

Macau: A Gateway to World History

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INTRODUCTION

Urban morphology, the formal expression of a city at any given time, is a summation of human interactions with a specific locale. The evolution of a city's morphology reflects the unique history of the settlement and is expressed in its vertical and horizontal dimensions including built structures, skyline, land uses, orientation, and spatial extension. This paper explores the dynamic nature of the urban morphology of one city in East Asia, Macau.

Lying 65 kilometers west of Hong Kong, Macau, on first sight, triggers one's imagination. Its romantic and turbulent history is hinted at in its hills dotted with luxurious Rococo houses, splendid baroque churches, fortresses, and tree-lined avenues collectively proclaiming its strong Iberian connections. In the shadow of the hills are factories, bustling casinos, restaurants, shops, and temples, many with a strong Chinese flavour.

Macau is a tiny place. Its peninsula and two islands together comprise only 24 square kilometers of land. This paper is concerned mainly with the peninsular section, the urban region, of Macau. Nearly 500 years of history are condensed into the small area confined between two bays. Macau has withstood the trials and tribulations of the meeting of two worlds and today reflects both its European and Asian heritage. My first visit to Macau was in 1961. Since then, I have revisited the city twice, most recently in the spring of 2002. I was amazed to see the dynamic changes that have taken place over the last four decades.

From its origins as an obscure Chinese fishing base in the early 16th century, Macau emerged as the first Portuguese commercial outpost and Christian toehold in East Asia. Despite attempts by the Chinese, Spanish and Dutch to assume control, Macau has remained under one flag longer than any other European settlement in East Asia. In December 1999, this Portuguese-administered enclave, home to close to half a million Chinese, Macanese (mixed blood), and Portuguese, was returned to China. It became the second (after Hong Kong) Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China.

Macau can be viewed from a variety of perspectives: as a pivotal point in the development of East-West trade (Teixeira 1976, Boxer 1988, Cremer 1991, Ptak 1993), as a

Jesuit center of missionary evangelization (Boxer 1993), as a foci of Portuguese political and military advancement in Asia (Lo 1995, Coates 1989), and as a stage for socio-historical drama (Porter 1996). This geographical essay attempts to portray Macau's dynamic involvement in world history as it is expressed in the evolution of the city's morphology. In so doing, it strives to illustrate the notion that urban morphology is a reflection of global human endeavours.

In what ways does the evolution of the morphology of Macau mirror human activities around the world over the last five centuries? Portuguese colonial efforts, shifts in the balance of power among European nations, the feudal policies of Japan, world wars, tourism, and China's economic policy, among other things, have all contributed to the formal expression of this exotic city.

EMERGENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONY

After the "discovery" of North America by Columbus in 1492, Portugal and Spain, two prominent Catholic countries of the period, agreed, with the Pope's endorsement, to divide the non-Christian world between themselves (Montenegro González 1993, pp. 56-59). Under the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, regions east of the line of demarcation (Treaty Line of Tordesillas) fell within the Portuguese domain, while those west of the line were to belong to Spain. Thus Africa and Asia became the foci of Portuguese expansion.

Sailing eastward in search of spices and potential Christian converts, in 1498 Vasco da Gama's ships rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed across the Indian Ocean to arrive at Calicut (now Kozhikode) in India. The Portuguese realized the enormous profits to be made from the Asian trade. And because the trade was almost exclusively in the hands of Muslims, they had the added satisfaction (and excuse) that any blow against their commercial rivals was a blow against the infidels.

For some time, the Portuguese had been pushing southward along West African coast in their search for a passage to East Asia. But they were delayed by the attractions of slaves and gold which brought immediate rewards, and by their ambition to find the mysterious Christian king Prester John, who they believed would join them in a crusade against the Muslims.

It appears that there was never any real intention on the part of the Portuguese to conquer large tracts of territory or colonize foreign lands. Their primary interest was trade. Foremost in importance was to bring all the significant Indian Ocean trading posts under Portuguese control and to establish the necessary fortifications to protect their trade. Thus, the Portuguese captured Goa on the west coast of India in 1510, and Malacca on the Malay Peninsula in 1511. They then attempted to subdue the Spice Islands of the

Molucca (Maluku), in what is now Indonesia, and thus control the lucrative spice trade.

Having established themselves at Goa and Malacca, the first Portuguese arrived on the China coast in 1513 aboard a ship sailing from Malacca (Porter 1996, p. 48). Approaching from the sea, the Portuguese must have seen the quiet Mediterranean-like face of the Peninsula with its green hills and tiny settlement. This site, which later came to be known as Macau, was at first inhabited by fishermen coming from the Chinese provinces of Fujin and Guangdong. These people used the coves to repair their ships and to get supplies of fresh water.

The Portuguese landed on Lintin Island in the Pearl River estuary and claimed the land for the Portuguese king. The initial Portuguese contact with China did not go well and for years attempts to secure a permanent trading base on the China coast met with little success. But in the early 1550s the Portuguese were granted permission to settle on Sangchun, a small island about 80 kilometers southwest of the mouth of the Pearl River. Sangchun's exposed anchorage led the Portuguese to abandon the island in 1553 and move to another island closer to the Pearl River.

A peninsula to the northeast with two natural harbours in a bay facing the Pearl River was also a frequent anchorage of the Portuguese. Islands to the south of the peninsula afforded additional shelter. In 1556/57 an agreement was negotiated which allowed the Portuguese to lease this peninsula, apparently in return for ridding the area of pirates who plagued the coast. However, the peninsula was never formally ceded to the Portuguese. The Chinese retained sovereignty and the Chinese residents were subject to Chinese law, but the territory was under Portuguese administration.

The Chinese name for Macau is *Aomen* (澳門), which derives from two geographic features: the peninsula of *Ao* (meaning bay) and the navigable passage between the peninsula and the islands of the south called *Men* (gate or door). Macau is the Portuguese version of the Yue (Cantonese) word *Amakau*. *Amakau* means the Bay of A-Ma, a name that refers to the goddess Tianhou (the Heavenly Maiden) or, as she was known locally, A-Ma (Mother) (Trigault 1953, p.129).

The A-Ma temple was formally founded in Macau during the reign of Emperor Wanli (1573-1621) of the Ming dynasty, but its origins predate the arrival of the Portuguese. According to legend, A-Ma, a poor girl looking for a passage to Guangzhou (Canton), was turned away by the wealthy junk owners, so a fisherman took her on board. A storm blew up and wrecked all the junks except the boat carrying the girl. When the junk arrived at Macau the girl disappeared only to reappear later as a goddess on the spot where the fisherman established a temple in her honour. Built at Barra Point, the A-Ma temple must have been the primary active dominant feature on the peninsula and, for

Portuguese mariners, the most readily identifiable landmark in the region (Fig. 1).

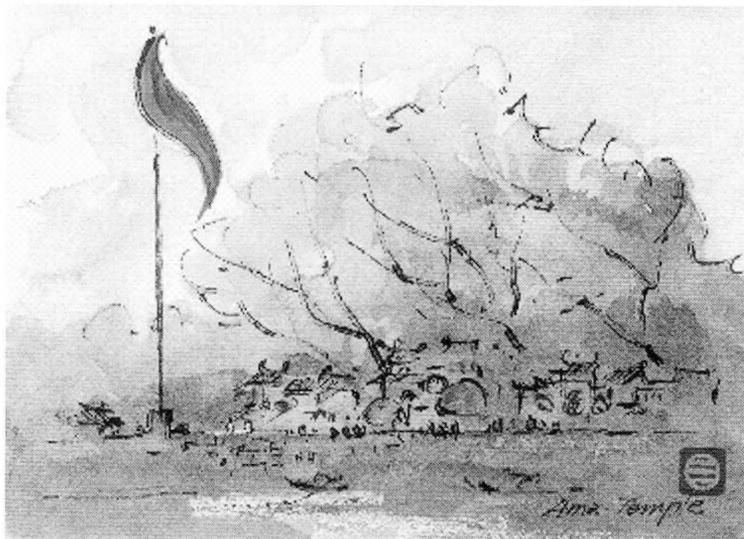


Fig.1 Early A-Ma temple
(Shimazaki Hiroshi, 2002 from several illustrations housed in the Maritime Museum, Macau)

PROSPEROUS TRADING POST

The Portuguese displaced the Arabs and, with no other Europeans yet on the scene, became the carriers of all large-scale international commerce. Macau became the hub of a huge maritime empire and an important trade-point for luxury items for Europe, China, and Japan. In 1542, a Portuguese ship had been blown off course and reached Tanegashima, a small southern Japanese island. This accidental encounter marked the beginning of a thriving trade between Portugal and Japan.

Macau grew rapidly as a trading center, largely because the Chinese wanted to trade with foreign countries but were forbidden to go abroad on penalty of death. The Japanese were forbidden to enter Chinese ports. The presence of the Portuguese in Macau benefited the Chinese. It opened access to trade with the Japanese, afforded the Ming Dynasty the military might to thwart any designs of conquest by outsiders, and also substantially reduced piracy along the coast.

Macau's prosperity depended on an intricate system of trade which reached from Goa, India, headquarters for the Portuguese administration for the area, to Nagasaki, Japan. Between these two extremities were Malacca and Macau. Portuguese ships carried cotton cloth from India as well as glassware, silver and ivory to be traded for other goods in China. At Malacca, some products including cotton were exchanged for pepper, spices, and aromatic woods. At Macau, Spanish velvet, scarlet cloth, olives, olive oil, capers, and

wines were sold. When the winds were favorable the ships would sail for Japan carrying white silk, fine red silk, white lead, tin, mercury, porcelain, musk, China root, licorice, and sugar. From Japan they brought silver bullion, copper, swords, lacquer ware, and painted screens (Boxer 1968, p. 231).

The linchpin of trade between Japan, China, South Asia, and Europe, Macau was possibly the richest place on earth during the first century after its founding. From 1560 until their expulsion from Japan in 1639, the Portuguese were engaged in prosperous trading activities which had a profound impact on the economic development and urban landscape of Macau.

The Spanish use of the grid pattern in the establishment of colonial cities in the New World is well known (Stanislawski 1947; Shimazaki 2000, pp.103-104). I was unable to find historical documents suggesting that the Portuguese also used the grid pattern for urban design in their colonization efforts. In Macau, it appears there was no long range urban plan (Fig. 2). The overriding design factors would seem to have been topographical limitations and political constraints.

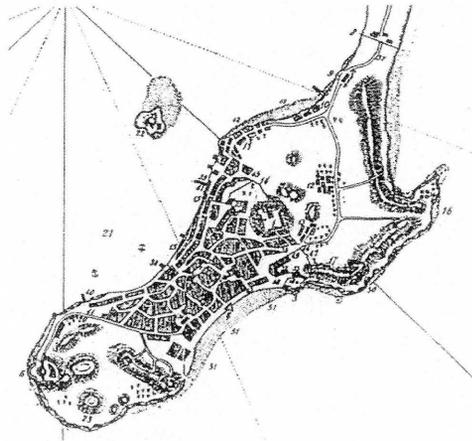


Fig.2 Layout of Macau, Early 19th Century
(Source: Ljungstedt, 1836)

Initially administered by a viceroy in Goa appointed by the Portuguese crown, in 1583 a municipal senate, Leal Senado (Loyal Senate), was installed in Macau (Boxer 1965, pp. 44-46). Macau's landscape is dominated by magnificent structures located primarily in the central and southern sections of the peninsula. Among these, the Senado, with its distinctive neoclassical architecture, located at the heart of the city stood out as administratively the most important, providing the underpinnings for the commercial activity that made the Portuguese presence possible. Today, in front of the Senado is a large pedestrian square, a wave-patterned mosaic of coloured stones in the traditional

Portuguese style, that serves as the hub of both Portuguese and Chinese community events.

Trade was the primary reason for Macau's existence, but soon the town also became a center of Christianity in East Asia. Priests and missionaries arrived on the Portuguese trading ships. Among the earliest missionaries was the Spaniard, Francisco Xavier (later canonized) of the Jesuit order, who had spent from 1549 to 1551 in Japan. Portuguese traders, fearing the consequences of his meddling in Chinese affairs, stalled Xavier, but he advanced as far as Shangchun, where he died in December 1552 (Porter 1996, p. 106). In the years to follow it was Jesuit missionaries, not traders, who were able to penetrate China beyond Macau and Guangzhou.

From the time of Xavier, the Catholic Church has had a profound impact on the development of Macau. Churches and charitable institutions soon became a feature of the city. Much of the Jesuit energy in Macau was centered on building churches and colleges. Early churches included St. Augustine's (1565), St. Lawrence's (1565), St. Lazarus (1560's), St. Dominic's (1590's), Chapel of Our Lady of Guia (1600) to name a few. Eventually churches became a common feature of Macau's religious landscape, along with its previously established Chinese temples including A-Ma, Patane, Kun-Lam. Churches, temples, and shrines coexisting within Macau's tightly confined perimeter constitute a symbolic map of its spiritual geography (Porter 1996, p.183).

Macau's architectural styles are diverse. They range from traditional Chinese domestic compounds and temples of the Ming and Qing dynasties to Western buildings, old European style cathedrals and modern mansions. The blending of architectural styles, both Chinese and western, both traditional and modern has long been a characteristic feature of Macau's urban morphology. More subtle, but equally suggestive of Macau as a cultural kaleidoscope are the varied linguistic traditions evident in the names of these architectural features and of the city's streets and avenues.

The first Jesuits arrived in Macau in 1561. From then on, they would sojourn here on their way to Japan or while awaiting permission to enter China. They built churches and convents and founded a college to train workers who would subsequently be sent to Japan. The Jesuits found many converts among the Japanese (Teixeira 1990). By 1582 almost 150,000 Japanese had accepted the Christian faith. Converting Chinese, however, seemed, at times, an insurmountable task.

As Jesuit activities expanded additional facilities were required. Between 1573 and 1579 a church and larger buildings were constructed. In 1580 the Oratorio of St. Martin was opened as a center for Chinese converts. Opened in 1594, the Jesuit College of St Paul soon became a centre for Japanese Jesuit students and by the end of the century was

offering higher studies in theology and the arts. It is widely recognized as the first 'Western Style' university in East Asia (Hugo-Brunt 1954, p.330).

In 1602 the cornerstone of the new church, the Mother of God, also known as the St Paul's Church, was laid. The church was to be financed through a fixed share of profits from the Japan trade. The church's main structure was erected by 1603 and construction of the stone façade was completed sometime in the 1630's (Teixeira 1979, p.71). Designed by an Italian Jesuit with the help of Japanese Christian artisans who fled from Nagasaki to avoid feudal religious persecution, St. Paul's Church is perhaps Macau's most famous monument (Fig. 3). Like many other structures in Macau, the church was destroyed by the great fire of 1835, which left only the façade (later restored) and a portion of a wall and the staircase intact.

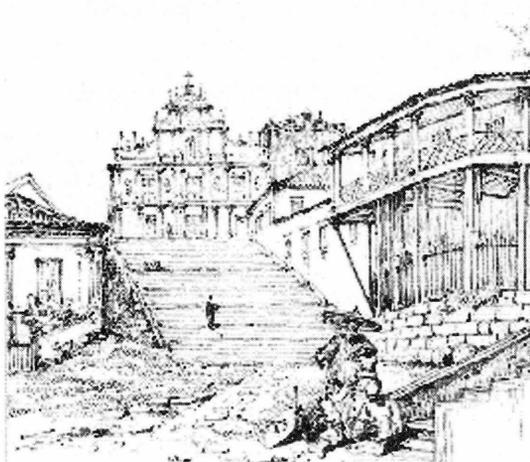


Fig.3 St. Paul's Church before it was destroyed by fire
(George Chinnery, ca 1834)

Another structure which dominates Macau's landscape is the Church of Our Lady of Penha founded in 1622 by the crew and passengers of a Portuguese ship that narrowly escaped capture by Dutch raiders. For centuries this church was a pilgrimage centre for sailors. In 1837, the church and the Bishop's residence were completely rebuilt.

By the start of the 17th century Macau had become a fortified commercial trading base. Its population was mostly Portuguese, comprising some 900 soldiers and traders and a handful of Jesuit missionaries. It also included Chinese Christian converts, mixed-race Christians from Malacca, and a large number of African, Indian and Malay slaves (Ball 1905, p.3). Most of the Chinese lived in the peninsula's "Chinese zone" and worked as hawkers, laborers and servants. The "Chinese zone" was also home to African slaves and Malays who were engaged primarily in the construction of buildings and infrastructure.

In 1586, Macau became a self-governing city. It was a time of tremendous change and instability in the European world. The rise of Protestantism challenged the practices of the Catholic church. In 1580, Spanish armies occupied Portugal. In 1588, the Spanish Armada was defeated. The Dutch revolted against the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands. European powers were pushing their way into Asia. The Dutch made several attempts to conquer Malacca but were unsuccessful.

Unlike other imperialistic conquests, Macau never bestowed a position of significant power on the Portuguese. The Portuguese did not engage in a long-range economic exchange between the West and the East. Instead, they focused on the immediate economic benefits to be gained from their involvement in regional trade within Asia itself.

A PORTUGUESE ENCLAVE IN THE AGE OF CHANGING GEOPOLITICS

The Portuguese did not succeed in monopolizing the trade. By the end of the 16th century their efforts were curtailed by the arrival in Indonesia of powerful Dutch fleets also bent on wresting control of the spice trade. The Portuguese decline was as rapid as its success. In the early years of the 17th century the Dutch began making their presence felt in the Far East. In response, the Portuguese at Macau began construction of fortresses in anticipation of Dutch attacks (Montalto 1984, pp.127-128, p. 148).

Known as the Citadel of São Paulo do Monte (Fortaleza do Monte), the fortress was built at the top of a hill between 1617 and 1626 as part of the Jesuit Church of St. Paul's project (Fig. 4). Monte Fortress's great moment of glory came in 1622 when the Dutch attempted to invade Macau and were defeated. This was also the only occasion that the cannon in the fort was used.



Fig.4 Monte Fortress overlooking Macau
(Shimazaki Hiroshi, 2002 from an engraving ca. 1835)

Macau's golden age ended abruptly with the closure of Japan to the West and the loss of mercantile power to the Dutch and British traders. Suspicious of Portuguese (and Spanish) intentions and fearful of the infiltration of European ways, Japan's feudal regime began persecuting Japanese Christians and, in 1637, closed the country to foreign trade. The Portuguese could no longer provide the Chinese with the Japanese silver they wanted in exchange for their silk and porcelain, nor with spices, since the spice trade was now in the hands of the Dutch.

The Portuguese commercial activity centered on Macau was no longer of benefit to the Chinese and by 1640 they had closed the port of Guangzhou to the Portuguese. Macau somehow managed to survive. By an Imperial decree in 1685, the port of Guangzhou was reopened annually for the trade fair. In the mid-1700's there was a significant rise in the trade of opium between Bengal (India) and China and Macau profited from the trade (Greenberg 1951). Towards the last years of the 18th century there was a substantial rise in the trade between Macau and Calcutta (India). China and Britain eventually entered into the Opium Wars.

From the mid-18th century- as the French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Americans and Spanish all profited from trading with China via Guangzhou - restrictions and regulations concerning non-Portuguese residing in Macau were lifted. The lifting of restrictions upon foreigners in 1760 brought immense economic benefit and prosperity as all European companies were obliged to establish headquarters in Macau and the city became a home and entrepot for international commerce. The colony, in effect, became an outpost for all European countries.

Macau held this position until the British took possession of Hong Kong in 1841 and other Chinese ports were forced open to foreign trade in the years following. Although Macau lost its status as the sole trading outpost, it survived and adapted and weathered various political crises including the twentieth-century revolutions that occurred in both Portugal and China.

Dynamic changes in geopolitics are reflected in garden construction in Macau (Keswick 1978, pp. 9-15). Macau's topography could not accommodate the expansive formal gardens to which the Europeans were accustomed. Instead they contented themselves with geometric flower beds, ornate fountains, busts of famous people. One of the best known gardens in Macau is Camões Grotto & Garden. In the 18th century this hilly, heavily wooded garden was considered a true wilderness and formed part of the grounds of the house occupied by the Chairman of the British East India Company. In 1835 the British moved out and the Portuguese owner had a grotto built around a bust of Portugal's national poet, Luis de Camões. Two stanzas of Camões' masterpiece, *Os Lusíadas*,

are carved on the pedestal and opposite the bust poems in praise of Camões and Macau are carved on stone slabs. The present bronze bust was installed in 1886 when the grotto became state property.

Geographically Macau was ideal for the creation of Chinese gardens, which are designed to encapsulate all of the elements of nature in a small space. Huge, weatherworn rocks represent mountains and cliffs; groves of pine, plum, bamboo and willow are forests for all seasons; lotus ponds are lakes and the mysterious immensity of the Oriental countryside is suggested by a labyrinth of paths which twist and turn to give the visitor sudden glimpses of different parts of the garden.

The Lou Lim Ieok Garden, built by the wealthy Chinese merchant Lou Kau in the 19th century is representative of the dual nature of Macau's urban culture. The most Chinese of Macau's gardens, it is modelled on the style of Soochow, the most famous of all Chinese classical gardens. There is a nine-turn zigzag bridge, which according to legend can stop the evil spirits. It also contains a flamboyant western-style house flanked by a large pond, bamboo groves and flowering bushes. The garden, an eloquent synthesis of Chinese gardens with Western architecture, fell into ruin, but was bought and restored by the government and became a public park in 1974.

Macau's first theatre was built in 1858. Named after the ruling king of Portugal, Dom Pedro V, it shares a square with the Church of St Augustine. The building is classical to the extent of a square exterior plan and a round auditorium within the building. Soon after it opened, in the 1860s, Italian and French opera troupes brought Western opera to the China coast for the first time.

Until the middle of the 19th century the history of Macau was a long series of incidents — incitements, stand-offs, threats, disputes and attacks, involving the Portuguese, Chinese, Dutch and British — as the Portuguese attempted to maintain their hold. Around 1850, the Portuguese even made plans to attack Guangzhou as the British had done during the opium wars, in order to dictate a Chinese-Portuguese treaty. A series of disasters, including the accidental blowing up of the fleet's flagship off Taipa Island prevented this plan coming to fruition. The Portuguese were once again forced to settle their differences with China through negotiation though it was not until 1887 that a treaty was signed in which China effectively recognized Portuguese sovereignty over Macau. The decline of the Portuguese trade dominance had a significant impact on the economic prosperity of Macau.

The problem of Macau's solvency was eased by Isidoro Francisco Guimaraes, the colony's governor from 1851 to 1863. Guimaraes introduced what has become Macau's best-known feature — licensed gambling, brought into effect in the early 1860s. Forced to

survive on legalized gambling and opium trafficking, Macau had turned into something of a decaying backwater by the late 19th century, though it continued to serve as a refuge for Chinese fleeing war and famine in the north. By the early 20th century the city had become known as a den of sex, sin, and spies (De Leeuw 1934, pp. 146-147).

When the Sino-Japanese War erupted in the 1930s, Macau's population swelled to 500,000. Europeans took refuge in Macau during World War II because the Japanese honored Portuguese neutrality and did not take Macau as they did Hong Kong. More people came in 1949 when China came under communist rule (Wu 1973, pp. 422-423). The colony has built living quarters for government workers and large low-rent housing projects. Many institutions, some run by the Church, to care for orphans, the sick, and the aged, have also been established.

RETURN TO CHINA

The last physical conflict in Macau occurred in 1966, when China's Cultural Revolution spilled over into the colony. Macau was stormed by Red Guards and there were violent riots and fighting as the Portuguese troops tried to defend the city. The then governor reportedly proposed that the troubles could be ended if Portugal simply left Macau forever, but, fearing the loss of foreign trade through Macau and Hong Kong, the Chinese backed off. In 1974, a military coup in Portugal brought a left-wing government to power, which proceeded to divest Portugal of the last remnants of its empire (including Mozambique, Angola and East Timor). But the Chinese told the Portuguese that they preferred to leave Macau as it was.

In 1972 the Chinese ambassador to the UN formally placed on record China's policy on Hong Kong and Macau at the UN Special Committee on Decolonization. It made a strong case that Macau and Hong Kong were legacies of unequal treaties and that these were forcibly executed by the colonial powers in the past (Chan 1994, p. 153). The Chinese put forth their case arguing that these territories were a part of China and subsequently in 1974 the Portuguese government recognized Macau as a part of China's territory. The sovereignty question was further clarified in 1979 when diplomatic relations were established again between the Portuguese and the Chinese.

In 1979 China and Portugal exchanged diplomatic recognition and the Chinese recognized Macau as a Portuguese occupied Chinese territory. With the precedent of the joint Declaration over Hong Kong signed by Britain and China in 1848, it was expected that China would eventually seek a similar agreement with Portugal on Macau's future. When the agreement was finally signed in 1987 it prepared the way for the handing back of Macau to China on December 20, 1999 (Cremer 1993).

China has invested heavily in Macau's infrastructure and development and recognizes Macau's role as a free port. The constitution that has governed Macau as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) since 1999 ensures that the socialistic policies and systems of China shall not be practiced in Macau and that the previous capitalistic system and way of life shall continue. In 1999 Macau exported goods, mainly electronic products, footwear and textiles, worth a total of US\$ 2.2 billion. Ironically, the biggest attraction of Macau today is its infrastructure for gambling; this and affiliated activities continue to be a major source of income for the city.

The aftershock of the 1989 Beijing massacre has gradually worn off (Gunn 1996, pp. 180-181). Both foreign investment and tourism have picked up. In this context, preservation of Macau's heritage has become an important issue. Property development in Macau has been of a variable quality. Many older buildings still exist and have not been demolished as was done in Hong Kong. The 1.6 percent cultural tax funded by gambling has made an impact on the many buildings and gardens of Macau in need of restoration.

There is a growing sense of cultural identity among the city's youth and the rising awareness of Macau's cultural heritage and the positive efforts of its citizens to preserve its exotic past have been paying rich dividends. The Portuguese descendants have a strong affection for and attachment to Macau and want to preserve its heritage. In addition to the restoration and maintenance of many historical structures and settings such as the Church of St. Paul's, the Senado and its square, and the city's first theatre, new facilities have been added to Macau's cultural milieu. A museum was established in 1997 in the historically important region of the Monte Fortress. It endeavours to create a better understanding of the circumstances and events that explain how Macau has reached its present form and also explain its past history. A new Cultural Centre was opened in 1999.

Macau's space is limited. With the coming of the Portuguese, Macau developed from a tiny 16th century fishing village into a thriving economic hub. Confined to a narrow peninsula and two small islands, space had long been at a premium and land reclamation has been an integral part of Macau's development. The growth of the city's land area has accelerated since the last quarter of the twentieth century, from 15 square kilometers in 1972 to 16 square kilometers in 1983 to 21 square kilometers in 1994 (Fig.5). Macau's total area has gradually increased as a result of continued land reclamation, especially on the islands of Taipa and Coloane. In 2000, the total land area was approximately 24 square kilometers. The dramatic change in size of the peninsula is a fundamental visible alteration in the city's morphology.

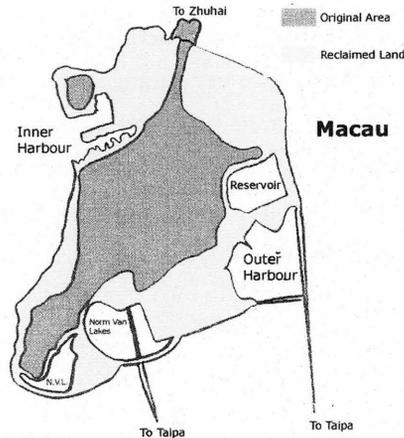


Fig.5 Macau: Original Shoreline and Present Boundary
(Shimazaki, 2002)

In addition to revenues from taxes on gambling franchises, Macau's prosperity comes from the manufacture and export of such products as textiles, toys, electronics, fireworks, and artificial flowers. Like Hong Kong, it is a duty-free port with a *laissez-faire* economic policy. There is little government interference with foreign investment. Almost anyone is free to set up a business and taxation is minimal. Visible across the border separating Macau from the rest of China is the new, Special Economic Zone of Zhuhai, booming with industry and tourism sponsored by China in cooperation with Macau, Hong Kong, and Western countries. The industrial landscape of the peninsula with its mirror image in the neighbouring mainland is a contemporary feature of Macau's urban morphology. It signifies the acceptance and endorsement by China of capitalism as a possible avenue for future country making.

EPILOGUE

The evolution of the morphology of Macau mirrors human activity around the world over the last five centuries. The colonial efforts of the Portuguese, the Catholic drive to expand the Christian realm, shifts in the balance of power among European nations including Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and England, the isolationist policy of feudal Japan, world wars, tourism, and the economic policy of China, among other things, have all contributed to the formal expression of this exotic city.

From its origins as an obscure Chinese fishing base in the early 16th century, Macau emerged as the first European outpost in East Asia and experienced a turbulent history. Today, Macau is a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China. While this paper focused on the external formal dimension of Macau's

development, Macau must have been viewed and experienced differently by each individual who interacted with this place. My own interaction with Macau spans just over 40 years. To me, the view of the Macau Tower situated on reclaimed land extending from the original shore of Praia Grande and the newly constructed bridge to Taipa Island with its modern high rises in the distance symbolizes the dynamic transformation that Macau has experienced in recent decades. Indeed, visible changes in urban morphology reflect the dynamic history of people-land relationships.

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【Abstract】

The evolution of a city's morphology reflects the unique history of the settlement. This paper explores the dynamic nature of the urban morphology of Macau, the first permanent European settlement in East Asia. The linchpin of trade between Japan, China, South Asia, and Europe, Macau was possibly the richest place on earth during the first century after its founding in 1557. From 1560 until their expulsion from Japan in 1639, the Portuguese were engaged in prosperous trading activities that had a profound impact on the economic development and urban landscape of Macau. Macau's urban landscape was dominated by magnificent structures located primarily in the central and southern sections of the peninsula. Among these, the Senado (Senate), with its distinctive neoclassical architecture stood out as administratively the most important, providing the underpinnings for commercial activity. The blending of architectural styles, both Chinese and western, both traditional and modern has long been a characteristic feature of Macau's urban morphology. Trade was the primary reason for Macau's existence, but soon the colony also became a center of Christianity in the Far East. Much of the Jesuit energy in Macau was centered on building churches and colleges. Churches, temples, and shrines coexisting within Macau's tightly confined perimeter constitute a symbolic map of its spiritual geography. The Portuguese did not succeed for long in monopolizing trade. As the Dutch began making their presence felt in East Asia, construction began on the Monte fort. By the start of the 17th century Macau had become a fortified commercial trading base. Macau's golden age ended abruptly with the closure of Japan to the West and

the loss of mercantile power to the Dutch and British traders. From the mid-18th century, the French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Americans and Spanish all profited from trading with China. Macau, in effect, became an outpost for all European countries. By the late 19th century, Macau had turned into something of a decaying backwater. When the Sino-Japanese War erupted, Macau's population swelled. Europeans took refuge in Macau during World War II. More people came in 1949 when China came under communist rule. The landscape was dotted with living quarters for government workers and large low-rent housing projects. Since the city's return to China at the end of 1999, China has designated Macau as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) and invested heavily in its infrastructure and development. There is a rising awareness of Macau's cultural heritage and the preservation of the city's historical buildings and quarters is in progress. Confined to a narrow peninsula and two small islands, space has long been at a premium and land reclamation has been an integral part of Macau's development. The dramatic growth in size of the peninsula is a fundamental visible alteration in the city's morphology. Through the examination of the dynamic nature of the morphology of Macau, this paper illustrates the notion that city morphology is a reflection of global human endeavours.

【コメント】

野間 晴雄

マカオは人口わずか40万あまり、東シナ海に突き出た岩山と島嶼からなる東アジアでも最も古い植民地である。発展する中国沿海部や香港と至近な位置にありながら、今も植民地時代の景観や雰囲気の色濃く残すタイムカプセルでもある。しかしながら、近代のマカオはギャンブルやマフィアに経済を依存せざる得ない負の遺産が常につきまとう、日陰の“忘れられた”植民地であったことは拭えない事実だ。1999年12月、マカオは香港に遅れること2年で中国に返還されたが、貿易・工業いずれも香港や広州、その他の発展著しい沿海諸都市とは比べるべくもなく、観光が最も重要な産業となっている。

16世紀半ばにポルトガル植民地となったマカオは、スペイン・ポルトガルの「世界分割」によって獲得したアジアの橋頭堡ゴアのブランチであるマラッカの、さらにそのサブブランチ程度の経済的重要性と地政学的位置しか当初は有しなかった。それが日本へのキリスト教布教に相携えてもたらされた日本産の良質の銀を中国・ヨーロッパに輸出する中継点として、マカオはにわかに繁栄する。

しかし、偶さかの繁栄は17世紀前半に鎖国による日本貿易から撤退と本国の国力衰退によって一挙に失われ、以後は長い停滞と衰退の道を歩む。1842年の香港開港によって、マカオの中国貿易がほぼ終焉したこと、文化大革命によるポルトガルの植民地権力の失墜もマカオの幕引きに拍車をかけた。このように3度も“世界システム”から忘れ去られたマカオであり、自らも植民地放棄を望み、中国政府からもお荷物扱いされながらも、「中国でもっとも長い植民地