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**Title:** Regulating Marialis Cultus in Macau: A Re-reading of Msgr. Manuel Teixeira's *O Culto de Maria em Macau*

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**Abstract**

In this article, Manuel Teixeira's *O Culto de Maria em Macau* (1969) is re-read by considering how the Catholic Church—particularly the Macau clergy and the ecclesial hierarchy—had responded, regulated, and reinforced boundaries on the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the city that prides itself as *Cidade da Virgem* through spaces, ecclesial structures, feasts, and processions. This re-reading would hopefully contribute to the writing of Catholicism *in* Macau and how church discipline developed in the context of early modern Catholicism that has been at the margins historiographically.

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## Introduction

There are two altars dedicated to Mary in Sé Cathedral. The first is prominently placed at the Epistle side of the sanctuary, while the other is a side chapel. The side chapel houses four Marian icons—the Immaculate Conception at the centre, an icon of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Our Lady of Sorrows, and the Chinese Madonna. Most locals—the Portuguese and probably Chinese or Macanese—venerate the Our Lady of Fatima, the Immaculate Conception, and Our Lady of Sorrows. On the other hand, Filipinos go to the Perpetual Help icon, perhaps reminding them of home, if not Baclaran. The Chinese Madonna, however, is just there, not attracting a pious believer. This observation elicited some questions.

The historical literature on Macau Catholicism emphasised Macau as the space of East-West encounters and dialogue. This emphasis is evident in the existing literature that focused on the China and Japan Jesuits, as well as in the literature on how Mary was introduced in China: Macau was the space where the policies of accommodation in the missions, translations, and hybridisation of Christian iconography to be used *outside* Macau were formulated. Macau, therefore, is considered the gateway of the missionaries to the mission fields of China.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to the Marian chapel at the Sé Cathedral, if Macau is considered the gateway of Catholic missionaries to China and the place conducive for developing the policy of accommodation particular to the Chinese missions, why is the Chinese Madonna—the suggestive icon of accommodation in China—not the “go-to” icon for the locals? With these questions, the paucity of current historical literature arises. Much has been written about Macau and its role in the Catholic missionary enterprise, yet how Catholicism took its roots *in* Macau remains underexplored. For instance, Hao et al. studied Catholicism in Macau, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Shanghai, with civic engagements as their point of departure. On the other hand, Chen’s study analysed Catholicism in Macau with a sociological perspective, focusing on the evolutionary meaning of religiosity, morality, and civility since Vatican II and the Cultural Revolution.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Manuel Teixeira, *A Missão Portuguesa de Malaca*, Macau: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1963; Manuel Teixeira, *A Missão Da China*, Macau: Tipografia da Missão, 1977; Manuel Teixeira, *A Missão Da Coreia*, Macau: Tipografia da Missão, 1979; Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007; Maria Antónia Espadinha et al., *Missionação e missionários na história de Macau*, Macau: Universidade de Macau, 2005; Kaijian Tang, *Setting off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Leiden: Brill, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Hon Fai Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau: Changing Meanings of Religiosity, Morality and Civility*, London: Routledge, 2019; Wen-ban Kuo et al., ‘Catholicism and Its Civic Engagement: Case Studies of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong, Macau, Taipei, and Shanghai’, *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 1.1, 2014, 48–77.

Fortunately, Manuel Teixeira's *Macau e a sua Diocese*—a series of books dedicated to the history of the Catholic Diocese of Macau—narrates how Catholicism took its roots in Macau. In this series, he aimed to note all the important events of the Macau diocese—and, due to its entanglements with secular affairs, has included the city's civil history, recording it for posterity.<sup>3</sup> This objective essentially makes Teixeira a chronicler.

The ninth volume traces the development of Marian devotion and piety in Macau—*O Culto de Maria em Macau*.<sup>4</sup> In this book rich in historical data, Teixeira invites the reader 'to walk through the four-century history of Macau and we will see it bordered by churches, chapels, oratories, fortresses, religious institutes, congregations, confraternities, viewpoints, and schools where the most sweet name of Holy Mary is engraved in golden letters... it will make us understand how Macau is and has always been the land of Blessed Mary--*vamos dar um passeio pela história quadrisseccular de Macau e vê-la-emos orlada de igrejas, capelas, oratorios, fortalezas, institutos religiosos, congregações, confrarias, miradores e escolas, onde se lê gravado em letras de ouro o nome dulcíssimo da Ssma. Virgem... nos farão compreender como Macau é e foi sempre a terra de Santa Maria* (1969, 5).' Teixeira described and chronicled Marian devotion in Macau by assigning chapters to the churches and chapels dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mary, religious institutes that invoke her patronage, Macau schools, Marian confraternities, Marian congregations, Legion of Mary, Marian feasts, devotions to the Immaculate Conception, Our Lady of Fatima, *Stella Maris*, miracles attributed to Mary, legends, the defunct church of Our Lady of Refuge, Marian devotion in Malacca,<sup>5</sup> Marian literature, Marian bibliography, and Macau fortresses dedicated to the Virgin Mary. One can glimpse in the chapters the volume's descriptive and chronicling nature which may be considered wanting by contemporary historical and historiographical standards.<sup>6</sup> However, its chronicling nature is also its strength; Teixeira's works, which aimed to present the past as it has been, are rich in primary and even raw data that would be useful to a contemporary historian.

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<sup>3</sup> "Because the civil history of Macao is linked with the church history of Macao it is impossible to publish about one without knowing the other." 'The Historian of the City of the Mother of God, Father Manuel Teixeira', 28. The series is comprised of sixteen volumes that discuss the bishops and governors of the diocese, the diocesan clergy, male and female missionary personnel, the religious orders and congregations, the Portuguese missions in Malacca, Timor, China, and Korea, the cult of the Virgin Mary, the confraternities, churches and schools, and Macau's trade relations with Vietnam. In a sense, the series may be viewed as a "proto-global" history due to Macau's role as a centre of the Catholic missions under the sponsorship of the Portuguese *Padroado* in East and Southeast Asia.

<sup>4</sup> Manuel Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria Em Macau*, Macau: Tipografia da Missão do Padroado, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria*, 222.

<sup>6</sup> A chronicle merely records past human events and only presents them at face value. A historical work, on the other hand, aims to arrive at an understanding of the historical phenomena that were recorded. In this work, I re-read Teixeira's chronicle by interpreting what he recorded - i.e. Marian piety was regulated in Macau, which made it distinct from the rest of China. For the distinction between history and chronicle, see the chapter on Benedetto Croce in Patrick Gardiner, *Theories of History: Readings from Classical and Contemporary Sources*, New York: Free Press, 1976, 226-233; A. C. Danto, 'Mere Chronicle and History Proper', *The Journal of Philosophy* 50.6, 1953, 173.

In this article, Teixeira's *O Culto de Maria em Macau* is re-read with the questions mentioned earlier in mind, as well as these questions: Was Marian devotion and piety regulated in Macau? How did it take place? I will then consider how the Catholic Church—particularly the Macau clergy and the ecclesial hierarchy—responded, regulated, and reinforced boundaries on the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the city that prides itself as *Cidade da Virgem* (the City of the Virgin). In the context of the principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi*, not wanting to give the impression that Catholics adore Mary, social discipline could have led to the regulation of Marian piety.<sup>7</sup> I then suggest that such regulation of Marian piety through spaces, pious associations and their practices, and the observances of processions and feasts was implemented in Macau. This regulation also acknowledges the tremendous power of Marian signs and symbols in evangelisation since they evoke curiosity in the Chinese. Added to this is the iconography and myth parallelisms with local deities such as *Guanyin* and the *Mazu*. Confusion arises from these parallelisms, as is evidenced by numerous accounts written in various centuries and the syncretic identifications that persist.

In this re-reading, I focus on the Marian churches and chapels, schools, confraternities, congregations and the Legion of Mary, Marian feasts and devotions, and the fortresses dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. From this, I argue that the ecclesial hierarchy regulated Marian devotion in and through spaces, pious associations, processions, and feasts. The rationale of this regulation of the cultus of Mary is to maintain the distinction of Mary from local deities for the sake of the Chinese and to form ideal citizens. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the historical literature about how church discipline developed in the context of early modern Catholicism, which remains an under-researched topic.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, this preliminary research on Marian devotion and piety in Macau, which was imported by the Catholic missionaries of the early modern period, may stir up interest in exploring how this same piety emerged, was practised, and lived in other Catholic societies during the same period, which has been overshadowed by studies focusing on either the Middle Ages or the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Lastly, this article intends to revive the need to problematise Catholicism *in* Macau historically, pioneered by Teixeira and discussed comprehensively by Hao. This would contextualise and distinguish how it is practised nowadays in the city.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi*, which emphasises the connection between prayer and belief, is crucial in understanding Marian piety. By regulating expressions of piety towards Mary to avoid misperceptions of adoration, Catholics resorted to social discipline in aligning their worship practices with their theological convictions. This ensured that their outward actions accurately reflected their core beliefs, fostering a cohesive and consistent religious community.

<sup>8</sup> Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'Imposing Church and Social Discipline', in R. Po-chia Hsia (ed), *Reform and Expansion, 1500-1660*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 249.

<sup>9</sup> Trevor Johnson, 'Mary in Early Modern Europe', in Sarah Jane Boss (ed), *Mary: The Complete Resource*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 363.

<sup>10</sup> Zhidong Hao, *Macau History and Society*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011.

## Regulating *hyperdulia* and social discipline

The need for regulating *hyperdulia* is not only a response to the exhortations of the Trent Fathers but also stems from the principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi* of the Church—for the Church believes what she prays.<sup>11</sup> This principle is reflected in the faith expressions of the praying and believing community, which hint at their beliefs, structures, identity, and conformity to doctrinal norms or orthodoxy and orthopraxis.<sup>12</sup> Aside from this, the aim to regulate *hyperdulia* can be traced back to the mindset of the missionaries, which was influenced by the persisting *Reconquista*<sup>13</sup> and their practice of exalting Mary as the preeminent intercessor and protector or Marian maximalism.

The missionaries were conscious that Mary and Marian icons evoked curiosity and awe in the Chinese and were powerful tools for missionary work and catechesis. Along with this admiration, however, is the danger that they might also be confused with the local deities, such as Guanyin bodhisattva or Mazu (Maternal Ancestor). The confusion arises due to similarities in iconography, the narratives surrounding the religious figures, maternal protection attributions, and exemplary virtues. This confusion happened in Zhaoqing when the literati and the commoners made customary bows and knelt or kowtowed to a Marian icon, placing a picture of the Madonna amid images of local deities, resulting in rumours spreading about Catholics being goddess worshippers.<sup>14</sup> This confusion and syncretic identification also had been the case among Filipino-Chinese/Chinese-Filipinos and the Japanese.<sup>15</sup>

In Macau, the relief at the façade of the Ruins of Saint Paul which depicted the Virgin Mary with the Portuguese carrack may have been resonant of the Mazu or Guanyin bodhisattva cult to Chinese on-lookers.<sup>16</sup> Added to this is the necessity of preventing giving an impression to the Chinese non-Catholics that Catholics adore Mary, similar to the *cultus*

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<sup>11</sup> Decree on the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of the Saints and on Sacred Images, December 3, 1563, in Peter Hünermann et al., (eds), *Compendium of creeds, definitions, and declarations on matters of faith and morals*, 43rd ed, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012, 1824-1825. See also, Catholic Church, ed., *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Rev. ed, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1999, 1126.

<sup>12</sup> Jeremy Clarke, *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013, 5, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, 'Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action', in Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 255-256.

<sup>14</sup> Gang Song, 'The Many Faces of Our Lady: Chinese Encounters with the Virgin Mary Between 7th and 17th Centuries', *Monumenta Serica* 66.2, 2018, 303-56; Matteo Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci, 1583-1610*, trans. Louis Gallagher, New York: Random House, 1953, 155.

<sup>15</sup> Aristotle Dy, 'The Virgin Mary as Mazu or Guanyin: The Syncretic Nature of Chinese Religion in the Philippines', *Philippine Sociological Review* 62, 2014, 41-63; Ruben L. F. Habito, 'Maria Kannon Zen: Explorations in Buddhist-Christian Practice', *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 14, 1994, 145; Christina H. Lee, *Saints of Resistance: Devotions in the Philippines under Early Spanish Rule*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021.

<sup>16</sup> Jonathan Porter, "'The Past Is Present": The Construction of Macau's Historical Legacy', *History and Memory* 21.1, 2009, 69.

given to the Triune God. Thus, to take advantage of Mary's usefulness in evangelisation while preventing giving the impression that Mary is adored, the missionaries had to regulate Marian iconography and piety and temper it through Christocentric expressions and devotions.

In the case of Macau, the Church and the Portuguese empire—because of the *Padroado*<sup>17</sup> or the administrative arrangements with the king—had indirectly exercised a degree of control over Chinese converts.<sup>18</sup> The *Padroado* had significant implications for the veneration of the Virgin Mary within the Portuguese colonial context. By exercising control over ecclesiastical appointments and religious affairs, the Portuguese crown could shape the way Marian devotion was expressed and reinforce its interests and power. The veneration of the Virgin Mary became intertwined and intersected with Portuguese colonial policy, serving as a tool for spreading Catholicism, establishing cultural hegemony, and consolidating political control over overseas territories.

In most early modern European polities, transgressions against religion are translated into secular 'crimes.' Church-and-State would be proactive in enforcing moral and social discipline within the confines of the polity through legislation and sanctions.<sup>19</sup> This measure would have been the case in Macau, a Portuguese enclave and a *Padroado* territory that listed religious offences as crimes until the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> However, despite the administrative concessions that arose from *Padroado*, transgressions against religion committed by the Chinese converts did not translate into secular 'crimes' and remained in the ecclesiastical and religious or spiritual realm since the Chinese were not subject to Portuguese laws, and before the period of colonisation that began in the nineteenth century, were living outside the Portuguese enclave.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The *Padroado* was a unique administrative and political structure established during the Age of Discovery, particularly by the Portuguese crown. Its key features revolved around granting the Portuguese monarchy substantial control over the Catholic Church's activities in newly discovered territories, primarily in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Under the *Padroado* system, the crown assumed responsibility for appointing and overseeing bishops, as well as for regulating religious practices and institutions in these regions. Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, 'Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action', 257.

<sup>18</sup> It is important to note that the Chinese, whether Catholic or not, before the period of the colonisation of Macau in the nineteenth century, were only allowed by the Chinese officials to enter and stay in the city of Macau (now the historical centre) during daytime and had to leave the settlement before the imperial gate closed at night. The application or implementation of this law, however, is another point. See also Francisco Bethencourt, 'Political Configurations and Local Powers', in Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 209-210, 219.

<sup>19</sup> Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 123.

<sup>20</sup> The Fifth Book of the *Ordenações Filipinas* (1603) lists the following as religious crimes: heresy, apostasy, superstition, blasphemy, and witchcraft, among others. Much of the contents of the Fifth Book will be revoked upon the promulgation of the *Código Criminal* (1830) and *Código do Processo Criminal* (1832).

<sup>21</sup> However, in the nineteenth century, James Summers, a British missionary in Hong Kong, was arrested in 1849 for not removing his hat during the Corpus Christi procession. He was charged with offering insult to the religion of the State. This would fall under the Liv V, tit. 2 of *Ordenações Filipinas* (1603). English and Portuguese sources, however, are silent on whether such crime was also charged against Chinese offenders. See Hao, *Macau History and Society*, 129.

This control is comparable to social disciplining (*Sozial-disziplinierung*), a process peculiar to early modern polities that strove to control the behaviour and all facets of the life of its citizens to turn them into obedient, pious, and diligent subjects.<sup>22</sup> In this concept, religious institutions and authorities such as the bishops, cathedral chapters, religious orders, the Inquisition, the municipal councils, the *Misericórdias*, and crown agents used religious doctrine, practices, rituals, threats of divine punishment, and institutions to exert direct or indirect control over individuals and society as a whole.<sup>23</sup> This indirect control was exercised in confessional oaths, subscriptions, censorship, propaganda, catechesis, education, rites, or expulsion of religious minorities. It also entailed implementing disciplinary measures to enforce religious and societal norms, including punishment for deviant behaviour, public shaming, surveillance, and creating a culture of fear, guilt, and shame. In the case of Macau, this is evident in how the local church and the Portuguese were designating - and consequentially, regulating - places and spaces for prayer and devotional practices such as churches, chapels, and oratories; religious instruction such as membership in confraternities, congregations, pious associations, enrolment in schools, and involvement in charitable institutions; devotional or pilgrimage routes such as processions; and in demarcating the boundaries and borders of the *cidade da Virgem* through the fortresses.

### **Regulating (and reinforcing) piety through spaces**

Teixeira traces how the Portuguese began owning and defining the city's urban landscape - churches dedicated to Mary were constructed and followed by charitable institutions and fortresses that would defend the city from intruders and invaders (See Figure 1). For instance, Saint Lazarus Church, founded in 1569 and situated near the city walls, was dedicated and called the Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Esperança (Our Lady of Hope Church). Another example is the Igreja de Madre de Deus (Mother of God Church) or Ruins of Saint Paul, dedicated to Mary the Theotokos in 1565. The churches associated with religious orders also had their respective churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary—the Franciscans dedicated their church to Nossa Senhora dos Anjos (Our Lady of Angels), the Dominicans dedicated their church to the Our Lady of the Holy Rosary, and the Augustinian hermits dedicated their church to Nossa Senhora da Graça (Our Lady of Grace).<sup>24</sup> The dedication of these churches to particular titles attributed to Mary implied the importation of Marian devotional practices attached to respective religious orders. In addition, these churches also housed schools and the missionaries bound for China, where the policy of accommodation for Chinese practices pioneered by the Jesuits developed.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Lotz-Heumann, 'Imposing Church and Social Discipline', 244; R. Po-chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550-1750*, London: Routledge, 1989, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Francisco Bethencourt, 'Political Configurations and Local Powers', 200.

<sup>24</sup> Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria*, 24–48. The Franciscan church, however, no longer exists after its demolition in 1861-1865.

<sup>25</sup> Tang, *Setting off from Macau*, 14–21.

The fortresses of Macau were surprisingly dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, whom they also called the *Madrinha da Artilharia* (Godmother of the Artillery). Teixeira acknowledges that this might perplex his readers— ‘this is unimaginable: the Queen of Peace spewing fire from the cannons of the fortresses of Macau!’<sup>26</sup> He then argues that this perplexing reality signifies the intense and profound devotion of the Catholics in Macau—the Virgin Mary will come to their aid in times of turbulent wars during the nascent years of the small enclave.

These fortresses, which give an impression of the demarcation of the Portuguese enclave dedicated to the Name of God and Mary, were primarily built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - the *Fortaleza do Monte*, *S. Francisco*, *da Penha*, and *da Guia*. *Do Monte* is beside the Ruins of Saint Paul and is dedicated to *Madre de Deus*, and *da Penha* was dedicated to Our Lady of Penha. The patronages of the fortresses of S. Francisco and Guia were specifically militaristic. S. Francisco was dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, while Guia was dedicated to Our Lady of Victories, both Marian titles associated with the Catholics’ victory in the naval battle of Lepanto on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1571 between the fleets of the Holy League and the Ottoman Empire.

The same pattern was followed when Macau expanded its territory to the north and the south. The establishment of Vila da Taipa necessitated the foundation of Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Carmo (Our Lady of Carmel Church) in the late nineteenth century; the foundation of T’oi-San village or Bairro Tamagnini Barbossa situated northeast of Ilha Verde called for the establishment of a church which was dedicated in 1929 to Our Lady of Fatima, and the foundation of a leper community in Ka-Hó village, Coloane also necessitated the foundation of a chapel which was dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows—a sure solace for the sick, the health personnel, and the resident missionary.

Also notable is Teixeira’s account of the drastic increase in the construction of schools, mostly dedicated to Mary, in the colonisation period, which began in the nineteenth century, coinciding with the city’s colonisation period, the global phenomenon of the emergence of the modern and Western education model, and the unprecedented influx of the Chinese in Macau. This coincidence reinforces schools as spaces of social discipline and colonial ideological reproduction.<sup>27</sup> In these schools, the ideals envisioned by both the Portuguese state and the *Padroado* church—i.e. Catholic conversions, catechesis, and forming pious and diligent citizenry—would be taught to future citizens of the city.

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<sup>26</sup> Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria*, 235. “*Esta é que Ela nunca podia imaginar: a Rainha da Paz a vomitar fogo dos canhões das fortalezas de Macau!!!*”

<sup>27</sup> Roberto Strongman, ‘The Colonial State Apparatus of the School: Development, Education, and Mimicry in Patrick Chamoiseau’s “Une Enfance Créole II: Chemin-d’École” and V.S. Naipaul’s “Miguel Street”’, *Journal of West Indian Literature* 16.1, 2007, 83.



Teixeira lists 15 schools in Macau that were dedicated to the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary from 1906 until 1956.<sup>28</sup> Placing schools under specific Marian titles demonstrates the church's intention to catechise and propagate devotion and instil Marian virtues associated with these pious attributions. For instance, schools dedicated to the Immaculate Conception and Our Lady of Purification, such as the Instituto Salesiano da Imaculada Conceição, Colégio Ricci, Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Purificação, Escola do Coração Imaculado de Maria, Centro da Imaculada Conceição, and Centro Recreativo Senhora de Lourdes would highlight the Blessed Virgin Mary's purity and encourage integrity in all human thoughts and actions. On the other hand, schools under the patronage of *Stella Matutina* (Morning Star) and *Estrela do Mar* (Star of the Sea)—Marian titles associated with seafaring or navigation—would implicitly aim to form students who view life as transitory and value hope and diligence in their work. Schools, on the other hand, dedicated to understanding Mary as humanity's perpetual succour would instil the virtue of humility, obedience, and humble submission to the Divine Will.

With the dedication of churches, chapels, oratories, schools, charitable institutions, and fortresses to Mary from the inception of Macau until the twentieth century, as chronicled by Teixeira, Mary's presence in the city is not only defined but also reinforced. These Christian and Marian spaces defined not only the existence of a Christian community but also ecclesial territoriality, which integrated local Catholics into the universal Church.<sup>29</sup> This demarcation fostered sacred spaces separate from the profane, which is necessary for forming religious life with all its functions and creating a Christian society.<sup>30</sup> These spaces were set apart, designed to form obedient, pious, and diligent believers: churches, chapels, and oratories for sacral and cultic use, schools and charitable institutions for catechetical use, and fortresses for political and military purposes.

Such spaces, then, became places for performing the *cultus* to Mary that has religious and civil ends, which necessitated regulations. These regulations ensured that the aim of forming virtuous citizens envisioned by the Portuguese would be realised.

All these functions which served the church and the Christian society of the city were Marian because of explicit associations made by the ecclesial and political hierarchy with the Blessed Virgin Mary, as evidenced by the Marian dedications made by the Portuguese on the churches, oratories, schools, and fortresses in Macau. With this association of Mary in

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<sup>28</sup> Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria*, 79-104. Teixeira also listed schools founded before the early twentieth century that were also associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary. However, these schools were oriented to forming missionaries that would be sent outside Macau - China, Japan, and Portuguese territories in Southeast Asia.

<sup>29</sup> Dominique Iogna-Pratt, 'Churches in the landscape' in Thomas F.X. Noble, Julia M.H. Smith, and Roberta A. Baranowski (eds), *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600—c. 1100*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 363-379.

<sup>30</sup> David Torevell, *Losing the Sacred: Ritual, Modernity and Liturgical Reform*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000, 3; Emile Durkheim and Karen E. Fields, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, New York: Free Press, 1995, 312.

reinforcing social discipline aimed at forming obedient, pious, and diligent believers, Mary has been identified in the Portuguese colonial order: she is both a merciful interceding queen and a virtuous citizen who is obedient, pious, and diligent, worthy of emulation by the people.

### **Regulating (and reinforcing) piety and devotional practices: *confrarias*, *congregações*, e *Legião de Maria***

“Confraternities revealed and reflected the adherence of the local populations to Catholicism.”<sup>31</sup> Teixeira lists nine Marian *confrarias*, eight Marian *congregações*, and the subdivisions of the Legion of Mary in the diocese. The earliest structure of this association is the confraternities (or *confrarias* in Portuguese), while the emergence of some *congregações* (congregations) and the Legion of Mary overlapped. A confraternity is an association of believers established and guided by competent ecclesiastical authority for works of devotion or piety and charity.<sup>32</sup> These *confrarias*, akin to the confraternities of late-Medieval and early modern Europe, were tasked with maintaining particular church altars, participating in perpetual vigils and devotions, joining and beautifying processions, and doing charitable works.<sup>33</sup> Beginning in the nineteenth century diocesan clergy and missionaries in Macau also established Marian congregations attached to particular churches, while the Legion of Mary was established as a lay apostolic association of Catholics in 1921 in Ireland and arrived in Macau in 1952.

These structures not only nurture the growth of Catholic believers in faith and virtue with Mary as an exemplary model. The confraternities, congregations, and other pious associations also inculcated Catholic principles through pious and devotional exercises, conferences with the chaplains, and regular sacramental confessions.<sup>34</sup> These interactions with clerics within the associations and communal gatherings also enabled the clerics to monitor the understanding of the individual members of Marian piety and doctrine. Pious literature, such as prayer books and manuals, also fostered the regulation of body movements in prayer, as evidenced by the rubrics that aim to dispose the faithful to prayer. These regulations prevented members from being distant from the Catholic faith by fostering regular and frequent prayer and reception of the Sacraments and, in the case of converts, from reverting to their traditional Chinese beliefs through syncretic practices.

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<sup>31</sup> Guimarães Sá, ‘Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action’, 267.

<sup>32</sup> William Fanning, ‘Confraternity (Sodality)’, in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908. See also, Charles Corcoran, ‘Marian Confraternities’, in Juniper Carol (ed), *Mariology*, vol. 3, Post Falls: Mediatrix Press, 2019, 228–39.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen Morgan, “‘Em Procissão Solene a Deus Orando, Para Os Batéis Viemos Caminhando’ —The Long Ebb-Tide of Catholic Public Piety in the Former-Portuguese Enclave of Macao’, *Religions* 12.3, 2021, 193.

<sup>34</sup> Lotz-Heumann, ‘Imposing Church and Social Discipline’, 251.

Teixeira traces the origin of some confraternities in Portugal and Europe, which imply the importation of late medieval and early modern European or Portuguese structures of popular religiosity. For instance, he traces the origins of the *Confraria de Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia* (popularly known as *Misericórdia*) founded in Macau in 1569 to the foundation of the same confraternity in Lisbon in 1418. This confraternity was responsible for caring for the poor and the sick, offering asylum for the dying, almsgiving, sheltering orphans and the abandoned, and maintaining the chapel at their *Santa Casa* and the chapel of the defunct Hospital de S. Rafael. The confraternity was also responsible for constructing a hermitage, which became the Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Esperança. On the other hand, the foundation Confraternity of the Rosary in Macau in 1588 was part of the global practice of the Dominican friar-missionaries whenever they arrived in a new territory. This confraternity is assigned to promote the praying of the Holy Rosary, to maintain the Lady Chapel in a Dominican church, and organise and beautify processions that honour Our Lady of the Holy Rosary. In 1622, the Dominicans and this confraternity organised a penitential procession of the image of the Rosary Madonna from Igreja de São Lourenço to Igreja de São Domingos to intercede for the city which was under threat of being invaded by Dutch Protestants. The other Marian confraternities were tasked to pray for the Catholic missions in China and those who had died, be peacekeepers in the community, visit the sick, be dedicated to Saturday devotions, and propagate other Marian devotions such as the miraculous medal.

Due to the *Padroado* arrangements between Rome and Lisbon, the Portuguese monarch could exercise his authority over ecclesiastical matters, which included the regulation of the confraternities and their respective practices. This privilege of the monarch led to conflicts between confraternities that arose in the city. In 1631, the king decreed that the habit of the brothers of the *Misericórdia* should be similar to the habit of the Rosary Confraternity of the Dominicans. However, in 1634 the brothers of the *Misericórdia* filed a complaint to the Portuguese king against the religious order and the confraternity because this decree was detrimental to their alms solicitations in the city. The king withdrew this decree in 1639.<sup>35</sup>

The expulsion of religious missionaries in Portuguese territories that began in 1834 left the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian churches in Macau without priests. This also meant the absence of people to manage and maintain the churches and the devotions attached to them and the religious orders. To address this problem and to maintain the practice of piety and its regulation in these sacred spaces, the churches and their maintenance were handed over to lay confraternities.<sup>36</sup> The Dominican church was handed over to the

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<sup>35</sup> Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria Em Macau*, 116–17; Manuel Teixeira, *As Confrarias Em Macau*, Macau: Tipografia da Missão do Padroado, 1975, 7–9.

<sup>36</sup> This, however, is only limited to the management of the church and does not entail the transfer of ownership. The Franciscan church was not handed over to the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception. The confraternity was transferred to the Sé Catedral when the church was demolished. Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria*, 117–19, 123–24..

## Regulating Marialis Cultus in Macau

Rosary Confraternity of the Dominicans, and the Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Graça e Convento de S. Agostinho was handed over to the Confrária de Nosso Senhor Bom Jesus dos Passos.

With the expulsion of the religious missionaries in the nineteenth century, the diocesan clergy became the only pastors of the local believers in Macau. These clerics saw the need to foster religious piety in all sectors of the modernising Macau society. Thus, they began to organise Marian groups that emphasised personal asceticism, in contrast to the confraternities which emphasised charitable works. Some of these Marian groups or congregations were attached to particular churches, such as the Filhas de Maria of Saint Lazarus Church, or are established with exclusive membership, such as the Congregação da Imaculada Conceição for the major seminarians of São José, the Congregação de Nossa Senhora da Assunção for minor seminarians, and for the youth such as the Congregação das Jovens Estudantes for boys and Congregação de Nossa Senhora de Fátima for girls—or are based in schools such as the Congregação de Nossa Senhora de Lourdes for the students and alumni of Colégio Ricci.

The Legião de Maria was brought to Macau by the Canossian Sisters in the spring of 1952. Its membership attracted both the Chinese and the Portuguese and it spread in the parishes, with the local clergy being involved as spiritual directors and chaplains. As well as aspiring to have a regular prayer life, the legionaries also performed charitable works such as visiting the sick, the abandoned, and prisoners, sharing the Catholic faith, youth formation, assisting catechists, offering aid to the religious, and being involved in the Catholic press.

One can glimpse shifts in the direction of regulations of Marian piety from the structures of these pious associations, triggered by political and socio-economic developments in the city. With these historical developments, regulating and reinforcing structures of piety and devotional practices risked becoming obsolete, which would enable the emergence of unregulated piety that could have an indigenising trajectory or syncretic and superstitious tendencies. For instance, at the city's inception, the confraternities and their structure and work had been viable within the socio-economic situation of the society. In times of lucrative trade between Macao and China, the city's inhabitants prospered rapidly. This influx of Japanese and Mexican silver in the colony's coffers facilitated the smooth and swift fundraising activities of the confraternities that aimed to alleviate the destitute in the city and the nearby villages, the maintenance of the churches, and financing the Chinese missions. In times of decline, the confraternities served as social welfare providers to impoverished people. The confraternities fostered a sense of community dependent on the maternal protection of the Virgin Mary and Divine Providence. With the rapid economic development of the nineteenth century, Macau experienced rapid expansion, growth, and transformations, affecting the city and its members. Despite foreign trade and an emerging individualistic society, a growing economic inequality accompanied these transformations. The rise of individualism and more hours allotted for work had made confraternities old-fashioned or irrelevant—the emphasis on the works of charity would be an additional burden

to those aspiring for spiritual perfection or ascent, and the emphasis on its communal activities would be not only burdensome but also irreconcilable to the *zeitgeist*. This milieu made the *congregações* viable for believers because of its emphasis on the individual and on instilling a habit of prayer and pious practices in children, which would be likely to serve as a comfort and solace in the demanding life of the workforce. However, the nature of the Legion of Mary, which emphasised a balance between personal sanctification and involvement in the community through charitable works, tempered the individualism catered by the *congregações*.

### Regulating public display of piety: feasts and processions

The *Cidade da Virgem* is well known for its public display of piety, most evident in its religious processions throughout the year. These processions, which are remarkably triumphalist, Tridentine, and self-confident,<sup>37</sup> were led by the *confrarias*<sup>38</sup> and held on major liturgical feasts of the Catholic Church. These characteristics of Macau processions stem from the Catholic understanding of invocation of the saints and veneration of relics and sacred images as articulated by the Council of Trent: “the honour that is shown to them is referred to the original subjects they represent.”<sup>39</sup> The processions are triumphalist since the Church is assured that God has conquered evil; it is self-confident because the intercessory interventions of Mary and the saints for the city are unfailing. Its triumphalism, however, is twofold—first, it affirms God’s victory over evil, and second, it manifests the Portuguese projection of dominating power over urban space.

However, these processions in the city have been reduced drastically in terms of number and scale. There are only three processions in honour of the Virgin Mary in the city today, compared with at least eight Marian processions organised by the local church at the dawn of the twentieth century. The most prominent is held annually on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May, in honour of the Marian apparition at Fatima, the second is in honour of Nossa Senhora do Carmo held at Taipa every 16<sup>th</sup> of July, while the third one remembers the Seven Sorrows of

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<sup>37</sup> The most triumphalist procession in Macau is unsurprisingly Christocentric—i.e. the *Procissão do Nosso Senhor Bom Jesus Dos Passos* held at the beginning of Lent. Its triumphalist character lies in the subtlety of its message— the triumph of the Christian religion once persecuted ferociously by the Roman Empire manifested in the usage of the imperial symbols of the Roman Empire in a Christian procession. Morgan, ‘Em Procissão Solene a Deus Orando’.

<sup>38</sup> The origins of these processions remain obscure yet Teixeira (1976) in his *Bispos, Missionários, Igrejas, e Escolas* notes that they were probably initiated by the same confraternities as expressions of their piety, with the support of the local presbyterium, rather than being initiated by the clerics themselves. *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> The original Latin text states: *sed quoniam honos, qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quae illae repraesentant*. Decree on the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of the Saints and on Sacred Images, December 3, 1563 in Peter Hünermann et al. (eds), *Compendium of creeds*, 1823.

Mary, organised by the Congregação de Nossa Senhora das Dores based at Saint Anthony's Church.<sup>40</sup>

The observance of liturgical feasts and days dedicated to Mary are also public displays of Marian piety. The global observance of dedicating the month of May to the Blessed Virgin Mary and October to the Holy Rosary was also observed in Macau parishes and other church institutions. In addition, 25 Marian liturgical feasts were celebrated in Macau—some of which are observed by the whole city, while some were limited to a parish or Catholic institution. These feasts were preceded by intensive novena Masses, sermons, and other pious practices, reinforcing believers' sense of belonging and community. However, notable are the absences of devotions and celebrations to Mary that were identified as mainly Chinese, such as the Our Lady of Donglu and Our Lady of Sheshan.

The association of these processions with major liturgical feasts implies regulation of the spontaneity and frequency of this public expression of religious piety. Highly regulated movements of the body during the performance of the processions, as evidenced by the instructions written in prayer books and the tendency to mimic the movements of the confraternity members leading the procession, are suggestive of this apparent regulation that aims to maintain a distinct Catholic identity in contrast to the religious practices and processions during the festivals of the local deities. The absence of observing of localised and indigenised Marian celebrations demonstrates this intention to assert the distinction of Catholicism from Chinese traditional beliefs.

Another aspect of the Catholic processions is their intense preparations: the series of novenas and masses in anticipation of the feast; the *missa cantata* before the procession; decorations for the altar and the processional carriage; the financial spending that accompanies these preparations, and the interior spiritual preparation of the devotees for the feast.<sup>41</sup> For instance, the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in the fiscal year of 1924–1925 spent around 450 Macanese patacas for the stipend for the priests, organist, choirs, servers, marching band for the procession, purchase of veils, and church decorations in preparation for and on the day of the feast of the Our Lady of the Holy Rosary in October. In the same

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<sup>40</sup> These processions were held every 8<sup>th</sup> December on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception; the first Sunday of October in honour of the Our Lady of the Holy Rosary; 13<sup>th</sup> May to commemorate the Fatima apparitions; the procession in honour of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, organised by the Paróquia de S. Lourenço, on the feast of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte every 13<sup>th</sup> August; the feast of the Assumption of Mary on 15<sup>th</sup> August; another Fatima procession on 12<sup>th</sup> of October, and a procession in honour of Mary, Help of Christians every 24<sup>th</sup> May which began in 1910 with the arrival of the Salesian missionaries. Teixeira, *O Culto de Maria Em Macau*, 160-171. See also the list provided in Morgan, 'Em Procissão Solene a Deus Orando'. Morgan notes that the Fatima processions in Macau began in 1929 and attributes their introduction to the city to Portuguese colonialism.

<sup>41</sup> The major expenses of the confraternities come from the preparation for the feast days and processions which are reflected in their financial reports dated 1924–1925 presented by Teixeira, *As Confrarias Em Macau*, 124, 179, 229, 246, 300, 304, 310, 329, 369, 398.

fiscal year, the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedies spent around 340 Macanese patacas in preparation for and on the feast of the Our Lady of Remedies during Eastertide.

### **Conclusion: Making Sense of the Regulation**

In re-reading Teixeira's work, it is possible to perceive the importation of Portuguese Marian piety informed by the *Reconquista* and the missionary milieu to their enclave in China. This *Reconquista* mentality sought to preserve Catholic orthodoxy and orthopraxis in their territories. Being concerned with confessional purity, the Portuguese resorted to instilling indirect social discipline in Chinese believers concerning Marian piety. The establishment utilised existing ecclesial, medieval, and early modern structures such as the church, schools, fortresses, confraternities, feasts, and processions to regulate and reinforce this Marian piety.

Moreover, the missionaries who arrived in Macau adhered to Marian maximalism, as reflected by their piety. This adherence posed a challenge for their missionary work - to prevent giving the impression to the Chinese that Catholics adore Mary along with the Triune God and the misidentification of Mary with Guanyin or Mazu. The clerics and the Portuguese in Macau, however, considered the latter as the priority and approached the earlier problem through social disciplines such as catechism in schools and for catechumens, and other regulating structures and Christo-centric practices such as adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, theophoric processions, and the *dos Passos* procession in Lent.

This suggests a reason for the implicit hesitancy of the local ecclesial hierarchy in indigenising the Blessed Virgin Mary through reinforcements of Luso-style Marian imagery and piety, and consequently, the hesitancy of Macau Catholics to accept this. This is further reinforced by the close relationship of the Portuguese government with the local ecclesial hierarchy as stipulated in the *Padroado*. With the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary through constructing Portuguese fortresses, churches, and Catholic schools, and the regulations on the piety of Catholic believers through processions, confraternities, and patronages of certain human activities and aspirations, Mary has been associated with the established socio-political order brought by the legacy of the Portuguese empire and the *Padroado*.

This, in a sense, sets Macau apart from the rest of Chinese Catholic communities, where the processes of indigenising and inculturating Mary had begun with the Franciscan missionaries to China during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) and only halted during the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup> This did not apply to Macau, as evidenced by Teixeira's work.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Clarke, *The Virgin Mary*, 5–6.

<sup>43</sup> Although the façade of the Igreja de Madre de Deus gives an impression of accommodation in Macau, this process [progress?] made by the Jesuits is only confined within the walls of the College of Saint Paul and would probably not have an effect as intense as what happened in the mission areas of the Jesuits, in terms of

Does it stem from the intention of the Macau local hierarchy through the centuries, if not the Portuguese, to instil an orthodox religious identity for Macau Catholics in contrast to the non-Catholic locals or even with the rest of the Chinese Catholics? Is this Catholic identity of Macau, Marian, Macanese or Eurasian, similar to the Portuguese and akin to early modern Europe, a product of that indirect social disciplining? In considering these questions, one should also recognise that the Catholics in Macau did not undergo persecution, unlike their counterparts in mainland China or Japan, who needed to indigenise (or even) syncretise Mary to evade the persecuting authorities.<sup>44</sup>

Nowadays, efforts are being undertaken by the local hierarchy to indigenise Mary to respond to the theological and ecclesial movement favouring inculturation. Such local undertakings include the veneration of a Marian image wearing Chinese garb at the Sé Cathedral during the Lunar New Year—the same Chinese Madonna mentioned earlier. Despite these ecclesial efforts of inculturation and localisation, the identification of the Catholic Church in Macau with the Portuguese and their interests persists.<sup>45</sup>

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Marian piety, in China. This could be attributed to the regulated interaction and presence of the Chinese in Macau during the same period, and the reclusive structures of mission training of the Jesuits in the enclave. Porter, “‘The Past Is Present’”, 69–70.

<sup>44</sup> Gang Song and Xintong Wang, ‘Holy Mother or Bodhisattva? Syncretic Mary/Guanyin Imagery in Two Late Imperial Chinese Paintings’, *More Universal than Catholicism? Mary Among Asian Religions*, Singapore: Initiative for the Study of Asian Catholics, 2023; Stephen R. Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan: A Study of Their Development, Beliefs and Rituals to the Present Day*, Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library, 1998.

<sup>45</sup> Morgan, ‘Em Procissão Solene a Deus Orando’; Kuo et al., ‘Catholicism and Its Civic Engagement’, 64, 67.





Figure.1. Map of Macau Peninsula, 1912. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. Places marked with blue dots are churches dedicated to Mary. Those marked with a green dot are fortresses dedicated to Mary.