less cayenne pepper, more tomato sauce, more garlic, and a greater variety of herbs (basil, thyme, sage, etc) than do Cajun dishes" (Gutierrez, 1992 p. 36).

gastronomy, but in non-linear processes, in different timeframes, and in different geographical settings. Creole is the "sophisticated, worldly urbanite"; a top-down cuisine for the dissemination of which black African cooks were taught to read French so that they could follow French recipes, and perfect the dark *roux.* The "wild foods" of the land – water buffalo, racoon, rattlesnake – were "civilized" by the French cooking process (Dawdy, 2010 p. 396), and European trees such as fig, peach and lemon were introduced. Cajun, on the other hand, is the uncivilised country cousin, associated with "ignorance and poverty" (Gutierrez, 1992 p. 8) and improvised around locally available "dirty" foods such as crayfish (eaten with the fingers); defined by the tripe-stuffed *boudin* sausage; and performed at the casual spectacle of pig slaughter at The Boucherie.

4.3a Creolisation and pure type

Like "fusion" and "hybrid", "creole" is a problematic term because of negative historical connotations, although in post-colonial studies it has been reworked as a notion synonymous with cultural change (see for example Khan, 2007 p. 653). The problem of using creolisation as a tool, however, is that it assumes the existence of a pure type; that "creole forms are inherently auxiliary to pure, originary values and practices" (Khan, 2007 p. 655). The Portuguese represent an interesting case in point. Ahead of colonial projects they had already "interbred with and absorbed influences from the Moors" (Stewart, 2011 pp. 51-52); and as Gilberto Freyre puts it, as "a *mestiço* people, [the Portuguese] were particularly inclined to adopt a tropical way of life, to adhere to indigenous value systems, and to live with local women" (cited in Martin, 2006 p. 167). The appropriation by Portugal in the 1420s and 1430s of the islands of Madeira[8] and the Azores,[9] which served as convenient maritime stopping-off points, would have played a role in this adaption. Lengthy sea voyages in themselves would have changed diets, appetites, cooking practices and tastes – as illustrated by

[8] Robert White suggests that the island of Madeira, together with neighbouring Porto Santo, were likely known by the Phoenicians and others, but according to "the most authentic modern accounts" Madeira was discovered by the Portuguese in 1419 (White, 1851 pp. 1-2).
[9] Whether the Portuguese "discovered" the Azores or if they had already been found is a highly contested subject. The Medici-Laurentian Atlas (1351) appears to be the first to show their location, while the Portuguese arrival is deemed to be 1431 (Rodrigues et al, 2015 p. 105).

observations (1572) of Portuguese poet Luis Camões in Asia of what were to him exotica: the "orchards of hot cloves", the "changing colours of nutmeg", and the discovery of the perfect antidote to "atrocious poison" – the milk of the coconut palm (Camões, 1997 pp. 223-224).

The idea of there being a (fixed) Portuguese "cuisine" which formed the bedrock of early Macanese cooking is itself thus untenable and, further, the Portuguese who embarked on the Great Discoveries came from distinct regions – with different cooking styles and diets. The majority of seafarers are believed to have come from Madeira and the Azores, the capital city Lisboa, and the northern provinces of Douro and Minho (Jorge da Silva, 2015 p. 15). Even the church may have been represented by a single region, for there are "references to [Catholic] fathers that went to Macau to do the military service and were originally from Trás-os-Montes northwest region" (Marisa Gasper, personal correspondence, April 2021). It is argued in any event that the Portuguese 'national' cuisine was a nineteenth-century construct (Sobral, 2014 p. 110) – although *bacalhau* (salted cod), known as 'faithful friend' (*fiel amigo*), may have been widely embraced from 1497 onwards, when Portuguese fishing vessels reached Newfoundland (Pires, 2015 p. 13).

4.3b Cuisine, creativity and the creole

Given the profile of Macanese cuisine as a new or adapted cultural form, a deeper understanding of creolisation may, however, help to refine our understandings of such a profile, for it can serve "as both a model that describes historical processes of cultural change and contact and an analytical tool that interprets them" (Khan, 2007 p. 653).

The sense of creation is embedded in the term creole, with its root in the Latin *creare* – 'to produce, create'; and creolisation can be posited, in the words of Okwui Enwezor, as "a theory of creative disorder" (cited in Muecke, 2012 p. 3). It is a cultural movement wherein new shared cultural forms, and new possibilities for communication emerge through contact. It highlights "the open-

ended, flexible, and unbounded nature of cultural processes, in opposition to the notion of cultures as bounded, stable systems of communication" (Eriksen, 2007 p. 163). This "contact", then, is not just any kind of interaction but a culturally dynamic one. Creolisation in the context of slavery, where it is usually situated, tends to carry pejorative discourse, but Denis Constant Martin asserts that though imbued with barbarity and racism, the practice resulted in positive new cultures, new types of societies and new aesthetic forms. He emphasises the need to take into account the creativity which arose alongside the savagery (Martin, 2006 p. 168).

Entering the creolised world is particularly significant here when the etymology of the word creole is considered. Robert Chaudenson discredits fellow linguists who place the etymology of creole in the French camp, and as emanating from the Caribbean. He stresses the importance of oral interplays between islands of the Indian Ocean (subsequent French colonies) and the French possessions in the Caribbean (and Louisiana). He argues that French colonialists orally borrowed the Spanish term 'criallo' – already in use on Indian Ocean islands such as Réunion, Rodriguez and Madagascar – which was then modified to créole. Further, he looks to the Portuguese crioulo, and its older form creoulo, and believes these were the roots of the Spanish term. Hence, his claim that the original etymology is likely to be Portuguese (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 4). This reinforces the validity of exploring Macanese cuisine in the context of creolisation.

Language is the reference system most commonly and successfully applied to the study of creolisation, as descriptions of creole languages and explanations of their geneses "are more advanced than those of creole music and literature" (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 303). Language is identified as the first mode of socialisation for immigrant populations. Creole cultures, whether in the Indian Ocean or the Caribbean, depended for their evolution "on a single powerful colonizing culture and language, with a subaltern and linguistically diverse population of slaves or indentured labourers with the need for a lingua franca" (Muecke, 2012 p. 2). However, the development of creole vernaculars should

not be studied in isolation from other aspects of creole culture such as cuisine. The model established for linguistic analysis may not be suited in its entirety to the study of other cultural systems but it can serve as "inspiration" and is relevant because of the historic possibility "to reconstruct as precisely as possible the socio-economic and cultural conditions of creolization [sic]" (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 314). Creole cuisines can be seen as "manifestations and combinations of motifs that have been borrowed from traditions of diverse origins" (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 309); and the new cuisines or cooking traditions which have across history grown out of inter-cultural interaction may prove insightful as a lens for understanding in other ways how new ethnic identities are constructed and negotiated.

In linguistic terms, the outcome of the contact of two or more languages in the same community "is much more the domination of one by the other than a harmonious mix" (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 305). Within the realm of religion, belief systems are generally assumed to be finite and closed, little affected by external factors. But cuisine is different, identified as the cultural system most likely to be influenced by external factors – those of the natural world. When considering the genesis of creole cooking, the most important element in its origins is the dietary resources of the natural environment; the local conditions of climate, soil, flora and fauna (Harris and Ross, 1987 p. 58; Chaudenson, 2001 p. 227).

It has been extrapolated that, during the tentative beginnings of these communities, slaves would have had a better understanding of local, seasonal produce, as well as food handling and preservation techniques. This points to the propensity of cooking to transcend generalised and assumed hierarchies of Master-Slave, White-Black, Man-Woman, European cuisine-Everything else – and indeed hierarchies within slave culture itself such as the distinction between Creole and *bozal* slaves (Mufwene, 2002 p. 174). Such exploration significantly advances the importance and contributions offered by the academic study of cooking. Because slaves were from multifarious backgrounds, birth dialects were not universally spoken and were thus lost, together with elements of their original cultures (Mufwene, 2002 p. 173). Cultural elements that more readily

survived were from non-verbal categories, and "the observation of this material culture provides much more evidence of non-European inheritance" (Chaudenson, 2001 pp. 309-310). Africans and their descendants can be seen to have profoundly shaped the culinary practices of slave societies, "combining in new ways the foods of three continents in their struggles to secure daily sustenance" (Bigot, 2020 p. 18).

4.4 TOWARDS – A THIRD SPACE?

Has the interrogation of terms such as fusion, hybrid, and creole added to our understanding of the processes through which cuisines are named and classified? After all, it can be asserted, as Oxford University professor Charles Spence does (2018), that almost all the food we eat is "fusion", given that it has involved the combining of ingredients and perhaps techniques from multiple parts of the world. Homi Bhabha argues that hierarchical claims as to the purity of culture itself are untenable (Bhabha, 1994 p. 37).

Classifications or labels around "mixed" social forms seem to have little to offer, and their use is inconsistent. Further, we confront the problem whereby "once labelled, the public recognition of these phenomena causes them to alter from what they were" (Stewart, 2011 p. 50). However, of interest in our debate is the question as to who in the social field is applying the label. Pierre Bourdieu (1984) introduced the (critical) role of the cultural intermediary in his establishment of a 'theory of practice' – the player involved in the production and circulation of symbolic goods and services. He was interested in those human interactions and conventions that helped maintain hierarchical social orders, in particular "privileged positions of power in society" (Warren and Dinnie, 2018 p. 303). This process is reflected in the way that a label or moniker may be thrust upon a person, a group, or aspects of material culture. Boundaries and identities are constructed not (or not only) by the individual and the group, but by outside agents and organisations (Nagel, 1994 p. 155).

Bhabha, through his influential work on the location of culture, which he says exists in the "in-between" places, argues for recognition of a Third Space. This, he argues, opens up the possibility of interrogating the space "between the act of representation – Who? What? Where? – and the presence of community itself" (Bhabha, 1994 p. 3). Bhabha was trying to reclaim the meaning of 'the present' and found terms such as postmodernism, postcolonialism and postfeminism shifty and tenuous. Perhaps he also helps us to process the redundancy of terms such as fusion and hybrid, for the Third Space does not tie us down. It can exist in the corridor between galleries or in the stairwell; it is a passage, and it is a process. Though unrepresentable in itself, it can ensure "that the meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity" (Bhabha, 1994 p. 37). The Third Space, for Bhabha, confounds first our projection of the continuum of past and present, and thus, critically, our definitions of tradition and modernity.

It is here argued that to place Macanese cuisine in this Third Space helps to reveal that it is an entity which can never be assumed as fixed; to inhabit one place or time. This idea informs the following section which seeks perhaps not to define Macanese cuisine, so as to tie it down, but to allow it to traverse alleys and oceans, as well as the imaginary.

5 – WHAT *IS* MACANESE CUISINE? ETYMOLOGY AND THICK DESCRIPTION

The study of the vocabulary of a cuisine may "teach us a lot" (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 303).

It is here argued that one approach through which to deepen our understanding of cuisine is that of etymology, and such an approach gains traction in the case of Macanese cuisine and names attributed to dishes. This journey takes us beyond the official trading posts and trading partners of the Portuguese colonialists, beyond the South China Sea, to the creolised world of the Indian Ocean. The culinary history of the Indian Ocean, asserts historical linguist Tom Hoogervorst, "is palpable in the Macanese cuisine" (Hoogervorst, 2018 p. 533) – a pertinent indication of the geographical stretch of gustatory dialogue. The shortfalls of the popular culinary classifications explored in Chapter 4 are demonstrated, allowing Macanese cuisine to inhabit a Third Space, unencumbered by distinctions between tradition and modernity; between past and present.

This chapter then seeks to examine the implications of the act of recording by writing. Cookbooks have in the last decade or two increasingly come into focus, studied as invaluable cultural and socio-historical documents: for example, from the point of view of representations of cooking and aestheticised consumption (Brownlie, Hewer and Horne, 2005), from a linguistic perspective in identity formation (Arvela, 2019), and from the perspective of the visual portrayal of culture (Azhari, Pillai and Mat Isa, 2022). For our part, we focus on an (unpublished) anthology of recipes which has circulated in the Macanese diaspora. We deploy the thick description of Clifford Geertz to deepen our understanding of Macanese identity through the lens of the physical recipe and the cultural clues contained therein.

5.1 Terminology

We start by examining a single dish, *achar*. This is essentially the preparation of crushed vegetables and/or fruit with oil, vinegar, onion, saffron, and chili, though recipes vary widely. It is called *achar* in Indo-Portuguese variants and in various Indian languages. An Indian chef/educator in Delhi says it comes from the French term *açar*, and he remarks on the close resemblance to the Indian pickle *achaar* (personal correspondence, July 2020). In the cooking of the Macanese, traditional *achar* includes a version made with kumquats; and another, similar to Goan sambal, is *limão de Timor*. *Limão* is the Portuguese word for lemon (or lime) while Timor is a former Portuguese colony in Indonesia, though details of any relationship of this dish to Timor is unknown. For this particular preparation, vinegar is replaced by lemon "and together with salt and red chillies is left to marinate in the sun" (Jorge, 2004 p. 19).

Yet the origins of achar are not in India, nor do the origins relate to French colonial projects on Indian Ocean islands, such as Réunion, where the vocabulary associated with cooking contains a number of terms of Indian origins. Rather, the etymon is recorded to be either the Malay word *achar* (also spelt *acar*), or preceding that, the Persian word *achard* (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 234).

In a similar case to *achar*, we consider the fried Macanese snack/appetiser known as *chamuças*, which resembles in concept the Indian *samosa*, of which variants feature in Malaysia (*samosa*, *sambosa*), in Myanmar (*samuhsa*), and in Turkey where it is *samsa* (Hoogervorst, 2018 p. 533). In a kind of etymological grey area, these terms have diverged semantically over time (and oceans). As French philosopher Jacques Derrida has it, the meaning of a word can change ever so slightly every time it is used. The same is true of dishes, often eventually differing significantly from the "original". As an example, *sambal* is a spicy side dish of Malaysian and Indonesian origin, yet the Macanese *sambal de bringella*, a dish based on sautéed Asian eggplant, omits chillies entirely.

5.2 Macanese recipes

Historically, there has been no "one" recipe, no "perfect" recipe, meaning the propensity for change and variation is vast; "and it is quite possible that the best recipes for each special delicacy has [sic] gone to the grave along with the people famous in their day for their culinary arts" (Jorge, 2004 p. 10). In addition to "lost" recipes, others have fallen out of fashion: recipes incorporating fresh blood or lard (olive oil or vegetable oil may have been substituted for the latter); or because of lack of skills ("Prepare the pheasant in the usual way" begins the method for one recipe in the typed-up anthology); or lack of knowledge as to how to fold a particular wrap. Dishes could also have been dropped, modified, or added to the canon for a variety of socio-economic reasons. It is almost impossible to determine how large the Macanese recipe/dish canon is, or indeed was.

If we are to explore the names of Macanese dishes to help us understand more deeply their geneses and their nature, which dishes are the most representative of Macanese cuisine, and who adjudicates? Here, we choose to delve beyond the "official" Macanese recipe bank referred to in Chapter 3, particularly since the methodology behind its compilation is unknown. Festive, celebration and ritualised foods are often the most symbolically important and culturally grounded within a country's or a community's culinary realm. As Catholics, Christmas is a significant festivity for the Macanese, but dishes and practices associated with the Christmas Eve dinner, Christmas Day and Boxing Day, are largely either Portuguese or British in origin.

More innately Macanese is the lavish, decoratively presented spread of a dozen or so of both sweet and savoury dishes served in the late afternoon, known as *Chá Gordo*. This translates from the Portuguese as 'Fat Tea', where fat implies rich, which in turn implies happiness. It is served at large family gatherings celebrating weddings, christenings and so on, and derives from the Portuguese *Copo de Agua* (Cup of Water) – a term carrying rather different, clearly more

modest, associations (Loh, 2015). However, there is no fixed repertoire of dishes served at *Chá Gordo*, as commensality is deemed more important than a precise composition at the table. Dishes served are traditionally mostly finger foods: consumption without the need for cutlery reaffirms the focus on social fluidity.

The selection of Macanese dishes explored below, and simply presented in alphabetical order, then, while including a number which are *usually* served at *Chá Gordo*, is conceived of by identifying those which might qualify as variously popular, famous, or simply visible. Etymology is our friend, here, but raises questions even as it provides some answers, and takes its place alongside the application of Geertzian thick description in the analysis of the recipe – and the taste of the food.

African Chicken

Figure 7: Tang, K.M. (2005) *African Chicken* [Photograph]. Hong Kong.

This is also known in Macau as *Galinha Africana* and *Galinha à Cafreal*. The word Cafres (or Kaffirs) refers to individuals of African descent who are mixed with other races (Chaudenson, 2001 p. 30). It is perhaps the most famous Macanese dish in Macau and is unusual for having been created in a (since closed) hotel restaurant kitchen (Pousada de Macau) by Macanese chef Américo Angelo, who is said to have taken inspiration from a trip to a Portuguese colony in Africa. This may account for its name, though some Macanese believe it is so-called because of its final blackened appearance. There are many versions today, often involving peanuts and tomato, though the original is likely to have been chicken marinated in coconut milk with garlic, bay leaf and chili, and then grilled until dark in colour (Jackson, 2003 p. 77). It is noted that there is a very similar dish in Goa (Jorge da Silva, 2016 p. 82). Within Macau, it has emerged as a widely available dish strongly associated with touristic dining (Jackson, 2003 p. 77).

Apabicos

This is a very popular appetiser, and a likely feature at *Chá Gordo*. It is a steamed dumpling stuffed (Cantonese-style) with ground pork and preserved vegetables, formed into a shape which resembles a Hershey Kiss chocolate. The name derives from the Tamil *apa* (a thin, flat pancake) and the Portuguese *bico* (beak).

Chilicote

A popular dish for the *Chá Gordo* table, this is a crescent-shaped, deep-fried pastry stuffed with a slightly spicy minced meat and potato mixture. The name has been traced to the Malay word *chelakuti*, meaning cake or sweetmeat, though its similarities to Indian *samosa* are also noted (Jorge da Silva, 2016 p. 84). However, another Macanese fried savoury pastry known as c*hamuças*, also associated with Goa, bears similarities to the samosa, and chilicote could have conceivably taken its name from this. Another version is *chilicote-folha*, which is a minced meat filling contained in a rice flour wrapper which is steamed in banana leaf. Banana leaf, in Portuguese, is *folha de bananeira*. Steaming and grilling in banana leaf is traditional in Southeast Asia.

Diabo

Every Macanese family is said to make this post-Christmas dish as a way to use up meats left over from festive dining tables. Cuts of pork and chicken are combined with potato and onion, and flavoured with mustard and pickles. Some families also add chillies which, it is said, make the dish even more of a devil for the stomach. One of the most famous of the Kristang so-called Portuguese-derived dishes is the quite similar Devil Curry (also known as *Kari Debal*), traditionally eaten at Christmas, and (curiously?) on occasions such as weddings.

Lacassá

Sopa de Lacassá is an aromatic bowl of rice vermicelli served in a shrimp broth, flavoured with *balichão* and topped with sprigs of fresh coriander. This dish derives from *laksa*, the popular Malaysian dish of rice noodles in spicy seafood broth. A similar dish is found in Cape Town – where the cooking is strongly influenced by Malay and Indian traditions – called *laxa*. The term derives from the Persian *lakhsha* (Hoogervorst, 2018 p. 533). *Lacassá* can also be prepared as a fried dish, very similar in nature to Singapore Noodles with its inclusion of shrimp and *char siu* (Cantonese barbecued pork).

Minchi

Minchi is a main course based on ground pork and/or ground beef fried in olive oil with onion and flavoured with dark and light soy sauce, Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce, and perhaps *kecap manis* (Malay-Indonesian sweet soy sauce). The meat is served with small cubes of fried potato and steamed rice, with often a fried egg on top, and bread rolls on the side. The inclusion of Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce suggests that Minchi was created not in Macau but in British Hong Kong. Supporting this argument, "everyone agrees that the name is a derivation of "mince" or "minced" in English" (Jorge, 2004 p. 100). In English, mince is the shortened form of mincemeat. This originally combined savoury and sweet elements, but over time mincemeat has become entirely sweet and based on dried fruit (though very traditional recipes still incorporate

suet) and is the filling for Christmas "mince pies". The name, a version of an English word and the use of Lea & Perrins (which is far from exclusive within Macanese recipes to Minchi) talks of a palpable British influence on Macanese cuisine, notable also in the Christmas fruit cake and the party-popular Cheese Toasts (open-face grilled cheese on toast, cut into triangles), the name for which is rendered only in English. Lea & Perrins was historically popular among the Kristang of Malacca, too, who came under similar British influences.

Figure 8: Tang, K.M. (2005) *Minchi* [Photograph]. Hong Kong.

Porco Balichão Tamarinho

Porco is the Portuguese word for pork, while *balichão*, the name of the Macanese semi-fermented fish sauce, is derived from Malay, possibly *belachang*, one of several Malay words for fermented shrimp paste. These are in the same family as Thai *nam pla* and Vietnamese *nuoc mam*. The Portuguese term for tamarind is *tamarindo*, *tamarinho* being a Malay word and part of the Macanese patois. This, in turn, derives from the Arab *tamar hindi*, or "date from India" (Jorge, 2004 p. 36). This dish is served with pressed glutinous rice (Malay influence)

and brushed with lard, a fat traditionally used in both Malay and Portuguese cooking. Tamarind is a popular souring agent in Southeast Asia, here used as a flavour balance for the jaggery – an unrefined cane sugar. A very similar dish appears in the Kristang repertoire called *Kari Porku Tambrinhyu*, which incorporates *belachang*.

Tacho

Tacho is the Portuguese word for pot or saucepan. It is a winter meat-and-vegetable stew presenting as one of the most Cantonese-style dishes within the Macanese repertoire, incorporating many of the pork cuts available at local wet markets. It is argued to derive from the Portuguese *Cozido* from the northern Minho province, and is also known as *Chau Chau Pele*. *Pele* is the Portuguese term for pork skin, while *chau* is the Cantonese expression for stir-frying, its duplication within Macanese patois adding emphasis (Jorge da Silva, 2016 p. 150). The dish name, then, refers literally to a Portuguese receptacle, but there's nothing particularly Portuguese inside it. Many Macanese would cite it as their favourite Macanese dish, and chefs might consider it as one of the more sophisticated offerings within the Macanese canon.

5.2a Discussion

The complexities around the classification of Macanese cuisine are clear to see. Macanese cuisine represents multiple categories, including adapted Portuguese dishes, dishes incorporating Chinese ingredients, dishes derived from the cooking of Goa and Malacca (influences are multi-directional and across timelines), which in turn incorporate multiple cooking traditions, as well as unique local dishes, and those with a discernible British influence. Etymological indications as to the relationship of Macanese cooking to that of the Malays, the Peranakan, and the Kristang, leads to a further observation of the striking similarities of Macanese cuisine to that of the Kristang in terms of dishes, flavours, and techniques.

As with Macanese cuisine, the origins and development of Kristang cooking are not always well understood, nor is it clear how many recipes or dishes have been lost along the way, or why some have persisted. The core difference between Kristang and Macanese is the former's use of the *rempah,* an Indonesian word meaning spice or seasoning, which in Malacca takes the form of a ground spice mix which may feature rhizomes such as lemon grass and galangal – which do not grow in Macau. However, there are also dishes in both canons which feature no spice at all and are very similar in derivation, such as crab cooked in its own shell, cabbage leaves stuffed with minced pork, and English-style baked cakes based on dried fruit. Also notable is the frequent inclusion in recipes of Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce – a globally available condiment commercialised in 1837 in England and believed to be based on an Indian preparation popular among British colonialists.

In more contemporary settings, there are other more recent (demographic) considerations within Macau which should come into the argument regarding the continued evolution of Macanese cooking. Political instabilities in the 1970s within Southeast Asia led to the migration of ethnically Chinese from countries such as Indonesia and Myanmar, and the establishment of the so-called Little Burma in Macau's 3 Lampposts district. This area includes a number of Burmese noodle shops and restaurants, and the idea of the existence of a Burmese-Macau hybrid cooking, which could relate to Macanese cooking, has been mooted. Though the Thai community and number of Thai restaurants in Macau has decreased since the 1990s, the size of the Filipino population has risen – and Filipinos play a significant role in Portuguese and Macanese restaurants, both in the kitchen and on the restaurant floor. It is not difficult to find shops dedicated to, or selling, Southeast Asian cooking ingredients. Meanwhile, the departure of the Portuguese military from Macau in 1974 led to the increased propensity of female Macanese to marry local Chinese rather than Portuguese, which has affected mutual understanding and interpretation of Macau's cuisines. The departure of Portuguese (most obviously civil servants) following Handover has led to the decreased availability of specific Portuguese food items, and particular brands, which may have been critical to the taste of certain Macanese dishes.

5.3 THICK DESCRIPTION IN MACANESE COOKING

Is a "dish" a plate of food, which is solidly material? Or is a "dish" a "recipe" which is a cultural code or language? The answer is that "it has to be both" (Symons, 1994 p. 340). It is here proposed that the thick description elaborated by American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1926-2006) in the 1973 publication, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, offers a compelling framework within which to begin to break down the cultural codes embedded in recipes. Embraced by historians as by social scientists, this proposition would probably be regarded as his most significant contribution (Darnton, 2007), even though it has been proposed that only rarely can the interpretation of a text produced in the past possess the "richness and multiple layers of meaning" which characterise the best cultural-anthropological studies (Weinstein, 2005 p. 78). Thick description is applied here as the recipe can be seen as a "text" in the Geertzian sense and, while being a piece of social history, is a "fiction". These dual notions are explored later.

Geertz inherits the term from Oxford philosopher Gilbert Ryle (1900-1976) and takes as an example Ryle's consideration of the wink. Ryle presents first an examination of the involuntary twitch set against the conspiratorial signal. They look the same, but the difference in meaning, contained in this tiny piece of social action, is vast. We are then introduced to the parody of a wink; to the wink rehearsed in front of the mirror; the mocking of an involuntary wink – and so on.

Thin description becomes thick description when a recorded social action is in this way contextualised, says Geertz. The social action should be examined as part of an elaborate cultural system or code, or what he calls "structures of signification" (Geertz, 2017 p. 10). The ethnography of the anthropologist, he argues, even given the nature of interpretation – one layer of interpretation on top of at least one other layer on the part of the actor – must be "thick" in order to be useful and rise above the descriptive.

The process is famously illustrated in Geertz' observations and reading of cockfighting in Bali – *Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight* (1973). Geertz argues, following observation of the profound psychological identification of Balinese cock owners with their own "cocks", and detailed analysis of cock ownership as well as the rules of competition, and then the layers of betting protocols, that the cockfight is about neither the bird nor the bet. The cockfight is about social hierarchies and specifically "the migration of the Balinese status hierarchy into the body of the cockfight". The cockfight is thus construed as a simulation of "the involved system of cross-cutting, overlapping, highly corporate groups" – the villages, kinship groups, irrigation societies and temple congregations with which cock lovers are involved (Geertz, 2017 pp. 457-458).

The text itself occupies a prominent position for Geertz. The *writing down* of something is a creative cultural force, for it reconfigures relationships between actors. "Culture exists in the trading post, the hill fort, or the sheep run, anthropology exists in the book, the article, the lecture, the museum display…" he says. "We begin with our own interpretation of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to". In being interpretations, anthropological writings are thus "fictions – or "something made", "something fashioned" – the original meaning of *fictio* – not that they are false, unfactual…" (Geertz, 2017 pp. 17-18). Ethnographers not only describe and explain but in fact "construct culture through the process of writing about it" (Harrison, 2013 p. 861). Such a notion plays a significant part in the proposition by Hobsbawm and Ranger (2020) of "invented tradition" and indeed for Benedict Anderson in his critique of Ernest Gellner's thinking around the invention of nations. Gellner, he asserts, "assimilates 'invention' to 'fabrication' and 'falsity', rather than to 'imagining' and 'creation'" (Anderson, 2016 p. 6).

5.3a The recipe and thick description

We do need, however, to move beyond Geertz' definition of "text" being necessarily something written down. A text can be oral as well as written, and it is necessary to address the "multiple meanings and associations people have for texts" (Hoffman, 2009 p. 427). In myriad communities, and almost exclusively

in creole ones, the skills required to produce a particular dish have traditionally been handed down orally by Mother (or Grandmother) in the domestic kitchen, refuting the need for recipes or cookbooks. In Barbadian-Canadian Austin Clarke's *Pig Tails 'n' Breakfast* we learn that "the woman (who does most of the cooking) … would not be caught dead with a cookbook. To read a cookbook would suggest that she had not retained what her mother taught her" (cited in Bigot, 2020 p. 13). Within the Macanese community the handing down of "secret" recipes has traditionally been administered orally within the family, and there remains both a resistance to sharing recipes beyond the family, and a marked disdain for cookbooks (Jackson, 2020 pp. 56-57). Why is there such a strength of feeling?

The process removes the recipe from the family domain, for the popularity of print cookbooks since the nineteenth century is linked with ethnonationalism rather than an evocation of family (Dawdy, 2010 p. 410), and in general such books have a further subtext, which is to "set standards and attempt to influence consumption" (Ireland, 1981 p. 108). This kind of break-by-publishing from family tradition is deeply felt within the Macanese community, as illustrated by comments such as: "cooking traditional dishes needs to be done from the heart"; and how a dish is important, but "not as important as the memory of its taste and its relation to some ancestor or other who had prepared the dish" (Jackson, 2020 p. 47). Recipes become deeply symbolic of mother, loss, and death; and comments about recipes being carried to the grave are not unusual.

Fewer people are capable of cooking "traditional" or "authentic" Macanese food – due to a combination of lack of knowledge, lack of interest, or non-availability of recipes. Many Macanese recipes which have been written down "are difficult to decodify and interpret with no proper structures that clearly state accurate measurements and methods of cooking" (Loi, Kong and Robarts, 2020). Could the incomplete recipe allow for creativity, flexibility, and fluidity? This concept is interesting, as the cooking of the Macanese was once a highly creative process, but over time has the potential for creativity been lost? A tension has indeed emerged, for the promise of (further) adaptation has been confounded.

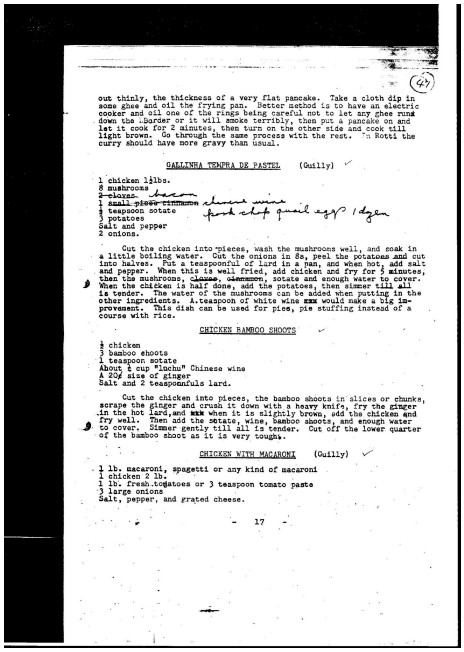
Executive Chef at IFTM, Hans Rasmussen, says that while the strict culinary classificatory rules in the French gastronomy sense may not exist in Macanese cooking, there are embedded regulations. The cuisine cannot be upgraded with high-quality olives, rather than canned ones, or gourmet Iberico pork as opposed to market cuts – both of which he has attempted – because it then becomes "inauthentic" in the eyes of local Macanese. If such changes were to be made, a new moniker would be required, he says, such as 'Nouveau Macanese' (personal conversation, May 2022).

At the same time, among the Macanese, there is little consensus as to the perfect recipe for, say, *Porco Bafassa*. Yet just as no-one is right, there is the sense that everyone is right, and therein lies an interesting tension. Within the community, an incomplete written-down recipe, or an orally handed-down recipe, offers the chance to recall the past, and the things you know you are *supposed* to know. The recipe has the potential to allow one to find one's bearings in the world (Geertz, 2017 pp. 50-51), for there is a strong sense of Othering through the incomplete nature of a community's recipes.

5.3b Macanese community recipe anthology

What else might a reading between the lines of the recipe reveal about collective identity? A series of recipes circulating within Macanese communities beyond Macau, recorded during the 1930s in Shanghai on a manual typewriter into a loose 100-page anthology, certainly bears thick description. It would appear that Macanese from wherever they lived, as far flung as North America and South Africa, were invited to contribute. The volume represents on the one hand a personalised, credited recording of recipes, though many others have not been credited to anyone. The version this author was given also includes addended hand-written recipes at the back. In spite of these caveats, this volume might offer a sense of how Macanese represent their own cuisine, and what they did (do) eat at home, in opposition to officially published cookbooks which offer their own – marketable – representations and performance of food.

All recipes are transcribed in English, with Portuguese words incorporated only for commonly used ingredients such as *alhos* (garlic), *coentra* (coriander), *vinho branco* (white wine), and *farinha arroz* (rice four). Portuguese (with some Macanese patois) thus appears to be the language of the home, of the kitchen, and childhood memories of the kitchen might allow Portuguese to come more naturally in terms of ingredient names, while English is perhaps the more public medium.



(47)

out thinly, the thickness of a very flat pancake. Take a cloth dip in some ghee and oil the frying pan. Better method is to have an electric cooker and oil one of the rings being careful not to let any ghee run down the border or it will smoke terribly, then put a pancake on and let it cook for 2 minutes, then turn on the other side and cook till light brown. Go through the same process with the rest. In Rotti the curry should have more gravy than usual.

GALLINHA TEMPRA DE PASTEL (Guilly)

1 chicken 1½lbs.
8 mushrooms
~~2 ckoyas~~ bacon
~~1 small piece cinnamon~~ cloves wine
½ teaspoon sotate fresh chop quail egg 1 dozen
3 potatoes
Salt and pepper
2 onions.

Cut the chicken into pieces, wash the mushrooms well, and soak in a little boiling water. Cut the onions in 8s, peel the potatoes and cut into halves. Put a teaspoonful of lard in a pan, and when hot, add salt and pepper. When this is well fried, add chicken and fry for 5 minutes, then the mushrooms, ~~cloves~~, ~~cinnamon~~, sotate and enough water to cover. When the chicken is half done, add the potatoes, then simmer till all is tender. The water of the mushrooms can be added when putting in the other ingredients. A teaspoon of white wine ~~xxx~~ would make a big improvement. This dish can be used for pies, pie stuffing instead of a course with rice.

CHICKEN BAMBOO SHOOTS

½ chicken
3 bamboo shoots
1 teaspoon sotate
About 1 cup "Ihchu" Chinese wine
A 2cm size of ginger
Salt and 2 teaspoonfuls lard.

Cut the chicken into pieces, the bamboo shoots in slices or chunks, scrape the ginger and crush it down with a heavy knife, fry the ginger in the hot lard, and ~~xxx~~ when it is slightly brown, add the chicken and fry well. Then add the sotate, wine, bamboo shoots, and enough water to cover. Simmer gently till all is tender. Cut off the lower quarter of the bamboo shoot as it is very tough.

CHICKEN WITH MACARONI (Guilly)

1 lb. macaroni, spagetti or any kind of macaroni
1 chicken 2 lb.
1 lb. fresh tomatoes or 3 teaspoon tomato paste
3 large onions
Salt, pepper, and grated cheese.

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Figure 9: (Circa 1930) *A page from the anthology of Macanese recipes* [Scanned photocopy]. Shanghai.

The Macanese are known to willingly engage with the Chinese community and Chinese festivals, and recipes for traditional Chinese New Year celebration dishes are included in full. Ease with and knowledge of regional Chinese produce is in evidence: Shantung cabbage, *mostardo* Nanking and Shanghai crab; while Japanese soy sauce is deemed superior to Chinese. Even for traditional Macanese recipes, Cantonese (in pinyin) is provided for ingredients purchased at the Chinese wet market including *lap yok* (a kind of bacon), *hong deu* (red beans), *kai choi* (a bitter vegetable), and *ching choi* (salted vegetable). Instructions for the purchase of eggs might be given not by number but in units

of money (cents), suggestive of a very stable society, but in the context of this anthology sets up a global-local tension.

Weights are commonly given in 'cates' and 'taes' – units traditionally employed in Cantonese wet markets. In addition to generic teaspoons and tablespoons, the more eclectic coffee-spoon (Portuguese) and rice-spoon (Chinese) are deployed; ounces (European measure) appear alongside cups (an American unit) and in addition to wine glass and water tumbler measures can be seen the sherry glass (note that sherry is drunk not by the Portuguese but the British).

Recipes are curated, albeit loosely. Pride is evident in a recipe for ice cream contributed by someone simply referred to as J.M.B.R – "our famous chef". Something contributed by Guilly might be deemed a "better" recipe than one for the same dish contributed by Arthur.[10] There is disdain for recipes considered too timesaving: a recipe for Porco Balechao Tamarinho is followed by "Another Method" with the explanation: "the same recipe can be a new way which is called a modern style". The eight-line method for the first recipe is reduced to one line for this modern method! On the other hand, a recipe requiring the beating of a dozen eggs (by hand) is not seen as out-of-the ordinary. If a method is not provided, a few hints might be addended, and ingredient lists are often incomplete. Sometimes the "editor" has listed additional ingredients for inclusion, or someone has added a hand-written note. For example, a recipe which requires a whole chicken does not include liver, gizzards, and heart in the ingredients list, they only appear in the method. Obviously if you buy a chicken, you use the whole of it!

While time-saving symbols of modernity such as tomato paste, canned olives and canned asparagus appear very popular, there is still evidence of the tremendous amount of time spent in the kitchen. We must "hang the feathered

[10] Often the given name is only initialised, alongside the family name, so it is not clear how genderised the submission of recipes is. Further research in this area could be carried out.

chicken" for two days; "prepare the pheasant in the usual way"; and when killing a duck, be sure to have a dish of vinegar handy in which to put the blood so that it won't curdle. There are also many recipes assembled with leftovers, an indication of elaborate spreads for large groups on special occasions; and even a guide as to how to make your own *pasteis de nata* (Portuguese sweet egg tarts) with your left-over puff pastry!

The importance of cultural capital and cultural competence in identity formation are also in evidence, for kitchen skills are revealed to be important. Around a third of the recipes are for sweet dishes – cakes, syrups, sweetmeats, and pastries – which are entirely peripheral to main meals, though deemed important at Christmas and for other celebrations. Many require sometimes quite intricate baking skills, and other skills such as temperature control, which are clearly highly prized: for one recipe, "much care and some common sense and experience must be used for the first few times". There is a highly detailed description of how to make an ingredient such as candied peel. It is "more tasty and economical" than store-bought, delivers a "genuine taste" and can be used variously for mincemeat, plum pudding, and fruit cake. There is a description of how to make your own Portuguese chorico [sic] and even your own sausage casings with tripe. Precision is also required. Certain preparations must be stored out of the draught and out of the heat lest worms might appear. There's an account of how-to de-slime *ochre* (okra) and how to extract gluten from flour, for use in cooking. Elaborate dishes are distinct from recipes for everyday dishes: many recipes have quite simple names, and are quite basic in terms of ingredients and technique. Pork stir-fried with mushrooms, soy sauce and a dash of Portuguese brandy; chicken with bamboo shoots; a half-chicken fried in lard then simmered in water.

Other dishes can be readily interpreted as generic "western" dishes – roast chicken with stewed plums, chicken with ham and egg, and meat balls cooked in soup, though there might be Asian touches: one might have a little ginger added, or be served with a garlic-soy gravy. Some might appear a little unexpected: deep-fried pork croquets are flavoured with a strange combination

of grated cheese and fresh chopped mint, for example. Could such dishes be examples of thrown-together dishes which happen in many households; and an inherited willingness to juxtapose unusual ingredients? These are all examples of what Macanese eat at home, but which might not necessarily be classified as "Macanese". We additionally tour the globe with recipes for *Vaca Brazileira*, Boston-style Baked Beans, Jewish Stuffed Cabbage with Rice, *Risotto Milanese*, and *Sopa Portugueza*. We first saw British influence in the iconic dish Minchi, and here Lea and Perrins Worcestershire sauce, and Sherry, both heavily associated with Britain, are listed in the ingredients for Game Pie. Macanese cuisine shows its willingness to absorb influences from many cultures, as well as specific brands. For mince pies, Hennessy brandy is the preferred choice!

The volume, then, points to the cosmopolitanism, sophistication, and cultural and linguistic fluidity within the community, which represents itself as global and English-speaking. Macanese cuisine, its varied nature already suggestive of a broad palate, is presented in the context of dishes and concepts from many other cuisines. As was gleaned from Survey results discussed in Chapter 3, some Macanese may only eat Macanese food once a year, but its importance in identity formation and maintenance remains deep.

Curiously, only a single recipe – Maria Figueiredo's Preserved Plums – is credited with originating from Macau, or from someone living in Macau. Strikingly, Mother appears absent from this volume, forcing us to consider whether the act of handing down recipes within the family has been heavily mythologised. Not only Mother is missing: many recipes are not attributed to anyone at all, reinforcing the notion that the construction of identity around the activity of cooking in the family kitchen is deeply embedded – while not necessarily being practiced. Some of the contributors may be related to each other or know each other. Others may not have such acquaintance. So, in this anthology, we can see recipes as forming the bedrock of an imagined community; an example of what has been called a "gastro-graphy" (Bigot, 2020 p. 3). The contrast between engaging with a community and imagining it has been described by Etienne Wenger as "a process of expanding oneself by transcending our time and space" (cited in

Kanno and Norton, 2003 p. 241). The process also allows for the creation of new images of the world, and of ourselves. If cuisine is thus a style in which the Macanese imagine their community, where does Macanese cuisine "sit" in the physical space of contemporary Macau? We address that question now, in Chapter 6.

6 – HERITAGE: BUILDINGS, TOURISM, AND CUISINE

"The legacy the Macaenses will leave to their descendants after four hundred years in Macau is not music, architecture, literature, or poetry; it is cuisine with more diversity and complexity than any left by Western countries who claimed empires on Asian soils" – António Jorge da Silva (Jackson, 2003 p. 30).

This chapter begins to address the relationship between the Chinese government and the post-colonial government of Macau, and the issues around UNESCO listings which are commuted through Beijing on behalf of Macau. Beijing shows great interest in Macau heritage, both tangible and intangible, but its representation in the tourism package is fraught with difficulties. It is convenient for government and the tourist board (MGTO) to present Macau to the world as an idealised East-meets-West story, when in fact the narrative is far more nuanced. This chapter also explores the changing representations of Macanese food within Macau, and how potential conflict between self-identification and state utility manifests itself. Macanese cuisine can be used as a lens through which to understand private, community, and state narratives of identity.

6.1 The politics of heritage

The tangible historic presence of the Portuguese in Macau is revealed in grand municipal buildings and cathedrals, in tiled town squares, in Portuguese street names presented alongside Chinese characters on blue-and-white tiles. The (cultural) touristic heart of Macau is Largo de Senado, which enjoys UNESCO world heritage status. This pedestrianised town square is distinguished by its use of *calçada à Portuguesa*, the same tiles for which Portugal's capital city Lisboa is famous. They are laid in wave patterns evoking the voyages of Portuguese seafarers (Cabral and Jackson, 1999 p. 122). The square is lined with variously coloured, well-maintained buildings, many of them associated with the colonial era. Particularly since the 1980s, the colonial government had been spending large sums on historical preservation (Lam, 2010 p. 662): investments which would lead to UNESCO listings for post-colonial Macau.

Figure 10: Macau Government Tourist Office (2019) *Largo de Senado* [Photograph]. Macau.

Tangible cultural heritage refers to monuments, groups of buildings, and sites which are variously valuable from historic, artistic, scientific, architectural, aesthetic, ethnological and anthropological points of view (Convention for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, 1975). Often understated but thoroughly examined in *The Politics of World Heritage* (2005) is the role of the state, or the nation, implicit in the inclusion in the title of UNESCO of Nations. Heritage legislation is of course established as part of a nation's broader legislation, but these laws may be influenced by multilateral and bilateral conventions, such as the World Heritage Convention. Michael Hitchcock points out that the Convention could be regarded as a starting point for heritage legislation, particularly in places with underdeveloped heritage legislation, and as an initiative to help spread best practice. "But what should not be overlooked,"

he writes, "is that the endorsement of the Convention was ultimately a political act" (Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005 p. 181).

In the run-up to Handover, Portuguese civil servants prepared to return to Portugal. Macanese with concerns about their future status had been trickling into the diaspora over a number of years. But it has been argued that Handover had taken place many years before December 20, 1999, when Macau officially relinquished its sovereign right and was restored to Chinese governance. The 123 Incident in 1966[11] represented the moment "when sovereignty over Macau was placed in the hands of Beijing" (Clayton, 1990 p. 78). From its side, Portugal had wanted to "return" Macau in 1974, following the collapse of Portugal's 45-year *Estado Novo*, but China refused. The arrangement to have Chinese territory under Portuguese administration, as a "sort of sovereignty" (Clayton, 1990 p. 51), was deemed convenient.

Further, far more significant than sovereignty for the fabric of Macau society was the expiry of the gambling monopoly in 2002. Hitherto, only STDM (Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau), headed by Hong Kong Eurasian Stanley Ho, had been granted operating licences, but the opening up of concessions attracted extensive foreign capital inflow. A year later, when fears around the SARS epidemic had subsided, the Chinese central government installed the Individual Visit Scheme (IVS) which resulted in a dramatic rise in mainland visitor numbers, in turn boosting the economy (Chung and Tieben, 2009 p. 9).

The focus was clearly moving away from the mono provision of gambling to position Macau as a more inclusive and varied tourist destination. Macau's hitherto economic over-dependence on the gambling tourist made it pertinent for the post-colonial government to promote the city's inherent appeal: its

[11] The Incident, inspired by events pertaining to the Cultural Revolution in the PRC, saw mass demonstrations and rioting targeted at buildings and other symbols of Portuguese colonial rule. The unrest, countered by the Portuguese military, resulted in the deaths of eight local residents, while hundreds were injured, and dozens jailed.

"small-town, colonial (perhaps exotic) and Mediterranean-European character" (Lam, 2010 p. 663). The identity and autonomy of Macau had always hinged on its difference; its "marginal location as a threshold bridging two empires" (Chung and Tieben, 2009 p. 8). The strategy for Macau was fully revealing itself when, in 2005, the city received a UNESCO tangible heritage listing.[12] This application for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List, when it became the thirty-first designated World Heritage site in China, was commuted through Beijing. The listing recognised the historical and cultural importance of a series of 22 sites including the elite Chinese residence known as the Mandarin House, a Chinese temple (A-Ma), the Moorish barracks, the Ruins of S. Paulo (a Roman Catholic cathedral), and town square Largo de Senado.

Figure 11: Yiu, C. (2010) *Mandarin House* [Photograph]. Macau.

The preservation of historic monuments has been criticised for being too Eurocentric (Demgenski, 2020 p. 117), and such designation has been seen to create problems for heritage sites in Southeast Asia with UNESCO recognition: it may be impossible to separate a structure from the belief systems surrounding it, or the spirits which inhabit it (see for example Molina et al, 2016; Hitchcock,

[12] The importance of UNESCO recognition for tourism development has been noted (see for example Sammells, 2014).

2016). Further, sites preserved through UNESCO recognition can potentially create a dilemma when they form part of a historical narrative which does not fit with current national discourse.

This scenario can be observed in several cities in the region. The socialist government of Lao had no desire to restore the aura of the former royal capital, Luang Prabang, settling instead for an "atmosphere of ancient tranquillity" (Hitchcock, 2016 p. 382) – even though this can diminish a tourist's comprehension and experience of the sites. Vietnamese strategy with regards to Hue, the former royal capital of Vietnam, has been to reposition it as a landmark of high Vietnamese culture, to effect "the effacing of the recent history of violent conflict in favour of an ahistorical and timeless aesthetic" (Johnson, 2010 p. 176). In the Malaysian city of Malacca, despite material evidence of three European colonising powers, the tourism discourse has shifted towards one which does trace some Chinese history, but is dominated by Malay- and Muslim-centric themes, "reflecting the perspective of Malaysia's most politically dominant constituent population" (Hitchcock, 2016 p. 381).

In the case of Macau, the downtown tourist attraction Largo de Senado has been cleverly curated by Beijing. Macau's colonial history has not only been preserved and revived but manufactured; we journey from "heritage preservation" to "heritage cultivation" (Lam, 2010 p. 665). What were once locally owned, ground-floor cafés and casual restaurants mostly patronised by local residents, and small independent shops, are now mainstream retail brands specialising in items such as sports shoes and beauty products. The square is brightly and lavishly decorated at festivals such as Chinese New Year and Mid-Autumn Festival, and UNESCO heritage buildings are transformed during the annual Macau Light Festival (launched in 2015) – visuals which actually detract from colonial architectural detail. The square is thus reimagined for, and subsequently colonised by, Chinese tourists.

6.2 Placemaking through food

Next, in 2017, moving from tangible to so-called intangible cultural heritage, Macau was named the 27th UNESCO Creative City of Gastronomy (as of March 2020, there were 36) to join a group of three Chinese cities.[13]

Food comes from a place but, according to notions of soft power, it can also "make" a place. American anthropologist Melissa Caldwell argues that food as placemaking demonstrates "the symbolic and actual power of cuisines and tastes to constitute meaningful geographies just as convincingly as political borders, language groups, or historical events" (Caldwell, 2006 p. 103). Placemaking through food, particularly for touristic reasons, is a phenomenon which has been described as "a planned and often top-down professional design effort to influence people's behaviour and shape their perception of a place" (Lew, 2017 p. 449). In this light, it is important to note that in Macau the visibility, beyond buildings, of other cultural aspects, is part of a much newer "tradition" and can largely be traced to the years leading up to the 1999 Handover: a deliberate top-down attempt to leave a Portuguese footprint. Cultural agents including the Macau Foundation, the Centre for Macau Studies and the museum "industry" have been singled out (Lam, 2010 p. 662), but our focus here is on the dissemination of culture through cuisine.

6.3 Cuisine as intangible heritage

What is termed Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) emerged from the UNESCO 2003 Convention and is taken to include traditions or living expressions such as oral traditions, social practices, rituals, festivals and performing arts. The importance of intangible heritage is not contained in the cultural manifestation itself, but within the wealth of knowledge and skills transmitted through

[13] The first, Shunde, a small city in the west of Guangdong Province, is widely regarded as the birthplace of Cantonese cooking (UNESCO refers to it as *one* of the cradles) from where the most highly skilled chefs are said to emanate. Second comes Chengdu, the capital city of prosperous Sichuan Province described by UNESCO as the "cradle" of Sichuan cooking. Third is Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province, based on its renown for Huaiyang (or Jiangsu) cuisine. This is considered as one of the (four) finest classified Chinese culinary traditions alongside Cantonese, Sichuan and Shandong cuisines.

generations (UNESCOb (no date)). It was conceived as a means of tracing heritage beyond primordial, Eurocentric emphasis on grand old monuments, though it has been argued that it remains informed by international heritage discourse, because the *process of listing* plays such a fundamental role in the production of ICH (Demgenski, 2020 p. 117).

Recognition of the inherent importance of gastronomy and its symbolic role in society as intangible heritage was ratified by UNESCO in 2010, when gastronomic practices were added to the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Gastronomy can be defined as the practice or art of choosing, cooking and eating food; as "the study of the relationship between food and culture, the art of preparing and serving rich or delicate and appetizing [sic] food, the cooking styles of particular regions, and the science of good eating" (*Oxford English Dictionary*).[14] The very term "gastronomy" carries distinctive European connotations, derived as it is from Greek terms for 'stomach' and 'custom'. Implicit are notions of haute cuisine, high culture, and "quality" (Demgenski, 2020 p. 118), as well as what has been termed "haute traditional" – the conflation of geographic location and globalising cosmopolitanism (Sammells, 2014 p. 142). Suggestive is that one "cuisine" is better than another and that there exists a hierarchy which begins perhaps with the distinction between domestic cooking and restaurant chef-dom, then includes such categories as western over eastern, and so on. There exists, of course, an impartial culinary judiciary to preside over such rankings and classifications!

The first three gastronomic practices added to the UNESCO list (2010) were Traditional Mexican Cuisine, the Mediterranean Diet, and the Gastronomic Meal of the French. Mexico was the first to present a cuisine-related heritage application (2005). The initial campaign, entitled *People of Corn. The Ancestral Cuisine of Mexico. Rituals, Ceremonies and Cultural Practices of the Cuisine of the Mexican People,* was rejected, deemed to provide insufficient evidence of deep symbolism and ritual values around corn (Molina et al 2016, p. 294).

[14] The absence of a common definition of gastronomy as intangible world heritage, to distinguish it from other types of gastronomy, has been pointed out (Molina et al, 2016 p. 295).

Within the French submission, what had been first framed as "French Food Culture" was reimagined as the "Gastronomic Meal of the French". The addition of the "Meal" was notable for making no mention of specific dishes or culinary techniques. Rather, it focussed on dining rituals: the rules of the table setting, the order in which (the right number of) courses were consumed, and the serving of the correct fine wines. These are the elements without which there would be no "haute cuisine" – as explored in Chapter 4 – and represented another layer of reinforcement of the pre-eminence of French cuisine. Further, the French submission focussed on the celebration and conviviality of the triumphantly civilised French dining table.

Similar processes occurred later in Japan and Korea from where submissions centred on Imperial cuisines were abandoned to follow the more lived, grassroots model of the successful French entry: respectively the embedded culture in traditional Washoku cuisine; and, for Kimchi, the social cohesion brought about through community preparation and sharing of the dish. Thus, successful elements were forced to enter "a process of adaptation during the preparatory phase so as to make them fit the UNESCO criteria" (Demgenski, 2020 p. 117). For its part, Japan asserted that the loss of Washoku cuisine would have implications for other Japanese ways of life and should thus be recognised as heritage. Washoku is celebrated as representing the traditional dietary culture of the Japanese, most notably at New Year celebrations (Di Giovine and Brulotte, 2014 p. 17), and for representing other traditions such as "the sense of seasonal transition with the beauty of nature" and the plating of the food which makes it resemble a painting (Loi, Kong and Robarts, 2020).

Further to the complications around "what" should or could be considered intangible gastronomic heritage, is the question of "when". Sidney Cheung highlights the movement of crayfish from "peasant's fare of unknown origin" to "luxurious gourmet food," today celebrated at major crayfish festivals organised in the Yangzi River Delta area – representing new Nanjing foodways (Cheung, 2021a). He also refers to Cantonese *pun choi* ('basin food'), associated with traditional villages in Hong Kong's New Territories. This communal dish

comprises layers of humble foodstuffs including dried squid, tofu skin, and turnip. It is prepared for significant social gatherings such as ancestral worship and traditional weddings; and represents equality within food consumption. Yet for the last decade it has been served throughout Hong Kong, transformed into perhaps a vegetarian version, or into a luxury dish with the addition of abalone. The tension arises around "how to evaluate intangible heritage that has undergone a transformation for the sake of survival" (Cheung, 2019 p. 440).

Recognition and listing by UNESCO historically "fixes" the meal, a dish, a celebration, as heritage, in a primordial sense: these designations emphasise ways in which "shared cultural values towards the social and natural world are played out and made manifest through the preparation and consumption of food, and what is to be passed down from generation to generation" (Di Giovine and Brulotte, 2014 p. 17). Michael Hitchcock asserts, though, that the (primordial) organisation of UNESCO around "states parties" means that certain cuisines, meals, diets, or dishes are automatically excluded from consideration. He takes as an example Nasi Goreng, a dish rich in cultural meanings. It is of Chinese-Indonesian origins, as popular in Malaysia as it is in Indonesia, and has long been associated with Dutch culinary culture. Its global reach extends to hotel coffee shops across Asia, and restaurants in London. Yet it could never be listed, as "it is neither the preserve of one culture or one nation" (Hitchcock, 2014 p. 281). In light of this observation, it is pertinent to ponder how Macanese cuisine – when properly understood – has fitted into UNESCO classification, recognition, and listing processes.

6.4 Placemaking through cuisine in Macau

The notion of the *commodification* of invented tradition is an important second trajectory for exploration, particularly when non-Chinese historical and cultural aspects of Macau come under the tourist gaze as part of a Beijing-curated tourism package.

Today, Portuguese restaurants proliferate, but three decades ago there was no Portuguese "restaurant scene" and almost no stores specifically selling Portuguese groceries and goods. Portuguese food would though, of course, have been consumed in the homes of the Portuguese, in private clubs such as Clube Militar, and in the officers' mess. In the same way, the Macanese community had gathering places and clubs such as Solmar, and Club de Macau at the D. Pedro V Theatre. The Pousada de Macau, where African Chicken is said to have been created, and Hotel Riviera with its famous Macanese pastry shop, were popular destinations for Macanese, though both closed their doors in the 1970s.

Figure 12: *Pastel de Nata* [Stock photograph].

Fascinatingly, the visibility and popularity in Macau of the Portuguese sweet egg tart, *pastel de nata*, was driven not by a Portuguese baker but an English chemist from the 1990s onwards, from his small bakery in far-away Coloane Village. This adapted egg tart, has gone on to become – in the absence of one officially promoted – the unofficial national dish of Macau. The first and for many years solitary Portuguese restaurant in Macau, Saludes, long closed, only opened in the 1970s, also in Coloane Village. The luxurious Hotel Bela Vista,[15] renovated by the Mandarin Oriental Hotel Group to include a Portuguese restaurant, launched as recently as the mid-1990s. This is around the same time that the handsome dining room of the renovated Clube Militar was opened to the

[15] This former residence-turned-hotel is now the official residence of the Portuguese Consul-General for Macau and Hong Kong.

public as a Portuguese restaurant with an exclusively Portuguese wine list, and decorated with Portuguese artworks and artefacts.

What of the Macanese "restaurant scene"? First, the representation of Macanese restaurants bears examination. What should a Macanese restaurant "look" and "feel" like? Certainly, the tendency, if we consider the wooden Portuguese-style tables and chairs, and blue-and-white tiled walls of Litoral, and the textured, white-washed walls of the (now closed) Balichão, the atmospheres created are very much in the European-Portuguese tradition, with no Chinese or Southeast Asian elements. A recent feature in *The Macao News (*Humphrey, 2022*)* about Macanese restaurants in Macau highlights the presence of nostalgic Macau photos on the walls of two, and the blue-and-white (the colours of Portuguese tiles) themed décor of another.

The sublimation of Macanese food beneath Portuguese has emerged as an issue since the opening of Macanese restaurants alongside the proliferation of Portuguese ones. Macanese restaurants typically serve some dishes which would be considered Portuguese, and Portuguese restaurants might serve a couple of Macanese dishes – but they are not listed as such. Complicating things still further, in order to attract the tourist dollar, Portuguese and Macanese restaurants might augment their own menus with "Chinese" steamed "local" vegetables such as the leafy green *gai lan*, and broccoli florets. This process signifies a local (thus less expensive) substitution for popular Portuguese vegetable side dishes such as braised turnip tops, and battered green beans, or simply satisfies expectations regarding meal composition: vegetable side dishes comprise an important part of the typical Chinese order.

6.5 Macanese cuisine in contemporary Macau

In the past two decades, since the end of the Macau gambling monopoly, new casino hotels have been required to offer Macanese or Portuguese dishes (and Portuguese wine) to obtain an operating licence. Even within the hospitality industry there is confusion as to the difference, and a conflation of the two, as

this author's analysis (2017) of hotel restaurant menus with Portuguese and Macanese sections revealed. For example, at Café Encore[16] in Wynn Macau, the predominantly Chinese menu contained a headed page of Macanese and Portuguese dishes, including Fried Macanese Prawns, Bacalhau à Brás, and Caldo Verde. There was no indication that the latter two are Portuguese. The Grand Lapa hotel's Café Bela Vista menu included Galinha Piri Piri, translated into English as African Chicken – though the two dishes are quite different, the former probably of West African influence and the latter believed to have been created in Macau (Jackson, 2020 pp. 33-34). There's the even more complicated matter of Portuguese Chicken to consider. In Galaxy Macau's Gusto restaurant, a special listed was Baked Portuguese Chicken, but there was no indication that this is not a Portuguese dish.[17]

When Macanese food is conflated with Portuguese food, they both inhabit a vaguely "European" category of cuisine. This succeeds in commercial terms as the availability of "Portuguese" dishes is particularly attractive for tourists from China (and various Asian countries), who believe they are eating "authentic" European food on their doorstep (Zhang and Pang, 2012). This is aptly illustrated in an observation by a mainland Chinese tourist after ordering an apparently Portuguese dish in an (apparently) Portuguese restaurant. "I ordered the most representative dish of Portuguese food, the Portuguese chicken… I thought this dish is supposed to be like other European food with a butter flavour and tomato paste.[18] However, there is some coconut cream and curry in the sauce" (Zhang and Hitchcock, 2014).

At the same time, local (Cantonese) restaurants and (generic) cafés garner fiscal advantage when serving Macanese dishes. A Cantonese chef might, for example, prepare Minchi as a "wet" dish and incorporate peas and diced carrot. The Macanese are deeply disdainful of this process, even referring to it as culinary

[16] The Café has since undergone renovations and a new menu was due to be introduced in late 2022.
[17] Portuguese Chicken is assumed to be a Macanese dish, but it is widely known as *Po Kok Gai* (Cantonese) and is argued to have been a Chinese creation (Jorge da Silva, 2016 pp. 58-9).
[18] Broadly speaking, these are characteristics respectively of French and Italian cuisines.

"hijacking" (Jackson, 2020 p. 33). Worthy of note is that the consumption of Macanese food follows more closely a Chinese (and Southeast Asian) model than a western/Portuguese one. Multiple dishes are ordered at the same time, they are served in communal receptacles, and arrive at the table together or in a random order. Thus, even as a cooking process may not be considered authentically "Macanese," the manner of its consumption could be. If the food is eaten with chopsticks (Chinese) or knife and fork (western) rather than the usual spoon and fork (Macanese/Southeast Asian), Macanese food enters another situational stage of evolution in its perception, appropriation, and symbolism. Following the 2021 death of her mother Aida Jesus, with whom she ran Macanese café Rixequó, Sonia Palmer sold up to a Chinese owner. But they "do not know how to run it, we tried to help at the beginning, but they will not listen". As a result, Sonia's brother and some friends opened a new Macanese café next door, called Cozinha Aida, which serves "her [Aida's] food" (personal correspondence, October 2022) – by which it is assumed Sonia means "authentic" food.

The claim of authenticity in food is a core marketing mantra, and its pursuit the goal of the foodie – Anthony Bourdain-style quests for the ultimate ramen noodles in Tokyo backstreets. But what is authenticity, and who are the authenticators of such authenticity? Authenticity – which already presents the dilemma of the unattainable – should be considered in terms of process, meaning, and context; and against the backdrop that multiple authenticities exist. Authenticity can, for example, be seen "as originality or representativeness (as expected by tourists) and authenticity as tradition (as understood by the locals)" (Theodossopoulos, 2013 pp. 346-7).

We here recall the work of John Furnivall in *Colonial Policy and Practice* (1948) and his idea of the plural society in the dual contexts of Java and Burma. His notion of ethnic groups meeting only in the marketplace, otherwise maintaining their cultural and social separation, has been criticised for ignoring discreet social mixing and the "creolisation process" itself (Lee, 2009 p. 37). That aside, let's nuance that marketplace to reflect the meeting of tourists and locals. Clare

Sammells has noted ways in which tourism and designation of intangible heritage create spaces for new forms of social encounters. These new forms of sociality "change how participants think about what constitutes the local, and what the importance of being local – and being recognised as local – is" (Sammells, 2014 p. 155). The effects of tourism on a cuisine can be interpreted (positively) as performative and transient rather than (negatively) as transformative and absolute: Michael Hitchcock has highlighted the capacity, for example, of local people to maintain a "duality of meanings" whereby elements of cultural identity remain significant, independently of the presence of tourists (Hitchcock, 1999 p. 20).

In Macau, against this backdrop sit political considerations for the Macanese. The post-modern subject is "conceptualized [sic] as having no fixed, essential or permanent identity" (Hall and du Gay, 1996) who "might have to negotiate multiple, possibly competing, norms related to his or her collective category or categories" (Usborne and Taylor, 2010 p. 884). It can be inferred that the Macanese people, over time choosing different ways in which to identify, have shifted attitudes to their food, too. Macanese cooking was named and became visible when Macanese culture needed to assert itself, having otherwise run out of "usefulness" (Jorge da Silva, 2015 p. 77).

6.6 Macanese food and Macanese identity

The Macanese comprise a tiny percentage of the Macau population. About 95 per cent of the population is Chinese/Cantonese, with around a third of those having arrived during the 1980s from Guangdong Province. The Portuguese community has never exceeded 7,000, while the Macanese community is estimated today at between 3,000-10,000. Up to 40,000 Macanese are believed to form the diaspora, living in multiple cities across continents. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's (1983) ideas of imagined communities, it is noted that the members of even the smallest nation (or community) will never know, meet, or even have heard of their fellow members, "yet in the minds of each lives the image of their

communion" (Anderson, 2016 p. 5). Attention is specifically drawn to Anderson's notion of the "styles" in which communities imagine themselves.

Anderson asserts that when a group becomes conscious of itself, and starts to study its languages, folklores, and musics [sic], the process equates to a "'rediscovering' something deep-down always known" (Anderson, 2016 p. 196): a primordial response. This engenders the need for what he terms "a narrative of 'identity'" (Anderson, 2016 p. 205), a process which for the Macanese began at that "magic" moment of identification, classification and fixing of their cuisine, taking place in Macau in the period from the late 1980s to the early 1990s.

Food is singled out within cultural identity formation because of the propensity of food to provide a "fluid symbolic medium for making statements about identity" (James, 1997 p. 74), and because that identity "is symbolised so clearly by food and commensality" (Caplan, 1997 p. 15). This can be seen in the migrant's fridge; in pervasive memories of the cooking of 'Nona'; in unexamined adherence to food taboos. The Macanese, who inhabit a plurality of European, Chinese, and Asian racial characteristics, present a cuisine of similar diversity indicative of a developed palate: pungent as well as plain; very salty as well as very sweet; fresh as well as fermented; spicy and possibly sour. Dishes are variously fried, stir-fried, steamed, baked, grilled and roasted. This culinary plurality certainly offers the potential for a multiplicity of definitions, reactions, and representations.

Macanese people "cling" (one of a group of words used by Macanese in personal communication with this author) to their cuisine and assert that Macanese food is an important part of their cultural identity even if Macanese is not their favourite cuisine, even if they eat it rarely, or never cook it for themselves (Jackson, 2020 pp. 22-23). Pat Caplan argues that it is the dissolving into each other of objectivity and subjectivity which makes the study of food so complex. Food it not only about who *we* are, but about who *they* are, and what they eat, or do not eat. It is not only "cultural" but involves broader dimensions. Food can

be viewed as a metaphor "for our sense of self, our social and political relations, our cosmology and our global system" (Caplan, 1994 p. 30). Cultural identity can be considered, most particularly in multicultural, post-colonial social environments, as critical in the construction of a coherent personal identity. A clear cultural identity represents "a coherent narrative, a clear subjective knowledge and understanding of a group's values, norms and characteristics" (Usborne and Taylor, 2010 p. 885).

The approach to ethnicity taken by J. Clyde Mitchell positions it as an urban phenomenon, with regard to the way in which spaces/s are shared and contested. That space, in this context, is Macau itself, which presents as a dynamic urban environment – from the Venice of the East in the second half of the sixteenth century to its emergence from the early 2000s as the Vegas of the East. In the intervening years, it was saved from Japanese occupation due to Portugal's neutrality during the Second World War, and became for many from across the region a place of refuge. It has been – and often still is – referred to as neighbouring Hong Kong's country cousin: economically unstable and lacking dynamism. In 1999 it passed from Portuguese to Chinese administration; and the problems inherent when the removal of a colonial power leads not to independence but its displacement by another "dominant power" has been noted (Weerasekara et al, 2018, p. 4).

The Macanese can be seen to inhabit a potentially troubled, and contested, Third Space. Louis Augustin-Jean has referred to "a community which is specifically Macanese, at the interface of the Chinese and Portuguese communities" (Augustin-Jean, 2002 p. 123). In this sense, the Macanese people are "other", neither Chinese nor Portuguese, and further, "Macanese" is not a category on the Macau census form. The tension for Macanese ethnic identity is that it is seen to move between categories. Jonathan Okamura describes how the actor has the option, on the one hand "of emphasizing or obfuscating his ethnic identity, or on the other, of assuming other social identities that he holds" (Okamura, 1981 p. 460). In order for an identity to be understood, "it has to be

constantly created and recreated through intentional agency" (Hitchcock, 1999 p. 21).

Even as Macau is "home," many among the Macanese community imagine Portugal as the "motherland" and thus appear to identify first with their Portuguese-ness. Prior to the main thrust of diaspora, the term Macanese was not an identifier: they referred to themselves as Macau-Portuguese, Hong Kong-Portuguese, or Shanghai-Portuguese (Jorge da Silva, 2015 p. 183). Historically, particularly given their ability to speak English (as well as Portuguese and Cantonese), they have acted as a bridge between the Portuguese and Chinese, and been able to forge a life in (British) Hong Kong. On the other hand, in the diaspora, from Sydney to San Francisco, where Macau the place may not even be known, they are seen as Southeast Asian immigrants (Jorge da Silva, 2015 p. 182). It has also been suggested that it is only when Macanese leave Macau that they become aware of their Macanese identity, and of the fragility of that identity (Jackson, 2003 p. 26).

Through UNESCO ascription, the elevation of Macanese cuisine to heritage status, as a cuisine unique to Macau, can be seen to give visibility to, and legitimise, the Macanese. "The heritage component takes on added salience as a means of re-asserting, and even revitalizing, ethnicity itself" (Di Giovine and Brulotte, 2014 p. 19). The Macanese have been "becoming more aware of having an exclusive Macanese identity and heritage" and food gives the Macanese "the possibility to maintain and reproduce their creole identity" (Gaspar, 2014). At the same time, Macanese cuisine becomes almost synonymous with Macanese identity. The food on the plate of the Macanese, with its rich diversity of ingredients, flavours, textures, and techniques, speaks to the origins of the Macanese themselves.

If one of the styles in which the Macanese imagine themselves is through cuisine, to what extent are deconstructions and reconstructions of cultural identity reflected in the reimagining and representation of Macanese cuisine?

Macanese cooking traditions may have developed quite independently in Macau, rather than being "fused" with anything local: material evidence such as artworks suggest that any existing local population was sea-based.[19] The populist definition of Macanese cuisine, albeit clumsy, as a "fusion" cuisine with Portuguese origins incorporating Asian influences and flavours, could now – and not without logic – be reconfigured as a (post-colonial) Chinese cuisine, given that Macau (1999) became a SAR (Special Administrative Region) of China. Indeed, Macanese cuisine receives an entry in the *Berkshire Encyclopaedia of Chinese Cuisines*, but could apparently never be officially classified as Chinese because of a classification system which appears to sit uncontested.

Chinese cuisine has been divided into four and, (even) more recently, eight regional classifications, comprising Anhui (徽菜; Huīcài), Cantonese (粵菜; Yuècài), Fujian (閩菜; Mǐncài), Hunan (湘菜; Xiāngcài), Jiangsu (蘇菜; Sūcài), Shandong (魯菜; Lǔcài), Sichuan (JII菜; Chuāncài) and Zhejiang (浙菜; Zhècài).

Most striking about the classification system, argues Michelle King, is the "unprecedented degree of uniformity and ubiquity" of this culinary regionalism. King notes common assertions that the system derived from the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), and while references to specific regional cuisines have been recorded in Chinese texts for centuries, she places the decision to systematise cuisines into a single, numbered schema far later, even to the post-Mao reform era, that is, after 1976.

The idea of presenting major *regional* cuisines, she argues, suggests a "harmonious equality", placing them as part of "a unified whole" (King, 2020 pp. 92-95). Chinese cuisine is presented as something based on Chinese values; as an important part of the nation's soft power building. The intention is to reveal Chinese culture *behind* the cooking (Li and Zong, 2020 p. 483). Culinary

[19] Zhidong Hao argues that archaeological findings indicate "Chinese" activity in Macau from the Han Dynasty. The aborigines can be traced to the Yao people, with two branches: the Dan, who lived on boats and made a living from fishing, and the She (Hao, 2011 p. 15).

regionalism in modern China allows for two apparently competing aims to materialise: the celebration of culinary diversity but only within a culinary nationalist project. King neatly illustrates this with an analysis of a (2014) poster publicising the second season of the popular 2012 CCTV show, *A Bite of China*. The poster makes literal "the overlap between China as a geopolitical entity and China as a culinary nation, with a pair of giant chopsticks hovering over this map of the whole country" – including the territories of Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang (King, 2020 p. 90).

Should Macanese cuisine, then, be reimagined within a sub-category as a cuisine of an ethnic minority within China, alongside for example the Dai and Miao cuisines in Yunnan Province (Wu, 2016), and the Muslim Uyghur cuisine of Xinjiang (Ayoufu, Yang and Yimit, 2017)?

Macanese cuisine has in fact emerged as the perfect representation of the meeting point of East and West propagated by Macau's post-colonial government, as this 2002 speech extract from the Secretariat for Social Affairs and Culture indicates. "Having experienced the peaceful coexistence of multiple cultures for more than 400 years, Macau has become a melting pot where the Chinese culture and other cultures are mutually accommodating, and the ethics of tolerance, openness and diligence flourish" (cited in Lam, 2010 p. 669).

Particularly since 2017 when Macau became a UNESCO Creative City of Gastronomy, the promotion of cuisine has come to the fore, as a way of differentiating Macau from Hong Kong, Guangdong Province, and indeed mainland China as a whole. Macanese cuisine represents a unique proposition in the tourism package: a cuisine which falls not within the bounds of "Chinese," and cannot be singularly classified in the primordial manner of "French". Rather, it is presented as an east-west "fusion" of ingredients and cooking styles, which could on the one hand render it rather intriguing, but on the other, as potentially beyond the culinary discourse of authenticity because of a lack of consensus as to what Macanese food is, and what an "authentic" dish might look like. Details

of Macau culinary roadshows delivered in cities across China and beyond by MGTO were shared with this author (personal correspondence, April 2022) but clearly the culinary message is failing to permeate sensibilities. One piece of research (2020) suggests that while food tourism in Macau is a unique entity with its core triumvirate of cuisines, the narrative remains unclear. Thus, there is a need to understand the profile of the culinary tourist but also to understand "their notions of ethnic cuisines of Macao, and the relationship of the perception of ethnic gastronomy and its underlying culture" (Wan and Choi, 2020 p. 3).

Comments from hospitality industry, academics, and cultural commentators, gathered by this author in a small research project via email (April 2022), reflect this issue of "notions of ethnic cuisine". Diamantina do Rosario Coimbra, Vice President for Administrative Affairs at IFTM, comments that visitors may have eaten Macanese cuisine without knowing it, and that their perception may be culturally nuanced. "For westerners, they may think its [sic] Chinese, for Chinese people, they may think its western/Portuguese" (personal correspondence, April 2022). Long-time senior member of the food and beverage team at Galaxy, Luis Lobo, concurs that Macanese cuisine is still not understood; its "distinction is unclear" (personal correspondence, April 2022).

The problem is not confined to the tourist. Rufino Ramos, Secretary General of the International Institute of Macau (IMM), which publishes on Macanese culture, believes a root problem is the lack of government cooperation with the private sector and educational bodies. The need for this kind of collaboration is a key thrust in tourism development and management: the potential (and need) for gastronomy tourism to permeate industries. Cultural food heritage has to be promoted among locals through various channels, for "you cannot be proud and interested in something unknown" (Nesterchuk et al, 2022 p. 587). To this point, even most local people, says Rosario Coimbra, do not have a clear concept of the nature of Macanese cuisine. Ramos asserts that the historical background of Macanese cuisine should be "explained and taught to tourist guides (and their masters) and make them realize [sic] that it could be a "new" tour offer". He would like to see initiatives such as cooking/tasting classes of the kind promoted

in Thailand (personal correspondence, April 2022). Informative culinary walking tours could be added to this list. Glenn McCartney, Associate Professor in International Integrated Resort Management at University of Macau, echoes these ideas. He says that the MGTO vision is very narrow, and he would like to see more of a strategy, "a combination of actions with a common theme – cooking courses and competitions, ingredients in the market… storytelling and so on" (personal correspondence, May 2022).

Former city mayor, now writer and academic José Luis de Sales Marques, simply laments the lack of visibility of Macanese cuisine. He asserts that "Macanese cuisine is highly featured in the tourism propaganda and narrative. But, in practice, it is not widely available" (personal correspondence, April 2022). Luis Lobo wonders whether this is at least in part due to economic limitations of potential private restaurant owners. There is no evidence of government grants or subsidies to energise this sector, even as they promote it as part of the tourism package.

Taking the above observations into account, it may be difficult to see Beijing's apparent commitment to preserve and communicate Macau's (colonial) history, both tangible and intangible, as little more than choreography; as the use of culture, as soft power, to achieve "foreign policy goals" (Figueira, 2017). Former Chief Executive Edmund Ho's policy address (2006) was littered with a diversity of terms and phrases such as "motherland", "historical heritage", "Mainland" and "Portuguese-speaking countries" (cited in Lam, 2010 p. 667). Both the post-colonial Macau government and Beijing feel "politically safe in preserving the city's colonial landmarks and heritage, and using a hybrid identity in governance" (Lam, 2010 p. 672), and to thereafter leverage these strategies in order to move economically closer to Portuguese-speaking countries, and Europe (Ferraz de Matos, 2020 p. 78). Though the population is more than 95% Chinese, and Portuguese barely spoken, Macau has been granted special status in the Greater Bay Area as a gateway to the Lusophony world. Macau is both culturally and economically important to China. It is represented as relevant but historical. It may be small, but across time has been shown to have a unique

global reach. It also has a unique, fascinating cuisine which may be the focus of this dissertation but may not, after all, bother Beijing very much. However, pragmatic approaches towards preserving the past have served to validate the Macanese community in the present, and potentially elements of Portuguese culture, piecemeal or otherwise, that have been maintained over time.

7 – CONCLUSION

> "My chutneys and kassundies are, after all, connected to my nocturnal scribblings – by day, amongst the pickle vats, by night within these sheets, I spend my time at the great work of preserving. Memory, as well as fruit, is being saved from the corruption of the clocks".
>
> – Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children* (1981)

The author's work on Macau foodways moved from newspaper columns and magazine features to book form with the 1994 publication of *Macau on a Plate*, an easy-going but pioneering volume which represented the first time that Macanese cuisine had been privileged within Macau's culinary heritage. Subsequent research has led to the contextualisation of Macanese cuisine variously within the islands, port cities, and trade routes of the Indian Ocean; within the global Macanese diaspora; and within the constantly changing landscape of the physical space of Macau. The exploration of such pathways has shown that to understand Macanese cuisine is to understand the geo-spread of gustatory influences. An additional, more recent research angle has been to begin to examine the representation of Macanese cuisine and culture in Macanese restaurants established beyond Macau, as geographically distant as Petaling Jaya (Malaysia) and Edinburgh (Scotland).

While drawing on anthropological and sociological approaches to food, the examination of Macanese cuisine has been multi-disciplinary: through etymology, through the interrogation of ingredients and produce; through thick description in the recipe; and through the socio-political and post-colonial meanings and representations of the cuisine. This dissertation has also illustrated the propensity for positioning Macau, in order to illuminate the past (and the present), within the broader space of South and Southeast Asia as well as the geography of China.

Thus, the core contributions delivered by the author have both to do with the benefits of delving more deeply into a cuisine (here, Macanese cuisine) rather than relying on popularly received monikers; and how material culture such as

cuisine can shed light on the historic relations of the place from which it emanates, that being Macau. These core contributions can in some way be linked to a central research question, and that is the status of Macanese cuisine in contemporary Macau, an analysis of which requires an understanding of its genesis. This study also casts light on underlying approaches required in order to understand broader cultural and historical representations within contemporary Macau.

The first core contribution is the unique placing of Macanese cuisine within theories of creolisation which has allowed it to be viewed as a creative cultural force; and the exploration of the attendant problems inherent in reaching a definition of Macanese cuisine also has important implications for the (renewed) study of other cuisines within and beyond Macau to which Macanese cuisine is related. Identifying its location in multi-regional sites has served as a lens through which to understand more deeply aspects of the historical, social, and political relations of Macau. The recipe, whether oral or textual; whether in published cookbook or community anthology; or the recipe bank under the complicated act of curation by IFTM on behalf of MGTO; has been deeply considered to a pioneering degree. The recipe has been revealed, marking the second core contribution, as an important metaphor for navigating cultural journeys through colonial to post-colonial periods, contributing to the understanding of Macanese identity reproduction within, and beyond, Macau. Representing the third core contribution, this dissertation has advanced the study of the all-important (non-gambling) tourism provision in Macau through the lens of cuisine, and this has implications, going forward, as to how (non-tangible) culinary culture is deployed (or should, or could, be deployed) within the globally significant growth industry of gastronomy tourism.

7.1 Contribution 1: Cuisine – classification and the creole

This dissertation's engagement with Macanese cuisine has broadened understanding of the relationship between cuisine and identity by situating it within theories of the implicit creativity and dynamism of creolisation, and therein highlighting the nuanced complexities of the social history of Macau.

Macanese cuisine has been uniquely referenced to not-dissimilar cuisines in Asia, including the Nyonya and Kristang cuisines of Malacca. Kristang in particular has influenced Macanese cuisine, but overlaps between Nyonya and Kristang have also been explored, and moved the debate for understanding emerging cuisines and their development both within Portuguese (and other colonial) projects, and beyond dominant colonial discourse.

The critical role of the black slave – a role rarely until recently registered and written into culinary history – has also been highlighted, therein embracing and paving the way, through Macanese cuisine, for exploring the diversity of actors involved in the development and maintenance of new cultural forms. From the vantage point of cuisine, such developments should be approached through multiple channels including agriculture and produce, and storage and preservation, through to cooking techniques and innovations, and changing patterns of consumption.

This author has moved the discourse around "mixed" cuisines beyond the usual monikers such as fusion and hybrid in order, through Macanese cuisine, to see cuisines not as fixed through terminology but as pliable and situational, therein also highlighting the problems of notions of pure form. It is suggested that cuisine – as a seat of culture – could, just like ethnicity, be situated in Homi Bhabha's Third Space. Scholarship has illustrated how material culture such as cuisine can be viewed as an important part of cultural identity, and the 2017 SurveyMonkey powerfully revealed that for the Macanese it makes little difference if patterns of consumption are daily or annual: cuisine remains a central tenet of identity. Further, the theoretical tool of situational ethnicity when applied to cuisine demonstrates how just as different situations can alter ethnic identification, the status of, attitudes to, and understanding of cuisine, are pliable.

Macanese cuisine has here been traced far beyond its somewhat lazy, certainly nostalgic definition as a fusion of Portuguese techniques with local ingredients

and Southeast Asian accents right through to the creation, around it, of a tension between self and state. This has been particularly highlighted following its UNESCO status as the world's first fusion food; and in its utilisation in contemporary, post-colonial Macau as part of both the tourism package and for reconfiguring the past. Yet we face another contradiction here because research as presented in this dissertation has continually shown up the lack of consensus as to what constitutes Macanese cuisine. The earlier analysis of the elaborate construction of French cuisine in the primordial sense includes ideas on how this vision was communicated and subsequently practiced in French society by families from all social sub-stratum. Such cohesion is not in evidence among the Macanese.

However, this dissertation and the publications which preceded it have uncovered a number of common themes around notions of cuisine through talking with Macanese in Macau, and reaching out to many more through SurveyMonkey. First is a reaction which talks of loss and nostalgia and of the past: that Macanese food is not what it used to be. Second is the range of identities placed upon Macanese cuisine itself. The cuisine is variously considered as similar to Cantonese; as a Southeast Asian cuisine; as a Portuguese-derived cuisine; as a local, Macau cuisine. Closely related to this is that, when asked to identify their favourite Macanese dish, several respondents named a dish which would be considered Portuguese.

The conflation of Macanese and Portuguese cuisines, or even the sublimation of Macanese cuisine under Portuguese cuisine, has particularly revealed itself in Macau in the past two or three decades, in the context of the proliferation of small Macanese and Portuguese restaurants, and those which might appear to represent both cuisines. This "confusion" is also evident in hotel restaurants, where menus do not attempt to distinguish between the two, and attempts to translate dish names from Portuguese (and/or Macanese patois) to English have been shown to create further confusion.

7.2 Contribution 2: The recipe as cultural text

The research journey has led this author to offer pioneering reconsiderations of the nature, purpose and meaning of the recipe. This has been of central concern as early attempts to gather recipes for the 2003 cookbook *Taste of Macau* were met with resistance. A few respondents, concerned that their cuisine was disappearing, shared recipes – tellingly two Macanese restaurant owners, and a published Macanese writer, for whom a desire to communicate about their culture and its cuisine had already been revealed. It was becoming clear that family recipes should be considered as family heirlooms, thus not destined to leave the family. As in other creolised cultures, the oral passing down of the recipe from one generation to the next forms part of the fabric of kinship.

It was striking, 15 years later, by way of evidence contained within SurveyMonkey questions, that attitudes to the recipe had hardly changed, even within the diaspora. This piece of funded research had taken as its crux the exploration of the place of memory in the meaning of Macanese cuisine in the context of diaspora. This movement of people had seen several waves, the most recent of which was driven by fears of socio-political changes following the impending 1999 Handover. The diaspora is well-organised, through the *Casa* movement, which hosts clubs in multiple cities across the world, and that allowed this author to reach hundreds of Macanese during the course of research. A question about recipes elicited responses such as apologetic comments about occasionally having to refer to one if, for example, "Auntie" could not be reached on the phone. The deep connection between mother and the passing down of the recipe to the next generation can be seen to take on deep resonance around death, loss, and ancestry. The tension between recipe as family heirloom and as a vehicle for preservation through publication remains. Recently (early 2022) a Macanese recipe bank has been created, curated by IFTM. This exercise has been attempted many times before, without conclusion, and for now at least even this bank remains "secret" – as if it holds its own threat.

This dissertation has applied etymological approaches to Macanese dishes in terms of ingredients, names, cooking techniques and visual presentation, and also the notion of Geertz' thick description to the community anthology of recipes created in Shanghai in the 1930s. Analysis of the nature of the anthology itself, the nature of the recipes themselves, the ingredients and methods contained therein, as well as the "editor's" comments and addendums, has led to some conclusions as to how the Macanese might see themselves, or how they might like to be seen, and this is as a multi-lingual, worldly, and sophisticated global community. It appears that the deeply felt idea of culinary acquisition through the ideal of Mother in the domestic kitchen has become just that – an ideal.

In the midst of resistance to recording recipes, there lies a tension in allowing them to circulate in the wider community, that is, beyond the family, in the form of such an anthology. This observation has led to another key proposition, and that is the notion of Benedict Anderson's imagined community, within this dissertation shown to be imagined through the "style" of cuisine. To help us understand these apparent contradictions more deeply, we have looked to Homi Bhabha and his in-between spaces. These spaces allow for the elaboration of strategies of selfhood, both personal and communal, which in turn produce new signs of identity as well as innovative sites of collaboration (and contestation) in the process of defining the very idea of community or society.

The act of recording a recipe in writing can be interpreted as the act of cementing and fixing and, in creolised societies, this process creates a tension between situational analysis and its opposition, the primordial. While cuisine is frequently referred to as being part of cultural identity, it can be seen as both a model of and a model for; its changing nature is symbolic of the fluid sense of identity, the situational ethnicity, of the Macanese. Ethnicity can be seen as dependent on a series of givens which Geertz calls congruities of traditions, of blood, of language, which are seen to have a sometimes-overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. On the one hand, applying this notion to foodways, cuisine is argued as plastic, as situational, but at the same time, as

the Shanghai anthology illustrates, cuisine can represent a primordial tie, in the form of an imagined community – particularly in the face and fact of diaspora. This author has never seen, nor heard mention of, this anthology in Macau.

7.3 Contribution 3: Tangible and non-tangible heritage in post-colonial Macau

Post-Handover, the Chinese government has illustrated a commitment to achieving UNESCO heritage listings for Macau. The promotion of historic buildings, including many from the Portuguese period, was deemed politically safe by Beijing, which has skilfully curated representations of tangible heritage. In 2005, a series of 22 buildings believed to be of historical and cultural importance were accorded UNESCO status, including the Mandarin House and A-Ma Temple – but also a number of historic Portuguese buildings, many of which had been renovated and restored by the final Portuguese government in the decade prior to Handover.

Attention was then turned by Beijing to intangible cultural heritage. Macanese cuisine, in a striking validation of the Macanese themselves, became a kind of poster child in Beijing's application for Macau to become a UNESCO Creative City of Gastronomy. It was granted such status in 2017, and Macanese cuisine was subsequently heralded by UNESCO as the world's first fusion cuisine. This is an apparent accolade as well as providing a savvy marketing mantra, yet its provision in post-colonial Macau has been shown to be poor and misunderstood. Even Macau residents and members of the hospitality industry have an incomplete understanding of its nature. Given its lack of visibility in the marketplace, in this newly imagined Macau, it seems today that it is the casino hotel restaurant chef – by government cultural mandate – who embodies, his professionally written recipe in-hand, the tension between the preservation of Macanese cuisine, and the potential for its corruption.

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APPENDIX

Overview of published works and conference speaking

PUBLICATIONS

Jackson, A. (forthcoming) 'Portuguese culinary legacy in Asia: an exploration of Macanese cuisine' in de Silva Jayasuriya, S. and Halikowski Smith, S. (eds.), *Global Portuguese: Legacies of Empire and Acculturation.* Leiden: Brill.

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CONFERENCE SPEAKING

Transoceanic Lusitanian Linguists and Cultures, Senate House (University of London), July 2020 [POSTPONED]

Encontro dos Macaenses. Macau, November 2019

Colloque European de la Gastronomie Traditionnelle. Perpignan, November 2015

Cosmopolitism in the Portuguese-speaking World. King's College (University of London), March 2014

Food Culture Conference: Cross-exchange between Hong Kong & France. Hong Kong Convention & Exhibition Centre, 2013

Gastronomy, Communication, and Heritage in the Diaspora: The Hong Kong Experience. Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2013

Foodways and Heritage: A Perspective of Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Heritage Museum of Hong Kong, 2013

II Encontro da Comuidade Juvenile Macaenses. Macau, 2012

Encontro dos Macaenses. Macau, 2010

Fusion Cuisine & Placemaking. Institute for Tourism Studies, Macau, 2006