

Walking MACAO, Reading the Baroque

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1. Senado Square

The impression visitors who do not penetrate the city of Macao to its old heart will get is of a capital of consumption, full of high-rise buildings, brightly coloured neon lights, and casinos. It is hard to link the two: the older colonised space and this new reclaimed land. Our chapter-title refers to Robert Venturi's 1977 book on the postmodern, *Learning from Las Vegas*. As Macao is often called the Las Vegas of Asia, and has a bigger turnover and better architecture than Las Vegas (though Las Vegas has also reached it in the form of the Venetian Resort on Cotai Strip), it seems particularly suggestive.

The photograph shows Macao's old centre, with buildings with porticos right and left hurrying away towards the vanishing-point of the photograph. A city, like its people, on the move, with buildings, like train-carriages, disappearing away from the spectator. Those famous wavy lines in the pavement look like stairs carrying people away. The angle of buildings on the left changes, begins to fold, and creates a sense of a space we cannot see. This is a guide-book to those obscure spaces in Macao, and to some of Macao's architecture, colonial history, its present and its past. Like Venturi who subtitles his book *The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, this book is interested in what is forgotten, in the symbolism still partly readable in Macao, and in architecture. The difference from most other books on Macao is that this book particularly explores baroque elements in Macao.



2. *Southwest Macao including Santa
Sancha*

Macao is known more for its gambling and Grand Prix (the 53rd in 2006) than for the baroque; it is on a hilly tip of southeast China, at the mouth of the Pearl River, forty miles from Hong Kong. It was once a Portuguese enclave, reverting to Chinese rule in 1999, two years after Hong Kong, and its rapid new developments are partly financed by its casinos.

The photograph looks towards the southwest part of Macao, so that the Inner Harbour is seen at the

right. It was taken from the site of a Portuguese fort on Penha Hill, and looks towards the area that had to be defended: in the centre may be seen the nineteenth-century Santa Sancha Palace (1846), which became the governor's residence in 1937. The palace was on the Praya Grande, which folds round towards the Inner Harbour; behind that is mainland China. The site is no longer a fort, but the courtyard in front of the church of Nossa Senhora da Penha, one of the highest points in Macao (sixty-three metres above sea level), looks towards the islands of Taipa and Coloane, now virtually indistinguishably connected. The new architecture of Macao proceeds apace in land reclamations that have turned the Praya Grande from a sea shore to a lake side, and in the bridges and the Macao tourist sight-seeing tower, not photographed. Designed by Gordon Moller of Craig, Craig, Moller & Associates, it is 388 metres high, and suitable for bungee-jumping. This new architecture, which offsets some very Mediterranean-looking villas in the hills below Penha, contrasts with the architecture of the church of Nossa Senhora da Penha, built in 1935, but replacing a church of 1622. The modern Madonna and child at the summit of the church rises into the air in contrast to the Macao Tower, standing on an older, perhaps seventeenth-century, plinth (see photograph 65).

Macao became a colonial city under Portuguese rule in the 1550s. Any visitor will see its self-confidence as a Chinese city, in its postmodern architecture and airport, in its quasi-Disneyland

developments, and in such events as the hosting of the Fourth East Asian Games, and the awarding of twenty-year licences to Stanley Ho's Sociedade de Jogos de Macau (SJM). Then there is the opening of the Las Vegas-style Wynn Resorts and the Galaxy Consortium, the Venetian Resort's split from Galaxy, the opening of the Sands Casino, and the hosting of conferences, such as the 54th PATA (Pacific Asia Travel Association) Annual Conference at the Convention and Entertainment centre at the Macao Tower.¹

But a visitor will discover old buildings, many of which are, loosely, baroque in style. Some are hidden away, though as Macao has become more conscious of itself as a heritage and tourist site, they are being cleaned up and made more accessible. There are twenty-five buildings and sites in it which belong to UNESCO world heritage, and these, all together comprise just one of thirty-one such sites throughout China.²

In the following list of heritage sites, the first three comprise fortifications, whose character is mainly pre-baroque:

1. The old city walls, which date back to the 1560s,
2. Monte Fort (Mount Fortress) (1617–1626),
3. Guia Fortress (1622–1638).

Others may be loosely considered as baroque:

4. Senado Square,
5. Santa Casa da Misericórdia (The Holy House of

- Mercy) (founded 1569, built 1700s, renovated 1905),
6. Igreja de São Domingos (St Dominic's Church),
 7. The Ruins of St Paul (1640),
 8. Dom Pedro V Theatre (1860–1873),
 9. Igreja de Santo Agostinho (St Augustine's Church) (1874),
 10. Igreja de São Lorenzo (St Lawrence's Church),
 11. Igreja e Seminário de São José (St Joseph's Seminary and Church) (1758),
 12. The Moorish Barracks (1841),
 13. Largo do Lilau (Lilau Square),
 14. Sir Robert Ho Tung Library (1894), originally belonged to D. Carolina Cunha, and bought by Sir Robert Ho Tung (1862–1956) in 1918; after his death the building was passed to the Macao government to be a public library.

In addition to these, there are neo-classical buildings, which have a complex relationship to the baroque:

15. Leal Senado (founded 1583, renovated 1783 and 1940),
16. Igreja de Santo António (St Anthony's Church),
17. Igreja de São Lázaro (St Lazarus' Church) (1954),
18. Igreja da Sé (The Cathedral) (1844, rebuilt 1938).

This book discusses these, and also those Chinese buildings which have become part of the UNESCO heritage:



3. Dom Pedro V Theatre and St Augustine's Church and a distant view of the Sir Robert Ho Tung Library

19. A-Ma temple (before 1555),
20. Sam Kai Vui Kun temple (after 1720s),
21. Lou Kau mansion (1889),
22. Na Tcha temple (1888–1901).

As the Chinese garden in formal terms may also relate to the baroque, three open spaces are discussed, two of which are memorials of colonialism:

23. Jardim de Luís de Camões (The Camões Garden) (eighteenth century), always in legend associated with Camões. The tradition says that he wrote his epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (*The*

4. Moongate, Mandarin's House



Lusiads) here, immediately after Macao became a Portuguese colony in 1557. A bronze bust of Camões was set up in the mid-nineteenth-century colonial Macao, thus making a claim to being the home of the national poet.

24. The Protestant cemetery (1814), originally part of the Casa Garden; a house built in the 1770s, and occupied by the British East Indian company.
25. The Lou Lim Ioc Chinese Garden (built by Lou Kau 1837–1906) and named for his son who invited an architect, Liu Jiliu, from Zhongshan, to create a garden in the style of Suzhou.

Included here is the Mandarin's House, which was owned by Zheng Guanying and his father Zheng Wenrui, and which was built around 1881. Running to about four thousand square metres at the corner of Barra Street and António da Silva Lane, it is a traditional Chinese-style compound, for master and servants, containing a number of buildings of traditional grey Chinese bricks. The orientation of the building is towards the northwest. In 2001, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao S.A.R. government bought it, and the house was, in 2007, under renovation.

Many of the buildings named are both baroque *and* colonial, which gives an added complexity, even a contradiction, to be worked out throughout this book. And Macao has many new buildings. Can these be called baroque? Does it make sense to think of baroque as a term applicable to postmodern

architecture, or as having any relationship to it? The question may be more relevant since it was in the moment of the postmodern that the baroque became highlighted as the object of some kinds of critical theory. This gives an incentive to think about contemporary, 'postcolonial' Macao as also constructed by the inspiration of the baroque, making Macao radically different from Hong Kong, which has virtually no European architectural heritage, and very few buildings older than 1900.³ Fisherman's Wharf as a modern commercial development could hardly exist in Hong Kong; its guiding spirit which sees European and American history as material for a 'theme-park' could only come from a culture which had been subjected to such European influences, which had them within its very grain and lived in them, knowing them in a way that Hong Kong quite simply neither did, nor does. This colonial history, which makes Macao as old as many European cities in terms of the artefacts it preserves, brands what is 'postmodern' within Macao as different from Hong Kong, which has little sense of being able to draw on or play with a European architecture which has now become 'heritage'. Perhaps the 'postmodern' does not apply to one set of concepts only; Hong Kong postmodern and Macao postmodern may be different in the degree of playfulness in the architecture.⁴ The difference between Hong Kong and Macao is this: Hong Kong has never had a colonial history which left interesting buildings for it to react against; Macao has, and its new buildings are consistently more interesting than Hong Kong's.

Explaining Terms — 1: Postmodernism

Walking Macao, Reading the Baroque studies all of the heritage, non-postmodern buildings listed above and some not listed. It also discusses some modern architecture, to see if there is anything ‘baroque’ in it. The concept of the ‘baroque’ is explored in the context of colonialism, postcolonialism and postmodernism, using terms derived from modern critical theory. Readers could treat this as a guide-book — both to Macao as a city (so that readers should bring the book with them to walk Macao’s streets) and to baroque as a concept. It is for readers on foot and in armchairs, since Macao is a library in which to read the baroque. Walking through Macao and reading the baroque can be done together. This book responds to Macao’s rich historical and visual culture and asks for readers who need a guide-book, one like Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice*, with its enthusiasm for Gothic architecture.

What is ‘postmodern’? It can apply to the art of the historical period which comes after modernism, a style which reacts against the functionalist and minimalist characteristics of modernism, and which tries to be popular.⁵ But it could also be defined, as by the art critic Hal Foster, as a drive or tendency which ‘destructures the order of representations’.⁶ Here, postmodernism breaks with the idea that art should represent, or reproduce, existing reality. At its limits, it toys with the idea that art represents reality, as with

Fisherman’s Wharf, which makes a ‘pastiche’ of the architectural styles it reproduces (pastiche imitates something without having any sense of criticism, as opposed to parodying it).⁷ When critics call postmodern styles decorative, superficial, refusing the concept of ‘depth’, saying that they are ‘kitsch’, it can be replied that postmodernism is refusing to refer to some reality that it feels it should reproduce. In doing so, it questions the authority implied in saying that other works of art have ‘depth of meaning’ and ‘essential truth’.

2: Baroque

There is a third form of postmodernism which relates to these two forms. The philosopher Alain Badiou (born 1937) has characterised the ideas of the polymath theorist Gilles Deleuze (1925–1995), who may be provisionally thought of as postmodernist, in this way:

Deleuze is ... the inventor of a contemporary baroque, in which our desire for the multiple, intermixtures, and the co-existence of universes free of any common rule — in sum, our planetary democratism — is able to recognise itself and unfurl. In short, we end up with Deleuze as the joyous thinker of the world’s confusion.⁸

Deleuze sees the baroque in terms of ‘the fold’, so that depth and surface, and the intricacies of what is pleated and wavy (like the wavy black lines in so many of Macao’s pavements), and what exists in light and shadow together, are part of both baroque and the postmodern. What Deleuze means by ‘the fold’ will become clearer in the next two chapters, after the historical baroque has been defined, but provisionally, contemporary baroque is a form of the postmodern. Some elementary definitions of the historical meanings of baroque — a Portuguese word — can be offered:

1. It is the name for an artistic movement, variously applied to art, sculpture, architecture, music, and even literature. It was broadly identified with Europe from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, coming out of mannerism and turning into rococo, and it is sometimes seen as Catholic in tendency.
2. The term often serves to describe a particularly complicated way of thinking and feeling. It has been said ‘what characterises baroque poetry is the repetition of conceit’.⁹ (A ‘conceit’ is a clever expression, or trick of language.) In baroque literature, playing and punning with language is pluralised and repeated.
3. Some discussions of baroque use it to describe a ‘top-down’, authoritarian culture which is both commanding and manipulating.
4. The baroque has been seen as a style which is also ‘heterogeneous’, containing things which cannot be categorised or generalised into a whole system. There is a contradiction here with definition 3, which will be discussed later. As the art of the heterogeneous, the baroque becomes associated with micro-narratives. This has made ‘baroque’ a significant term in recent criticism and cultural studies.

Photographing Spaces

Photographs in this book look at Macao's different spaces, as here, inside the Leal Senado: going up steps towards an arch on the other side of which is a garden.¹⁰ The steps are inside a virtual well enclosed by walls, and overlooked by balconies. The visitor has entered the well and is climbing up stairs lined by plants and *azulejos* [blue and white tiles]; at the landing, two sets of stairs will return to go on up further, framing the photograph like two coulisses. At the top of the wall, set into the balustrade, is a bell, a reminder of an older way of telling time and giving warning in the walled city. Embedded in the wall are only half-decipherable images: here, granite stone-work of Mary, Our Lady of Mercy, dispensing mercy to all, including the Pope. Above that is an architrave-cornice, whose design, common in Macao, is baroque. The street lamps are a reminder that this inside space is also an outside space. The drainpipes, bamboo-like and fluted, each have at the top two gargoyles, grotesque masks, with mouths open as water-spouts. Whenever they were made, they recall a Gothic tradition in the European middle ages which made such pagan, Dionysian figures and thought nothing of putting them next to sacred Christian images.¹¹ Other gargoyles can be seen in Macao, for instance, on the façade of St Paul's. The view at the foot of the stairs can be seen in photograph 57.

5. *Leal Senado*



6. *Leslie Cheung*

Photographs also illuminate the city as cinematic, not static but changing behind the apparent solidity of its buildings.¹² (Some of its squares are like film-sets; this artificiality needs exploring.) How the city relates to film appears in the photograph of Leslie Cheung, the famous Hong Kong singer and film star (e.g. *Happy Together* [1997]), who, on the evidence of photograph 6, visited Macao on

17 February 2001, and is pictured next to the boss of the souvenir shop, in a photograph of the shop which appears behind the two women. Another photograph is below them, which gives a reason for cropping the photograph of the star: in city-culture, nothing is seen whole, everyone has, as Andy Warhol says, but fifteen minutes of fame. The photographs, and those to the left, which have been cropped (the lower one showing the staff of the souvenir shop, whose work is selling cakes), give some of the several levels of reality in the photograph, which shows two women folding phoenix rolls, little pancakes, in the street. The shop is near the façade of St Paul's, and it suggests how many lives are rolled together into one moment, which holds the past and the present within it.

In this book photographs and text are equally important. Critical points are made with reference to one sole source of evidence: photographs (we have no reproductions of Chinnery, for instance). But there are problems associated with attempting to capture the city on camera (taking photographs that escape from being 'mere' tourist photography). Taking photographs is easy, especially with a digital camera which facilitates night-time photography, but it does not mean that the city is thereby fairly



7. *Government House by night*

‘represented’. Something escapes, since how a photograph is taken is framed and influenced by what we understand as photography, and by people’s pre-conceptions of what the city is like. A photograph says something about what is consciously considered significant in culture, but the danger here is that a photograph is always a cliché, and not to be looked at. Why do tourists photograph themselves in front of a historical building? Is it to remind ourselves that we have indeed been there? As if saying if we had not taken a photograph, we could not prove it, as if we no longer have memory. We need souvenirs, and photograph ourselves before we have truly seen the building: the copy (the photograph) precedes the original in the importance ascribed to it.

This is more ironic with Macao since colonial architecture is the art of the copy, reproducing the vernacular architecture of the colonising country. The photograph becomes the copy of the copy, what the postmodern theorist Jean Baudrillard called the ‘simulacrum’.¹³ Simulacral, pastiche architecture gets photographed in its turn by tourists: here photography does not respect authenticity, or difference: everything circulates as a photographic image. And the colonial building, while beautiful, may look like a pastiche of the original European

design. Take for example, Government House, (1849) designed by José Agostinho Tomás d’ Aquino (1804–1852), Macanese-born, but who studied in Lisbon, and returned to Macao in 1825. As a government building, it is stately, but it was built as a private palace for a Portuguese aristocrat, Alexandrino Antonio de Melo, Viscount of Cercal, after d’Aquino had completed Santa Sanchaz for him. As such, the central portico and the pediment above the flat roof are in excess, like the Corinthian columns. It is as if the colonial style wanted to exceed the Portuguese; the tendency towards excess is part of the ‘baroque’ but the pastiche element curiously anticipates Fisherman’s Wharf.

To photograph Macao becomes impossible because any photograph circulates in the realm of images which have become no more than clichés. That is why the city is unrepresentable. In a way, the task is to photograph an ‘invisible city’, or, by using photography, to find what photography cannot represent. The points raised in this paragraph are especially pertinent to Macao: while researching for this book, we could hardly find any images of the places that were not aimed at tourists. The ideal is to go beyond the conventional memory people have of Macao, by photographing it as baroque, so that behind the flat surface of the photograph on the

computer screen or as printed out, there are depths, folds and pleats, baroque characteristics, not noticed in conventional photography where images have been looked at to the point of saturation.

What gets photographed seals our relationship to what is thought of as culturally important. When buildings are used as backdrops for photographs of tourists, they are seen in what the Marxist theorist Walter Benjamin (1892–1941) called a state of ‘distraction’.¹⁴ People’s reaction to architecture is to take photographs of it, and perhaps to add themselves in the photographs, but not to concentrate on it. A photograph of a building is almost certainly not to be looked at; its fate is to be treated like any other photograph. But the photograph has the task of showing the city as that which cannot be represented, because of the multiplicity of images that circulate about it, destined to be consumed in a state of distraction.

Another problem of representation is that all its forms (including literature and photography, which is thought of as its most ‘realistic’ mode) turn the ‘otherness’ (or ‘strangeness’) of what is there to be seen into the language or imagery of the person who has the power of representation. To be able to represent is to control, but the controlling power

of that person (e.g. the photographer) is concealed. The power of representation appears as objective. To give an example: the realist and romantic paintings of Macao by George Chinnery (1774–1852), discussed in chapter 9, are truly admirable. But there is a sense in which he patronises the Chinese fisherfolk he represents and looks on them with a colonial eye that miniaturises them. To represent or ‘capture’ something in photography is to kill it, when what is expected in photography is that it will show everything and put everything on display.

Unsurprisingly, modern photographs of Macao tend to duplicate each other. But the modern city, like Macao, challenges the photographer to do otherwise than reproduce a cliché. The city is always in change, always in process, its buildings always under scaffolding or modification. It was impossible to photograph the Senado Square without some exceptional event taking place in it: it has no normal state. It would be good to say that the photographs are a creation, not a mere ‘record’ of the ‘real’ Macao, so making the city live in a way which gives detail where the eye could only see an impression, thereby doubling its existence. Digital technology adds something to the picture, but something still escapes the eye. Something in the picture, as in what

is to be seen, resists being domesticated into full revelation to the eye. There is something missing to the viewer's vision in what is commonly called 'the picture'. A commonplace statement in art history is that anything we look at must be discussed in terms which assume that it is a 'picture', or a 'landscape' — a word itself deriving from art history. Because of this sense that there is something missing in every photograph, one trick played here is to not have necessarily matched up the description with the 'right' photograph, preferring a 'montage' effect, with a diverse text and picture.

Theorising the Baroque

Beginnings of modern attention to the baroque came with Heinrich Wölfflin's *Renaissance and Baroque* (1888), which focused attention on churches in Rome, such as the Jesuit church, the Gesù, which was the work of Vignola (1580), or Santa Susanna, the work of Maderno (1603).¹⁵ The Society of Jesus had been approved by Pope Paul III in 1540: baroque meant, for the French, *le style jésuite*.¹⁶ For Wölfflin, baroque architecture is 'painterly', striving after the effects of art, and he thought of it in terms of *movement* in contrast to the severe, static, style of the classical:

If the beauty of a building is judged by the enticing effects of moving masses, the restless jumping forms or violently swaying ones which seem constantly on the point of change, and not by balance and solidity of structure, then the strictly architectonic conception of architecture is depreciated. In short, the severe style of architecture makes its effect by what it *is*, by its corporeal substance, while painterly architecture [baroque] acts through what it *appears* to be, that is, an illusion of movement.¹⁷

Since Wölfflin, the concept of the 'baroque' has been taken over for modern critical theory, and so becomes crucial for 'modernism' and 'postmodernism'. In part, this is because of its use in the work of Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) in *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (1928), a text discussed in this book. Much of what has appeared on allegory and more specifically the baroque has been influenced by Benjamin's study.

The postmodern cannot be spoken of as though it was simply the opposite of the baroque, since *Baroque Poetry* defines the baroque as repeating images, as artificial, as echoing things through what

the editors call the baroque's favourite topics, 'the echo and the mirror' (xvi). It seems then that the early modern baroque responded to, and created in, the absence of a norm. *Baroque Poetry* argues that 'modern man ... like his baroque predecessor, faces a fragmented and puzzling world with no guidelines save those of his own making' (xvii). The baroque is echoed in the postmodern, which is its mirror. If Macao is trying to become modern or postmodern in its architecture, it is not necessarily ceasing to be baroque.

French critical theory from the 1960s onwards used the baroque as a critical tool or concept. This applies to Roland Barthes (1915–1982),¹⁸ Deleuze, Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), Michel Foucault (1926–1984)¹⁹ and Jacques Lacan (1900–1981), whose writings are often called baroque, and who also discusses baroque art and architecture. Another theorist who uses Benjamin and the baroque is Christine Buci-Glucksmann, writing on modernity in France. Another take comes from Latin America, from such writers as Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986), Alejo Carpentier (1904–1980),²⁰ the Cuban writer Severo Sarduy (1937–1993) in *Barroco* (1974), and Octavio Paz (1914–1998) who discusses baroque 'novelty and surprise'.²¹ Other writers drawn on for this book are the Spanish historian José Antonio

Maravall, Roberto Echevarría for Spanish and Latin American literature, the Italian critic Mario Perniola, and art critics such as Robert Harbison, whose recent study of the subject includes a chapter on colonial baroque, with examples taken mainly from Latin America.²² 'Baroque' has been used in many contexts: art, architecture, literature, and in relationship to modernity and the postmodern. The opportunity to focus on its diverse meanings through looking at it in both its vitality and its vestiges, in a colonial and postcolonial city which can be explored easily in a day, is irresistible.²³

Notes

Chapter One

¹ This material is taken from Mao Sihui, 'Desire for the (Hyper) Real: New Challenges for Macao Tourism in the Age of Simulation', *Chinese Cross Currents* 3.1 (2006) 66–82, specifically 66–7.

² See on Macao, César Guillén Nuñez, *Macao* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1984) and César Guillén Nuñez and Leong Ka Tai, *Macao Streets* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1999). On Portuguese baroque, see James Lee-Milne, *Baroque in Spain and Portugal* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1960); see also Carl A. Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668–1703* (London: Macmillan, 1981). For an introduction to the architecture of Portugal, see José Manuel Fernandes, *Synthesis of Portuguese Culture: Architecture* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1991). See also Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macao: A Cultural Janus* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1999), and Jonathan Porter, *Macao, the Imaginary City: Culture and Society, 1557 to the Present* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996). David Clarke, 'Illuminating Facades: Looking at Post-Colonial Macau', *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol. 6, issue 3, 2007, 395–419.

³ On Hong Kong architecture see Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1997) 63–90, and *The Heritage of Hong Kong: Its History,*

Architecture and Culture, ed. Norman Owen (Hong Kong: FormAsia Books Ltd., 1999) 30–57. David Clarke, *Reclaimed Land: Hong Kong in Transition* (Hong Kong University Press, 2002) and *HONG KONG x 24 x 365: A Year in the Life of a City* (Hong Kong University Press, 2006), and more informally, Jason Wordie, *Streets: Exploring Hong Kong Island* (Hong Kong University Press, 2002).

⁴ Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, 'The Idea of Hong Kong: Structures of Attention in the City of Life', *Urban Space and Cityscapes: Perspectives from Modern and Contemporary Culture*, ed. Christoph Lindner (New York: Routledge, 2006) 63–76, and for colonial architecture generally, see Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

⁵ For this reason, Walter Benjamin's essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970) is often seen as a founding text of postmodern theory. See also Charles Jencks' books, starting with *Post-modernism: The New Classicism in Art and Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), Robert Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977). Jencks dates the ending of modernism with the destruction of the Pruitt-Igoe high-rise modernist buildings in St Louis, Missouri in 1972.

⁶ *Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (London: Pluto Press, 1985) xv. The theorist who has discussed this most fully is Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984). Lyotard says, 'simplifying to the utmost, I define postmodernism as incredulity towards meta-narratives' (xiii). Postmodernism works with micro-narratives, not grand-narratives.

⁷ See Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

⁸ Alain Badiou, *Deleuze, the Clamour of Being*, trans. Louise Burchill (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) 10.

⁹ *Baroque Poetry*, ed. J.P. Hill and E. Caracciolo-Trejo (London: Dent, 1975) xv.

¹⁰ For Macao's gardens, see Francisco M. Caldeira Cabral, Annabel Jackson and Leong Ka Tai, *Macao Gardens and Landscape Art* (Hong Kong: Fundação Macau & Asia 2000 Ltd., 1999).

¹¹ For medieval gargoyles, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

¹² *Cinematic City*, ed. David B. Clarke (London: Routledge, 1997).

¹³ See *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*, ed. Mark Poster (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

¹⁴ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations* 240.

¹⁵ On Wölfflin, see Michael Ann Holly, 'Imagining the Baroque', *Past Looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) 90–111.

¹⁶ Anthony Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome* (London: Granada, 1982) 43.

¹⁷ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, trans. Kathryn Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964) 29–30.

¹⁸ Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976). By discussing the Jesuits as the 'heirs and propagators of Latin rhetoric' (39), Barthes draws attention to the baroque as a form of rhetoric, an art of persuasion.

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock, 1970) 11.

²⁰ See Alejo Carpentier's novel *Concierto barroco* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1974), and Roberto González Echevarría, *Alejo Carpentier: The Pilgrim at Home* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977) 266–71.

²¹ Octavio Paz, *Children of the Mire*, trans. Rachel Phillips (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974) 2.

²² See Mario Perniola, *Enigmas: The Egyptian Moment in Society and Art*, trans. Christopher Woodall (London: Verso, 1995); Robert Harbison, *Reflections on Baroque* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000) 164–91.

²³ For discussion of the baroque and the postmodern, see Gregg Lambert, *The Return of the Baroque in Modern Culture* (London: Continuum, 2004). For its use in French literature of the seventeenth century, see 'Baroque Topographies: Literature, History, Philosophy', *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991). This includes a translation of part of Deleuze's *The Fold*, where the translator comments on the difference between 'pli' (for organic matter) and 'repli' for inorganic. He translates 'pli' as 'fold' and 'repli' as 'coil', since the latter 'invokes the movements of a reptile [...], the idea of folding in on oneself and the springs ... which Deleuze says underlie Leibnizian matter' (227).

Chapter Two

¹ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: Verso, 1977) 140.

² On Goa, see José Pereira, *Baroque Goa: The Architecture of Portuguese India* (New Delhi: Books and Books, 1995); José Pereira, *Churches of Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002); Helder Carita, *Palaces of Goa: Models and Types of Indo-Portuguese Civil Architecture* (London: Cartago, 1999).

³ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999) 522.

⁴ The building of this convent is the subject of José Saramago's magic realist novel, *Baltasar & Blimunda* (1982), trans. Giovanni Pontiero (London: Harvill, 1998).

⁵ Yves Bottineau, *Living Architecture: Iberian-American Baroque* (London: Macdonald, 1971) 16.

⁶ Decentring is an aspect of the baroque and described by Ruskin in his account of *Christ Bearing His Cross* by Tintoretto (1518–1594): 'The power of the picture is chiefly in effect, the figure of Christ being too far off to be very interesting, and only the malefactors being seen on the nearer path; but for

this very reason it seems to me more impressive, as if one had been truly present at the scene, though not exactly in the right place for seeing it' (428). See John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin vol. 11: The Stones of Venice Part 3*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904).

⁷ Fernando R. de la Flor, *Barroco: Representacion e Ideologia en el Mundo Hispanico (1580–1680)* (Catedra: Madrid, 2000). We owe this reference to Jonathan Hall.

⁸ Dalibor Vesely, *Architecture in the Age of Divided Representation: The Question of Creativity in the Shadow of Production* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004) 438, associates rocaille (discussed 223–4) with the cult of the grotesque: we shall return to this through discussion of the Camões grotto in chapter 10.

⁹ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976) 65.

¹⁰ Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, trans. Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

¹¹ 'Paris taught me this art of straying; it fulfilled a dream that had shown its first traces in the labyrinths on the blotting pages of my school exercise books' — Walter Benjamin, 'A Berlin Chronicle', *Reflections*:

Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken Books, 1978) 9.

¹² Jorge Luis Borges, 'Death and the Compass', *Collected Fictions*, trans. Andrew Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998) 147–56, at 156.

¹³ *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2005) 7.

Chapter Three

¹ See Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1993) plate 112, p. 114.

² See Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967) 128–41.

³ José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), quoting Jean Rousset, *La littérature de l'âge baroque en France: Circé et le paon* (Paris: Corti, 1954) 168.

⁴ The parergon, as that which disturbs the sense of the borders of the artwork, is the theme of Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff

Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) 37–82; see also Derrida's chapter 'Cartouches', 183–284.

⁵ These do not form the symmetry implied in Roland Barthes's critical study of Balzac's novella *Sarrasine*, which is called *S/Z* (and which is a commentary on baroque culture through its discussion of the Italian opera castrato: opera itself is a baroque form). Instead, it creates a pattern of *Z/S*, and so plays even more with sexual difference than Barthes's title does (*Sarrasine* is the naive male hero, *Zambinella* is the castrato with whom he falls in love, thinking she is a woman). *Z/S* makes gender even more unstable, sexual difference completely interchangeable, just as Deleuze argues that the baroque is the world of 'impossibilities', a point which he illustrates from Borges' short story 'The Garden of Forking Paths' (a fantasia where a Chinese who must kill an Englishman is confronted with a garden which is also a book) and which presents what Deleuze calls 'a baroque labyrinth whose infinite series converge or diverge, forming a web of time embracing all possibilities' (*The Fold* 62). In Deleuze's version of Borges' baroque, everything happens, and everything also reverses; so that an action done may be undone at the same moment. See chapter 8, above.

⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles*, trans. Barbara Harlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) 115.

⁷ Quotation from the Norton Shakespeare, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

⁸ Jorge Luis Borges, *Collected Fictions*, trans. Andrew Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999) 4.

⁹ For a study of the significance of the Escorial and Simancas, see Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin-American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and Louis Lo, *Male Jealousy: Literature and Film* (London: Continuum, 2008) 58–62.

¹⁰ Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* 78.

¹¹ Octavio Paz, *Children of the Mire: Modern Poetry from Romanticism to the Avant-Garde* 2.

¹² Lacan calls the Symbolic Order, which is language, the Law of the Father; and its first activity is to gender the child, creating the norms of sexual difference. The dead writing in the grave suggests the dead character of the law.

¹³ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* 218. Freud thinks of a dream as a 'picture-puzzle', which he calls a 'rebus': making a link between allegory and the idea of a dream as writing, as allegorical inscription. See Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams: Penguin Freud 4* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976) 382.

¹⁴ Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* 166.

Chapter Four

¹ For the symbolism of the burning heart, see Jeremy Tambling, 'Thinking Melancholy: Allegory and the Vita Nuova', *Romanic Review* 96 (2005) 85–105, at 100, fn37.

² Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema I*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) 109.

³ Lacan refers to the body in pieces in Jacques Lacan, 'The Mirror Stage', *Écrits*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock, 1977) 4. Compare this image with the French artist Géricault's studies of dissected limbs, between 1818 and 1819. See Lorenz E.A. Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London: Orbis, 1983) 181–2. Géricault and these relics both contemplate psychic and bodily fragmentation, and this could be seen as a baroque drive to fragment reality.

⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963) 254–5.

⁵ Saint Teresa of Avila, *The Life of Saint Teresa of Avila*, trans. J.M. Cohen (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958) 210.

⁶ Jacques Lacan, 'God and the *Jouissance* of The Woman: A Love Letter' (*Seminar XX* (1972–73)) in *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the École Freudienne*, ed. Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose (London: Macmillan, 1982) 137–48, at 147.

⁷ Jacques Derrida, 'Force and Signification', *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (London: Routledge, 1978) 3–30, at 6. Derrida is reviewing Jean Rousset's *Forme et signification: essais sur les structures littéraires de Corneille à Claudel*. He quotes Jean Rousset, 'Hell is a world in pieces, a pillage that the poem imitates closely through its disordered shouts, bristling with scattered tortures in a torrent of exclamations. The sentence is reduced to its disordered elements, the framework of the sonnet is broken: the lines are too short or too long, the quatrains unbalanced; the poem bursts' (302). See Jean Rousset, *La littérature de l'âge baroque en France, vol. 1: Circe et le paon* (Paris José Corti, 1954) 194.

Chapter Five

¹ For a detailed study, see Manuel Teixeira, *The Church of St Paul in Macao* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos da Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1979). See also Gonçalo Couceiro and Luís Sales Marques, *St. Paul's Church Fortress of the Monte* (Macao: Gabinete de Comunicação Social, 1990). For early Macao, see C.R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century*

Macau, in Contemporary Documents and Illustrations (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1984). See also César Guillén Nuñez, *Macao's Church of St. Paul: A Glimmer of the Baroque in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008).

² On a discussion of staircases, see Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) 278–84, 335–6.

³ See Jacques Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis 1959–1960, Seminar VII*, trans. Dennis Porter (London: Routledge, 1992) 135 and Denis Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, trans. Betsy Wing (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

⁴ See Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion, and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Aporias*, tran. Thomas Dutoit (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 43.

⁶ Su Shi's poem 《食荔枝二首（其二）》：「羅浮山下四時春，盧桔楊梅次第新。日啖荔枝三百顆，不辭長作嶺南人。」 [It is always Spring at the foot of Mount Law Fo, Lou Chee's cherry is always fresh. Eating lychees three hundred per day, do not want to quit and stay at Lingnan.] (trans. Lo)

⁷ Roberto González Echevarría, *Celestina's Brood: Continuities of the Baroque in Spanish and Latin American Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) 198.

⁸ Xu Zhonglin, *Creation of the Gods* (2 vols.) (1567–1619), trans. Gu Zhizhong (Beijing: New World Press, 1992). See the birth and reincarnation of Na Tcha (or Nezha) in chapters 12–14. Na Tcha is also a figure of the Monkey King in Wu Cheng'en, *The Journey to the West* (4 vols.), trans. Anthony C. Yu (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977).

⁹ Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis* 140.

¹⁰ For the martyrdoms of Jesuits in Japan, see C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951) 334–5 and 358, for the 1597 incident, see 163–7 and 416–24. Boxer shows illustrations of Japanese crucifixions, which compare interestingly with the painting here.

¹¹ Sir Thomas Browne, 'Urn-Burial', *Religio Medici Hydriotaphia, and The Garden of Cyrus*, ed. Robin Robbins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) 127.

¹² Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977) 88–9.

¹³ Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *La folie du voir: De l'esthétique baroque* (Paris: Galilée, 1986) 41.

Chapter Six

¹ For this history, see *China and Macao*, ed. Clive Willis (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) xiii–xxviii. This book gives excellent excerpts of early writings about China and Macao in the years 1513–1557, and of the Jesuit missions in China: it goes up to the end of the 1660s in scope.

² On Macao history, see César Guillén Nuñez, *Macao* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1984). We have used colonial names because of the nineteenth-century context.

³ The point is made by R.D. Cremer, ‘Macao’ s Place in the History of World Trade’, in R.D. Cremer, *Macao: City of Commerce and Culture* (Hong Kong: UEA Press, 1987) 35.

⁴ Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (London: Faber, 1984) 173.

⁵ *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610*, trans. Louis J. Gallagher (New York: Random House, 1953) 129.

⁶ Jorge Graça, *Fortifications of Macao: Their Design and History* (2nd edition, Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Turismo de Macao, 1984) 20.

⁷ The reference is to Walter Benjamin’s ‘angel of history’, who seems to be in a state of trauma. See Benjamin, ‘Theses on the Philosophy of History’, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Fontana Press, 1922) 249.

⁸ See Jaime Lara, ‘A Vulcanological Joachim of Fiore and an Aerodynamic Francis of Assisi in Colonial Latin America’, *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005) 249–72.

⁹ Kristeva writes, ‘For abjection, when all is said and done, is the other facet of religious, moral, and ideological codes on which rest the sleep of individuals and the breathing spells of societies. Such codes are abjection’s purification and repression. But the return of their repressed make up our “apocalypse”, and that is why we cannot escape the dramatic convulsions of religious crises’. See Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 209.

¹⁰ Jacques Derrida, ‘On a Newly Arisen Apocalyptic Tone in Philosophy’, *Raising the Tone of Philosophy: Late Essays by Immanuel Kant, Transformative Critique by Jacques Derrida*, ed. Peter Fenves (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) 117–71.

¹¹ *Impressions of the East: The Art of George Chinnery* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History and Hong Kong Museum of Art, 2005) 157.

Chapter Seven

¹ C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1977) 27.

² Michel Foucault, 'Different Spaces', *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, trans. Robert Hurley et al., ed. James D. Faubion (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1994) 175–85.

³ For the lighthouse, see César Guillén Nuñez, 'Macao's Heritage: The Guia Lighthouse', *Arts of Asia* 22 (July–August 1992) 92–103.

⁴ John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (1853), *The Works of John Ruskin vol. 11: The Stones of Venice Part 2* vol. 10, 202–3.

Chapter Eight

¹ William Blake: *Collected Writings*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966) 152.

² Jorge Luis Borges, *Collected Fictions*, trans. Andrew Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999) 124.

³ The only extant picture of a Shakespearean theatre, the De Witt picture of the Swan, shows the audience in galleries behind the stage, looking down onto the actors who are on stage. It is also surmised that the people in these galleries may also be actors. Benjamin describes how the baroque plays used improvised stages, whereas the classical and Renaissance theatre assigned fixed positions to the actor and audience. In this way, the baroque confuses roles and disallows the single vision of the audience.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock, 1970) 14.

⁵ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Maurice Merleau-Ponty Basic Writings*, ed. Thomas Baldwin (London: Routledge, 2004) 297.

⁶ For the implications of this formulation in 'New Historicist' readings of Shakespeare, see Leonard Tennenhouse, *Power on Display: The Politics of Shakespeare's Genres* (New York: Methuen, 1986).

⁷ Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema II: The Time-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989) 117.

⁸ Jacques Lacan, *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* 97.

⁹ See Louis Lo, *Male Jealousy: Literature and Film* (London: Continuum, 2008) chapter 1.

Chapter Nine

¹ See César Guillén Nuñez, 'Macao through the Eyes of Nineteenth Century Painters' in *Macao: City of Commerce and Culture*, ed. R.D. Cremer (Hong Kong: UEA Press, 1987) 55–6, John Webber's (1751–1793) illustration of the Mage temple from the sea (1788) is reproduced in Cremer (36); see also no. 15, 80 of *Views of the Pearl River Delta: Macao, Canton and Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Museum of Art and Peabody Essex Museum, 1996). For Webber, and George Carter, both associated with Captain Cook, see Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 225–40. The catalogue *Views of the Pearl River Delta* reproduces two works by Borget: a hand-coloured lithograph, *The Square outside the Ma Kok [A Ma] Temple* (no. 14, 78) and a pencil sketch, *Chinese Figures and Boat Dwellings* (no. 17, 84).

² On the diorama, see William H. Galperin, *The Return of the Visible in British Romanticism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993).

³ Linda Nochlin, *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994).

⁴ Charles Baudelaire, *Selected Writings on Art and Artists*, trans. P.E. Charvet (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) 403.

⁵ See *Views of the Pearl River Delta: Macao, Canton and Hong Kong*, no. 10, 70; see also *Impressions of the East: The Art of George Chinnery* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History and Hong Kong Museum of Art, 2005) plate 43, 124. See Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1993) plate 127, 199 and colour plate 71, 200 (henceforward, referred to in the text as Conner 1993) and *Views of the Pearl River Delta: Macao, Canton and Hong Kong*, colour plate C48, 128. Note the exception, in Conner 1993 (plate 128, 200), of a pencil sketch, *Tanka Boatwoman Rowing* in plate 128. For renderings of ships and port scenes, see Patrick Conner, *Chinese Views: Western Perspectives 1770–1870: The Sze Yuan Tang Collection of China Coast Paintings and The Wallem Collection of China Coast Ship Portraits* (London: Asia House, 1996). See also for Chinnery collections in Henry Berry-Hill and Sidney Berry-Hill, *George Chinnery, 1774–1852, Artist of the China Coast* (Leigh on Sea, F. Lewis, 1963), Ernest S. Dodge, *George Chinnery, 1774–1852, and Other Artists of the Chinese Scene* (Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, 1967), Robin Hutcheon, *Chinnery* (Hong Kong: FormAsia, 1989), Conner, *Chinese Views: Western Perspectives 1770–1870* and *Impressions of the East: The Art of George Chinnery*.

⁶ Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal* (London: Picador, 1987) 269.

⁷ Charles Baudelaire, *Art in Paris 1845–1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions*, trans. & ed. Jonathan Mayne (New York: Phaidon, 1965) 26.

⁸ Robin Hutcheon, *Souvenirs of Auguste Borget* (Hong Kong: SCMP, 1979) 7, reprints another version of a parallel scene, thus indicating how the picture is not the rendering of a single moment, but more generic.

⁹ Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* plate 113, 184.

¹⁰ William J. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1911) 149, 156. See the pictures of Canton in the catalogue for the exhibition in *Views of the Pearl River Delta* 138–200: In this volume, Conner (19) locates the source for the panorama in no. 54 (170), which is a panoramic view of Canton across the rooftops of the foreign factories. Dated 1810, it comes from the Chinese export trade, possibly from the artist Tonequa. See also no. 59 (180).

¹¹ Dodge, *George Chinnery, 1774–1852, and Other Artists of the Chinese Scene* vii.

¹² Harriett Low Hillard, *My Mother's Journal: A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila*,

Macao and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829–1834, ed. Katharine Hillard (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1900). See Rosemarie W.N. Lamas, *Everything in Style: Harriett Low's Macau* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006) for a very thorough reading of Harriett Low's Diaries, and of the Macao culture they reveal.

¹³ Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast*, colour plate 53, 172; Hutcheon, *Chinnery* (Hong Kong: FormAsia, 1989) 78, and *Impressions of the East*, 100.

¹⁴ In another, his wife is shown playing the harp. This is not extant, but one survives of the husband and wife, where she plays the harp, and he sits across the picture; behind is a classical pillar and red draperies, and no association with China. (Conner 1993, colour plate 95, 229) On the use of music in portraiture, with special reference to Johan Zoffany (1733–1810), in India between 1783–1789, see Richard Leppert, 'Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism: Images of British Subjects at Home in India', *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 63–104. In 1844, Chinnery sent 'Portrait of Assor', 'A "Tanka" boat-girl of Macao in China'. See Henry and Sidney Berry-Hill, *George Chinnery, 1774–1852, Artist of the China Coast*.

¹⁵ For these two paintings, see Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* colour plate 96, 232; *Impressions of the East* 100, and colour plate C20 and plate C21, 108. For Chinnery's self-portrait, see Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* colour plate 102, 242 and *Impressions of the East* colour plate B14, 61.

¹⁶ For the association of the fingers and blindness, especially in representations of blindness in the Bible, see Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Nasse (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 4–15.

¹⁷ See Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* (1993) colour plates 86 and 87, 214–5 and Hutcheon, *Chinnery* 52 for William Jardine; and Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852*, colour plate 88, 218 for Henry Wright.

¹⁸ Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins* 70.

¹⁹ Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* 272; see also Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 204–5 for a comparison with Sir Thomas Lawrence.

²⁰ See Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* 74 for the stain, 88 for the anamorphosis as the stain within the picture, 95–7 for the subject in the picture as a stain, 207–8 for aphanisis.

²¹ Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind* 68–9. Derrida's point about the ruin is relevant, yet he critiques Benjamin for seeing the ruin as a theme of baroque culture only. 'It is precisely not a theme, for it ruins the theme, the position, the presentation or representation of anything and everything'. The point is valid, if — as is not shown or proved by Derrida — Benjamin uses the word 'theme'. But it is unfortunate, because it essentialises the ruin, and so erases the historical reference which is essential to this book.

²² Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Religion*, ed. Gil Anidjar (London: Routledge, 2002) 278.

²³ *Impressions of the East* plate 72, 147 and plate 58, 136.

²⁴ *Views of the Pearl River Delta* plate 20, 90.

²⁵ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Age of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Verso, 1973) 176.

²⁶ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* 178.

Chapter Ten

¹ Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* plate 150, 231.

² Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* plate 151, 223, and plate 70, 145.

³ Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* chapter 4, ed. Michael Mason (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003) 40.

⁴ For detail of this cemetery, see Lindsay and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*, ed. Bernard Mellor (Hong Kong: Hong University Press, 1996).

⁵ See John Prendergast's 1843 pencil-on-paper, *Protestant Cemetery and Macao*, in *Views of the Pearl River Delta: Macao, Canton and Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Museum of Art and Peabody Essex Museum, 1996) no. 16, 82.

⁶ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760–1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989).

⁷ Views of this grotto, by Thomas and William Daniell, appear in *Views of the Pearl River Delta* 66, no. 8, and Conner, *George Chinnery 1774–1852:*

Artist of India and the China Coast colour plate 65, 186.

⁸ The Portuguese name of the poem is itself puzzling: it can be a masculine or feminine plural, it does not appear in the poem, save in the title, and it seems to have been created in the sixteenth century to mean 'the sons of Lusus', a name relating to the Latin name for present-day Portugal, Lusitania. The humanist André de Resende (1500–1573) gave the title to Camões, saying that 'from Lusus, whence Lusitania gets its name, we call the Lusitanians Lusíadas ...'. Harold V. Livermore, 'On the Title of *The Lusíadas*', in *Empire in Transition: The Portuguese World in the Time of Camões*, ed. Alfred Hower and Richard A. Preto-Rodas (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1985) 164.

⁹ Lawrence Lipking, 'The Genius of the Shore: Lycidas, Adamastor and the Poetics of Nationalism', *PMLA* 111 (1996) 215.

¹⁰ For discussion of Adamastor, see David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 113–30. See also Jonathan Crewe, 'Recalling Adamastor: Literature as Cultural Memory in "White" South Africa', in Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer, *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover, University Press of New England, 1999) 75–86.

¹¹ William C. Atkinson, translating *The Lusiads* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952) 8–9. The history is described in C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).

¹² Jack E. Tomlins, ‘Gil Vicente’s Vision of India and Its Ironic Echo in Camões’ “Velho do Restelo”’, *Empire in Transition: The Portuguese World in the Time of Camões* 175.

¹³ Luís de Camões, *The Lusiads*, trans. Landeg White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 194–5. Atkinson’s translation is in prose; a free verse translation of Camões’ *ottava rima* appears in the version by Landeg White, *The Lusiads* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁴ Bernhard Klein, “‘We are not Pirates’: Piracy and Navigation in *The Lusiads*”, in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder 1550–1650*, ed. Claire Jowitt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997) 105–17.

¹⁵ See Hans Turley, *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality and Masculine Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1999) for a suggestive bibliography here.

Chapter Eleven

¹ For Mário Duarte Duque, Adalberto Tenreiro, Luís Tomás Pineiro Nagy, Maria José de Freitas, Joy Tin Tin Choi, Manuel Vicente, Carlos Moreno and Carlos Baracho (architects of the Museum of Macao, referred to in chapter 7), see *Macao Contemporary Architecture*, ed. Yan Chang (Macao: China Architecture and Building Press, 1999). There are many more architects and buildings in modern Macao than we can discuss here. See also special issue of *Dialogue: Architecture + Design + Culture*, ed. Weijen Wang (October 1999).

² For the distinction between molar and molecular, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Athlone Press, 1983) 181.

³ Anthony Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome* (London: Granada, 1982) 137.

⁴ See for a reproduction of the latter, Alastair Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1983) plate 55, see also pp. 176–7.

Chapter Twelve

¹ Paolo Veronese, *Venice Triumphant* (1584), 904 x 580 cm, Sala del Gran Consiglio, Doge's Palace, Venice. See, for a reproduction, Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese* (Florence: Scala, 1998) 66.

² Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage, 1982) discusses the modern age of the photography as giving 'flat Death'. 'One day, leaving one of my classes, someone said to me with disdain: "You talk about Death very flatly." — As if the horror of Death were not precisely its platitudinousness!' (93). He sees the modern as marked by the problem that there is nothing to say about death, that it produces indifference.

Index of Macao Places

Numbers in *italics* refer to photographs, numbers in **bold** refer to detailed discussion of places which we hope will help the visitor at each site. Numbers in italics and bold refer to both.

The Index of place-names suffers from the problem of knowing whether to reference names in Portuguese or English (and how accurately to Romanise Chinese names). We have tried to index names on the basis of what is most familiar to people, but there are bound to be inconsistencies here, not least because of different nationalities visiting or living in Macao, and places where the authors' judgment will differ from that of the reader. We know that Praya Grande should be Praia Grande, but decided eventually to use the more common spelling. Even the choice 'Macao' or 'Macau' is not free from controversy.

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