

# Colonial (mis)understandings

*Portugal and Europe in global perspective,  
1450-1900*



I CHAM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
17-20 July, 2013 | Lisbon

## TIMETABLE

	Wed 17 July	Thu 18 July	Fri 19 July	Sat 20 July
12:30-14:00	Registration	Panel session 3 (P01, P08, P18, P19, P20)	Panel session 7 (P05, P06, P07, P14)	
14:00-15:30	Panel session 1 (P03, P04, P09, P12, P23)	Coffee break	Coffee break	
15:30-16:00	Coffee break	Panel session 4 (RT1, P01, P02, P10, P11, P24)	Panel session 8 (RT3, P06, P15, P21, P22, P25)	
16:00-17:30	Panel session 2 (P03, P04, P09, P12, P23)	Lunch	Lunch	Walking tours: Chiado 10:30- Baixa - Alfama 14:30- Belém 14:30-
18:30-19:30	Keynote	Panel session 5 (RT2, P01, P02, P10, P11, P24)	Panel session 9 (RT4, P15, P16, P17, P21)	
19:30-	Reception	Coffee break	Coffee break	
		Panel session 6 (P01, P02, P10, P11, P24)	Panel session 10 (P15, P16, P17, P21)	
			Banquet	

# 1st CHAM International Conference

Centro de História de Além-Mar, Universidade Nova de Lisboa –  
Universidade dos Açores, Lisbon, Portugal, 17-20 July 2013

Conference programme and book of abstracts

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# Welcome address from the Conference organiser

Dear Delegates,

We are delighted to welcome you to the first CHAM International Conference on the theme of Colonial (Mis)understandings. Portugal and Europe in Global Perspective, 1450-1900. It is just over a year since we sat down together to brainstorm this theme and came to the conclusion that it merited much greater consideration, and that Lisbon offered special conditions for promoting discussion of the current state of Global History and the processes of interpretation that were initiated by European Expansion.

It seems that our thoughts were shared by many others as the call for papers was extremely well received, and the conference will involve more than 200 participants, and over 20 panels on themes ranging from commercial and religious interaction to cartographical and embodied perceptions of the new global connections. This enthusiasm bodes well for the field and the continuation of the CHAM International Conference as a regular biannual event.

This conference reflects the combined efforts of many different people and we would like to thank the Scientific Committee, Panel Conveners, Participants, Research Assistants, Volunteers and NomadIt for contributing to its organization and success, as well as of course the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and the Municipal Government of Lisbon for providing excellent conditions for hosting the event, and the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, the Fundação Jorge Álvares, Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento, Fundação Oriente, and El Corte Inglés for their generous financial support.

We hope you enjoy the experience of the first CHAM International Conference, and look forward to your feedback at the end of the event. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact us. We wish everyone a great time in Lisbon over the coming days.

Executive Committee

## Welcome address from CHAM

Dear Delegates,

It is with great pride that CHAM hosts historians from all over the world for the first CHAM International Conference, which we hope will become a permanent space for dialogue on questions related to Global History. I am certain this conference will represent an important moment for the dissemination of innovative historical research on themes like interculturality and globalization.

On behalf of the Board of Directors of CHAM, I would like to welcome you and hope you will feel at home with us during the conference. CHAM is a research centre for the study of overseas history and comprises 213 researchers, including 74 full-time researchers, 26 of whom are post-doctoral fellows from Brazil, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United States. In addition, CHAM has 54 affiliated doctoral students and is involved in numerous national and international research projects and networks. We invite you to visit our centre during your stay to become better acquainted with our activities and publications.

Finally, I would like to wish you an excellent stay in Lisbon, a city that is open to the sea and to relations between cultures, always welcoming of visitors, and a meeting point between the Old and New Worlds.

João Paulo Oliveira e Costa  
Director of CHAM

# Concept

Since the fifteenth century, an extended geographical, natural, scientific and political reality has posed a continuous challenge to the ways in which the world has been understood historically. And misunderstood. The aim of this conference is to address the processes of interpretation, both explicit and implicit, recognized and obscured, that were initiated by European Expansion. Imperial spaces, whether governed by the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, French or other Europeans, set the stage for contact, confrontation, and conflict in colonized spaces such as Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, India, or Martinique where regimes of translation, circulation, and resistance emerged. How many implicit misunderstandings or tacit silences characterized human interactions in the face of a new, shared, and connected reality?

In recent years concepts such as the 'first globalization', 'global history' and 'world history', have attempted to connect these multiple realities. But how have these approaches been understood and put into practice? And what challenges do they pose to scholars today? Intellectual production has been prolific and this is an opportune moment to reflect upon these questions, and assess what has been achieved and what strides are yet to be made.





# Practical information

## Using this programme

The timetable on the inside front cover provides times of the keynote, panel sessions and other main events. For timings of specific panels, consult either the timetable on the inside cover which shows what is happening at any given moment, or the *List of roundtables and panels* which also lists locations and convenors.

The maps on the inside back cover show the FCSH campus, the *Edifício B1* and the immediate vicinity.

The section which follows offers practical information for your stay in Lisbon.

The *Events and meetings* section informs you of other activities being held this week, outside the core academic programme, including the reception, dinner and other meetings.

The *List of roundtables and panels* and the full set of abstracts follow and should allow you to navigate the content of the conference.

Finally, at the end of the book, there is the *List of participants* to help you identify the panels in which particular colleagues will present their work.

## Practical information

If you need any help interpreting the information in the conference book, please ask one of the conference team at the reception desk.

## Timing of panels

Panels have been allocated a number of 90-minute sessions appropriate to the number of papers accepted. Each session can hold three or four papers.. Convenors are free to allocate the time attributed to their sessions, as they prefer, although in general we have suggested that each presenter be allotted a maximum of 30 minutes (for presentation and questions/discussion); however, convenors should let presenters know about precise timings before the conference. We are unable to represent specific intra-panel timings in our programme, but request that panels follow the order of papers as they appear in the programme. Delegates reading the conference book will have to work on the assumption that papers will be evenly distributed through the panel.

## Timing of individual papers

Each 90-minute session accommodates three to four papers. This can be used as a rough guide for establishing which papers will be presented when, within multi-session panels. However with this diversity, the fact that convenors have a degree of flexibility in structuring their panels, and the fact that last minute cancellations inevitably occur, you will understand that we simply cannot guarantee the success of panel-hopping!

There is a running order placed on the door of each room, so that convenors are able to indicate any last minute changes there.

If you are very interested in hearing a particular paper, but do not wish to sit through the whole panel, we recommend you check the running order and/or directly with the convenors at the start of the panel to find out when the paper will actually be presented.

## Venue

The venue is compact, as you will see from the map on the back inside cover. The core of the conference takes place on the FCSH campus in *Edifício B1*, comprising 2 floors (*Piso 0* and *Piso 1*). The reception desk and conference organisers' (NomadIT) office are in the foyer space. The panel rooms are distributed on the two floors.

Apart from the pre-existing campus signs there will be additional conference signage giving directions to all rooms and facilities. Each section of the book indicates locations being used. If you have any problems finding your way around, please ask a member of the conference team for assistance.

## Keynote location

The keynote will be given at the Salão Nobre of Lisbon's City Hall (Paços do Conselho da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa), located in the Baixa, close to the Praça do Comercio. The nearest Metro station is Terreiro do Paço (blue line). The City Hall was first built here after the earthquake of 1755, according to an architectural project signed by Eugénio dos Santos Carvalho, but was completely destroyed by a fire on 19th November, 1863. A new building was then constructed in the same place, between 1865 and 1880, based on a project designed by the city architect of the time, Domingues Parente da Silva. The plan for the façade was modified as a result of a decision by Engineer Ressano Garcia, who was responsible for the Technical Services of the City, thus creating the large classical frieze with sculptural decorations by French sculptor Anatole Calmels.

## Food

Registration includes refreshments (tea/coffee twice daily), which will be served in the Atrium of the *Edifício B1*; and Lunch, which will be served at the Cafeteria located in the terrace of the Campus, just outside the *Edifício B1*.

## Conference team

There is a team of helpful staff, familiar with the programme, university and surrounding area, to whom you can turn when in need of assistance. Team members can be identified by their brilliant conference t-shirts and by their badges. If you cannot see a team member, please ask for help at the reception desk in the foyer space.

All financial arrangements must be dealt with in the conference organisers' (NomadIT) office in the foyer space.

## Reception desk and conference office opening hours

The reception desk may be staffed a little longer than the conference office, however approximate hours of operation will be:

Wednesday: 12:30-19:15; Thursday: 09:00-18:15; Friday: 09:00-16:45.

## Emergency contact details

During the conference, emergency messages should be sent to cham(at)nomadit.co.uk. The conference organiser, Rohan Jackson of NomadIT, can be contacted on Portuguese cell, +351 919 434474. There will be a message board for delegates at the reception desk.

The Portuguese emergency services number is 112.

## Wireless internet for those with their own laptops

There is wireless access within the conference venue, on FCSHUNL, the Faculty's own network, which offers free access throughout the campus and in all the buildings. No login information is required. Signal is available in both *Edificio B1* and in the terrace.

## Internet for those without laptops

For participants who are not travelling with a laptop, there are two rooms where internet access is available. The *Sala do Centro de Informática* is located in *Edifício B2* on the ground floor near the Colibri Bookshop (the entrance is outside). It is open every workday, from 9am to 10pm. Twenty-two computers are available as well as 15 stations with either cable and/or wi-fi connections. Printing is also available for a fee. The second room is *Sala de Estudo* (Study Room) in Tower B between the bar and the Students Association (AE) area. It is open 24 hours. There are 5 computers and 10 stations for cable connection.

## Printing

Printing can be done from a USB memory stick or via internet at NovaCópia which has two campus locations. The first is in Tower B, inside the Students Association (AE) area, up the stairs from the main entrance on your left. The other one is close to the Colibri BookShop, located in *Edifício B2* on the ground floor.

## Conference badges and dinner tickets

On arrival at the reception desk, you will have been given this book and your conference badge. Inserted in your plastic badge holder will be your banquet tickets (if you have booked). You will need your badge to obtain lunch in the *Cafeteria*, to gain entry to the reception and the banquet ticket must be presented to gain entry to the banquet – please do not lose it.

We re-use the plastic badge holders and lanyards, so please hand these in at the boxes provided at the reception desk (or to a member of the conference team) when leaving the conference for the last time. This not only saves resources, but helps keep registration costs to a minimum. With similar concern for the environment, we would also ask delegates to please be careful to use the recycling bins for paper and plastic.

## Practical information

The conference organisers' office will be running an exchange for those who wish to sell their banquet tickets; so if you are now interested in attending the banquet, but haven't pre-booked a ticket, please leave your name at the NomadIT office.

# Local travel

## Taxi phone numbers

Autocoope - Taxis de Lisboa: +351 217 932 756 (<http://www.taxislisboa.com/>)

GEOTAXI: +351 218 444 400

Taxis 7C: +351 934 959 169 / +351 966 346 030

Taxitours + 351 964 120 673 (<http://www.taxitours.com.pt/>)

Rádio-táxis de Lisboa: +351 218 119 000

Taxis are a good way of getting around. Lisbon taxis are cheap. Taxi fares are calculated on the basis of an initial flat charge, currently 2,55€. If luggage is carried (bigger than 55x35x20cm) a further 1.6€ is charged. The call-out is charged at 0.80€.

From the airport to most locations in central Lisbon should not cost more than 12€ plus any baggage and call-out charges. Meters are displayed in all licensed taxis so the fare should not come as a shock. Tips are voluntary: 10% is the norm.

Lisbon local taxis charge 25% more after 10pm and on weekends (using Rate 2 rather than Rate 1). The fare outside of the city is calculated on a km basis upon leaving the city limits, about 0.40€/km, and any motorway/bridge tolls are paid by the client. When taking a cab, try to enquire about the price to your destination first. Save your receipt and check if the license plate matches the receipt details. See if the meter is running and rate code is correct.

## Metro - Metropolitano de Lisboa

This is one of the easiest ways to get around Lisbon. Accessible and relatively cheap, the metro has four main lines:

- yellow (Rato - Odivelas)
- green (Cais-do-Sodré - Telheiras)
- blue (Santa Apolónia - Amadora Este)
- red (S. Sebastião- Oriente)

NB: the stations closest to the conference venue are Campo Pequeno (yellow line) or Praça de Espanha (blue line).

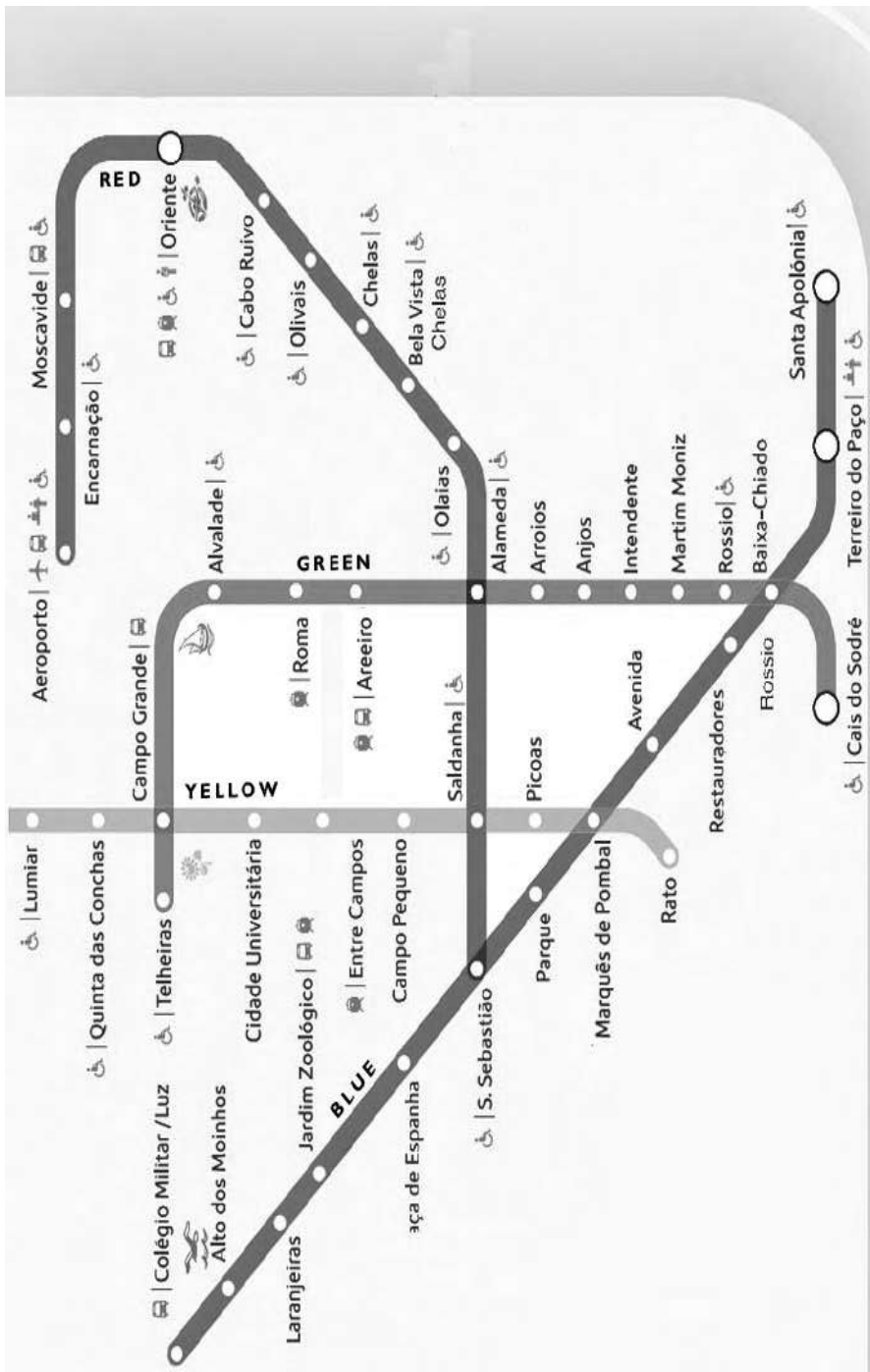
### Ticket

Before hopping on the metro you must buy an electronic ticket, *Viva Viagem*, and charge it up (minimum charge €5). The card itself costs 50 cents and can be bought at the ticket office or using the vending machines. Upon charging the card, keep the receipt as it may be useful if you need to change a damaged card. A ticket exclusively for the metro can only be charged up to €20. You can check your card balance using the machines, choosing the option '*carregamento/leitura*'. Tip: recharge your card with the approximate number of trips in mind, as you get a small bonus each time you charge it with more than €5.

*A single ticket* costs €1.25 and is valid for one journey, after validation, throughout the metro. *A one-day ticket* Carris/Metro costs €5 and is valid for an unlimited number of journeys throughout the Carris and Metro networks for 24 hours after validation.

### Hours

The first trains leave 06:30 from the terminal stations of each line; the last trains leave at 01:00 from the terminal stations of each line.





## Business hours

Opening hours for shops and businesses across Portugal are usually 9.30am to 7.30pm, Monday to Saturday. Malls close late (11pm or 12am) daily. Cafés tend to open from 8am or 9am until 8pm daily; restaurants 12-3pm and 7-10pm daily; banks 8.30am to 3pm (Monday to Friday); pharmacies 9am to 8pm, Monday to Friday; and supermarkets 9.30am to 8.30pm daily.

## About Lisbon

In 1620, Nicolao d'Oliveira explained that Lisbon, the principal city and head of the Kingdom of Portugal, was “more populated than all other cities of Europe”. Oliveira emphasized the “very healthy, mild air” of Lisbon, and vividly described the wide variety of goods that arrived in the city from India, Iran, Brazil, Ethiopia or Arabia. Only five years later, in 1625, António Coelho Gasco called Lisbon a “princess”, “imperial lady” and “Emporium of commerce”, and also indicated that “all the peoples of the world, even the most remote” travelled to Lisbon.

These words may inspire the visitor to discover the real city that lies behind the imperial rhetoric and Eurocentric view of the foreign peoples and goods that arrived to Lisbon, as well as, of course, behind the ghostly heritage of the 1755 earthquake, which resulted in the complete reconstruction of “Baixa”, in a new, “enlightened” fashion. Lisbon was on the first true world cities and still is a very cosmopolitan one.

We invite you to explore World Heritage architectural marvels, the Jerónimos Monastery and Belem Tower, with their intricate carvings showcasing all the glory and excitement of the Age of Exploration, and to discover the treasures from the East and the West inside the world-class Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Fundação Oriente, Museu Nacional do Azulejo, or the acclaimed Design Museum (MUDE) and the Berardo Museum of Contemporary Art. The city’s legendary seven hills will also seduce you with their characteristic

## Practical information

mosaic pavements and dazzling tiled façades, and will reward you with strategically-placed viewpoints offering breathtaking panoramas over the city after a ride on a charming old tram (don't miss No. 25 and 28)

You'll find yourself wandering through colourful 18th-century squares downtown and getting lost in the medieval maze of the Alfama district overlooked by an ancient (reconstructed) castle. Follow that with a dive into the spectacular Oceanarium and spend your nights indulging in the city's gastronomic delights, listening to the sounds of Fado, or bar-hopping through the cobbled alleys of the shabby-chic Bairro Alto district. You're sure to become mesmerized by Lisbon's wonderful mix of the old-fashioned and the hip; of the historic and the modern, but you'll also want to go outside the city to the fairytale town of Sintra and to the cosmopolitan shores of Cascais and Estoril.

Please check our walking tours if you wish to discover Lisbon with us.

## Lisbon districts

*Baixa*: broad squares, 18th-century architecture, patterned pavements, popular cafes

*Bairro Alto & Chiado*: vibrant nightlife, picturesque streets, classic and alternative culture, chic shopping, restaurants

*Belém*: the Age of Discovery, grandiose monuments, museums

*Alfama*: medieval maze, spectacular views, an imposing castle, the sounds of Fado

*Uptown*: masterpieces and museum treasures, shopping malls

*Parque das Nações*: the 21st century by the Tagus; futuristic architecture

## Closest metro stations

Bairro Alto: Baixa-Chiado (blue line)

Cais-do-Sodré: Cais-do-Sodré (green line)

Alfama: Santa Apolónia (blue line)

24 de Julho: Cais-do-Sodré

Parque das Nações: Oriente

Docas: Tram no. 15, 18; bus no. 28, 714, 727, 732

## Nightlife

Traditionally, the centre of Lisbon's nightlife has been the Bairro Alto, with its fado clubs, traditional, canteen-style bars, and upscale discos. In the past year, the requalification of the riverside quarter of Cais-do-Sodr  led to its rebirth as a nightlife centre – currently the most trendy - with a large spectrum of bars, *tascas* (traditional eating places) and clubs. The bars are often open as late as 2am and the clubs from 4am to 6pm. Much of the action also moves onto the Docas (Docks) district, situated just to the east of Ponte 25 de Abril (bridge). But don't rule out other districts such as 24 de Julho, Alfama, Bica, Parque das Na es (Expo).

### 10 nightlife possibilities\*

*Club Lux*: the city's most stylish club

*Club Music Box*

*Clube Ferrovi rio*

*Bairro Alto bar hop*: Lisbon's lively street party

*Docas*: cosmopolitan bars in an attractive setting

*Chapit *: drink among young artists and with the best night-time city views at this restaurant-bar

*Senhor Vinho*: the city's best Fado House

*Solar do Vinho do Porto*: sample the country's famous wine

*Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*: world-class classical music program

*Op Art*: watch the sun rise to the sound of music

\*check for the locations here:

<http://www.golisbon.com/night-life/>

Practical information

## Useful links

Agenda Cultural de Lisboa:

[http://agendax.pt/cgi-bin/iportal\\_agendax/](http://agendax.pt/cgi-bin/iportal_agendax/)

goLisbon: <http://www.golisbon.com/night-life>

Lisbon Guide: <http://www.lisbon-guide.info>

Turismo de Lisboa:

[http://www.visitlisboa.com/Home\\_UK.aspx?lang=en-GB](http://www.visitlisboa.com/Home_UK.aspx?lang=en-GB)

Time Out Lisbon: <http://timeout.sapo.pt>

Tips Guide Lisboa: <http://www.tipsguidelisboa.com5>



# Events and meetings

There are other events taking place, beside the panels and keynotes. These are all described here.

## Wednesday 17th July

Opening session, 18:30, Lisbon City Hall, Salão Nobre dos Paços do Conselho da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa

The conference will open with a welcome from CHAM and the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences and a Keynote by professor Sanjay Subrahmanyam, entitled *Collection and Comprehension: Europeans, Ottomans and Mughals, 1550-1750*.

Events and meetings

## **Welcome reception, 19:30**

CHAM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE will host a reception with wine and canapés which will take place in the same building.

## **Thursday 18th July**

### **CHAM Roundtables**

Two roundtables to present and discuss ongoing research projects and strategies of the Centro de História de Além-Mar will take place during the days of the conference.

#### **Roundtable 1, 11:30, Sala 76, Piso 0**

Interactions between rivals: the Christian mission and Buddhist sects in Japan during the Portuguese presence (c. 1549 - c. 1647)

#### **Roundtable 2, 14:30, Sala 76, Piso 0**

Counting colonial population: demography and the use of statistics in the Portuguese Empire, 1776-1875

## **Friday 19th July**

### **CHAM Roundtables**

Two further roundtables to present and discuss ongoing research projects and strategies of the Centro de História de Além-Mar will take place during the days of the conference.

#### **Roundtable 3, 11:30, Sala 76, Piso 0**

All his worldly possessions: the Estate of the 5th Duke of Bragança, D. Teodósio I

## Roundtable 4, 14:30, Sala 76, Piso 0

Salvador da Bahia: American, European, and African forging of a colonial capital City (BAHIA 16-19)

## Conference banquet, 19:00 onwards, Casa do Alentejo

We will welcome you with a glass of Port wine and traditional *entradas* in the patio of this provincial house. The Alentejo region is renowned for its gastronomy, wines, beautiful landscape and traditional singing. A 17th-century palace, decorated in modernist Neo-Gothic and Neo-Arabic styles, the Casa do Alentejo is located in the Baixa, near the *Praça dos Restauradores*.

The banquet will include welcome drinks and snacks served in the sunlit patio followed by dinner upstairs in the banquet hall. Dinner includes appetizers and a four-course meal as well as wine and other refreshments. Vegetarian options are also available.



Tickets for the banquet had to be pre-booked when registering.

To get to 58, Rua das Portas de Santo Antão, you need to take a small side-street (Rua do Jardim do Regedor) which will take you from Restauradores to this “hidden treasure”.

Look for the blue neon lights on the façade.

## Saturday 20th July

### Guided walking tours

#### Option 1 – Chiado, starts 10:30

This tour will begin at the Garden of São Pedro de Alcântara, where there is an excellent view of the skyline of the city and its relation to the river, including the castle and the cathedral. Then, we descend one of Lisbon's seven hills, passing by the Glória Funicular. About 150 meters downwards we find the Church and Museum of São Roque, which are worth a short visit. We then proceed to Largo do Carmo, 400 meters away, to visit the ruins of the old convent destroyed by the earthquake of 1755 and enjoy the view of the Santa Justa Lift. Another 400 meters takes us to Largo Camões and the heart of Chiado, where one of the most emblematic coffeehouses of Lisbon, *A Brasileira*, is located. You can use your free time to explore the surrounding streets or take a break on the many terraces of the cafés and bars in this area.

*Meeting point:* Garden/Lookout Point of São Pedro de Alcântara, by the fountain in the center. Your guide will be wearing a conference t-shirt.

#### Option 2 – Baixa - Alfama, starts 14:30

This tour begins in Praça do Comércio where we will pass through the triumphal arch that heads towards *Cais das Colunas*, the quayside area across the square. Exiting the square we will walk up the hill to visit Lisbon's Sé Cathedral and St. George Castle. Less than 600 meters away from Praça do Comércio, the cathedral is the oldest church of Lisbon. Since the beginning of its construction, in the year 1147, the building has been modified several times and survived many earthquakes. From Largo da Sé to the castle is a 12-minute walk or 5-minute tram ride, stopping at the Portas do Sol lookout point, a beautiful terrace overlooking the city's oldest and most characteristic neighborhood, Alfama. We will then walk up to the castle, where you can experience breathtaking views of the city.



Have a drink at the kiosk cafés, and feel free to use your time to explore the village-like medieval streets of Alfama.

*Meeting point:* Praça do Comércio, by the statue in the center. Your guide will be wearing a conference t-shirt.

### **Option 3 – Belém, starts 14:30**

We will begin at the Tower of Belém, one of Lisbon's most iconic monuments classified as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. We shall take some time to admire its architectural details. Walking along the river Tagus for 800 meters we will reach the landmark Discoveries Monument, where Portugal's famous explorers are gigantically sculpted in stone. It currently houses an exhibition on Henry the Navigator. Across the road is Praça do Império Garden facing the Jerónimos Monastery, another World Heritage Site. Here, we can relax and enjoy Lisbon's famous custard tarts sold at the nearby Antiga Confeitaria de Belém. You should not miss the chance to visit the church and cloister of Jerónimos, the fairytale carriages of the Coach Museum or paintings by names like Andy Warhol, Picasso and Dali at the Berardo Museum of Modern Art.

*Meeting point:* *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*. Your guide will be wearing a conference t-shirt.

Table of roundtables and panels

Table of roundtables and panels						
Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors	
RT1	Roundtable: Interactions between rivals: the Christian mission and Buddhist sects in Japan during the Portuguese presence (c. 1549 - c. 1647)	Thu	11:30-13:00	Sala 76, Piso 0	Alexandra Curvelo Campos (Museu Nacional do Azulejo)	
RT2	Roundtable: Counting colonial population: demography and the use of statistics in the Portuguese Empire, 1776-1875	Thu	14:30-16:00	Sala 76, Piso 0	Paulo Teodoro de Matos (FCSH)	
RT3	Roundtable: All his worldly possessions: the Estate of the 5th Duke of Bragança, D. Teodósio I	Fri	11:30-13:00	Sala 76, Piso 0	Jessica Hallett (FCSH-UNL)	

Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
RT4	Roundtable: Salvador da Bahia: American, European, and African forging of a colonial capital City (BAHIA 16-19)	Fri	14:30-16:00	Sala 76, Piso 0	Pedro Cardim (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)
P01	Fighting monopolies, building global empires: power building beyond the borders of empire (15th-18th centuries)	Thu	09:30-11:00, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Antifeatro 1, Piso 0	Catia Antunes (Leiden University), Amélia Polónia (University of Porto - Faculty of Arts)
P02	The materiality of religion in Africa during the European expansion	Thu	11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Sala 78, Piso 1	Kalle Kananaja (European University Institute), Madalina Florescu (Universidade do Porto)

Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
P03	Out of India: reinstating the empire in the periphery. Fluid Portuguese powers in different Asian political contexts from the Persian Gulf to Japan (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)	Wed	14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30	Sala 38, Piso 0	Manuel Lobato (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical), João Teles e Cunha (Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa)
P04	The land issue in the early modern overseas empires	Wed	14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30	Sala 78, Piso 1	Jose Vicente Serrao (ISCTE-IUL)
P05	Rivalry and conflict? Dutch-Portuguese colonial exchanges, 1580-1715	Fri	09:30-11:00	Sala 38, Piso 0	Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (University of Macau)
P06	Franciscan circulations: friars, texts and written culture in the early modern Portuguese empire	Fri	09:30-11:00, 11:30-13:00	Sala 78, Piso 1	Federico Palomo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
P07	Text or image? Western receptions of Indo-Persian manuscripts	Fri	09:30-11:00	Antifeatro 1, Piso 0	Audrey Truschke (University of Cambridge), Yael Rice (Amherst College)
P08	Jews and new-Christians in the Portuguese imperial space (16th-18th centuries): social, economic and political dynamics and identity constructions	Thu	09:30-11:00	Sala 42, Piso 0	José Tavim (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical)
P09	Christian understandings and critiques of Asian religions (1600-1800)	Wed	14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30	Antifeatro 1, Piso 0	David Lorenzen (El Colegio de Mexico)
P10	The overseas judiciary: justice administration and municipal governing in colonial spaces	Thu	11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Sala 44, Piso 1	Nuno Camarinhas (Fac. Direito (UNL))

Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
P11	(Mis-)understanding religious art in colonial encounters	Thu	11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Sala 38, Piso 0	Jens Baumgarten (Federal University of São Paulo), Alberto Saviello (Freie Universität Berlin)
P12	Frontier exchanges in colonial Latin America	Wed	14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30	Sala 44, Piso 1	Tomás A. Mantecón (University of Cantabria)
P13	The Iberian body in the global landscape (16th and 17th centuries)	Thu	09:30-11:00	Sala 78, Piso 1	Rachel Stein (Columbia University), Elizabeth Spragins (Stanford University), Ana Mendez-Oliver (Columbia University)
P14	Embodied perspectives: visual geographies of the Portuguese empire	Fri	09:30-11:00	Sala 42, Piso 0	Amy Buono (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science), Sabina de Cavi (Universidad de Córdoba)

Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
P15	Women, land and power in the European Empires	Fri	11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Sala 44, Piso 1	Eugénia Rodrigues (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical), Mariana Candido (Princeton University)
P16	Political communication in the pluricontinental Portuguese monarchy: kingdom, Atlantic and Brazil (1580-1808)	Fri	14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Sala 38, Piso 0	Nuno Monteiro (Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa) <i>(to be confirmed)</i>
P17	From Lisbon to the overseas Iberian world: commercial routes and global trade (15th-18th centuries)	Fri	14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Sala 78, Piso 1	Nunziatella Alessandrini (Centro de História de Além Mar), Benedetta Maria Crivelli (Università degli studi di Milano)

Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
P19	The 'industrialization' and circulation of sculptures (1450-1800): works, technology and materials within Europe and between Europe and America	Thu	09:30-11:00	Sala 38, Piso 0	Ana Duarte Rodrigues (FCSH)
P20	The eye of the beholder: perceptions on/of the Old City of Goa from the 16th century to the present	Thu	09:30-11:00	Sala 44, Piso 1	Sidh Losa Mendiratta (Universidade Lusófona do Porto), Alice Santiago Faria (CHAM)



Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
P21	Relics, altars and other sacred things in the juridical construction of religious spaces in Ibero-America (15th-17th centuries)	Fri	11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Antifeatro 1, Piso 0	Benedetta Albani (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte), Osvaldo Rodolfo Moutin (LOEWE-Schwerpunkt „Außergerichtliche und gerichtliche Konfliktlösung“), Otto Danwerth (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte)
P22	Changes in European trade during the overseas expansion, 1450-1550	Fri	11:30-13:00	Sala 38, Piso 0	Joana Sequeira (CHAM-UNL, CITCEM-UP), Flávio Miranda (IEM-UNL, CITCEM-UP)

Table of roundtables and panels

Panel no.	Title	Day	Time	Location	Convenors
P23	Crossroads of knowledge and science: rethinking the role of the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans in the Portuguese Empire (16th-19th century)	Wed	14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30	Sala 42, Piso 0	Ana Roque (Tropical Research Institute)
P24	Colonial cities: global and local perspectives	Thu	11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00	Sala 42, Piso 0	Manuel Teixeira (CAPP-ISCSP)
P25	Exchange and adaptation: (mis)understandings at a global scale	Fri	11:30-13:00	Sala 42, Piso 0	Saúl Martínez Bermejo (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas)



# Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

Keynote

*Wed 17th July, 18:30*

*Lisbon City Hall,*

*Salão Nobre dos Paços do Conselho da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*

**Collection and Comprehension: Europeans, Ottomans and  
Mughals, 1550-1750**

Sanjay Subrahmanjam (University of California, Los Angeles)

## RT I

*Thu 18th July, 11:30-13:00*

*Location: Sala 76, Piso 0*

### **Roundtable: Interactions between rivals: the Christian mission and Buddhist sects in Japan during the Portuguese presence (c. 1549 - c. 1647)**

**Convenor: Alexandra Curvelo Campos (Museu Nacional do Azulejo)**

The Portuguese expansion in Asia in the early modern period heralded a new age of cultural interactions among several civilizations. The arrival of European traders, mercenaries and well-trained members of religious orders in East Asia prompted a wave of debate, studies and controversies between Buddhist monks and their Western counterparts. At this regard, Jesuits played a major role in this global enterprise and, contrary to their policies in China, in Japan started to interact with the composite Buddhist clergies and the political elite. Relations between religions, strategies of interpretation and accommodation are the main fields in which intercultural contacts can be observed.

The chosen chronology corresponds to the period of the Portuguese presence in Japan and to the process of unification of the territory by the Japanese military elite. This period was crucial in terms of religious affiliation, as it coincides with rival interactions between Buddhist sects and practices and the action of Catholic missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, active in Japan since 1549. In spite of the final edit of expulsion of the religious orders (1614) and the Christian martyrdoms and persecutions, their presence lasted until the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639 and the last unfruitful attempt to re-establish diplomatic contact (1647).

The comprehensive portrait of these interactions will be studied through four main lines of inquiry:

1. References to Buddhist sects, system of beliefs, and practices in missionary writings.
2. Buddhist influences in Christian literature published in Japan.
3. Interactions between Buddhist and missionary visual culture and ceremonial practices.
4. Interactions between Buddhist and Jesuit scientific cultures.

## RT2

*Thu 18th July, 14:30-16:00*

*Location: Sala 76, Piso 0*

## Roundtable: Counting colonial population: demography and the use of statistics in the Portuguese Empire, 1776-1875

Convenor: Paulo Teodoro de Matos (FCSH)

Hosting Institution: CHAM – FCSH/Nova

Parter: International Institute of Social History

Funded by the Portuguese Agency for Research (2013-2015)

This project aims to study demographic and statistical processes in the Portuguese Empire between 1776 and 1910. As the focus of the empire shifted from Brazil to Africa in this period, the Portuguese Crown attempted to consolidate territorial occupation and resolve the complex problem of slavery. It was during this period that the authorities demonstrated an increasing interest in counting and controlling populations. The result of these efforts was the production of hundreds of statistical maps for the different territories.

This project represents the first attempt to collect, process, and analyze statistical tables ordered by the Crown, and to generate demographic series for each of the territories.

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

We will examine demographic patterns in each of the following settlements: Cape Verde, Guiné, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese India (1750-1910), Brazil (1750-1822) and Madeira-Açores (1750-1834). The project sets out to quantify: i) population growth rates, territorial divisions, and urbanization ratios; ii) population structures (socio-occupational, religious, ethnic composition and age groups); and iii) vital statistics (births and deaths).

On the other hand we will pay special attention to the social categories registered in the census for each of the Portuguese settlements and to the process of data gathering (normative framework).

## RT3

*Fri 19th July, 11:30-13:00*

*Location: Sala 76, Piso 0*

### **Roundtable: All his worldly possessions: the Estate of the 5th Duke of Bragança, D. Teodósio I**

**Convenor: Jessica Hallett (FCSH-UNL)**

The focus of this research project is an extraordinary inventory, dated 1564-67, which describes the entire contents of the estate of Duke Teodósio, the most important Portuguese aristocrat next to the king, at the precise moment in which Portugal was being transformed from a small country on the periphery of Europe to an imperial maritime power. It is largest 16th-century inventory to survive in Portugal (ca. 1,300 pages and 6,303 entries), and the richness and complexity of the document has attracted the interest of a large interdisciplinary research team comprising historians of art, architecture, society, culture, science, politics and economics.

This roundtable will consider the impact of the Portuguese overseas expansion on the duke's acquisitions, by looking at how these items are described, categorized and evaluated in economic terms, as well as how they were distributed throughout the ducal palace, integrated into daily

life, and displayed in court ceremonial. Jessica Hallett will introduce the project and Nuno Senos will lead a discussion about the problems the team currently faces in interpreting this material as comprising a “collection of the world”.

## RT4

*Fri 19th July, 14:30-16:00*

*Location: Sala 76, Piso 0*

### **Roundtable: Salvador da Bahia: American, European, and African forging of a colonial capital City (BAHIA 16-19)**

**Convenor: Pedro Cardim (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)**

Bahia16-19 is a research proposal that focuses on Salvador de Bahia and its historical relationship with the Atlantic area. Gathering together researchers from two European Union universities (Universidade Nova de Lisboa – Portugal; École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales – France) and a university from an ICPC (Universidade Federal da Bahia – Brazil), the main intention of this proposal is to convert Salvador into a case-study of the multiple interactions that took place in the Atlantic area between the beginning of Portuguese colonization and the end of the 19th century.

The three research units responsible for Bahia16-19 are as follows: CHAM – Centro de História de Além-Mar (part of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa – UNL); MASCIPO – Mondes Américains, Sociétés, Circulations, Pouvoirs (XVe-XXIe siècle) (part of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales – EHESS); and PPGH – Programa de Pós-Graduação em História from the Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA). Apart from strengthening the existing scientific ties between the three partners involved, the goal of Bahia 16-19 is to create a permanent network of studies, and implement a Master’s degree in colonial Trans-Atlantic History.

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

This scientific program has been divided into five work packages. The first three WP consist of field research based upon original and new archival and art material coming from Bahia archival collections, museums, churches, convents and public 17th-19th century buildings, and with archival and art material coming from Portuguese collections and libraries. WP4 involves the organization of a cross-borders discussion and synthetic assessment on the current state of art in history, art history and humanities about Ancien Régime Brazil in a global Atlantic perspective. As for WP5, it develops parallel to WP1-3 and WP4 activities, and intends to define a detailed program for a common Master's degree in Atlantic global studies.

## P01

*Thu 18th July, 09:30-11:00, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Antifeatro 1, Piso 0*

### **Fighting monopolies, building global empires: power building beyond the borders of empire (15th-18th centuries)**

**Convenors: Catia Antunes (Leiden University), Amélia Polónia  
(University of Porto - Faculty of Arts)**

How did 'free agents' (entrepreneurs operating outside of the interests of the centralized, state-sponsored monopolies) react to the creation of colonial monopolies (royal monopolies and chartered companies) in the Early Modern period? This proposal will answer this question by looking at the role individuals played in the construction of 'informal empires', resulting from the enactment of a multitude of self-organized networks operating world-wide, whose main goal was safeguarding their personal social and economic advantages, regardless of (and in spite of) state intervention.

Free agents, their families and networks operated in the Atlantic or Asia, across geographical borders between empires, went beyond



the restrictions imposed by religious differences, ethnic diversity or the political interests of central states. This informal empire was a borderless, self-organize, often cross-cultural, multi-ethnic, pluri-national and stateless world that can only be characterized as global.

This proposal is the result of the collaboration between the projects *DynCoopNet* (a TECT- The Evolution of Cooperation and Trading Program, EUROCORES Scheme, ESF), *Challenging Monopolies, Building Global Empires in the Early Modern Period* (VIDI Granting Scheme – NWO) and *Fighting Monopolies, Defying Empires 1500-1750: a Comparative Overview of Free Agents and Informal Empires in Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire* (Starting Grant Scheme, ERC).

To address this complex problem, we split the 4-session panel, as: *Fighting the Monopolies; The Empire Strikes Back; Mechanisms of Global Empire Building: Cooperation Beyond the Borders of Empire; and Comparative Reflections on Definitions of Empire.*

## **‘The Japanese connection’: self-organized smuggling networks in Nagasaki circa 1666-1742**

**Mr Jurre Knoest (Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS))**

The early modern bakufu-controlled city of Nagasaki was appointed by the Tokugawa shogunate as one of the ‘gates’ through which official regulated trade was conducted with the outside world, in this case with the Dutch East India Company, and Chinese private merchants. In Nagasaki, foreign trade became increasingly institutionalized over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Tokugawa bakufu implemented many trade systems in Nagasaki aimed at securing the influx of Chinese luxury and bulk goods, and at the same time cope with the country’s financial difficulties due to the large outflow of bullion and the exhaustion of the Japanese silver and gold mines. As such, state-supported monopoly merchants controlled foreign trade in Nagasaki, under the supervision of state officials. Much research has these official trade regulations and their practical applications as a focus point. Using the Nagasaki criminal records, this paper instead focuses

on smuggling as a way to circumvent these regulations. Furthermore, as a case study, this paper analyzes the smuggling networks featuring in two of the seventeenth century's famous smuggling cases. These networks show a wide variety of participants with colorful backgrounds and the methods with which they tried to engage in foreign trade, challenging the position of the state-supported monopoly merchants.

## **Courting conflict: suing the Dutch East and West India Companies**

**Ms Kate Ekama (Leiden University)**

The Dutch East and West India Companies faced sustained and effective opposition from free agents. This began as early as ideas of chartered monopoly companies were first floated in the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth century and lasted until the companies ceased to exist two centuries later. This paper will investigate the hypothesis that the contested processes by which the charters of the VOC and WIC were drafted and eventually granted had a significant impact on the kind of opposition faced by the two companies later on in their existence.

The focus of this paper will be one specific arena of conflict: the judicial system of the Republic. One of the ways in which free agents responded to the creation of colonial monopolies was by taking the companies to court, employing litigation as a means of opposition. These merchants and their networks sued the companies over issues relating to the use and abuse of the monopolies granted to the VOC and WIC by the States General in 1602 and 1621 respectively. They pursued their cases to the very highest court in the Republic, the appellate Hoge Raad van Holland en Zeeland, which was established in 1582. Analysing court cases from the records of the Hoge Raad, this paper will begin to answer the following question: How did free agents oppose the monopolies held by the VOC and WIC in court?

This research will contribute to understanding mechanisms of opposition against the Dutch companies and the role of free agency.

## Monopolizing arguments: public discourse in the Dutch Republic on free trade to Brazil, ca. 1630-1638

Mr Joris van den Tol (Leiden University)

To answer the question ‘How did free agents in Western Europe react to the creation of colonial monopolies?’ this paper will research the public discourse in the Dutch Republic through the use of pamphlets. These booklets had both an economic and rhetorical value, but this research will only focus on the latter. Since the presence of Habermas’ concept of ‘Öffentlichkeit’ in the Low Countries during the seventeenth century is highly debatable, this paper will refrain from that term and will instead focus on analyzing the types of arguments that are used in the public discourse. In other words, it will not focus on the public opinion itself, but will instead examine the arguments used for influencing ‘public opinion’ and analyze whether they were economic, political, or religious.

With a comparative approach this paper will focus on the public discourse regarding free trade versus monopoly in relation to Dutch Brazil (ca. 1630-1638). While one may expect the argumentation in this case to be strictly economic, this study shows that other types of arguments (i.e. political or religious) were employed in this economic stand. It will, therefore, showcase the ‘translation’ authors had to make between their position and what will appeal to the reader in an attempt to convince their audience.

By showing monopolies were not only fought in court but also on paper in a public discourse, this study will contribute to research on the viewpoints of both the supporters of the WIC and the antagonists. Furthermore, it shows the way both parties used various arguments to protect their self-interest.

## **Have you tea and drink it too: how rogue companies, private traders and smugglers popularised the consumption of tea in Western Europe (1700-1760)**

**Dr Chris Nierstrasz (University of Warwick)**

This paper investigates how the trade of rogue companies, private traders and smugglers popularised the consumption of tea in Western Europe, 1700-1760. The globalisation of the tea trade led to new ways of organising tea trade to Europe from Canton, substantially increasing the amounts and the varieties of teas brought to Europe. By exploring the import of different varieties of tea of the Dutch (VOC) and English East India Companies (EIC), new light will be shed on the popularisation of tea drinking and its origins, both in Europe and Asia. In the creation of a market for popular tea, however, the trade of rogue companies, private traders and smugglers played a vital role, while the two big companies simply seem to follow in their footsteps. More remarkably, private enterprise had a decisive impact on competition and popularisation of tea on every step along the way from Canton to Europe. The interaction between the official Company trade and the trade of these actors will help us to understand where the popularisation of tea in Europe came from and may even challenge our views on how the monopolies of East India Companies functioned. Whilst the Companies tried to organise their monopolies entities such as Rogue companies, private traders and smugglers simply worked round them and even gave the companies who made use of their energy an edge over the competition.

## **Free agents and the careers of colonial governors: two case studies from the Dutch chartered companies**

**Mr Erik Odegard (Leiden University)**

To secure their granted monopolies, the two Dutch chartered trading companies set up elaborate systems of corporate governance in their overseas territories. The commanders, governors and governors-general of both companies were responsible for trade, military affairs as well as protecting privileges of the companies against Dutch interlopers.

In practice, however, free agents seem to have been able to wield considerable influence over the companies' colonial officials. This shows one way in which free agents responded to the creation of colonial monopolies.

To answer the question to what extent the careers of colonial governors-general was influenced by their stance regarding free agents, two case-studies will be presented. Both of the Dutch trading companies are represented in the two chosen cases, allowing for comparisons between the two. Issues such as the differences of opinion between governors and their colonial colleagues, as well as with the Dutch company boards will be addressed in the paper.

In both cases, governors-general were dismissed by their companies, but they seem to have taken very different approaches regarding free agents and company privilege. In the West the governor-general took a permissive approach, allowed free trade and was ultimately being fired for it. In the East the Governor-General took a more hard-line approach regarding free trade. This gave rise to serious conflicts within the East India company's colonial hierarchy and the governor-general was ultimately fired. These two cases suggest important differences between the two Dutch chartered companies in the protection of their monopolies.

## **A trade diaspora at the gates of the Spanish empire: Armenian merchants in Manila, c. 1660-1800**

**Dr Xabier Lamikiz (University of the Basque Country)**

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was forbidden for foreigners to either settle in Manila or trade across the Pacific with Spain's American dominions. However, the Spanish authorities found it very difficult to make such monopolistic restrictions effective, partly because the merchandise brought to the Philippines by Asian free agents was absolutely necessary for the survival of Manila as a colonial outpost. At the same time the presence of foreigners was a constant source of religious anxiety and ethnic fear. At times the Spanish

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

authorities opted for punitive action against the Chinese, Muslim, Hindu and Armenian communities. This line of action, however, contrasted sharply with that of many colonial merchants who saw it fit to collaborate with foreigners.

This paper will analyse the presence in Manila of Armenian merchants from New Julfa (Iran), and will aim to bring together Spanish primary sources and the rich historiography on the Julfan trade diaspora. Attracted by the silver arriving from Acapulco, Julfans played an important commercial role in the Philippines. The paper will address their complicated relationship with the Spanish authorities, their participation in both inter-Asiatic and trans-Pacific exchanges, and their life experiences as told in their own words before the court of the Spanish Inquisition in Manila.

## **The organization of eastern merchant empires**

**Dr Claudia Rei (Vanderbilt University)**

In the sixteenth century, European countries engaged in long-distance trade with the East. Despite sharing the same objectives and technology, Portugal opted for a crown monopoly, England, the Netherlands, and Sweden franchised trade to private merchants, whereas in Denmark and France, king and merchants shared control. The ...financial condition of the crown appears to have been relevant for the monarchs' decision. I provide an economic mechanism to illuminate the historical variation in terms of the differences in relative endowments of king and merchants within each country. I also explore the implications of control allocation using archival data on labor compensation and shipping technology. Differences in the long run performance of merchant empires suggest a major impact of organization.

## **The resilience of urban networks overseas, 1600-1800**

**Mr Karwan Fatah-Black (Leiden University)**

Cities only exist in connection to other cities. Before the modern compression of space and time the dominant position of the metropolis

was off-set by the self-sufficiency of colonies. This problem created a recurring conflict between monopolizing metropolitan institutions, and the decentralized and self-organized networks overseas. The paper presents cases from the Atlantic world (the Caribbean and North America) between 1600 and 1800 to outline how the terms on which the interested parties engaged in this conflict changed during the integration and disintegration of the Atlantic world.

## **Cooperative rivalry: Iberian merchants in cross-imperial transactions in the period of the Iberian Union (1580-1640)**

**Dr Ana Ribeiro (Évora University)**

The Iberian union under Habsburgs' Crown was fostered on formal independent administration of the Portuguese and Spanish empires. Nevertheless, for more than 30 years, historiography has proved the interference and protagonism of Portuguese business men in trade dynamics of the Castilian Indies. However, it has been silent about the presence or/and absence of Castilian merchants in the Portuguese dominions and on their actions within global trading. Spanish literature has underlined the decline of their role as private commercial agents in the seventeenth century.

We hypothesize, based on previous work, the collaboration of Portuguese and Spanish merchants in cross-imperial trading ventures, as an opportunity and a necessity. In this paper, we aim to comprehend how this informal collaboration was sustained, trading in a global cross imperial scope. Did the Crown and its monopolies display a role in facilitating or restricting these alliances? What reasons did lead to this collaborative entanglement? Was cooperation a linear behavior or was it disturbed by both-sided complaints? What mechanisms did merchants to handle mutual suspicion? The analysis will be based on the internal dynamics of Iberian self-organized trading networks, built upon notarial, official and private correspondence and bibliography's evidence.

## From Luanda to Buenos Aires: free agents and the South Atlantic slave trade, c. 1580-1700

Ms Kara Schultz (Vanderbilt University)

My paper explores cross-cultural collaboration and the creation of informal empires through an examination of Portuguese armed forces in seventeenth-century Angola and their participation in the slave trade to the Americas.

Angola had a difficult time attracting Portuguese settlement and faced chronic troop shortages. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, Brazilians were sent to Angola as military reinforcements for Portuguese and African troops fighting rival European powers and African states in order to expand the frontiers of the slave trade. Although many of the soldiers who served in Angola were forcibly transported as *degradados* (criminal and religious exiles) or slaves, many remained in Angola once their terms of service concluded. Soldiers' familiarity with multiple cultural contexts placed them in an advantageous position to extend the reach of Portuguese power in West Central Africa, but these "free agents" also used their knowledge for personal gain. Through marriage, godparentage, and military service, soldiers fostered cross-cultural alliances that strengthened existing economic networks. Rank-and-file soldiers, for whom a criminal past or skin color might have impeded social advancement in Portugal or Brazil, built slave-trading networks that stretched from Luanda to Buenos Aires, traversing the boundaries of empire.

Using criminal processes, Inquisition cases, military petitions, and political correspondence drawn from Portuguese, Spanish, and Angolan archives, I trace these trans-imperial trade routes and the collaboration that undergirded them. I argue that such soldiers set in motion the broad patterns that characterized the South Atlantic slave trade in the seventeenth century, both enhancing and subverting the metropolitan agenda.



## Runs in the family: the Barros and the South Atlantic slave trade in the second half of the eighteenth century

Prof Estevam Thompson (Universidade de Brasília)

During the second half of the eighteenth century approximately 1.5 million slaves left West Central Africa, most of them heading to Brazil, especially to Rio de Janeiro. The Portuguese Crown attempted to control such valuable trade with several reforms implemented by the Marquis of Pombal (1750-1777). He strengthened colonial business by creating monopolistic commercial companies and by reestablishing the Junta do Comércio, demanding the enrolment of all merchants involved with the Atlantic trade.

Besides all attempts to control the slave trade, private merchants constituted strong communities that operated beyond the grasp of the colonial administration. Though many of them were part of the Portuguese colonial apparatus as royal officials and military officers they regularly used their positions to reinforce private slaving activities. These slave traders based their negotiations on self organizing networks that operated on both margins of the Atlantic.

The Barros family consolidated its mercantile power in the second half of the eighteenth century and became a slaving enterprise with Atlantic-wide connections, which allowed them a huge social ascension in less than two generations. They reinforced personal ties with their associates through marriages and godparenting (*compadrio*), stretching their influence and diminishing the high risks involved in slaving negotiations, thus guaranteeing the return of investments made. The trajectory of the Barros rises from the Portuguese archives (ANTT and AHU) as a great example of private merchant network that operated beyond the control of the Crown and positioned its agents on the most important ports of the Portuguese Atlantic.

## **Building cross-cultural Atlantic networks in the Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice, 1760-1796**

**Mr Bram Hoonhout (European University Institute)**

In line with recent scholarship this paper seeks to understand the colonial experience from the perspective of the local agents rather than from a more structuralist, metropolitan view. After sketching the international context, it will be shown that Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice provide an interesting case study in the practice of 'colony building.' While all three were relatively unimportant colonies in the early eighteenth century, their plantation economy expanded quickly to rival neighbouring Surinam, before they fell into British hands in 1796. During most of this time, different factions in the Dutch Republic were so pre-occupied with internal struggles that they did not pay sufficient attention to the needs and demands of the colonists. The number of Dutch ships carrying soldiers, slaves or supplies was far too small, and complaints were numerous. Therefore this paper seeks to answer the question how these colonies were able to successfully expand without sufficient metropolitan support. The assumption is that the planters' agency in their oppositional, cooperative and representative roles was crucial, by establishing cross-cultural and cross-imperial networks. We know that the colonies had a large portion of British settlers and were visited frequently by different Atlantic (contraband) traders, but the exact nature of these networks remains to be explored. Who were these planters, how did they evade or bargain with the metropolitan power and with whom did they engage in either formal or informal transactions? The sources to answer these questions will consist of cargo lists, correspondence, petitions, resolutions, maps and ship reports.

## **Sailors, soldiers, friars, settlers: the Portuguese in North America in the 16th and 17th centuries**

**Dr Mariah Wade (University of Texas, Austin)**

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, Portuguese sailors, soldiers, friars and settlers entered North America through Florida and through

Mexico to Christianize the Native American populations and to try their luck in the New World. Most arrived as members of Spanish colonizing expeditions, others as leaders and promoters of mining and settlement projects. This paper focuses especially on the expeditions of Pánfilo de Narváez (1527-1528), Vázquez de Coronado and Hernando De Soto (1539-1542), on Juan de Oñate who colonized New Mexico at the onset of the seventeenth century, and on Luís de Carvajal, a Jewish-converso, who settled in northern Mexico in the 1590s. The aims of these colonization projects were very different and so were the people involved. Using archival documents this paper discusses the presence and roles of the Portuguese in the colonization of the Americas.

### **Persecution, mobility and trade networks: following the steps of the Medina family**

**Dr Carla Vieira (Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas Alberto Benveniste; Centro de Estudos Históricos da FCSH/UNL)**

In the beginning of the 18th century, a wave of inquisitorial imprisonments affected many members of the Lisbon's commercial elite. Among them there was Pedro Maldonado de Medina, a 62 years old blind man who had been an influent contractor in Spain. In Lisbon, he stilled transacting goods between Portugal and Brazil through his sons. But this wasn't the first time that Inquisition disturbed his life: he was 2 years old when he went to Madrid with his parents, after his grandfather's imprisonment; and in 1687, when he was in Malaga, the Inquisition of Granada arrested him. After that, he came back to Portugal. At that time, most of his family was in Spain – Toledo, Murcia, Madrid, Pastrana, Avila – operating in the tobacco and salt business. Pedro had married a daughter of the contractor Francisco Lopes Pereira. His daughters married members of Lopes Pinheiro family and moved to London. In the first half of 18th century, England was the destiny of many New Christian families in pursuit of the religious tolerance but also more business opportunities in a rising moment of anglo-portuguese commercial relations.

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

The inquisitorial persecution as a factor of mobility; the role of family ties in the edification of trade networks; the marriage as a guarantee of trust between business partners – this are some of the characteristics that define the Medina family's ascendant trajectory during three generations, from silk merchants in Tras-os-Montes to leaders of a wide business network.

## **Angola in Sousa Coutinho's discourse (1764-1772)**

**Miss Maria Correia de Sá Guedes (UNL - FCSH)**

With this study we attend to deepen what were the mechanisms and concepts used by Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to adapt his plan for Angola, to the reality he found there.

Governor between 1764 and 1772 is recognized for being the most connected with Marquês de Pombal's project and more aligned with the Enlightenment ideals. Madeira Santos has establish how did the Enlightenment affected Angola's policy design. In this period there's an attempt to re-enforce the territorial presence in Angola, by increasing Portuguese population and government structures. More than that, there were many measures to increase the control in the commerce and justice activities.

But in fact more than establishing how was this connection or its results, done by Madalena Sousa in her dissertation. We want to analyse and prospect what were the ideas and concepts used by this governor to justify his actions to the local entities and to the central power. Focussing in its political concepts and constructions, we aim to see how the political paradigm reflected in the words of this governor.

## **The Angolan slave trade in the early 18th century: the Atlantic networks of Rodrigo da Costa de Almeida**

**Miss Maria Inês Guarda (King's College London)**

Rodrigo da Costa de Almeida was morador in Luanda by the time Bernardino de Távora was nominated Governor, in February 1701. Lieutenant in the local army by that time, Rodrigo bought the office

of Escrivão da Fazenda and would ended up being also Provedor da Fazenda when Bernardino de Távora imprisoned the previous occupant, Gaspar da Silva Reis, in July of 1702. Being a military but also an officeholder in Luanda, Rodrigo was a key figure for the Governor for the slave trade networks he had established in Angola with other obscure locals, as new christians, gipsies, and degredados. Through him, one of the new “valets” of the Governor, the group became the Governor’s pack. It was its job to guarantee his interests in Luanda, against other local authorities, but also in the hinterland (presídios) by intimidating African chiefdoms (sobados) in order to get more slaves. It was also their responsibility to supervise the business men in sertão, not only to secure the Governor’s percentage of trade, but theirs as well. Finally, Almeida was also crucial for the link between Luanda and Bahia, where the son of Bernardino de Távora was as leader of a garrison and responsible for the trade of his father in Brazil. In fact, his relationship with Almeida would continue after his father’s and Almeida death, confirming the importance of Angolan slave trade for Brazilian sugar mills, namely those belonging to both these figures

## P02

*Thu 18th July, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Sala 78, Piso 1*

## The materiality of religion in Africa during the European expansion

Convenors: Kalle Kananoja (European University Institute), Madalina Florescu (Universidade do Porto)

Religious encounters were a major source of misunderstanding between Africans and Europeans. The contributions in this panel examine religion in precolonial and early colonial Africa through the lens of cultural materiality. Missionaries of different denominations had varying views on religion and materiality. While Catholic Fathers sought

to replace indigenous objects with Catholic images, Protestants placed the emphasis on “inner belief” and shunned objects altogether, which was close to the strategy adopted by some New Christian or Jewish settlers in West Africa. The wide and varied practices of using religious objects in rituals and for protection of people and communities have been addressed to a great extent by archaeologists, art historians and anthropologists of Africa, yet the changes that took place over time and in contact with Europeans are poorly understood. How did things that linked the visible/material to the invisible/immaterial transform when African traditional religions and Islam came into contact with Christianity and Judaism in different parts of the continent? What role did materiality – amulets, images of deities and ancestors, natural objects, iconography, crucifixes, prayer beads, relics – play in African popular religion across time and space? The panel will also interrogate and explore the kinds of expectations, conflicts and (mis)interpretations that rose over the uses of material objects in religious life.

## **“They worship dicks and are idolaters”:**African religious objects and the relation between missionaries and African cosmologies****

**Dr Carlos Almeida (Tropical Research Institute, Portugal)**

In 1691, returning from his mission in Nsoyo on the left bank of the Congo River, Father Andrea Pavia brought an indefinite number of African religious objects. Admittedly, the missionary gave those pieces in the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, but it is not known their final destiny. The African cultural objects are a constant presence in the reports produced by Catholic missionaries who, since the sixteenth century, crossed the region and developed activity, both in Kongo, and Mbundu regions, further south. Referenced generically in reports of priests, persecuted so insistent during their everyday wanderings through Africa, these objects are rarely described both in its visual presentation, and in its practical purposes. In its uniqueness, the collection assembled and brought to Europe by Andrea da Pavia raises various questions referring both to the relationship that the

Catholic missionaries had with these objects, and in general, with the cosmological universe that gave them meaning, and at the same time, for the way that in certain periods and in sectors of African societies such objects coexisted without apparent conflict with the sacred objects of Catholicism. From the path of Andrea Pavia and using other accounts of the missionary experience in Central Africa until the first quarter of the century XVIII, this presentation seeks to draw the complex framework of relationships that were woven from these objects between European missionaries and African societies.

## Spheres of worship: transcultural Christian objects in the Kingdom of Kongo

Ms Kristen Windmuller-Luna (Princeton University)

Portuguese missionaries arrived in the Kingdom of Kongo in the late fifteenth century, resulting in the voluntary conversion of the king and his domain soon thereafter. But what was the relationship between the kingdom's new and old faiths, and how did Christian objects reflect this? This paper investigates Christian objects' multiple forms and functions in the Kingdom of Kongo, including sculptures, crucifixes, vestments, and medallions. New research on Kongolese crucifixes in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art presents a case study for examining the roles of Christian objects in the kingdom, the routes they travelled, and the significance of their later European circulation.

At least a dozen different European missions and Kongolese Christian assemblies used imported and locally made objects to spread their version of the faith along regional trade and missionizing routes. Through the mid-nineteenth century, these simultaneous Christianities connected with the larger Christian world via long-distance trade routes to Brazil, Angola and Europe and through political and religious ties to Portugal and the Roman Papacy. The movement of people, objects and teachings through cities and rural regions resulted in varied doctrinal adherence and religious blending, as well as conflict between foreign missionaries, Kongolese Christians and indigenous religious practitioners. Kongolese Christian objects were equally

diverse, reflecting a range of African and European visual vocabularies. Expressive of personal and public devotion, as well as political allegiance or individual status, these objects reflected the simultaneous, lateral nature of Kongolese Christianities and their position within global political, economic and religious networks.

## **Representing the divine: Church Missionary Society (CMS) strategies of evangelism in nineteenth-century Yorubaland**

**Prof Olufunke Adebayo (University of Lagos)**

This paper examines the strategies adopted by both foreign and native agents of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in evangelizing Yorubaland in the nineteenth century. These missionaries denounced traditional idols and the various sacred symbols of the local populace without providing other material alternatives. Even when the people repeatedly demanded for charms and other physical symbols from the new faith, the missionaries did not oblige them. Instead, they insisted on faith in an invisible God. To press home their message of faith, they carried out impressive acts of sacrificial love and flaunted some material artifacts of Western culture in the local communities. Although, this caught the eyes of the local population, it did not produce too many converts. The spatial practices of the missionaries as well as their interaction with other religions in the local environment are also examined in this study. A central argument of this essay is that though material objects were not used to represent the divine, they were always at hand to advertise the benefits which adherence to Christianity could bring. This created a delicate situation in which Christian claims were often misunderstood. The onus was thus on missionaries to clear the air and show that the material objects did not represent the divine. The sources used for this study include nineteenth-century journals and correspondence of CMS agents as well as the accounts of foreign travelers passing through Yorubaland in the same period.



## **The “fetish” in the mid-19th century encounter between Africans and CMS agents on the lower Niger**

**Dr Femi Kolapo (University of Guelph)**

This presentation will argue that while the Church of England’s CMS missionaries on the Niger River in what is now Nigeria were engaged in active denunciation of the local religious objects of people they wanted to convert, they were also actively engaged in fetishising and sacralising their own “missionary” spaces, architecture, European exotic imports, and books. Journals and reports of the missionaries include disparaging statements about traditional ritual objects and cases of destruction by or surrender of such materials to the missionaries. This studied antagonism to traditional religious objects was a major means by which these missionaries in mid-19th century Niger area projected the worth of missionary Christianity that they advocated and measured its influence against traditional religions. Further up north on confluence of the Niger with the Benue, “Muslim” dress code, identity and religion intersected significantly. Here also, the interrogation and demarcation of boundaries between on the one hand, “Mohammedan”, and on the other, “Christian” and “pagan” dress came to underline missionary Christian proselytization. Thus, denunciation and contestation of local and Muslim sacred objects and “fetish” and (re)constitutioning of materials associated with the missions and the missionaries as sacred and solemn were significant paradoxical trends that characterised the encounter between the CMS missionaries and the Africans among whom they were stationed.

## **The Christian encounter with symbolic indigenous religious objects in Nigeria: new trends and challenges**

**Dr Joseph Sarwuan Gbenda (Benue State University)**

The encounter between Christianity and African Indigenous Religion has continued to generate scholarly attention. This paper addresses material religion as one of the aspects of the Christian encounter with the indigenous religion in the context of some ethnic groups in Nigeria.

The focus of the paper is on the Catholic missionaries as they came in contact with the pre-colonial indigenous religious objects such as masks and masquerades, charms, mystical forces and their cultic emblems. The paper observes some conflicts, misinterpretations, and transformations of material religion. Changes have taken place in traditional cultic and oracular masquerades. The paper argues that the attraction of protective elements like charms and amulets have been integrated into some Christian cum traditional religious movements, with emphasis on cultic emblems that are prosperity enhancing driven. These have given rise to new trends and challenges in the new social order.

## **The anchor, the plough, images and the Bible: uses of material objects in religions of 19th century South Africa**

**Dr Johan Strijdom (University of South Africa)**

The encounters between Christian and African indigenous religions in 19th century South Africa may be productively analyzed in terms of the changing political, economic and cultural functions of material objects, not only in the religious practices, but also in the comparative study of religions of the time. Taking as point of departure David Chidester's perceptive analysis of the anchor, the plough, images and the Bible within this colonial context in *Savage systems: Colonialism and comparative religion in southern Africa* (1996), I will consider ways in which his contribution may be read, problematized and taken further in the light of key debates in contemporary religious studies on postcolonial theory, material religion, political theology and development studies. In which ways, I will ask, did these concrete objects embody and mediate struggles over colonial invasion, land expropriation and cultivation, cultural and economic exchange, and the written and printed text? What impact have these issues since had on the comparative study of religions? Importantly, how might this analysis affect the often implicit moral judgments in our academic discourses and practices?

## Objects of the in-between: the sacred meanings of commodities and the politics of trading culture in coastal east Africa

Prof Sandy Prita Meier (University of Illinois)

In this paper I explore the politics of Swahili materiality and how objects of maritime trade, such as porcelain dishes and bowls, represent a complex encounter between African and European systems of signification. Archeological, written, and oral evidence suggests that already by the fourteenth century residents of such east African port cities as Lamu and Mombasa (and later Zanzibar) actively collected porcelain dishes, vases and objet d'art from all over the world. These seemingly mundane objects of trade not only carried commercial value, however. Porcelain bowls embellished the walls of sacred spaces, such as mosques and tombs, and local east African patricians collected hundreds of ceramic objects as icons of family pedigree and religious purity. In local worldviews the true significance of china lies in its connection to the oceanic networks of Islam—it surface ornament evoked the calligraphic abstraction of Islamic visual culture in the eyes of east Africans. Yet European derided the desire for these objects, presenting it as a strange misuse of things that did not “belong” to Africa. It was dismissed as a form of superficial “fetishism” and an example of the African inability to understand the use-value of utilitarian things. Ultimately I want to suggest that Swahilis were very much aware of European perspectives, and that by inserting such “exotic” objects into the most important spaces of daily life they intentionally created a symbolic landscape that did not “make sense” to outsiders.

## A case of ignored and misunderstood religious materiality: the Shona-speaking peoples of Mozambique and Zimbabwe

Dr William Dewey (The Pennsylvania State University)

This paper will examine how colonial entities ignored or at best misunderstood the material objects that are key to understanding Shona religious beliefs. The Shona do not make or use masks or figurative sculpture and so Europeans never felt the need for the replacement strategies witnessed in other parts of Africa. The most important Shona religious leaders are spirit-mediums. At both the local (family) and regional (chieftaincy) level these religious practitioners become possessed by the spirits of the ancestors, and interact with the living to help resolve problems. Apart from ritual dress, there are no material objects involved, and instead it is the immaterial embodied voice of the ancestors that is important. Spirit-mediums did come into conflict with colonial forces, as is illustrated by the arrest and execution of spirit-mediums during the first “Chimurenga” (war against the British in the 1890s), and the involvement of spirit-mediums during the second “Chimurenga” (war of liberation during the 1970s). What was totally ignored, however, was the fact that there are material representations of the ancestors that the Shona use: the ‘supposedly simple’, utilitarian objects such as snuff containers, ceremonial knives and axes, and headrests. These are passed down through generations (as part of inheritance rituals at funerals), and are routinely brought out when appeals are made to the ancestors. Probably because they were not the “Religious Art” colonials were used to they were ignored or misunderstood, but for the Shona they remained as a subtle, potent, but hidden focus for their religious beliefs!

P03

*Wed 17th July, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30*

*Location: Sala 38, Piso 0*

## **Out of India: reinstating the empire in the periphery. Fluid Portuguese powers in different Asian political contexts from the Persian Gulf to Japan (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)**

**Convenors: Manuel Lobato (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical), João Teles e Cunha (Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa)**

The nineteenth century concept of a unique and homogeneous Portuguese power in Asia, followed by some historians until the late 1970s, has since been abandoned. Modern research has pointed out Portugal's imperial reinstatement in Asia since the mid-sixteenth century through new 'Portuguese' settlements, due to private initiative, along with the official presence. A cluster of ports and cities emerged in the Persian Gulf, the Bay of Bengal, Southeast Asia and the Far East, embedded in major Asian states and facing specific problems, though eventually they joined the Estado da Índia official network.

The panel intends to revisit some of these Portuguese hubs, piecing together the political strategies defined by Asian polities regarding the local Portuguese-Asian communities, including missionaries, and their diplomatic exchanges with the Estado da Índia. Whether informal networks were a way of improvising empire, the panel highlights the role played by local private initiative in fuelling the Portuguese imperial dynamic in Asia. In this context, the panel aims to address the topic of the growing Portuguese discourse on chimerical conquests in contrast with the increasing accommodation of these Portuguese-Asian communities with the neighbouring Asian powers, on which they depended to survive. It will be discussed if the Asian authorities cooperated broadly with the Portuguese or if they only backed some local individuals and groups and opposed others, as the missionaries.

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

Particular attention will be paid to whether these relations matched old social, political and commercial practices or, instead, inaugurated new forms of partnership and hindrance, as in Japan.

## **My friend is my enemy: Portuguese ambiguous views and Asian resistance in peripheral empire - the Maluku Islands (1522-1570)**

**Dr Manuel Lobato (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical)**

From the outset, the Ternatan expectancies regarding the Portuguese have been frustrated by attempts to impose a sort of protectorate under European rule. Weak young sultans and puppet regents were followed by the charismatic sultan Hairun, who imposed his authority after a fairly weak ascending to power. His ability to comply with the Portuguese requirements gave him time and opportunity to actively promote resistance in the peripheral areas of his realm against Portuguese interests. He restrained Christian conversions by the recalcitrant inhabitants of Moro and also limited the Jesuit activities in the Ambon-Lease area from the early 1550s onwards. He never assumed his role in the setbacks suffered by the Portuguese in the Maluku Islands, preferring to resort to third parties agents, namely to appoint governors from royal blood and to instruct Ambonese policies, such as Hitu, to hinder the Portuguese and the Christian influences in that area. Simultaneously, he was quite acquainted to the Eurasian community in Ternate, maintaining friendly relations with several prominent *casados*, to whom he was also a relative as some of them were married to women of his kin.

All those constraints produced rather ambiguous and contrasting views regarding the state of affairs in Maluku and the reasons of its fast degradation. The figure of sultan Hairun, in particular, appears manifold evaluated in these assessments. He is said to be either the best Moslem friend of the Portuguese or the most disloyal, perfidious and treacherous ruler.

## **Slavery in Far Eastern Portuguese society: changes, influences and roles (16th-17th c.)**

**Mr Romulo Ehalt**

How did the Portuguese slavery system and the slave trade changed in the Far East? Is it possible to find in these changes influences from human trafficking and slavery systems as practiced in East Asia? Based on contemporary sources, this reflection will try to understand who the slaves owned by Europeans were and what role they played in these societies. At the turn of the 17th century, along with the development of Macao and Manila, main centers for Portuguese, Spanish and other European merchants active in the Far East, slavery assumed many forms. It is possible to identify, for example, certain similarities between slavery as practiced by the Portuguese and slavery systems found in Japan. As for the social role played by slaves, far from being an intense slave trading post as the African ports in the same period, Macao depended on slavery as possibly one of the core social pillars to its Portuguese society, way beyond the role played by mere servants.

## **Betrayer or martyr? The Tokugawa response to the Christian perseverance in the 17th century in Japan**

**Ms Ana Fernandes Pinto (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)**

Since the beginning, from 1542/1543 onwards, Portuguese presence in Japan was due to private initiative, mainly led by the Jesuits. They arrived with Portuguese merchants, and during a century both ensured the contact between the archipelago, official imperial settlements, and Europe. Although Jesuits depended on Portuguese Crown's patronage, the crown's first official approach to the bakufu (the Japanese central government) was only made in 1646, a moment in which the Tokugawa dynasty was already committed to the sakoku policy (the closing of the country, decreed in 1639). In the meanwhile other missionaries, the Mendicants, mainly Franciscans, and the Dutch merchants, also established in Japan, though the Jesuits kept being the most important link between Japan and Europe.

Japanese political attitude towards Christianity changed over time, following the military unification and political centralization processes. In 1603 Japan was unified under Tokugawa authority, and the idea of a Christian peril start definitely to emerge. Local persecution came up against staunch converters, and as a reaction soon evolved into a general persecution. From then on until 1639, missionaries reported to Europe amazing news of Christian perseverance towards Japanese harassment and persecution. The betrayer to national authority was seen, and reported, by the missionaries as a glorious martyr. In this paper we will highlight the evolution of this discourse, focusing on the assessment of its correspondence with actual Japanese reality, and we will explore its symbolism in missionaries' policies in Catholic Europe politics.

## **Macau: an interface of two empires (1557-1685)**

**Mr Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto (Catholic University of Portugal)**

The foundation of Macau was an important accomplishment on the Portuguese strategy in the Far East, after several decades of clandestine presence in the Chinese shores. The permission issued around 1557 by the Guangdong authorities for the Portuguese to settle in the Pearl River Delta was therefore the success of a pragmatic approach based on private trade and on the association of Portuguese and Chinese informal interests. Yet it was a temporary license and the survival of the city would depend, throughout the centuries to come, on the ability to adapt to changes and to manage the expectations of both Chinese authorities and Portuguese Estado da Índia. It was an odd, informal, officially non-existent settlement that came to prosper thanks to the privileged trade with Nagasaki and to achieve an important rank among the general Portuguese trade frame in Asia. Being some sort of a “merchant republic” in the fringes of Estado da Índia, the city would gradually draw the attention of Portuguese authorities, who gradually tried to achieve control of its activities. However, Macau lived under the frame of severe official dispositions by Ming – and later Qing – imperial policy destined to control and restrain foreign presence in the maritime border of the empire. Macau was a privileged, exclusive door entrance



to China. It was therefore some sort of an interface door between two empires that allowed the exchange of commodities, services, knowledge, faith or politics, but also a fragile position under increasing and various pressures throughout the 16th and 17th century.

## **On the fringes of the Estado da Índia: negotiating imperial power in the Persian Gulf (ca. 1507-1725)**

**Prof João Teles e Cunha (Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa)**

Portuguese presence in the Persian Gulf was vital for the security of the Estado da Índia and the economic feasibility of the Cape Route as envisaged by Afonso de Albuquerque. However, this straightforward strategy had to adopt itself in the terrain to the volatile nature of regional politics, the international rivalries between empires, and the shifting allegiances and alliances, coupled with the Gulf's ethnic and religious divide. As the successor of another sea-power in the area, Hormuz, the Estado da Índia had to deal with new political realities, namely the emergence of new states and empires (Safavids, Ottomans and Omanis), to negotiate its presence in the Gulf, either establishing protectorates, or by negotiating indirectly with elusive polities in the periphery in order to maintain its paramouncy.

**P04**

*Wed 17th July, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30*

*Location: Sala 78, Piso 1*

## **The land issue in the early modern overseas empires**

**Convenor: Jose Vicente Serrao (ISCTE-IUL)**

The 'land issue' arose as soon as Europeans started their expansion overseas. With the exception of a few purely merchant imperial ventures, the occupation, appropriation and (re)distribution of lands became a chief matter, for both individuals and authorities, in

the process of colonization and empire-building promoted by the Europeans throughout the early modern period. Firstly, because land had a huge political relevance – occupying, mapping, surveying, taxing or granting land was an exercise of sovereignty and power. But land was also a matter of culture, economy, social relations and ideology, not to mention that the legal and factual regulation of property rights in land was a permanent ground for negotiation and conflict. This panel accepts papers addressing the colonial land issue from any of these perspectives and focusing on whatever imperial context. Among the variety of questions that can be discussed, here are some examples: which were the main legal institutions regulating land tenure and land use implemented in each empire? What happened to the European institutional templates when transposed to the imperial spaces? How did they accommodate to the diverse colonial environments and to the existing indigenous regimes of land tenure and property rights, of a very different cultural background? How far were the native peoples deprived of their lands? What role did land play in the negotiation and conflict processes between imperial authorities, settlers and native communities? How did property rights serve economic or settlement purposes? How were they used for building sovereignty over colonial territories?

## **Constructing a new territory: the role of land ordinance in the urban design of the Azorean new towns**

**Dr Antonieta Reis Leite (EUAC)**

The goal of this paper is to bring out to discussion how the discovered and settlement of the Azores islands allowed to start an innovative settling program that was based in a simple but very efficient set of rules directed to the land regulation.

By law, the Lords (donatários), and their delegates the Captains (capitães), should distribute the land to the settlers according to the Lei das Sesmarias. This law ruled the distribution of unoccupied and not producing ground, either urban and rural, in the mainland Portugal since 1375, and served has a base to the occupation process in all the

portuguese atlantic territories – but it was first tried and improved in Madeira and Azores the so called “near Atlantic islands”.

Despite this law was already in use it needed to be added with new rules in order to be efficient in an unoccupied and remote territory, such as the islands.

In fact, in the first place this policy intended to guarantee that the settling process was conducted in a lucrative way. Meaning that, the agriculture production, as well as the tax system should be optimized to its potential level.

The land ordinance became a tool to accomplish that, as well as the donation of land was a way of attract population to this far-off islands.

In result of this regulation process, a rural and urban landscape devised and laid out according to geometrical principals emerged.

## **Becoming a land baron: conquest, sovereignty, and private property in colonial Minas Gerais**

**Dr Hal Langfur (University at Buffalo (State University of New York))**

This paper focuses on an expedition in 18th c. Minas Gerais led by a powerful rancher who was rewarded for his actions with multiple land grants, becoming one of Brazil’s largest landholders. The Portuguese legal regime sought to prevent individuals from acquiring more than a single land grant. This rural potentate circumvented this standard by appealing to a longstanding compact forged between the crown and favored subjects engaged in territorial expansion. The rancher searched for gold, but none could be found. He sought Indians to conquer, but they escaped his armed lieutenants. He attempted to root out runaway slave settlements, but their occupants vanished into the forests. Eager to proclaim his accomplishments, he invited rural poets to sing his praise and recorded their crude stanzas for royal authorities to read. In short, to build his ranching empire, he enacted a series of conquest rituals, which the crown read as heroic and worthy of uncommon recompense,

despite their modest results. His greatest achievement lay in his ability to enlist the colonial state in his campaign to seize land just beyond its effective jurisdiction. At such distances, formal legal authority became attenuated and gave ground to customary practices developed over the course of more than two centuries of inland exploration. The promise of acquiring treasure—in the form of gold, Indians, and productive slaves—turned the crown into an eager accomplice of shrewd adventurers who did not always do its bidding in the drive to territorialize colonial control over distant lands.

## The map that invented Brazil's territory

Dr Junia Furtado (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais)

The objective of this paper is to investigate the collaboration established between the Portuguese diplomat Dom Luís da Cunha and the French cartographer Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon D'Anville for the *Carte de l'Amérique méridionale* (1748). The map was meant to serve the purposes of the Portuguese court in the negotiations of these boundary-lines between Spanish and Portuguese America that were taking place in Madrid since 1746. The Treaty of Madrid was finally signed in 1750, but D'Anville's map was not used in the negotiations. Although the Portuguese deliberated hide it, the map was a fundamental key to create the new borders of the Portuguese America, very similar as they are today. In fact, the map invented Brazil's frontiers and was not a simple mirror of the territory. It reflected Dom Luís da Cunha's vision with regards to the Portuguese geopolitics that needed to be formulated for the Americas during the first half of the 18th century, and his view reflected in compiling the map. For him, it is important to notice, the establishment of a policy for the area was inseparable from the development of geographic knowledge of the region and he also gave the cartographic documents that the geographer used to draw the *Carte de l'Amérique méridionale* (1748).

## Defining the right to possess: land rights in Dutch Sri Lanka

Ms Nadeera Seneviratne (University of Leiden)

During its administration of parts of Sri Lanka the Dutch East India Company (VOC) set up the Landraad, a court composed of European and native officials, in the eighteenth century. Its primary task was to hear civil cases and its primary tool the thombo or land register. The VOC wished to set down who could do what in which piece of land and what it could extract in return. This paper is a study of land rights in southern Sri Lanka, providing a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the types of possession recognised in the thombos. Local terms relating to land tenure such as paraveni, malapalu and nilapalu were adopted in the thombo, the Landraad and other official discussions. The thombo and the Landraad were in effect the legal mechanisms by which the conversion of land, whether collectively or individually held, into alienable title was sought to be consolidated. Dutch practices of surveying, indigenous land tenure, and existing and new practices of registering lands combined with a new institutional legal framework in which to settle disputes. Despite the complexities of the local land tenure system, the VOC attempted to enforce regulations that would create a neat, circumscribed system that followed specific legal procedures and written forms. The important role of the non-elite actors who appear in this study for the first time can also be seen. Their priorities and claims encountered those of foreign and local elites.

Key words: colonial law, land tenure, registration, land law, VOC, Sri Lanka

## The Crown and agriculture in the colonial Amazon region (seventeenth and early eighteenth century)

Dr Rafael Chambouleyron (Universidade Federal do Pará)

The development of colonial Amazon region's economy during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was precarious and strongly

dependent on Crown incentives. There existed many policies for the increase of economic activities – such as grants of privileges for producers, land grants, exemption from taxes, financing and granting the supply of the labour force. These policies consisted not only in incentives to assist production and commerce, but also they were means for the Crown to maintain royal power and administration in the region. For the Portuguese crown, therefore, the development of Amazonian precarious economy was intimately linked to the financing of its own bureaucratic and military apparatus in the region. Indeed, one could assert that, in a certain measure, Crown intervention was triggered by its own fragile financial situation in the Amazon region. The development of agriculture and the gathering of the Amazonian spices were continually connected to the possibility of increasing the royal treasury's revenues, in order to cover the costs of troops, fortresses, bureaucracy, and hence, to guarantee the Portuguese dominion. The aim of this paper is to discuss the manifold actions undertaken by the Crown to foster economic activity in the colonial Amazon region, especially the one related to agriculture, such as the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, as well as the development of native local products like cacao, indigo, and bark-clove.

P05

*Fri 19th July, 09:30-11:00*

*Location: Sala 38, Piso 0*

## **Rivalry and conflict? Dutch-Portuguese colonial exchanges, 1580-1715**

**Convenor: Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (University of Macau)**

**Chair: Karwan Fatah-Black (Leiden University)**

**Discussant: Catia Antunes (Leiden University)**

In 2005, Ernst van Veen and Leonard Blussé stated that “the rivalry and conflict between the European nations in Asia “were naturally connected to some extent with political developments in Europe itself”. This assumption is rooted in a long tradition initiated by Charles Boxer that stresses the situations of rivalry, conflict and warfare as catalysts for the rise and fall of empires. This panel will challenge the premise that rivalry and conflict were the main engines behind European entrepreneurship overseas, contemplating the hypothesis that cooperation, collaboration and ‘co-existence’ often provided better and perpetual results in the general pursuit of empire, being it at a financial, commercial, military or religious level. We will look at the Dutch-Portuguese cooperation in Western Africa, Brazil and Asia in the search for the common mechanisms of cooperation and negotiation used in the Atlantic and Asia by agents of empire of two apparently opposing colonial powers.

### **Dutch-Portuguese cooperation in western African commerce and the slave trade, 1580-1674**

**Dr Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (University of Macau)**

Traditional historiography on the Dutch and Portuguese overseas empires regards the relationship between these two early modern sea powers as mainly competitive. Military rivalry between Portugal and the

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Dutch Republic is undeniable, as are the naval encounters between the Portuguese fleets and the WIC and VOC vessels both in the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, and their consequences for inter-continental trade.

Recent research is showing that Dutch and Portuguese merchants based in Europe and overseas have also balanced multiple forms of cooperation to safeguard their commercial and financial interests, creating partnerships and networks that transcended the military rivalry between States and the political and geographical boundaries of their empires.

This paper offers an insight into the cooperative relations established between merchants based in the Republic, Iberia and overseas to participate in Western African trade and slave trade between 1580 and 1674. Here we will be looking at their cooperative strategies to finance, insure, and equip their ships, as well as to organize commercial transactions in the coastal and long-distance circuits connecting Europe, Western Africa, and the Americas.

Our analysis will be based on a wide selection of source materials from the Notarial Collections of the Amsterdam City Archive portraying the economic activities of various segments of the Amsterdam business community, including Dutch, Flemish, German, Sephardic Jews, and other foreign merchants. The same materials will also allow us to reconstruct some of the connections of these merchants with other mercantile groups outside the Republic and with mutual business interests.

## **Friends' business and family ties: social interactions in New Holland 1630-1654**

**Mrs Lucia Werneck Xavier (Leiden University)**

Between the years of 1630 and 1654 the Dutch West India Company (WIC) occupied and administered part of the Portuguese Colonial Territories of America. This short lived colony is known as Dutch Brazil or New Holland. In the literature concerning this subject, it has been claimed that due to religious differences, Dutch colonists and the



Portuguese or moradores, did not interact, but kept each other at arm's length. By using the methodology of Microhistory it has been possible to follow the life of Johan van Razenbergh – a former WIC official who became a merchant in New Holland, holding thus, a unique position in the colonial society. Using his correspondence, we will trace his business and social connections and how he interacted daily with his associates.

This presentation will be divided into three parts. Firstly, we will challenge the notion that Dutch and Portuguese settlers in New Holland did not interact, by showing Razenbergh's economical and social role in the colony and with whom he interacted. Secondly, we will demonstrate whether his case reflects or not, the attitude of WIC officials, WIC colonists or free people (vrijeluiden) in their daily co-existence with the Portuguese. Thirdly we will discuss if the concepts of religion, 'nationality' or the continuing conflicts within Europe and in the colony have (or not) hindered Dutch – Portuguese liaisons.

## **Sugar and tobacco in Dutch bottoms: Bahian products and Dutch traders after the Dutch retreat from Pernambuco in 1654**

**Dr Christopher Ebert (Brooklyn College, CUNY)**

The Dutch colony of New Holland was planted upon the pre-existing Brazilian settlement of Pernambuco between 1630 and 1654, when the Dutch West India Company withdrew from its colonizing ventures in Brazil. Bahia was not occupied by the Dutch, but remained mobilized for war and suffered repeated attacks on its productive capacity. Afterwards, it would not be the same, as the nature of its administration, production, and trade changed significantly as a result of the Dutch presence in Brazil. One of the best-known changes was the creation of a Portuguese 'Brazil Company' to organize Brazil's trade with Portugal under monopoly auspices. This paper demonstrates, however, the continued involvement of Dutch merchants in Brazil's economy, although usually indirect. One aspect of this involvement was in the Dutch participation in the European carrying trade involving Brazilian

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commodities through the early part of the eighteenth century. The paper will draw on primary sources from the Stadsarchief Amsterdam and various Portuguese and Brazilian archives. It also aims to provoke a discussion about early-modern state power and its limits regarding trade and trade monopolies.

## **Did a variable climate impact Dutch-Portuguese interactions in monsoon Asia?**

**Dr Brian Zottoli (Social Science Research Council)**

Using North American and Monsoon Asian Drought Atlases derived from tree ring records, we analyze the spatial climate dynamics that influenced the Pacific basin over the past millennium. We identify key periods where anomalous conditions coincided with dramatic societal upheavals. Our analysis, applied in this manner for the first time, enables us to investigate how dynamic local institutional responses to variations in climate across the colonial periphery impacted the development of global trade.

We propose that the transition from Iberian dominance of trade networks in monsoon Asia to Dutch control of much of the Southeast Asian archipelago can be best understood in the context of the dynamics of coupled human-natural systems. We describe commercial, political and social adaptations from the late 16th to early 18th centuries that may reflect a response to anomalies in the mean state of climate across the Pacific basin. Anomalies include variations in mean wind direction, droughts, pluvials, temperature, and monsoon onset or withdrawal dates.

We suggest that anomalous climate and corresponding social and political adaptations helped draw mainland Southeast Asia into involvement with the Iberian networks, then helped the Dutch extend control over most of the archipelago in the 17th century, yet mitigated colonial influence over mainland states and limited interactions with China. Localized merchants of Portuguese origin in the mainland ports and capitals remained important during the Dutch advance, and helped

shape the mainland states that emerged following decadal-scale drought and regional warfare in the mid- to late-18th century.

**P06**

*Fri 19th July, 09:30-11:00, 11:30-13:00*

*Location: Sala 78, Piso 1*

## **Franciscan circulations: friars, texts and written culture in the early modern Portuguese empire**

**Convenor: Federico Palomo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)**

Franciscan had a social, religious, and cultural central position in the Early Modern Portuguese Empire. Historiography has traditionally stressed the Jesuit impact on missionary culture and knowledge (linguistic, ethnographical, geographical, etc.) in the Iberian colonial worlds, often ignoring the role played by other religious groups. In this regard, this panel search to bring to light the Franciscan contribution to the circulation of knowledge and practices through the different contexts of the Portuguese Empire. It will focus on the analysis of the cultural and written practices of the Franciscan friars, considering the contexts of production and reception that involved their activities as writers. In this regard, it will try to answer to questions as what conditions, at different times and different colonial contexts, shaped the Franciscan perception, meanings and uses of the writing activity; what were the erudite ‘routines’ related to the production of their texts; which representations and discursive strategies were used in certain written genres; what criteria defined the circulation of knowledge and texts within and outside the order.

## “Suponho, não disputo a necessidade de govêrno”: the works of the capuchin Frei Jacinto de Deus in the context of the Portuguese empire

Miss Maria Inês Nemésio (FLUP - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto); Miss Paula Almeida Mendes (FLUP - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto)

Paratexts are presentation means for works, authors, social, religious and cultural positions in the Early Modern Age. They format readers perception about literary texts, taking into consideration the author, the intended public and the work's merit. Taking as starting point the paratexts that precede the written production of the capuchin Frei Jacinto de Deus, published in Portugal – Escudos dos Cavalleiros das Ordens Militares (1670), Tribunal da Provincia da Madre de Deos dos Capuchos da Índia Oriental (1670), Brachiologia de Príncipes (1671), Caminho dos Frades Menores para a Vida Eterna (1689) e Vergel de Plantas, e Flores da Provincia da Madre de Deos dos Capuchos Reformados (1690) -, this paper aims to provide a framework of the editorial visibility and this monk's image, considering the articulation between production origin and literary function. In this regard, it will focus on the analysis of prologues to the readers and dedications to bring to light how the reading of a text can be affected by representations and discursive strategies.

## Revisiting the “Conquista Espiritual do Oriente” of frei Paulo da Trindade

Dr Zoltán Biedermann (University of London, Birkbeck)

This paper will revolve around a careful analysis of the narrative strategies of Frei Paulo da Trindade in the third part of the “Conquista Espiritual do Oriente”, the main Franciscan source for the religious history of Ceylon. I will be looking out for echoes of the conflict that opposed the Franciscans, who were the sole missionaries in the island during the sixteenth century, to the Jesuits, who entered the

field around 1600. Attention will be paid to the relationship between narrative and geographical descriptions and to the dense historical passages exploring the island's Buddhist and Hindu past, highlighting the importance of the work in the overall panorama of seventeenth-century Portuguese imperial literature.

## **Itineraries from Goa to Madrid and Rome: writing and political-decision in the experience of a Portuguese friar born in India**

**Dr Ângela Barreto Xavier (University of Lisbon)**

In this paper I intend to analyse the travel of a Franciscan friar born in India that reclaimed to be of Portuguese origin, to Madrid and Rome. Friar Miguel da Purificação was sent to the capitals of the Hispanic Monarchy and of Respublica Christiana, in the decade of 1630, as a procurator of the Province of Saint-Thomas of India, in order to solve some jurisdictional problems that this Province faced during the first decades of the 17th century.

During his trip, friar Miguel da Purificação wrote a *Relação* where he describes his experience in the corridors of political decision relating religious matters of the empire of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Moreover, the *Relação* of friar Miguel is full of memorials and letters that he presented to Philip IV, to the Pope, and to other decision-makers, besides referring, as well, books and other writings that he would like to see published.

For all these reasons, this case allows us to discuss: a) questions related to the writing activity of Franciscans, their intellectual routines, and the ways writing was part of their daily lives, contributing to bring to light their experience and their role in the cultural constitution of the Portuguese empire; b) aspects of the inner life of political decision through the eyes of a “colonizer” that was not born in the metropolitan world, who faced dilemmas that approximated his experience to the experience of a “colonized”.

## Fr. Apolinário da Conceição and the writing of Franciscan history in Portuguese America

Dr Federico Palomo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

In this paper, I intend to analyze the historical and hagiographical works produced by Fr. Apolinário da Conceição, a Franciscan secular brother born in the Portuguese America at the end of the XVIIth Besides his great and more popular *Pequeninos na terra, grandes no Ceo* (an hagiographical text published in Lisbon, in five volumes, between 1732 and 1754), he wrote and published some other writings regarding Portuguese Franciscan History and Hagiography, as *Primazia Seráfica na America* (Lisbon, 1733). In order to understand a work like this one, I will consider, in a first time, the contexts in which the *Primazia* was elaborated and published, bearing particularly in mind the status that *Conceição* had inside the Franciscan order and the possibilities he had to become a ‘writer/author’. In a second time, I will discuss the images and discourses concerning America and, especially, the Portuguese America, that *Conceição*, as a person who belong to the Brazilian world, could employ in a text as *Primazia*, devoted to stress the role played by Franciscan friars in the American missionary enterprise.

### “Para que se empenhem com fervoroso desvelo nos exercicios da santidade [...]”: writing practices and the circulation of role models in Franciscan production in Portugal, in the seventeenth century

Ms Zulmira C. Santos (FLUP - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto)

«Para que se empenhem com fervoroso desvelo nos exercicios da santidade, se ordenão semelhantes escritos, mostrandolhes os passos para a vida eterna» (Fr. Fernando da SOLEDADE (O.F.M.), «*Historia Seráfica...*», 1709: writing practices and circulation of role models in Franciscan’s production in Portugal, in the seventeenth century.

Being the seventeenth century, in Portugal, a time of a wide range

production and circulation of works, mainly Jesuit matrix, this paper intends to conduct an initial assessment of the Franciscan's editorial production in the same chronological period, identifying authors, themes and editorial 'guidelines'.

P07

*Fri 19th July, 09:30-11:00*

*Location: Antifeatro 1, Piso 0*

## Text or image? Western receptions of Indo-Persian manuscripts

Convenors: Audrey Truschke (University of Cambridge), Yael Rice (Amherst College)

Indo-Persian manuscripts have long played a central, albeit fraught, role in shaping Western knowledge and perceptions of the Indian subcontinent. In their search for information about Indian history, legal codes, literature, and cultural life, early colonial administrators and Orientalist scholars frequently privileged Persian-language materials. But many treated manuscripts as "pure" texts, devoid of any material, codicological, or artistic significance. Others valued Indo-Persian works solely for their pictorial components. As a result, many manuscripts were dismembered, rendering their paintings saleable as discrete, aestheticized objects, whose text was wholly incidental. In this panel, we seek to trace the assumed and forged relationships between text and image in Western encounters with Indo-Persian works, particularly illustrated manuscripts. In so doing we will draw attention to the enduring impact of Western interpretations and misinterpretations of this vast and vital manuscript tradition on our present understanding of Indian literary and artistic cultures. We will also address a series of broader questions concerning the implications of genre expectations and the challenges of working across cultural boundaries. Last we will explore the intellectual legacies of this encounter, addressing in

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particular the disconnection between textual and art historical studies, and suggest some ways of more fruitfully approaching the Indo-Persian tradition.

## From Iran to England through India: the many lives of Persian manuscripts

Dr Simon Rettig (Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery - Smithsonian Institution)

In the field of codicology, it is not infrequent to encounter a manuscript whose production occurred through several remote steps of completion. As a very mobile object, the book indeed often travelled between distant centers of production. Thus hundreds of fifteenth and sixteenth century Persian manuscripts found their way to the Indian subcontinent. In many cases, unfinished copies were completed and/or extended in local workshops. Interestingly, the decorative and pictorial alterations gave the books another character. The object seems in a way to lose its own primary intrinsic qualities and could be seen and understood as a contemporary production of the addition.

By focusing on a few belletristic copies initially made in fifteenth century Iran, the aim of this paper is, first, to investigate the reception and transformation of these books in Mughal India. I will try to show how later addition of illustrations and changes in the overall aspect obliterated the primary aesthetic characteristics of these manuscripts, turning them visually into Indo-Persian books. At last, two Englishmen, Robert Munro Binning (1814-1891) and Robert Scott Greenshields (1858-1935), both East India Company's servants eventually gave a third life to these manuscripts as they brought them back to the British Isles. Binning and Greenshields were primarily interested in the text of the works they had acquired but the latter obviously favored illustrated items. This British encounter with "Mughalized" Persian manuscripts will provide the opportunity to re-examine how the Western burgeoning history of Persianate painting and arts of the book thrived in the first third of the twentieth century.



## Lost in translation: colonial attempts to understand the Persian Mahabharata

Dr Audrey Truschke (University of Cambridge)

In the 1580s, the Mughal Emperor Akbar sponsored the translation of the Sanskrit Mahabharata into Persian and ordered the newly-minted Mughal epic lavishly illustrated. This work was originally intended for consumption by a narrow band of imperial Mughal elites, who in turn sponsored their own illuminated copies during the seventeenth century. Many of these early manuscripts of the Persian Mahabharata came to have vibrant afterlives during the colonial period that remain wholly unexamined. Europeans first accessed the Mahabharata through its Mughal-created Persian version and moreover identified the work's illustrations as excellent specimens of Indian art. In this paper, I propose to detail colonial receptions of both the text and images of the Persian Mahabharata with particular attention to the broader assumptions about archival sources that shaped colonial encounters with Indo-Persian texts. I begin with colonial treatments of the text of the Mughal Mahabharata, including William Jones's outright dismissal of this translation and an attempt by David Price to produce his own redaction of the work. I then move into uses of the translation's images, including the display of the illustrations from the master imperial copy in Jaipur in 1883 and the subsequent publication of a catalog of this exhibition by T.H. Hendley. Last, I trace how the colonial legacy of interpreting the Mughal Mahabharata has impacted modern approaches to this translation and others Mughal Persian works today. In closing I suggest a few ways to productively move forward and better reconstruct the relationship between text and image in the Indo-Persian translations.

## Found and lost: translating the 'Ain-i Akbari in image and text

Dr Chanchal Dadlani (Wake Forest University)

In the sixteenth century, as the Mughal empire expanded under the emperor Akbar I (r. 1556-1605), his prime vizier Abu'l Fazl compiled a multi-volume encyclopedic text with statistical and narrative descriptions of India, covering topics from Indian geography to the tenets of Hinduism. Known as the 'Ain-i Akbari, or Annals of Akbar, the work proved invaluable as the emperor conquered and consolidated territory in South Asia. Two centuries later, the 'Ain-i Akbari drew the interest of European scholars, translators, and collectors.

Focusing on what I argue is one of the earliest translations of the 'Ain-i Akbari, commissioned by the French East India Company officer Jean-Baptiste Gentil (fl. 1752-1799), this paper explores the notion of visual translation and its capacity to create and shift meaning. Rather than undertake a complete and solely textual translation of the manuscript, Gentil selected particular passages, translated these from Persian into French with the help of Indian scholar-translators (munshis), and commissioned illustrations from Indian artists. I examine the extent to which the manuscript paintings exceeded their illustrative function, constituting encyclopedic and ethnographic narratives that functioned alternatively in concert with or independently of text. I also consider the way in which these images came to imbue the manuscript with new meanings, reflecting in particular on the object's reception in Europe and its subsequent classification as a "customs and manners" album. In addressing these questions, I reflect upon what is to be both elucidated and obscured, gained and lost, in the translation of Indo-Persian narratives in image and text.

## Meddling or remaking? Richard Johnson's ragamala commissions, c.1780

Dr Katherine Butler Schofield (King's College London)

Since the fourteenth century the North Indian ragas have existed in dual form: as the melodic organising principle of Hindustani art music; and as aesthetic entities anthropomorphised in miniature paintings as heroes, heroines and deities. The connection between the ragas' melodic and aesthetic forms has remained an unsolved mystery since the Mughal period, when the foundational treatises of the substantive Indo-Persian tradition of musical scholarship were laid down. Like his Mughal counterparts, Richard Johnson, Deputy British Resident of Lucknow 1780-82, was a great fan of Hindustani music obsessed with establishing once and for all the true relationship between the ragas' melodic and aesthetic forms. His solution was to commission new ragamala paintings for pre-existing Indo-Persian musical treatises that were never originally intended to be illustrated. Both the act of synthesising these two separate manuscript traditions and of commissioning ragamala paintings that were non-traditional and highly eclectic in style are worthy of examination. This paper will try to establish what on earth Johnson thought he was doing in this ultimately unsuccessful experiment: was he meddling in a destructive fashion in a tradition he didn't understand; or did his innovations instead play a role in remaking Indian art music at a time of turbulence and epistemic transition? Through exploring Johnson's example, this paper will consider what odd cul-de-sacs in the history of Indian music can tell us about the role of British patronage in the transformation of musical culture from late Mughal to early colonial fields of production.

P08

*Thu 18th July, 09:30-11:00*

*Location: Sala 42, Piso 0*

## **Jews and new-Christians in the Portuguese imperial space (16th-18th centuries): social, economic and political dynamics and identity constructions**

Convenor: José Tavim (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical)

Discussant: João Teles e Cunha (Catholic University, Lisbon/CHAM, Lisbon, Portugal)

Today we have a considerable number of studies regarding the participation or inclusion of the Jews and the New Christians, in partnership or not, in the social and economic circuits in the Iberian Peninsula and her imperial world during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Recently, David B. Ruderman considered that some analysis of the economic strategy of the Iberian Jews in the Diaspora, with direct and indirect involvement in the Portuguese and Spanish imperial trade, fails to include such participation in the social and cultural environment of the Jewish communities in Amsterdam, Hamburg, the south of France and Italy.

The objective of this panel is to provide an interpretation focused in a new dimension: to reveal through different analysis the consequences of the active involvement of these Jews in the commerce of the Portuguese Empire before the institutional changes introduced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which according to Sarah Abrevaya Steyn had serious disruptive repercussions in these old trade networks. Therefore it is our aim to reveal their internal social and economic dynamics in a private and business level, either as individuals or integrated in commercial networks and specific communities until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Perhaps one of the main reasons for their

survival as a particular social group, maintaining an identity based in common values, religious uses, cultural practices and Romance languages throughout the centuries, may have been the way they participated in this colonial trade.

## **Alternate identities in the context of the Sephardic diaspora: the cases of Dutch Brazil and of Bayonne**

**Dr Bruno Feitler (Universidade Federal de São Paulo)**

In 1663, rabbi Moisés Rafael de Aguilar, from Amsterdam, received a letter sent by an anonymous group of Portuguese men living in Bayonne, in Southern France. The correspondence they exchanged, debating on the validity of circumcision, sheds light on the methods used by the Sephardic rabbinical authorities to attract non-openly Jewish conversos, as were those of Bayonne, to the fold. Nevertheless, the set of letters exchanged also indicates, if not the arguments, at least the wish of those conversos to create an alternate Jewish orthodoxy, particular to those who did not want to officially integrate the rules of the rabbinical Judaism of Amsterdam. The same kind of behavior can be identified among conversos living in Dutch Brazil (1630-1654). While there was a rabbinical constituted community in Recife, some local Judaizers chose to remain on the side, maintaining their own ceremonies. This paper will describe and analyze these oppositions between a local and a global (rabbinical) identity pertaining the Portuguese Jewish Diaspora in the context of the rabbis' efforts to attract and integrate conversos to the official and Orthodox communities.

## **Identity construction in the western-Sephardic diaspora in the early modern era: the auto-representation and presentation of the Portuguese-Jewish community in Bayonne in the 17th and 18th centuries**

**Mr Nimrod Gaatone (Bar-Ilan University)**

An intriguing question regarding the Identity construction process of the Western-Sephardic Diaspora deals with the terminology used for

its auto-representation and Presentation. Was this group identified, and self-identified, as a Portuguese group or a Jewish group? What were the reasons for periodical transformations in the terminology used for its identification?

In 16th-18th century's correspondence one may find a wide range of definitions for the Western-Sephardim. Earlier definitions involved the country of origin, professional affiliation and linkage to the Christian faith: "new Christian merchants of the Portuguese nation". Later on, the Christian identity was replaced by a Jewish one: "Portuguese of the Hebrew nation". Yet, the term "Portuguese" remained and was used in parallel to the term "Jews", for example, in the cases of Salé, Morocco and Amsterdam, Holland (Tavim, 2011).

The Portuguese-Jewish community in Bayonne, France, offers a challenging test case. Sources from the Late 16th and early 17th centuries identify the community members almost strictly as "Portuguese merchants" while sources from mid 17th century and on to the 18th century, use the terms: "Portuguese" and "Jews", in parallel, or combined: "Jews formerly known as Portuguese merchants".

In this paper, we will analyze the terminology used for the community's presentation and auto-representation at the 17-18th centuries, in the context of the evolution of its identity. Through official and personal correspondence, we will examine periodical transformations in that terminology and discuss their contexts (economy, demography, political and legal situation). Furthermore, we will compare between this case and the cases of the communities in Salé and Amsterdam.

## **Portuguese Jewish experiences and world prophecies: Menasseh Ben Israel, Antonio Vieira, Fifth-Monarchists, and the messianic connections in the seventeenth century**

**Dr Luís Filipe Silvério Lima (Unifesp)**

We intend to discuss the 17th Century circulation of imperial projects based on Fifth Monarchy ideas, i.e., the prophetic-political

formulations derived from the interpretations of Book of Daniel's dreams. The main purpose is to trace the debates, relations and connections amongst messianic members of the Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam; English and American millenarians; and Portuguese Fifth Empire believers, divided into sebastianists and joanists. In this millenarian network, the Portuguese Jewish Community emerges as a possible axis which articulated messianic hopes but also colonial interests of different spaces. One example was the trajectory of the short treatise *Esperança de Israel*. It was written by Menasseh Ben Israel, printed in Spanish and Latin (1650) and short after translated into English and published in London, with great interest, by the Fifth-monarchist Livewell Chapman. Added to its impact in England, several authors indicated a connection between the rabí's text and the letter "Esperanças de Portugal" (1659), by Antonio Vieira, who met Menasseh when in a diplomatic mission to support the Braganzas and the restored Portuguese Empire. If ones assumes the *Esperança de Israel*'s linkages (with Vieira and brigantines and also with protestants millenarians) as a plausible way to understand the diffusion of 17th Century messianic ideas, it is possible to draw a picture approximating Portuguese imperial propositions and English Fifth-Monarchists projects, by understanding aspects of some New-Christians and New-Jews trajectories and their connections in Europe and in the Americas.

## **Correcting the distorted view of Portuguese new Christians in Lope de Vega's 'El Brasil Restituido'**

**Dr Lúcia Helena Costigan (The Ohio State University)**

The paper will focus on historical, religious and political conflicts involving Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands during the first half of the 17th century in order to explain the impact of such conflicts on the negative and distorted construction of Jews and New Christians in Lope the Vega's play 'El Brasil Restituido'. The textual analysis of Lope de Vega's play will take into account studies conducted by S. Schwartz, C.R. Boxer D. Boyarin, B. Schmidt on the Dutch, and Luso-Spanish relations in Hapsburg Brazil during the dual monarchy (1580-1640).

P09

*Wed 17th July, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30*

*Location: Antifeatro 1, Piso 0*

## Christian understandings and critiques of Asian religions (1600-1800)

Convenor: David Lorenzen (El Colegio de Mexico)

The primary focus of this panel is on texts written by Christian missionaries and their priest correspondents in Europe about the religions that had been encountered in Asia, chiefly India, but also China, in the period from 1600-1800. The discussions in the Christian texts, often accompanied by illustrations, were influenced by three, not always compatible, strategies that their authors used to conceptualize the Asian religions and present them to European and Asian readerships. One strategy was to demonstrate the absolutely inferior and even demonic character of the Asian religions. A second was to analyze these Asian religions more objectively, partly in order to be able to debate with the Asians who followed them and partly in order to satisfy the Christian authors' own intellectual curiosity. A third strategy was to see how far the social and cultural practices of Asians could be accommodated within the life-style of Christian converts without falling outside the bounds of proper Christian behavior. In the end the missionaries' efforts at converting Asians to Christianity had only limited success, in part because of the resilience and sophistication of the cultures they worked in, in part because of practical limits to the power of the early European colonial administrations, and in part because of the rigid doctrinal and ritual norms imposed by the post-Tridentine Catholic Church and by early-Reformation Protestantism. Nonetheless, the missionaries and their European correspondents initiated the long process of the European study of these cultures and influenced the eventual creation of an Asian modernity.



## Was there a confessionalized perspective on Indian religions? Jesuits and Pietists in India on the turn to the 18th century

Dr Antje Fluechter (Cluster of Excellency)

Europeans travelling in Early Modern time to India were mostly impressed by the pluralism of Indian religions. Even more difficult to grasp was the encounter of 'living heathendom'. This paper deals with the perception of (mostly German) missionaries. Early Modern missionaries from the Holy Roman Empire came from a much confessionalised environment that is they brought confessionalised patterns of perception and evaluation with them to India. Therefore some historians argued that there was a perception of Indian religion specific for each Christian denomination.

To evaluate a specific denominational entanglement of experience, this paper will conduct an interconfessional comparison of perception:

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) was the first Protestant missionary who came to Indian Tranquebar in 1705, by order of the Danish king and the Pietist University in Halle. He wrote several books about Indian religions. His work will be compared to contemporary Jesuit texts. At the turn to the 18th the Jesuit's work got a huge European audience, because several compilations of Jesuit letters from all over the world were published. The focus will be on letters written in the context of the French Carnatic Mission and on the travel reports by Bernhard Bischofinck (1690/92-1756) and Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven (1701-1787). I will compare the terminology used for the Indian religions and how the authors draw the borders between religious, social and political aspects of the experienced cultures. Besides that four topics will be depicted: 1. Rites and religious practices, 2. the Indian pantheon, 3. the social order, and 4. gender roles.

## **“Le Paganisme des Indiens”: Capuchin representations of Hinduism within the Malabar Rites controversy**

**Mr Paolo Aranha (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)**

This paper analyses “Le Paganisme des Indes” a little known early modern manuscript treatise on Hinduism composed by a French Capuchin missionary in South India in the years 1776- 1746. The author was very likely Fr Thomas de Poitiers, an important character in the Malabar Rites controversy, a theological dispute on the method of “accommodation” followed by the Jesuits in their missions of Madurai, Mysore and the Carnatic. “Le Paganisme des Indiens” is a remarkably rich text and highlights a particularly productive mechanism of colonial (mis)understandings, namely the construction of orientalist knowledge within the early colonial dimension of eighteenth century South India and as a consequence of missionary controversies.

The paper will analyse how this treatise was related to previous European interpretations of Hinduism, produced by Jesuits, other Catholic missionaries, as well as Dutch and German Protestant ministers. Furthermore, special focus attention will be given to the fundamental role of native agency in the work authored by the Capuchin, both in the access to Indian textual sources and in the preparation of visual illustrations of Hindu mythology. Finally, we will try to understand the circumstances that, notwithstanding a wide manuscript circulation, impeded the publication in printed form of “Le Paganisme des Indiens”. A future critical edition of this text would be an important contribution towards a reassessment of the history of the European understanding and misunderstanding of Indian cultures and religions.

## “A certain idol with a child hanging about her neck”: on the significance of cult images in Christian missionaries’ attempts to understand (and refute) Asian religions

Dr Paola von Wyss-Giacosa (University of Zurich)

One of the key discourses on idolatry in the 17th century dealt with its origin and development through time. Idolatry was studied – judgmentally but inclusively – as a misguided form of religion. The material analyzed, especially on the great cultures of Asia, ranged from antiquarian to contemporary. Scholars drew upon diverse sources for their investigations. Information collected empirically played an important role, a significant part of which came from missionary writings rich in observations of “idolatry in practice”.

This paper focuses on cult images described in the texts and examines their relevance in the broader methodological context of antiquarian research, which relied heavily on material culture. Such images were regarded, both by missionaries in the field and by scholars in Europe, as valuable starting points for comparative iconographical studies and interpretations: be it a categorical refutation of any worship of images as a ruse of Satan’s; be it a diffusionistic investigation of spatial and temporal links between idolatries; or be it the attempt – within “accommodation” - to prove a Christian presence anteceding a later paganism. Specifically, a close look at two publications, the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher’s *China illustrata* (1667) and *Afgoderye der Oost-Indischen Heyden* (1672) by the Dutch minister Philippus Baldaeus, shall be taken. Thus, aspects of a historical discourse on the religions of Asia based on material culture and more generally on the visual shall be explored, thereby also demonstrating the epistemological significance and specificity of book illustrations and arguing for their relevance – still strongly underestimated – as source material.

## Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano's "Christian-Hindu Dialogue" of 1751

Dr David Lorenzen (El Colegio de Mexico)

Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano (born as Bernardino Bernini, 1709-1761) was a Capuchin padre who joined the Tibet Mission sponsored by Propaganda Fide. He arrived in Bengal in 1739 and died at Bettiah in northern Bihar, India, in 1761. He was in Lhasa from 1742 to 1745 and spent most of following years in Bettiah where he established a small community of Christian converts, one that still exists. In 1751 he wrote--with the help of his fellow Capuchin and biographer, Cassiano da Macerata--a fictional dialogue between a Christian and a Hindu in the Hindustani language, a text intended to aid in the conversion of Hindus to Christianity. The dialogue shows that Giuseppe Maria did make a serious effort to understand Hindu religion. The Hindu conceptions and ideas he attacks in the dialogue include the transmigration of souls, the large Hindu pantheon of Hindu gods organized as a celestial government, the idea that God writes out a person's destiny at birth, the implausibility of the descriptions of gods and demons in Hindu scriptures, and the Hindu idea that all religions are given by God and that everyone can be saved by following his own religion. The paper will discuss these arguments and the possible influence in their formulation of the writings of early Christian thinkers against Roman and Greek religions and of the disputes in eighteenth-century Europe between Protestants and Catholics.

## Gymnosophists and idol worshippers: Enlightenment Europe and the "discovery" of Buddhism (1600-1750)

Prof François Lachaud (Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient/Ecole pratique des hautes études)

For centuries, Christianity classified world religions according to four categories: Christians, Jews, Muslims, and Idolaters. Reports and rumours about another "hidden religion" in Asia had circulated since the late middle ages based on Classical texts, fragmentary data left by

Arab travellers, Western explorers, and merchants such as the illustrious Marco Polo. The religion of Buddha, the “Awakened One”, appeared increasingly in texts dating from the end of the seventeenth century onwards and was finally recognised as a pan-Asian religion at the beginning of the twentieth century. This paper will study the different ways Buddhism appeared in the wake of the Western discoveries of Asia. Focusing on the work of two Jesuit missionaries – João Rodrigues (1558, 1561 or 1562-1633 or 1634) in Japan and Ipolito Desideri (1684-1733) in Tibet (his refutation of vacuity is a masterpiece)- this presentation will investigate how Jesuit researches contributed to religious, philosophical, and artistic debates in Enlightenment Europe – most notably in a cultural context where the notion of “world religions” was starting to emerge and Jesuits’ power beginning to decline.

## **The Mezzabarba report and the dispute on Chinese rituals: cultural translation and hybridization in 18th century China and Europe**

**Mr Sergio Mantecón Sardiñas**

The Chinese Rites controversy is currently a hot topic in many different fields related with the History of Religions, Translation or Intercultural Mediation. I am currently translating and analysing pieces of the diary and report titled *Istoria delle cose operate nella Cina* by the Vatican commissioner in China Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba and have focused my work not only in the controversy itself, but also, firstly, on the figure of the missionary as an intercultural mediator; secondly, on the cultural translation strategies used by the Jesuits and, finally, in the concept they had of the Confucianism, seen by the Jesuits as a philosophical behaviour guide more than as another religion, having then a different point of view than the Vatican. Terminological problems such as the adaptation of the concept of “God” or “Soul” and how they were solved by the missionaries led to subsequent problems caused by cultural and conceptual misunderstandings between both cultures and the understanding of christianity by the Chinese. The arguments of the great debate on this topic in the Vatican against the Jesuits produced

the extinction of this religious missionary company in 1773. This paper goes deeply in the ethnographical approaches included in Mezzabarba report and his own considerations on this debate according to his own experiences in China to give a general approach on the cultural translation languages in the first half of the 18th century.

## Natural philosophers from the devil: using astronomy against brahmanism in the early 17th century

Dr Thomás Haddad (University of São Paulo)

The long process of inventing “Hinduism” to early-modern European audiences (which was to be completed only in the eighteenth-century British Orientalist movement) was informed, from the start, by travel narratives, historical chronicles of the exploits of Westerners in several parts of India, and, evidently, by missionary literature in various genres (letters, relations, grammars, treatises, maps etc.). Seventeenth-century sources of these kinds abound in expositions of customs, rituals, “mythologies” and denunciations of idolatry (especially when it comes to missionaries’ writings), and they even give some useful information on local natural-historical knowledge, but they are scant in representing local cosmological traditions. In this regard, the Jesuit Jacobo Fenicio’s treatise “Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais”, written around 1610 (but only published, partly, in the 1930s, although having circulated in manuscript quite widely until the eighteenth century), is a notable exception. The book already starts with the presentation of cosmological conceptions of Malabari brahmins (whom the author calls “natural philosophers and theologians”), and proceeds to their refutation on the basis of contemporary European astronomy, which is taken as self-evidently correct. Natural knowledge is thus clearly identified as a key cultural trait and, concomitantly, as a cultural weapon to be deployed in the representation of the other. Here we examine the details of Fenicio’s exposition and the place he accords to European and Indian cosmologies in wider Jesuit policies and ways of proceeding, reflecting also on the uses of science to reinforce cultural and religious identities and divides in early-modern contact zones.

PI0

*Thu 18th July, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Sala 44, Piso 1*

## **The overseas judiciary: justice administration and municipal governing in colonial spaces**

**Convenor: Nuno Camarinhas (Fac. Direito (UNL))**

Justice is a very specific field in the administration of colonial territories: it was typically promoted by the crown judges while also often left to the non-specialized agents serving local donees. Crown judges practiced a scholarly law, taught at the university, normally in strategic territories that were seen as fundamental to the king's interest in the region. The construction of this judicial apparatus was a long process that spanned throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, in the Portuguese experience. With those agents, a system of norms would cross the Atlantic and reach diverse places and realities, often rather different from mainland Portugal.

This panel will aim at presenting different approaches on the study of justice administration both as an institutional framework in action and as a potential conflicting zone with local establishment. It will address the Portuguese specificity of a bureaucratic body with an intense circulation between the spaces of its empire and the questions raised by its setting in regions where, often, the rule of scholarly law wasn't present before. The identification of conflicting or collaboration relationships between magistracy and municipal government will, hence, play a significant role in our discussion. The relation between extreme periphery and the political centre will also be under analysis.

The panel will welcome participation of studies on different imperial experiences in the administration of justice in order to attempt possible lines of comparative analysis.

## **The overseas judiciary: new approaches on an Atlantic bureaucratic network**

**Prof Nuno Camarinhas (Fac. Direito (UNL))**

The circulation of its agents is probably one of the distinctive characteristics of the Portuguese imperial experience. Justice officials, namely the magistrates, are part of this dynamic body of administration. In this paper we will try to develop some research lines that we have pursued in recent years, on the analysis of judicial careers and the way they weave a transatlantic network of circulation. As far as these agents are concerned, the specificity of the judicial field translates into a different geography of the Portuguese imperial spaces, with the creation of two different zones that hardly communicate: the Atlantic and the Indian worlds. By using methods of prosopography and network analysis, combined with cartography, we will propose a way of mapping this circulation, paying a special attention to the question of network evolution. In a reality that is extremely dynamic – with and extremely active creation of new judicial posts in colonial spaces – the chronological dimension plays a crucial role in achieving an accurate perception of how the system worked. The paper will, therefore, aim at identifying both communicating and non-communicating points; define regularities and trends in the circulation; establish its chronology; and understanding the functioning of this administrative system.

## **Powers and jurisdictions in the captaincy of Ceará's hinterlands in the 18th century**

**Mr Reinaldo Forte Carvalho (Universidade de Pernambuco - UPE);  
Ms Ábda Tércia Borges Pereira**

The proposal of this communication intends to discuss the power of relationships in administration of Justice through the establishment of the political-administrative body of the Portuguese Empire in the Captaincy of Ceará, in the 18th century. It turns out that in this historical context not only complaints against many administrators have increased, but also intensified the conflicts between all spheres



of power showing, this way, that the multiple interests that have been formed that the Crown had to deal with to ensure the exercise of Justice in the Captaincy due to accusations of administrative interference of royal officials. In this context, the political power of jurisdiction played an important role as an instrument of control for Royal power metropolitan officers. Our intention is to understand which devices made the exercise of command possible within the scope of local government, causing, this way, an important reflection on the practice of the Portuguese Colonial administration. It is considered that the problems with conflicts of jurisdiction among local powers sets up another dimension of power, thus revealing cracks and ruptures in the connection between the administrative policy on captaincy and metropolitan institutions. From this issue, great contradictions come up, that need to be considered in relation to the political practices in the Captaincy in the 18th century.

## **Government in the Mines of the Gold: the role of municipal chambers in the first half of the eighteenth century**

**Ms Regina Mendes de Araujo (UFMG)**

The present work is part of a doctoral research under the guidance of Professor Dr. Junia Furtado, and has as one of its goals to reflect on the activities of local power in Minas in the first half of the 18th century.

The analysis will be divided into two phases: Initially enlightening about the early years of the implementation of royal power over auriferous areas, seeking to show the importance of the Senate chamber in the process of implementation of metropolitan authority overseas, and a second time

It will seek to analyze the management performed by the chamber in a more consolidated position as an administrative institution.

The chamber, formed by members of the local elite, was the organ responsible for the organizing of society and the governance of the

empire as well, which meant the management of the municipality and the administration of metropolitan demands in the locality. Therefore, to enlighten the thinking about the role of municipal councils it will seek to reflect on the concept of a negotiated authority from the reality of the chambers. I understand that these were not just opportunities of negotiation, but also of conflicts that were processed among the members of the elite themselves, as well as tensions between the local power and the Portuguese Crown. For this, it will rely on the documentation that is in the Public Archives of the state of Minas Gerais, at the Historical Archives of the Municipality of Mariana and the Overseas Historical Archive.

## **Administration and justice in Minas Gerais colonial space: Juízes de Fora in Vila do Ribeirão do Carmo/Brasil**

**Ms Débora Cazelato de Souza (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais/ Brasil)**

This paper is still the beginning for what I intend to accomplish in my Doctor's degree thesis which is currently ongoing in Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. The general objective is to verify, through trajectories of people named by the king for the position of juiz de fora in Vila do Carmo (Mariana/Brasil), between 1730 and 1777, how they stabilised themselves locally in terms of social, political and economical interactions with the councilmen, analysing through such trajectories if there was any form of insertion in networks of local Power.

The first nomination of an juiz de fora for Minas Gerais happened in Vila do Carmo in 1730. Because he was a foreign official, he was initially nominated with the purpose of breaking the bounds among locally influential people and, mainly, to consolidate the Royal interests in with the City Council. It's noticed, for all the documents previously consulted, that only two quarrels involved the councilmen in Vila do Carmo and the juiz de fora in Mariana between 1730 and 1777.

Such statement is interesting for the development of this paper, for his

arrival would generate conflicts with either the local population or even other Royal officials. The statement shows that, even at first, the officials weren't an inconvenient to the member of the City Council. To sum it up, what is observed with the work with the documental sources is that the judges often did not accomplished what was designated in the Ordenações do Reino.

## **The urban magistracy for building disputes: superficial differences and underlying similarities in Portuguese municipalities**

**Dr Sandra Pinto**

The *almotaçaria* was one of the most enduring Portuguese institutions. Its origin goes back to the beginning of the Portuguese nationality (being, in fact, an Islamic legacy), and it was extinct in the mid-nineteenth century. This municipal institution had three basic attributions of control: the market, the sanitary and the construction activities. The *almotacé* was, therefore, an urban magistrate acting as a supervisor, inspector, administrator and judge. This last competence was particularly relevant in building disputes between neighbours, since the *almotacé* acted in conflict management being compelled to intervene whenever any inhabitant call him.

Since the fifteenth century, the *almotaçaria* institution was propagated outside the mainland Portugal, following the establishment of the municipalities and being an important piece in the local administration. The Kingdom Ordinances defined the *almotaçaria* jurisdictions, but in several municipalities some aspects of the central law were adapted to the particular urban situation. Due to the urban size, number of inhabitants and administrative requirements, the *almotacé* was subdivided in two officials and its service time became diverse. However, the most extreme variation occurred in Lisbon. Nevertheless, the constructions laws remained always the same.

In the presentation, it will be shown the differences in the *almotaçaria* jurisdiction of several towns and cities, located in mainland Portugal,

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

Atlantic islands or in Brazil. It will also be explained how this differences can be considered as superficial within the underlying institutional structure, particularly in the building control, by which resulted a strong similarity in the buildings and in the urban forms.

## **“Between two worlds”: confrontation and compromise in eighteenth century Macau**

**Dr Erik Myrup (University of Kentucky)**

On the seventh day of the seventh moon of the thirteenth year of Qianlong, Zhang Rulin, the Chinese subprefect of Qianshan, entered the City of the Name of God. Sent by the viceroy of the two Guangs, he had come to investigate a brutal crime: the disappearance and murder of two of his countrymen by the barbarians who called themselves Portuguese. A tale of viceroys, magistrates, and ambassadors, Zhang’s visit to Macau in July 1748 speaks to larger questions of Luso-Chinese relations during this era. And yet at a local level, it is also a story of crime and punishment, speaking to everyday interactions between Portuguese and Chinese in a small coastal enclave that was subject to the laws of both Portugal and China--including the “justice” of the Portuguese viceroy and High Court in Goa as well as that of the Chinese sub-prefect (tongzhi) and his subordinates in the nearby district of Xiangshan and their superior, the Chinese viceroy (zongdu) in Canton. Drawing upon archival material from Macau, Portugal, and China, this paper retraces Zhang Rulin’s investigation into the disappearance and murder of two of his countrymen in Macau in 1748. In doing so, it examines how Portugal’s colonial bureaucracy interfaced with local, non-European forms of government, highlighting the important role played by the city’s municipal council in navigating the demands of justice in a city that was caught between two worlds.

## Interpreting to transform: codification of consuetudinary law in Portuguese African colonies (1867-1929)

Dr Ana Cristina Silva (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

When Portuguese Civil Code of 1867 was enforced in colonial territories in Africa, the right to be judged according to their consuetudinary private and criminal law was recognized to a large set of native communities. This law – the *usos e costumes* –, was deemed to be enforced by ordinary or special colonial courts, and headed by colonial judges or administrative officials, sometimes with the support of native authorities. Being aware of the difficulties these officials would face while applying norms which they hardly knew about, the metropolitan government gave instructions to codify those *usos e costumes*, in order to provide colonial officials with a written record of the native law they were expected to use.

Our talk will focus the nature of this “pluralistic” project assumed by Portuguese metropolitan government, strongly influenced by previous representations about the character of native communities, namely their general backwardness. “*Usos e costumes*” were the opposite of the “civilized” legal culture and their recognition was in tension with universalistic ideas associate with the codification of law and “assimilationist” ideas associated with the civilizing mission, a problem that needed to be solved by the doctrine.. We also intend to make some reflections on the way the “*usos e costumes*” were applied, focusing on the equivocal aspects involved in their application.

## “Where Portugal purges her scum”: crime, punishment, and the rise of a police state in 19th century Angola

Ms Tracy Lopes (York University)

In 1681 an anonymous poet described Angola as: “[the] dunghill of Portugal where she purges her scum.” The ‘scum’ referred to the Portuguese convicts (*degredados*) exported to the Portuguese colony of Angola. According to Gerald Bender, the Portuguese could not attract

free settlers and relied on degredados to maintain a colonial presence in Angola. There, he argues, they committed almost every crime imaginable and posed a major threat to the peace and well-being of “Africans and Europeans alike.” Although Bender paints a dangerous picture of Angola, historians have largely neglected crime in this context. In particular, the 19th century saw major economic changes and demographic growth, which are important factors in understanding crime and criminality. The colonial administration, anticipating a rise in crime, increased the police force and Governor General Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha introduced a series of prison reforms. This paper uses cases published in the Boletim Oficial de Angola (BOA), from the mid 19th century, specifically cases from the Parte da Polica Occurrencias section. By describing crime and punishment, it will highlight the emergence of a police state.

## **Mercantile laws and commercial jurisprudence, between Portuguese America and the Empire of Brazil (late 18th and early 19th centuries)**

**Dr Andréa Slemian (UNIFESP (Federal University of São Paulo))**

Although it is possible to conceive the law of merchants, *ius mercatorum*, as a product of special jurisdiction based on rules, rights and specific courts, and also as independent of the institutionalized forms of control of modern States, it is suitable to proceed with caution. Despite their attempts of autonomy, and the consequent tensions therefrom derived, it cannot be sustained that it has existed totally separate from the institutions created by the public powers of monarchies whose enlightened projects of reform and great intervention in the privileged legal spaces, were a turning point in the 18th century Ibero-American history. Then was created, in the Portuguese Empire, a specific instance in the scope of the Court's resources (Casa da Suplicação), called Conservatórias de Comércio, for the resolution of trade issues and with the election of a judge conservator. This privileged jurisdiction was carried to Brazil with the Royal Family in 1808 and would carry on after its Independence in

1822. This paper aims to analyze the formation of the judge conservator action, taking into account the tensions between the attempts of its regulation by public authorities and the autonomist practices related to the mercantile tradition. We will argue that, despite the attempts for a great standardization of laws, the commercial jurisprudence remained linked to traditional moral values of trade.

## PII

*Thu 18th July, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Sala 38, Piso 0*

### **(Mis-)understanding religious art in colonial encounters**

**Convenors: Jens Baumgarten (Federal University of São Paulo), Alberto Saviello (Freie Universität Berlin)**

Art and images based upon Christian concepts were highly relevant to the global expansion of the Catholic Mission starting from the late 15th century onwards. Its objects and symbols served both as emblems of cultural identification and differentiation as well as media for communication and practice of the Christian belief. However, roaming via the global missionary and mercantile networks, the Christian iconographies and their concepts changed not only formally but could also obtain new functions and meanings according to the various cultural contexts.

Taking account of Christian objects and iconographies and their travels between different textual, visual and performative cultural systems, the panel intends to analyze local strategies of artistic adaptation such as copying, translating, overwriting and substituting, as well as the reintegration and reappropriation of thus transformed objects into the colonial discourse.

In this context, “misunderstanding” can be described as a specific, and somehow creative, mode of adaptation and appropriation. Both the

intentional and unintentional misinterpretation of objects, practices and symbols enabled different actors to find divergent identifications – or even autonomous courses of action, which in the case of a full mutual understanding would have resulted in conflict. Furthermore, (mis-) understanding eventually opens new ways of understanding and thus bypasses concepts of “hybridity”, “syncretism” or “Mestizagem”, which for their part only perpetuate the notion of the incommensurability of supposed binary and dichotomic cultures. The panel will ask in how far the transformations and alienations traceable in colonial religious art facilitated or even provoked such acts of (mis-)understanding.

## **Mirroring devotion: toward a structural analysis of artistic and religious interactions on the Catholic missions in India**

**Prof Rui Oliveira Lopes (Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Lisbon)**

In the sixteenth-century the Portuguese established a permanent connection between Europe and Asia giving place to an unprecedented cultural, religious and artistic exchange.

In Europe the Catholic Church saw the opportunity to spread the greatness of Christendom in all parts of the world. Therefore, the missionaries had a major role in cultural, religious and artistic exchange, regarding that they enacted as diplomatic envois to the imperial courts as well as they dealt with local communities preaching Christianity or taking care of the women, the infirm and the orphans.

Facing the lack of understanding on Catholic faith by the Asian cultures the missionaries used images as a powerful tool to illustrate the mysteries of Christianity and make easier the understanding of the Western teachings.

This paper examines the impact of Christian imagery in the context of the European missions in India as a result of the western perspective on the cultural, religious and artistic values in Asia. It will focus on the missionary’s accounts about Hindu and Buddhist imagery and their resemblance with Christian iconography; how the missionaries take advantage of a considerable knowledge on the local cultural



background, the religious practices and the ground rules of Hinduism and Buddhism, to replace, imitate or dissimulate local iconography introducing or 'translating' Christian symbols and narratives. Finally, I will evaluate the different levels of cultural and artistic permeability to Christian art accordingly with the political power.

## Hybridity in art of the marginalized mission

Dr Erin Benay (Case Western Reserve University)

The miraculous translation of saints' bodies—such as St. James to Compostela, or St. Mark to Venice—catalyzed the formation of important Medieval pilgrimage routes. Papal recognition of these sites confirmed the final, western resting places of these relics and solidified the visual construction of the saints' lives in pictorial terms. Unlike these well-known examples, however, the story of the relics of St. Thomas Apostle reveals an understudied chapter in cultic devotion. Seventy-two years after the death of Christ, his dubious apostle, Thomas, was martyred in Mylapore, a present-day suburb of Chennai. This event catalyzed centuries of Christian piety in the region and fostered the production of devotional objects which merge Christian and Hindu iconographies in surprising ways. The arrival of Western travelers from Italy and Portugal further complicated the indigenous hybridization of so-called Thomasan Christianity, and their accounts shed light on a little-studied chapter in the history of cultic devotion outside the conventional geographic parameters of the Renaissance. Like many of the major Jesuit missionary architectural projects in places like Goa, Thomasan commissions reflect unusual adaptations of Renaissance devotional art, but unlike their better-known counterparts in Goa, reliquaries, monumental crosses, and St. Thomas churches have not been adequately incorporated into the art historical discourse. Employing newly acquired photographic documentation from Thomas churches in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, this paper will explore the ways in which travel between South India and the west marked the production of art in these peripheral missionary locales.

## On the Jesuit emblem in the frescos of the Guia Church in Macau

Ms Lu Dai (Peking University)

Guia Church was created no later than 1622, The walls and ceiling of Guia Church are painted with frescos, among which the Jesuit emblem is wrote in reverse order: SHI. Some may say that the painter was Chinese, who wrote these letters according to Chinese customs (from right to left), but the logic premise of this view is that the painter knew that the IHS is a kind of language, so I have reservations about this view.

The wrongly written Jesuit emblem in Guia Church is no a solitary case. In the collection of Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Macau we find many porcelain with Jesuit emblem, among which quite a few are wrongly written. Some wrote the letter “J” as “[]”, some wrote the three letters in the way of mirror image, what is more, some wrote the letter “S” like “3”. These Strangely written Jesuit emblems make me think about the problem: how did Chinese in early modern time make of the Jesuit emblem?

More likely, Early Chinese had no idea of western language, nor did they know the Jesuit emblem is an abbreviation of three words. To them, the emblem is more like a pattern than a language, and they use it as a decorative design. This hypothesis is supported by the truth that nothing is remained intact except the letter “H”. Why? I think most likely is that “H” is in symmetric form and is in the middle place, and symmetry is the nature of pattern.

## Failure: mimesis and its limits for the Jesuit workshop in Japan

Prof Mia M. Mochizuki (University of California, Berkeley)

Press, pressing, pressure. Religious art, and indeed the printing press, have long relied upon mimetic imitation, and nowhere was this more true than in the forum of global encounter, where the ability to reproduce exact likeness in multiples begun in the object was

intended to reach completion in the converted person. Even books and folio prints carried over the high seas by Portuguese merchant and Jesuit missionary simply followed this tried and true model of religious copying begun in acheiropoeitai objects and fostered by workshop practice. The first results of Brother Giovanni Niccolo, S.J.'s workshop in Japan inverted the standard order of print after painting to produce eloquent devotional art after Netherlandish prints brought to Japan — Madonna and Childs, Salvator Mundis, portraits of Saints, idyllic landscapes and monumental map screens. Soon enough, however, mimetic imitation's initial positive connotations were quickly recalibrated in the face of the politics of religious encounter as Christianity came under duress. Prints and plates began to be appropriated as fumi-e, or bronze reliefs cast for inquisition and apostasy on pain of life. The brief, but high-quality output of the Jesuit workshop in Japan suggests that notions of change, chance and failure hold the promise of rethinking strategies of early modern encounter, just as considering the trials and tribulations of mimetic imitation on a global stage adds an important overlooked chapter to the role of copying in European religious art.

### **(Mis)understanding Christianity in Japan: the catachrestic poetics of Manoel Barreto's 1591 "Dialogue on the Instruments of the Passion"**

**Mr Patrick Schwemmer (Princeton University)**

Manoel Barreto's 1591 Japanese miscellany contains a "Dialogue on the Instruments of the Passion" which shows what sophisticated religious (mis)understandings the Jesuits and their converts had achieved after a decade of Valignano's cultural policies. Featuring the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, the dialogue sublimates maternal and erotic energies in turn while fetishizing the usual series of violent Instruments, but it appropriates rhetoric from the martial ballads which the Jesuits were reading for language study: because Japanese grammar has no person, skillful phrasing can cause subjectivity to shift kaleidoscopically with the flow of the text, and the Virgin's opening speech shows especial

skill in this regard. However, honorifics are the primary indicator of verbal subjects, so the usual double-entendre on filho “son (of God / of Mary)” misfires: Jesus is to the Virgin both superior and inferior. This failure is supplemented with Portuguese marginalia and catachresms like uaga uonco Deus “my (honored) Child, Deus”. Mary Magdalene’s sado-masochism is presented with less success: the rich Japanese tradition of erotic double-entendre was apparently unknown here, for excessive literalism frequently produces comedy. The second half of the piece runs through the Instruments again in clinical fashion—cataloguing them as *dōgu* “implements”, the word used for art objects in the tea ceremony—and here, the word *muchi* “whip” is replaced with *disciplina*, as if that word meant “whip”: apparently a practice of self-flagellation, a prominent feature of seventeenth-century Japanese Christian protest, was already being taught as part of this devotion.

## Christians and savages: the colonial uses of hybridization in baroque religious iconography and its postcolonial (mis)-readings from Goa to Potosi

Dr Esteban Garcia Brosseau

We often read that the hybrid creatures that ornate the baroque pulpits of Portuguese churches in India are inspired from Hindu iconography. Nevertheless, if many of those creatures might indeed derive from it, many others descend from the European grotesque as it was copied from prints. A similar situation is observable in the sacred art of the Iberian viceroyalties of America (16th – 18th c.), where hybrid figures inspired from the grotesque are easily mistaken for indigenous motifs.

Speaking either of India or Latin America, many historians have tended to interpret this phenomenon as a form of resistance to the Iberian colonizer by opposing whatever appeared to be “naïf” or fantastic in colonial art to the supposed “rationality” of European canons. Paradoxically, this point of view probably derives from the well-known colonialist posture that intends to depict every colonized subject as irrational and unruly.

We will ask ourselves if this situation could have been the result of a long term iconographical strategy initiated in the 16th century by the Catholic Church, who might have consciously mingled elements of the “idolatrous” religions she was fighting with the European grotesque, where references to the unbounded universe of Pan abound. One of the main goals of this strategy would have been to achieve that the religions of the conquered peoples of Asia and America under the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns would become visually associated to wantonness, bestiality and deceptiveness in order to justify the desire of the Church to subdue and abolish them.

## **Rethinking Evonne Levy’s propaganda-theory: the Jesuits’ architectural legacy in east Asia**

**Mr Lianming Wang (University of Heidelberg)**

Concerning the visual art, it should be emphasized that the Jesuits are among the most flexible and practical patrons in the world. Indeed, observations on churches in missionary or colonial regions suggest that their search for an unique style and a corporate identity was often, compared to their desire for ‘success’ in the missionary work, degraded to secondary interest.

Primary focus of this paper will be paid to the comprehensive comparison of the façade of St. Paul in Macao and that of Nantang (Portuguese College Church) in Beijing, which represented the heyday of Jesuit ecclesiastical art in both regions, while the political circumstances and artistic conditions of both differed to a large extent from each other. Following Evonne Levy’s (2004) argument that Jesuit art was de facto an art of propaganda, I will first investigate the structural transformation of façade in both regions, and on the base of that, try to provide reasonable answers to the relevant questions such as how could separated architectural and ornamental components originated from different missionary and colonial regions be integrated into a whole by applying Lothar Ledderose’s (1999) theory of modules and modular production.

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

Besides this, in the context of Western and Chinese cultural and artistic encounters I will raise question of how Jesuits flexibly transformed the function of their church façades from ‘propaganda’ to ‘representation’ and modified them by appropriating the local culture.

## The Indian mirror: the far Orient in the Jesuits’ perspective

Dr Giulia Crescentini Anderlini

In the XVI century, the contact with the far east lands where the Portuguese Empire was strengthening its colonies offered a vision of a fragmented world, impossible to define and to express through the traditional canon. It was transmitted in the letters of the Society of Jesus through the use of images which were familiar but out of context, assembled in new perspectives, which would create a monstrous but also “wondrous” image of a world in a time when the news were not given in the first hand. Collected and purged of the information which was considered inconvenient, the letters were published and transmitted to the several Jesuit colleges and to the headquarters of the several religious institutions by the name of “Avisi”. These then would spread throughout Europe in stories and images of a protean and composite East, sometimes dangerous but always fascinating and surprising.

Through the control, exploitation and dissemination of cultural misunderstandings narrated as tales of exemplification, an early form of exotic is born, one that will eventually become the lens through which reality will be seen and thought, establishing in it conditioned relations and giving rise to new elements of the collective imagination.

The Indian mirror, in which Europe reflects its own countenance, distorts the Portuguese idea in the oriental reality, shows unexpected cultural remnants and useless protective measures that aim to preserve the integrity and the identity of both the horizons, but in the end, however, and even if reluctantly, mutual contamination is inevitable.

## Problems and perspectives in the ‘Santuário Mariano’: the proto-geneses of a visual source of Brazilian heritage

Mr Eduardo Costa (Unicamp - Brazil)

The Historic and Artistic National Heritage Institute – IPHAN – was created in 1937, during the ‘Estado Novo’, a dictatorial regime in Brazil. Monuments, buildings, collections and objects started to be catalogued, classified and, at the same time, some of the most important federal museums – such as the National Museum of Fine Arts – was established and had started their collections.

In this context, this paper aims to present some of the IPHAN’s restoration strategies dealing with a visual culture that was taking place by the official Brazilian culture. At this perspective, some collections in the interior of these federal museums were taken by IPHAN to establish and place a natural and crystallized reference about the past. As the same, ‘Santuário Mariano e história das imagens milagrosas de Nossa Senhora’, wrote by Frei Agostinho de Santa Maria during 1707 and 1723, was taken as an important reference not only to the research, catalogation and classification of the monuments but also important to the restoration of the monuments.

This paper is about to discuss the work of Frei Agostinho, placing the problem of (mis-) understanding. A problem that author had advised, saying that some misunderstandings were inevitable because, as he explains, he hadn’t visited all the sanctuaries. In other perspective, ‘Santuário Mariano’ was taken by IPHAN as a kind first ‘visual’ source of the Brazilian heritage or as the proto-geneses of this kind of source. Thus, through the reading of this work, some (mis-)understandings could be taking place in the interior of the IPHAN.

## On the use of elliptical plans in religious architecture between Portugal and Brazil: new and old theories about its dissemination

Dr Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos (Universidade Lusófona de Cabo Verde)

The elliptical plan used in several religious buildings in the 17th and 18th centuries is considered one of the great exponents of Baroque architecture. Churches and chapels with these characteristics indeed exist in the space of Portuguese cultural influence, having been studied by several scholars under multiple aspects. In fact, this kind of planimetry in some Brazilian churches is still subject of numerous studies. Despite these studies, the question on the origins of elliptical plan in Portuguese religious architecture remains notoriously inconclusive: from the influences directly suffered from the Papal basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican until the affiliations in the (frequently mentioned) images of Augsburg representing churches with elliptical plans, and still mentioning the important role of architect Nicolau Nasoni, several theories have been carefully followed, promoting a vast debate in academic world.

This communication intends to analyse existing theories on the problematic of the origins of elliptical plan in Portuguese religious architecture, pointing also some new directions by analysing several case studies in Brazil and Portugal, as well as in Italy, Spain and Central-Europe. By comparing the existing theories along with other topics – like for instance the use of polygonal oblong plans in religious buildings –, it is expected to accomplish a step forward in the knowledge on this thematic, by recognizing some eventual misunderstandings, by strengthening some specific aspects, and by pointing new directions of investigation.



## Thinking about cross-cultural conversion in the Kingdom of Kongo: the perspective of the space of correlation

Dr Cecile Fromont (University of Chicago)

Focusing on the advent and evolution of Kongo Christian visual culture between the sixteenth and eighteenth century, this paper explores the idea of the space of correlation as a new tool to approach and analyze cross-cultural religious and artistic encounters. It argues that the elite of the kingdom used narratives, artworks, and visual culture at large as conceptual spaces of correlation within which they recast heterogeneous local and foreign ideas and forms into newly interrelated parts of the evolving worldview that was Kongo Christianity. I use the idea of the space of correlation to outline how the newly minted Kongo Christian discourse did not merely combine disparate elements, but possessed the transformative power to redefine them into the constitutive and intimately correlated parts of a new system of religious thought, artistic expression, and political organization.

Finally, this paper examines how the new idea may allow us to examine a range of phenomena that have defied the analytical potential of otherwise useful notions such as transculturation, third-space, or the once-favored term of hybridity.

PI2

*Wed 17th July, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30*

*Location: Sala 44, Piso 1*

## Frontier exchanges in colonial Latin America

Convenor: Tomás A. Mantecón (University of Cantabria)

Discussant: Manfredi Merluzzi (Università di Roma Tre)

Debates on frontiers in colonial societies have stressed the idea of them as strategic enclaves to separate peoples. From the empires global perception of their own territories and aims of controlling both peoples

and natural resources it outbursts a cartographical idea of colonial societies with clear dividing lines borders. These operated at different levels. First, they did it between Europeans and American natives, to establish their mutual relationships; second, between Europeans one another, to trace up their respective areas of influence. Lastly, some operated within colonial society real or supposed ethnic and social groups, to build cultural representations and self-identity .

All these interactions produced frontiers with tensions and confrontations but also cooperation. The analysis of them in Latin America changing colonial contexts with this two sides focus in mind is the challenge of this panel proposal.

The aim is debating on frontiers in a complex way. There will be considered how missions, trade exchanges and forts created not only arguments to stress social and cultural diversity and, perhaps, exclusion but also integration, because they were spheres with a great porosity to make easy cultural exchanges. Some contributors have already expressed their interest to participate in this panel. Manfredi Merluzzi (Roma Tre) would discuss on frontiers and peoples in the Peruvian viceroyalty, Jorge Díaz (UC/NYU) on trade exchanges in Spanish America, Benita Herreros (UC/Stanford) on missions and frontiers in El Chaco and Verónica Undurraga (Andres Bello) could explain honor identities and frontiers in the colonial society of Santiago de Chile.

## **Pushing forward: the creation of a new frontier through urbanization in Central America (1508-1519)**

**Mr Jorge Díaz (Universidad de Cantabria)**

After the first 20 years of Spanish colonization in the Caribbean the model of exploitation seemed exhausted. Constant effort was made by the Crown to take advantage of the resources of the land specially using Indian work force, but after that time new territories of expansion seemed necessary. The objective of this paper is to analyze the way in which a new frontier was developed in the territories of the Isthmus of Panamá, to explore tensions between Spaniards and Indians and also

within the very Spanish expeditions.

The colonization of the territory known as Castilla del Oro was carried out through the building of new towns; some of which remained and others did not. However, all of them represented the interest of the Crown in establishing its authority and signified the necessity of taking control of both Spanish and Indian population. For this paper I will focus on the relations between Spaniards and Indians in a moment of deep tension since the new policies of the Spanish government forbid mistreatment of Indian population but the colonizers still wanted to take advantage of them as either slaves or servants. The process of negotiation or plain hostility is a good ground to analyze how a new society was being built. For this I will compare theoretical approaches that appear in the laws with the chronicles in which we can read how those theories were or were not implemented.

### **Spanish monarchy and the last Inkas: an internal border? Communicative strategies and the failure of peace (16th century). Estrategias comunicativas y el fracaso de la paz** Dr Manfredi Merluzzi (Università di Roma Tre)

This contribution aims to analyze the question posed to the Spanish monarchy by the last Inkas resistance since 1532 to 1572, in the peruvian viceroyalty. It's focused on the way the Spanish Crown tried to face this question and the failure of the peace negotiations due to cultural misunderstandings. The Spanish Crown tried in several moment to negotiate peace in order to avoid the risk that the Inka resistance was creating to the control of that difficult area. The Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa mission (in 1565) was the most satisfactory attempt in that direction, and led to a formal peace treaty (called Urubamba treaty), nevertheless, the peace settled by the treaty didn't resist too much. We analyze both the reasons of this failure and the difficulty of reaching an agreement, founded also, but not only, in cultural reasons.

## **Tensions and mediations in the interstices of social frontiers: Santiago de Chile, 18th century**

**Dr Veronica Undurraga (Universidad Andres Bello)**

“Soy un pobre artesano, pero tengo honor”. This phrase was said by Diego Escobar, an artisan living in Santiago de Chile in 1819, in an injury trial. It expressed the development of the concept of honor through the last colonial century. This notion had left to be a unique cultural code and exclusive patrimony of the elite and became a common representation used in various social environments. This article covers the circulation of cultural models through social frontiers in Santiago de Chile -located at the meridional borders of the Spanish Empire in America- through the analysis of the new notions of honor built by “bodegoneros”, “pulperas”, “peones”, low level soldiers and servants.

Notwithstanding that social borders allowed the development of status optimization tactics, the action margins were not absolute and many of these strategies caused confrontations that placed tension to social relationships. Thus, conciliation was a common practice for settling the referred disputes. We herewith analyze the role that mediators displayed in this practice, passing through social and cultural frontiers in Santiago de Chile at the XVIII century.

## **Colonial architecture in Brazil: two cities, two views**

**Miss Ionara Bezerra (Faculdade Católica Rainha do Sertão (FCRS));**

**Miss Elis Medeiros (Universidade Federal da Paraíba)**

It is known that the colonial architecture was manifested in Brazilian territory with the arrival of the Portuguese, who brought their architectural designs to the country; it had to be adapted, though. For so materials and technical incomes which existed only in the colony were used. Settlers who left Aracati (which was an important colonial center in Ceará) who followed the course of Jaguaribe river and were aiming to conquer new areas for livestock established farms on the banks of Sitiá stream, as consequence the city of Quixadá was first established. Patos, on the other hand, which is located in the state of Paraíba had its

village founded in the seventeenth century, when Oliveira Ledo family occupied that area in order to raise cattle, more specifically in a region called Espinharas which was named so by the early inhabitants of that region, they were known as Indians, who migrated from the coast. In this research, it was detected that both cities had similar occupations and consequently urban evolution as well. As a result it was identified that such places possess exemplary characteristics in what concerns traces from the colonial period. It was also acknowledged that those cities have similar characteristics which remain from that same time. A record of these colonial buildings could only be done by means of observation of old photographs because nowadays there is only a small amount of such constructions, and all of them are in some way damaged.

## **Confiscation of goods and symbolic economies: the Apostolic Inquisition's auction of an Indian sorcerer's property**

**Ms Nicole T. Hughes (Columbia University)**

In 1537 the Apostolic Inquisition of New Spain charged an Indian sorcerer named Martín Ocelotl with sorcery, divination, and dogmatizing against the faith. Ocelotl had allegedly predicated against Christianity along Spanish communication and trade routes. There, he had influenced Indian leaders by exchanging his prognostications for gifts, which he then re-distributed among other important Indians. These transactions created a symbolic economy in which all of the Indians knew and feared Ocelotl. The Inquisition publicly humiliated and exiled the powerful Indian as they had others, but rather than confiscating or destroying his belongings—a common outcome of “muerte civil” under Roman law—they made the unusual decision to publicly auction them. By selling the sorcerer's property to the Indians, I argue that the Inquisition tried to harness his system of influence to their advantage rather than destroying it. The Inquisitors hoped that the Indians who purchased Ocelotl's property would acknowledge them and enter the Spanish economy. They offered his belongings for

any amount of gold yet three consecutive auctions ended without any takers. The Inquisition thus concluded that the sorcerer's property still remaining in Indian hands presented a great obstacle to their objective. As they learned about the missing items, they broadened the category of "property" that they demanded the Indians surrender. Ultimately, I argue that the Inquisition's failure to collect and sell Ocelotl's things thwarted their attempt to appropriate his influence and resulted in the subsequent trial of Andrés Mixcoatl, who would claim that he himself was Martín Ocelotl.

## **Jesuit missions in the 18th century Chaco region, negotiation and cultural interaction in a frontier region**

**Ms Benita Herreros Cleret de Langavant (Universidad de Cantabria)**

The study of the activity of the Society of Jesus in the Chaco region during the Early Modern period allows us to advance our understanding of the cultural interactions and exchanges that distinguished the frontiers of the European empires.

This paper focuses on the ability of indigenous peoples from the Chaco region to negotiate their integration into Jesuit missions and to recurrently renegotiate these conditions when conflicts aroused. Some of these conflicts, besides, were due to the difficulties deriving from the frequent cohabitation in the reducciones of various peoples or ethnic groups with no previous relation, which adds complexity to the process of cultural hybridization that characterized these missions.

By analyzing the process that led to the settlement of the indigenous in the missions and the way conflicts were solved, this paper aims at enriching the new lines of historiographic research that emphasize the porous and dynamic aspects of frontiers as opposed to the more traditional interpretations that stressed the rigidity of frontier and their function to separate or divide territories and peoples.

## The boundaries of understanding: witchcraft, justice and cultural translation in the mapuche frontier (Chile, 18th century)

Mr Eduardo Valenzuela Avaca (Universidad de Chile)

It is known that the “justicia ordinaria” in the hispanoamerican colonial societies, and specifically in Chile, were usually confronted to issues beyond their area of expertise. Conformed by members of the local “corregidores” and “capitanes”, these lesser tribunals had to face crimes of “fuero mixto” (mixed jurisdiction) like “maleficio” and “brujería” (witchcraft), without the knowledge of specialized ecclesiastical tribunals. The “justicias” confronted the judicial process appealed to a mixed background of stories, texts (read and heard), and the oral tradition of their own local community, which we called “matrices of comprehension”. Our previous works evinced that these matrices were capable of contain and organize most of the information provided by witnesses and defendants into coherent structures, being intelligible for most of them.

Although these matrices provide some epistemic consensus between the different members of the community, there were signs of incomprehension, signs of misunderstanding, registered in the processes but consigned to oblivion. Signs that express the boundaries of understanding between the hispanic justice and a core of indigenous religiosity. In this proposal, we will approach to the possibilities of the cultural translation through the analysis of a set of judicial documents from eighteenth century. Specifically, we will focus on a witchcraft case conducted in the city of Concepción (Chile) in the year 1693, against a group of non-Spanish-speakers mapuche from the inland (tierra adentro). We expect this work could discuss some ideas about this complex idea of frontier: the physical or discursive frontier of Bio-Bio (southern Chile) and the epistemic frontiers of the justice comprehension matrices.

## Frontier bandits in Spanish societies: cultural archetypes in the new and old world

Miss Nadia Oberto (University of Cambridge)

This paper deals with the analysis of banditry archetypes at the end of the 18th century. By taking into account the research done about New Mexico (S. Ortelli) Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata (R. Fradkin) and my current research about the case of Northern Spain, this article deals with a comparative analysis in order to underline similarities and contrasts of these phenomena. The objective is to propose new approaches on the debate sustained by E. Hobsbawm and A. Blok. I will stress the social meanings and context of banditry with a particular focus on border societies framework.

P13

*Thu 18th July, 09:30-11:00*

*Location: Sala 78, Piso 1*

## The Iberian body in the global landscape (16th and 17th centuries)

Convenors: Rachel Stein (Columbia University), Elizabeth Spragins (Stanford University), Ana Mendez-Oliver (Columbia University)

Portuguese imperialism suffered several significant blows throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Failed military campaigns, submission to the Spanish Crown, and growing competition from the Dutch and English are some of the well-known factors that contributed to a general sense of the empire's decadence and decline. In this context, while complex local conflicts with a global impact were being played out on the ground from Brazil to Japan, so too competing texts and images portrayed Portuguese—or Iberian, from 1580-1640—activity from different vantage points, each underlain by unique political, social, and economic interests. In almost every written language, European



and otherwise, and from distant and diverse sites of enunciation, textual and visual production represented and debated, praised and criticized, the Portuguese/ Iberian presence around the globe. These textual landscapes of sites such as Goa, al-Qasr al-Kabir, Macau, Lisbon, or Rome, to name a few, are populated and organized by bodies of all kinds, whether traveling, dead, sacred, or sexualized—without forgetting the ever-present concept of the body politic. This panel proposes the Iberian body in particular as a lens through which to examine global and local power dynamics. We especially invite proposals that approach the dialectic between body and landscape in a way that critiques or questions traditional scholarly notions of alterity or ethnographic discourse.

## Tracing “the body” from Goa through Europe

Miss Rachel Stein (Columbia University)

The mortal remains of St. Francis Xavier reached their permanent resting place in Goa in 1553. In the wake of their translation, local Christians fervently vied for any kind of contact with the Saint, calling him simply, “the Body.” A concerted campaign was needed to foster the same kind of cult elsewhere: in addition to spreading hagiographical texts and images throughout Europe and beyond, the Jesuits decided to sever Xavier’s right forearm and ship it to Rome in 1614. The relic was promptly displayed on an altar under a portrait of the Saint in the Jesuits’ young Gesù Church, a powerful gesture in their final push for beatification and canonization. In that same year, an eyewitness account of Xavier’s activities and miracles in Asia entered the public sphere in Lisbon as a licensed, printed book—Fernão Mendes Pinto’s travel narrative, *Peregrinação*, which included several chapters on his first-hand contact with the Saint, had been sitting in obscurity in manuscript form for about forty years. I contend that the princeps edition of *Peregrinação* is configured, both with visual cues on its title page and narrative devices throughout, as a testimony to the life of Xavier that complements and supports the act of translating his arm into the European continent and imaginary. Read together,

these two objects—body and printed book—shed light on questions of proximity and distance in a global Iberian world. A 1653 English edition of *Peregrinação* erases Xavier completely, revealing inter-European conflicts as well.

## Historiography and the dead in Jerónimo de Mendonça's *Jornada de África* (1607)

Miss Elizabeth Spragins (Stanford University)

Of all the elements within Jerónimo de Mendonça's *Jornada de África* (1607) that capture the reader's attention, perhaps none does so with such force as the immense quantity of dead bodies that Mendonça seeks to marshal for his historiographical project. This historiographical strategy, however, carries profound implications for Mendonça's broader project of Portuguese history writing during the Iberian union. I argue that both the sheer number and persistent materiality of corpses within the *Jornada de África*, the perished soldiers, nobles, and kings of the Battle of al-Qasr al-Kabir (1578), overwhelm what is meant to be a relatively straightforward, pro-Portuguese narration of events. I focus on the recollected materiality of the corpses of Mendonça's deceased companions. I argue that the piles of corpses, insistently evoked as present within Mendonça's text through various forms of deictic reference, command (or interrupt) Mendonça's attention and attest to the failure—at several levels—of the Portuguese imperial incursion into North Africa. After the battle, the pull of the unburied corpses remains so strong for Mendonça that the temporal and geographical distance between the act of narration and the battle itself ultimately collapses. Put another way, since the Portuguese defeat and the passage of twenty-nine years between the battle and the publication of Mendonça's account preclude the possibility of any sort of care for these bodies left to rot on a North African battlefield, Mendonça ultimately offers his fallen companions a textual burial.

## Effeminacy and promiscuity of “bodies” in John Huyghen van Linschoten’s *Itinerario*

Miss Ana Mendez-Oliver (Columbia University)

In 1583, John Huyghen van Linschoten embarks in Lisbon on his travels to the East, which included Mozambique, India, China and Japan, among others. In his narration of his travels, the *Itinerario*, the author not only describes maritime routes to the East to his Dutch audience and, later, English audience, routes that had been under the dominium of the Portuguese at the time, but also provides vivid descriptions in the text and the printed images of the different places, cultures and ethnicities that he encountered. The paper will present how van Linschoten’s *Itinerario* provides to his audience a singular and distinctive optic as an outsider, neither Portuguese nor Indian, in his impressions of the socio-political conditions of the Indian territories under the rule of the *Estado da India*. Van Linschoten’s text illustrates, through literary and illustrated images, the political situation of the Portuguese territories in India as decadent and tropicalized. Throughout the *Itinerario*, Goa emerges as an essentially feminized site according to European precepts; it is a fertile, luxurious and unstable place. Hence, Goa materializes in the text as both a rich place for economic venture, but also a site where the promiscuity of classes and bodies of the inhabitants lead to the decadence of Portuguese. In this way, the paper will explore the political body of the Portuguese in Goa as one that has turned into an effeminate, excessive and chaotic body: a political body that could be easily displaced by a more virile European political body like the Dutch or the English.

## PI4

*Fri 19th July, 09:30-11:00*

*Location: Sala 42, Piso 0*

### **Embodied perspectives: visual geographies of the Portuguese empire**

**Convenors:** Amy Buono (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science), Sabina de Cavi (Universidad de Córdoba)

This session explores the inherent conflicts and tensions between global projections of political space and persistently local perceptions of social space, between empire and community. This duality corresponds to the Ptolemaic distinction between abstracted, mathematically derived geographia and the personal, physically embodied chorographia. The visual expression of such embodied geographies in the early-modern Portuguese Empire took many forms, including the cartographic (maps, cityscapes, navigational aids) and the artistic (textiles, ivories, biombos, printed images, mandinga bags, azulejos, architecture, etc). How do specific, local cultural, artistic and linguistic traditions transcend boundaries within the larger Lusophone world and become embodiments of cross-cultural, social, and ideological conflict? How do culturally distinct, competing concepts and descriptions of space and place inflect both local and global knowledge systems? How did the global dispersal of art objects result in the dissemination of cultural information and misinformation? We seek papers that explore a wide range of visual media from across the Portuguese Empire (Portugal, Brazil, West and West-Central Africa, Goa, Macao, Japan) that engage with visual geographies.

## Embodied geographies of the Portuguese empire in João Sardinha Mimoso's *Relación de la Real Tragicomedia*

Dr Lisa Voigt (The Ohio State University)

Upon Vasco da Gama's arrival in Lisbon following his successful voyage to the Orient, King Manuel I ordered public celebrations to commemorate the event, including a dance of costumed figures representing the Eastern provinces which would now render him tribute. At least, this is how the explorer's welcome was performed for King Philip III in Lisbon in 1619 by the students of the Jesuit college of Saint Anthony. The performance is described in João Sardinha Mimoso's *Relación de la real tragicomedia* (Lisbon, 1620), one of several accounts of Philip III's entry into Lisbon. The curious celebration-within-a-celebration reorients the object of acclaim from the Spanish King to his Portuguese ancestor King Manuel I and Vasco da Gama, who are described as "drawing the eyes of everyone" (52r). The fruits of Portuguese imperial expansion were also put on display in the Jesuit performance. For example, a Brazilian king—dressed in the typical Tupinambá costume of feathered headdress and cape—was represented by a "naturally dark" student who performed songs in Africanized Spanish as well as *Brasilica*. In this paper I examine, on the one hand, how the embodied performance of Portuguese expansion displaces Madrid and positions Lisbon as the center of Philip III's empire. On the other hand, I explore the African, Amerindian, and Asian identities represented through clothing, language, music, dance, and skin color in the Jesuit performance—and the slippages between those identities—in order to study the ways in which that embodied geographies both support and challenge imperial ideologies.

## Mazagão in Amazonia

Ms Mariana Hartenthal

Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, Portuguese soldiers housed in the fortress city of Mazagão, now El Jadida (Morocco), waited for the moment to fight against the infidel Muslims. The city, together

with the fortress of Azamor, located eight miles north, was part of the efforts of the Portuguese crown to strengthen its presence in Muslim ground, effects of the Reconquista. In 1562, 2,600 men resisted the moors in what became known as “The Siege of Mazagão.” The political interests of the Portuguese empire shifted as a result of its maritime expansion, dramatically altered after the possession of South American land. The new colony needed settlers; moreover, the Portuguese crown lost interest in the African fortress, which demanded resources without offering an increase of the Portuguese presence in the region. After centuries of expectation for further heroic feats, the Marquês de Pombal decided that the lives of Mazagão’s inhabitants would unfold in a radically different frontier: the Amazon. In 1769, the Portuguese families left the fortress to Lisbon, where they waited for the arrangements for their transference to the forest. There, in a completely alien environment, they built a city from scratch. This paper will look at how these unwilling settlers constructed both their physical environment and their new life. Fundamental to the discussion is the negotiation between desire and resistance, heroism and resilience, and how this can be identified in the disconnections between the plans drawn by the Portuguese crown and the city created by these new Amazonians.

## **Quilombos X maps: an architectonic-cartographic war in the Portuguese colonization of Brazil**

**Dr Roberto Conduru (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)**

Linking architecture and mapping, the aim of this paper is to analyze how the Portuguese maps made with the intention of documenting the quilombos replenish the tensions inherent to European colonization, especially Portuguese, of Brazil from the sixteenth century, focusing particularly on conflicts intrinsic to the occupation and the representation of the territory by European, African and indigenous groups.

Tensions and conflicts emerge from the objects represented on these maps: the spaces of resistance to the colonial order (political, economic, social, cultural) configured from various constructive and

spatial references – African, European and native -, characterizing a complex landscape, urban and architectural derived from the multiple populations of quilombos, composed of different marginalized groups in the colonial system: mainly ex-slaves (former African and african descent), but also by Indians and even Europeans.

Tensions and conflicts are also observable in this Portuguese cartographic culture, either from the goals of these drawings – to visualize in order to know, dominate and destroy – either from the more or less abstract modes of representing space and place, combining ancient and modern systems of visualization.

In this sense, despite the differences and even the opposition between these objects, their authors and audiences, both quilombos and maps can be understood as embodiments of cross-cultural, social, and political conflicts. Therefore, the conflicts between the represented objects and the modes of representation will be explored by the paper.

## **Rereading the travel literature: images of Brazil and Luso-Brazilians (1st half of 18th century)**

**Prof Ângela Domingues (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical)**

Travellers registered their impressions based on their own principles, and in some cases exaggerated the cultural differences they observed. The travel literature, which did not have Brazil as final destination, could have disproportionate and unsuspected repercussions. Given these issues, I intend to make a reinterpretation of the accounts of travels in the south Atlantic during the first half of the 18th century – accounts that are normally descriptive, emphasizing customs and the picturesque, the way in which travellers saw society, administration and economy in the Brazilian colony.

Now I use these accounts to see how this literature contributed to explain and validate the cultural differences in Europe. Eighteenth century Europe was considered to be one -united by a blind belief in the superiority of its civilization, where reason, progress, science and

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technology was used in the search for wellbeing, happiness and the common good of subjects and humanity. But internally, Europe was not conceived as one entity. The travellers' accounts ascribed specific characteristics to Portugal that made it similar to Spain and different from the rest of Europe - a Europe that, in this period, was determined by the reinforcement of national states and aggressive imperialistic external policies, particularly in the south Atlantic seas.

## P15

*Fri 19th July, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Sala 44, Piso 1*

### Women, land and power in the European Empires

Convenors: Eugénia Rodrigues (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical), Mariana Candido (Princeton University)

The European expansion led to major changes in the social order of the world areas affected by imperial dynamics. Women became important actors of the imperial societies, not only European ones but also mestizo and native women. However, it must be considered that the roles played by women were socially constructed, therefore, the women's agency ranged among empires and through time.

This panel seeks to explore the dimensions of the relationship between women, land and power in European empires. The women's access to land varied greatly in imperial spaces, according to the European homelands rules as well as those created by local dynamics. In some colonies, women had high opportunities to possess and administrate land, which gave them influence and power.

This panel aims to discuss questions such as: How European rules and practices about land's possession, inheritance and administration were reshaped in imperial territories? What role did access to land play in the social and geographical mobility of women? How the possession of land did underlie the influence and power of women? How did families



and society understand the women access to land? How did imperial dominion affect the relationship between women and land in native societies?

We seek papers that consider any of these dimensions of the women role in the European empires, focusing empirically-grounded case studies, as well as discussing methodological and theoretical framework. We encourage proposals about any territory affected by the dynamics of the European empires, whether within its political boundaries, whether beyond them.

## **Female landowners and entrepreneurs: food suppliers of 19th century Luanda**

**Mrs Vanessa Oliveira (York University)**

African and Eurafican women owned slaves, ships, rental and commercial houses, stores and plantations in 19th century Angola. Not a few of the most prominent female residents of Luanda, the capital of the Portuguese colony of Angola, owned plantations in the hinterland, particularly in Bengo region, where the water and foodstuff which supplied the city's multiethnic population and the slave ships come from. Registers of crops entering the local public market confirm that women represented an important parcel of food suppliers in the port city. Therefore, this paper aims to show that the ownership of land created economic opportunities for women in Luanda, allowing them to enter the trade community and consequently the local elite.

## **Women, family and wealth: engendering property in 19th century Benguela**

**Dr Mariana Candido (Princeton University)**

In the past decades, new studies have explored on the role of gender in the shaping of colonial societies in the African continent, yet most of the scholarship focuses on the 20th century, and not much attention has been paid for previous centuries. Records from Benguela allow us to see the role of African women in an earlier period and reconstruct their

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families, access to labour, and explore new forms of production and control.

In this study, I will explore mechanisms through which women had access to and accumulated property and wealth in Benguela during the nineteenth century. The study explores lives of merchant women analyzing their family connections and commercial partnerships in order to understand capital accumulation and social mobility. Baptism, marriage, and burial records allow us to explore how women built their families and wealth, established social networks, created new kinship, and had access to properties. In the process they claimed new social and economic positions in the colonial setting, accumulating dependents and wealth. Parish records allow us to access bits of information on the lives of women who did not leave written records and did not call attention of Portuguese authorities.

## **Donas da terra: her-story on gendered power relations, reflections on variation and change in female land ownership and inheritance in the Zambezi Valley, Mozambique**

**Ms Carmeliza Rosario (University of Bergen)**

The Zambezi Valley, in Mozambique is a sociological construct. Portuguese colonial rule over this area, enacted initially from Goa instituted the prazo system; by leasing to settlers for a period of time. To attract more settlers, some prazos were given as dowry to girls who married Portuguese vassals; to be inherited through the female line, for at least three generations.

Indigenous women in the region were also reportedly powerful landowners. Among the Marave, the wife of the karonga had jurisdiction over part of the territory. Female chiefs were also reported to have existed. Among the Shona, the wives of the mutapa had their own territory and could serve as ambassadors.

Despite their notoriety, historical texts mention these women marginally or as surrogates to male dominance. This is not an accidental narrative. It stems from a male perception of female roles. By constructing a text which undermines processes through which women can access power, historians have neglected important factors which may have contributed to the rise of such women to power.

Using Foucaultian and feminist anthropology approaches to power I propose to understand how women of this sociological space have been constructing the perception of their female ancestry's power. This approach assumes that women act through agency and are producers of their own position. Yet they are also constrained by social structures, within which they enact their agency. Finally, the significance of their actions is linked to a system of understanding shared by her and other subjects of the same structure.

## **Succession strategies and property holding among widows of African descent in colonial Minas Gerais**

**Dr Mariana Dantas (Ohio University)**

Portuguese inheritance laws protected wives' right to half of a couple's property in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. Still, a husband's death often threatened the dissolution of the family estate to an extent where ownership of the *meação* (the spouse's half) could not ensure the family's livelihood and well-being. Moreover, women of African descent were often denied guardianship of their children and, consequently, control of their inheritance, which were placed instead in the hands of court appointed guardians. Given the potential constraints legal procedures imposed on these women, some African descendant and mixed-raced couples engaged in "*vendas de meação*" (sales of a spouse's half), which ensured the widow would remain in possession of the entire family estate after her husband's death. This practice protected women from the interference of the courts in matters of family and property and proved to be an effective strategy to secure ownership and the productivity of their agricultural and mineral lands. This paper will examine a few case studies from the judicial district of Sabará, in Minas

Gerais, to explore how widows of African descent challenged legal restrictions that threatened their ownership and management of land and, in the process, contributed to the growth of the local economy.

## **Slave, freed, and free women: succeeding generations of Africans and Afro-descendants in eighteenth and nineteenth century Minas Gerais**

**Dr Douglas Libby (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais)**

This paper examines the trajectory of a West African slave couple and six generations of their descendents in the Vila do São José do Rio das Mortes over a period of some 160 years (c. 1735 – c. 1895), in particular the trajectory of the female members of this family. The research is based on diverse types of primary sources that are subjected to intense and systematic cross referencing. The narrative built around the unfolding lives of succeeding generations aims at providing a varied set of ways of analyzing family formation, certain levels of social and gender relations, occupational opportunities, and the complexities of social mobility in the context of a small urban center in colonial and provincial Minas Gerais. The extraordinary geographical stability of this “colored” family of what can be considered middling social and economic standing challenges the notion that non-elite populations were constantly on the move in during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a similar vein, the remarkable importance that family relationships themselves took on over time is revealed when looking at patterns of repeated gestures of familial solidarity and inflection. Women (wives, daughters, sisters, aunts, mothers and daughters in law, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers) made important contributions to the rootedness and tight-knitted character of the family, claiming and holding on to their fair share of property as well as to the power forged out of the clan’s hard-won respectability within the local community.

## Engendering power / empowering gender in colonial Brazil: Maria Bárbara, a woman of Engenho

Prof Clara Sarmiento (ISCAP)

This paper explores the intercultural experience between Portugal and Brazil, from 1807 to 1823, of two families from the Portuguese landed gentry, paying special attention to the intercultural process as lived by women. It sheds light into the role of subalterns, both within and outside structures of power, as in the paradigmatic character of Bárbara Garcez, represented both as a silent and dependent mother of family, and as determined manager of a sugar mill (engenho), an independent slave and land owner.

The letters compiled in the Luso-Brazilian Correspondence (re) construct the polyphonic representation of a movement of personal, family, and social transculturation, that functions as a simultaneous translation of the historical events witnessed. This study articulates the contexts and situated objects of study, in order to understand different historical moments, rationalities and worldviews, as well as the cultural practices that move representations of reality.

Although Bárbara Garcez became an important actor of the imperial society, her social agency was socially constructed, located (and limited) within the boundaries allowed by the structures of feeling and behaviour of the Portuguese overseas empire. Her access to land, slaves, capital, and power was made possible thanks to the peculiar dynamics of the hybrid space of Brazil, on the eve of independence. In this empirically-grounded case-study, European rules about land's administration are reshaped by the imperial territory, where the actual possession of the engenho simply unveils the authority of a woman that had by no means proved powerless in the complex politics of family and society.

## Nationalism, gender and eroticism: the role of the Portuguese imperial tradition in the myth of the 'Brazilian woman'

Miss Verônica Daminelli Fernandes (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

In the Western tradition, the genders do not occupy the same positions in national beliefs, being experienced by men and women in a hierarchical manner. In the Brazilian case, the nationalist imaginary seems to have been constructed from a indianaistic woman's representation who has in the character "Iracema" its greatest exponent. She is the starting point of the tradition started by the Portuguese Empire who built the description of the new land to be deflowered beginning by the native woman to be conquered and filled by the colonizer's speeches. She is the porno-tropic myth that defines the center and gives meaning to the Portuguese Empire, the white male colonizer and the series of ideologies that diminishes women within the patriarchal paradigm. Her connection with the Portuguese man it's the base of the Brazilian mestizo nation, legitimizing the romance that creates/reflects the history of the country and validates the loving connection, being difficult to separate political ethics from erotic passion, nationalism and intimate sensitivity. In this sense, love and nation work by colonizing women's subjectivity on two levels: within the patriarchal speech and within the imperialist logic. The geographical spaces are therefore transformed in sexual areas. In Brazil, women's bodies were constructed as a limit, boundary of the cosmos and of the known world, where the European tradition eroticized the Brazilian women as exotics, a symbol of underdeveloped lands and with the need to be inseminated by superior civilizations, understanding the gender as crucial to maintain the security of the imperial logic.

## The woman who ruled the Atlantic: Dona Beatriz and the administration of the Atlantic Archipelagos (1470-1485)

Miss Maria Dávila (CHAM (FCSH-UNL))

The archipelagos of the Atlantic were the first spaces to be colonized by the Portuguese in the 15th century. These became spaces of experimentation of a model for administrative, territorial organization and economic exploitation that would subsequently be applied to other areas of the Empire. This colonization process acquired a distinct manorial nature as it was, from an early stage, carried out by the House of Viseu (i.e. Prince Henry the Navigator and his heirs).

As from 1470 to mid 1480's this House was administered by a woman, the infanta Dona Beatriz, tutor to the new Duke, then a minor. For the first time in Portuguese History, an overseas territory concerned the purview of a woman. Her actions in the insular space revealed to be extremely important, both for the settlement of the archipelagos of Azores and Cape Verde, as well as the economic growth of Madeira.

However, her actions in the archipelagos and how she adapted to the various existing realities have never been analyzed in a global and comparative way. This is what we will do, by approaching issues such as how Beatriz exercised her power in the Atlantic; how the settlement and distribution of land was made during that period and how power was organized. We will also reflect about her condition as a female ruler and how that was regarded by her peers and by the men under her authority, as well as how she used the administration of these territories to uphold her power.

## Women and access to land on the island of Mozambique (mid-18th century)

Ms Maria Bastião (CHAM | FCSH-UNL & Univ.Aç. and CEHC | ISCTE-IUL)

In 1752 the territories of Mozambique and Rios de Sena stretched through the vast region of the Zambezi Valley and through a narrow

strip of litoral land. Since the mid-1500s the Island of Mozambique had been the political capital of those territories.

The land acquired by the Portuguese Monarchy in the Zambezi were considered land of the Portuguese Crown conceded to loyal subjects under a hybrid framework that combined legal aspects of emphyteusis with the granting of Crown-owned land. Not being mandatory, the grant and succession of these lands to women had become a common practice, mainly as a way to attract male settlers of European ascendancy or origin. Uncommonly in the Portuguese Empire, the female land owners of the Zambezi acquired a position of great social and economic influence.

But if the regimen of the land grants in Rios de Sena has been largely studied, the question of ownership and property on the Island of Mozambique remains mostly unknown.

This communication aims to approach this unknown subject. It therefore intends to analyze the legal framework of the leasing of lands located on the Island of Mozambique and its outskirts, by trying to understand the similarities and dissimilarities with the prazos of Rios de Sena, as well as the role played by women. Had the women of the insular elite gained an influence close to that of the female land owners of the Zambezi? And what was their importance in the context of land owners of the Island?

## **Women, land and power in the Zambezi valley in the early modern period**

**Dr Eugénia Rodrigues (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical)**

In recent decades, the historiography has recovered women from the invisibility to which the study of the human past had confined them. However, there are still scarce studies on the economic and political agency of women, particularly in the European empires.

In the early modern Europe, theorists argued that women lacked reason and strength, so they didn't have the ability to govern, which was given



to men. The model of power based on the political legitimacy (potestas) and the authority by force (potentia), applied to the relations between rulers and subjects, was used to justify women's subordination to men. Nevertheless, the implementation of European institutions in the imperial spaces redesigned, often, the social relationships that made women subordinated to men.

In the colonial society of the Zambezi valley, where the Portuguese crown ruled a vast territory, women accessed to land and other means of economic, social and political relevance. While owners of the land, these women, mostly mestizo, acted as heads of households, managing multiple resources and, in particular, controlled the African inhabitants of these territories. This social role enabled them to build a remarkable power, which often was socially perceived as superior to that of the men.

This paper discusses how the land possession was related to the production of a notable power by these women, within the context of the colonial and African societies. It will be considered the forms of formal power, as well as power as an interactive process dispersed in society, according to recent perspectives.

## **Do British colonial laws exclude rural women in Kenya from negotiating their right to land in Kenya today?**

**Mrs Jemaiyo Chabeda Barthe (Graduate Institute-Geneva)**

The colonial administrators felt that to make the Kenya colony more productive it was necessary to introduce private property rights. The English customary law of the colonial state did not accommodate, at all, the idea of women as landowners. Claims by women in the name of custom, were viewed with impatience as an impediment to the development process.

British officials in Kenya, thus, attempted to preserve existing native law, yet the substantive content of customary law was being altered, that is usufruct rights of women over family land. In addition, land adjudication committees in most areas were male-dominated. For instance, all adjudication committee members were male, although all

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

land rights, including under customary law, had to be recorded during adjudication committees lacked skills and time to do so .

The policy of individualisation through the process of land rights and the subsequent registration of absolute titles were pursued vigorously. The Registered Land Act (GOK, 1962) further enhanced the individualisation of tenure among the indigenous communities. The solutions imposed by the colonial system aimed at intensifying agriculture and introducing cash crop, with emphasis upon male controlled agriculture was a primary determinant of women's loss of status and power in agriculture. In essence, the men rather than women benefited from reforms and re-structuring of customary practices of land tenure.

**PI6**

*Fri 19th July, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Sala 38, Piso 0*

## **Political communication in the pluricontinental Portuguese monarchy: kingdom, Atlantic and Brazil (1580-1808)**

Convenor: Nuno Monteiro (Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa) *(to be confirmed)*

This panel views political communication as the key to understanding the longevity of an empire like that of Portugal's in which the resources available to assimilate its various parts were extremely limited in human and material terms. Many aspects of this have been studied in detail, such as the policy of royal grants. The king, who was the head of the monarchy, was by definition absent. Even within the territory of the kingdom, the royal progress traversed an increasingly confined space. The governors and captains-general were up to a point his agents, as were, at a different level, the magistrates and justices. However, there were other ways of communicating with the centre, at times against

the governors or against the justices. In fact, in the General Archive of Simancas prior to 1640, as is the case later in the various councils and courts of the central administration of the Braganças, petitions and applications – individual, collective or institutional – abound. In essence, it was a widespread and well known practice. It was partly muddled with a judicial act, and in that sense, is a perfect example of the large grey area that existed under the Ancien Regime between the judicial and the administrative. What we wish to suggest is that petitions of all kinds were an essential instrument of political communication in the Portuguese monarchy of the Ancien Regime, and that systematic study of them would enable us to understand better its forms of political functioning and its integration mechanisms.

## **Untold stories: Portuguese colonial archives and political decision making, mid 17th-18th century**

**Dr Ana Canas D. Martins (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical)**

This paper considers that the archives (institutions) and the records (documents) shape information retrieval and historical knowledge in ways often unquestioned both by archivists and users. Revealing how records were born, used and mediated and how archives were made up, helps to understand the power and limits of the archives of the Conselho Ultramarino and Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos for writing history and telling other stories. Thus, the purpose for the production of specific documents such as the petitions and the following documentary chain, their features, and the needs of the several private and public players, are analyzed. Also, factors such as distance and transport in relation to the administrative time, the political decision making and the record keeping systems of these overseas central offices, are enlightened. Finally, attention is paid to the transfer and division of archives, to the archivist's profiles and practices (labeling, classifying, arranging) and to what is more or less documented.

## Scientific artifacts and political communication in the Portuguese late-Enlightenment

Dr Iris Kantor (University of Sao Paulo); Dr Thomás Haddad (University of São Paulo)

We take the analysis of scientific practices to bear on issues of political communication. Differently from 17th-century courtly patronage systems, with an ideal ‘cursus honorum’ based on prestige accumulation, late-Enlightenment men of science, even if still engaging in patronage relationships with sectors of the nobility, did not depend exclusively on traditional loyalties – as the State now becomes a fundamental node of new reciprocity networks. Recruited to fulfill tasks increasingly considered essential to the very workings of the imperial State, they paradoxically seem to make use precisely of this situation to secure the autonomization of their own field. Thus, every form of circulation of scientific information is ultimately an act of political communication. Here we present these ideas through the analysis of two concrete scientific artifacts, that can exemplify the circulation of information inside and beyond the empire: A pair of universal atlases, one terrestrial and one celestial, produced among Casa do Arco do Cego, Impressão Régia and possibly Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica, institutions intimately related to reformist minister D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho. Although we discard the simple supposition that such cartographic artifacts might have a direct “utility” to the affairs of the State, we still insist on their political nature, grounded on the modes of appropriation of foreign models of scientific authority (here British and French), in a perceived desire of affirming a patriotic, “nationalized” science in Portugal, and in the markedly propaedeutic vocation of both objects, which betrays the footprints of a project committed to reproduction and recruitment of a new kind of elite.

## **Political communication and its institutional intermediaries: the Évora municipality (1700-1750)**

**Mr António Castro Nunes (CIDEHUS - Universidade de Évora)**

The main theme of this communication is the circulation of political and administrative information between the Câmara de Évora and the central governments of the Portuguese monarchy in the first half of the 18th century. Considering the documentation received by the município in the given period, the aim is to identify the main actors and circulation channels, the production rhythms and the most relevant subjects. To this end some quantitative exercises will be presented.

A special emphasis will be given to the role of the institutional intermediaries of this communication, whether in their action as information distributors, or in their supervisory powers. Considering the multiplicity of agents involved in this process, the analysis was circumscribed to the Corregedor, Provedor de Comarca, Juiz de fora, Superintendente dos Descaminhos do Tabaco, Superintendente da Criação dos Cavalos and the Vedores do Exército e Artilharia.

## **The political communication between the court of the King of Portugal and the Minas Gerais (Brazil): the case of monetary policy (1702-1777)**

**Dr André Costa (ISEG/Universidade Técnica de Lisboa)**

The paper seeks to reconstruct the flow of political information between the Court and Minas Gerais with regard to decisions on monetary policy. In the first part, the bodies will be identified in the court concerned (Secretary of State, Overseas Council), agents that control information (Secretaries, Counselors, Clerks of the House, Aldermen, Governors, Providers of Finance and the Mint), and the main topics discussed on the subject of monetary policy in Minas Gerais (production costs, monetary taxation, casting techniques, variations in the quantity of money, the relationship between the gold price and the value of the currency). The second part will present the critical

data about raising the quality and quantity of correspondence. Firstly, through a description of the critical communication, frequency of contacts (number of agents, number of documents per month), as well as to the form of communication (description of the characteristics of Opinions, Maps, Queries, Reports, officers Lists, Expense and Revenue Descriptions), whether in regard to political and economic implications of the statement on monetary policy (definition of problems to solve) or with respect to communication tools (which the techniques of information processing and methods for selecting relevant information, organizing the process, problems on the choice of decision-makers and information needs, and the relationship between organizations that make decisions and structure of royal power).

### **“Without freedmen note”: changes in the petitions of the pardos of Portuguese America throughout the eighteenth century**

**Mrs Priscila de Lima Souza (University of São Paulo (USP)); Dr Luiz Silva (UFPR)**

Throughout the eighteenth century significant changes were operated in the discourses of the men called pardos about their hierarchical position in the Portuguese America. Through petitions that requested letters patent, remuneration for services rendered, honors, and privileges, the pardos introduced new concepts in the field of discourse, which tried to circumvent the color prejudice and to require their assimilation those which are born honored and without blemish. Part of these new categories was the result of transformations operated in the Atlantic world during the eighteenth century. However, the laws issued by Marquis of Pombal after 1760 were more decisive to create that discursive field. This communication, therefore, proposes that such petitions reflected, on the one hand, a significant change in the use of certain categories by the pardos as a result of those laws and, on the other hand, that this change was not political, but only aspired the possibility to change their position of the outsiders to the established under the Old Regime.

## **Government by distance: notes on the military appointment system for Portuguese America (1777-1808)**

**Mr José Eudes Gomes (University of Lisbon)**

One of the most defying issues for the Portuguese overseas empire was to defend their colonial possessions across the globe. Furthermore, it was crucial to maintain under rule its diverse populations, in order to guarantee their political domain and economic advantages. In the Portuguese America, in particular, many authors underlined the military appointment system as a major mechanism to make imperial government possible and to sustain the social order. Even more because the formation of militias commanded by local notables was one the strategies applied by the Portuguese crown to avoid the costs demanded by the professional army. Nevertheless, in the period from 1777 to 1808 the rates between the military appointments made by the local governors in America and their corresponding registrations in Lisbon are clearly contrasting. This fact points the practical limits imposed for the king and his councilors to control the system as well as for the need to measure in which extent this responsibility had to be delegated to the royal overseas representatives.

## **The diffusion of orality in Brazilian education**

**Dr Maria Renata Duran (Universidade Estadual de Londrina)**

After Brazilian Independence in 1822, the most direct survival of the rhetoric and eloquence happened in meetings and assemblies that resulted into the first Brazilian constitutions. Most of these speeches were printed in the newspapers of Rio de Janeiro until the third decade of the nineteenth century, where there was also the continuation of a logical structure and a universal vocabulary already shared by the public on traditional eloquent practices. Beginning with the characterization of these works according to their literary style and then by the formation of a public receiver of these message, we worked to write a final word on the definition of patriotism that literature-inspired eloquent left the Brazilian then, as has the legacy of rhetoric.

## PI7

*Fri 19th July, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Sala 78, Piso 1*

### **From Lisbon to the overseas Iberian world: commercial routes and global trade (15th-18th centuries)**

**Convenors: Nunziatella Alessandrini (Centro de História de Além Mar), Benedetta Maria Crivelli (Università degli studi di Milano)**

The panel aims to analyze the wide network of commercial routes that, originating from Lisbon's seaport - a cross-cultural place and intersection of routes and an active place of reception and redistribution of a great variety of products -, put in connection distant countries or even continents.

To understand Lisbon as a dynamic space, key-emporium in the international trade system and privileged observation post for the comprehension of ties which bound Europe to the different parts of the Iberian Empire, from the South Atlantic regions to Asia, we aim to study the commercial flows that employed the port of Lisbon as a centre of intermediation and interchange of colonial products and European manufactures.

Starting from an approach focused on communities of merchants active in the Iberian world, we wish, on the one hand, to analyze their structures and commercial strategies, understanding how the choice of given commercial routes influenced the formation of formal or informal social networks which enabled the interaction of different ethnic, religious and national groups and, on the other hand, how the local institutions intervened to promote certain routes affecting the development of peripheral areas of the Iberian empire



## Italian merchants in the Atlantic trade at the end of the 16th century

Dr Benedetta Maria Crivelli (Università degli studi di Milano)

The paper focuses on the role of a group of Italian merchants, based in Lisbon, that were engaged in sugar and slave trade in the Atlantic islands, between the XVI and the XVII centuries.

At that time, the system of contracts which regulated the exploitation of commercial routes in the Atlantic was dominated by an Iberian élite, which, by taking advantage of its economic power, succeeded to reach a prominent position vis-à-vis the political power. After the unification of the crowns, that system survived and the commerce with the Atlantic remained largely centred in Lisbon, although Seville became the organizational centre of slave trade with India of Castile and the Habsburgs fostered policies to limit foreign presence in the colonial commerce.

The paper's objective is to explore the role that Italian merchants managed to secure thanks to their relationship with the political and commercial élites of the Iberian peninsula and their profitable penetration into trade routes dominated by great Portuguese and Castilian contractors.

The aim is to reflect upon the structures of exchanges that were at the base of the creation of informal networks that were built in relation to overimposed commercial strategies, trying to understand what identities the commercial agents adopted to guarantee the success of their operations. In this context, the relation with the central power was fundamental to comprehend which interests, the Crown on the one hand, the merchant groups on the other, exploited to their advantage to reach their commercial objectives.

## **The Iberian union and the silks of empire (1600-1625): the global dynamics of the Persian silk trade**

**Miss Graça Almeida Borges (European University Institute & CEHC/ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa)**

This paper discusses why a contract on the Persian silk, seemingly fundamental for the alliance between Iberians and Persians in the early seventeenth century, was never established. It argues that the Habsburg interest in the Shah's silk cannot be understood without considering all the commercial routes and networks created by the global Iberian empire that resulted from the union of Portugal and Spain (1580-1640). Hence, it analyzes how the silk trade between Iberians and Persians collided with important silk production centers in Spain and in China, as well as with the interests of economic groups (producers and merchants) engaged in their commerce.

Balancing the position of both the formal and informal structures of this newly-created global Iberian empire, this paper discusses three problems. Firstly, it studies the objections the Persian silk commerce arose from the Spanish producers of silk and the overseas merchants involved in the Chinese silk trade. Secondly, it examines the impact the Persian silk trade would have had in the commercial routes orchestrated between Lisbon and the overseas world. Thirdly, it analyzes how Madrid, as the decision-centre of the empire, dealt with the Persian silk negotiations with the Safavid court and how it balanced Portuguese and Spanish interests in this affair. It argues that the Habsburg commitment to the Persian silk trade mirrored the position the Persian Gulf occupied in the Catholic Monarchy's wider hierarchy of interests.

## **The material landscapes of global history: artefacts and their spaces of global interactions**

**Prof Giorgio Riello (University of Warwick)**

This paper investigates the ways in which objects are used in history to create new understandings of geographies of interaction. From

porcelain to cotton textiles, commodities connected different areas of the world in the early modern period. Ambassadorial gifts, rarities and luxury goods also served to connect different states and empires. Yet, these and other artefacts created their own geographies that do not necessarily conform to our present-day understanding of the physical map of the world. They also permit the imagining of other people, shaping ideas of worth and cultural distance as well as acting as mediums of commercial and economic exchange. This paper explores non-textual sources through a series of case studies. Riello's research on cotton textiles shows their 'global reach' as commodities but raises the issue of how the progressive expansion of their use from Afro-Eurasia into the Atlantic and the Americas should be narrated. Can we talk about a process of diffusion part of early modern globalisation, or should we conceive instead these artefacts as part of individual cultures? What is the role of European traders in articulating markets and in shaping products? Gerritsen's research by contrast, reflects on the concept of 'the local' by considering the geography of production of porcelain in China vis-a-vis their global distribution in the Ming and Qing periods. Together they wish to consider the types of connections that artefacts and commodities created in the early modern period and how they structured the physical and conceptual space that historians call 'global history'.

## **Lisbon as a propulsive centre of a global economy (1650-1700)**

**Dr Nunziatella Alessandrini (Centro de História de Além Mar)**

In the restored Portugal, released from the Spanish domination, the Italian merchants, that operated in Lisbon, succeeded to incentivize their affairs with the creation of multiple commercial ties: these are both informal bonds, that, by counting on a several numbers of commercial agents, launched an exchange system of goods and financial service, and others more institutionalized, that were generated from different commercial initiatives. In the process of development of the Portuguese economy, started in the second half of the XVII century,

the port of Lisbon simultaneously turned into a centre of propagation of various trading routes and a meeting point of merchants of different nationalities.

The focus of the paper, which will rely on original documentation, will be twofold: reconstructing the geography of principal mercantile routes, that, originating from Lisbon, linked commercial interests of Europe, American, Africa and Asia and analyzing the weight of politic factors to establish in which cases their presence was fundamental in the choice of strategies within the network. The paper will ask if political factors could have been crucial and if they had affected into relationships of cooperation, generating competitive situations.

## **The Italians in Lisbon: trade, institutions and conflicts (1750-1780)**

**Dr Catia Brilli (Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos (CSIC), Sevilla)**

The paper focuses on the Italian traders in eighteenth-century Lisbon. Their persisting role in connecting the Mediterranean and the Atlantic markets is supported by manifold evidence but has been largely overlooked by historians. The analysis of their institutions will help to shed light on the strategies they used to compete with the other trading nations and maritime powers. The Italians who settled in early-modern Lisbon were from different states, had different consuls, and competed among them, but shared the same religious institutions. The church of Nossa Senhora de Loreto and the city's Convent of Capuchins were entitled to the "Italian nation" as a whole. From the XVII century, the Genoese challenged the hegemony of the Florentines and became the most prominent group in the Italian community. This paper aims to show how, in the following century, they consolidated their position in the port at the detriment of the other Italians. The monopolistic control of the nation's church and convent was one of their main preoccupations. The documentation conserved in the state archives of Genoa and Venice allows us to understand the importance of both

institutions for the management of legal and illegal trade. The Genoese also used their pre-eminent role to impose the other Italian merchants the payment of fees and contributions in their own favor. The Genoese ambitions were supported not only by some of the most important aristocratic families of the republic, but also by the Apostolic Nuncio to Lisbon.

## **Mirrors: the history of a commercial company (Imperial Society of Trieste from 1777 until 1782)**

**Dr István Rákóczi (University ELTE Budapest)**

As a consequence of the Pragmatica Sanctio and the rise to power of Maria Theresa the Habsburg Empire was unable to use the exit in the Nordic Sea (Ostend) to the international waters. So it had to look for alternatives in the Adriatic. These resulted in the establishment of new colonies and worked very well, and also harmed Portuguese interests in India. This positive turn was due to an extraordinary vacuum situation, the result of the War of Independence of the North American colonies and the Franco-British status quo. Thanks to Alexandre Lobato, we know Austrian activity in Mozambique. This makes necessary to re-evaluate the role of the new agent in the Indian area (whether in Malabar or in Nicobar Islands), as well as the forms of cooperation and friction between Denmark and Portugal that finally disconcerted the ambitions of the Habsburg colonizers. The ad hoc and adventurous nature of these initiatives remains also a question and leads to some considerations about the second wave of European colonial empires. The creation of commercial companies (some of them ephemeral, while others more enduring) followed the Dutch model, and in general the Nordic scheme, a new methodology for colonialist capital investment. The Portuguese reforms are less researched compared with the different parts of the vast empire (Africa, Brazil and India) and especially if they are compared with the Swedish, Danish or German and French and British counterparts.

**PI9**

*Thu 18th July, 09:30-11:00*

*Location: Sala 38, Piso 0*

## **The ‘industrialization’ and circulation of sculptures (1450-1800): works, technology and materials within Europe and between Europe and America**

**Convenor:** Ana Duarte Rodrigues (FCSH)

**Discussant:** Pablo F. Amador Marrero (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Recent research on sculpture has proved that there was an almost “industrialized” production and afterwards exportation of these “works of art”.

The circulation of wooden sculptures following the commercial circuit from Flanders to Lisbon or Spain and from there to New Spain is already known. However, recent research has revealed that religious images made with some different materials and technique variations have also been produced in series in New Spain and sold to Spain and South America.

In Europe, Genoa is an important centre of production and commercialization of stone sculptures to all Europe, including Portugal, but it is still to be explored the real dimension of this exportation centre and if they reached Brazil.

The discovery of formal and material similarities between the lead sculptures of Fronteira Palace, in Portugal, and the golden lead statues of the Herrenhausen gardens, in Germany, sold by the Larsons’ family from Holand made us realize how important is the study of casts, replicas and copies’ markets to another level of comprehension of the concept of art as objects of art markets. Something similar waits to be explored with “peltre” sculpture between Spain and America. In

particular, in Mexico, Ecuador and Peru.

How relevant was the sculpture trade and its serial production? The question is essential to an understanding of the Early Modern European cultural milieu, of the level of internationalization of Antique Roman sculptures through the dissemination of models (Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, 1990), its main trends, sources and favorite markets.

## **The similarities between the lead sculptures at the parterre of the Palace of Fronteira in Lisbon and of the Herrenhauser Garten in Hannover**

**Dr Ana Duarte Rodrigues (FCSH); Mr Ronald Clark (Herrenhausen Gardens)**

Figures imitating famous archetypes of Antiquity and Early Modern period and made of lead were a popular replacement in renaissance and baroque garden sculpture for the far more expensive original figures made out of bronze. These copies market was especially successful in northern Europe. The case-study we seek to present in this conference will stand as an evidence of the level of globalization in 17th century sculpture market and will prove Fronteira's lead sculptures as the most antique group of this typology in Europe.

Twenty-seven figures of lead ennobled with gold plating were bought by the Hanoverian court from 1689 until 1692 in the Netherlands to decorate their ballroom in the garden, the first "Heckentheater" in Germany and the only one that still exists. These statues were bought between 1689 and 1691 from Barent Dronrijp who had acquired the studio stock with casting molds from Johan Larson's legacy. In 1673, similar lead sculptures already existed at the Great parterre of Fronteira Palace which were probably imported from the same studio. Johan Larson and his brothers were sculptors in Den Haag and London and supplied several courts in England, Netherlands and Germany with all kinds of statues. So it might be that our Portuguese statues were bought in London or in the Netherlands. This demand is probably explained by the combination of the relatively low prices and quick delivery for lead

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figures, when compared to sculptures in marble or bronze.

## The collecting and displaying of classical sculpture reproductions in Portugal

Dr Ricardo Mendonça (Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Lisbon)

Without having a consistent tradition of acquiring classical sculpture and its reproductions, Portugal has known several case study's within the mainstream of international purchases. The cast collecting brought by D. Miguel da Silva in 1525 is unquestionably one of the earliest cases but other works purchased from Genoa throughout the XVII century witness that Portugal was keeping up with an international trend for adorning noble houses with busts of eminent Greek and Roman characters.

Following this example it comes with no surprise that one of the largest collections of lead casts made by John Cheere was settled in the Royal Palace of Queluz making clear that this taste for the antique would sooner or later come up in full size copies produced by local artists. The Italian sculptor Alessandro Giusti has the credit for introducing this new awareness by making a stone replica of the celebrated Flora Farnese and thus setting an example for Machado de Castro's later intervention on the summer houses of Caxias and Belem. Indeed recent evidences show that plans were made to get in Belem not only this set of stone sculptures made by both artist but also other Italian sculptures that lay today in the garden of the National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon.

This paper focus on the continuous interest over classical sculpture and the way it affected the landscape of public and royal collections in Portugal between the XV and the end of the XIX century.



## Ivory and “light” sculpture in a global perspective

Dr Pablo Francisco Amador Marrero (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México); Dr Patricia Diaz Cayeros (Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas UNAM)

Within the two main commercial routes that united New Spain with Europe and Asia, the study of religious sculpture can help to better define cultural exchange through the study of patronage, morphological loans and production (definition, circulation and appropriation of artistic techniques). The route of the Galeón de Manila that departed from Phillipines and arrived to Acapulco in the Pacific side of Mexico brought ivory sculptures for the American and European markets. The Flota de las Indias that departed from the port of Veracruz arriving to Cadiz or Seville imported “Light” sculptures, mainly for a Spanish market. This two sorts of sculpture, one carved on ivory and the other mainly molded and modeled with paper and corn with pieces of carved wood followed an almost “industrialized” production before its exportation. In both cases, material has been an invaluable resource to pinpoint its origins and understand its success although there are other aspects (related to their production and patronage) that differentiate them. We would like to create a dialogue between these two diverse sculptural traditions because they both reached wide markets. Ivory was specially valued in New Spain as can be seen at the importance given to these pieces in private and public places such as the cathedral of Puebla where ivory sculptures crowned the choir entrance and the bishop’s seat. Unlike the production of ivory sculpture whose specialization resembles the guilds production of Flanders, the exportation of light sculpture made of corn and paper cannot be fully understood without taking into account individual patrons.

P20

*Thu 18th July, 09:30-11:00*

*Location: Sala 44, Piso 1*

## The eye of the beholder: perceptions on/of the Old City of Goa from the 16th century to the present

Convenors: Sidh Losa Mendiratta (Universidade Lusófona do Porto), Alice Santiago Faria (CHAM)

There is an obvious and striking connection between the expansion, stagnation, and slow and agonizing decline of the Estado da Índia and the history of its capital city, Old Goa. Indeed, the process through which the old city of Goa grew, shrank and slowly receded back into its rural

backdrop is usually considered in light of the steady decline in trade and political stealth of the Estado da Índia, together with a general corruption of morals and public health. However, it is known – or at least strongly suspected – that many other factors were at play during the abandonment and dismantling process(es) of Old

Goa, such as social tensions between “reinóis” and “descendentes” and the Goan catholic elite, a faction that rose from an arguably subaltern position to the higher ranks of colonial society. At any rate, the stages of development, decline and demise of Old Goa are present in a wide array of documents, especially written material and images. This panel proposes to address the diversities of ways and mindsets in which the old city of Goa was perceived and portrayed – from the candid descriptions of Silva y Figueroa in the early 1600s to the redeveloping ideas of the Gracias Committee during the last years of colonial rule – focusing on the history of its urban culture and built landscape.

## The (unknown) Old City of Goa in 1951: the contribution of the study brigade for the Portuguese monuments in India

Dr Vera Mariz (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa)

In the first half of the 20th century the specificities of the Portuguese monuments built in the Old City of Goa were barely known. In fact, the situation was particularly remarkable if we consider the attention given, during the same period of time, to the Luso-Brazilian Baroque.

Given this situation, in 1951, Mário Tavares Chicó suggested to the Ministry of Overseas the creation of a study brigade whose mission was to identify, register through drawings and photographs, exhibit and organize an archive with all the results obtain in the Old City of Goa.

Thus, Mário Chicó along with Martinho Humberto dos Reis, Carlos de Azevedo and Mário Novais planned the trip that would be held during three months in the Portuguese India and, mainly, in the Old City of Goa.

Therefore, with this paper, we pretend to understand how (and why) little the Portuguese monuments of the Old City of Goa were known in 1951 and, subsequently, analyse the program developed by the Study Brigade for the Portuguese Monuments in India.

Finally, by assay the perception of this specific brigade regarding the former capital of the Portuguese India and the results of the 1951's mission, we pretend to identify the benefits that arise from this situation of a very fragile and incomplete knowledge of the Portuguese monuments built in that colonial territory.

## Four European travelers in Goa, what they see, how they look and what they report

Ms Luísa Barbosa Cardoso (CES-Centro de Estudos Sociais/III-Instituto de Investigação Interdisciplinar da UC)

The present essay focuses in the report of four European travelers: D. Garcia de Silva Y Figueroa (1550/1624) - Spanish, Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1568/1611) - Dutch, François Pyrard de Laval (1578/1623) - French and Pietro Della Valle (1586/1623) - Italian, about what they saw, observed and narrated of a stay in Goa.

Despite a common starting point they had different criteria for analysis, comparison and objectives, although converging in some geographic points, on a mission that consists in analyzing and identifying the ways, habits and uses that Portuguese had absorbed and imposed in their territorial appropriation of India. The report also reflects the detailed geography of the places revealing detailed descriptions of physical and human characterization of the Goa territory.

They all traveled in the dual monarchy period, where a dynasty – the Habsburgs – intended to assume a universal sovereignty that was characterized for embracing the four parts of the world.

Also in this period, Netherlands, France, Spain, France and others reportedly taken by sea and land their interest in the East, which consequently resulted in the formation of numerous commercial companies and led to the loss of the Portuguese hegemony in the field of trade routes, helping to accentuate the decline that have been manifested since the mid-sixteenth century, of the Portuguese State of India.

The analysis reflects the way how these travelers, differently and critically, revealed and describe the geography of the territory of the island and city of Goa, not forgetting their distinct motivation, education and origin.

## Writing Goa in the Portuguese Empire in the 16th century through a global perspective

Prof Ana Paula Avelar (Aberta University)

Our analysis will focus Portuguese 16th Expansion chronicles in order to unveil the way their authors conceived Expansion General Histories, and, eventually, their sources. We shall confront the way Goa, at the time center of the “Portuguese State of India”, was described by the authors of both Regal and Expansion chronicles, while at the same time contextualize their different narrative perceptions. We shall compare João dos Barros’ *Asia...*, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda’s *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*, Gaspar Correia’s *Legends of India*, and Damião de Góis’, Francisco de Andrada’s and Jerónimo Osório’s Regal chronicles of king Manuel and of king João III, in order to ponder on the different strategic narratives about the empire, following a Global History analytic approach. Both physical and natural spaces, local history, and the dialogue with the Other(s), will be taken as descriptive indicators that we shall have in mind in order to reveal their historicity in “writing Goa in the Portuguese Empire in the 16th century through a Global perspective”.

## P21

*Fri 19th July, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Antifeatro 1, Piso 0*

### **Relics, altars and other sacred things in the juridical construction of religious spaces in Ibero-America (15th-17th centuries)**

Convenors: Benedetta Albani (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte), Osvaldo Rodolfo Moutin (LOEWE-Schwerpunkt „Außergerichtliche und gerichtliche Konfliktlösung“), Otto Danwerth (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte)

With the arrival of a small handful of Europeans at the new discovered lands in Africa, America and Asia between the 15 and 17 century, new Christian communities were de facto constituted. These communities needed suitable spaces, instruments and facilities for the proper catholic worship. At the same time, missionary activities also required a materialization and definition of these spaces, according to the thousand-year-old Christian tradition, the typical structures of ecclesiastical institutions and the stratification of the ruling normativity.

These conceptions came along with the Europeans, but new realities required adjustments and changes for the configurations of sacred spaces and of the ecclesiastical institutions. The strictness and flexibility of European canonical and liturgical norms were sized up. Places and furnishings designated for divine worship, such as churches, shrines, hermitages, relics, altars, images, sacred vestments, sacred music, liturgical and devotional books, as well as the field of the practice of ecclesiastical authority – parishes, cathedrals, chapters of canons, Tribunals -experimented changes appreciable in historical sources.

Purpose of this panel is to make these changes explicit, to study how sacred spaces were built and expressed through juridical practices, and to analyze the coexistence of accords and disputes of men and institutions in these spaces. Our focuses will be the relationship of the

new Churches with the European authorities and the interaction of rights and traditions of old and new Christians.

Although Ibero-America will be our centre of interest, papers concerning other territories under Spanish and Portuguese authority will be welcome.

### **Relics, altars and other sacred things in the juridical construction of religious spaces in Ibero-America (15th-17th centuries): an historical-juridical introduction**

Mr Osvaldo Rodolfo Moutin (LOEWE-Schwerpunkt „Außergerichtliche und gerichtliche Konfliktlösung“); Dr Benedetta Albani (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte); Mr Otto Danwerth (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte)

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Purpose of this paper is to present a series of core questions that serve

as an historical-juridical introduction for all the papers submitted to this panel, analyzing the construction of sacred spaces and its expression through juridical practices, as well as the coexistence of accords and disputes of persons and institutions in these spaces. Our focuses will be the relationship of the new Churches with the European authorities and the interaction of rights and traditions of old and new Christians.

## **Crisis in the cathedral: the controversial and reluctant Archbishop of Mexico, García de Santa María**

**Dr Robert Ferry (University of Colorado at Boulder)**

This paper addresses a set of conflicts based on the introduction of liturgical novelties into Mexico during the first years of the 17th century by the new archbishop, García de Santa María, who was the Jeronymite friar who had attended Philip II at the Escorial and had officiated at his burial. Promoted to archbishop of Mexico by the Duke of Lerma, probably as part of Philip III's valido's project to remove the influence of former king's councilors and to move the court to Valladolid, García de Santa María only reluctantly went to New Spain in 1602. Once there, flush with ideas about liturgy and relics based on his years as prior at the Escorial, the new archbishop had considerable difficulties in implementing his desired practices, and both his plans and his personal authority were challenged by the cathedral chapter, the viceroy, and the Inquisition. A series of serious confrontations, some spectacularly public, were the result. The paper examines these troubles in an effort to light on a variety of religious, juridical and social issues that characterized Mexico at the turn of the 17th century.

## **Sacred objects in the battlefield: manipulation of sacred objects during urban disturbances in colonial Mexico city (circa 1620s)**

**Dr Angela Ballone (University of Liverpool)**

While it is difficult to assess the different agencies involved in the disturbances of the 1620s in Mexico City, what is clear from the



documentation available is the involvement of Mexican clergy. From among the lower levels of secular and regular clergy up to the very head of the archiepiscopal chambers, it was impossible not to have something to say about the new viceroys appointed by Philip IV (1621-1665). Indeed, Diego Pimentel, first Marquis of Gelves, had landed in New Spain in the middle of the great debate upon the administration of Indian priesthoods and, similarly to his predecessor Guadalcazar, had suspended the king's orders in favour of the superiority of the diocesan clergy over the regular clergy. As a result, the Mexican clergy had been engaged in a strong lobbying at all levels of the Spanish Empire.

In the context broadly sketched above, the Tumult represents an opportunity for the scholar in search of practical cases of how sacred objects were differently put into use within the Atlantic worlds. Not only were they differently used by the Archbishop of Mexico to stop his forced exile (ordered by Viceroy Gelves) from his diocese, 'sacred things' were reported as being publicly offended by the newly converted population of Mexico, as well as being reported as 'taking part' to the disturbances of the day of the *Tumulto grande de México*. This paper will present a selection of such cases, put them into their context, and assess their implications in terms of religious spaces and sacred objects in the early modern Iberian Atlantic.

## **Altarpieces, Christians and spices: the Indo-Portuguese retable art**

**Ms Mónica Esteves Reis (UALG-CHAIA)**

The altarpieces, in the scenario of the quest for evangelization of the Indian sub-continent, began to acquire different forms, different artistic grammars and most of all, a spectacular inter-religiosity dialogue, for local long term generation artisans were now in the making of these altarpieces. The altarpiece is in this perspective the representative of faith through art, the book in images. The symbols are replaced, the forms are altered and the scales are enlarged. The (in) comprehension of the Christian symbols, the immersion into the Christian religious culture and the absorbing of religious values that in last analysis would

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provide the desired conversion would be given majestically without any adulteration in the quality of its making. As local artisans are introduced in the artistic process, the classical model of the altarpiece begins to undergo changes that individualize each specimen.

## Dying in the rule of law: images of martyrdom in colonial Mexico

Dr Carolin Behrmann (Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut)

The paper will focus on the work of the second wave of European artistic influence since the 1580s in Mexico and discuss the influence of colonial law, when invasion-violence converged into enduring legal ground rules for living in *convivencia*, a shared social order. While the artistic production of most of the missionary orders had mainly depended on Indian produced images, the new repertoire of pictures and church design were to be made by European hands. Alonso Vázquez or Baltasar de Echave Orio were key protagonists here, who visually formulated the idea of Christian martyrdom that were displayed in churches, hospitals and convents. Alonso Vázquez, one of the most esteemed painters in the New World, migrated to New Spain with the entourage of the 10th Viceroy of Mexico Juan Mendoza y Luna, marquis de Montesclaros in 1603. His paintings reveal a new conception of martyrdom that refer to the western imaginaire but also to the imported figurative thought of the Christian image which promoted a new concept of the “event” considered as typical European formula ranging from the representation of emotions and the Aristotelian notion of causality to those of determinism and free will. The proposed paper will consider the legal implications of images of tyranny and martyrdom by examining the production of images in the New World and reflecting on contemporary concepts of colonial law. It aims to examine the imposition of a new visual order not just as Western iconographic repertoire but more so from a juridical perspective.

## **To-be-relics: dealing with the remains of Jesuit martyrs in America**

**Dr Renato Cymbalista (School of Architecture and Urbanism, University of São Paulo)**

Society of Jesus has developed a special cult of its more than 300 martyrs killed in all continents. Crime weapons and martyrs's bodily remains were objects of supreme attention by the Jesuits. This paper, focused on Jesuit sources from America, from Canada to Chile, analyses the Order's complex relations with these non-official relics. Discipline had to be shown towards Roman Regulation that strictly regulated cults. Relics could be demanded from Rome to prevent veneration. There were demands of relics from martyrs's native relatives or native towns back in Europe. Central colleges in America also kept relics: Mexico had arm and fingers of Gonzalo de Tapia, killed in Sinaloa in 1594; Bahia's kept the weapon of Francisco Pinto's murdering in Ceará in 1608. In paralel, jesuit pushed for canonization causes, preserving memory, documenting (carefully, but very decidedly) wonders such as the light shining from the place of deposition of Lucas Caballero's dead body; the conversion of a protestant who drank a tea where the bones of one of the Canadian Jesuit Martyrs had been dipped; the non-corruption of Roque Gonzalez's heart and the miraculous protection of Juan de Castillo's body from the beasts in Paraguay in 1628; the miraculous floating of Inacio de Azevedo's body in the sea after his killing in 1570. Approaches towards martyrs's relics were notably coherent, allowing us to relate documents coming form very different contexts. The cult of relics was one of the instruments that helped Jesuits to address overwhelming distances and isolation of American missions

## **Jesuits, relics and images in colonial Brazil**

**Dr Maria Cristina Osswald (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)**

This paper intends to analyse the role played by Jesuits in the spread of certain devotions (often base onthe import of relics from Europe or other parts of the wold, for instance of India) and related

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iconographies in Colonial Brazil. More precisely, I will analyze the relative role attributed by Jesuits in Brazil to general Catholic devotions and devotions, to devotions typical of Portuguese territories, to Jesuit devotions and finally to devotions highly influenced by local context, as Saint Thomas or Zome or that originated locally, as the cult fomented in particular by them to Anchieta or the Jesuit martyr Francisco Pinto, known locally as Aimanara.

## **The reconversion of the sacred places in the Andes (16th and 17th centuries): the P.J. Arriaga theological proposals (1621)**

**Dr Henrique-Oswaldo Urbano (Universidad de San Martín de Porres)**

Arriaga explains a theological proposal about reconversion of Andean space and indigenous people. In this paper, I try to explain the most important ideas developed by Arriaga.

## **Inventing religions: Estanislao de Vega Bazán and his “discovery” of the worship of the god Huari. Peru, 17th century**

**Dr Juan Carlos García Cabrera**

In 1656 they published in Lima a treatise on the idolatry of the Indians Conchucos area, the work of the noted cleric and quechuist Estanislao de Vega Bazán y Ulloa: *Testimonio muy auténtico de una idolatría muy sutil que el demonio había introducido entre los indios de la provincia de Conchucos*. It announced the discovery of a very old and important shrine which the Indians visited; as well as the existence of a creator god cult. Unlike other reports of idolatries of the time, Vega Bazán wrote that the Indians did not worship idols or hills. The cult of the hills was actually worshipping the god Huari; and the idols representations of this god. However, the shrine, discovered by Vega Bazán, had already been described many years ago by other religious men. The contribution shows the conflicting circumstances surrounding the discovery of

idolatry by Vega Bazán and his invention of a monotheistic religion, based on a misunderstanding of the Andean cults.

P22

*Fri 19th July, 11:30-13:00*

*Location: Sala 38, Piso 0*

## Changes in European trade during the overseas expansion, 1450-1550

Convenors: Joana Sequeira (CHAM-UNL, CITCEM-UP), Flávio Miranda (IEM-UNL, CITCEM-UP)

In 1459, Afonso V of Portugal (1438-81) commissioned a world map made by the Venetian geographer Fra Mauro, which would depict some of the newly found lands and beyond. The Portuguese were exploring uncharted territory, adding new markets and commodities to the European commercial system, and radically changing the perception that fifteenth-century European princes, cartographers, and merchants had of their world. The voyages of exploration would influence politics, trade, and economic networks, but also culture, art, and architecture.

The aim of this panel is to address how the changes caused by the overseas expansion were understood by European traders, and what was the effect of those transformations in their commercial activities and economic relationship in global perspective roughly from 1450 to 1550.

Speakers are asked to challenge models and explanations found in conventional national economic histories by considering cross-cultural approaches that explore how the overseas expansion provoked changes in trade and traders; merchant communities and institutional relationship; products, markets, and commercial systems; socioeconomic and cultural life.

## **Empire and market: interaction of the political and the economic in the pepper market**

**Mr Greg Barrett; Dr Laura Panza (University of Melbourne)**

The early modern pepper markets in northwestern Europe were a product of the interaction of markets and empires, merchants and kings. By 1455, the growing Portuguese Empire entered the pepper market by supplying West African malaguetta pepper from their new colonial outposts and in 1501 expanded by supplying Indian pepper to Antwerp.

The impact of the Portuguese Empire on European markets can be assessed by the integration of market prices across political boundaries. The pepper prices in London and Antwerp were linked to each other by a web of market institutions. After 1501 the growing Portuguese Empire in India (Estado da Índia) rapidly expanded as a source of Europe's pepper. This challenged and for a time displaced the existing Venetian dominance of the European pepper market.

The paper investigates the role of technology and institutions in the changing balance of Portuguese and Venetian pepper supply to Europe. Venice and Portugal varied considerably in their sailing technology and their trading institutions. These differences will be examined to assess the changing balance of the pepper trade and the impact on pepper prices in London and Antwerp.

## **The trade of Asian textiles in the 'Carreira da Índia' and its impact on Portuguese art history (16th and 17th centuries)**

**Dr Maria João Ferreira (CHAM)**

Despite the increasing interest that textiles have recently aroused, studies on the Portuguese global expansion and Asian trade have not yet developed an autonomous analysis of these goods. Economic historians have not performed any better, although the importance of textiles in the intra- and trans-continental system of transactions of the

‘Carreira da India’ between Goa and Lisbon is well documented both by written testimonies and the remaining material goods. It is therefore essential to investigate the quantity and typology of the negotiated load, commercial rules, and the amount of income and losses obtained in this commerce. Nevertheless, it is also important to understand the meaning of this trade in a broader context, and, especially, to assess the impact of Asian textiles on the cultural and artistic level.

This paper explores the impact of textile trade in the Portuguese manufactures, in the consumption standards, and in the shifts of Asian and Portuguese (European) taste. It will focus on the specific problems involved in the investigation of textile trade and develop an updated state of the art on the volume and type of traded goods between Asia and Portugal in the early modern period. This approach aims to contribute to a better understanding of the Portuguese role on early globalization, and to throw light on Portugal’s contribution in the acquisition and distribution of Asian textile commodities across Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries before England and Holland set up large trading companies.

## Portugal as a game-changer in Europe’s late medieval economy

Dr Flávio Miranda (IEM-UNL, CITCEM-UP); Dr Joana Sequeira (CHAM-UNL, CITCEM-UP)

In the fifteenth century, Portugal emerged as a key player in European trade, abandoning its secondary position as a commercial kingdom. Lisbon progressively became one of the most important economic gateways of Western Europe, attracting merchants from the Baltic, North Sea, Atlantic and Mediterranean markets. By interconnecting European and African commercial systems, Portugal became a game-changer in Europe’s late medieval economy.

This paper will address the following issues: What was the effect of the overseas expansion in Portugal’s maritime trade? How did the Portuguese interlink European and African markets? What was the role

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of the Portuguese in this process of Euro-African commercial exchange? And how did foreign merchants adapt to the overseas expansion? How were the European economic systems affected by the emergence of Atlantic trade?

**P23**

*Wed 17th July, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30*

*Location: Sala 42, Piso 0*

## **Crossroads of knowledge and science: rethinking the role of the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans in the Portuguese Empire (16th-19th century)**

**Convenor:** Ana Roque (Tropical Research Institute)

**Discussant:** Maria Manuel Torrão (IICT)

According to different perspectives, oceans can be considered physical barriers difficult to overcome, unknown roads to fortune or misery, open doors to new life or foreshadow of martyrdoms and tragedies.

Throughout the history and regardless their position as main intercontinental links, the Atlantic and Indian Oceans have been connected with expansion, discovery and new worlds as well as with tragedy, slavery and imperialism.

Fundamental supporters of the expansion and consolidation process of the European empires, they allowed to narrow the world and create conditions for a “first globalization” process. Thus, no matter the emphasis given to a particular approach, they must also be seen as paths to knowledge and experiments as well as platforms providing and facilitating epistemic intercontinental exchanges.

As the wind spreads seeds across the oceans, ships transport goods and people, and people bring with them knowledge, practices and memories, that tend to perpetuate in the new spaces where they settle,



thereby preserving the relationship with the places of origin and cultural traditions they identify with, while trying to understand and meet the new world around them.

This process results in a rapprochement of cultures, stimulates learning, teaching and sharing, promotes knowledge exchange and new experiences, induces new perceptions and perspectives on nature, their potentialities and possible uses.

Focusing on the different levels of epistemic exchanges within the Portuguese Empire, this panel will discuss the role of the Atlantic and Indian oceans on the circulation and transfer of traditional knowledge and practices and of western science and technology.

## Charts of winds and currents from the Gulf of Guinea, by João Capelo

Commander António Canas (Fundação da Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa)

By the middle of the 19th century, Matthew Fountain Maury, the Father of Modern Oceanography and Naval Meteorology, proposed the creation of an international network to collect meteorological data.

Portugal participated in the first International Meteorological Conference which took place in Brussels, in 1853. Portuguese ships started to collect data, in accordance with the standards defined in Brussels Conference. They collected meteorological information in the Atlantic and Indian oceans normally sailed by these ships, in their voyages to overseas territories.

In Portugal, the research in meteorology and climatology was centered in the “Observatório Meteorológico D. Luís” at “Escola Politécnica”. João Carlos de Brito Capelo integrated the “Observatório” team since 1855. He played an important role in the development geophysical sciences in Portugal.

In the charts of winds and currents from the Gulf of Guinea we can see the climatological data for different months of the year.

## United by ocean, separated by science

Ms Cátia Miriam Costa (Universidade de Lisboa)

A very recent work described the efficiency of technology and science in reducing the distance between countries and peoples with the example of the British Empire and Bombay. This applies to all the European Empires of the 19th century, as well as for the Portuguese. The steam on the seas, the typography and, later, the telegraph made possible to rule over distance and to have the perception of the gap between technologies and scientific knowledge dominated by colonizers and colonized. The colonized only accessed to these innovations by integrating the colonial system and the colonizer semiosphere. This resulted in epistemological operations for both sides.

Our questions are: how did the Portuguese, who based their arguments in keeping the colonies in the 19th century on a historical argument, worked on this? Portuguese were known as being adaptable and the first to exchange knowledge with the overseas communities; how were they bringing science and technology to their territories? Could Atlantic and Indian Oceans that always united people (even more now, with the decrease of distance) become the oceans which transported a science which divided people? Could science separate people and turn on arguments like otherness and sameness so absolute? Were the Portuguese forgetting a part of their historical legacy of tropical knowledge to implement a new colonial science? These are the challenges to rethink the role of the oceans not only in the political occupation or economic exploitation but also in terms of creation and reception of knowledge in the Portuguese empire.

## The role of the Portuguese commission of cartography in the diffusion and circulation of scientific knowledge on Africa

Dr Ana Roque (Tropical Research Institute); Prof Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (IICT)

Since the 16th century Portuguese recognition of the African coast reflects the commitment in gathering detailed information on the unknown regions and people. This information supported later surveys and provided the basis for the first maps though these documents were not a result of any official model to be adopted in all the territories under Portuguese sovereignty.

Created in 1883 under the instruction of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, the Commission of Cartography was the first Portuguese institution assigned to produce a collection of credible and accurate maps of all Portugal's overseas territories. However it extended far beyond this initial purpose as the Commission was behind most of the different missions that were then carried out. Today its legacy became an important corpus of information on Portuguese colonial policy and on Portugal's former colonies.

From a scientific perspective, the works of the Commission were framed by the most update European knowledge on Africa based on several scientific expeditions and supported by the public discussion and publishing of the results of these expeditions undertaken by well known European scientific institutions, such as the Geographic Society of London and the Société de Geography de Paris. This interplay is witnessed on what was produced by the Commission and on the scientific library organized to enable a prior knowledge of the areas to survey.

## **Portugal, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay: diplomacy, boats and yellow fever in 1894**

**Mr João Júlio Gomes dos Santos Júnior (PUCRS)**

In 1894, when the Navy's Revolt had finished, more than 500 Brazilians asked diplomatic asylum to Portugal. In that time, Portugal was represented on Atlantic Ocean by two corvettes, Mindello and Affonso d'Albuquerque. The Portuguese Commander decided to concede asylum and protection to that people that would be murdered if he had refused. The Brazilian government started to claim those insurgents back, and Portugal's government denied it. While the diplomatic question raises, the hygienic conditions inside the boats has become drastic. They started to feel the overcrowding effects. Because of that situation, the doctors, inside the boats, had written to Argentina and Uruguay warning the authorities about the possibility of a yellow fever epidemic. As much as the doctors, the authorities are used to share the comprehension that yellow fever could be caused by infection or contagion. In that way, doctors and authorities were demanding the debarkation; while Portugal's government was refusing to accept that. That fear, further the possibility to immigrate for both countries, made more than 300 people escape from the vessels. Those escapes were the main reason to the diplomatic break between Brazil and Portugal. This paper is intent to analyze the diplomatic issue, as well the health notion which influence the international relationship between Portugal, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay in the end of nineteenth century.

## **Gone with the sea: from Peruvian viceroyalty to Lisbon and the Madrid Botanic Gardens**

**Dr Margarita Eva Rodríguez García (Centro de História de Além-Mar)**

In the Spring of 1778, the Spanish naturalists Ruiz and Pavón arrived to Peru where they commanded a botanical expedition until 1788. The first remittance sent by the botanical mission departed from Lima in 1779. But war with Britain prevented the vessel Buen Suceso from arriving at

the península. The British sold part of its cargo in the port of Lisbon. Even the Spanish government arrived to recover part of the scientific remittances, that later became part of the “Flora Peruana”, an additional part was carried to the Ajuda Botanical Garden. There, the botanical works were incorporated in the “Specimen Flora America Meridionalis”, a four volume work with more than 300 designs and any other similar number of clasifications. The arduous journey gave us the opportunity to question narratives that just concern the use or not of the linnean system of classification in Southern Europe and their overseas territories. Instead, we can ask about the cultural meaning atributed in diferent historical contexts and scientific spaces to the American plants and seeds that the Atlantic redistributed in both Iberian cities, after having passed through british hands. The comparison between the works produced in Lisbon and Madrid will allow us to constate what Neil Safier has stated for other contexts: colonial science was not merely produced in a narrow “contact zone” where “agents of empire” and their “imperial subjects” faced off in a rote and predetermined fashion. Instead knowledge emerged from a broad narrative involving multiples sites of collection and codification.

## **New science from old news: a monstrous marine animal and the transfer of Brazilian natural knowledge to Europe in the 16th century**

**Dr Cristina Brito (FCSH-UNL)**

Early Atlantic descriptions were sagas of seafaring and explorations in new territories punctuated by incidental comments on indigenous customs and natural singularities. Later on, writers about the New World Natural History made comparisons motivated by curiosity, economics or by sheer aesthetics. Nevertheless, most authors in the 16th and 17th centuries demonstrated an ability to observe and describe the natural world. These writers left important traces about zoology, botany and tropical medicine, creating a significant corpus for the establishment of a natural history of the exotic in Europe. Descriptions were based on empirical knowledge and hold amongst

much information about natural environments and marine fauna. Here we present a casa worth of a detailed study, also bearing in mind the existence of written sources and associated imagery for analysis. Pêro de Magalhães Gândavo's "História da província Santa Cruz", Lisbon 1576, was written in Portuguese. His story and illustration on the occurrence of a sea monster was translated and copied into several European languages and print formats. Two illustrated leaflets have been produced: one Italian and other German. This story was later on, in 1585, retold and illustrated in Coenen's Whale Book. This is an example of knowledge transfer about marine natural wonders from Brazil to Lisbon and then to other European countries. The monstrous sea lion described by Gândavo gained significant and rapid attention across European circles of science and natural history, mostly due to its fantastic characteristics but also its representation of power display of Men over Nature.

## Non-human primates in the "Age of Discovery": from myth to natural history

Dr Cecilia Veracini (Technical University of Lisbon)

Although much has been written on the cultural, economic and political consequences of the European expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries, the role of animals has been often underestimated or sometimes misunderstood. Actually recent evidence proves that in all the phases of this process animals were an unavoidable and fundamental presence. If all animals have been a prominent element in civilization, non-human primates have always had a special status due to their similarity with human beings. They entered as an embarrassing presence in the central debate about human nature and human origins. During the Middle Ages monkeys were considered evil creatures, symbol of sin and lust expanding even more the boundary which separated the human from the beast. The European explorations brought new, awkward first-hand information shattering conceptual patterns and ideas that had taken centuries to develop. By reviewing most of the Portuguese and other European travelling chronicles, scientific and philosophically works

of the beginning of the Modern Age, our work presents evidence of non-human primates. Such evidences portraits these animals has been introduced into Europe in greater quantities than previously assumed, and in fact, Europeans were already familiar with some of these primates as early as the 16th century. We discuss how these animals were perceived by, interpreted by and integrated in Early Modern European culture and natural history. Moreover we point out how European perceptions of other primates (and perhaps of ourselves?) started to change gradually mainly due to the contact with African apes and Neotropical primates.

## P24

*Thu 18th July, 11:30-13:00, 14:30-16:00, 16:30-18:00*

*Location: Sala 42, Piso 0*

## Colonial cities: global and local perspectives

Convenor: Manuel Teixeira (CAPP-ISCSP)

The goal of the panel is to bring together, from both European and local perspectives, the genealogies and cultural references, the processes of development and miscegenation, as well as the morphologies, of urban settlements built in the context of the European colonization.

These settlements reflect the dual influence of European culture and the cultures of local societies. Not only were European urban models adapted to different cultural and material conditions but a process of appropriation and reinterpretation of local forms and built environments took place at the same time. In every location, this encounter of cultures resulted in a formal symbiosis of a unique character.

In the same way that these urban realities were the result of multiple processes of synthesis of cultural elements from different societies, they must be understood not only in view of their European roots, but also of their local roots. Their interpretation must always result from the

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

synthesis of these different perspectives, thus establishing a dialogue between the global and the local. The objective of the panel is to bring together these different perspectives in order to build a more articulated understanding of these settlements, not only from the global European perspective, which tends to emphasize their common roots, but also from the local viewpoints, which may have other frames of reference and emphasize other aspects as well as propose new global perspectives.

## **The village of Nossa Senhora da Vitória in the context of the Portuguese urbanistic universe: matrices and singularities**

**Dr Luciene Pessotti (Universidade Vila Velha)**

The territory of Portuguese America was a vast field of urbanistic experimentation during the colonization period. Portuguese references and matrices originated different urban morphologies that possess elements of erudite and vernacular tradition adaptable to the local conditionality.

The physical-spacial configuration and the urban landscape of the first foundations possess traces of this cultural process which involved the adaptation of the scientific principles of Military Engineering, the Portuguese tradition on building cities, and the conditions that the environment and the process of consolidation of a new society had determined.

The Portuguese expansion is a relevant contribution to the history of cities and urbanism. Different experiences in Africa, Asia, India and in America have given rise to urban forms that are at the same time exceptional and unique.

These experiences possessed a global and local character because the references of Portuguese culture were used in the territories of the Metropolis and the colonies.

In an effort to contribute with studies on this thematic, we will present in the form of a case study the urban morphology and landscape of the



Village of Nossa Senhora da Vitória , founded circa of 1551, its spacial matrices and the multiple references of the Portuguese urban culture.

## **Dialogues between Portugal and Brazil: the gold district of Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century and the settlements of Vila Rica and Mariana**

**Dr Evelyn Furquim Werneck Lima (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro State)**

Unlike the other Brazilian Hereditary Captaincies – that survived on the sugar-cane culture, and that were eminently rural, the mining settlements in Minas Gerais could be considered as true cities, with squares, palaces, theatres, Council Houses. Some of the urban regulations can be credited to the Portuguese government’s own employees that served in Brazil in administrative positions, but the teaching of the art of erecting cities in some points of the Captaincy and the local appropriation of the models originated a process of miscegenation resulting in peculiar morphologies.

The methodological procedures for this research were based on H. Lefebvre’s studies of the “representations of space” and of “spaces of representation”, as well as of the rules and models investigated by F. Choay, that made possible to notice how those Portuguese ordinances assumed urban morphologies that cannot be considered completely dictated by the metropolis, as often affirmed in the historiography of the urbanization in Brazil.

The main subject to be solved is to investigate – in the two mining settlements – how the dialogue between Portugal and Brazil was established and how the local population itself, even supported by the employees of the Crown, have contributed to a more free morphological occupation, although some Portuguese engineers had proposed more rationalists plans for several settlements. In so doing, I intend to bring together these different perspectives in order to build a more articulated understanding of these settlements, not only from the

global European perspective, but from the local viewpoint.

## **Occupations in a major slaving port: Benguela, 1798-1820**

**Prof José Curto (York University)**

From a relatively unknown port town in central Angola, Benguela is now recognized by scholars as a one of the major slaving ports along the western coast of Africa. Recent work by Curto, Candido and Ferreira is beginning to reconstruct an increasingly more complete and complex history of this central Angolan coastal town during the era of the Atlantic slave trade than was the case when this past was accessed exclusively through the older studies by Ralph Delgado. The reconstruction, however, is far from complete. Indeed, one of the many questions that remain to be tackled concerns the work performed by the people (whether black, mulatto, or white; enslaved, freed or free) who lived in this particular slaving port. The question can not only throw some light on the daily lives of Benguela's residents, irrespective of colour or legal status, but also enlighten us further as to the very structure of this major slaving port. This contribution seeks to do precisely that by drawing upon the *Occupações dos Habitantes da Capitania de Benguela*, an unusual set of documents produced between 1798 and 1820 by the town's colonial administration with quantitative information on the occupations of its residents. Although occupations in Benguela were not unlike those of other coastal towns, they were also singular in the sense that this urban landscape also happened to be a major slaving port supplying, year in and year out, African servile labourers by the thousands to markets like Rio de Janeiro.

## **Structural legacies; French colonial urban development patterns in Montreal**

**Dr François Dufaux (Université Laval)**

The French legacy in the North American continent is generally of an archaeological interest for a long gone world established between the early 17th until the late 18th centuries. Indeed the original patterns

of a few towns, villages and the land concessions along the Saint Lawrence River were considerably altered after 1763 with the British rule. Nevertheless, the doctoral thesis, a later paper and a current research dealing with Montreal's development during the 19th century, all confront the structural legacy of the French colonial urban development patterns that defined Montreal's growth then, and to a certain degree still today.

This presentation focuses on the structural heritage affecting the land division and the housing production in Montreal. The contrasting lot dimensions and layouts tell a story of spatial hierarchy congruent with the intended feudal colonial society established in New France. But on the other hand, these designs also introduced a sustainable component taking into account the owners' means, their social and economic capacity for their real estate development, and the location and assets of these plots. Housing types built on these lots followed similar goals and means. The urban and the architectural solutions found matched the legal and economic frameworks that echoed Anthony H. King's typologies of colonial urban development. In this regard, the historical investigations reflect the misunderstandings of colonial endeavours, within the French overseas expansion, but also its strategy in the Quebec context; the limitation of a Nordic outpost and the competition of Dutch and English seaboard settlements.

## **From mercantile to territorial space: the case of colonial Madras**

**Dr Aparna Balachandran (Department of History, University of Delhi)**

This paper will study the shifts in the ideology and practices of rule as the colonial port city of Madras was transformed from a mercantilist city state to the territorial capital of the East India Company's southern Indian empire. It is possible to draw similarities between the ways in which this urban space with its racially and socially heterogeneous population was governed in the late 17th and 18th centuries, and the

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visions and forms of rule in other global commercial hubs including that of the Portuguese empire. By the late 18th century, however, a new conception of empire that was specifically linked to territory would fundamentally transform notions of space and governance.

I am interested in the quotidian arenas of early colonial law, formal and informal, that drew on older forms of mediation and arbitration even as they introduced new norms of evidence, rhetoric and performance. The ubiquitous invocation of the notion of “mamul” or custom for instance can be read in terms of a variety of registers and meanings that draw from pre-colonial understandings of legitimacy and antiquity as well speaking to the idea of precedent that was integral to a new, bureaucratic legal regime.

How did subaltern inhabitants of the city experience and negotiate the coming into place of this new legal regime? I suggest that this process at the crucial transformative period would allow these groups to articulate an understanding of themselves as productive urban residents of a colonial city, and as entitled subjects of the Company.

## Portuguese cities in Asia, since the early 16th century

Dr José Manuel Fernandes (Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa)

These portuguese-asian cities allowed the fast constitution of an intercontinental commerce network, for the first time in History connecting South and Northern European cities with the various Asian ones. They followed basic medieval-renaissance European models in their structure, form and space – an aspect that turned them to be very much unique as they were soon transplanted into the new and completely different context of Asian areas. And they expressed a common “Portuguese” pattern of location, of urban form and built ambiance, as their structural elements were largely repetitive and constant, from one new city to the next, in a deliberate traditional manner.

## European architecture by Asian hands in the Iberian world

Dr Pedro Luengo (Universidad de Sevilla)

In recent years, research about structures built in cities under the Iberian rule of Asia during the Early Modern Period has rediscovered the role of many local architects. The information about them is limited, but it is obvious that they knew the European tradition and sources. This analysis aims to deepen the knowledge of Western identity in Asia through the examination of structures built by Asian architects. Cultural transfer in fields such as Aesthetics or Symbolism implies several stages. The first one: the contact between Europe and Asia, and the second: the webs within European port-cities of Asia. From the construction of the Church of Saint Paul of Macao to the completion of the Cathedral of Manila, the native contribution was changing, inserting new aesthetic and symbolic parameters that until now had been forgotten in contemporary artistic analysis. Initially, the Asian work was merely overlaid on slightly modified European schemes. By the mid-seventeenth century, many native proposals were part of the whole project, as can be seen in the incorporation of the harigue in Manila. During the eighteenth century, this mestizo tradition began to spread from Goa to Manila, but also in Pondicherry and Batavia. Along with the popularization of elements such as the carepa, other sources, such as European architectural treatises, appeared in Asia. As a consequence, many of these Asian port-cities took on a similar appearance in the late eighteenth century. In some cases, even the unique adaptation of European patterns can be found in cities far apart.

## Embodied spectacles: spatial practices and colonial cities

Dr Ema Cláudia Ribeiro Pires (Universidade de Évora e CRIA)

This paper explores processes of social appropriation of space in the city of Malacca (West Malaysia). Using a methodological combination of historical and ethnographically based research, we analyse how the Malacca Portuguese, (a group of Eurasians of Portuguese Origin, living in contemporary Malacca) perceive, appropriate and practice their city

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

and its' multilayered colonial built forms.

Malacca has been represented in academic writing as one example of a global colonial citie during its successive colonial take-overs by European Powers (the Portuguese, Dutch and British, respectively).

Within these spatial matrix, the social and cultural contexts have enabled the development of creole groups, namely the Malacca Portuguese Eurasians, a group of residents that built their social identity around an imagined/real ancestry of descendants of the Portuguese. Based upon their oral narratives and on observation of their daily spatial practices in and around Malacca, We will discuss how the spatial matrix of Malacca ins integrated into their own group stories and their perceptions of how the local and the global intersect in their people's narrative of collective memory.

## Goa: colonial city that survived in the countryside

Prof Teotonio R. de Souza (Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias)

Unlike the Portuguese Brazillian experience where barroque monumentality of achitecture could be imposed upon the native lack of power or conscious heritage traditions, it was different in India, including Goa.

The Castillian administrative linkage brought in a visible monumentality in the Portuguese town planning and urban as well as military architecture in Goa since the close of XVI th century, but the Portuguese resources in men and finance failed to support it for long. Natural calamities, trade collapse and war burdens took toll of the city of Goa.

If religious monumentality moved into rural zones of Goa in the second half of the XVIII century , despite increase of financial burdens, it is not town-planners, or architecture experts, but economic historians who can provide an answer. This paper proposes to provide one.

## The colonial and anticolonial discourses on colony: a comparative study of the Western and Chinese views of Macao

Dr C.X. George Wei (University of Macau)

Macao has the distinction of being the first European settlement in Asia and the last of Portugal's colonies. For complex social, cultural and administrative reasons, Portuguese was never spoken widely by the Chinese population of Macau. On the other hand, Western and Chinese writers within or without Macau have written a lot about Macao either as an insider or an outsider of the colony. Thus, a comparative study of these Western and Chinese writings during the colonial period would shed new light on our understanding of the colonial and the anticolonial discourses on the colony Macao, which could be a spiritual source of postcolonialism.

Postcolonial literary studies have tended to focus on twentieth-century authors. Indeed, it is probably true to say that the tradition of the nineteenth-century writing is anathema to postcolonial study, unless it is to deconstruct from a postcolonial point of view. John McLeod points up the problematic nature of attempts at general theories of postcolonial literature, which do not take sufficient account of different colonial/postcolonial experiences, not to mention of course, that the theory relates specifically to literature written in English, and takes little or no account of the colonial/postcolonial experiences given voice in other languages, among them, Portuguese and Chinese. Perhaps McLeod's most important assertion for the purposes of this paper is that just as postcolonialism does not begin with political independence, nor does colonialism end with it. It may well be that literature in such environment as Macao should be more profitably studied in comparative terms.

## Survival and adjustment of the municipal experience in the Portuguese overseas expansion: the case of Macao (16th and 17th centuries)

Dr Filipa Roldão (Universidade de Coimbra)

In the last decades of the 16th century, the city of Macao received a charter of privileges and duties (foral) from the vicerei D. Duarte de Meneses, in which the Iberian Crown recognized the first legal corpus of the municipal council of Macao.

This charter (foral) was based on the text of the charter of privileges from Evora, which had a long tradition as a paradigm charter to new municipal councils established during Middle Ages, but also in the manuline period. However, in the case of Goa, some years earlier, Portuguese crown had decided to assign another paradigm of charter of privileges and duties: the charter of Lisbon. It seems that the municipal councils in overseas expansion were thought in different ways, probably giving local contexts of the cities.

According to Liam Matthew Brockey, following C. R. Boxer's theory about municipal councils, "(...) colonial cities were always hybrid environments." (Portuguese Colonial Cities in the early Modern World, Ashgate, 2008, p. 8). In fact, this "hybrid" situation was due to the combination of local interests with institutions imported from the kingdom. Focusing on our subject, the municipal experience in these cities was indeed "hybrid" and, nowadays, probably it is a "misunderstood" field of research, in what concerns political and institutional History.

This paper seeks to analyze how the municipal institution, brought from Portuguese kingdom, has survived and readjusted in an overseas city, as Macao, where local social, political and economics contexts were strongly well-defined in the modern period.



## Colonialism and Architecture in Macau: forms and modes of metropolitan culture

Mr Diogo Burnay (Dalhousie University)

Macao as a port city is related to other Portuguese colonial port cities as well as to other port cities world-wide, connected through the development of colonialism, imperialism and of the world-economic system.

Was there in Macao an exclusive Portuguese colonial architecture?

What were the counter-colonial influences in the developments of colonial architecture?

Colonial architecture has been generally described as an import of eclectic and neo-classical forms from the motherlands and cores of Empires to their respective peripheries. This notion mainly based on a formal approach does not seem to provide an adequate answer for some of these questions. Even considering that the forms and architectural languages of most colonial buildings are sometimes a direct import from either metropolitan, imperial or other peripheral forms and norms, the modes of production and the technological means had always to be adapted somehow to local, climatic, social, political or other, conditions.

A fine example of this was the fact that the church of S. Pauls was built in the coast of China mainly with Japanese workers that, as it seems, were not experienced to carry out the stone work; or at least, the church was built with construction techniques that were completely unknown in this part of the world.

In trying to perceive what the relations might be between colonialism and architecture, architecture have to be understood, as Anthony King suggested, on a global scale, in relation with regional and international, political, economic, social and cultural aspects of the world economic system.

P25

*Fri 19th July, 11:30-13:00*

*Location: Sala 42, Piso 0*

## Exchange and adaptation: (mis)understandings at a global scale

Convenor: Saúl Martínez Bermejo (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas)

### Tarascan cultural concepts and early colonial state formation in central western Mexico

Dr Cristina Monzón (Colegio de Michoacán); Prof Andrew Roth-Seneff (El Colegio de Michoacán)

In Central Western Mexico the Tarascan State was ‘pacifically’ occupied by the Spanish but the process of colonial state formation involved interactions between two very different cultural ensembles operating in equally contrasting forms of organizing social power. The differing concepts of property, kinship based rights and obligations, and nobility produced numerous misunderstandings between the Tarascan ruling class and the Spanish. These misunderstandings often have been treated historiographically as strategic deceptions or textual distortions or confusions but may well point to important cultural concepts in contact and in conflict. The linguist Michael Silverstein has developed the idea of cultural Concepts as an analytical tool in pragmatic discourse analysis. Silverstein has proposed that such cultural concepts can be identified in their indexical evocation in discursive interactions and, also, in their denotation in words.\* In this paper we will argue that cultural concepts can also be identified through the misunderstandings registered in documents during the first Century and a half of colonial state formation in Mexico under the Spanish Empire. By examining both Spanish and Tarascan documentos from this period (1530-1680) we present three cultural concepts present in Tarascan indigenous documents --quahta (‘house’), minquare (‘dominion’) and siruqua

(‘linage’)—and examine the misunderstandings concerning property and kinship based rights associated with these concepts.

\* Michael Silverstein, 2004, “Cultural” Concepts and the Language-Culture Nexus, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 45, Núm. 4, 621-651.

## **Dealing with a ‘great scattered body’: Portuguese attitudes towards the Anglo-Spanish match negotiations (1617-1624)**

**Miss Valentina Caldari (University of Kent / Universidade do Porto)**

Building upon the findings of my PhD research, in this paper I hope to demonstrate the importance of colonial rivalries in assessing Portuguese attitudes towards the planned Anglo-Spanish Match between prince Charles, son of King James I, and the Infanta Maria, daughter of King Philip III and sister of King Philip IV, in the period 1617-1624. By looking at traces of an independent Portuguese opinion regarding the marriage negotiations and the administration of the colonial empire, I will demonstrate the extent to which Portuguese opinion has often been overlooked given the fact that in the 1620s Portugal was under the same crown of the Spanish Habsburgs. In the first part of the paper I will look at Portuguese accounts and mentions in Portuguese correspondence regarding the Anglo-Spanish match. In the second part of the paper I will take into consideration a specific episode in the colonial competition between England and Portugal which is the British attack on Ormus in 1622, at the same time of the marriage negotiations. Indeed, as one of the major empire-builders of the seventeenth century, Portugal kept on having an opinion of its own both in the administration of its colonial empire and concerning the planned match between England and Spain. Such independent opinion was needed in order to maintain the Portuguese identity within the Spanish ‘great scattered body’.

## Iconography migrations: an Amerindian body in a sacred space in early 16th century Augsburg

Dr Maria José Goulão (Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade do Porto /CEPESE)

Contrary to common belief, the first reports about Brazilian Indians had repercussions in Europe's cultured circles. An early 16th century painting kept at the Louvre Museum in Paris, until now virtually ignored by specialists, shows the figuration of a Brazilian Indian as one of the Magii.

Although not of a Portuguese, but certainly connected to Portuguese imperialism, this captivating body says something about the power of images and the way they circulated in early 16th century Europe. How is it related to the Portuguese activities and presence around the globe? What does it reveal about the political, social, and economic interests that were at play in Central Europe by then? The aim of this paper is to try to shed some light on these fascinating questions.

## Learning from Lusitania: Portuguese architectural influence in the British Empire

Dr Alex Bremner (University of Edinburgh)

For a long time the empires of Portugal and Britain have occupied largely unrelated historiographies. Although these empires rose and fell at different moments in history, operating to and motivated by distinct cultural and political traditions, it does not necessarily follow that there was no cross-fertilisation of ideas. This is particularly true with respect to architecture and urbanism.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, at the relative height of British imperial power, the Church of England sought to extend its cultural and religious influence in a far more systematic manner than had hitherto been the case. This project concerned the erection of new and more imposing churches, right across the empire. Part of the problem was adapting ecclesiastical buildings to climatic conditions that were

entirely different from those experienced in the British Isles, including tropical—or what were referred to as ‘torrid’—zones.

In looking around for potential solutions to this problem, English ecclesiologists seized upon Southern European traditions in ecclesiastical architecture, including those of Portugal. This extended to considering how Portuguese missionaries adapted their churches architecturally to cope with tropical and sub-tropical conditions. In doing this Anglican ecclesiologists were looking for a set of planning and construction principles that might aid them in erecting churches in similar environmental conditions throughout the British empire. This paper will trace the thinking behind this strategy and how it grew out of and is related to an appreciation of architectural models that had been tested over two-hundred years earlier in the Portuguese empire.

## Urban slavery in seventeenth century Manila

Mr Nicolás Rodríguez Castillo (European University Institute)

The study of Early Modern Manila and its crucial role in the development of sustained global interactions has gathered substantial scholarly attention over the last two decades. Today we have a much clearer picture of the movement of goods through the Manila Galleon, in particular regarding the exchange of American silver for Chinese silk and other Asian commodities. However, the full implications of this global trade at a local and urban level are still to be determined.

In this paper I would like to focus on a relatively neglected aspect of Manila’s history: the phenomenon of urban slavery during the 17th century. Despite the prohibition of enslaving the native population of Luzon, slavery was pervasive in Manila. According to a report written in 1621 by the archbishop Miguel García Serrano, there were almost 2,000 slaves within Manila’s Intramuros, out of a total population of 6,110. Brought by Portuguese traders from all over the Indian Ocean, captured during wars with the Muslim sultanates of the Southern Philippines or transported from New Spain, slaves were an integral part of Manila’s urban landscape.

Roundtable, panel and paper abstracts

Any account of slavery implies more than determining its volume, ethnic origin or routes of arrival; it involves, more than anything, understanding how slaves related to the wider society. Through a close reading of the extant sources, I will try to show their integration into households, economic networks and city life, thereby contributing to a fuller and more complex analysis of Manila's social composition.

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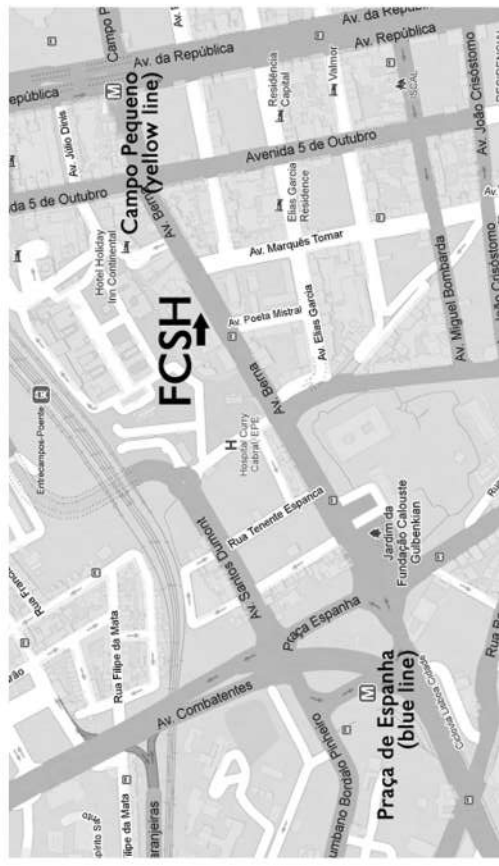
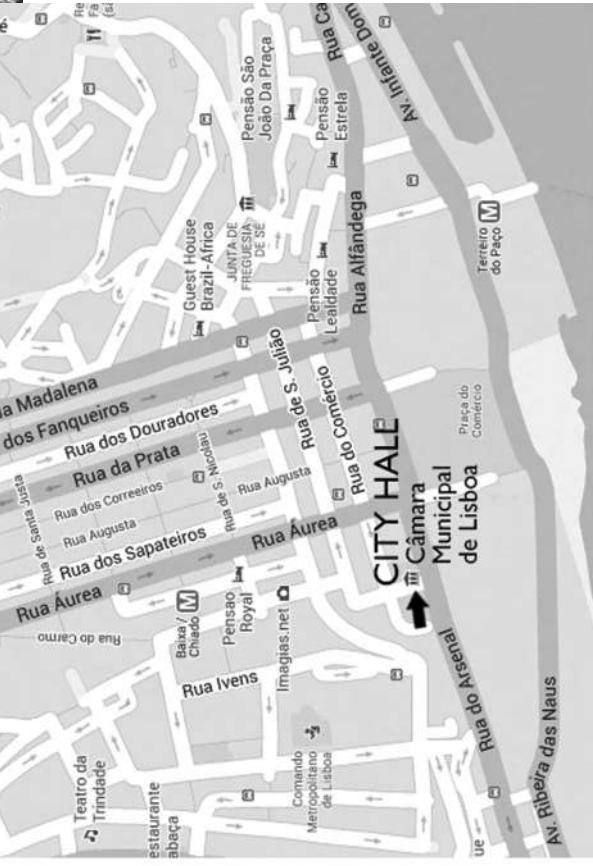
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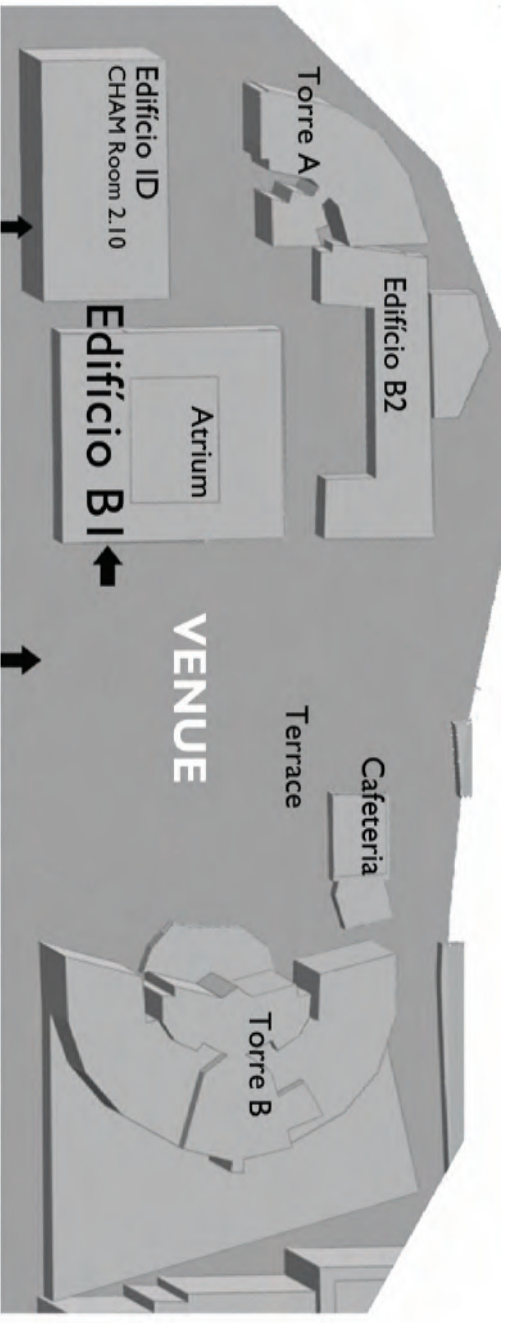
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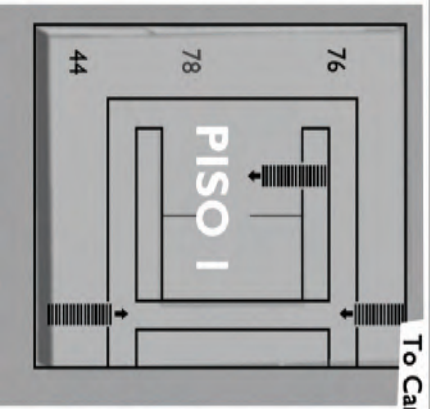
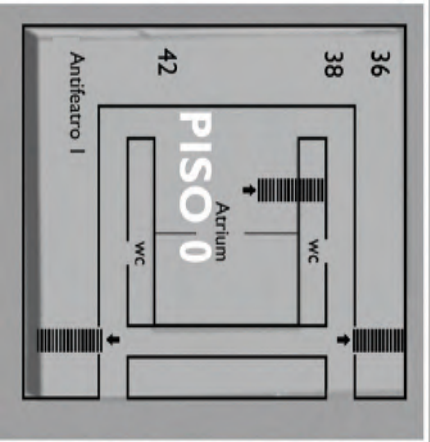
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