

Vol.20 · n.º1 · June 2022

e-journal
of PORTUGUESE
HISTORY

Table of Contents

Volume 20, number 1, June 2022

[SPECIAL ISSUE: *Management of Diversity in the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1974* – Part 2]

Creolization and Empire: Creating Diversity and Navigating Social Change in Portuguese West Africa	1
<i>Philip J. Havik</i>	

Portuguese Slave Legislation and the First Wave of Uprisings by Enslaved Africans in the Iberian Atlantic World, 1400s-1500s	24
<i>Filipa Ribeiro da Silva</i>	

Managing Diversity in the Eighteenth-Century <i>Estado da Índia</i>	40
<i>Noelle N. Richardson</i>	

The ‘Ethno-Political Multiple’: Colonial Investigations of Indigenous Politics in East Timor	67
<i>Ricardo Roque</i>	

[ROUNDTABLE]

Ângela Barreto Xavier and Cristina Nogueira da Silva (eds.). *O governo dos outros. Poder e diferença no império português*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2016

How Do We Write the History of Portuguese Imperial Imagination?	99
<i>Diogo Ramada Curto</i>	

<i>O Governo dos Outros: Some Afterthoughts</i>	105
<i>Jorge Flores</i>	

[ROUNDTABLE]

Francisco Bethencourt (eds.). *Inequality in the Portuguese Speaking World. Global and Historical Perspectives*. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2018

Concept Creep	111
<i>Pedro Machado</i>	

Slavery and Racism as Major Factor of Structural Inequalities in Brazil in the Long-run	117
<i>Carlos da Silva, Jr.</i>	

From Dances to Awnings and Arches: The Corpus Christi Procession of Porto in the 18th Century	123
<i>Beatriz Catão Cruz Santos</i>	

Creolization and Empire: Creating Diversity and Navigating Social Change in Portuguese West Africa

Philip J. Havik¹

Abstract

The twin phenomena of the formation of Creole strata and societies and cultural creolization have dominated debates on the uniqueness of Caribbean contexts and universalist notions of cross-cultural interaction at a global level. These analytical threads are integrated into a study of processes of creolization and acculturation in their multiple forms in areas of (former) Portuguese presence in West Africa. Deeply entangled with four centuries of the Atlantic slave trade and the rise and fall of the colonial state, the remarkable diversity of cross-cultural encounters in empire is addressed here for Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola.

Keywords

Creolization, Portuguese empire, Cultural diversity, Social change, West Africa

Resumo

Os dois fenómenos relativos a formação de sociedades e estratos sociais crioulos, e a criouliização cultural tem dominado os debates sobre a exclusividade dos Caribos e a noção universalista da interação transcultural ao nível global. Estes fios analíticos estão integrados num estudo de processos de criouliização e aculturação nas suas múltiplas formas em áreas de antiga presença portuguesa na África Ocidental. Profundamente entrelaçados com quatro séculos do tráfico de escravos e a ascensão e queda do Estado colonial, a diversidade notável dos encontros transculturais no império é aqui abordado para Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe e Angola.

Palavras chave

Criouliização, Império português, Diversidade cultural, Mudanças sociais, África Ocidental

¹ Centre for Global Health and Tropical Medicine (GHTM), Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical-Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Portugal. *E-Mail:* philip.havik@ihmt.unl.pt

Introduction

Before embarking upon a discussion of creolization in areas of Portuguese presence, a few issues related to the epistemology and debate on creolization in general and in empire will be summarised here. The lack of consensus on a definition for creolization, which originated from linguistics, and its singular or universal dimensions have marked the academic field for decades. Strongly marked by distinct epistemological strands, most notably advanced in Francophone and Anglophone scholarship, distinctions have been made regarding processes of creolization with a strong Caribbean signifier (Chivallon 2013; Stewart 2007; Palmié 2006). The political context of *creolité*—and *négritude*—forms part of this regional dimension, associated with anti-colonial resistance. Some have pointed however at the exclusion of certain groups, such as Indo-Caribbeans, arguing for a broader definition of the concept (Khan 2001).

From a conceptual perspective, the formation of Creole societies on the one hand and the notion of cultural creolization on the other need to be distinguished from the outset. Debates on creolization have evoked two approaches: the first centering on the unique character of the insular Caribbean experience (Mintz & Price 1992; Price 2001), and the second on the universality of global forms of cultural hybridization in colonial and post-colonial worlds (Hannerz 1987; Cohen 2007). The study of creolization in maritime empires has been strongly associated with the trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades. Thus, trans-cultural dimensions of empire are deeply entangled with diasporic fluxes based upon voluntary mobility (emigration, trade), forced dislocation (slaves, convicts), and the socio-cultural diversity it produced (Havik and Newitt 2015: 3). Critical historicist discourses surrounding the (essentialist and Anglophone) Black Atlantic (Sansone et al. 2018; Naro et al. 2007) have further deepened the conceptual ambivalence of studies on the trans-Atlantic slave trade and fragmented creolized identities (Palmié 2014). The notion of Atlantic Creoles emerging as a loosely defined, heterogenous clusters on the West-African coast establishes a link with the Afro-Atlantic encounter and processes of acculturation in early Portuguese enclaves, thereafter reproduced in other areas of European presence (Berlin 1996).

Novel approaches have emerged over the last decade such as cultural pidginization. Based upon a comparison of historical dynamics in Indonesia and Sierra Leone, the forging of shared cultural traits gave rise to a novel, structurally autonomous, and exclusive identity. Although not impeding the future development of creole cultures, the construction of pidginized indigeneity by assimilating exogenous cultural representations without shedding

endogenous ones can take on different, intermediate forms (Knörr 2010). By engaging in selective cultural borrowing while its protagonists retain their ethnic languages, institutions, and practices, pidginization as a form of cultural creolization ‘from below’ would allow for the articulation of trans-cultural interactions at the colonial margins (Kohl 2018). The term *creolage* proposed by Haeussler and Webster (2020) combines creolization with bricolage (originally proposed by Levi-Strauss) based upon a bottom-up approach to social change and the shaping of hybrid social identities and practices at the micro-level. By focusing on the self-promotion of liminal or marginalized individuals and groups, such as slaves, indentured workers, soldiers, peasant farmers, craftspeople, and petty traders, *creolage* evokes personalized and peer-group related strategies towards upward mobility (Haeussler and Webster 2020: 5).

Creolized communities in empire were associated with diasporic movement and indigenization. Driven by maritime trade and settlement within “moving spaces” or “places in movement” (Berthet et al. 2019), their mobility centred on ports and plantation systems related to the slave and sugar complex. Diasporic agency has been associated with European voluntary emigration, communities persecuted by authorities such as the Sephardim New Christians and the massive, forced dislocation of enslaved Africans (Newitt 2017; Havik & Newitt 2015: 3-5). However, the intense socio-cultural interactions in empire also underline the role of processes of indigenization and endogenous agency involving African communities which were inexorably drawn into the orbit of Atlantic trade and settlement. Maritime ports attracted local populations, harbouring heterogenous agglomerations, which were the product of globalizing trade networks but also of endogenous ecological, socio-cultural, political, and economic dynamics. The notion of a *creolosphere* with sub-spaces (e.g., the Atlantic and Indian Oceans) (Grassin 2012)—or *creoloscapes*—dotting the globe, has been put forward to raise the understanding of creolization’s “perpetual movement” and heterogeneity within an extensive network of inter-connected but nevertheless autonomous spaces.

The spatial and social ecology of these locations and their hinterland was a major factor inducing cross-cultural transformations, understood here as “creative cultural re-combinations” (Khan 2001: 293). Archaeological and linguistic evidence has provided support for the multiplicity of factors influencing the emergence of Creole societies and their capacity to adapt to local conditions (Chaudenson et al. 2001: viii) via displacement and invention (Eriksen 2019: 139). These settlements and their surroundings were more than mere slave ports, being “inextricably linked to a process of hybridisation between the African, European and American dynamics” (Saupin 2020: 184). Institutions (*carnival*), cosmologies

(*candomblé*, antonianism), ritual objects (*bolsas de mandinga*), architecture (*sobrado*), music (*morna*, *batuque*, *semba*), food (*cachupa*, *calulu*), beverages (*cachaça*, *grogue*), and languages all travelled and morphed in the transformative Atlantic seascape. Hence, it can be argued that both creolized populations and processes of acculturation were “instrumental” for the integration of contact zones in insular and coastal Africa into regional and global trade systems (Newitt 2017).

Iberian contexts constitute a particular niche for research (Elliot 2015). Whereas the Portuguese presence in West Africa already made itself felt from the mid-1400s onwards, Spanish rule largely centred on the Americas, incorporating areas previously under Portuguese control (McWorther 1995) with Hispanic-African possessions only being acquired in the late nineteenth century (Mufwene 2014). This socio-political distinction has in turn been linked to the presence or absence of pidgins and creole languages and to distinct processes of cultural creolization. The rarity of creole languages with a Spanish lexicon (Palenquero in Colombia and Chabacano in the Philippines) which have their roots in Portuguese pidgins (McWorther 1995) is contrasted with their great diversity in a Portuguese context: e.g., *Kriolu* in Cabo Verde, *Kriol* in Guinea-Bissau and the Lower Casamance region in Senegal, Santome, Angolar (*ngola*) e Lung’yi in São Tomé and Príncipe, *fa d’ambo* (Annobon Island Creole), Nou Ling/Kristi in the Korlai region in India, Kristang in West Malacca, Papia Cristam in Macau, and Bidau Portuguese in East Timor (Mufwene 2014). Papiamentu, spoken in the Dutch Antilles has a composite Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch lexicon. Although not resulting in creole languages, the Brazilian conundrum exposed the tensions between the heterogenous forms of cultural creolization and Africanization in a plantation society (Mufwene 2014). In the case of coastal Angola, ethnic languages (such as Kimbundu) became *linguas francas* for populations of the *praças* (fortified settlements or garrison towns) and local intermediaries with the Mbundu hinterland (Dias 1984: 63/64).

Even though the Spanish term (*criollo*) is of likely Lusophone origin (*crioullo*) (Chaudenson et al. 2001: 4), its usage and signification, however, differed and still differs greatly between areas of Portuguese presence. National identity and culture in Cabo Verde, a pejorative connotation in Brazil (Almeida 2007: 108), the lingua franca (*Kriol* or Guinean Creole) in Guinea-Bissau (Havik 2007), and cross-cultural assimilation in coastal Angola (Ferreira 2007) denote marked differences within Lusophone spaces. Whereas a distinct creole national identity is assumed in Cabo Verde (Madeira 2015; Fernandes 2000), there is a lack of consensus on the nature of creole identities in other former Portuguese colonies (Kohl 2018; Seibert 2012: 67; Corrado 2010; Trajano Filho 2007; Dias 1984) owing to the inherent tensions between endogeneity and exogeneity.

In view of the great diversity of ‘hybrid’ cultures and communities, areas of Portuguese presence, and West Africa in particular are discussed below as a particular matrix for both cultural creolization and the formation of Creole strata in historical, anthropological, and linguistic perspective (Newitt 2017; Havik and Newitt 2015; Cabral 2015; Rosa 2015; Seibert 2012 & 2014; Lobato and Manso 2013; Bethencourt 2011; Naro et al. 2007; Almeida 2004) without losing sight of their wider trans-imperial dimensions. The following sections centre on the different forms of cross-cultural interaction and trans-cultural diversity in its broadest sense by focusing on three related issues: the elasticity of spatial and social boundaries, social change and disorder, and the continuity and instability of the dynamics of creolization and acculturation.

Redefining Space and Place

Besides some coastal areas in Africa which were occupied militarily, such as sections of the Angolan coast, the frontiers of maritime empires in West Africa were porous, changeable, and often elusive. The situation differed between continental and insular spaces: initially imposed by colonizers upon imported slaves and indentured labour in insular domains, they had to be negotiated with African societies and intermediaries in continental areas. Whilst the slave trade dominated the former, export crops (sugar, coffee, cacao)—while also fomenting the introduction of subsistence crops (rice, maize, millet, sorghum, and cassava)—were central to the latter. The former sourced African supply routes, the latter operated as Atlantic hubs during the first five centuries of contact. In demographic terms, slave populations were central to Afro-Atlantic economies; given their heterogenous composition, they provided fertile terrain for the emergence of contact languages in insular—and coastal—contexts (Chaudenson 2001: 1-13).

The notion of contact zones as proposed by Pratt (1992)—taking its cue from linguistics—relates to the “interactive and improvisational” transcultural interactions occurring in colonial spaces which tend to be unequal, asymmetrical, coercive, and conflictual (Pratt 1992: 6). One of the innovative characteristics of creolization studies is their focus on the fluidity of spatial and social boundaries, which facilitated the emergence of bounded, heterogenous social formations and identities (Eriksen 2019: 141). Whereas the elasticity and redrawing of boundaries are key features of cross-cultural interaction and its signification, they also fix clear social perimeters, creating order out of their transgressive nature. Hence, Creole societies thrive on the porousness of frontiers whilst ensuring their own continuity as

“bounded entities” (Eriksen 2019: 134-135). The idea of contact zones as transformative spaces where existing institutions and traditions are disrupted, intentionally and accidentally, giving way to novel hierarchies, meanings, and practices has been associated with Victor Turner’s concept of liminality. Transculturation—through “deculturation and neoculturation”—and socio-cultural diversity constitute common denominators of these dynamics (Lehmkuhl et al. 2015: 7-10).

The great diversity that emerged with imperial expansion as it disrupted and reconfigured these “moving spaces,” has been extensively studied in the case of areas of Portuguese presence. The emergence of Creole strata and languages has been investigated in regard to insular spaces such as Cabo Verde (Madeira 2015; Cabral 2015; Seibert 2014; Green 2012, 2014; Almeida 2007; Fernandes 2000) and São Tomé and Príncipe (hereafter STP) (Seibert 2012, 2014; Henriques 2000; Hagemeijer 1999) from a historiographical anthropological and linguistic perspective. The study of social institutions that sustained processes of transculturation has tended to stress the differences between insular and coastal dynamics. Cabo Verde has been singled out for the formation of a Creole society from the 1500s, where Creole strata acting as social, economic, and political protagonists ensured the continuity of a nominally Portuguese dominion in the Atlantic (Fernandes 2000: 36). Boasting a unifying language (Kriolu)—with insular dialects and strata (*badiu*, on Santiago Island and *sampajudo* on São Vicente)—it contrasts with STP owing to the conjunction of diverse creolized strata (such as the Forro and the Angolares) and languages (*Forro*, *Lung’ye*, *Angolar*) with temporal breaks in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. In insular settings such as STP certain areas and populations remained beyond the control of colonial authorities, as early grand marronage demonstrates (Seibert 2015: 83). For centuries, the Angolares succeeded in maintaining territorial control, developing their own institutions in the inaccessible densely forested south of the island of São Tomé (Seibert 2015: 83-84). The shift of the slave monopoly to Angola and competition from Brazilian sugar in the late 1500s led European settlers to withdraw, intensifying endogenous transculturation on the *fazendas* or *roças* (plantations). The continuous large-scale presence of enslaved populations in STP distinguish it from the Cabo Verde Islands, as does the permanence of the plantation-based economy; the recolonization of STP by Europeans from the nineteenth century that led to an upsurge of the plantation economy—non-existent in Cabo Verde as the *morgadio* was replaced by a sharecropping system (Clarence-Smith 1985: 75)—took place at the expense of the land-owning Forro population (Seibert 2014).

As slaving hubs, the Cabo Verde archipelago and STP acted as advanced maritime frontiers in the Afro-Atlantic region. Once Cabo Verde lost its pivotal position in the mid-1600s when the Portuguese crown consented to metropolitan and local continental traders bypassing the entrepot, the process of creolization intensified as Creole *brancos da terra* (a term for ‘local whites’) and their militias were left in effective control until the 1800s (Fernandes 2000). However, many *filhos da terra* (P: children of the land) failed to become part of the land-owning elite, while economic decline and famines affected impoverished populations. In the process, different creolized strata vied for power and privilege, as pockets formed of fugitive slaves (Seibert 2014; Green 2012b; Brooks 2006; Soares 2005). The emigration of Caboverdians was strongly associated with socio-economic upheavals. First, emigrating via Atlantic whalers in the late eighteenth century, and from the early 1900s to North America (e.g., the *mercados* from Fogo Island and migrants from Brava Island) and to the African coast (Senegal, Portuguese Guinea and Angola)—as well as to STP from the early 1900s (Madeira 2015; Almeida 2004). Ecology and climate (successive famines in 1831-1833 and 1864-1866) and legal reforms —outlawing primogeniture / *morgadio* in 1863—as well as the abolition of the slave trade (1875) acted as crucial triggers of the population exodus, redefining Creole relatedness in the diaspora (Fernandes 2000).

Creolized—and ethnic—trade diasporas and networks were also active in coastal Angola (Candido 2013; Alencastro 2012; Ferreira 2006; Dias 2002; Miller 1988; Stamm 1972; Oliveira 1968) and the Guinea-Bissau region, encompassing current Guinea-Bissau and Lower Casamance region in Senegal (Nafafé 2015; Horta 2014; Djaló 2013; Seibert, 2012; Mark & Horta 2011; Havik 2004; Brooks 2003; Horta 2000; Mark 1999; Trajano Filho 1998; Boulègue 1989). Whilst land and slaves were the key social signifiers in insular societies, the *praça* formed the core of their Afro-Atlantic identities. Usually located on the coast or along rivers, these *praças* or ports formed the gateways or “portals” (Weiss 2016) to the African interior. Until the incorporation into colonial administrations with the liberal reforms in Portugal the 1830s, these outposts of empire were controlled by creolized trading lineages (see below) and free Africans according to a hierarchy of kinship and descent. Their social and cultural capital derived from privileged relations with African political entities allowed them to leverage spatial and social boundaries in continental spaces (Horta 2014; Green 2012a; Bethencourt 2011; Brooks 2010, 2003; Havik 2004; Mark 1999; Thornton 1998; Miller 1988; Dias 1984).

The notion of ‘moveable spaces’ is exemplified by Angola, where clusters of creolized traders including *pumbeiros e donas* based in Luanda, Benguela, and Mossamedes operated

beyond imperial boundaries, for example in the Kingdom of Kongo and Mbundu (Oliveira 2021; Candido 2013; Dias 2002; Thornton 1998; Miller 1988). As in the Upper Guinea region where *lançados*, *filhos da terra* (born from mixed marriages), *tungumás* (free African women traders), and *grumetes* (Kriston) roamed the contact zone by means of alliances with local African polities (Nafafé 2015; Green 2011; Havik 2004). Local trade diasporas such as Ambakista in Angola, descended from fugitive slaves, spoke a Kimbundu dialect (*Mbaka*) with a Portuguese lexicon (Dias 2002; Alencastro 2017), whereas the Kriston in the Guinea-Bissau region engendered what is now Guinean Creole (*Kriol*) from different West Atlantic African languages. The resulting Creole dialects became *linguas francas* via trade ports such as Geba, Cacheu, and Bissau, also for Caboverdean Creole and Portuguese speakers (Kohl 2018; Djaló 2013; Havik 2007; Trajano Filho 1998). Depending on ecological, epidemiological, and political conditions, these activities pushed the ‘slaving frontier’—as originally proposed by Miller (1988) for Angola—inwards to increase the capture radius beyond areas of Portuguese settlement as African polities accommodated, mediated, or resisted incorporation in the Afro-Atlantic trade whilst engendering novel plural identities in the process (Ferreira 2012; Green 2012a; Dias 2002; Havik 2004).

Mobility and Social Change

Afro-Atlantic exchanges gave rise to massive migratory fluxes, cross-cultural interaction, political alliances, syncretic cosmologies, and linguistic change against a background of violently uprooted lives and livelihoods. Assimilated populations pushed spatial and social boundaries by innovating institutions and practices while creating their own autonomous institutions and identities. They tend to escape precise definition, given the terminology associated with them, illustrated by mostly derogatory idiom based upon birthplace (*crioulo*, born in the colony or on a plantation) or *filhos/brancos da terra* or *filhos do país* (‘whites’ born in a colony), by miscegenation (*mestiço* or *mulato*), colour (*pardo*, brown), or dress (*negros calçados*, shoe-wearing negroes), and *calçinhas* (Africans wearing European dress) (Ferreira 2012; Matos 2012; Almeida 2004). Terminology including hybrid, syncretic, intermediate, transethnic and transcultural idiom evoked processes of cultural assimilation, acculturation, inculturation, transculturation, miscegenation and marronage, and the underlying agency of intermediaries, brokers, middlemen or go-betweens.

The remarkable spatial and social mobility, and cultural creativity of populations caught up in the imperial maelstrom, was interpreted by metropolitan civil and religious

authorities as a cause of deviance and disarray. The perceived threat to the existing political, economic, and religious order inspired measures to counter the subversion of social boundaries (Eriksen 2019; Mintz & Price 1992). The resilience of creolized groups and their capacity to adapt to, resist, and circumvent colonial rule, as well as their economic and cultural autonomy within and beyond colonial frontiers was frowned upon. Crucially, they were accused by state and the Church as acting as agents of Africanization, leaving colonial societies at the mercy of a free, ‘mulatto’ descentance (Alencastro 2012: 75-77) that intermarried, (re-)Africanized, spoke African languages, and adhered to syncretic beliefs (Ferreira 2006: 29-36).

Hence, metropolitan and colonial civil and religious authorities intervened to curb upward social mobility, enacting different strategies whose efficacy proved to be limited or counterproductive. For example, the widely practiced forced exile of condemned criminals, *degredados*, to insular and continental locations, which was meant to ‘whiten’ the population, actually promoted creolization and acculturation. Over the centuries, men and women were forcibly exiled from Portugal, but also from other colonial destinations such as Cabo Verde, to Guinea, STP, and Angola. The latter became a preferential destination for civil and religious authorities, including the Inquisition, especially following the partial occupation of the coastal zone in the 1600s contributing to processes of miscegenation and transculturation (Pantoja 2004; Kananoja 2010). Similar efforts were made in Cabo Verde (Cabral 2015; Brooks 2006; Fernandes 2000) as well as in Angola when *pardo* (coloured) families were imported from Brazil (Alencastro 2012: 77) without any substantial effect.

Another avenue towards social integration in empire was baptism and conversion through Christianization. From an identity perspective, the conversion of slaves and freepersons has been branded as a process of acculturation, continuity, and resistance (Sweet 2003; Thornton 1998a). Missionaries’ proselytization along the west African coast focused on converting populations in the *praças* and African societies. Vertical conversion strategies by Jesuit, Capuchin, and Franciscan orders centered on African dignitaries, such as paramount chiefs (*sobas* in Angola, *régulos* in Guinea), both on the Upper Guinea coast and in Angola (Bethencourt 2017; Horta 2014; Mark 1999; Thornton 1998a), for political and economic reasons. In the Guinea-Bissau region, Catholic missionaries contrived to counter the efforts of Muslim clerics who roamed the interior seeking to convert coastal ‘animist’ populations with the expansion of Mande and Fulbe states (Mota 2013). Missionaries were acutely aware of the widespread impact of processes of ‘mandingization,’ which has been associated with pre-colonial processes of ‘primary creolization’ (Trajano Filho 2007). The

pre-colonial Kongo Kingdom also became the site for cross-cultural interaction, religious syncretism, and cosmopolitanism from the late 1400s onwards, as its rulers assimilated Christian beliefs, symbols, and practices into existing African cults and cosmologies (Bostoen and Brinkman 2018; Thornton 2001). Besides persecuting Sephardim, missionaries in the service of the Portuguese Inquisition also targeted members of Christianized Afro-Atlantic strata for their adherence to ‘African rites.’ Witnesses’ testimonies in Guinea and Angola provide ample insight into syncretic beliefs and practices which “were deeply intertwined with people’s everyday lives” (Green, Havik and Silva 2021: lxi; Kananoja 2010: 465). Incoming private traders and freepersons acted as agents of transculturation, adopting syncretic identities and customs in continental Afro-Atlantic contexts (Newitt 2017; Nafafé 2015; Horta 2014; Seibert 2012; Mark and Horta 2011: 83-102; Dias 2002; Horta 2000; Mark 1999). African societies adopted and re-signified religious divinities, objects, rituals, and dress to enhance the social status and prosperity of chiefly lineages (Mota 2013: 56-60). The emergence of syncretic cosmologies, such as antonianism led by Beatriz Kimpa Vita in the eighteenth-century Kongo Kingdom and the *Novo Deus* (the new God) in Portuguese Guinea in the late 1800s, demonstrates the relevance of endogenous female agency and imagery in this respect (Thornton 1998b; Havik 2004: 93-95).

A key pathway to gaining social legitimacy in empire was recognition of paternity by European or Creole land-owning strata, such as *brancos da terra* progenitors in insular territories such as the Cabo Verde Islands and STP. As a result, ‘illegitimate’ offspring of European planters and traders with African mothers, freepersons, or manumitted slaves could rise to positions of influence, wealth, and respect in local town councils, institutions that Charles Boxer regarded as the cornerstones of imperial rule (Cabral 2013: 145-146). Membership of civil and religious organizations—such as the all-important militias and military orders, Catholic orders, brotherhoods, and sisterhoods—were crucial to further their integration into ‘colonial’ hierarchies (Green 2012b). Manumission could provide slaves with avenues toward social recognition and control over assets through marriage, crafts, and linguistic skills, which were facilitated by authorities in the archipelagos from the 1500s (Monteiro 2016; Cabral 2013; Caldeira 2008). This was not necessarily the case in continental areas; whereas Portuguese authorities exercised territorial control in part of coastal Angola, the Kingdom of Kongo retained its autonomy until the mid-1800s, while African societies controlled the Guinean interior until the early 1900s.

In the Afro-Atlantic *praças*, social mobility was largely controlled by creolized trading lineages which emerged with the Afro-Atlantic trade. From the late 1500s, Creole, Sephardi,

and free African strata sought to combine private commercial interests with land titles and the exercise of (local) public office. Boasting a common founder, trading lineages, or patrimonial households, (Trajano Filho 1998: 167-169; Ribeiro 1986) accumulated economic and social capital, forging alliances by intermarriage and partnerships whilst managing networks of mutual support within bounded social hierarchies of relatedness and loyalty (Havik 2017). They emerged in the *praças*, ports, *morgados*, and *roças* in western Africa, constituting key pillars of the Afro-Atlantic slave, goods, and crop trade. Their capacity for incorporating a great variety of free and bonded persons (including skilled household slaves or *ladino*) via marriage, (recognition of) parenthood, adoption, wardship, and apprenticeships would facilitate social mobility and cohesion (Havik 2017: 79). The virtual end of the transatlantic slave trade as a result of its prohibition in Brazil in 1850 (Clarence-Smith 1985: 61-80) led these trading lineages to invest in the emerging plantation economy (peanuts, coffee, cacao, etc.), which would grow rapidly in Angola but failed to take hold in Portuguese Guinea.

During the 1800s, following liberal revolutions and the rivalry between nation states in Europe, two parallel phenomena were to reshape socio-political relations and redraw the boundaries of authority and mobility in what were soon to become continental Portuguese colonial dominions. On the one hand, the pressure mounted on creolized strata to support and assist Portuguese metropolitan authorities in their quest for territorial control. Access to land and crops had become a strategic concern in the scramble for Africa; hence populations were expected to rally round an imaginary Luso-African community of interests under the auspices of the colonial state. Straddling the urban-rural frontier, these strata attempted to leverage their position as landowners, traders, and brokers in the face of the state's concerted attempt to encroach upon their patron-client relations with African societies (Dias 1984). On the other hand, biosocial ideology manifested a resolute rejection of hybridity, miscegenation, and concubinage defining these strata, which would persist until the official embrace of Freyrian Lusotropicalist ideas in the 1950s (Almeida 2004: 45-64). Differentiated population management via the *indigenato* system, which was imposed in the 1870s once the slave trade was abolished, caused racialist and nationalist tropes to become deeply entangled. Besides facilitating the (forcible) large-scale recruitment of African labour, the system also contrived to prevent African upward mobility as well as 'racial degeneration' (Matos 2012: 148-159; Almeida 2004: 65-82). As Portuguese rule was imposed by military and administrative means in the early decades of the 1900s, metropolitan roots and citizenship became the benchmark

for employment, access to land, inheritance, commerce, and education, erecting novel but by no means insuperable barriers for social integration and legitimacy.

Continuity, Instability, and Conflict

The Afro-Atlantic (slave) trade was simultaneously a crucial factor in the ‘production’ of Creoles and cultural transformations, and a key matrix for alliances, rivalries, and conflicts between various colonial actors and groups which depended on it. Hence, extraversion has been identified as a decisive factor in cultural creolization processes, i.e., the external dependency of African societies, plantations, and *praças* and their populations on imported goods (iron, tools, weapons, gunpowder, cloth, alcoholic spirits) which in turn circulated as items of cross-cultural exchange. Assuming the role of gatekeepers, trading lineages, free Africans, and African ruling lineages, states brokered the conditions of extraversion but not without importing instability and entropy as new markets emerged and faded, and political formations waxed and waned (Lindsay 2014).

Diasporic fluxes revealed the malleability of imperial spaces through cross-culturally induced change in the face of the fragility of imperial rule and the ample opportunities to abscond to and beyond its margins. With the establishment of the colonial state in Africa in the 1830s following liberal reforms in Europe, it attempted to tighten its grip on trade, administration, and settlement. The creolized social strata’s fortunes in empire were closely tied to the politico-economic status quo. Whereas their earlier formative period was strongly marked by the volatility of (slave) markets, the emergence of colonial states left them at the mercy of external political institutions. With the abolishment of the slave trade, state-led extraversion put to the test their skill of navigating the political stage. As Miller has shown in the case of Angola, despite attempts to avert their decline, the ‘Luso-African’ strata ended up losing their autonomy in the late eighteenth century first at the hands of merchant capital, and later owing to state intervention and protectionism (Miller 1988: 245-283; also see Corrado 2010; Dias 1984). However, whereas these strata saw themselves as a kind of cosmopolitan nobility just like trade lineages in the Guinean *praças*, their ambivalent identities and strong ties of affinity with indigenous institutions were frowned upon by colonial authorities (Havik 2011: 210; Dias 2002; Trajano Filho 1998).

Despite these barriers set by racial and nationalist tropes, gender and kinship relations were key drivers of cultural creolization throughout proto-colonial and colonial periods (Oliveira 2021; Newitt 2017; Havik 2015 & 2017; Monteiro 2016; Candido and Rodrigues

2015; Candido 2013; Green 2012a; Brooks 2006, 2010; Caldeira 2008; Rodrigues 2003). Since Boxer's seminal lectures on women's roles in Iberian expansion, research has confirmed the key role free African women (the *nharas* and *tungumá* in Guinea and the *donas* in Cabo Verde, STP, and Angola) played in the politics of alliance-building, in investing social capital in expanding trade networks, in property, and in exercising political influence. In demographic terms, free, and bonded women formed a majority in insular and continental settlements throughout the period of the slave trade. Taking advantage of bilineal descent and matrifocal residence patterns among the creolized strata, they would often marry and remarry—with Europeans and non-Europeans—during their lifetime, accumulating wealth and status (Havik 2004). Inter-marriage and partnerships with noblemen, traders, and military/militia officers of Portuguese and Brazilian origin—for example in STP and Angola—extended their access to kin and client networks (Oliveira 2021; Candido 2015; Caldeira 2008). Importantly, they would intermarry with members of other trading or land-owning lineages—among the Creole *morgado* and *filho da terra* lineages in Cabo Verde and STP—thereby guaranteeing their continuity through cycles of marriage, widowhood, and remarriage, aided by women's longevity compared to men. Portuguese succession laws, which allowed women to exercise their legal rights as *cabeça de casal* (head of household), potentially gave widows full control of family assets (Caldeira 2008).

These unions were by no means condoned by imperial civil and religious authorities, owing to African women's purported role in the Africanization of the *praças* and the transgressive nature of concubinage. The periodic attempts to 'whiten' these settlements by importing—voluntarily or forcibly—women from Portugal or Brazil attests to a deep distrust of African women's role as matrix of creolization (Fernandes 2000: 34). In the light of the fragility of Portuguese rule during the 1800s, the bonds of kinship and affinity of women from prominent trading lineages with African chiefly lineages came to be seen as a potential political asset. Their attempt to leverage their social and cultural capital to broker access to land and conflicts with African societies (Oliveira 2021; Candido & Rodrigues 2015; Candido 2013; Havik 2004),] illustrated the relevance of creolization for the consolidation of the colonial economy. Even though the Guinean *praças* had become bastions of colonial rule, the fact that in the 1950s, African mothers were responsible for two thirds of the 'civilized' stratum—with the other third originating from Cabo Verde—showed that they remained the endogenous matrix of the colonial *praças* (Ribeiro 1986: 125-126).

Nevertheless, biosocial markers created legal, religious, and political impediments to the legitimacy and integration of hitherto 'free' populations. The social exclusion and

instability that ensued caused resentment among the population of the *praças* giving rise to dissonant, proto-nationalist sentiments among the ‘hybrid’ strata that felt marginalized (Djaló 2013: 199-218; Corrado 2010, 2008; Trajano Filho 1998; Dias 1984). In the late nineteenth century, journals and pamphlets published by members of the ‘urban Euro-African’ community in Angola—and other Portuguese colonies—demanded social justice for the educated *filhos do país* (sons of the country) and refused to be treated as *indígenas* (natives) (Corrado 2010; Corrado 2008: 159-228). Significant social and political tensions also emerged in Portuguese Guinea between the free urban strata and Cabo Verdean Creoles, who enjoyed privileged access to administration and trade (Havik 2010; Trajano Filho 1998). In Cabo Verde, the *Claridade* movement called for a cultural revival of Creole culture from the mid-1930s, projecting an autonomous regional identity within empire (Fernandes 2000: 69-70).

The granting of Portuguese citizenship to Cabo Verdeans and São Tomeans in 1822 was retracted by the 1838 constitution, which limited citizenship to Luso-descendants, only to be reinstated in 1947. When authorities proposed the introduction of *indigenato* status to the population in STP, the latter protested against the perceived injustice; its violent repression by authorities in 1953, known as the Batepá massacre, precipitated the granting of ‘civilized’ status to islanders. In continental colonies, the *indigenato* system was only abolished in 1961 following the outbreak of armed conflict in Angola (Seibert 2012: 66-67). The legal limbo in which native-born inhabitants of these archipelagos found themselves for more than a century—whilst continental ‘native’ Africans remained trapped within the *indigenato* system and devoid of civil and political rights in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea following the 1926/1927 reforms—illustrates the idiosyncrasies of ‘racialized’ Portuguese imperial politics.

As state-sanctioned immigration increased from the early 1900s and more so after 1945, especially in the case of Angola and Mozambique, long established trading lineages and planter families lost their privileged positions. By the 1950s, it was clear that the policy to facilitate the upward mobility of Africans by means of the intermediate legal category of *assimilados*, introduced with the Colonial Act (1930), had failed. Belated attempts in the 1950s to ‘correct’ the situation by adopting Lusotropicalist ideology (Matos 2012; Almeida 2004: 45-64; Castelo 1999; Corrado 2008: 51-92; Oliveira 1968) praising the alleged Portuguese penchant for adapting to tropical regions and ‘racial mixing,’ signified an apparent repudiation of the “disastrous” consequences of miscegenation (Almeida 2004: 73). However, the wars of liberation that first erupted in Angola in 1961, and thereafter in Guinea (1963) and Mozambique (1964), debunked this ideology as lingering resentment against Portuguese rule resurfaced with a vengeance among urban and rural populations. With the rest of the

continent in the throes of decolonization, local heterogeneous urban creolized elites, often educated in missionary schools, became the vanguard of pan-African nationalist movements. Notwithstanding insular colonies' apparent detachment from the continental wars of liberation, nationalist identities had already taken a firm hold in Cabo Verde, whilst Creole islanders occupied leading positions in the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau (Coutinho 2017). While being rapidly embraced by the local population following the end of empire in 1974, calls for the independence of STP typically originated among exponents of the Forro community in exile (Seibert 2012).

Conclusions

West Africa has served here as a key reference for an analysis of a particular cluster of contact zones associated with the Afro-Atlantic encounter, where new social ecologies, institutions, and identities emerged in areas of erstwhile Portuguese presence. The considerable weight of Atlantic historiography and anthropology is palpable in debates on the Lusophone Southern Atlantic. Although processes of creolization and acculturation in empire extended beyond Lusophone spaces and the West-African context—via the slave trade to the Americas and Asia but also to metropolitan Europe—the nature of contact zones differed. Given the great variety of African ecologies, political entities, and socio-cultural contexts in Lusophone areas along the West African coast, they encompass variations also present in Anglophone or Francophone spaces. The major singularity of the former being the formation of insular Creole societies in Cabo Verde and STP—establishing theoretical and empirical bridges with the Caribbean—and their key role in the Lusophone 'Brown' Atlantic (Almeida 2000: 29-32).

In terms of contact zones, the Indian Ocean World differed from the Atlantic owing to the former's long-standing maritime trade networks, contact zones (e.g. the Swahili coast), and complex cross-cultural networks which operated previous to the arrival of Europeans (Newitt 2017: 474-478). But, given that these regional systems, dominated by the slave trade, were linked by Portuguese, Brazilian, and African actors, similarities between the emergence of Creoles and modes of acculturation become apparent. Insular Creole societies, such as Reunion or Mauritius, suggest parallels with Cabo Verde and STP (Berthet et al. 2019: 6-7), whereas encounters in Mozambique and the 'indianization' of creolized communities share common traits with Brazilian influence in West Africa (Newitt 2017: 277; Guran 2000).

Nonetheless, the social and cultural institutions, their organization, hierarchies, and practices in these contact zones were quite distinct, giving rise to the formation of Creole societies in Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe on the one hand, and to diverse trans-cultural dynamics in the *praças* and Afro-Atlantic settlements scattered along the West African coast on the other hand. In the process, Creole languages with a Portuguese lexicon emerged in Cabo Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and the Guinea-Bissau region, but none in Angola. Emerging out of a myriad of diasporic and endogenous threads, the infinite diversity of cross-cultural interactions in constant flux (Eriksen 2007: 169-171) cannot therefore be contained or subsumed within Lusophone or Luso-African boundaries.

Opposition to perceived Africanization and its close association with the purported subversive impact of hybrid social groups forms a key thread of the centuries of Portuguese imperial history. Another strand, namely the ineffective and often counter-productive measures taken to curb these phenomena, was related to the chronic lack of human and material resources of a maritime and colonial empire permanently stretched beyond its limits. Tensions simmered and surfaced throughout the centuries, coming to a head with the abolition of the slave trade and imposition of the colonial state, leading creolized groups to express nativist sentiments in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Madeira 2015: 137-144). Their loss of influence translated into (proto-) nationalist claims of social autonomy and exclusivity, as they distanced themselves from European and African traditions. Owing to the limited availability of self-narratives by creolized groups, at least for the first centuries of Afro-Atlantic exchange, civil and religious imperial tropes tend to dominate. In the case of the Portuguese empire, this bias was further reinforced by the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship's (1926-1974) fierce repression of (proto-) nationalist sentiment. National liberation discourse that has been likened to a subversive "creole ideology" (Newitt 2017: 481) serves as a reminder of these strata's pivotal role in late Portuguese colonialism, liberation movements and decolonization.

A comparative perspective on cross-cultural interaction inspired the study of processes of creolization in different parts of the globe but was slow to transform into an autonomous topic of scientific research. The diversity of processes—from insular Creole societies (Cabo Verde, STP) to cultural creolization in the Afro-Atlantic settlements (Guinea and Angolan coasts)—is reflected in different approaches (historical, anthropological, linguistic) in accordance with the contact zones under consideration. An overriding element in this discussion is that of entangled histories connecting diverse cultural landscapes was shaped by imperial but largely determined by endogenous agency. Predominantly occurring

in liminal spaces on the margins of empire, supported by oral self-narratives couched in local vernacular, they often escaped the purview of imperial institutions, like a ‘thirdspace’ lost in translation (Hall 2015). Thus, by leaving traces in the present, they may appear as the result of fragmentary encounters, more akin to forms of cultural pidginization or *creolage* rather than as a part of cross-cultural change in the *longue durée*. A recognition of this unfinished historical continuum unbounded by temporal or spatial confines highlights the need for articulating these transformative dynamics in different contact zones in a comparative, trans-disciplinary perspective (Knörr & Trajano Filho 2018).

In terms of the cross-cultural dynamics discussed above, three key threads stand out: migration and diaspora; social mobility and change; and social tensions and conflict. Protracted forced and voluntary migration fostered regional and global diasporic networks, heterogeneous social formations and unstable hybrid identities which epitomize the “open-ended, flexible and unbounded nature of cultural processes” (Eriksen 2007: 163). The multiplicity of trajectories and strategies of cosmopolitan ‘Luso-Creole elites’ and their capacity for self-promotion, mediation and making alliances underpinned their longevity in Cabo Verde, STP, Guinea-Bissau and Angola, both in empire and the post-colony (Knörr & Trajano Filho 2018; Kohl 2018; Schubert 2017; Oliveira 2015; Djaló 2013; Seibert 2006). Underlying inequalities and tensions in empire along racial, ethnic, class, and gender lines gave rise to these groups themselves and often elusive transcultural phenomena—which failed to neatly fit into imperial tropes—and decisively shaped the singularity of the contact zones under consideration as well as their uneven and fractious evolution and decolonization.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank anonymous reviewers, as well as Malyn Newitt and Gerhard Seibert for their helpful comments.

References

- Alencastro, Luís Filipe de (2012). "Mulattos in Brazil and Angola: A Comparative Approach, from the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century." In F. Bethencourt and A. Pearce (eds.), *Racism and Race Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World*. Oxford and London: Oxford University Press and The British Academy, 71-96.
- Almeida, Miguel Vale de (2007). "From Miscegenation to Creole Identity: Portuguese Colonialism, Brazil, Cape Verde." In C. Stewart (ed.), *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*. Walnut Creek: Left Shore Press, 108-132.
- Almeida, Miguel Vale de (2004). *An Earth-Colored Sea: 'Race', Culture and the Politics of Identity in the Post-Colonial Portuguese-Speaking World*. New York: Berghahn.
- Almeida, Miguel Vale de (2000). "O Atlântico Pardo: antropologia, pós-colonialismo e o caso 'lusófono'." In Cristiana Bastos, Miguel Vale de Almeida, and Bela Feldman-Bianco (eds.), *Trânsitos Coloniais: Diálogos Críticos Luso-Brasileiros*. Lisbon: Instituto de Ciencias Sociais, 23-37.
- Berlin, Ira (1996). "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 53 (2): 251-288.
- Berthet, Marina, Fernando Rosa, and Shaun Viljoen (eds.) (2019). *Moving Spaces: Creolisation and Mobility in Africa, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bethencourt, Francisco and Adrian Pearce (eds.) (2012). *Racism and Race Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World*. Oxford and London: Oxford University Press and The British Academy.
- Bethencourt, Francisco (2011). "Creolization of the Atlantic World: The Portuguese and the Kongoese." *Portuguese Studies* 27 (1): 56-69.
- Bostoen, Koen and Inge Brinkamn (eds.) (2018). *The Kongo Kingdom: The Origins, Dynamics and Cosmopolitan Culture of an African Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boulègue, Jean (1989). *Les Luso-Africains de Sénégal, XV^{ème}–XIX^{ème} Siècles*. Lisbon: IICT.
- Brooks, George E. (2010). *Western Africa and Cabo Verde 1790s–1830s: Symbiosis of Slave and Legitimate Trades*. Bloomington: Author House.
- Brooks, George E. (2006). "Cabo Verde, gulag of the South Atlantic: racism, fishing prohibitions and famines." *History in Africa*, 33: 101-135.
- Brooks, George E. (2003). *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Cabral, Iva (2015). *A Primeira Elite Colonial Atlântica: dos "homens bonrados brancos" de Santiago à "nobreza da terra"*. Lisbon: Silabo.
- Caldeira, Manuel A (2008). "Mestiçagem, Estratégias de Casamento e Propriedade Feminina no Arquipélago de São Tomé e Príncipe nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII." *Arquipélago-História*, 2ª série (11-12): 49-72.
- Candido, Mariana (2013). *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Candido, Mariana and Eugénia Rodrigues (2015). "African Women's Access and Rights to Property in the Portuguese Empire." *African Economic History*, 43: 1-18.
- Castelo, Cláudia (1999). *O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo: O luso-tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933-1961)*. Porto: Afrontamento.
- Chaudenson, Robert, and Salikoko S. Mufwene (2001). *Creolization of Language and Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Chivallon, Christine (2013). "Créolisation universelle ou singulière ? Perspectives depuis le Nouveau Monde." *L'Homme*, 207-208: 37-74.

- Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase (1985). *The Third Portuguese Empire 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cohen, Robin (2007). "Creolization and Cultural Globalization: The Soft Sounds of Fugitive Power." *Globalizations*, 4 (3): 369-384.
- Corrado, Jacopo (2010). "The Fall of a Creole Elite?: Angola at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Decline of the Euro-African Urban Community." *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 47: 100-119.
- Corrado, Jacopo (2008). *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Protonationalism 1870 -1920*. Amherst: Cambria Press.
- Coutinho, Ângela Benoliel (2017). *Os dirigentes do PAIGC: Da Fundação a Rutura 1956-1980*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Dias, Jill R (2002). "Novas identidades africanas em Angola no contexto do comercio Atlântico." In Cristiana Bastos, Miguel Vale de Almeida, and Bela Feldman-Bianco (eds.), *Trânsitos Coloniais: Diálogos Críticos Luso-Brasileiros*. Lisbon: Instituto de Ciencias Sociais, 293 -320.
- Dias, Jill R. (1984). "Uma Questão de Identidade: respostas intelectuais as transformações económicas no seio da elite crioula da Angola portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930." *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 1: 61-94.
- Djaló, Tchernó (2013). *O Mestiço e o Poder: identidades, dominações e resistências na Guiné*. Lisbon: Leya.
- Elliott, J.H. (2015). "Iberian Empires." In Hamish Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History 1350-1750: Volume II: Cultures and Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press:200-226._.
- Eriksen, Thomas H. (2019). "Beyond a Boundary: Flows and Mixing in the Creole World." In T.H. Eriksen and M. Jakoubek (eds.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries Today*. London: Routledge, 133-151.
- Eriksen, Thomas H. (2007). "Creolization in Anthropological Theory and in Mauritius." In Charles Stewart (ed.), *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*. Walnut Creek: Left Shore Press, 153-177.
- Fernandes, Gabriel (2000). *Entre a Europeidade e a Africanidade: os marcos da colonização/descolonização no processo de funcionalização identitária em Cabo Verde*. PhD thesis, Florianópolis: Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina.
- Ferreira, Roquinaldo (2012). *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferreira, Roquinaldo (2006). "Ilhas Crioulas: o Significado Plural da Mestiçagem Cultural na África Atlântica." *Revista de História*, 155 (2): 17-41.
- Grassin, Jean-Marie (2012). "Toward a Global Theory of Creolization as an Emergent Process by Opposition to Multiculturalism as a Configuration of Identities." In David Gallagher (ed.), *Creoles, Diasporas and Cosmopolitanisms: The Creolization of Nations, Cultural Migrations, Global Languages and Literatures*. Bethesda: Academica Press, 97-112.
- Green, Toby, Philip J. Havik, and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (2021). *The Trial of Crispina Peres of Cacheu, Guinea-Bissau (1646-1668)*. Oxford: The British Academy and Oxford University Press.
- Green, Toby (2014). "Building Creole Identity in in the African Atlantic: Boundaries of Race and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Cabo Verde." *History in Africa*, 36: 103-125.
- Green, Toby (ed.) (2012a). *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Pre-Colonial Western Africa*. London: British Academy and Cambridge University Press.
- Green, Toby (2012b). "The Emergence of a Mixed Society in Cape Verde in the Seventeenth Century." In T. Green (ed.), *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Pre-*

- Colonial Western Africa*. London: British Academy and Cambridge University Press, 193-216.
- Green, Toby (2011). *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa 1300–1589*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guran, Milton (2000). *Agudás: Os "Brasileiros" do Benin*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.
- Haeussler, Ralph, and Elizabeth Webster (2020). "Creolage: a bottom-up approach to cultural change in Roman times." *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, 3 (1): 1-22.
- Hagemeijer, Tjerk (1999). "As Ilhas de Babel: criouliização no Golfo da Guiné." *Revista Camôes*, 6: 74-88.
- Hall, Stuart (2015). "Creolité and the Process of Creolization." In Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez and Shirley Anne Tate (eds.), *Creolizing Europe: Legacies and Transformations*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 12-25.
- Hannerz, Ulf (1996). *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London, Routledge.
- Havik, Philip J. (2017). "Cosmopolitan Bravado: Gendered Agency and the Afro-Atlantic Encounter." In Francisco Bethencourt (ed.), *Cosmopolitanism in the Portuguese-speaking World*. Leiden: Brill, 59-81.
- Havik, Philip J. (2015). "Mary and Misogyny Revisited: Gendering the Afro-Atlantic Connection." In P.J. Havik & M. Newitt (eds.), *Creole Societies in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 30-48.
- Havik, Philip J. (2013). "The Colonial Encounter Revisited: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives on Brokerage." In Maria Cardeira da Silva (ed.), *As Lições de Jill Dias: Antropologia, História, África e Academia*. Lisbon: Etnográfica Press, 97-111.
- Havik, Philip J. (2010). "Esta 'Libéria Portuguesa': mudanças políticas e conflitos sociais na Guiné (1910-1920)." In Philip J. Havik, Clara Saraiva, and José Alberto Tavim (eds.), *Caminhos Cruzados em História e Antropologia*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 123-141.
- Havik, Philip J. (2007). "Kriol without Creoles: Afro-Atlantic Connections in the Guinea Bissau Region (16th to 20th Centuries)." In Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca & David Treece (eds.), *Brazil, Portugal and the Black Atlantic*. New York and London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 41-73.
- Havik, Philip J. (2004). *Silences and Soundbites: The Gendered Dynamics of Trade and Brokerage in the Precolonial Guinea Bissau Region*. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- Havik, Philip J. and Malyn Newitt (2015). *Creole Societies in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro (2000). *São Tomé e Príncipe. A invenção de uma sociedade*. Lisbon: Vega.
- Horta, José da Silva (2014). "Trânsito de africanos: circulação de pessoas, de saberes e experiências religiosas entre os rios de Guiné e o arquipélago de Cabo Verde (séculos XV-XVII)." *Anos 90*, 21 (40): 23-49.
- Horta, José da Silva (2000). "Evidence for a Luso-African Identity in 'Portuguese' Accounts on 'Guinea of Cape Verde.'" *History in Africa* 27: 99-130.
- Horton, Mark, and John Middleton (2000). *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kananoja, Kalle (2010). "Healers, Idolaters, and Good Christians: A Case Study of Creolization and Popular Religion in Mid-Eighteenth Century Angola." *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43 (3): 443-465.
- Khan, Aisha (2001). "Journey to the Center of the Earth: The Caribbean as Master Symbol." *Cultural Anthropology*, 16 (3): 271-302.
- Knörr, Jaqueline (2010). "Contemporary Creoleness, or: The World in Pidginization?" *Current Anthropology*, 51 (6): 731-759.
- Knörr, Jacqueline, and Wilson Trajano Filho (eds.) (2018). *Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity*. Leiden: Brill.

- Kohl, Christoph (2018). *A Creole Nation: National Integration in Guinea-Bissau*. New York: Berghahn.
- Lehmkuhl, Ursula, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, and Laurence McFalls (2015). "Spaces and Practices of Diversity: An Introduction." In U. Lemkuhl, H.-J. Lüsebrink, and L. McFalls (eds.), *Of "Contact Zones" and "Liminal Spaces": Mapping the Everyday Life of Cultural Translation*. Münster and New York: Waxmann, 7-28.
- Lindsay, Lisa A. (2014). "Extraversion, Creolization and Dependency in the Atlantic slave Trade." *Journal of African History*, 55: 135-145.
- Lobato, Manuel e Maria de Deus Manso (eds.) (2013). *Mestiçagens e Identidades Intercontinentais nos Espaços Lusófonos*. Braga: NICPRI.
- Madeira, João Paula Carvalho e Branco (2015). *Nação e Identidade: a singularidade de Cabo Verde*. PhD thesis, Lisbon: ISCSP.
- Mark, Peter, and José da Silva Horta (2011). *The Forgotten Diaspora: Jewish Communities in West Africa and the Making of the Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mark, Peter (2002). *"Portuguese" Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mark, Peter (1999). "The Evolution of 'Portuguese' Identity: Luso-Africans on the Upper Guinea Coast from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century." *Journal of African History*, 40 (2): 173-191.
- Matos, Patrícia Ferraz de (2012). *As Cortes do Império: Representações Raciais no Império Colonial Português*. Lisbon: ICS.
- McWorther, John (1995). "The Scarcity of Spanish-based Creoles Explained." *Language in Society*, 24: 213-244
- Melber, Henning (2016). *The Rise of the African Middle Class: Myths, Realities and Critical Engagements*. London and Uppsala: Zed Books and Nordic Africa Institute.
- Miller, Joseph C. (1988). *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade: 1730-1830*. Chicago: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mintz, Sydney, and Richard Price (1992). *The Birth of African American Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Monteiro, Eunice Furtado (2016). "Crioulidade, colonialidade e género: as representações de Cabo Verde." *Estudos Feministas*, 24 (3): 983-996.
- Mota, Thiago H. (2013). "Conversão estratégica: catolicismo e política na Alta Guiné e no reino do Congo séculos XV-XVII." *Revista 7 Mares*, 3: 47-60.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. (2014). "Latin America: A Linguistic Curiosity from the Point of View of Colonization and the Ensuing Language Contacts." In S. S. Mufwene, *Iberian Imperialism and Language Evolution in Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1-37.
- Nafafé, José Lingna (2015). "Lançados, culture and identity: prelude to Creole societies in the Rivers of Guinea and Cape Verde." In P.J. Havik & M. Newitt (eds.), *Creole Societies in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 49-71.
- Naro, Nancy P., Roger Sansi-Roca, and David Treece (eds.) (2007). *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Newitt, Malyn. (2017). "Africa and the Wider World: Creole Communities in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans." *Tempo*, 23 (3): 466-481.
- Oliveira, Mário António de (1968). *Luanda: "Ilha" Crioula*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Oliveira, Ricardo Soares de (2015). *Magnificent and Beggar Land: Angola Since the Civil War*. London: Hurst.
- Oliveira, Vanessa S. (2021). *Slave Trade and Abolition: Gender, Commerce, and Economic Transition in Luanda*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Palmié, Stephan (2014). "On Talking Past Each Other, Productively: Anthropology and the Black Atlantic, Twenty Years On." In Ingrid Kummels, Claudia Rauhut, Stefan Rinke, and Birte Timm (eds.), *Transatlantic Caribbean*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 57-76.
- Palmié, Stephan (2006). "Creolization and its Discontents." *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*, 35: 433-56.
- Pantoja, Selma (2004). "Inquisição, degredo e mestiçagem em Angola no século XVIII." *Revista Lusófona da Ciência de Religiões*, III (5/6): 117-136.
- Pratt, Mary Louise (1992). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.
- Price, Richard (2001). "The Miracle of Creolization: A Retrospective." *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 75 (1-2): 35-64.
- Price, Richard (2017). "Créolisation, Creolization, and Créolité." *Small Axe*, 21 (1): 211-219.
- Ribeiro, Rui (1986). *A Sociedade Crioula na Guiné Portuguesa*. MA thesis, Lisbon: ISCTE.
- Rodrigues, Isabel Fêo (2003). "Islands of Sexuality: Theories and Histories of Creolization in Cape Verde." *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36 (1): 83-103.
- Rosa, Fernando (2015). *The Portuguese in the Creole Indian Ocean. Essays in Historical Cosmopolitanism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sansone, Lívio, Elisée Soumonni, and Boubacar Barry (eds.) (2008). *Africa, Brazil and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Saupjn, Guy (2020). "The Emergence of Port Towns in Pre-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa 1450-1850: What Kind of Development Did They Entail?" *The International Journal of Maritime History*, 32 (1): 172-184.
- Schubert, Jon (2017). *Working the System: A Political Ethnography of the New Angola*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Seibert, Gerhard (2014). "Crioulização em Cabo Verde e São Tomé e Príncipe: divergências históricas e identitárias." *Afro-Ásia*, 49: 41-70.
- Seibert, Gerhard (2012). "Creolization and Creole Communities in the Portuguese Atlantic: São Tomé, Cape Verde, the Rivers of Guinea and Central Africa in Comparison." In Toby Green (ed.), *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Pre-Colonial Western Africa*. London: British Academy and Cambridge University Press, 29-52.
- Seibert, Gerhard (2006). *Comrades, Clients, and Cousins: Colonialism, Socialism, and Democratization in São Tomé and Príncipe*. Leiden: Brill.
- Shepherd, Verene A. (2004). "Unity and Disunity, Creolization and Marronage in the Atlantic World." *Atlantic Studies*, 1 (1): 49-65.
- Soares, Maria João (2005). "'Crioulos Indómitos' e Vadios: Identidade e Crioulização em Cabo Verde—Séculos XVII-XVIII." In *Actas do Congresso Internacional Espaço Atlântico de Antigo Regime: poderes e sociedades*. Lisbon: FCSH –UNL. Accessed 8 March 2021: http://cvc.instituto-camoes.pt/eaar/coloquio/comunicacoes/maria_joao_soares.pdf.
- Stamm, Anne (1972). "La société créole à Saint Paul de Loanda dans les années 1838-1848." *Revue Française de l'Histoire d'Outre Mer*, 59 (217): 578-609.
- Stewart, Charles (ed.) (2007). *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*. Walnut Creek: Left Shore Press.
- Sweet, James H. (2003). *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World 1441-1770*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Thornton, John K. (2001). "The Origins and Early History of the Kingdom of Kongo, c. 1350-1550." *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 34 (1): 89-120.
- Thornton, John K. (1998a). *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World 1400-1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thornton, John K. (1998b). *The Kongoese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement 1684-1706*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trajano Filho, Wilson (2007). "Uma experiência singular de crioulação." Working Paper 343, Série Antropologia. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília.

- Trajano Filho, Wilson (1998). *Polymorphic Creoledom: The Creole Society of Guinea Bissau*. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Weiss, Holger (ed.) (2016). "Introductions: Portals of Early Modern Globalisation and Creolisation in the Atlantic world During the Era of the Slave Trade." In Holger Weiss (ed.), *Ports of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World During the Period of the Slave Trade*. Leiden: Brill, 1-21.

Received for publication: 30 September 2021

Accepted in revised form: 31 January 2022

Recebido para publicação: 30 de Setembro de 2021

Aceite após revisão: 31 de Janeiro de 2022

Bionote/Nota Biográfica

PHILIP J. HAVIK (PhD Social Sciences, Leiden University, The Netherlands) is senior researcher at the Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical (IHMT) of the Universidade NOVA in Lisbon, also teaching at the same institution. His multidisciplinary research centers on the study of global health, public health, health systems, anthropology of health, history of tropical medicine, and indigenous medicine, as well as colonial and post-colonial governance and the development of ecosystems and economies in sub-Saharan Africa, with a special focus on Lusophone countries.

PHILIP J. HAVIK (doutoramento em Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Leiden, Países Baixos) é investigador principal no Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, onde também leciona. A sua investigação multidisciplinar abrange a saúde global e medicina tropical, sistemas de saúde, antropologia da saúde, história da medicina tropical, e medicina tradicional, além da governança colonial e pós-colonial e o desenvolvimento de ecossistemas e economias na África subsaariana, com o enfoque sobre os PALOP.

Portuguese Slave Legislation and the First Wave of Uprisings by Enslaved Africans in the Iberian Atlantic World, 1400s-1500s

Filipa Ribeiro da Silva¹

Abstract

While Patisso and Carbone (2020) recently argued that slave laws in the Americas, including in Brazil, were inspired by Spanish legislation, this article demonstrates that Portugal issued legislation on slaves from as early as the fifteenth century and that this legislation was inspired by the country's experience with enslaved people in Portugal, the Atlantic islands, and Atlantic Africa, and then transferred to the rest of the empire. The article also explains the key role that the first wave of enslaved uprisings in the Atlantic, starting in São Tomé in the 1510s, played in developing the Portuguese legal corpora on slaves.

Keywords

Slave trade, Slavery, Legislation, Portuguese empire, Early modern period

Resumo

Recentemente, Patisso e Carbone (2020) argumentaram que as leis escravistas das Américas, inclusive do Brasil, foram inspiradas em legislação espanhola Quinhentista e Seiscentista. Este artigo demonstra, porém, que já no século XV Portugal emitia legislação relativa ao governo dos Africanos escravizados chegados e residentes em Portugal, nas ilhas atlânticas e na África atlântica – um corpo legislativo e uma experiência posteriormente transferida a outras partes do império. Este artigo evidencia também o papel fundamental da primeira onda de 'levantamentos' escravos no Atlântico, com início em São Tomé na década de 1510, no desenvolvimento dos textos jurídicos portugueses relativos aos Africanos escravizados.

Palavras Chave

Tráfico de escravos, Escravatura, Legislação, Império português, Período moderno

¹ International Institute of Social History – Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. *E-Mail:* filipa.ribeirodasilva@iisg.nl

Introduction

According to the latest estimates of the transatlantic slave trade, Portugal- and Brazil-based merchants were responsible for transporting more than five million enslaved Africans to the Americas, i.e., roughly half of the entire trade throughout the early modern period.² Portugal-based merchants were also the first to procure, capture, and purchase enslaved Africans on the Atlantic coast of Africa and to import them into Portugal, where the enslaved were employed in a wide range of economic activities. Thus, Portugal itself became home to a population of enslaved Africans. Although the exact size, age, and composition of this population are hard to determine, the total number of people disembarking during the early modern period has been estimated by Lahon (2004) at half a million. These Portugal-based merchants were also responsible for transporting enslaved Africans to the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, Cabo Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe, where Portuguese and other foreign settlers transferred and adapted sugar cane cultivation and sugar production and developed the first slave-based plantation economies. These economies were later transferred to the Americas, with Brazil becoming by far the largest importer of enslaved Africans and home to one of the continent's largest slave populations. Indeed, by the early nineteenth century, enslaved Africans represented around a quarter of the colony's population (Botelho and Terra 2014).³ Portugal and Brazil were also the two Atlantic nations where the institution of slavery lasted the longest and its legacy continues to be seen today.

Portugal's long-lasting, extensive, and deep engagement in both slave trading and the employment of enslaved Africans at home and overseas made it one of the first European kingdoms (together with Castile and various Italian city-states) to have to deal with the presence of alien populations in its own territory and to govern their interaction with the Portuguese population. The Portuguese crown, its overseas royal officials and settlers were also among the first to be confronted with the challenge of governing other populations elsewhere in the world; in this specific case, enslaved Africans. Consequently, Portugal's attempts to regulate the trade in enslaved Africans predate those of most other European powers involved in the imperial enterprises of the early modern period. These attempts were undertaken with some very specific goals in mind and resulted in legislation being issued that specifically concerned enslaved Africans, as well as their interactions both with each other and with the Portuguese.

² <http://slavevoyages.org>.

³ <http://slavevoyages.org>.

In a recent study, however, Giuseppe Patisso and Fausto Carbone (2020) argued that slave laws in the Americas, including in Brazil, were inspired by Spanish legislation, in particular by the *Provisión del virrey Diego Colon* (1522) and *Las Ordenanzas para la sujeción de los esclavos negros* (1528) issued by the *Cabildo* (i.e., municipality) of Santo Domingo in the Spanish Caribbean, among other royal diplomas. According to the authors:

Portugal, for instance, during the period in which the Portuguese and Spanish crowns were united (1580-1640), adopted Spain's laws into its own legislation. The *Ordenações Filipinas*, promulgated by Philip I in 1603, were the most important demonstration of the process described above. This body of law is the most organic and structured example of the slave code in force in the Portuguese possessions until the nineteenth century. In Brazil, where the use of slave labor was fundamental for the maintenance of the colony, the code remained in force until 1822, when the Brazilian possession gained independence from the mother country. Even after independence, many of the precepts contained in the Philippine corpus continued to represent the legal basis for regulating the relations between slave and master within the country, at least until 1888, when the slave system was definitively abolished.

This argument appears to be based on the above-mentioned legal code (the *Ordenações Filipinas*), the extensive collection of Portuguese legislation on slavery in the Americas and the Portuguese-Brazilian slave trade edited by Silvia Lara in 2000, and studies by Da Silva (1992), Osório (2015), and Martins (2017).

This article challenges that assertion by demonstrating that Portugal was in fact one of the first European kingdoms to issue legislation specifically concerning enslaved Africans, as well as interactions between them and the Portuguese, and that this legislation predated the *Ordenações Filipinas*, and in some cases also the *Provisión* and the *Ordenanzas*. Consequently, and at best, one can only argue that Spanish legislation dates from more or less the same period and that the production of each body of legal texts was influenced by the other.

In addition, and unlike most other European powers involved in empire-building in the early modern period, Portuguese legislation was inspired primarily by experiences in Portugal, on the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, Cabo Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe, and on the Atlantic coast of Africa, and was only later partially transferred and adapted to other imperial spaces. This contrasts with most European powers involved in the

imperial enterprises of the early modern period, and particularly in French and English American plantation settings, where legislation was inspired solely by the colonial context.

Despite the Portuguese Crown's early involvement in dealing with enslaved Africans as "the other"—both at home and overseas—and despite the extensive body of legislation issued from as early as the fifteenth century and continuing throughout the period, this body of legal documents was never systematized or organized in such a way as to produce a legal code for governing enslaved Africans and other people of color. No legal codes similar to the slave laws issued in the British and French Atlantic colonies during the second half of the seventeenth century—specifically the Barbados Slave Code (1661), the Jamaica Slave Code (1684), the French *Code Noir* (1685), the South Carolina Slave Codes (1695), or the various New York and Virginia Slave Codes dating from the first quarter of the eighteenth century (1702, 1712, and 1730; and 1705, respectively)—ever existed in Portugal and its empire. However, the similarities between these codes and Portuguese legislation, issued from as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are rather striking, and this suggests that the production of these later slave codes was influenced both by the early Portuguese slave legislation and by the Spanish legislation.

To this end, I will analyze legislation issued by the Portuguese crown during the early modern period, here encompassing mainly the period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and supplement the analysis with other relevant source materials from Portuguese archival collections.

Portuguese Legislation on Slavery and Slave Trade: An Underexplored Topic

Despite the substantial role played by the slave trade and slavery in the development of the Portuguese domestic and imperial economies, the study of these two topics only started to attract the attention of Portugal- and Brazil-based scholars in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Works by authors such as Tinhorão (1988), Saunders (1994), Pimentel (1995), Fonseca (1997), and Lahon (1999) clearly demonstrated the size and composition of the enslaved African population in Portugal and the population's main economic activities. These studies also paved the way for a series of publications on the topic in the past twenty years, among which the work of De Almeida Mendes (2004, 2016, 2017) on the early Portuguese slave trade and the enslaved population in Portugal, the studies of Fonseca on the economic activities of enslaved populations in Southern Portugal and Lisbon (2002, 2012), and the more recent study by Caldeira (2017) all deserve special mention. While most

of these works rely on source materials produced by Portugal and its royal officials and subjects overseas, adopting a bottom-up approach meant the authors were able to unveil important information about the size of slave populations in Portugal and the types of activities enslaved workers performed, as well as information on their living and working conditions, how they resisted abusive situations, and the opportunities available to them to regain their freedom through manumission granted by the masters, through purchasing their freedom, or through escape and marronage.

Since the 1990s, scholars have also shown a growing interest in the slave trading activities carried out by Portugal- and Brazil-based merchants within the Portuguese empire and beyond, particularly in the Atlantic, where their activities spanned the two Iberian empires, including Portuguese outposts in Atlantic Africa and Mozambique, as well as Portuguese and Spanish territories in the Americas (Caldeira 2015, 2013; Domingues 2019; Candido 2015, 2011; De Almeida Mendes 2017; Alencastro 2006; Ventura 2005; Curto 2004; Lobo Cabrera 1996; Vieira 1991, 1996). This extensive body of literature on the Portuguese-Brazilian slave trading activities has shed new light on the extent of this hideous commerce and on aspects such as its main routes, the regions of purchase and sale, and the principal actors in these activities, and their investments and profits.

But despite this growing interest in the topics of slavery and slave trade in Portugal and its empire, very few scholars—with the notable exceptions of Da Silva (1991), Lara (2000), Peabody and Grinberg (2007), Nogueira da Silva and Grinberg (2011), Osório (2017), and Martins (2017)—have paid specific attention to studying the legal corpus that governed the lives of enslaved people. The approaches adopted by these scholars vary considerably. While the main interest of Lara, and Peabody and Grinberg, was making available and analyzing legislation on slavery and the experience of enslaved Africans in Brazil, Nogueira da Silva and Grinberg focused primarily on analyzing the legislation on the abolition of slavery on the Portuguese mainland towards the end of the eighteenth century, while Osório and Martins focused predominantly on the legislation issued and the policies adopted by the Portuguese Crown in respect of the Atlantic slave trade. This is hardly surprising, given that the largest body of Portuguese legislation relating to enslaved Africans primarily concerns slave trading, and this in itself is a testimony to the importance of enslaved African populations and the volume of slave trading in Africa (on both the Atlantic and East African coasts) for the economy of Portugal and its empire. In order, however, to address the points raised earlier in this study, and which remain unanswered by the current scholarship, this article examines the production and origins of the main Portuguese legal corpora, and

discusses the roots and contents of slave legislation, highlighting the extent to which enslaved Africans' uprisings in Africa influenced the drafting of Portuguese legal texts on slavery.

Portuguese Legislation: Production and Origin of the Main Legal Texts

The vast majority of Portuguese legislation on slavery and slave trading was issued by the king, although towns and cities could also issue specific laws on matters to be implemented within the urban spaces under their jurisdiction. The production of royal legislation followed a mostly identical process to that applying to other diplomas promulgated by Portuguese monarchs regarding imperial affairs. More often than not, this legislation was the outcome of a royal decision on a specific matter, which had been brought to the king's attention in writing either by royal officials serving the crown overseas, or by officials of city councils overseas, or sometimes even by learned subjects through letters, petitions, and so on. These forms of correspondence were usually addressed to the monarch or the Overseas Council (*Conselho Ultramarino*), a body of advisers to the king on imperial affairs. The members of the Overseas Council were usually royal officials who had previously served overseas. It was common practice for these members to assess the petitions and requests for royal intervention and to issue a report. It was on the basis of these reports and the original correspondence that the monarch would then take a decision and order the drafting of new legal documents.

Legislation issued by the king could be in a variety of forms, depending on its nature and purpose. There were at least five different types of diplomas: i) laws (*leis*); ii) charter laws (*cartas de lei*); iii) royal charters (*cartas régias*); iv) royal decrees or orders (*decretos* or *ordens régias*), and v) *álvarás*. Laws and charter laws were usually orders of a broader nature and character, applicable both in Portugal and the empire. Royal charters were also royal orders, but addressed to a specific authority in the home country or overseas, whereas decrees were royal orders given by the monarch for specific reasons and aimed at tackling specific problems. *Álvarás*, on the other hand, were issued by the king whenever he wished to change or modify an existing law in a specific respect.

These different types of royal diplomas were generally classified as extraordinary laws or legislation (*Legislação* or *Leis Extravagantes*) because their scope exceeded that of the general laws (*Ordenações do Reino*) in force in Portugal and the empire. Over the years, various volumes of *Leis Extravagantes* were compiled. The first of these dates back to 1569, with others

following in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Leão 1569a; 1569b; Appendix 1760; Colecção 1819).

The *Ordenações do Reino*, however, were the main legal corpus and contained the general laws used to govern Portugal and its empire. The first of these *Ordenações* date back to 1444 or 1447 and became commonly known as *Ordenações Afonsinas* because of being compiled and printed during the reign of King Afonso V (1477-1481). In fact, the contents of this legal code were based on the oldest Portuguese legislative texts, dating back to the reign of Afonso II (1211-1223) and including legislation promulgated by several monarchs from the medieval period, such as Denis I (1279-1325), Afonso IV (1325-1357), Peter I (1357-1367), and John I (1385-1433). These codes and the underlying legislation were, of course, influenced by Roman Law as well as by the *Partidas* of Castile and the customary legislation of Portuguese cities and towns (*usos e costumes das vilas e cidades*). The next *Ordenações* were put together in the early sixteenth century and became known as *Ordenações Manuelinas* since they were compiled and published during the reign of King Manuel I in 1512-1514 and 1521, respectively. The third and last *Ordenações*, which were finished in 1595 and implemented after 1603, were named *Ordenações Filipinas* after the Portuguese rulers at the time, Philip I and Philip II of Portugal (II and III of Spain) (1581-1598 and 1598-1621, respectively). Despite this code being issued during the Habsburg rule over Portugal and its empire, Silvia Lara describes it as having “a typical Portuguese character” (Lara 2000). The *Ordenações Filipinas* were similar in structure and content to the two earlier editions of this legal code as each of them was divided into five books, and each of these books dealt with a specific set of topics. Book one usually contained legislation on the royal offices; book two dealt with property, privileges and freedoms of the Church, monasteries, and clergymen; book three was devoted to questions of judicial process; book four covered civil and commercial law; and book five dealt with criminal law.

The *Ordenações Filipinas* cannot and should not, therefore, be seen and interpreted as Spanish laws applied to Portugal and the Portuguese empire, as argued by Patisso and Carbone (2020). The two authors’ assertion that the slave legislation contained in the *Ordenações Filipinas* and applied to Portugal and its empire was of Spanish origin is equally questionable, as I discuss below.

Slavery and Slave Trading in Portuguese Legislation: Origins and Content

Portuguese legislation on slavery and slave trading dates back to the fifteenth century. The earlier laws primarily concerned enslaved Muslims (referred to as *mouros cativos*, i.e., captive Moors, in the Portuguese sources) and appeared in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*. This legislation dealt mainly with issues relating to enslaved Muslims who had escaped, specifically what those finding them should do and how they should be rewarded if they returned the enslaved persons to their former masters. These early texts also stipulated how people who advised, helped or hid runaway enslaved Muslims should be dealt with and punished;⁴ in other words, they mainly comprised legislation indirectly safeguarding the property rights of masters over slaves. There was, however, one legal text dealing with manumitted enslaved Muslims and how they should not be punished if other enslaved persons escaped, unless it was clearly proven that they had been involved.⁵ This seems to be the only regulation attempting, on the one hand, to protect manumitted enslaved Muslims and, on the other hand, to make a clear distinction between the freed and the enslaved in terms of social order and hierarchy.

The legal category of *mouro cativo* as a synonym for an enslaved Muslim was largely absent in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* because Muslims, as well as Jews, were officially forced to convert to Christianity. From then on, the trend was to use the term *cativo* (i.e., captive) in legal texts and other official documentation to refer both to captives of wars in the Portuguese military campaigns in North Africa and to Muslims captured at sea from Muslim vessels.

However, several laws included in the *Ordenações Afonsinas* concerning enslaved Muslims were recycled in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* and adapted for use in respect of enslaved Africans. Two of these laws were rather similar, particularly with regard to the restitution of runaway slaves and the penalties for those that helped them.⁶ Evidence suggests, therefore, that legal codes for governing enslaved Muslims in Portugal and the empire (and particularly in the Portuguese strongholds in North Africa and off the Atlantic coast of Africa) were

⁴ *Ordenações Afonsinas* ('OA,' available at <http://www.ci.uc.pt/ihiti/proj/afonsinas/>. Accessed on May 15, 2021), Livro II, tit. CXIII: Dos que acham os Mouros cativos que fogem, e quanto hão-de levar por achádegos; OA, Livro II, tit. CXVIII: Dos que aconselham e ajudam ou encobrem os Mouros cativos a fugir; OA, Livro V, tit. CXIII: Daqueles que ajudam a fugir ou a encobrir os cativos que fogem.

⁵ OA, Livro II, tit. CXVIII: Que os Mouros forros não sejam presos pela fuga de alguns cativos save se primeiramente for deles querelado.

⁶ *Ordenações Manuelinas* ('OM,' available at <http://www.governodosoutros.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on May 15, 2021), Liv. V, Tit. XLI: Da pena que haverão os que acham Aves e escravos, ou quaisquer outras coisas, e as não entreguem a seus Donos, sem que as apregoem.

adapted so that they could also be applied to enslaved Africans arriving in Portugal, as well as to those on the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores, Cabo Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe, from the fifteenth century onwards. The roots of these legal texts can thus be traced back to the Portuguese authorities' experience with enslaved Muslims in the late medieval period. According to Silvia Lara, however, there is an important difference between the texts included in the *Ordenações Afonsinas* and those in the *Manuelinas*. While, as mentioned earlier, the texts concerning the *mouros cativos* in the first code appeared in book two, which was devoted to matters of property and privileges of the Church, the regulations on enslaved Africans in the second legal code appear mainly in books four and five, which deal with civil, commercial, and criminal law (Lara 1980/1981), thus signaling an important difference in the way that enslaved Africans were perceived by legislators, compared with their perceptions of enslaved Muslims.

But not all the legal texts included in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* were drawn from this earlier legislation and experience. Several new laws were introduced concerning the commercialization of enslaved Africans both at home and overseas.⁷ Once again, this new legislation aimed primarily to protect both the interests and property rights of slave buyers and masters—allowing them to request that a slave sale be annulled, or to disown enslaved individuals on the grounds of sickness or physical or psychological disorders⁸—as well as the Portuguese crown's interests in the business of slave trading.⁹

The *Ordenações Manuelinas*, however, were the first Portuguese legal code to include regulations on manumission and on revoking manumission in the event of ingratitude and violent acts by enslaved Africans against their masters or others.¹⁰ Once again, the addition of these latter laws to the *Ordenações Manuelinas* was in part the result of the Portuguese authorities' experience in these situations since the early fifteenth century when the first enslaved Africans disembarked in Portugal and in the emerging settlements on the Atlantic islands and started integrating into local societies and economies. This process involved high levels of coercion and violence by the Portuguese, as well as multiple forms of resistance by enslaved Africans, all of which had an impact on the production of legislation, as I will explain in more detail later.

⁷ OM, Liv. V, tit. LXXVII: Dos que ajudam a fugir ou a encobrir os cativos que fogem.

⁸ OM, Liv. IV, Tit. 16: Como se podem enjeitar os escravos, as bestas, por se acharem doentes ou mancos.

⁹ OM, Livro 5, tit. 112 and 113.

¹⁰ OM, Liv. IV, tit. LV: Das doações, e alforria que se podem revogar por causa de ingratidão. OM, Livro V, tit. X: Do que mata ou fere na corte, ou em qualquer parte do Reino, ou tira Arma na Corte. E do que atira com Besta. E do escravo que arranca Arma contra sem senhor.

The *Ordenações Manuelinas* were simultaneously the first legal corpus to include regulations on masters' duty to baptize enslaved Africans under their rule.¹¹ The inclusion of this new regulation was motivated mainly by the strong belief that conversion would make enslaved people more docile, and that pagans and Christians should not live side-by-side in the same society. The papal approval and support given to the Portuguese imperial enterprise, and the importance assigned to evangelization when building and expanding the empire, were also reasons for adding this new legal text to the *Ordenações*.

All the legal texts on slavery and slave trading included in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* were subsequently reproduced, either partially or entirely, in the *Ordenações Filipinas*, or in some cases adopted and then adjusted.¹² However, the *Ordenações Filipinas* also included some new legal texts on slavery. These new texts aimed, on the one hand, to control the mobility and forms of sociability of enslaved and freed people, particularly gatherings of people, while, on the other hand, they sought to exclude enslaved Africans from most civil and judicial rights, including the possibility of making a will, of being a witness in judicial cases and in wills, and of being tutors or guardians of orphans.¹³ It can therefore be argued that the *Ordenações Filipinas* clearly attempted to dehumanize and objectify enslaved Africans from a legal perspective and also to control their movements and opportunities for resistance. Although, on these last two points, the legislation makes explicit reference to situations occurring in Lisbon, events overseas—in particular, the first wave of uprisings by enslaved Africans in the Iberian Atlantic World, starting as early as 1517 in São Tomé, and in 1521 in Santo Domingo in the Spanish Caribbean—were likely to have heavily influenced the drafting of these texts and their inclusion in the general laws of Portugal and its empire.

¹¹ OM, Livro V, tit. 99: Que todos os que tiverem escravos da Guiné os baptizem.

¹² *Ordenações Filipinas* ('OF', available at <http://www.governodosoutros.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on May 15, 2021), livro V, Tit. LXII: Da pena que haverão os que acham Aves e escravos, ou quaisquer outras coisas, e as não entreguem a seus Donos, sem que as apregoem; OF, livro v, tit. LXIII: Dos que dão ajuda aos escravos cativos para fugirem ou os encobrem. OF, livro..., tit. XVII: Quando os que compram escravos ou bestas os poderão enjeitar por doenças ou manqueiras; OF, livro V, tit. 106 and 107; OF, livro IV, tit. LXIII: Das doações e alforrias que se podem revogar por causa de ingratidão; OF, livro V, tit. XLI: "Do Escravo ou Filho que arranca Arma contra seu Senhor ou pai" in *Ordenações Filipinas* Tit. XLI; see also: "Lei. I. Dos escravos que trazem armas sem ir com seus senhores" in *Das Leis extravagantes*. OF, Livro V, Tit. XCIX: Que os que tiverem Escravos de Guiné os baptizem."

¹³ OF, livro V, tit. LXX: Que os escravos não vivam por si e os Negros não facam bailios em Lisboa; OF, livro 3, tit. 56: Das pessoas que não podem ser testemunhas; OF, livro 4, tit. 81: Das pessoas a quem não é permitido fazer testamento; OF, livro 4, tit. 85: Dos que não podem ser testemunhas em testamentos; OF, livro 4, tit. 102: Dos tutores e curadores que se dão aos órfãos.

Iberian Slave Legislation and the First Wave of Uprisings among Enslaved Africans in the Atlantic World, 1510s-1590s

The legislation issued in the aftermath of these events on the Portuguese Equatorial and Spanish Caribbean islands and on *Terra Firme* appears to have been rather important. While the *Provisión* of Diego Colón issued in 1522 and the *Ordenanzas* issued by the *Cabildo* of Santo Domingo in 1528 certainly played a significant role in this process, as discussed by Patisso and Carbone (2020), I contend that equal importance should be attached to the special inquiry carried out on the African island of São Tomé in 1530, correspondence sent to the Portuguese monarch in the years before then that reported regular escapes by enslaved Africans from as early as 1514, the revolt of 1517, the violence against settlers during the 1520s, and the 1528 revolt led by a runaway slave called *Mocambo*.¹⁴ Another very important element in the drafting of the legal texts included in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* and *Filipinas* and in subsequent legislation on slavery in force in the Portuguese empire was the *Regimento do Feitor do Tracto da Ilha de São Tomé* issued by King John III in 1532 and addressed to the royal officer responsible for the slave trade on the island (Faro 1958; Santos 1996).

The *Regimento*, as well as other subsequent legislation, ordered several measures to be implemented to tackle the social unrest and economic disruption attributable to uprisings by enslaved Africans on this island. These measures included: i) arranging for the sugar fields and green gardens for foodstuff production to be protected by a well-organized group of overseers and slaves; and ii) creating a special militia to organize defense against uprisings by enslaved Africans and to capture enslaved Africans who had sought refuge in the *mato*, or interior, of the island. While this militia initially comprised settlers and exiles, after 1593 it also started to include individuals sentenced to less than five years of exile for “non-scandalous” offenses. The Portuguese king appointed two officers to lead the operations of this armed group. The *corregedor* of the island (i.e., the highest royal judicial officer on the island at the time) was appointed *capitão dos negros levantados* (i.e., captain for slave uprisings) in 1533, while the new post of *meirinho da serra* (i.e., the bailiff of the hill) was established in 1534.¹⁵ Together these two officers were responsible for waging war against the enslaved Africans entrenched in the interior of the island in what was referred to as the *Guerra do mato* (i.e., bush war). This war was financed in equal part by the king and the settlers of São Tomé, including the municipality of the town of São Tomé. Their financial contributions were

¹⁴ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (“ANTT”), Corpo Cronológico, II-161-91: February 22, 1530.

¹⁵ ANTT, CC, II-186-59: November 19, 1533; *Chancelaria D. João III, Doações*, livro 7, fl. 106: March 31, 1534.

registered in the *Livro do Mato de Receita e Despesa* (i.e., the accounting ledger of the bush war). Between 1534 and 1538, the royal *feitor do trato* on the island alone donated more than 82,000 *réis* to finance the conflict.¹⁶ This was not an insignificant amount, given that in 1605, for instance, annual royal revenues from sugar production on the island of Príncipe amounted to 25,000 *réis* (Matos 1993: 184-186).

The orders issued by the Portuguese monarch John III and carried out by the royal official on the islands, the municipality of São Tomé, and the inhabitants bore some similarities to *Las Ordenanzas* that had been issued by the Cabildo of Santo Domingo four years earlier, specifically regarding the organizing and funding of a militia to capture runaway enslaved Africans. It could be argued, in this respect, that the Spanish royal diploma might in some way have influenced the drafting of the *Regimento* issued by John III. However, a careful analysis of the two legal texts also makes clear how they were tailored to dealing with similar problems but in different geographical contexts. We might, in fact, simply be looking at two simultaneous, but parallel developments, with the Spanish and Portuguese authorities seeming simultaneously to have been trying to find legal means and practical solutions for containing the first wave of uprisings by enslaved Africans in the Atlantic World, while relying on their specific overseas experiences in the Spanish Caribbean and on the Portuguese Equatorial African islands, respectively.

However, despite all the investments and efforts to recruit militia members and leaders, unrest continued in São Tomé through the 1540s and 1550s (Ramos 1986), with another slave uprising—this time organized by the *Angolas*, also known as the *Angolis* and *negros gentios* (Seibert 2012; Caldeira 2018)—also taking place some twenty years later. But the largest and most destructive slave rebellion on the island was in the years 1595 and 1596, which is precisely when the *Ordenações Filipinas* were compiled (although it was 1603 before they came into force). This revolt, which was named after its leader, Amador, an enslaved man owned by a settler called Bernardo de Vieira, involved an organized army of around five thousand former slaves. This army attacked the island's main town, destroyed the church and other buildings, shattered more than seventy sugar mills and devastated a similar number of *fazendas*, while also killing or threatening many of the slave- and landowners on the island. Events of this magnitude did not go unnoticed by the monarch, particularly when a new legal code for governing Portugal and the Portuguese empire was being compiled.

¹⁶ ANTT, *Chancelaria D. João III, Doações*, livro 31, fl. 151: November 19, 1541; CC, II-202-88: July 7, 1535; CC, II-207-16: April 22, 1536; CC, II-187-100: February 20, 1538.

Final Remarks

In view of the historical evidence and the detailed study of the origins of the Portuguese legislation on slavery and slave trading presented above, it is rather doubtful that “Portugal [...] adopted Spain’s laws into its own legislation” and that “The *Ordenações Filipinas*, promulgated by Philip I in 1603, were the most important demonstration of the process described above” (Patisso and Carbone 2020). While it is unquestionable that “This body of law is the most organic and structured example of the slave code in force in the Portuguese possessions until the nineteenth century” Patisso and Fausto Carbone (2020), it can certainly be questioned whether the legislation on slavery and slave trading contained in this legislation had its roots solely in the *Provisión de Diego Colón* (1522) and *Las Ordenanzas del Cabildo de Santo Domingo* (1528), as argued by Patisso and Carbone (2020). Instead, the uprisings by enslaved Africans in São Tomé and their violent acts against former masters, documented from as early as the 1510s, would appear to have had a considerable impact on the production of Portuguese legislation from the reign of King Manuel I onwards. This in turn suggests that the drafting of new legislation on slavery was deeply entangled with the forms of resistance engaged in by enslaved Africans across the Atlantic World, and that the actions undertaken by enslaved Africans played a relatively important role in this process.

References

- Alencastro, Luiz Felipe de (2006). *O trato dos viventes: formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, Séculos XVI e XVII*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- Appendix das leis extravagantes, decretos e avisos, que se tem publicado do anno de 1747 até o anno de 1760, a que se ajuntão as referidas nas mesmas leis e outras muitas utilissimas, que se tem descobrido depois da nova impressão das Collecções, insertas nas Ordenações do Reyno, no feliz Reynado da Augusta Magestade o fidelissimo Rey D. Joseph I Nosso Senhor*. Lisbon: Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora, 1760.
- Botelho, Tarcísio and Terra, Paulo (2014), “Relações de Trabalho no Brasil, 1800-2000.” In Marcelo Badaró Mattos, Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, Paulo Teodoro de Matos, Raquel Varela and Sónia Ferreira (eds.), *Relações Laborais em Portugal e no Mundo Lusófono: História e Demografia*. Lisbon: Colibri, 133-155.
- Caldeira, Arlindo M. (2018). “Do Refúgio nos Picos da Ilha de São Tomé à absorção colonial: a questão dos Angolares / From the Refuge on the Peaks of São Tomé Islands to Colonial Absorption: The Issue of the Angolares.” *Biblos*, 4 (3): 123-147.
- Caldeira, Arlindo M. (2017). *Escravos em Portugal: das origens ao século XIX : histórias de vida de homens, mulheres e crianças sob cativeiro*. Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros.
- Caldeira, Arlindo M. (2015). “Angola and the Seventeenth-Century South Atlantic Slave Trade.” In David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (eds.), *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange*. Leiden: Brill. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004280588_005.
- Caldeira, Arlindo M. (2013). *Escravos e traficantes no império português: O comércio negreiro português no Atlântico durante os séculos XV a XIX*. Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros.
- Candido, Mariana P. (2015). *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Candido, Mariana P. (2011). *Fronteras de esclavización: esclavitud, comercio e identidad en Benguela, 1780-1850*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.
- Collecção chronologica de leis extravagantes posteriores à nova compilação das Ordenações do Reino publicadas em 1603, desde esse ano até 1761*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1819, 6 Vols.
- Curto, José C. (2004). *Enslaving Spirits: The Portuguese-Brazilian Alcohol Trade at Luanda and its Hinterland, c. 1550-1830*. Leiden: Brill.
- De Almeida Mendes, António (2004). “Portugal e o tráfico de escravos na primeira metade do século XVI.” *Africana Studia*, (7): 13-30.
- De Almeida Mendes, António (2017). *Portugal, Morocco and Guinea: Reconfigurations of the North Atlantic in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill.
- De Almeida Mendes, António (2016). “Eslavage et race au Portugal: une expérience de longue durée.” In Myriam Cottias, Hebe Mattos (dirs.) and Saint Hilaire (ed.), *Eslavages et subjectivités dans l’Atlantique luso-brésilien et français (xvi^e-xix^e siècles)*. OpenEdition Press, <http://books.openedition.org/oep/771>.
- Domingues da Silva, Daniel B. (2019), *The Atlantic Slave Trade from West Central Africa, 1780-1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Faro, Jorge (1958). “A organização comercial de S. Jorge da Mina em 1529 e as suas Relações com a ilha de S. Tomé.” *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa*, 13 (5): 334-335.
- Fonseca, Jorge (1997). *Os escravos em Évora no século XVI*. Évora: Câmara Municipal.
- Fonseca, Jorge (2002). *Os Escravos no Sul de Portugal (Séculos XVI e XVII)*. Lisbon: Vulgata.
- Fonseca, Jorge (2010). *Senhores e Escravos na Lisboa Quinhentista*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri.
- Lahon, Didier (1999). *O negro no coração do império*. Lisbon: Ministério da Educação.
- Lahon, Didier (2004). “O escravo africano na vida económica e social portuguesa do Antigo Regime.” *Africana Studia*, (7): 73-100.
- Lara, Silvia H. (2020). *Legislação sobre escravos africanos na América Portuguesa*. Madrid: Fundación Histórica Tavera/ Digibis/Fundación Hernando de Larramendi.

- Lara, Silvia H. (1980/1981). “Do mouro cativo ao escravo negro: continuidade ou ruptura?” *Anais do Museu Paulista*, 30: 375-398.
- Leão, Duarte Nunes (1569). *Anotações sobre as Ordenações dos Cinco Livros, que pelas leis Extravagantes são revogadas ou interpretadas*. Lisbon: Antônio Gonçalves.
- Leão, Duarte Nunes (1796 [1569]), *Leis extravagantes colligidas e relatadas pelo licenciado Duarte Nunes de Leão, por mandado do muito alto e muito poderosos rei dom Sebastião, nosso senhor*. Coimbra: Na Real Imprensa da Universidade.
- Lobo Cabrera, Manuel (1996). “Eslavitud y azúcar en Canarias.” In Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico (ed.), *Escravos com e sem açúcar: Actas do Seminário*. Funchal: Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 103-117.
- Martins, Roberto Borges (2017). “Obsessão com o tráfico, a legislação escravista e os códigos negreiros portugueses.” *12º Congresso Brasileiro de História Econômica / 13ª Conferência Internacional de História das Empresas*. Niterói: Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores em História Econômica, 1-21.
- Matos, Artur Teodoro de (1993). “Os Donos do poder e a economia de S. Tomé e Príncipe n início de Seiscentos.” *Mare Liberum*, 6 (Dec.): 179-187.
- Osório, I. (2017). “Políticas régias sobre o tráfico de escravos. Análise da legislação produzida entre 1640 e 1706.” In A. Machado et al. (eds.), *Omnie Tempore. Encontros da Primavera 2014-2015*. Porto: Universidade do Porto, Faculdade de Letras, Biblioteca Digital, 287-322.
- Patisso, Giuseppe and Fausto Ermete Carbone (2020). “Slavery and Slave Codes in Overseas Empires.” In Jane Reeves (ed.), *Slavery and Human Trafficking*. IntechOpen. DOI: 10.5772/intechopen.91411. Available from: <https://www.intechopen.com/chapters/71313>.
- Peabody, Sue and Keila Grinberg (2007). *Slavery, Freedom and Law in the Atlantic World: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: St. Martins.
- Pimentel, Maria do Rosário (1995). *Viagem ao fundo das consciências. A escravatura na época moderna*. Lisbon: Colibri.
- Nogueira da Silva, Cristina and Grinberg Keila (2011). “Soil Free from Slaves: Slave Law in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Portugal.” *Slavery & Abolition*, 32 (3): 431-446. DOI: [10.1080/0144039X.2011.588480](https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2011.588480).
- Ramos, R. (1986). “Rebelião e sociedade colonial: ‘alvorocos’ e ‘levantamentos’ em São Tomé (1545-1555).” *Revista Internacional De Estudos Africanos*, 17-74.
- Santos, Catarina Madeira (1996). “A formação das estruturas fundiárias e a territorialização das tensões sociais: São Tomé, primeira metade do século XVI.” *Studia*, 54/55: 51-91.
- Saunders, A. C. de C. M. (1994), *História social dos escravos e libertos negros em Portugal (1441-1567)*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Seibert, Gerhard (2012). “Tenreiro, Amador e os Angolares ou a reinvenção da História da Ilha de São Tomé.” *Realis: Revistas de Estudos AntiUtilitaristas e PosColoniais*, 2 (2): 22-39.
- Silva, F.R. da (1991). “Linhas de força da legislação portuguesa no século XVII (1640-1699).” *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, 6: 187-210.
- Tinhorão, José Ramos (1988). *Os negros em Portugal, uma presença silenciosa*. Lisbon: Caminho.
- Ventura, Maria da Graça Mateus (2005). *Portugueses no Peru ao tempo da União Ibérica. Mobilidade, cumplidades e vivências*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Vieira, Alberto (1996). “Escravos com e sem açúcar na Madeira.” In Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico (ed.), *Escravos com e sem açúcar: Actas do Seminário*. Funchal: Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 93-102.
- Vieira, Alberto (1991). *Os escravos no arquipélago da Madeira. Séculos XV a XVIII*. Funchal: Centro de História do Atlântico.

Received for publication: 30 September 2021

Accepted in revised form: 31 January 2022

Recebido para publicação: 30 de Setembro de 2021

Aceite após revisão: 31 de Janeiro de 2022

Bionote/Nota Biográfica

FILIPA RIBEIRO DA SILVA obtained her PhD in History from Leiden University. She is currently Senior Researcher at the International Institute of Social History and member of the Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations. Her research interests are on slave trade, labour migration and coerced work.

FILIPA RIBEIRO DA SILVA recebeu o seu doutoramento pela Universidade de Leiden. Filipa é actualmente Investigadora Principal no Instituto Internacional de História Social e membro do Colaboratório Global para a História das Relações Laborais. A sua pesquisa incide principalmente em questões relacionadas com o tráfico de escravos, migração laboral e trabalho forçado.

Managing Diversity in the Eighteenth-Century *Estado da Índia*¹

Noelle Richardson²

Abstract

This article analyzes the management of diversity in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* over the course of the eighteenth century. It demonstrates how intolerance towards Hindu religious beliefs and practices persisted whilst analyzing the shift towards a more pragmatic tolerance during the period in question. In doing so, it reveals the agency and role of Hindu subjects in driving this complex process of change. Finally, the article examines how the management of diversity by the Portuguese imperial polity was also characterized by the necessary accommodation of Hindu ‘uses and customs’ through the construction of a plural legal order.

Keywords

Hindus, *Estado da Índia*, Tolerance, Intolerance, Pluralism

Resumo

Este artigo analisa a gestão da diversidade no *Estado da Índia* durante o século XVIII. Ele demonstra como a intolerância contra a população Hindu e as suas crenças e práticas religiosas persistiu, mas também analisa a mudança para uma tolerância pragmática durante o período em questão. A análise revela a atuação e o papel dos súbditos Hindus na condução deste complexo processo de mudança. Por fim, este artigo examina como a gestão da diversidade da política imperial portuguesa reflecte a necessidade de manutenção dos ‘usos e costumes’ Hindus através de construção de uma ordem legal pluralista.

Palavras-chave

Hindus, *Estado da Índia*, Tolerância, Intolerância, Pluralismo

¹ The author wishes to express their gratitude to the anonymous peer reviewers whose generous and insightful feedback proved invaluable to improving the final version of this text.

² Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands. *E-Mail:* n.n.richardson@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Introduction

On April 2, 1761, the Marquis of Pombal famously issued a decree informing the viceroy of India, as well as the governor-general of Mozambique, that local subjects of the Portuguese Crown in the *Estado da Índia* who had been baptized as Christians were to be granted the same legal and political rights as those born in the metropole (Boxer 1963: 73–74; Lopes 2006: 43). This celebrated decree aimed to establish “the juridical and social equality of Christian Asians in relation to the *reinóis*” as “His Majesty does not distinguish his subjects by their color but by their merits” (Boschi 1998: 333).³ Despite the decree not being fully enforced in Goa until thirteen years later in 1774, its spirit and the promulgation of other legislation aimed at improving the status of local subjects meant the middle decades of the eighteenth century witnessed changes in the management of diversity in Portugal’s overseas empire. These measures, coupled with the easing of more violent forms of religious suppression, have led some to characterize this period as “the more tolerant eighteenth century” (Pearson 2008: 117; Lopes 2006: 53) and as one in which the state veered towards “a new pragmatism” (Pinto 1994: 85). Importantly, however, the “principle of equality,” whereby local Christians in Goa were to be treated the same as those of Portuguese lineage, and the measures designed to ensure their greater participation in the ecclesiastical, political, and administrative institutions of the *Estado* were not concessions extended to Hindu subjects (Lopes 2006: 40). Indeed, although there was some slackening in the intolerance and discrimination they experienced in the *Estado*, Hindus continued to be subject to harsh restrictions on their religious and socio-cultural lives.

This article will thus evaluate the claim of the eighteenth century as one of tolerance by illustrating how the management of diversity in the eighteenth-century *Estado* was, in reality, characterized by the continued repression of Hindu religious practices. But while highlighting this sustained intolerance, it will also examine how and why the *Estado* experienced an incremental shift towards a more pragmatic tolerance, spurred primarily by the economic and political exigencies faced by the *Estado* over the course of the eighteenth century. First, its economic weakness consolidated its dependence on Hindu *gentio* (gentile) mercantile actors, while the latter’s agency in litigating for greater religious freedoms also forced a reconsideration of suppressive measures on the part of the imperial polity. Second, the brief but important period of expansion experienced by the *Estado* between 1747 and

³ The term *reinol* (plural *reinóis*) was used to denote a “European Portuguese,” meaning individuals born in or coming from the Kingdom (Dalgado 1919: 253).

1763, and its incorporating of the territories of the *Novas Conquistas* (New Conquests) and their predominantly Hindu population, also forced it to adopt a more pragmatic and tolerant approach.⁴ Indeed, the importance of the *Novas Conquistas* for the survival and viability of the *Estado* cannot be understated: they increased its territorial scope “four-fold” and transformed it “into a more coherent and manageable territorial entity” (Disney 2009: 321). The economic value of these newly acquired Hindu subjects, like those residing in the *Velhas Conquistas* (Old Conquests), made the case for greater religious tolerance more compelling.

But although the adoption of pragmatic tolerance was a necessary response to the challenges facing the *Estado*, this shift was still a fraught and tense process, and one that led to strong divisions among the various factions in the imperial polity. An evaluation of the limits of the *Estado*’s tolerance towards its Hindu subjects and its hesitance about granting them religious freedoms will thus demonstrate why we should approach this claim of tolerance with a more critical lens. This re-evaluation, however, is made difficult by the paucity of historiography on the *Estado* in the eighteenth century, particularly on the consequences of Portuguese imperialism for the local Hindu population. Moreover, the limited literature that does exist has largely approached the management of diversity from the perspective of the imperial polity, especially the “enlightened” principles and reforming zeal of the Marquis of Pombal from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.⁵ While the role of the imperial polity is key, this article will balance this top-down perspective by demonstrating how changes in the management of diversity were shaped from the bottom up, specifically through the agency, resistance, and engagement of Hindu actors.⁶ In giving more equal weight to these two perspectives, this article will provide a more comprehensive and complex picture of how the *Estado* grappled with managing diversity in the eighteenth century.

To evaluate how the *Estado* proceeded during the period in question, it is crucial not only to examine how it pivoted between a position of lesser or greater tolerance, but also how it accepted the *usos e costumes* (uses and customs) of the local Hindu population. This was most salient in the judicial and administrative sphere, and in the codification of Hindu legal norms pertaining to private, familial, and proprietary interests. This article will illustrate how

⁴ The *Velhas Conquistas* comprised the territories of the Island of Goa and the districts of Bardez, Tiswadi, and Salsette, which were acquired by the Portuguese during the sixteenth century. The *Novas Conquistas* were the territories annexed from the Kingdom of Sunda between 1741 and 1788.

⁵ On the extent to which Pombal was celebrated in Goa and why, see, for example, Figueiredo (1980).

⁶ As subjects of the Portuguese Crown in India, Hindus had access to the legal channels and institutions of the *Estado* and were able to petition the imperial authorities to address grievances, to present claims and requests, and to appeal for arbitration and conflict resolution in the event of disputes. For more on this, see Richardson (2019: 264-295).

the management of diversity during this period was also bifurcated between the suppression and restriction of Hindu religious identity, on the one hand, and the construction of a plural legal order that protected the local population's pre-existing uses and customs, on the other. However, it will also examine how the protection of Hindu customs was a selective process and how the rights of Hindus to be governed by their own customs was determined "in the manner the agents of the Portuguese Crown found appropriate" (Xavier 2021: 44). Moreover, the ostensible acceptance of Hindu customs also led to their essentialization and fossilization, with their enforcement being continually subject to colonial interpretation and control. These tensions and the complexity of legal pluralism in the *Estado*, which denoted a selective tolerance towards Hindu uses and customs, were thus other aspects of how the Portuguese imperial polity managed diversity.⁷ There is, however, a considerable lacuna in our knowledge of the dynamics of this plural legal order during the period in question. To date, scholarship concerned with legal pluralism in the *Estado* has focused primarily on the foundations and construction of this order in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or on the processes of codification and systematization seen in the nineteenth century.⁸ The production of legal codes and the creation of regulatory bodies that differentiated Hindu uses and customs in Goa, Daman, and Diu certainly meant the structure of legal pluralism was more clearly defined during this later period (Oliveira & Caleira 2020: 275-277). However, the manner in which the *Estado* enforced Hindu uses and customs and, in turn, administered legal diversity during a period that was crucial for its survival still requires further study.

As mentioned earlier, the selective tolerance of pre-colonial Hindu uses and customs not only essentialized and fossilized these norms, but also created and entrenched divisions between Hindu and Christian subjects. A closer examination of the complexity of legal pluralism in the *Estado* is thus central to understanding how diversity was defined and governed. Indeed, the role of law in structuring the political objectives of empire, and in defining and administering socio-cultural and religious differences in colonial societies, has been the subject of a significant body of historical scholarship.⁹ The creation of new legal frameworks and regimes for expanding control over imperial subjects, a process that also

⁷ The question of legal pluralism and the ways in which imperial powers handled diversity form an important part of the historiography on the history of European imperialism in South Asia; see, for example, Ertl and Kruijtzer (2017), Chatterjee (2011), Benton (2004), and Benton and Ross (2013).

⁸ On the construction of legal pluralism in Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Xavier (2021).

⁹ See, for example, Benton (2004) and (2010) and Chatterjee and Subramaniam (2014).

included the preservation of pre-colonial institutions, practices, and sources of legal authority, was not just a way of defining political authority, but also a way of imposing cultural differences and (altered) distinctions (Benton 2004: 1-2). Put simply, defining and recognizing legal diversity was also a means of controlling it. The codification of Hindu uses and customs in the *Estado* established an imperial framework of governance that extended into the private and familial domain of its Hindu subjects. Furthermore, the “politics of legal pluralism” meant that “contests over cultural and religious boundaries and their representations in laws became struggles over the nature and structure of political authority” (Benton 2004: 2). How then did Hindu subjects contest the suppression of their religious freedoms, and how did they engage with the “politics of legal pluralism?” How, too, did Hindu subjects in the *Estado* articulate their claims and grievances, and what was the imperial polity’s response to their demands? Answering these questions will provide insight into how the *Estado* shaped the dynamics of legal pluralism and, by extension, the management of diversity. As in other European imperial contexts, the engagement of local actors meant that constructing a plural legal order was an interactive but also messy and unstable process (Benton and Ross 2013: 4; Hickford 2018: 2). As this article will illustrate, Hindu actors employed the juridical apparatus of the imperial polity and engaged with the “politics of legal pluralism” to resist colonial impositions on their religious and socio-cultural lives, and also to further their individual interests where these ran contrary to defined customs. The manner in which they “used the rules to move strategically through the legal order” and to challenge customs further denotes the tensions in and complexity of how legal pluralism operated in European imperial contexts (Benton 1999: 564).

In order to better understand the complex factors shaping the management of diversity in the *Estado* over the course of the eighteenth century, we first need to gain an idea of what this state of diversity actually was. This first section of this article will therefore begin by briefly outlining the myriad religious, ethnic, and socio-cultural differences among groups in the local population of the *Estado* during this period. In particular, it will examine real and imagined differences between Christian and “gentile” Hindu subjects. What was the extent of differentiation between Hindus and Christians, and how did these divisions emerge? These questions will help us better understand how the *Estado* created, limited and accommodated difference in its management of diversity.

Section two will then examine the foundations of Portuguese intolerance towards Hindus and the measures taken to suppress their religious diversity. What were the nature and consequences of the harsh and sometimes violent measures used to suppress “gentile”

religious diversity, and what were their consequences for the local Hindu population? Focusing specifically on the destruction of temples and the prohibition on public expression of private religious ceremonies, such as weddings and other life-cycle rituals, this section will demonstrate the extent to which Hindu subjects experienced restrictions on their religious and socio-cultural lives. To evaluate the claim of greater tolerance, it will illustrate the degree to which these restrictions persisted into the eighteenth century. The latter part of this section will outline the piecemeal shift towards a more pragmatic tolerance. How and why did the imperial authorities in Goa and Lisbon grapple with the question of granting greater religious freedoms? What was the contested nature of these changes, and how did this sow division among different factions in the imperial polity? The section will also highlight Hindu subjects' agency in hastening the transition towards greater tolerance by examining how they litigated for greater religious and socio-cultural freedoms.

The final section will address how diversity was accommodated through the construction of a plural legal order, and the manner in which the Portuguese juridical sphere administered Hindu legal norms and customs during the period. How did the Portuguese codify and enforce what they perceived as Hindu uses and customs, and what was the role of Hindu actors in this interactive process? By analyzing a petition that sought to challenge the application of fossilized uses and customs governing Hindu laws of inheritance, this article will demonstrate the tensions inherent in the plural legal order.

The *Estado* of Diversity in the Eighteenth Century

The management of diversity in the eighteenth-century *Estado* was influenced by the complex and heterogeneous nature of local society, as well as by the underlying Portuguese imperial attitudes towards non-Christian or “gentile” communities. The population of the *Estado* formed a religious, racial, ethnic, and socio-cultural mosaic reflecting the continued settlement of pre-colonial communities and the hybrid groups that emerged as a result of Portuguese imperial consolidation. Put very simply, this degree of heterogeneity was reflected in the differences between the populations of the *Velhas Conquistas* (Old Conquests), being the areas acquired by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and the *Novas Conquistas* (New Conquests), being the territories absorbed in the eighteenth century. The demographic composition of the *Velhas Conquistas* was multiracial, pluri-religious, and cross-cultural, with European-born Portuguese, known as *reinóis*, co-existing alongside *mestiços* (mestizos) or *descendentes* (also referred to *Luso-descendentes*), a category used to denote those of “mixed”

Portuguese ancestry as well as Hindu “gentiles” and Muslims (Hespanha 2019: 110-111; Russell-Wood 1998: 210; Lopes 2006: 85-86).¹⁰ Although the category of *gentio* was a generic term used to refer to all non-Christians, the fact that Muslims comprised less than one percent of the population meant that, in the context of the *Estado*, the term largely applied to Hindus.

Christians outnumbering of Hindus in the territories of the *Velhas Conquistas* can be attributed to the success of the “Christianization of Goa” coupled with various measures aimed at repressing *gentilismo* (gentilism), such as conversion and the co-opting of local Brahmans, the introduction of the Inquisition, the destruction of temples and idols, the forced seizure of Hindu orphans, the banning of religious ceremonies, and the expulsion of Hindu priests and other elites (Boxer 1963: 81; Axelrod & Fuerch 1996: 409; Disney 2009: 315; Hespanha 2019: 99; Xavier 2008: 381-384). Moreover, the project of religious homogenization was accompanied by a significant number of laws that were “explicitly discriminatory” of non-Christians and that sought to reduce their political power, social status, and economic standing, while “discrimination in favour of Catholics against Hindus was deeply entrenched” (Xavier 2021: 55-57; Disney 2009: 57). As a result, intolerance toward Hindus was deeply rooted. Importantly, however, as well as the incorporating of the *Novas Conquistas* having greatly expanded the geographical boundaries of the *Estado*, these territories’ Hindu majority populations increased the number of gentile inhabitants within its borders. And so, while the absorption of these territories gave the *Estado* greater territorial integrity, and thus political viability, it also forced it to adopt a greater degree of pragmatic tolerance towards the pre-existing gentile religious practices and norms of the local population. Indeed, the Portuguese imperial authorities explicitly guaranteed the immediate protection of the uses and customs of the Hindu inhabitants in the territories of the *Novas Conquistas*.¹¹

¹⁰ There was also a small population of Africans, brought by the Portuguese from Mozambique, as well as Timorese, Chinese, and Bengalis (Lopes 2006: 106-107).

¹¹ For more on how the imperial polity formalized its tolerance of the uses and customs of the local population of the *Novas Conquistas*, and how these were enshrined in law, see Xavier (1840).

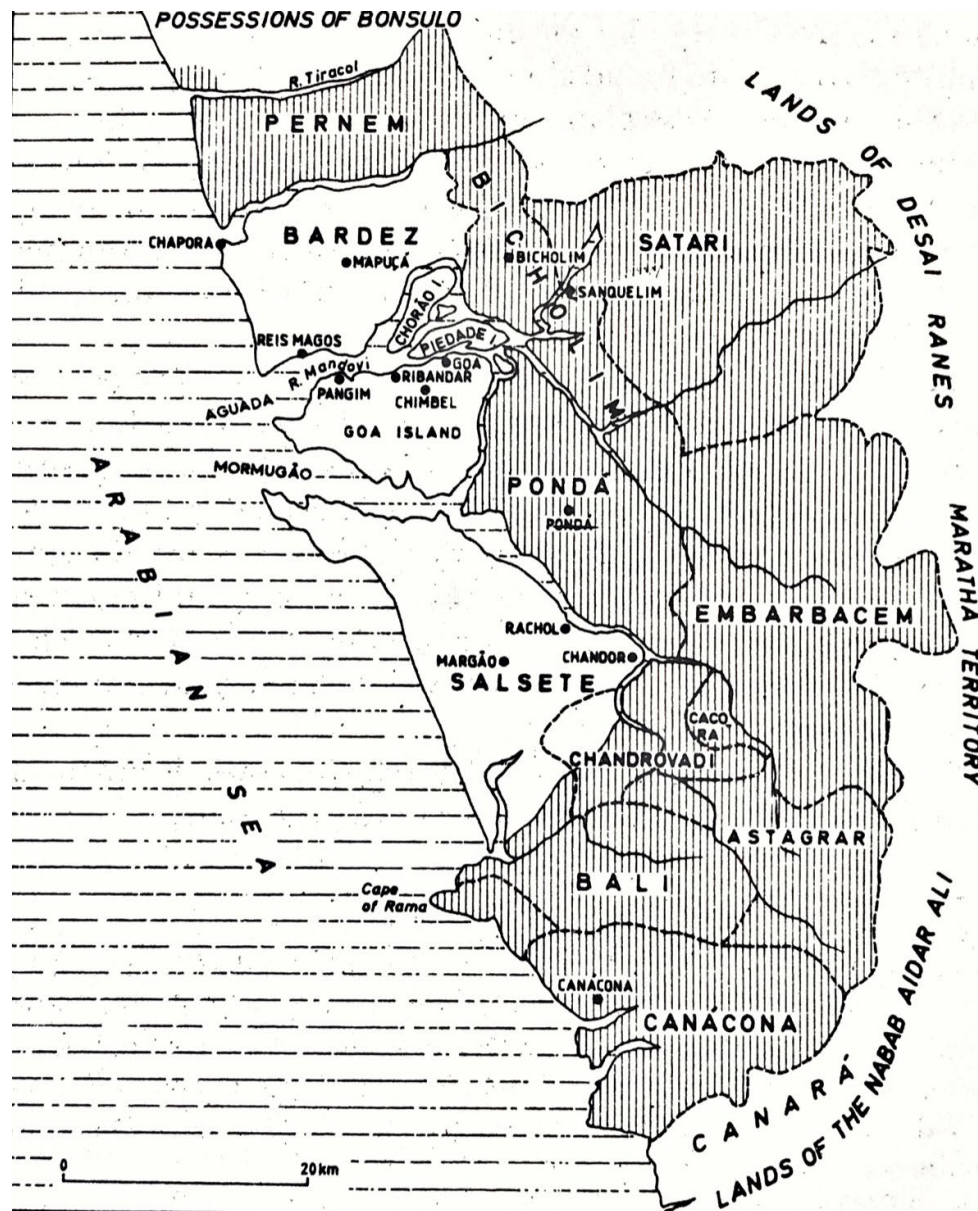


Figure 1: Map of Goa showing the territories of the *Velhas Conquistas* (in white) and the *Novas Conquistas* (shaded) (Lopes 2006).

In addition to the multi-ethnic, pluri-religious, and hybrid nature of local Goan society, its complexity was amplified by the existence of both Hindu *and* Christian caste communities. Although the caste system, as well as the sheer diversity of sub-castes present in the *Estado*, is too complex to address adequately here, the key point to emphasize is that Hindu caste notions also existed among local Christian converts (Pearson 2008: 129). Within the Hindu population, upper-caste Brahmans belonged primarily to the Gaud Saraswat sub-caste, which formed the elite in the local society. According to a simplified hierarchy of caste among Hindus in the *Estado*, *kshatriyas* (sometimes referred to as a “warrior caste”) were ranked below Brahmans, followed by the merchant caste of *vaysias* or *vanis* (Banian), with

sudras and *farazes* (who performed menial tasks such as sweepers or gravediggers) and *chamares* (leather tanners) considered the lowest castes (Russell-Wood 1998: 211; Boxer 1963: 75; Lopes 2006: 120). Despite initial efforts to eradicate the caste system as a way of eliminating all traces of “heathen” religious practices, caste distinctions persisted and converged with Iberian notions of the “purity of blood” and “nobility” as a key strategy and marker of social differentiation (Boxer 1963: 75; Lopes 2006: 111; Xavier: 2016: 113; Xavier 2010: 86; Bethencourt 2013: 179-180). Indeed, the durability and persistence of caste as a primary determinant of social status reflected the ongoing efforts on the part of local elites to distinguish themselves, as well as to gain access to positions of political and social power, by consolidating pre-existing markers of superiority. The significance of caste was also recognized by the Portuguese, with Brahmins considered a priority for conversion by Portuguese missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, who hoped that they would serve as an example for the unconverted (Bethencourt 2013: 180; Županov 1999: 27-28).

Furthermore, many local converts to Christianity still had a strong sense of “caste-consciousness,” with Brahmins in particular seeking to retain their upper-caste, elite distinction. Converted Brahmins thus engaged in a myriad of strategies to “forge” and “reclaim” a distinctive Brahmin identity despite having “refashioned” themselves as Christians (Xavier & Županov 2015: 15-41). To achieve this, they continued to adhere to upper-caste Brahminical societal norms and conventions, and caste continued to determine marriage patterns, entry into and membership of Christian confraternities, and where one sat in church (Pearson 2008: 129). Caste-based notions of superiority (and inferiority) also permeated into Christian caste groups: upper-caste Brahmins remained the elite, while *chardos*, who claimed a *kshatriya* caste status and were also known as *ketris* or a “fourth caste,” ranked below Brahmins but above *canarims* and *sudras*, who were regarded as the “lowest” castes (Dalgado 1919: 264; Boxer 1963: 75; Lopes 1996: 114).

Despite discriminatory practices and legislation favoring Christians over non-Christians, it should be emphasized that Indian Christians also experienced prejudice and unfair treatment (Disney 2009: 319). Within local society, the converted were considered lower than the honorable castes by virtue of their contact and mixing with outsiders (Bethencourt, 2013: 179). Indeed, it was precisely the unequal treatment of Indian Christians, exacerbated by the privileges granted to European-born Christians, that influenced Pombal’s decree cited at the beginning of this article. There was, therefore, no simple division between Christians and non-Christians in the *Estado*: instead, prejudice was directed and felt across and among these groups, and transcended the boundaries of religion, caste, ethnicity, and

color. In this way, the redefining of social boundaries that Christianization enforced did not necessarily obliterate pre-existing social rivalries within local Goan society (Xavier 2008: 383). Moreover, new tensions and prejudices, such as those felt towards *mestiços* by *reinóis* and Christian Brahmans, also defined the complexity of social relations in the *Estado* (Boxer 1963: 76-77). From the perspective, however, of the imperial polity, there was an essential distinction between “gentiles” and Christians. Prejudice towards the former stemmed from a traditional Catholic conservatism that was still deeply suspicious of other religious faiths (Disney 2009: 317). Moreover, it also targeted groups who were considered competitors, such as Jews, Muslims, and, in the context of the *Estado*, Hindus (Bethencourt 2013: 33). As a result, the forced attribution of “gentile” status to the Hindus of the *Estado* meant they were still subject to widespread intolerance, which continued to fuel suppression of their religious freedoms.

Suppressing Diversity and the Shift towards Less Intolerance

Although attitudes towards non-Christians at the very beginning of Portuguese rule in India were “rather slack and tolerant,” from 1650 onwards “intolerance became the theme” (Pearson 2008: 116-117; Ames 2008: 2). The mission for the religious homogenization and “Christianization of Goa” (Xavier 2021: 55) hinged not only on the success of conversion, but also on measures undertaken to purge “gentilism.” In addition to the long-standing prejudices towards “gentiles” described above, these objectives thus formed the foundations of the attitudes of intolerance and suppression of non-Christian religious diversity, all of which had a profound impact on the religious and socio-cultural lives of Hindus in the *Estado*. The “Christianization of Goa” was carried out by religious missionaries and the orders responsible for spreading and managing the Catholic faith and for the conversion of locals. Moreover, the sometimes violent and coercive measures meted out by the Holy Office of the Inquisition monitored the piety of *conversos* (converts), especially Indian Christians, in order to prevent relapses into *gentilismo*.¹² Between 1540-1640, a series of anti-Hindu laws were enacted to encourage religious uniformity (Ames 2008: 3-4), and ceremonies and “heathen” ritual observances concerned with birth, marriage, and death were

¹² For a description of the origins, activities and measures pursued by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, as well as the complex relationship between Jesuits, New Christians, converted Hindus and the Inquisition, see Cunha (1995), Lopes (1998), Paiva (2017), Franco & Tavares (2021)

also “drastically pruned” if not altogether forbidden (Boxer 1963: 81).¹³ Those suspected of “Hinduizing” behavior or of practicing syncretic or non-Catholic practices, or social practices associated with Jewish, Muslim, or Hindu religious influences, such as wearing a *dhobi*, possessing Hindu images, or refusing to eat pork, were subject to harsh punishment (Disney 2009: 319, Pearson 2008: 119-120; Lopes 2008: 132).

With regard to the suppression of Hindu religious diversity, the consequences of intolerance included the destruction of Hindu and Buddhist temples and the prohibition on public exercising of all “heathen” religious and ritual observances other than those belonging to the form of Roman Catholicism defined at the Council of Trent (Boxer 1963: 81). These measures had a profound impact, with the systematic destruction of Hindu (and Buddhist) temples and religious idols from the 1540s onwards said to have “had no parallel in any of the other territories” of the Portuguese empire (Pearson 2008: 116-117). The elimination of temples and idols, including those in private spaces, was accompanied by a ban on their reconstruction, and the lands on which destroyed temples had stood were given to Christian priests and Catholic religious orders (Pearson 2008: 116-117; Xavier 2008: 115-116). Other measures included expelling local priests and other high-ranking Brahmans, prohibiting the public celebration of Hindu ceremonies, and a decree issued in 1559 obliging all Brahmans to attend weekly Catholic indoctrination sessions (Xavier 2011: 211). In 1678, however, the complete ban on celebrating Hindu weddings was eased, with the result that such ceremonies were subsequently permitted, but only behind closed doors (Disney 2009: 315).

The harsh intolerance shown to Hindu religious diversity, coupled with the preferential treatment given to Christians, amounted to what many scholars have described as “systematic discrimination” (Axelrod & Fuerch 1996: 391; Pearson 2008: 148; Disney 2009: 317). The management of religious diversity during the mid-sixteenth century thus resulted in the near-complete suppression of Hindu public religious life, as well as the disappearance of Hindu religious symbols from the physical and socio-cultural landscape of the *Estado*. Other than in the territories of the *Novas Conquistas*, the ban on constructing and reconstructing temples was upheld during the eighteenth century, and public religious rites and ceremonies continued to be prohibited. As mentioned above, however, the importance of maintaining the presence of the Hindu majority populations in the *Novas Conquistas*—including the revenue that they generated for the Crown—necessitated adopting a less

¹³ For more on the measures enacted to stifle Hindu religious practices and provide incentives to convert to Catholicism over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly the *Leis a favor da Cristandade* (laws in favor of Christianity) and the *Provisões a favor da Cristandade* (provisions in favor of Christianity) see Ames (2008).

repressive approach to their religious practices during the period in question. The imperial authorities' tolerance of these populations' pre-existing customs and rituals was thus less the result of genuinely reformed attitudes, and more a strategy for winning over Hindus and securing their continued settlement in these areas (Lopes 1996: 53). Indeed, this pragmatism was reflected in a letter from 1756, dispatched from Lisbon to the viceroy in Goa, that spoke of the desire to "advance the culture of the lands conquered from the Sar Dessai Ramachandra Saunto Bonsulo."¹⁴ This letter referred to an order of the king issued on November 24, 1754, which decreed "that the *Gentios*" in these lands "who wish to establish and rebuild their temples, be given the public use of their Religion."¹⁵ Moreover, the viceroy was assured of the utility of granting these liberties, which would prove "useful until the end."¹⁶

In addition to the need to ensure acceptable conditions for the Hindu majority population of the *Novas Conquistas*, the pragmatic approach of lesser intolerance in the eighteenth century was driven by the commercial weaknesses of the *Estado* that fueled its continued dependence on Hindu mercantile actors. The tensions between balancing the purging of gentilism and the Christianization of Goa, on the one hand, against the economic resources necessary for the survival of the *Estado*, on the other hand, were challenges that the imperial polity grappled with from the very beginning. The emphasis here, however, is on the *continued* dependence of the *Estado* on Hindu merchants, whose dominance over the colonial economy of the *Estado* was already evident in the seventeenth century (Pearson 1972; Souza 1975). As a result, and despite efforts to marginalize and suppress the Hindu population, the *Estado* could not do without the commercial acumen, resources, networks, and capital of its Hindu mercantile actors. Importantly, the "mutual dependency nexus" (Pinto 1994: 99-100) existing between the *Estado* and Hindu merchants extended beyond the commercial sphere, with their role as tax-farmers and diplomatic and commercial intermediaries compounding their indispensability to the imperial polity. In sum, therefore, the economic weaknesses of the *Estado* and its political vulnerabilities, coupled with the dominance of Hindu mercantile actors, tempered policies that sought to eradicate

¹⁴ HAG, MR 162-129B, fls. 398.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

“gentilism” from the *Estado*, and forced a greater degree of tolerance towards Hindu uses and customs, and religious practices.¹⁷

Despite the intolerance lessening over the course of the eighteenth century in the *Novas Conquistas*, the suppression of Hindu religious life persisted in the territories of the *Velhas Conquistas* as well as in the province of Daman. This is evidenced by a response to a petition submitted by “the gentile people of Goa and Daman” which simultaneously addressed the ban on public weddings and the destruction of temples. The petition was sent to Lisbon, and a response containing details of the deliberations on its demands was returned to the Governor-General in Goa, D. Fredericome Guilherme de Sousa e Holstein, on March 5, 1781. Lisbon’s response explicitly noted that “representation [was] made by Hindu merchants” who were petitioning for permission “to celebrate the functions of marriages and the lines of their sons” and who stressed “the great prejudice and inconvenience” that the prohibition on public religious ceremonies had caused them.¹⁸ The response also made reference to “another representation by the gentile people of Daman which requested the conservation of their temples that were ordered to be razed and demolished.”¹⁹ The petitions of the “gentile people of Goa” and “the gentile people of Daman” clearly indicate that the ban on public celebrations of religious ceremonies remained in place and that the reconstruction of temples was still prohibited. Importantly, however, both petitions demonstrate the agency of Hindu subjects in seeking recourse to the legal channels in the imperial polity to litigate against these prohibitions.

The imperial authorities’ response to the demands articulated in these petitions also reveals the extent to which the shift towards a pragmatic acceptance of greater tolerance was a fraught and divisive process. According to the response, the petitions were sent to the “Archbishop of Cochin and the Administrators and Governors of the Archbishop” and to the “Prelates and Ministers of the highest reputation and learning” for “consultation.”²⁰ The religious authorities still, therefore, retained a “disproportionate” influence in Goa (Disney 2009: 317) and held sway over questions relating to the governance and administration of the *Estado*. Unsurprisingly, the deliberations of the Archbishop of Cochin and the office of

¹⁷ The political vulnerabilities of the *Estado* were exacerbated by the emergence of European competitors in the region, namely the British, French, and Dutch, as well as by conflicts with surrounding regional powers such as the Marathas, with whom they were at war in 1737-1740.

¹⁸ The “lines of their sons” refers in all likelihood to the *upanayana*, a ritual ceremony in which a Hindu boy born into one of the three highest classes undergoes a rite of passage (*samskāra* or sacrament), is invested with a sacred thread (*yagnopavita*), and becomes a *brahmacārin*; see Flood (2003: 103).

¹⁹ AHU Cx. 122.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

the archbishopric were overwhelmingly hostile to the demands articulated by these “gentile people” and strongly advised against granting them greater religious freedoms; in other words, permission to celebrate weddings or to re-erect and preserve their temples. What is striking, however, is that despite the ecclesiastical sphere’s influence, the religious authorities did not have the final say. Admittedly, their response stressed the “danger that the supplicants pose” and cautioned that the *Estado* should prioritize “the safety as always of the Catholic Religion which in all cases should remain permanently inviolate.” Furthermore, the Archbishop and Governors of the Archbishop of Cochin and the “Prelates and Ministers” referred to above recommended that the requests of the “gentile people” should not be granted in order to “save by all means necessary scandal to the Christian People of this Conquest.” But despite this strongly worded opposition, their recommendations were ignored—at least to the extent that the final decision sent to Goa included a compromise, whereby the imperial polity granted the “gentile people of Goa” the right to perform their weddings and the *upanayana* ritual ceremony. This is discernible from the document outlining the outcome of the deliberations point by point: the recommendation calling for the ban on celebrating Hindu ceremonies to be maintained is crossed out and, in its place, a note in the margin instructs the governor to “give permission to the gentiles of Goa for the marriages and those of the line as this seems just.” However, the second request was denied, with its being noted that “in what concerns the request of the people of Daman regarding the conservation of their temples this must be absolutely prohibited.”²¹

The question of allowing Hindu subjects in Daman the right to access and preserve their temples was a point of frequent deliberation for the *Estado* over the course of the eighteenth century.²² The need to preserve and attract the commercial activity of Hindu mercantile communities—such as Gujarati Banians or Vāṇiyā merchants, who were significant actors in Indian Ocean trade—forced a reckoning with prevailing policies that stifled their religious freedoms.²³ In 1752, for example, the viceroy, the *Marquês de Távora*, sent a letter to the *Mesa do Santo Ofício* (Holy Office of the Inquisition) in which he stressed that “the decadence in which the assets and revenue the *Praça* of Daman are found” would be alleviated if commerce was stimulated. Boosting trade would allow Daman to “subsist on

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Diu and Daman, situated on the Kathiawar peninsula in present-day Gujarat, were two coastal enclaves that belonged to the *Estado da Índia*.

²³ On the important role of Banian merchants in the economy of the *Estado* and Mozambique, see Machado (2014).

its Own Revenues without having to dispense them from the *Erario* of this State.”²⁴ In order for this to be achieved, the viceroy proposed that “he would invite to move to that port some great merchants,” all of whom “are (gentiles) of good will who have offered to move but with the condition that they would be allowed to build temples and be publicly allowed to perform their Rites in the same form as they are permitted in Diu.”²⁵ Although the viceroy himself was supportive of their requests, the *Santo Ofício*, while conceding that Daman needed to become self-sufficient was, unsurprisingly, strongly opposed to the viceroy’s proposal to allow the settlement of “gentiles” as a means to generate revenue. The *Ofício* returned a pointed response, cautioning that “a spirit so Catholic as that of Your Excellency [has] undetermined the concession of a condition which has as a consequence the cult of Idolatry real.” The response thus advised the viceroy that he “should not admit the Condition presented by these gentiles” despite “the profits that would make the independent conservation from the aid of the *Erario Real*.”²⁶

The viceroy’s support for conceding to these merchants’ demands, which would allow the presence of temples and “the use of gentile rites,” contrasted sharply with the response of the Office of the Inquisition that unequivocally sought the “exaltation of our Holy Catholic Faith and the abatement of idolatry.”²⁷ This exchange, similar to the deliberations on the demands articulated in the petitions of the “gentile people of Goa and Daman” discussed above, reveals the extent to which yielding to greater tolerance was indeed a fraught and divisive process, as well as revealing how management of diversity differed across the territories of the *Estado*, particularly between Diu and Daman. The viceroy’s proposal noted that in “Diu the Temples and the use of gentile rights are different” and that they are “on the other side of the City’s precinct and enclosed.” He also assured the *Ofício* that “in Daman permission could not take place if not on the outskirts which is where the *gentios* can be residents, because the *Praça* does not have more than one enclosure and inside it there cannot fit any other quality of people more than that of its current residents.”²⁸ The emphasis, therefore, was on restricting the public visibility of their temples and open performance of their “gentile rites.” The viceroy thus suggested that Hindu merchants should be settled in a similar manner to the “gentiles” in Diu. In other words, Hindu

²⁴ The *Erario Real* was the Royal Treasury.

²⁵ HAG, MR 152-125A, fls. 68-69.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

inhabitants should be effectively segregated from the Christian population which was “abundant” (Hespanha 2019: 104) and permitted to settle only on the outskirts of the city.

Accommodating Diversity

This article has so far illustrated how management of diversity in the eighteenth-century *Estado* centered primarily on limiting visible expressions of Hindu religious diversity. However, it has also shown how and why the imperial authorities grappled with their Hindu subjects’ demands for greater public religious freedoms and ultimately adopted a more pragmatic approach to tolerance. As demonstrated above, the imperial polity was responsive and conceded, for example, to allow Hindu subjects to perform two important ceremonies in public. In this way, therefore, the management of diversity became more accommodating to Hindu religious differences, as well as to the voices of Hindu subjects litigating for change. However, the most salient way in which Hindu differences were accommodated was in the manner in which their customs and legal norms were codified and enforced within the plural legal order of the *Estado*. The imperial polity’s intolerance thus operated alongside a more tolerant accommodation of *selective* aspects of pre-colonial Hindu legal norms and practices. How was this plural legal order constructed, and what was its impact on the ways in which Hindu customary law governed familial and private interests?

As Ângela Barreto-Xavier recently illustrated, the sixteenth century saw a visible impetus to document Hindu uses and customs, with concrete efforts being undertaken to identify the political, administrative, and judicial bodies and norms operating on the local level (Xavier 2021: 39). The foundations of the plural legal order in the *Estado* were set out in the *Foral de usos e costumes dos gauncares* (Charter of the practices and customs of the *gauncares*; henceforth referred to as the *Foral*), compiled by the revenue superintendent Afonso Mexia in 1526 and which documented the economic and political structure of the village communities of Goa, as well as their uses and customs. Moreover, it was also one of the initial documents issued by the Portuguese Crown to indigenous land administrators, or *gaunkars* (or *gauncares*)—the descendants of the first cultivators and settlers of the land—that reaffirmed their functions and formally recognized “the political significance” of the local legend consolidating their hereditary claims on the land (Axelrod & Fuerch 1998: 442; Pinto 2018: 185; Xavier 2021: 33). While confirming these privileges, however, the *Foral* also drew them into the ambit of the Portuguese imperial regime (Axelrod & Fuerch 1998: 454; Pinto 2018: 188). In this vein, it not only defined the duties and responsibilities of the *gaunkars* to

the *gauncaria*, but also their ritual standing and privileges and their duties to the imperial polity. Clause fifteen of the *Foral* states, for example, that when *gaunkars* were summoned, “they are obligated to come” or to form a council to elect one representative from each village who wishes to respond to the call (Rivara 1865: 124).

Although the *Foral* was primarily a “fiscal document” and an effort to retain the village economic and revenue structures of pre-colonial Goa, it also made “visible (and decipherable) the legal matters of everyday local life,” and enshrined the principle of legal autonomy for Hindu subjects by preserving their pre-existing laws and customs (Axelrod & Fuerch 1998: 454; Xavier 2011: 259). Indeed, the *Foral* is considered as a “striking example” of early toleration that gave “due respect for existing Hindu social institutions” (Boxer 1963: 81). This act of preservation was still a selective process because the “pact between the state and the influential *gaunkars*” privileged the claims, objectives, and interests of these two parties above all (Xavier 2021: 34). But while the extending of this principle of legal autonomy in the sixteenth century was central to constructing legal pluralism in the *Estado*, how were the uses and customs that were defined in the *Foral* as “law” superimposed across the *Estado* and beyond the boundaries of the *comunidades*? The *Foral* was certainly imposed on the diverse populations and territories of the villages and the towns of Goa, which were governed according to an essentialized interpretation of village life (Xavier 2021: 50). Questions remain, however, as to how the *Foral* dictated and shaped jurisprudence in the *Estado* in practice, and to what extent it actually operated more broadly as the cornerstone for legal pluralism, specifically during the period in question?

The extent to which the *Foral* was central to accommodating and managing diversity can be ascertained by the degree to which changes implemented in the modern period were regarded as mere guarantees of what had been codified in 1561. The legal landscape and institutions of the *Estado* underwent significant change in the nineteenth century, as reflected, for example, in the production of three codes in 1824, 1853, and 1880 that regulated the uses and customs of the *Novas Conquistas* and the non-Catholic inhabitants of Goa (Kamat 2000: 74; Oliveira 2020: 278). The more extensive and rigorous codification of the uses and customs of Christian and non-Christian citizens also required a more thorough definition of their separate legal norms.²⁹ As Rochelle Pinto emphasized, this “process of codification in the nineteenth century involved the translation of certain texts like the *Manusmriti* which

²⁹ The term *usos e costumes* was used more broadly as “a convention that intended to establish the monarch’s practices of good governance.” Its enshrinement in law thus also helped to legitimize the political authority of the imperial polity; see Pinto (2018: 202).

began to represent a composite Hindu law” (Pinto 2007: 77). The legal protection provided for Hindu customs such as polygamy, adoption, and the joint-family system were described in the decree of 1880—also known as the “Code of the uses and customs of the Hindu gentiles of Goa”—as the “special and private usages and customs” of the Hindus (Kamat 2000: 74). The recognition and protection of Hindu uses and customs were also guaranteed after the introduction of the Portuguese Civil Code, which was implemented in the colonies in 1867. This move, however, reflected the “existing tension between principles of unity and diversity” that existed across the plural legal orders of the overseas territories (Nogueira de Silva 2015: 186). In short, therefore, the nineteenth-century legislative and legal changes were merely a “safeguard against the changes the Portuguese had successfully introduced into the lives of Hindus in the Old Conquests” (Pinto 2007: 77) and did not, therefore, constitute a radical change in the way that the *Estado* managed legal diversity based on uses and customs and the Hindu legal norms fossilized in the *Foral* in the sixteenth century.

To return to the eighteenth century, however, the tensions and dynamics in the plural legal order were salient in the ways in which Hindu subjects engaged with the imperial juridical sphere to arbitrate in disputes on inheritance. To reiterate, the laws governing inheritance among the Hindu population were based primarily on the customs codified in the *Foral*. This “addressed ritual practices, inheritance laws and a range of other aspects,” making it one of the few early modern documents explicitly concerned with defining and codifying customs pertaining to personal and family law (Pinto 2018: 188). Clauses twenty-seven to thirty-three of the *Foral*, for example, were concerned with matters pertaining to *defunctos* (the deceased) and inheritance. However, these customs were essentialized because the *gaunkars* and Hindu scribes who collaborated in compiling the *Foral* did not provide all the information at hand regarding their norms and customs, specifically the laws governing inheritance (Xavier 2021: 43). This meant that the enforcement and interpretation of these legal norms and customs governing inheritance were often murky and could be subject to dispute.

The extent to which the *Foral* was central to dictating legal pluralism in the eighteenth century is evidenced by a petition submitted by a Hindu widow by the name of Savetry Camotin. In March 1786, she submitted a petition that challenged the interpretation of the laws governing inheritance as codified in the *Foral* in an attempt to retain control of her deceased husband’s business house. After the death of her husband, Gopalla Camotin, with whom she had no children, Savetry Camotin “took weak and pacific possession of all the

goods and assets of the house of her husband and her father-in-law Fondu Camotin.”³⁰ Some time later, however, her control of the business house was challenged by a group of male relatives claiming to be the legitimate heirs and managers of Gopalla Camotin’s estate. Their claim to his estate rested on their being his only viable heirs, a line of succession that they claimed through their relationship to Gopalla’s mother, Laximiny Camotin.³¹ Savetry Camotin’s response to this challenge hinged on two claims and strategies. First, she articulated her right to retain control over the estate in a way that directly challenged the inheritance customs defined in the *Foral*. These customs, which may have been appropriations of Hindu *Mitakshara* law, prevented widows from inheriting from their husbands, and daughters from inheriting from their fathers and grandfathers (Xavier 2021: 49).³² Savetry’s second claim challenged the legitimacy of Gopalla Camotin’s self-appointed male heirs’ inheriting of his estate by citing their “maladministration” of the family’s assets, thus directly threatening the future of the business house.³³

Regarding the first strategy, Savetry Camotin directly addressed the group’s claim that she was not a legitimate inheritor of Gopalla’s estate in the preamble of her petition. This began by referring to the “current general laws of this kingdom” and the “approved customs of the gentiles,” which meant that a widow was left with nothing “only what is necessary for her nourishment.” The petition further clarified this custom by stating that “[if] any gentile passed away without leaving a surviving male son and his surviving wife takes on a *criolo* . . . in the case of the death of the widow, neither her relatives nor her daughters stand to inherit as was practiced in many, many rich houses of the principal merchant subjects of this State.”³⁴ The preamble thus confirms that the key principles of Hindu inheritance law upheld in the *Estado* prohibited widows from inheriting because clause thirty of the *Foral* stipulated that “[n]o daughter will inherit the estate of her father, nor of her mother” (Rivara 1865: 129; Pinto: 1996). But while affirming the existence of these “laws” and “approved customs,” Savetry Camotin nevertheless requested clarification of the laws stipulating the inheritance rights of sons whose fathers had multiple heirs.³⁵

³⁰ Ahu Cx. 129.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² For more on the complex question of women’s inheritance rights in Goa and disputes regarding the regulation of property rights in particular, see Pinto (1996).

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

The information contained in the preamble of this petition thus helps answer several questions posed here regarding the structure of legal pluralism during the period in question. First, it confirms that the codifying and fossilizing of Hindu uses and customs in the *Foral* in the sixteenth century continued virtually unchanged into the eighteenth century. Moreover, the fact that these uses and customs were defined and approved of as law by the imperial polity reflects the tensions inherent in the constructing of this legal plural order. In other words, these uses and customs were indeed selected and enforced “in the manner the agents of the Portuguese Crown found appropriate” (Xavier 2021: 44). Second, the fossilization of the “law of the *Foral* and the gentile customs” that served as the basis for the *Estado*’s plural legal order was maintained but reinforced by “many other decrees and providences.”³⁶ Third, given Savetry Camotin’s residence in the city of Goa, the *Foral* was indeed superimposed on all Hindu subjects beyond the *comunidades* system. This projection perpetuated an essentialized and “imagined nature” of local Goan society that centered on the “village” and “village communities” (Axelrod & Fuerch 1998: 469; Xavier 2008: 145) and that was continually projected on the Hindu population of the *Velhas Conquistas* at large.³⁷ Moreover, the essentialized nature of sixteenth-century Portuguese perceptions of Hindu uses and customs, which regarded the *comunidades* as the “locus” of idolatrous, diabolical social and religious customs, continued to influence the governance of Hindu legal norms in the eighteenth century. Importantly, the essentialized visions of local Goan society perpetuated by the Portuguese imperial polity also projected an antiquarian and fixed idea of Hindu uses and customs. Savetry Camotin’s petition, for example, affirmed that “gentile subjects” of the *Estado* had the right to be governed according to their own “ancient and immemorial inheritance customs” and not by “the general laws of this kingdom.”³⁸ In sum, therefore, the management of diversity in the legal sphere of the *Estado* in the eighteenth century continued to be characterized by an oversimplified view of Hindu uses and customs in constructing a separate and plural legal order, an essentialization that was bolstered by Portuguese essentialist visions of local Goan society.

Unfortunately, the outcome of the petition is not known, and it is not clear whether the *Estado* decided to override custom and allow Savetry Camotin to continue managing the business house, or if it chose to abide by custom and to deny her the right as a widow to inherit the assets of her deceased husband. Nevertheless, her petition, which was a clear

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ For more on the centrality of the villages, or *comunidades*, in Portuguese characterizations of local Goan society, see Axelrod & Fuerch (1998).

³⁸ AHU Cx. 129.

attempt to further her individual interests by challenging custom, denoted the possibilities that Hindu subjects perceived in their engagement with the legal apparatus of the imperial polity. The plural legal order thus not only afforded Hindu subjects the right to be governed according to custom, but also granted them an alternative forum in which to contest these legal norms. Savetry Camotin herself employed a complex strategy that appealed to the imperial polity's benevolence by highlighting the harsh effects of these inheritance customs on widows, while also arguing that "blind" observance of this custom had "destroyed the houses and assets of the *gentios* in grave harm to the public for the continuation of commerce which they uniquely exercise for the utility of the State."³⁹ This criticism of blind adherence to custom suggested that a more critical consideration of these legal norms should guide how and why they were enforced, especially if they threatened the public good. Moreover, this emphasis on commerce clearly reflects the extent to which Hindu subjects themselves were acutely aware of the centrality of commerce in the pragmatic agenda of the imperial polity during this period. In aligning her own interests with those of the *Estado*, Savetry's petition, in turn, demonstrated an equally strategic and pragmatic approach to the management of legal pluralism.

Final Remarks

This article has illustrated how the management of diversity in the eighteenth-century *Estado* was guided by a complex and multifaceted set of strategies that necessarily adapted to the political and economic exigencies faced by the imperial polity during this period. As such, it has shown how greater tolerance was not the result of changed attitudes regarding the practices or beliefs of Hindu "gentile" subjects, but rather a further demonstration of how the *Estado* pragmatically accommodated their demands for greater religious freedoms. Moreover, in delineating the extent to which the process of adopting a degree of tolerance was a fraught, forced, and divisive process, it has provided a more nuanced analysis of how and why the *Estado* became more tolerant towards its non-Christian Hindu subjects. The tangible consequences of this pragmatic tolerance were neither sweeping nor uniform: Hindu subjects in the territories of the *Velhas Conquistas*, for example, continued to experience harsh restrictions on their religious and socio-cultural rites and practices while these freedoms were immediately granted to the populations of the *Novas Conquistas*. Nevertheless, Hindus in Goa had to seek recourse to litigation in order, ostensibly, to be granted the right to conduct

³⁹ *Ibid.*

weddings and the *upanayana* ceremony in public while the question of preserving and reconstructing their temples continued to be contested.

As this article has illustrated, the management of diversity in the *Estado* and the role of tolerance were made more complex by the ways in which the imperial polity clearly and necessarily constructed a plural legal order that preserved pre-existing Hindu uses and customs “approved of” as law. The fossilization and essentialization of Hindu uses and customs, as codified in the *Foral* in 1561, continued to serve as the foundations of legal pluralism in the eighteenth century. However, as the case of Savetry Camotin highlights, these fossilized uses and customs were not perceived as being entirely set in stone. Hindu subjects’ broader engagement with the juridical authorities of the *Estado* reflects struggles and tensions in how the plural legal order and the management of diversity operated in practice. Returning to Lauren Benton’s emphasis on how the representation of cultural and religious differences in imperial legal regimes, and, by extension, the very structure of imperial rule, was structured by contestations over the meaning and importance of these symbolic markers, the ways in which diversity was managed in the eighteenth century can also be seen to have been marked by struggles and difficulties. These were reflected in the ways in which the imperial polity struggled to become more tolerant, and in which Hindu subjects contested intolerance and challenged efforts by the *Estado* to accommodate difference by enforcing selective uses and customs. In short, the construction of legal pluralism and the management of diversity in the eighteenth century were marked by struggles and contestations over the definition, governance, and consequences of difference.

In demonstrating, first, how Hindus themselves petitioned for greater religious freedoms in the public sphere and, second, the imperial polity’s responses to these demands, this article has additionally illustrated how management of diversity was also influenced from the bottom up. Importantly, the role of local actors in shaping legal pluralism, both in theory and practice, indicates a greater degree of Hindu agency in managing diversity than previously noted. Nevertheless, there is a caveat to this bottom-up perspective, given that the majority of the Hindu petitioners mentioned here, perhaps with the exception of the widow Savetry Camotin, were in fact local elites from the dominant castes in positions of power. As a result, while Hindu petitioners’ engaging with the juridical apparatus of the *Estado* to litigate against suppression of their religious freedoms can be characterized as a form of resistance, it was still resistance on the part of elites occupying a dominant and powerful position in local society. Thus, while the bottom-up approach employed in this article has sought to center

on the voices of Hindu subjects, it does not claim to represent a subaltern perspective.⁴⁰ This caveat and the attention paid to Hindu actors' engagement with the imperial polity, as illustrated above, may also add nuance to the contemporary discourse on the legacy of Portuguese imperialism in Goa. The suppressive measures pursued by the *Estado*, and its violent and harsh intolerance towards non-Christians, are central tropes in contemporary discussions regarding the consequences of Portuguese rule. The "history of brutal Christian religious colonialism" and the "terrible suffering" of "persecuted gentiles" (Afonso 2008: xiii-xvii) perpetrated by the imperial polity continue to influence the collective memory of a significant section of local Goan society. But although these discussions are not entirely without merit—and this article has not eschewed the violent and suppressive consequences that intolerance had on the Hindu population of the *Estado*—they have a tendency to overstate the hegemonic power of Portuguese imperialism and to oversimplify the history of the relations between Hindu subjects and the *Estado*. As such, this more nuanced and informed analysis of the limits of imperial polity's intolerance and Hindus' agency in shaping the management of diversity in the *Estado* presents a more complex and nuanced picture of the consequences of Portuguese imperialism on local Goan society during the period at hand.

⁴⁰ For more on the complexity in studying and framing acts of resistance on the part of local actors in the *Estado*, see Parobo (2020).

References

Archival Sources

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU)
Cx. 122
Historical Archives of Goa (HAG)
Monções do Reino, MR 152-125A.
Xavier Centre for Historical Research (XCHR)
Mhami Family Collection, Portuguese Miscellaneous Documents.

Printed Primary Sources

Rivara, J.H. da Cunha (1865). *Arquivo Português Oriental fascículo 5*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional.
Dalgado, Sebastião Rodolpho (1919). *Glossário Luso-Asiático*. Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade.
Xavier, Nery Felipe (1840). *Collecção de Bandos e Outras Diferentes Providencias que servem de Leis Regulmentares para o Governo Economico, e Judicial das Provincias Denominadas das Novas Conquistas Precedida da Noção da sua Conquista, e da divisão de cada huma dellas*. Pangim: Imprensa Nacional.

Secondary Sources

Ames, Glenn (2008). "Religious Life in the Colonial Trenches: The Role of the *Pai dos Christãos* in Seventeenth Century Portuguese India, c. 1640-1683." *Portuguese Studies Review*, 16 (2): 1-23.
Axelrod, Paul, and Michelle A. Fuerch (1996). "Flight of the Deities: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa." *Modern Asian Studies*, 30 (2): 387-421.
Axelrod, Paul, and Michelle A. Fuerch (1998). "Portuguese Orientalism and the Making of the Village Communities of Goa." *Ethnohistory*, 45 (3): 439-476.
Bethencourt, Francisco (2013). *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Benton, Lauren (1999). "Colonial Law and Cultural Difference: Jurisdictional Politics and the Formation of the Colonial State." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41 (3): 563-588.
Benton, Lauren (2004). *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Benton, Lauren (2010). *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Benton, Lauren, and Richard R. Ross (2013). *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500-1850*. New York: New York University Press.
Boschi, Caio (1998). "Ordens Religiosas, Clero Secular e Missionação em África e na Ásia." In Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Volume 3. Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 319- 351.
Boxer, Charles (1963). *Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1825*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Chatterjee, Nandini (2011). *The Making of Indian Secularism: Empire, Law and Christianity, 1830-1960*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Chatterjee, Nandini and Lakshmi Subramaniam (2014). "Law and the Spaces of Empire: Introduction to the Special Issue." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 15 (1).

- Cunha, Ana Cannas de (1995). *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia: origens (1539-1560)*. Lisboa: Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo.
- Disney, A.R. (2009). *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: Volume Two*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ertl, Thomas and Gijs Kruijtzter (eds.) (2017). *Law Addressing Diversity: Modern Europe and India in Comparison (13th-18th Centuries)*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg.
- Figueiredo, João Manuel Pacheco de (1980). *O Marquês de Pombal visto por Escritores Goeses*. Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.
- Franco, José Eduardo and Célia Tavares (2021). "New Christians, Converted Hindus, Jesuits and the Inquisition." *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 8 (2): 195-213.
- Flood, Gavin (ed.) (2003). *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hespanha, António (1995). *Panorama da História do Direito de Macau*. Macau: Fundação Macau.
- Hespanha, António (2019). *Filhos de Terra: Identidades Mestiças nos Confins da Expansão Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Tinta da China.
- Hickford, Mark (2018). "Colonial and Indigenous 'Laws' - The Case of Britain's Empires, c.1750-1850." In Heikki Pihlajamäki, Markus D. Dubber, and Mark Godfrey (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of European Legal History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 876- 906.
- Kamat, Pratima (2000). "From Conversion to the Civil Code: Gender and the Colonial State in Goa, 1510-1961." *Indian Historical Review* 27 (2): 61-86.
- Kamat, Varsha Vijayendra (2009). "Usurpation of Feudal Rights by the Colonial State in Medieval Goa." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 70: 363-371.
- Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (1998). "A inquisição de Goa na primeira metade de setecentos: Uma visita pelo seu interior." *Mare Liberum* 14: 107-36.
- Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (2006). *Tradition and Modernity in Eighteenth-Century Goa (1750-1800)*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Machado, Pedro (2014). *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noronha, António de and A.C. Afonso (trans.) (2008). *The Hindus of Portuguese Goa and The Portuguese Republic (1922)*. Goa: Broadway Book Center.
- Oliveira, Luís Cabral de and João Caleira (2020). "Between the Law in Books and the Law in Action: the case of Diu in Constitutional Liberalism." *Asian Review of World Histories*, 8: 273-287.
- Paiva, José Pedro (2017). "The Inquisition Tribunal in Goa: Why and for What Purpose?" *Journal of Early Modern History* 2: 565-593.
- Parobo, Parag (2020). "Histories, Identities and the Subaltern Resistance in Goa," *Journal of Human Values* 26 (2): 177-185.
- Pearson M.N. (1972). "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-1670." *Mare Luso-Indicum* II: 61-73.
- Pearson M.N. (2008). *The New Cambridge History of India: The Portuguese in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pinto, Celsa (1994). *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade, 1770-1840*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Pinto, Celsa (1996). "Women's Inheritance Rights: Conflict and Confrontation." In Celsa Pinto, *Goa: Images and Perceptions*. Panjim: Prabhakar Bhide, 29-37.
- Pinto, Rochelle (2007). *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pinto, Rochelle (2018). "The Foral in the History of the Comunidades of Goa." *Journal of World History*, 29 (2): 185-212.

- Richardson, Noelle (2019). "Petitions, Privileges and Protection: "Performative Subjecthood" and the Use of Colonial Legal Mechanisms by Hindu Merchants in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, 1750-1830." In Nino Valen, Nikolaus Böttcher, and Stefan Rinke (eds.), *Distributive Struggle and the Self in the Early Modern Iberian World*. Heinz: Stuttgart, 265- 294.
- Russell-Wood, A.J.R (1998). "Comunidades Étnicas." In Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa* Volume 3. Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 210-222.
- Silva, Cristina Nogueira da (2015). "A dimensão imperial do espaço jurídico português. Formas de imaginar a pluralidade nos espaços ultramarinos, séculos XIX e XX." *Rechtsgeschichte – Legal History*, 23: 187-205.
- Souza, Teotonio R. de (1975). "Glimpses of Hindu Dominance of Goan Economy in the 17th Century." *Indica*, 12: 27-35.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto (2008). *A Invenção de Goa: Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI-XVII*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto (2010). "O lustre do seu sangue?: Bramanismo e tópicos de distinção no contexto português." *Tempo*, 30: 71- 99.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto (2011). "Conversos and Novamente Convertidos: Law, Religion, and Identity in the Portuguese Kingdom and Empire." *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15: 255-287.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto (2016). "Languages of Difference in the Portuguese Empire: The Spread of 'Caste' in the Indian World." *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 43 (2): 89-119.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto (2021). "Village Normativities and the Portuguese Imperial Order: The Case of Early Modern Goa." In Manuel Bastias Saaverda (ed.), *Norms Beyond Empire: Law-Making and Local Normativities in Iberian Asia, 1500-1800*. Leiden: Brill, 32-71.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto and Ines G. Županov (2015). *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Županov, Ines G. (1999). *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Received for publication: 30 September 2021

Accepted in revised form: 31 January 2022

Recebido para publicação: 30 de Setembro de 2021

Aceite após revisão: 31 de Janeiro de 2022

Bionote/Nota Biográfica

NOELLE RICHARDSON (Postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of History, Leiden University as part of the Dutch Research Council project Exploiting the Empire of Others). Her area of expertise is the 18th and 19th century history of South Asia and the Indian Ocean with a particular emphasis for the *Estado da Índia*, and the history of state-society interactions through the perspective of local actors. Prior to joining Leiden she was a lecturer

at Utrecht University and completed her PhD at the European University Institute and her MPhil in Modern South Asian Studies at the University of Oxford.

NOELLE RICHARDSON (Investigadora pós-doutorada no Instituto de História, Universidade de Leiden e faz parte do projecto NWO Exploiting the Empire of Others). A sua área de especialização é a história dos séculos XVIII e XIX da Ásia do Sul e do Oceano Índico, com um foco para o Estado da Índia, e a história das interações entre o Estado e a sociedade através da perspectiva dos actores locais. Antes de se juntar a Leiden, foi professora na Universidade de Utrecht tendo completado o seu doutoramento no Instituto Universitário Europeu, após ter concluído o seu Mestrado em Modern South Asian Studies na Universidade de Oxford.

The “Ethno-Political Multiple”: Colonial Investigations of Indigenous Polities in East Timor¹

Ricardo Roque²

Abstract

This article analyzes colonial investigations of the indigenous polities designated as *reinos* (kingdoms) in East Timor during the long nineteenth century. Effective governance of the *reinos* was paramount to the colonial state. Accordingly, they became a focus of the intellectual activities of Portuguese officials and administrators. The article examines the knowledge forms—enumerative, historiographic, and ethnographic—used to study and manage these diverse polities as an “ethno-political multiple”; that is, the colonial notion according to which the indigenous socio-political world was conceived of, investigated, and acted upon as a plural reality, simultaneously one and multiple.

Keywords

Colonial historiography, Colonial ethnography, Indigenous states, Southeast Asia, Portuguese empire

Resumo

Este artigo analisa as investigações coloniais dos regimes sociopolíticos indígenas designados por *reinos* em Timor-Leste durante o longo século XIX. Governar os *reinos* era importante para o Estado colonial neste período. Por conseguinte, os *reinos* tornaram-se um foco das atividades intelectuais dos oficiais e administradores portugueses. Examinam-se os saberes coloniais – enumerativo; historiográfico; e etnográfico – orientados para o estudo e governo dos diversos *reinos* enquanto um ‘múltiplo etno-político’. Isto é: a noção colonial segundo a qual o universo sociopolítico indígena era concebido, investigado, e intervencionado como sendo uma realidade plural, simultaneamente una e múltipla.

Palavras-chave

Historiografia colonial, Etnografia colonial, Estados indígenas, Sudeste Asiático, Império português

¹ Research for this article was funded by national funds provided through FCT, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I. P. (PTDC/HAR- HIS/28577/2017 and PTDC/DIR-OUT/30873/2017), as part of the INDICO – *Indigenous colonial archives: micro-histories and comparisons and Legal pluralism in the Portuguese empire projects*. I would like to thank Cátia Antunes and the anonymous reviewers of *E-JPH* for their insightful comments and suggestions on an earlier version.

² Universidade de Lisboa, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Lisbon, Portugal. E-Mail: ricardo.roque@ics.ulisboa.pt

Introduction

Our domination on this island is a fiction. In reality the Governor of Timor governs only in Dili, Batugadé and Manatuto. Everywhere else the rulers are *reis* [Timorese kings], or *Datós* [Timorese noblemen] [...]. The *reinos* [kingdoms] enjoy such independence that good administration of our domain is impossible. Political unity there is not, centralization does not exist. Each kingdom is governed by its own uses, and ancient traditions, [...] and we exercise sovereignty at the cost of much dismay (not to say humiliations). (Castro 1860, 1862: 475-76)

In 1860, in an official letter to the Ministry of Overseas in Lisbon, the Governor of Timor (between 1859 and 1863) and navy officer, Afonso de Castro, captured a long-standing fixation of Portuguese administrators on the disturbing multiplicity of Timorese society. In his view, and that of other officials and governors of his time, Portuguese colonial power was tantamount to managing a wild variety of indigenous *reinos*, comprising manifold aristocratic lineages and customary governance forms conceived of as “traditional” and “native” to the country. Castro reported the existence of an impressive number of forty-seven *reinos* (some later governors would count over fifty) in a country about six times smaller than Portugal. In a pioneering move towards controlling this mass of polities, this same governor decided to initiate a reform of territorial administration. He juxtaposed with the kingdoms a military-style territorial organization by creating districts headed by military officers, each with several *reinos* under their charge. However, this early initiative, Castro complained, was utterly insufficient as “many kingdoms continued independent” beyond the sphere of Dili’s law and “in obedience to their *estilos*” (traditional law and customs) (Castro 1867: XVI). These many different *reinos* corresponded to as many different authorities, *reis*, and their nobilities, and to as many different traditions of laws and customs, in accordance with which the *reis* were considered to rule their dominions. This diverse and unruly world was in such an extreme state of fragmentation and hostility that, Governor Castro dramatically concluded, Portuguese sovereignty was at risk. Administration was “impossible”; domination was a “fiction.” Hence in Timor, a very remote island colony of Portugal’s remnant empire in Asia, radical diversity of indigenous states and societies caused Europeans to fear the collapse of the colonizing project.

In his official letters to Lisbon, Governor Castro wrote prolifically about the colonial history, policy, and pragmatics of managing this kind of diversity. In 1867, he published the final outcome of his studies in *As Possessões Portuguezas da Oceania*. This work quickly became a classic reference and was regarded, for decades, as the leading Portuguese-language work on the history and colonization of the country, both in Portugal and abroad. Castro’s influential writings helped to consolidate the perception of the colony as a composite of wild native polities and as an unruly ethno-political multiple that required suitable ethno-political governance and suitable ethno-political knowledge. However, Castro’s studies were neither the first nor the last colonial investigations aimed at getting a grip on the diverse and unruly polity of *reinos*. Indeed, this issue pervaded the administrative minds of many Portuguese colonial officers and was a constant trait of nineteenth-century discourses regarding the government of this colony.

In this article, I explore the labor invested by Portuguese governors and officials (most of whom were military officers) in seeking to understand the plural character of the *reinos* as part of their concern with exercising command, waging war, exploiting the land and people, imposing taxes, or simply ensuring sheer survival.³ I analyze the rise and development of three analytically distinct, though in many cases coexisting, colonial modes of investigating the *reinos* between 1800 and 1912 in what I describe as the enumerative, historiographical, and ethnographic forms of investigating diversity as an attribute of the indigenous polity or polities. I have consciously chosen to retain the ambivalence of the term polity/polities because I propose to draw attention to the colonial orientation towards governing the indigenous polity/polities as a diverse object and a multiple reality. A tension between essentializing and pluralizing the alterity of the indigenous society and its political domains—a tension, in other words, between seeing the Other as *one*, and simultaneously seeing the Other as *many*—was key to colonial conceptions of diversity as an ethno-political object.⁴ I specifically investigate the forms of colonial knowledge oriented to managing what

³ The authors of these investigations were predominantly Portuguese officers and officials holding relevant positions of administrative responsibility in Timor. Missionary records are scarcer in the nineteenth-century information circuits of the Portuguese colonial administration. But although published sources and manuscript documentation now held in the Lisbon and Macau archives suggest the ethno-political multiple was primarily a research object of military and civil administration agents rather than of clerics, this should not lead us to simply exclude missionary agents’ contribution to this construct and to its related colonial knowledge forms, especially since the Catholic Mission was re-established in Timor in the 1870s under the direction of Father António Joaquim de Medeiros (on the activities of these missionaries, see Roque 2010a: 109-10; Roque 2012a. The Dutch missionary records of this period appear also to show little interest in ethno-political diversity; see Hägerdal 2013).

⁴ My use of the prefix “ethno-” follows the Cambridge Dictionary meaning (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ethno>), denoting conceptions and studies of the

I suggest should be designated as "the ethno-political multiple"; that is, the object resulting from the colonial conceptions, whereby the indigenous polity or polities was or were imagined and acted upon as a single coherent reality comprising, at the same time, a multiple of numerous discrete units.

A Multitude of Indigenous Domains

To investigate this hypothesis, I consider the history of the eastern side of the island of Timor, a colonial possession of the Portuguese Crown between the 1500s and 1974, and the independent nation of Timor-Leste since 2000. Portuguese traders and missionaries first visited the island in the sixteenth century, while in the seventeenth century, through the mediation of a powerful mestizo class known as the *Topasses* (or "Black Portuguese"), the Portuguese Crown expanded its military power and influence from Flores and the Solor archipelago to most of the island. Portuguese expansionism was soon limited, however, by competition with the Dutch, who had been firmly established in Kupang since the 1650s, and who subsequently gained control of the western half of the island. Established in Dili since 1769, Portugal's domain in Timor then became reduced to East Timor and the region of Oecussi. Throughout the 1800s, therefore, the focus of successive governors was on strengthening the colonial grip on the eastern side of the island by seeking to extend Portuguese military power at the same time as improving the capacity of Dili to concentrate the flows of value to be extracted from indigenous land and peoples, while a multitude of indigenous domains outside Portuguese control sought to block these colonizing dreams.

While Timor-Leste is currently presented as a country marked by great cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, nineteenth-century conceptions of East Timorese diversity revolved mainly around a patchwork of many highly autonomous domains or polities of various sizes, referred to by the Portuguese term *reinos* (kingdoms), and headed by what were known as Timorese *reis* and *rainhas* (kings and queens).⁵ The colony was widely perceived by Portuguese governors and military as a crowd of many apparently disjointed and uncontrollable *reinos*, and as a hostile web of indigenous collectives, saturated with internal

"political" in relation to different human collectives (regardless of whether the latter are termed "societies," "cultures," "customs," "tribes," "races," or "kingdoms," for example).

⁵ My analysis foregrounds Portuguese knowledge and notions of *reinos* based on archival documentation. While it is not my aim to examine Timorese viewpoints and cultural idioms associated with this same term, it should be noted that the equivalent Tetum-language term of *reinu* (an appropriation of the Portuguese term *reino*) conveys meanings that the Portuguese colonial uses of the work *reino* may fail to capture. According to Traube (1986: 99), for example, the Timorese notion of *reinu* emphasizes a sense of genetic affiliation, rather than territorial belonging, while the Portuguese tended to see *reinos* as territorial units headed by one ruler.

conflict, viciously inclined to enmity, and eager to take over the governor’s position in Dili. This threatening and untamed multitude of socio-political others—largely independent, but also ambivalently linked—was ordinarily perceived as traditional and characteristically “native”; a universe over which the governors felt they had little or no control politically, militarily, or epistemically. This notion hindered colonial dreams of sovereignty, control, and exploitation of people and land, with these imageries of an unruly indigenous polity being ingrained in the self-perceived vulnerability of the small community of white colonizers, most of whom spent their entire appointments in the Dili district (Roque 2010b). Thus, nineteenth-century Portuguese were captivated by, though also fearful of, the multitude of *reinos* that surrounded Dili, the seat of rule.

The emphasis on plurality and alterity was accompanied by a belief that this multitude also formed one distinctive and coherent reality. Hence the Portuguese engaged with the indigenous polity as an entity of colonial thought and action distinctive for its radical display of hazardous diversity. This perception, in turn, with its accompanying feelings of fear and desire, was a catalyst of intellectual labor. The questions of how, or even whether, this multitude could be known, governed, and tamed for the empire’s sake was a matter of administrative concern. Making the ethno-political multiple comprehensible to and governable by the colonial state required a suitable work of knowledge, to which end various Portuguese colonial writers penned reports, letters, book sections, articles, maps, lists, and tables about Timorese *reis* and Timorese *reinos*.

***Reinos* as Units of Colonial Knowledge**

The main materials of my study are Portuguese writings on ethno-political diversity. The relative presence or absence of this subject in early modern Portuguese knowledge is still difficult to ascertain. Yet, the Portuguese accounts of Timor in the sixteenth century seem to refer mainly to ports of call, coastal regions, and potential trading partners or allies, while missionary records tend to focus on conversion efforts aimed at the perceived members of the ruling classes. Historian Hans Hägerdal observes (2012: 24-25, 51-52) that the early modern European references to the “traditional” organization of Timorese powers look incidental and fragmentary, even though an awareness of a multitude of indigenous polities is occasionally identified. Hägerdal (2012: 52) specifically notes a scarcity of information about Timorese polities in Dutch records, and concludes that the Dutch interest

in indigenous “kingdoms” declined from the late eighteenth century onwards.⁶ Portuguese nineteenth-century writings suggest, by contrast, that the *reinos* and their kings and queens were seen as the main units for governance and for organizing information about Timor from the time when the Portuguese took firm steps to establish a governor appointed from Goa in the early 1700s. From the late 1700s onwards, in particular, an increase also seems to have been seen in the amount of information produced on Timorese politics and specifically the eastern part of the island. This probably reflects the Portuguese government’s decision in the late eighteenth century to shift the colonizing focus from west to east.

In 1769, unable to cope with Dutch and *Topasse* opposition in West Timor, the Portuguese governor moved the seat of rule from Lifau to Dili, a port on the northeast coast of Timor, after reaching agreement with the rulers of the Motael domain, where Dili was situated. This may have led to interest in producing knowledge specifically about the eastern Timorese *reinos*, at the same time as the issues of control and management of the East Timorese politics were becoming increasingly important. Portuguese investigations of indigenous politics subsequently gained momentum with the period that started with the Dili settlement being marked, I believe, by a kind of *reinos*- and *reis/rainhas*-centered government activity in East Timor. This largely continued until 1911-12, when Portuguese government forces confronted and defeated a massive anti-Portuguese coalition of East Timorese *reinos* headed by the King of Manufahi in what became known as the Manufahi War or Manufahi Rebellion. This event marked a turning point in the local balance of power between Dili and the kingdoms and was followed by administrative changes that significantly reduced, without completely eliminating, the importance of the *reinos* and royal lineages. The chronology framing my analysis—the long nineteenth century between circa 1769 and 1912, the Portuguese foundation of Dili, and the Manufahi War—is aimed at exploring this hypothesis. I suggest that the theme of indigenous ethno-political diversity was central to the production of colonial knowledge during this long period. The East Timorese world was principally addressed by colonial administrators as an ethno-political multiple and as an object of both political and epistemic concern, materializing in a variety of enumerative studies as well as in works of historical and ethnographic tenor.

⁶ Hägerdal hypothesizes that this was due to the hardening of “evolutionist and Eurocentric ideas” and to “the increasing technological disparity [that] seemed to render local politics increasingly irrelevant” (Hägerdal 2012: 52). However, this hypothesis, though perhaps plausible with reference to Dutch sources, does not apply to the Portuguese approaches studied here, which, even if evolutionist and Eurocentric, reveal a long-term investigative concern with indigenous politics, especially after the late eighteenth century.

An almost structural tendency of indigenous Southeast Asian states in the region to form volatile, fluid, competitive, and plural polities fragmented into petty domains has been widely identified and discussed by recent scholarship sensitive to indigenous cultural idioms (Colombijn 2003; Bentley 1986; Christie 1995; Hägerdal 2016). Centrifugal tendencies towards fragmentation in Southeast Asian polities developed in a tensional relationship with centripetal tendencies towards the formation of broader state realms, in which ritual centers exerted symbolic and ceremonial sovereignty over smaller polities, based on ritual, tribute, myth, and spiritual power (Tambiah 1977 and Geertz 1980). The question of whether the traditional political systems in the Sunda Islands, including Timor, tended towards unification or fragmentation before the arrival of Europeans has long concerned historians perusing colonial records in search of traces of pristine indigenous pre-colonial domains (Forman 1977; Schulte-Nordholt 1971: 165-85; Fox 1982; Hägerdal 2016, 2012: chapter III). But these domains hardly come in such pristine form in the archives. For instance, it has to be acknowledged that European outsiders were not simply external to the Southeast Asian dynamics registered in the archival records themselves. Instead, and over the course of a few centuries, Portuguese and Dutch agents alike became active players in the indigenous political field, thus themselves becoming enmeshed in the tensions inherent to the centrifugal and centripetal forces of the Southeast Asian polities, and, in several instances, transforming these polities with their presence along the way. Timor offers an exemplary instance of this hypothesis as Portuguese and Dutch rivalry and exchanges with indigenous domains acted upon the shape and content of the local polity, resulting in complex entanglements between European and indigenous formations coming into being (Roque 2011, 2010a; Hägerdal 2012).

Historical and anthropological scholarship has thus approached the problem of the traditional order of indigenous states through the lens of diversity and fragmentation, with colonial texts being mined as sources of data about this diversity for the purposes of constructing an ethno-history of the pre-colonial order. Yet, this orientation runs the risk of overlooking the fact that indigenous ethno-political diversity itself is a construct of European texts, which, from the outset, framed this diversity as a problem of both power and knowledge. It may thus be worth recalling that this subject began its intellectual career as a privileged subject of investigation in the context of European problems of colonization. In other words, there is a genealogy of current ethno-historical debates about “traditional” political organizations with roots in the power- and vulnerability-obsessed investigations of

European colonizers, such as those of Portuguese colonizers in East Timor, and it is these debates that I propose to examine further.

Enumerative, Historiographic, Ethnographic

I argue that the double resolve to both seek protection from and attain control over ethno-political diversity was critical to Portuguese colonial administrators in Timor. This, in turn, translated into a set of colonial studies that took on the diversity of *reinos* as the principal focus of their inquiry and governance. The primary units and subjects of this ethno-political government were “kingdoms” and royal lineages, rather than “tribes,” “races,” “populations,” or individuals. Managing a diversity of human polities, rather than just managing a diversity of human bodies, thus became a fundamental dimension of administrative thought and action. This included consequential attempts made since the 1860s by governors such as Afonso de Castro and Celestino da Silva to set up a labor extractive coffee-plantation system in the *reinos* with the involvement of indigenous royal classes (Shepherd and McWilliam 2013). In this context, colonial governmentality assumed a strong ethno-political orientation, one that perhaps combined with bio-political possibilities concerning the government and discipline of living bodies (Foucault 2010). Hence one may speak of a colonial will to generate a kind of ethno-political power—that is, a power able to sustain, control, and regulate the unfathomable diversity of the indigenous polity or polities, to command its multiplicity, and to put it in order. I am led to think of a colonial will to exercising power over the indigenous polity that was at the same time overrun by fear, anxiety, and disquiet. This will to ethno-political power, in other words, was a function of the will to protect oneself from the perceived dangers of a multiple polity.

Nineteenth-century Portuguese documents shed special light on these knowledge efforts in East Timor by allowing for an analysis of the main distinctive investigative modalities characteristic of this historical process.⁷ Without dismissing the significance of knowledge efforts made during earlier periods (some evidence of which I discuss, albeit only briefly, in this article), my analysis focuses primarily on the long nineteenth century (1769–1911) and especially the period beginning in 1850. This decade seems to have marked another local turning point in the administrative reorientation towards East Timor, including events

⁷ I acknowledge, however, that revelations from further research in Portuguese archival documentation of the 1700s and the early decades of the nineteenth century may result in improvements and revisions of the current hypothesis.

such as Governor Lopes de Lima's controversial decision in 1851 to give away the centuries-old Portuguese establishment of Flores to the Dutch (without Lisbon's approval) in exchange for monetary compensation. This event was met with indignation in Portugal and followed by a new wave of intensity regarding the administrative focus on the eastern half of Timor. The 1859 appointment of Afonso de Castro, a naval officer who had been involved in the intricate diplomatic negotiations that followed the sale of Flores to the Dutch, to the position of governor with considerable autonomy was a manifestation of this moment of imperialist impetuosity. As we will see, Castro employed a research style of governing ethno-political diversity in East Timor that later governors saw as referential for their own practices. In effect, and as discussed below, Castro's governorship not only intensified colonial concerns about managing ethno-political diversity, but also prompted the development of strongly historiographic and ethnographic styles of studying and writing about the *reinos* besides the hitherto conventional enumerative investigations.

My purpose here is to analyze three principal ways of investigating the ethno-political multiple in East Timor that, I believe, developed during that longer timespan. I refer to what I conceptualize as the enumerative, historiographic, and ethnographic "investigative modalities" of colonial knowledge, to use a term from Bernard S. Cohn (1996: 5). Each of these modalities, Cohn suggests, implies distinct bodies of information, modes of intellectual inquiry, techniques, and written formats and genres, and this article examines the historical unfolding of these knowledge approaches in the governance of Timor during the 1800s. Enumerative routines seem to dominate in early documents, while a historiographic orientation pervades much of nineteenth-century writing and ethnographic accounts of scientific intent gain a strong presence at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet, as I clarify, these are analytical concepts that refer, in concrete artifacts and historical situations, to changing practices that sometimes coexisted or appeared to be blended, even if their emergence was necessarily contextual and may have followed a certain diachronic sequence.

The first section of the article looks at what I refer to as the enumerative or synoptic modality. This mode of researching ethno-political diversity was censitary in approach and expressed in tables, counts, charts, lists, and other literary and numerical abbreviations. I then examine a mode of investigation that was historiographical in orientation and style, and that focused on considering the historical past of the indigenous polity, especially in relation to the Portuguese colonial presence. Finally, I explore an ethnographic investigative modality that gained momentum at the turn of the twentieth century and that focused predominantly on what was seen as the traditional realm of uses and customs in the kingdoms.

Putting *Reinos* on a List

Ethno-political fluidity, independence, and diversity were frequent subjects of an early mode of censitary studies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Portuguese governors produced lists, maps, tables, and charts in which certain relevant information on every *reino* (or a lack of such information) was enumerated, abbreviated, and condensed. These writings seemed to configure an early mode of colonial census and statistics focused on ascertaining the indigenous polity as a diverse unit. Evidence of how these knowledge technologies were used in Timor can be traced back to at least the early eighteenth century, when governors routinely collected data and organized tentative official inventories and lists (called *listas* or *relações*), as well as synoptic tables (designated *mapas*), that systematically enumerated the names of *reinos* and their respective kings or queens, their vassal situation and their degree of loyalty or enmity, the potential number of men at arms and, lastly, their estimated wealth expressed in terms of potential agricultural produce, land resources, or taxes and tributes in kind, or in the form of warriors or laborers, owed as an obligation to the Portuguese governor, as the king’s representative, under the vassalage treaties.

Imagined land wealth, military potency, and political diversity: this combination of elements in the imageries of Timor can already be discerned in one of the earliest accounts of the region, provided by the famous Luso-Malayan scholar Manuel Godinho de Eredia in the early 1600s. Eredia (1930 [1613]: 254) referred to Timor Island as an “Empire” divided into “two parts” and mentioned that “besides the Empires ... many powerful Kings” existed “who have amassed a great deal of Gold” and sandalwood. The concern with self-survival when faced with a multitude of competing kings, and the desire to extract indigenous resources in the form of men and land through a tribute system based on vassalage ties, traverses the enumerative writings produced by Portuguese administrators in the eighteenth century. In the early 1700s, for example, attempts to reform the tribute system known as *finta* (under which vassal kings were obliged to pay an annual tribute to the Portuguese) were accompanied by lists made “of the kingdoms, kings and [*finta*: tax] amounts owed” to the state both in the past and in the present (Macedo 1737; Castro 1867: 225-27, 260-63). In 1811, in instructions issued to the new governor of Timor, the Viceroy of India, the Count of Sarzedas (1811: 200), gave the official count of forty-six *reinos* in the Belos province (East Timor), stating they were “all free and independent from each other” and adding, in reference to earlier “lists ordered in 1722 and 1725,” that the *reinos* altogether comprised “forty-six

thousand armed men, three thousand rifles and more men with sword, shield, spear and bow and arrows.”

This suggests that the practice of enumerating ethno-political diversity on paper lists and synoptic maps was a routine of eighteenth-century Portuguese governors in Timor. Tables, counts, inventories, and lists became the lasting and favored administrative formats for representing the ethno-political multiple. This genre persisted throughout the nineteenth century, when various newly produced tables and inventories of *reinos* and *reis* continued to reflect two related concerns: the urgency of mapping the distribution of indigenous rulers’ hostility and friendliness, and the fixation on the real or imaginary wealth of the *reinos*. The promise of future colonial prosperity, contrasting with the chronically impoverished present of colonial finances, drove governors incessantly to seek to enumerate factual or supposed riches in the *reinos*. As an army officer affirmed, Timor was “an island fertile with riches” (*ilha prenhe de riquezas*), but inaccessible to the Portuguese except for the “insignificant” *fintas* paid by “different kingdoms” (Garcia 1870). Colonial imaginaries of the dangers of the ethno-political multiple were accompanied by colonial fantasies of prosperity. If the wild and plural polity could only be brought under control as the Portuguese governors wished, taxes and land resources would in future flow abundantly from the *reinos* into the colonial coffers.

Portuguese Ignorance, Timorese Mediations

Governor Afonso de Castro’s studies, though predominantly historiographical, also bear traces of this enumerative approach. In *As Possessões* (1867), for instance, we find colonial tables of *reinos* from distinct epochs, as well as a rare cartographic attempt at visualizing the diversity of Timorese polities in the form of a geographical chart (*carta geográfica*) roughly displaying the location of the *reinos* in East Timor.⁸ The manuscript entitled *Map of the Kingdoms in the Timor District* (Anonymous ca. 1870s), produced around 1878-1880, is another revealing example of the continuing drive throughout the nineteenth century to produce enumerative knowledge (França 1897: 236; Dores 1903). This “map” (in reality, a synoptic table) counted fifty-one *reinos* and listed the name, status title, and military rank of every current king or queen at the head of every named *reino*, while also classifying these rulers as “vassals” or “rebels,” and lastly enumerating the mineral and agricultural “products” of each

⁸ To the best of my knowledge, Castro’s 1867 chart is the first and only map attempting to cartographically represent the distribution of all the East Timorese kingdoms. It was followed by Celestino da Silva’s partial map of 1896, representing simply the westernmost kingdoms.

reino, including reference to its spoken “dialect.” This table is valuable also because it makes manifest the colonial officials’ difficulties in gathering reliable and systematic information for these lists, with several sections of the table deliberately left blank or containing dots to indicate a lack of information. In this table, the categories to which eight *reinos* should be attributed were evidently unknown as only their names were specified, while five “vassal” kings were left nameless. The author of the map explained the missing data as follows: “The kingdoms with just the dots are those of which the names are ignored; they are neither rebels nor vassals, and very distant from the seat of government [*praça*] in Dilly.” This acknowledgment, the blank spaces displayed, and even the anonymous authorship of this manuscript begs the important question of how the governors gathered their enumerative (let alone any other type of) intelligence about *reinos* in practice. Of course, Portuguese governors and officials tended to assume authorship of these texts, and consequently any possible agency of local Timorese agents, is hidden or left unmentioned. Sadly, then, the documentary evidence available is very sparse, especially with regard to the possible role of Timorese agents as either authors or intermediaries in the making of these knowledge artifacts. However, a very few instances, to which I refer below, hint at the mediation of such agents and suggest a significant role being played by certain members of the Timorese higher classes or royalty as providers of information that was included in lists and tables, and also of accounts of more historical and ethnographic importance about the kingdoms.

As well as being a problem for Portuguese colonizers fantasizing about full domination and extraction of value from the indigenous world, the intractable “polity of many” could also be of concern for activities relating to religious conversion. In 1883, for example, Father João Gomes Ferreira attempted to count the number of people living in the kingdoms. The result was a summary censitary table, listing the “approximate number of [pagan] souls” and the “number of Christians” according to “*reino* or locality” and “language spoken” (1902: 131). Ferreira’s table is also relevant for another reason as, unlike most enumerative lists and synoptic works (which are usually silent on the processes of data-gathering), his text bears traces of a significant role for Timorese agents as mediators and informants. Ferreira claimed, however, that his count was “unreliable” “because when one interrogates the *régulos* [Timorese kings] in order to know the population in their *reinos*, they hesitate and give us lower [figures]” (1902: 131). Reliance on Timorese kings, nobles, and persons of status as intermediaries may have been a routine procedure in synoptic inquiries as the same type of Timorese royals and nobles accused by the Portuguese of acting treacherously, or independently of the government, often became the sources of data about

the *reinos* themselves. This being the case, even the labor invested in knowing the ethno-political multiple was caught in the indigenous webs from which the colonizers wished to escape.

Writing Luso-Centric Pasts for the *Reinos*

Enumerative writings tend to offer portraits of the ethno-political multiple that are frozen in time, as if the *reinos*, though constantly in flux, were indifferent to historical change. However, it would be wrong to claim that colonial inquiries were simply oblivious of temporal dimensions of this polity: issues regarding the past of the *reinos* were also of the essence. The same authors who prepared lists could also philosophize about the past of the Timorese polity, conjecturing, in particular, about the configuration of this polity prior and in relation to the Portuguese presence. Historiographical reflections were thus an intrinsic part of colonial attempts to get a grip on the *reinos*. As a rule, this colonial historiography was not concerned with collecting indigenous accounts. Indeed, until the 1910s, it was largely indifferent to or unaware of how the past was reported and understood from a perspective of Timorese cultural idioms.⁹ In effect, the subject matter of historiographical speculation was not the history or ethno-history of *reinos* in Timorese terms, but instead the history of *reinos* as a subsidiary narrative to the self-referential master narrative of the Portuguese colonial establishment in Timor and Solor. Generally, therefore, the past of the ethno-political multiple was addressed and conveyed in Luso-centric narratives of empire and colonization.

Until the 1900s, three main issues motivated this Luso-centric colonial historiographical tradition. Firstly, there was the pattern of the pre-Portuguese indigenous polity, with Portuguese administrators speculating about how the indigenous polity on Timor Island was organized and how hegemonies of power were distributed before the arrival of Portuguese agents in the 1500s. Secondly, colonial writers addressed the problem of the survival of this ancient indigenous polity in the present. They were worried by those aspects of the old indigenous polity that continued to hinder and interfere with Portuguese claims to power. Lastly, conjectures developed around the Portuguese role in the genealogies of the ethno-political multiple. This question concerned the extent to which the centrifugal

⁹ It seems that it was not until the mid-twentieth century that collecting Timorese oral stories and legends became a significant aspect of Portuguese colonial missionary and administrative ethnography in Timor (Paulino 2017).

tendencies of the polity either sprang from pure indigenous sources or were ultimately Portuguese creations. These three intersecting themes are examined below.

Indigenous “Empires?”

By 1860, it had become difficult to discern what the multiple polity would have looked like before the Portuguese intrusions. It seems plausible, however, that after the Portuguese started intervening in the local polity in the 1500s, the situation developed into an effervescent plurality, diversity, and rivalry that had probably been absent in more ancient times. The Portuguese eagerness to have dominion over Timor—first through Catholic missionaries and the mediation of *Topasse* lineages, and later through formally appointed governors from outside the region—was accompanied by fragmentation of the ethno-political multiple. One question asked by the colonizers, therefore, was whether this plurality of *reinos* had ever been (and could ever be in the future) subject to forms of centralized power analogous to those the Portuguese wanted to realize for themselves.

After the move to Dili in 1769, the Portuguese governor’s claims over eastern Timor intensified. Subsequent conjectures about the past thus concerned especially the effects of this past on the governance of the eastern half of the island. Historical conjectures commonly posited that the Timorese polity—either on the whole island, or the eastern side alone—had once been structured in wider domains and centers of rule. The Portuguese term *império* and the title of *imperador* could be used to refer to these domains and their rulers. Vestiges of these once great indigenous realms and centers were seen as still being active in the present, thus rivaling Portuguese ambitions to hegemony. While Godinho de Eredia’s brief statement of a country divided into two parts or “empires” in the 1600s, as mentioned above, offers an early example of this, perhaps the document that most influenced the later development of this historical concept was the previously mentioned instructions given by the Viceroy of the Estado da Índia, the Count of Sarzedas, to the upcoming governor of Timor in 1811. Sarzedas then wrote a lengthy manuscript containing numerous data, recommendations, and guidelines on the past and present situation of the country. This document was sent from Goa to Dili, where it was archived for reference by successive local governors until Afonso de Castro gave the manuscript wider diffusion by analyzing it and publishing it in his book

of 1867.¹⁰ Afonso de Castro, however, was not the first nineteenth-century governor to write extensively about the history of Portuguese colonization in Solor and Timor.¹¹ In effect, Castro’s investment in research, transcription, interpretation, and publication of older Portuguese documents is an original development of a colonial historiographical modality of investigation that found fertile ground on Timor to flourish.

According to the Sarzedas document, as transcribed by Afonso de Castro, the indigenous polity of the island of Timor in the remote past was composed of “so to speak two provinces and two nations”—the eastern Belos and the western Vaiquenos or Servião—“each one divided into numerous *reinos* [...] all free and independent from each other.” The Servião kingdoms acknowledged one king, referred to as “emperor” of Senobay, as “superior,” while the eastern Belos were split into two or perhaps three “higher” kingdoms or kings, the “Suray [Liurai] of Riquitta, the king of Luca”;¹² the “Suray of Uzalle” [Wehale]; and “the house of Camenasse” (Sarzedas 1811: 200). Thus, the instructions by Sarzedas present a portrait of an indigenous order of broad realms as perceived by the author in the early 1800s. Although Sarzedas did not speculate about its deeper past, Afonso de Castro used Sarzedas’s description to formulate his own interpretation of the ancient past of the *reinos* before the arrival of the Portuguese.

In his work of 1867, Castro eventually projected Sarzedas’s words retrospectively back to a pre-colonial past and articulated a historical narrative of the Timorese polity that was to gain wider currency in the coming decades. Castro suggested the *reinos* once formed two large compounds dominated by two indigenous “imperial” sovereigns. “It seems,” Castro speculated, “that before our [Portuguese] domination there was in Timor two formidable potentates that made almost all peoples in the island their vassals. One of them

¹⁰ After first being published by Castro in 1867, the Sarzedas document went on to become a key reference in Portuguese-language historiography of colonial and pre-colonial Timor. Afonso de Castro’s interpretation analyzed here also reverberates in much twentieth-century historiography (Leitão 1948; Matos 1974).

¹¹ In 1797, Governor Feliciano António Nogueira wrote a historical account of the islands (Nogueira 1801, about *reinos*: 167-169). In 1842, Governor Frederico Leão Cabreira (1842) sent to Lisbon a long manuscript consisting of another historical narrative of the Portuguese presence in the Timor archipelago from 1511 to 1842. Both manuscripts included a broad variety of data and considerations about the territory and the peoples. A detailed analysis of these relevant pieces of early colonial historiography (both unpublished during the authors’ lives) would, however, go beyond the scope of this article.

¹² Sarzedas’s explicit enumerative reference to the higher influence of the domain of Luca, or Luka, in East Timor (Thomaz 1994: 618, 650) does not find a parallel in the mid- and late-nineteenth-century writings of Portuguese governors analyzed later in this article. Portuguese concern with Luca’s influence is noticeable in early nineteenth-century documentation regarding the so-called *Guerra dos Doidos* (War of the Mad) led by Luca’s royal lineages against the Portuguese between 1776 and 1786, and which resurged around 1810 (Roque and Coutinho 2021). However, after the War of the Mad episode, there is relative invisibility of Luca in nineteenth-century Portuguese texts. This contrasts with a variety of East Timorese oral histories that emphasize the continuing significance and power of the Luca domain in East Timor. On this intriguing and influential indigenous polity, see the excellent study by Barnes, Hägerdal, and Palmer (2017).

was the emperor Sonebay [Sonbay], the other the Behale [Wehale]. The first governed over the western side of the island, the second the eastern side” (1867: 314). In this view, an island divided into two great indigenous domains, which also corresponded to a division into eastern and western lands (the Belos and Vaiquenos provinces), preceded the Europeans. Castro also devised a possible origin story for the wild ethno-political multiple. He hypothesized (1867: 314) that, at some point in time, the large indigenous domains had exploded into a galaxy of competing and independent polities. The two potentates had lost control of their vassals who became “independent, every one governing his kingdom despotically and arbitrarily.” Lastly, Castro also conjectured that maybe “in former times,” back in a deep and distant past (possibly prior to the existence of two empires), Timor was not divided into *reinos*, but into *sucos*; a mere guess that he inferred from the influence that an ancient Tetum nobility, the *datós*, still held in the 1860s (Castro 1867: 18, 313-14; França 1897: 236). Castro’s influential studies seemed, therefore, to express ambivalence as to whether the radical multiplicity of the 1850s-60s resulted from growing fragmentation of an originally bicephalous polity or was instead a variant of yet another dispersive form of indigenous organization—a polity broken into even smaller units, the *sucos*. Other governors addressed this dilemma in Castro’s wake, with the governors Celestino da Silva (1901) and Cipriano Forjaz (1893) considering the East Timorese polity to have been less fragmented in the pre-Portuguese past than in the present. In contrast, however, to Castro’s conjectures on ancient empires and primordial *sucos*, these two governors speculated that Timor as a whole had once been divided not into two “empires” (Sonbay and Wehale), but rather into “two important houses” or “families”—the house of Wehale (Portuguese: Veále or Beale) and the house of Likusaen or Liquiçá—and that these two “houses” eventually stood in constant rivalry and continued to exert their influence, to the Portuguese disadvantage, into the late 1800s. Silva and Forjaz further hypothesized that two single rulers, bearing the title of *loro*, headed these two ancient and larger polities of the past. Prior to the establishment of diarchic authority by the *dató* nobility, the *loros* mediated major disagreements between domains and concentrated both the “religious and civil powers.” Yet, while their influence was seen in the 1890s as the dying vestige of a powerful primitive aristocracy, Governor Celestino da Silva (1901) sensed that the *loro* of Wehale in particular could still exert considerable influence.

Timorese Pasts in the Portuguese Present

In retrospect, Portuguese writers saw a plural indigenous polity in a state of growing fragmentation gravitating *in potentia* around higher indigenous centers, such as Wehale, Luca, Liquiçá, and Sonbay. This emphasis on imagined indigenous centralities, superior lords, or even “emperors” was also because their influence—whether real or imagined—was still relevant in the present. And these historiographic inquiries into ethno-political unity and diversity mattered because Portuguese agents understood those once dominant indigenous “kingdoms” or “empires” of the past as representing a tenacious and often troubling interference in their current colonial activity.

At the core, then, of these colonial historiographic inquiries was a disquiet about the presence of this imagined past in the present, and about how the perceived indigenous “imperial” rivals of bygone eras continued to interfere with Portuguese claims. Governors writing about this history sensed they had to tackle ancient indigenous forces in order to attain control of the ethno-political multiple. Of particular concern was the long-standing influence of the realm of Wehale, located in southwest Timor. This was because the relationship between Wehale and the Portuguese was marked by hostility, dating back to the foundational event of the destruction of Wehale by a Portuguese military expedition in 1642 (Fox 1982). Although Wehale’s secular importance was much reduced by Portuguese, Dutch, and *Topasse* military intrusions from the seventeenth century onwards, the realm retained a form of symbolic ascendancy; indeed, for many, both in West and East Timor, Wehale remained the supreme ritual center well into the twentieth century. The Europeans sensed this alternative centrality as a political threat.¹³ A Dutch document of 1904 (Schulte-Nordholt 1971: 234–36) reported nine indigenous polities as being under Wehale’s sphere of influence in Portuguese territory, while in 1901 Governor Celestino da Silva (1901) enumerated eight kingdoms affiliated with the house of Wehale. Wehale’s spiritual authority also had concrete military consequences. Although located in western lands, Wehale’s influence was made manifest by its eastern subsidiary domains, especially by the *liurai* of Suai and Camenassa, one of the four nuclear male rulers, “sons” of Wehale, who, according to myth, were in charge of protecting the realm and ruling secular affairs in Wehale’s eastern lands (Therik

¹³ Yet perhaps Portuguese rival claims to power centrality in the east were not even acknowledged as legitimate by Wehale authorities. Social anthropologist Gérard Francillon (1980: 252), for instance, observes that by 1907, the Lords of Wehale conceived of their power as limited, in the west by *Sonnebai*, and in the east by *Likusaen* or *Liquiçá*—thus apparently disregarding the Portuguese establishment. On the lasting influence and power of Wehale according to Timorese conceptions, see Therik 2004; Barnes, Hägerdal, and Palmer 2017.

2004). According to these Portuguese texts, the ancient antagonism and power of Wehale were tangibly transported to the present through the opposition and overtly anti-Portuguese attitude of the Suai-Camenassa domain.

Similarly, the rivalry between the houses of Liquiçá and Wehale was interpreted as an active resonance of the indigenous political past to be feared, but also to be taken advantage of. The historical understanding of the Liquiçá-Wehale relationship was entrenched in the pragmatics of colonial warfare and diplomacy. In effect, exploiting and manipulating this rivalry were crucial to the wars and political schemes of the Portuguese during the nineteenth century as Portuguese warfare was entirely reliant on Timorese warriors provided by allied vassal kingdoms. In these schemes, Wehale's hostile networks were generally opposed by Portuguese alliances with Liquiçá's affiliates. On some occasions, however, these positions could be reversed: Wehale enemies could transform into allies if the kingdoms regarded as enemies by the Portuguese happened to coincide with the enemies of Wehale; that is, if they belonged to the house of Liquiçá. Although Wehale's *liurais* seemed ready to oppose the Portuguese, the mutual enmity of the two major houses in the Belos province could be pragmatically exploited to Dili's advantage. The politics of these shifting alliances were complex and volatile. Today's enemies could become tomorrow's allies. Additionally, royal and aristocratic houses across the territory were inter-linked through origin narratives and networks of kinship shaped by exogamous marriage exchanges, then known by the name of *barlake*, implying kinship ties and complex reciprocal ritual obligations, and including support against enemies in the event of war (Roque 2012a).

The imagined ancient past of the Timorese polity continued echoing into the nineteenth century, fueling the volatile ethno-political world with turbulence, anti-Portuguese animosity, and radical diversity. Nevertheless, this perception of an indigenous past intruding into the present could also coexist with the view that, over the centuries, Portuguese incursions had themselves played an active part in engendering such convulsive diversity. Maybe the indigenous past was not so virginally "native" as it may have seemed at first sight.

The Indigenous Polity as a Portuguese Creation

The ethno-political multiple was ordinarily perceived as traditional and characteristically Timorese. The *reinos*, in this view, were above all autochthonous creations originating purely from indigenous sources. Nevertheless, it was also historical common

sense that the role played by the Portuguese in shaping this Timorese world over the centuries was not entirely innocent. Some governors were more skeptical about indigenous origin “purity,” and even writers, such as Castro, who endorsed that viewpoint, also accepted and practiced various old-style Portuguese institutions that produced or reproduced some crucial aspects of the polity. As even Afonso de Castro acknowledged, following Sarzedas (1811: 198), the titles of *rei* and *coronel*, for instance, had been granted to Timorese individuals and groups as part of a political strategy followed by the early colonizers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, many of the status signs, symbols, titles, and institutions that configured jural and military authority in the indigenous states by 1860s had a Portuguese mark. Timorese kings and nobility seemed to rely on several external inputs of Portuguese creation in order to ensure their own kinds of sovereign authority and governing power in the communities. Changes introduced by the Portuguese in former times had become included in the Timorese socio-political order—to the extent that, for some observers, it was unclear which aspects of *reinos* actually belonged to a distinctively indigenous past.

In 1901, sensing something of this intricate process, Governor Celestino da Silva (1901) advocated a strong and self-serving interpretation of the existence of *reinos*. In a report on “Timorese uses and customs” submitted to the Minister in Lisbon (though never published), this governor put forward an argument about the origins of *reinos* that centered on the commanding figure of the Portuguese governor. Observing the wide diffusion of Portuguese power-charged status signs, rites, and political objects among Timorese kings, he argued that Portuguese actions were the genesis of the profuse distribution and multiplication of kingship authority. To this purpose, he engaged critically with Castro’s well-known work of 1867, specifically criticizing Castro’s approaches and evidence concerning the “uses and customs, *estilos* or consuetudinary legislation of the Timorese” *reinos*. One aspect of Silva’s criticism was of a methodological nature. He claimed Castro’s work was “most deficient, frequently romantic, in what regards the uses and customs” because, Silva (1901) estimated, Afonso de Castro was not fluent in any “native language” and he relied on Timorese informants who “could hardly speak Portuguese.” Celestino da Silva did not specify the sources of this criticism. In an unpublished letter to Lisbon forwarding his extensive essay about Timorese uses and customs, however, Afonso de Castro (1860) indeed acknowledged that information for this work was provided to him by a Timorese interlocutor, a certain king he described as “Timor king *Alfêres-mór* of the District of Belchior, an aged man and very intelligent,” whose name he did not disclose. By contrast, Silva (1901) claimed a direct kind of empirical authority, largely unmediated by Timorese informants,

based on his acquaintance with several “native languages” and on seven years of practical experience of Timorese uses and customs.

Celestino da Silva specifically challenged Castro’s interpretation of the “election and appointment” of Timorese kings and, consequently, of the origins of the latter’s authority as heads of the *reinos*. According to Castro, the independent authority of Timorese kings stemmed from purely native processes of election. Silva contested this view, claiming that Castro had failed to recognize the decisive actions of Portuguese governors in empowering Timorese kings through a series of ceremonial actions of investiture and donation of the insignia of kingship power. Contradicting Castro, Silva proposed that the Portuguese governor in particular was the source of origin of the constitution of *reinos*, and the center from which jural and political authority emanated throughout the indigenous realm (Roque 2012b). In other words, for this governor, the Portuguese themselves were the creators of the ethno-political multiple. Here, it is worth quoting Celestino da Silva at length (1901):

The chiefs of the native states have a variety of names according to the language of the kingdom, thus the chiefs, and not only the *régulo*, are called “TETUM” LIU-RAI, from “LIU” more and “RAI” land. When the people want to name the kingdom’s chief they always say—the colonel [*coronel*]—and never “Liurai,” and so it seems it has always been since our governments started, in a line of thought much to regret, to grant the rank of colonel with inherent honors to the chiefs of native states, or *régulos*, as we ordinarily call them. . . Was this always like this? I don’t think so, because before we set foot in Timor there were no native colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, etc.; the chiefs were “Liurai,” “Dato,” “Aran,” “Rata,” “Najufa,” etc. depending on the kingdom’s language; but such times are pre-historic, and the customs and ways according to a natural evolution gave new forms to consuetudinary legislation, and so little is left now. . . the *régulo* [king] was imposed upon the minor states subdued by the governor, and from the latter’s authority all power [of the *régulo*] is derived. . . Before we landed in Timor, the *régulos* were not what they are today.

Portuguese governors had an upper hand in generating hierarchy and diversity in the indigenous polity by granting kingship titles and honors to myriad indigenous classes. Thus, in this self-serving theory of colonial power, *reis* and *reinos* were above all a Portuguese

creation. This governor-centric view implied a historical narrative of the origins of *reinos* that emphasized the Portuguese imprint upon political processes to the complete exclusion of indigenous agency. However, as even this governor acknowledged, such Portuguese mastery was overstated. It was also clear that the polity had gotten out of hand and become alienated from its European creators. Portuguese actions caused an explosion of kings, colonels, brigadiers, and so forth, who could turn against their alleged creators. As a result, the polity of *reinos*, although interweaved with the Portuguese, was also outside Portuguese control. This independence, furthermore, followed separate patterns and seemed to work in accordance with principles of governance and society—referred to as *usos e costumes*—that the Portuguese did not recognize as their own.

The *reinos*, it was believed, relied largely on the existence of a separate governance system based upon institutions and norms that were extraneous to and independent of Portuguese authority and European-styled legislation. According to this hypothesis, it was possible, beyond and underneath the great diversity of *reinos*, to unveil an ordered realm of distinctively Timorese institutions and norms, a set of static “traditional” parameters and designated uses and customs, or *estilos*. The polity of *many* could thus be efficiently ruled as *one* unified polity, it was believed, providing the Portuguese administrators were able to grasp the unique lawful uses and customs that were key to a successful colonization. In the 1800s, therefore, alongside investigations of historical import, efforts were made to isolate a distinctively indigenous Timorese socio-political nature, a kind of static essence of indigenous society that could be studied and governed for colonizing purposes. To this end, ethnography rather than historiography was to become the main investigative modality mobilized for understanding the indigenous kingdoms as a multiple of uses and customs.

Surveying Timorese “Uses and Customs”

The focus on justice, governance, and customary norms and practices was paramount to investigations of uses and customs. In colonial writings, uses and customs resembled a wide and plastic colonial concept that covered a wide variety of themes, not limited to strictly legal and juridical aspects. Topics described under this heading spanned from native “religion” to “marriage,” and from “penal punishments,” warfare, social stratification, slavery, funerary rites, and witchcraft to the election of kings. The study of uses and customs thus formed a broad sociological field of ethnographic investigations of the indigenous polity. In particular, knowing uses and customs was seen as the pathway to developing a

mimetic style of governing the ethno-political multiple, and one dictated less by European norms and laws than by a selective incorporation of what was perceived to be the “Timorese” forms of governance and law. It expressed an emerging form of mimetic governmentality, as I have argued elsewhere (Roque 2015), whose underlying principle of action was the incorporation and selective reproduction of the perceived otherness of “primitive” populations, with a view to ruling and governing their existence. Thus, rather than ascertaining land produce, taxes, or political loyalty, the issue here was to determine the indigenous institutions through which Timorese socio-political alterity could simultaneously be understood, imitated, governed, colonized, and “civilized.” In this context, the science of ethnography became the knowledge endeavor suited to this type of colonial governmentality and aimed at exercising justice and command over the “natives” from the viewpoint of their “uncivilized” customary norms and traditions.

Governors Write about Uses and Customs

As Afonso de Castro’s government style expressed this mimetic principle, his writings devote close attention to customs and manners that he saw as defining traits of the otherness of Timorese societies (Roque 2018). As explained above, Castro’s works stand out as attempts at grounding the colonial governance in Portuguese-centered historical inquiries. Simultaneously, they also stand out as seminal tentative descriptions of Timorese “uses and customs.” Indeed, in this mid-nineteenth-century endeavor, colonial historiography and colonial ethnography came into being as an intimate pair, almost a blend perhaps, of colonial knowledge forms. The will to penetrate the obscurity of indigenous governance and justice though a research focus on what were seen as indigenous uses and customs was at the core of Castro’s controlling anxieties regarding the ethno-political multiple: “We allow the kings to administer justice,” a vexed Castro wrote, “and the people . . . are tormented by one thousand small tyrants over which the Governor has little authority” (1860). In addition, the Timorese polity was seen as following utterly distinct and independent “native” norms, external to European law and authority. “The kingdoms are governed by what one calls *estilos*,” he concluded, “and there our mild legislation is unknown” and “[they] are not ruled by written laws, they are ruled by Timorese *estilos*, which are preserved unchangeable in tradition” (1867: XV, 315; Castro 1863). For this reason, in Castro’s phrasing, a critical aspect of a modernizing colonial government was to know “how the *reinos* of Timor are governed” (1867: 321).

Further steps in this same direction were taken during Celestino da Silva’s fourteen-year tenancy as governor of Timor (1894-1908). For this governor, too, the need to know the diversity of Timorese customs and lawful ways of governance in the *reinos* was at the core of a good administration. Above all, army officers were tasked with studying “the character of peoples and their history” (Silva, 1896: 5) and acquiring knowledge about the many and diverse uses and customs of the *reinos* under their jurisdiction, which they were intended to take into account in their judicial sentences and in the relations with the Timorese aristocracy. He also encouraged the “study” of indigenous customs by colonial officers as a step towards the idealized goal of “codification,” or the production of a formal written code of native law (Silva 1897: 42). These views aligned with the anti-assimilationist (also “specialization”) juridical theories and colonization doctrines then in vogue in scientific and legal circles in Europe (Silva 2004-2005). These were overtly racist and social evolutionist theories that presupposed European “civilized” law was superior and could not be transferred to inferior “primitive” races. Instead, different laws, or special “codes,” had to be locally designed in harmony with each “primitive” world, a work implying rigorous studies of the different uses and customs, and leading to their codification. “Colonial legislation,” the judge of law in Dili, Albano de Magalhães (1907: 31) defended, “by means of a perfect knowledge of the peoples, should proceed from a meticulous study of the regions, from initiatives adapted to the social scale of that people.”

The Emergence of Ethnographic Questionnaires

Celestino da Silva’s successor in office, army officer Eduardo Augusto Marques, took these views forward by launching the first ethnographic survey on uses and customs in the colony. This initiative in Timor was also one of the first to be launched in the Portuguese colonies.¹⁴ During his intense one-year tenancy as district governor (1908-09), Marques put research on uses and customs at the heart of his reforms of the colonial state. In 1908, he created in Dili a “Committee on Uses and Customs” that aimed to “collect and codify with

¹⁴ To the best of my knowledge, the Timor ethnographic questionnaire was possibly preceded in the Portuguese colonial empire only by a government questionnaire of 1885 (only “circumstantially ethnographic,” according to Pereira 2005: 197). In 1912, the governments of Mozambique and Angola decided to have similarly styled “ethnographic questionnaires” compiled (Pereira 2001: 40). The Timor initiative was referential for at least the Angolan survey. The latter bears the mark of the same Alberto Osório de Castro, at the time the appointed judge in Luanda and who, just like in Timor, was again put in charge of designing the ethnographic questionnaire (Roque 2001: 298-301; Amaral 2018: 157-60). Developing these comparisons in detail, however, would go beyond the scope of this article.

the greatest urgency the native juridical uses and customs, organize a special and swift process in the district native courts and to study a penal system applicable to the natives in the territory” (Marques 1908: 176-77). Creating such a system meant, primarily, getting to know indigenous laws and traditions, and collecting “native customs” across the country. Accordingly, Marques determined that officers and missionaries stationed in the *reinos* should use an “ethnographic questionnaire” for collecting the data.

Alberto Osório de Castro, the then judge of law in Dili, as well as a Coimbra graduate, an accomplished poet, and a passionate amateur scientist, was put in charge of designing this questionnaire. Arriving in Dili in 1908, the judge allowed his vocation as a colonial official to be followed by his ethnographic fervors as, while in Timor, he developed an avid interest in the sciences of ethnography and ethnology, to this purpose reading widely and cultivating an international network of correspondents, most notably including the French ethnographer Arnold van Gennep. Like Van Gennep, Osório de Castro (1909: 199) saw ethnography as a science of “practical scope” in the service of modern colonization and based on scientific work, and enthusiastically embraced the governor’s initiative of a “*Questionnaire* about Timorese uses and customs for the organization of a native law code” (Castro 1909: 206). “It is to be expected,” Castro commented, “that the survey in all military commands will also show ethnographic data of the highest importance for the government of the colony” (1909: 155). At a distance, from France, Van Gennep eventually mentored and somehow gave orientation to the project in Timor. Osório de Castro discussed the questionnaire with the French scholar by letter and, in the course of these exchanges, sent him a draft copy for appreciation and approval, which was subsequently received. “In the *Mercure de France* of 15 January,” as the judge in Dili wrote proudly to his father in Coimbra (1910), “is already kindly announced my questionnaire on Timorese uses and customs, classified as excellent.” Van Gennep continued to guide and encourage the colonial ethnographic questionnaire in further private letters: “Mr. van Gennep tells me in his last postcard,” the judge informed (1909: 244), and “*L’initiative de Mr. Le gouverneur est excellente ... C’est excellent pour le développement de nos études.*”

Under Van Gennep’s guidance, Osório de Castro divided the questionnaire into three main sections: Domestic Organization, Social Organization, and Political Organization, each of which included five to seven sub-sections on the topics. The questionnaire was then quickly put into circulation in 1909. While Osório de Castro (1909: 241, 245) discussed the “first” responses from missionaries received in Dili in 1909, it was not until 1916-17 that the partial results of this survey (concerning some “districts”; note the unit used here was

districts, not *reinos*) were published in the Official Bulletin of the Timor Province. But although only partially published, the questionnaire left a strong mark on the local society, with new terms and administrative districts being used in the drive to grasp Timorese uses and customs in the ethno-political multiple. This desire to know the Timorese uses and customs continued after 1909, with later officers and administrators also making similar attempts to launch ethnographic questionnaires, even if they seem to have had little or no effect (Correia 1935: 254; Carmo 1965: 10). In this way, the functional dimension of ethnography as a science of colonial administration was reinforced as, alongside recurrent questionnaires, colonial officers produced several ethnographic studies. Some of these studies circulated as articles and monographs, whereas many did not leave the manuscript form and the local administrative circuits, including several “Reports on Uses and Customs” produced by colonial officers in 1926 and 1933. But although these reports were never published, they were incorporated into one of the most prominent monographs in this colonial tradition, being Captain Armando Pinto Correia’s *Gentio de Timor* (1935)—a work that an elderly Van Gennep (1936), recalling Osório de Castro’s pioneering efforts, eventually praised as a “descriptive monograph” among the “best in the world.”

However, the rise and continuance of ethnographic surveys in early twentieth-century Timor did not simply supplant the prior enumerative and historiographical approaches, which continued to be practiced and reformulated by colonial agents. Although I will not elaborate on developments beyond the 1910s in this article, colonial historiography remained a relevant intellectual activity of several twentieth-century colonial officials and administrators (Martinho 1943). Hence, and in contrast to the analysis of scholars such as Nicholas Dirks (2001: 44), who, in the case of British India, argues straightforwardly that “Anthropology supplanted history as the principal colonial modality of knowledge and rule” in the late nineteenth century, these activities should in no way be placed in an evolutionary line of successions and replacements. Instead, in the decades preceding the tipping point date of 1911-12, all the former colonial investigative modalities of ethno-political multiplicity in East Timor seemed to have been simultaneously available and practiced. And in the years to come, all of them were able to be put to governmental use, coexist, blend, and mutate, rather than simply replace or supplant one another.

Glimpses of the Ethno-Political Multiple after 1912

By 1910-12, a vast coalition of Timorese kingdoms had joined a major anti-Portuguese uprising known as the Manufahi Rebellion. In the aftermath of the subsequent Portuguese victory, a profound administrative reform was undertaken to introduce new structures and divides in the territory that significantly interfered with (but did not eliminate entirely) the *reinos* and their royal aristocracies. The repression of this rebellion was followed by attempts to reduce or even eradicate the influence of these upper Timorese lineages. Many *reis* and *reinos* were eventually extinguished, replaced, somehow emptied of honors and titles, or perhaps forced into a socio-political life in the shadows. In the 1910s, a new colonial administrative division into *sucos* (Tetum: *sukus*) was imposed and took over the role of the former *reinos* in official dealings. In the three subsequent decades, “district” units and “ethnic” or linguistic groups tended to replace *reinos* as investigative units of colonial ethnography and anthropology. In this way, during the twentieth century a kind of ethno-racial or ethno-linguistic notion of diversity was replacing or perhaps being juxtaposed to the ethno-political multiple as knowledge object. The possibility of juxtaposing the geography of *reinos* with a racial topography was for a moment conjectured by the leading figure of Portuguese race science and colonial anthropology, António Mendes Correia. In 1944, imagining possible equivalences between ethnic types and *reinos*, Mendes Correia briefly considered mapping the ethnic groups of the colony in accordance with the “traditional division into *reinos*” (1944: 77). However, this procedure was regarded as too complex and so was quickly abandoned by colonial racial anthropologists in favor of ethno-linguistic categories and the more recent administrative divisions created after 1910 (Roque 2022).

Although the *reinos* were officially side-lined as administrative units around 1913, neither the *reinos* nor the investigative modalities with which they were associated simply vanished, either from policy imaginaries or from everyday colonial life. In Portugal, the topic of the effective management of the *organismes politiques indigènes* (native political organisms) featured in wider comparative discussions of past and present colonization policies in Portuguese Africa and Asia (Negreiros 1910), while in Timor some of the former world of multiple kings and *reinos* seems to have endured, albeit at a different pace, partially visible and partially hidden, and either passively or actively behind the scenes. In 1927, for example, the officer Almeida Pinheiro referred to the Timorese as living in villages “subordinated directly to diverse kingdoms whose superior chief is the king or chief of the kingdom” and counted “around 30 *reinos* subject to Portugal” (1927; Sherlock 1983). Indeed, until at least 1952, over thirty-nine Timorese “liurais or kings” continued to be counted and acknowledged as royal figures in official acts and lists by Portuguese authorities. Thus, in 1944, the army officer and

once interim governor Gonalo Pimenta de Castro could lament the enduring existence of kings: “There are still kings and queens who live with relative pomp, in brick-built houses, wearing silks and dressed up in European ways, and traveling to Dili” (1944: 13). Although, therefore, the ethno-political multiple of *reinos* seemed to have moved off the front stage of colonial investigations, it remained a significant political actor, and a haunting presence in the minds and activities of colonial researchers and administrators.¹⁵

Conclusion

In colonial East Timor, visions of the indigenous polity/polities as an ethno-political multiple pervaded Portuguese administrative action and intellectual life. The *reinos*, a galaxy of polities remarkable for their exuberant diversity, were the main focus of this colonial notion. They were one and many, and one and multiple *other/s*, all at the same time, and also extreme incarnations of both the promises of domination and the threats posed to hegemonic colonial ambitions by indigenous socio-political diversity and autonomy. East Timor was envisioned as a land of imaginary wealth that could never become reality because of the political independence and intractability of this multiple polity. The diversity and independence of the *reinos* were thus an obstacle to Portuguese ambitions for power and resource-extraction. Consequently, knowing the ethno-political multiple went hand in hand with ruling the colony. In the historical period under consideration, the ethno-political multiple of *reinos* was an object shaped by distinct investigative modalities of colonial knowledge. I have characterized three analytically distinct modes of investigation—enumerative, historiographic, and ethnographic—practiced by Portuguese colonial officers and administrators in Timor. These modes of investigating the indigenous polity as a multiple formation coexisted, combined, changed, and developed alongside one another during and perhaps even beyond the long nineteenth century.

Essentialism notwithstanding, modern European colonizers in general tended to postulate “diversity” as an attribute of the social, political, and natural world of “natives.” Diversity was seen as a feature of otherness, an object at the juncture of colonial knowledge and governmentality. Expectations of diversity guided how the “natives” should be known, and also how they should be governed, civilized, and exploited. This diversity attribute of

¹⁵ The continuing influence of traditional royal classes and lineages of *liurais* in the definition of socio-political hierarchies after 1912 (for instance, through the selection and appointment of *suku* and village chiefs) and even today is reported in recent works (see, for instance, Ospina and Hohe 2001; Cummins and Leach 2012).

indigenous others could be investigated in relation to religion, language, tribe, or race, for example. Besides these themes, the otherness of extra-European diversity could also be investigated in relation to the subject of politics and forms of governance. I have conceptualized these colonial notions of indigenous otherness as ethno-political, a plastic ensemble of conceptions about the indigenous polity/polities, including the distinctive modes of governance, statecraft, political authority, social norms, and laws, developed by Europeans with a view to managing this same polity and to governing and exploiting it, while simultaneously also protecting themselves from its perceived threats. The inclusion of diversity in this equation configured what I refer to as an ethno-political multiple, the notion of the indigenous realm as a multiple polity requiring appropriate actions of control, government, and knowledge. The concept of an ethno-political multiple proposed here seeks to illustrate a power-knowledge dynamic at the level of Portuguese colonialism in Timor. Yet this concept is also useful, I believe, for a wider analysis of the ethno-political drive of western colonialisms, and it is my hope coming scholars will be able to pursue this comparative task.

References

- Amaral, Ana Rita (2018). *Etnografias Espiritanas: museus, etnografia e coleções em Angola colonial* (c. 1919-1960). PhD Thesis; Universidade de Lisboa.
- Anonymous (ca. 1870s). *Mapa dos Reinos do Districto de Timor*. Lisbon: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Secção de Reservados, 3-Q-35.
- Barnes, Susanna, Hans Hägerdal and Lisa Palmer (2017). “An East Timorese Domain: Luca from Central and Peripheral Perspectives.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 173 (2-3): 325-355.
- Bentley, G. Carter (1986). “Indigenous States of Southeast Asia.” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15: 275-305.
- Cabreira, Frederico Leão (1842). *Archipelago de Timor descoberto em 1511 pelo capitão António de Abreu. Notícias das Ilhas e Timor e Solor*. Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, AHU_CU_ACL_SEMU_DGU, 005, Cx. 10.
- Carmo, António Duarte de Almeida e (1965). *O Povo Mambai: Contribuição para o Estudo do Povo do Grupo Linguístico Mambai—Timor*. Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina.
- Castro, Afonso de (1860). *Notícia sobre alguns dos usos e costumes na Ilha de Timor. Ofício nº 112. 1 de Novembro de 1860*. Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, ACL_SEMU_DGU_005_Cx0026_1860.
- Castro, Afonso de (1862). “Résumé historique de l'établissement portugais à Timor, des costumes et de ses habitants.” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 11: 465-506.
- Castro, Afonso de (1863). “Notícia dos usos e costumes dos povos de Timor.” *Anais do Conselho Ultramarino*, Unofficial Section: 29-31.
- Castro, Afonso de (1867). *As Possessões Portuguesas na Oceânia*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- Castro, Alberto Osório de (1909). *Flores de Coral: Poemetos e Impressões da Oceânia Portuguesa*. Dili: Imprensa Nacional.
- Castro, Alberto Osório de (1910). Letter to João Baptista de Castro, Timor, Dili, 6 March. Correspondence Family Archives of Alberto Osório de Castro, Azeitão.
- Castro, Gonçalo Pimenta de (1944). *Timor (subsídios para a sua história)*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias.
- Christie, J.W. (1995). “State Formation in Early Maritime Southeast Asia: A Consideration of the Theories and the Data.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 151 (2): 235-288.
- Cohn, Bernard S. (1996). *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Colombijn, Freek (2003). “The Volatile State in Southeast Asia: Evidence from Sumatra, 1600-1800.” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 62 (2): 497-529.
- Correia, António Mendes (1944). *Timor Português: Contribuições para o seu Estudo Antropológico*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- Cummins, Deborah and Michael Leach (2012). “Democracy Old and New: The Interaction of Modern and Traditional Authority in East Timorese Local Government.” *Asian Politics & Policy*, 4: 89-104.
- Dirks, Nicholas (2001). *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Birth of British India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ferreira, João Gomes (1902). “Cálculo aproximado da população da parte Portuguesa de Timor. Feito em 1882.” *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 20ª série (10): 129-131.
- Forjaz, Cipriano (1983). *Letter to Governor of Macao and Timor, 15 Nov. 1893*. Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 8, 1894.

- Forman, Sheppard (1977). “East Timor: Exchange and Political Hierarchy at the Time of the European Discoveries.” In Karl L. Hutterer (ed.), *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Prehistory, History, and Ethnography*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 97-111.
- Foucault, Michel (2010). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- Fox, James J. (1982). “The Great Lord Rests at the Centre. The Paradox of Powerlessness in European-Timorese relations.” *Canberra Anthropology*, 9 (2): 22-33.
- França, Bento da (1897). *Macau e os seus Habitantes. Relações com Timor*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional.
- Francillon, Gérard (1980). “Incursions upon Wehali: A Modern History of an Ancient Empire.” In James Fox (ed.), *The Flow of Life: Essays in Eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 248-65.
- Garcia, António Joaquim (1870). *Relatório apresentado pelo comandante da expedição militar a Timor, acerca da revolta do régulo de Cová, 19 October*. Arquivo Histórico de Macau/Centro Cultural e Científico de Macau, CCCM-MCAHM/AC/9/678/A.G12. Mic 0678. P-64.
- Geertz, Clifford (1980). *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hägerdal, Hans (2012). *Lords of the Land, Lords of the Sea: Conflict and Adaptation in Early Colonial Timor, 1600-1800*. The Hague: KILTIV.
- Hägerdal, Hans (2013). “The Native as *Exemplum*: Missionary Writings and Colonial Complexities in Eastern Indonesia, 1819-1860.” *Itinerario*, XXXVII (2): 73-99.
- Hägerdal, Hans (2016). “Trajectories of the Early-Modern Kingdoms in Eastern Indonesia: Comparative Perspectives.” *HumaNetten*, 68 (37): 66-87.
- Leitão, Humberto (1948). *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702*. Lisbon: Tipografia da Liga dos Combatentes da Grande Guerra.
- Macedo, António Moniz de (1737). *Provisão (treslado) do governador e capitão-geral das ilhas de timor e solor, a conceder aos reis e coronéis da ilha de timor a isenção de pagamento das fintas anuais. Anexo lista dos reinos, dos reis e das quantias que pagavam*. Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, CU_TIMOR, Cx. 2, D. 54.
- Magalhães, Albano de (1907). *Estudos Coloniaes. I - Legislação Colonial. Seu espírito, sua formação e seus defeitos*. Coimbra: França Amado.
- Marques, Eduardo A. (1908). “Comissão de usos e costumes. Portaria nº 177. 10 October 1908.” *Boletim Oficial de Timor*, 41: 176-177.
- Martinho, José Simões (1943). *Timor: Quatro Séculos de Colonização Portuguesa*. Porto: Progredior.
- Matos, Artur Teodoro de (1974). *Timor Português 1515-1769. Contribuição para a História*. Lisbon: Instituto Histórico Infante D. Henrique.
- Eredia, Manuel Godinho de. (1930 [1613]). “Eredia’s Description of Malacca, Meridional India, and Cathay.” Translated by J. V. Mills. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 8 (1): 1-288.
- Negreiros, António Lobo de Almada (1910). *Les organismes politiques indigènes*. Paris: Augustin Chamel.
- Nogueira, Feliciano António (2015 [1801]). “Relação das Ilhas de Timor e Solor. Real Gabinete de Leitura do Rio de Janeiro, 6/B/15.” In Artur Teodoro de Matos (ed.), *Timor no Passado: Fontes para a sua História (Séculos XVII e XVIII)*. Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 161-221.
- Ospina, Sofi and Tanja Hohe (2001). “Traditional Power Structures and the Community Empowerment and Local Governance Project. Final Report.” Presented to CEP/PMU, ETTA/UNTAET and the World Bank.

- Paulino, Vicente (2017). "As lendas de Timor e a literatura oral timorense." *Anuário Antropológico*, 42 (2): 157-179.
- Pereira, Rui Mateus (2001). "A 'Missão etnográfica de Moçambique.' A codificação dos 'usos e costumes indígenas' no direito colonial português." *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*, 1: 125-177.
- Pereira, Rui Mateus (2005). *Conhecer para Dominar: O Desenvolvimento do Conhecimento Antropológico na Política Colonial Portuguesa em Moçambique, 1926-1959*. PhD Thesis: Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Pinheiro, Almeida (1927). "Timor." *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, 21: 177-191.
- Roque, Ricardo (2001). *Antropologia e Império: Fonseca Cardoso e a Expedição à Índia em 1895*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Roque, Ricardo (2010a). *Headhunting and Colonialism: Anthropology and the Circulation of Human Skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870-1930*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Roque, Ricardo (2010b). "The Unruly Island: Colonialism's Predicament in Late Nineteenth-Century East Timor." *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 17/18: 303-330.
- Roque, Ricardo (2011). "Os Portugueses e os Reinos de Timor no século XIX." *Oriente*, 20: 91-110.
- Roque, Ricardo (2012a). "Marriage Traps: Colonial Interactions with Indigenous Marriage Ties in East Timor." In Francisco Bethencourt and Adrian Pearce (eds.), *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 203-225.
- Roque, Ricardo (2012b). "A voz dos *bandos*: coletivos de justiça e ritos da palavra portuguesa em Timor-Leste colonial." *Mana*, 18 (3): 563-594.
- Roque, Ricardo (2015). "Mimetic Governmentality and the Administration of Colonial Justice in East Timor, ca. 1860-1910." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51 (1): 67-97.
- Roque, Ricardo (2018). "Dances with Heads: Parasitic Mimesis and the Government of Savagery in Colonial East Timor." *Social Analysis*, 62 (2): 28-50.
- Roque, Ricardo (2022). "Bleeding Languages: Blood Types and Linguistic Groups in the Timor Anthropological Mission." *Current Anthropology*, 63 (2): in press.
- Roque, Ricardo and Luísa Coutinho (2021). "A 'guerra dos doidos' em Timor-Leste (1776-1786)." *Resistências. Insubmissão e Revolta no Império Português*. Edited by Mafalda Soares da Cunha. Lisbon: Leya, 294-300.
- Schulte-Nordholt, H. G. (1971). *The Political System of the Atoni of Timor*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- Shepherd, Christopher J. and Andrew McWilliam (2013). "Cultivating Plantations and Subjects in East Timor: A Genealogy." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, 169 (2-3): 326-361.
- Sherlock, Kevin (1983). *East Timor: Liurais and Chefes de Suco: Indigenous Authorities in 1952*. Darwin: Kevin Sherlock.
- Silva, Cristina Nogueira da (2004-2005). "'Missão Civilizacional' e Codificação de Usos e Costumes na Doutrina Colonial Portuguesa (Séculos XIX-XX)." *Quaderni Fiorentini*, 33-34: 899-921.
- Silva, José Celestino (1901). *Relatório sobre os usos e costumes timorenses*. Lisboa: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901-1904.
- Silva, José Celestino da (1897). *Relatório das Operações de Guerra no Districto Autonomo de Timor no Anno de 1896*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- Sousa, Lúcio (2017). "A etnografia em concurso administrativo: a 'monografia etnográfica' em Timor Português em 1948." *Anuário Antropológico*, 42 (2): 57-82.
- Tambiah, Stanley (1977). "The Galactic Polity: The Structure of Traditional Kingdoms in Southeast Asia." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 293 (1): 69-97.

- Therik, Tom (2004). *Wehali, the Female Land: Traditions of a Timorese Ritual Centre*. Canberra: Pandanus Books.
- Thomaz, L. F. (1994). *De Centa a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel.
- Traube, Elizabeth (1986). *Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual Exchange Among the Mambai of East Timor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Genneep, Arnold (1936). “Review of Armando Pinto Correia, *Gentio de Timor*.” *Mercure de France*, 15 August: 147-148.

Received for publication: 30 September 2021

Accepted in revised form: 31 January 2022

Recebido para publicação: 30 de Setembro de 2021

Aceite após revisão: 31 de Janeiro de 2022

Bionote/Nota Biográfica

RICARDO ROQUE (PhD, University of Cambridge, UK). Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon. He works on the history and anthropology of human sciences and colonialism in the Portuguese-speaking world, from 1800 to the twentieth-century.

RICARDO ROQUE (Doutoramento, Universidade de Cambridge, Reino Unido). Investigador Auxiliar no Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa. Trabalha sobre história e antropologia do colonialismo e das ciências humanas nos espaços de expressão portuguesa, desde 1800 até ao século XX.

How Do We Write the History of Portuguese Imperial Imagination?

Diogo Ramada Curto¹

The book under review is a compilation of chapters and articles, some previously published, on the Portuguese Empire. Covering the period from the late fifteenth century to 1961, two well-established historians have edited this book of almost seven hundred pages, which studies different types of imaginaries of the Portuguese Empire. This is a great feat that should be praised because research institutes and projects paid for with public money often have limited success in Portugal. The publication of conference papers has been used extensively to camouflage the absence of more substantial results. A second goal accomplished through the publication of this book is the recognition António Manuel Hespanha's intellectual leadership, which, through his devoted disciplines, has led to the creation of a large, flexible, and sociable academic network.

Each chapter is, without question, of high quality. More than twenty historians, in different stages of their careers and some leading in the field of imperial history, have contributed to this book some of their best research achievements—all covering the various ways of imagining the Portuguese empire. Moreover, Silva and Xavier have invited other historians to contribute who usually work outside the network created around A. M. Hespanha. By including contributors from outside the usual cohort of disciples, Silva and Xavier have established a multitude of perspectives concerning the Portuguese imperial political imagination. However, the overarching conceptualization of the book—which sometimes leads to the reproduction of dated antinomies prevalent in Portuguese colonial history and conversely in “new” concepts or analytical frameworks with very limited heuristic potential—is questionable.

The book has no central research question, yet the quest for “complexity,” an oft-repeated term associated with “multiplicity,” “pluralism,” “liminality,” “Otherness,” and “fragmentation,” manages to adequately stand in for such a question. Once complexity is explained and distilled into something more concrete, some of the above-mentioned antinomies are introduced. Perhaps the most important of these is related to *lusotropicalismo*.

¹ NOVA University Lisbon, Departamento de Estudos Políticos, IPRI, Lisbon, Portugal. *E-Mail:* dcur@fcsh.unl.pt

On the one hand, Gilberto Freyre, who introduced this term, is presented to discuss how the Portuguese integrated and melded with peoples in the tropics. On the other hand, Charles Boxer's perspective is presented, underlying the constant racism and discrimination found everywhere in the Portuguese empire. If this juxtaposition encompasses the two main narratives around which the field is established, including the studies in the book under review, one should ask how to address them critically.

A first step towards a critical appraisal of these opposing narratives would be to retrace the debate between Freyre and Boxer. A similar antinomy took shape during the fifties and sixties in context of defending Portuguese colonial exceptionality from the international trend towards granting independence to colonies, as well as the beginning of the Angolan War of Independence. However, as the Portuguese anthropologist Nuno Domingos has already suggested, the new imperial political imagination of those decades was not necessarily the consequence of a *lusotropical* vision, but (i) the outcome of antsubversive techniques shared by different international organisations, (ii) the impact of products from the colonies' new cultural industries (i.e., radio, film, television, and print, all associated with new practices in sports and music), and finally, (iii) the reaction to the process of African detribalisation, which led to new modes of segregation and the introduction of Africans as potential consumers within an enlarged market (Domingos 2021: 44, 51-53).

There are many other elements composing Portuguese imperial or colonial imagination during the fifties and sixties, ranging from *développement communautaire* to the incarceration in villages, and from concentration camps to limited practices of militarized terror. My point is, therefore, why should a military and political contradiction established within a specific historical context of colonialism and decolonisation be used today as a conceptual tool of analysis? Similarly, why should two narratives, respectively opposing and supporting Portuguese colonialism, continue to occupy such a central place in Portuguese colonial history, when the framework includes so many other elements as well? Finally, should historical research today simply reproduce these dated military and political views when there is potentially great value in more distance from the past?

From one point of view, these questions, which suggest considerable limitations concerning the conceptualization of the Portuguese imperial imagination, did not go unanswered. For instance, there is the case of A. M. Hespanha, who applied the concept of "legal pluralism." According to Hespanha, the legal culture of the Old Regime, to which the *ius commune* and the memory of the Roman Empire belonged, gave the colonizers the necessary framework to engage with different cultures and address otherness. This is a very

controversial issue, however, because it is still unclear how an empire—based upon the exercise of power by agents (such as viceroys, noble captains, priests, merchants, planters), organized around fortresses, churches, monasteries, *câmaras*, *misericórdias*, confraternities, and plantations, allied with local princes and collaborators, and exploiting slave labour everywhere—resulted from this classical and plural legal order.

Hespanha's background in law at the University of Coimbra instilled in him a conviction that the societies of the old regime naturalized cultural differences within a corporative order. Political theology followed a similar path. For Hespanha, it seems, the law stood above and preceded the creation of the state. The doctrine opposing the use of social sciences or sociology, which initially emerged within the School of law, ultimately paved the way for authoritarian regimes during the twentieth century. Lacking the proper background to study archival documents, Hespanha and other legal historians imposed what they had learned in college: that the law remained the most important system of regulation; that magistrates were uniquely qualified to judge societies; and that corporations and jurisdictions created an old regime order that had nothing to do with the state nor with the colonial state.

It is more difficult to explain why the prioritization of law became popular for the study of the Portuguese Empire. I believe this has to do with these scholars' engagement with John Austin's speech acts, which allowed them to participate in the "linguistic turn." Yet, why do the editors believe that "legal pluralism" determined the development of the political imagination of the Portuguese empire? I do not propose replacing "legal pluralism" with another "prime mover," for traditionally many have been proposed to reconstruct the political imagination of the Portuguese or other European empires—the Crusades, Malthusian pressures, commercial ventures, mercantilism, religion, gunboats, political economy, conjectural history, and so on and so forth. No, what I find hard to accept is the single-minded priority given to "legal pluralism."

According to Silva and Xavier, the legal culture of the old regime began to collapse from the eighteenth century and onwards. This change has three causes: the "civilizing mission," racialism and anti-racialism, and the social contract theories of the Enlightenment. According to a paragraph on pages 26-27, two phases have existed since. During the first phase, there was still a sort of tolerance of legal pluralism, which is why slavery was still accepted. Simultaneously, paternalistic attitudes towards "primitive" political and legal values meant that the transition towards "civilized" legal values was slow. During the second phase, however, which started towards the end of the nineteenth century, core aspects of the "civilizing mission" were challenged by the growing desire to respect native forms of political

organization based on local uses and costumes. Here, the universal values of progress and civilization paradoxically opposed a plurality of native cultures.

I find it quite difficult to accept the argument that an old and “primitive” legal pluralism disappeared and gave way to a new one because the tension between universal and local categories, which Silva and Xavier believe to witness in the late nineteenth century, was not unique to this period. Thus, firstly, what should be clarified are the universal values which had coexisted with the earlier legal orders based on pluralism.

Secondly, previous generations of historians have already sought to understand how the “civilizing mission” took shape in the Portuguese empire. On the one hand, they found that to “civilize” the Africans meant to incorporate them into the plantation economy. Discussions about forced labor and modern slavery during the first quarter of the twentieth century destroyed the myth of so-called “nineteenth-century abolitionism” (Jerónimo 2010). On the other hand, racism and antiracism converged in demanding the anthropological autonomy of each group or ethnic identity (Maurício 2005: 47-48, 80, 92-104, 93-94, 97-98, 103-104). Paradoxically, the concept of anthropological autonomy was used both to impose discriminatory barriers resulting in apartheid, and to denounce racism and demand independence. What was at stake in all these different forms of actualizing the “civilizing mission” had no direct link with a legal framework or culture. Hence, rather than a new legal order, I believe that political economy, anthropology, medicine, history, military treaties, and journalism were the most active kinds of knowledge that came to the fore during the period of new imperialism.

Another feature of this book is a peculiar top-down conception of the Portuguese imperial political imagination. This is caused by turning the debate between Lusitanian attitudes of integration versus Portuguese racism to a sort of “history of ideas” as represented by the “duel” between Freyre and Boxer. Rather, one could argue that these scholars paid attention to different types of legal cultures and publications. This top-down perspective shows itself in at least three other places. For instance, collaboration between the agents of the Portuguese empire and local elites is often described in terms of “mimetic governmentality.” This expression is introduced by Ricardo Roque, author of one of the book’s chapters, and reveals a top-down understanding of the Portuguese Empire. The same could be said to apply to the use of a vocabulary close to the “social logic of integration.” For instance, the concept *accomodatio* develops alongside Jesuit missionary methods and eventually includes situations whereby the colonized peoples are violently coerced (pp. 40-41). Finally, in the chapters by Marcocci, Belo, Oliveira-Magalhães, and Monteiro, references

to slavery or forced labor in intellectual publications, theater, court cases, or the guidelines of international organizations are never used to explore a perspective from below or to break the silence imposed on the subaltern.

I also have reservations about four other aspects of this book. First, the dates 1496 and 1961 are controversial milestones in Portuguese history. Why is the expulsion of the Jews in 1496 so relevant in terms of imagining the Portuguese empire, and why does the Portuguese imperial imagination conclude somewhere with the start of the Angolan War of Independence in 1961? My second reservation concerns the book's comparison of Portugal's imperial imagination with other imperial patterns. Are the empires of the Romans, Mughals, Ottomans, Habsburgs, and French logical choices for a comparison with the Portuguese Empire? Would a comparison with the Dutch and British experiences be more pertinent? Third, important scholars are missing from the various bibliographies, such as the Brazilian historian Fernando Novaes and the Portuguese historian of Africa Isabel Castro Henriques, as are some of the key works on the exercise of colonial power and identity by American Brazilianist Stuart Schwartz. Other classics, such as Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and Jaime Cortesão are also missing.

Fourth and finally, the book suffers from numerous vague and improperly edited passages. The following example demonstrates how Portuguese should not be written: "the legal culture and the categorical flexibility involved in legal pluralism can help to explain that, at different times, and as Paul Ricoeur could have said, the self has often been perceived as other, both the colonizing self as much as the colonized self" (translated, p. 37). Another sentence reveals how causality is often presented in an idealist, Eurocentric manner: "the chapter from the third part of the book explores, precisely, how the social tensions are a consequence of the unequal representation in the metropolis of the imperial territories and populations" (translated, p. 51). Thus, social tensions and conflicts resulted from representations created in the metropolis . . . or were they?

Notwithstanding all the criticisms here presented, this book compiles a set of pieces of analytical research exemplifying individual lines of research.

References

- Domingos, Nuno (ed.) (2021). *Cultura Popular e Império: As Lutas pela Conquista do Consumo Cultural em Portugal e nas suas Colónias*. Lisbon: ICS—Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira (2010). *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: a "Missão Civilizadora" do Colonialismo Português c. 1870-1930*. Lisbon: ICS—Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Maurício Carlos (2005). *A Invenção de Oliveira Martins: Política, Historiografia e Identidade Nacional no Portugal Contemporâneo, 1867-1960*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional—Casa da Moeda.

Bionote/ Nota Biográfica

DIOGO RAMADA CURTO (PhD Historical Sociology, Universidade Nova de Lisboa) is professor at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Political Studies Department, and researcher at the IPRI (Portuguese Institute for International Relations). He works on early modern and modern history with a special focus on the different configurations of the Portuguese Empire, slavery, and political cultures.

DIOGO RAMADA CURTO (doutoramento em Sociologia Histórica, Universidade Nova de Lisboa) é professor catedrático na Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Departamento de Estudos Políticos e investigador do IPRI. As suas investigações sobre história moderna e contemporânea versam o estudo de diferentes configurações do Império Português, escravatura e culturas políticas.

O Governo dos Outros: Some Afterthoughts

Jorge Flores¹

When an Ethiopian called Malik Ya'kut was chosen as the diplomatic representative of the sultanate of Bijapur at the capital of the *Estado da Índia* in 1649, the advisers of the Portuguese viceroy reacted harshly. The appointment of a castrated slave (*ennuço cativo*) as ambassador to Goa was seen as an affront among members of the imperial elite. Nevertheless, someone at a state council meeting held in the city cared to note that “even if the ambassador was a captive, it was a rather common thing for the kings of India to employ such people in their service” (Pissurlencar 1955: 129-130). Contrasting conceptions of slavery are at stake here. As in other coeval Islamic states, specifically the Ottoman Empire (Hathaway 2018), slaves in early modern India frequently rose to the higher echelons of society and politics (Subrahmanyam 2019). Thus, it was quite common for people living in Bijapur, be they Hindus or Muslims, to see former Abyssinian (*habsbi*) slaves make their way into the court as power brokers. Yet for those in the viceregal court of Goa, molded by a heavy Portuguese and Catholic background of hierarchy and segregation, a slave was a slave, and such a condition was quasi-immutable.

The story of Malik Ya'kut cuts across some of the central questions posited by *O Governo dos Outros*. Drawing partly on Michel Foucault's *The Government of Self and Others* (Foucault 2010), this hefty collective volume stems from a research project on the question of alterity in the long-lasting Portuguese Empire. It comprises twenty articles, along with a substantive introduction and comprehensive bibliography (albeit no index), and was compiled by two Portuguese historians who have been working on this and related topics for most of their academic careers. The book's coverage is as wide-ranging as the Portuguese Empire itself. Geographically, it spans from Africa and Brazil to South and Southeast Asia. Chronologically, the volume's landmarks are the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1496 and the demise of Portuguese Goa in 1961. By considering the initial Portuguese modes of political management and cultural depiction of *mouros* and *negros*, the articles by Marcocci and Belo take a step back and begin this long journey with the conquest of the North African city of Ceuta in 1415 and the early exploration of the west coast of Africa. While the

¹ Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia (CIUHCT) and Departamento de História e Filosofia das Ciências (DHFC), Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade de Lisboa. Lisbon, Portugal. E-Mail: jmflores@fc.ul.pt.

appropriate endpoint of the volume would have been Macau and its post-colonial hand-over to China in 1999, the long history of the last of the Portuguese imperial legacies is largely overlooked, with the exception of the article penned by the late António Manuel Hespanha.

O Governo dos Outros is divided into four parts, the titles of which can be roughly translated as: 1) Continuities in the government of others in the Portuguese Empire; 2) Citizenship and liminality; 3) Political and cultural representation of the empire's peoples; and 4) A distinctive empire? As in any other collective (and lengthy) work, the extant contributions are diverse in theme, approach, and breadth. At one extreme, we find eye-opening, conceptual articles, specifically Hespanha's on law and empire, Schaub's on race in the West, Burbank and Cooper's on citizenship from imperial Rome to colonial France, and Subrahmanyam's comparison of three early modern empires that together bridged the Atlantic Ocean to the gates of inland Southeast Asia. At another extreme, we have case studies anchored in characters, events, and minute chronologies, such as the article by Oliveira and Magalhães on the actions of a local judge in late eighteenth-century Angola, Monteiro's on native labor in Africa in the years 1961-1962, and Ferreira's on the *casa dos estudantes do império*. Readers will surely benefit from considering the chapters in a different order and then approaching them according to their own logic (indeed, the editors themselves suggest precisely this in their introduction). It would make sense, for instance, to link the pieces by Pinheiro and Marcocci, to discuss Belo's article as a forward to Monteiro and Kantor's, and to read the articles by Xavier and Herzog in tandem. Several articles—too many, in my view—have their second take in this volume as they were previously published elsewhere, often in a different language.

O Governo dos Outros no doubt constitutes a bold scholarly enterprise, and one that demonstrates how poor the debate of this subject matter can be if we insist on restricting it to the past polarizations surrounding Gilberto Freyre's theories. The book truly generates “synaptic” connections involving law and justice, religion and conversion, race and ethnicity, language and dress, political rituals and social practices, citizenship and assimilation, identity and identification, empire and nation, memory and imagination, and high and low culture. What is more, it invites the reader to carry these themes and concepts across the divide between early modern and modern, and ultimately helps to bridge a vexing gap. While other perspectives and strands could have been added or expanded, this is true for any academic work and seldom constitutes fair criticism. Personally, I would have enjoyed reading more on ethnography and visibility, territory and frontier, and travel and mobility. The idea of the other, which is critically addressed in the introductory text, might prove to be too small an

umbrella. For one thing, the others are more numerous and more diverse than those under scrutiny in this book. For another thing, the borders between the other and the self are often blurred, as shown by Herzog's article (the piece with the most suggestive title in the entire collection) and as the editors acknowledge when rejecting binary alterities. Ironically, the others appear unable to speak, remaining essentially voiceless throughout the volume, and one is left wondering how they saw themselves vis-à-vis the "true" Portuguese. Last but not least, I missed a reflection on archives, categories, and terminology, or on the extent to which the ways the source material was successively organized from the fifteenth century onwards, and eventually "served" to us today, affect our own analyses.

Ângela Barreto Xavier and Cristina Nogueira da Silva open their thought-provoking introduction by remarking that "the management of diversity and difference is a key issue concerning contemporary societies, Western or non-Western," and that "these problems are not exclusive to contemporary societies" (21, my translation). The management of multiethnic societies across the world is indeed at the forefront of scholarly and political debates concerning global governance and its transnational agents. But historians, especially those working on empires, should be contributing a lot more toward a discussion that all too often ignores the past, or otherwise caricatures it in numerous ways. *After Empire*, an edited book published almost a quarter of a century ago, represents an early and excellent attempt at placing history at the center of the conversation (Barkey and von Hagen 1997). The world was less global then, and the focus of the book rests instead on the transition from empire to nation state, specifically on how the question of multiethnicity evolved in three imperial landscapes—Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg—when the move to the nation took place. *O Governo dos Outros* is a somewhat analogous endeavor, with a marked Portuguese research agenda and a less ambitious comparative dimension.

Empires, early modern and modern alike, comprised a patchwork of domains and peoples. Imperial authority rested on the ability to adapt and negotiate, and this was equally true for Portugal, the Habsburgs (Judson 2016), and Russia (Kivelson 2006), but also beyond the Western world: the Ottoman Empire, for example, was a "negotiated enterprise" (Barkey 2008), while an "ecumenical" Hindustan thrived until the nineteenth century (Ahmed 2020), and even China knew how to compromise at its fringes (Crossley, Siu and Sutton 2006). The editors of *O Governo dos Outros* go on to argue that making these others was key to the effectiveness and longevity of imperial formations. The dividing line between managing difference and creating otherness certainly requires further thought. However, the discussion seems to be tainted by the subliminal assumption that these phenomena are exclusive of the

European empires, even though—and while being mindful of the dangers of comparing apples and oranges—any look at East Asia, and especially at the history of Taiwan from the seventeenth century onwards (Andrade 2008; Teng 2004; Ching 2001), will tell us a great deal about integration and assimilation, their opposites, and the myriad nuances in-between (Hostetler 2001; Toby 2019).

References

- Ahmed, Manan (2020). *The Loss of Hindustan: The Invention of India*. Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press.
- Andrade, Tonio (2008). *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Barkey, Karen (2008). *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barkey, Karen, and Mark von Hagen (eds.) (1997). *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building. The Soviet Union, the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*. Boulder (CO): Westview Press.
- Ching, Leo T. S. (2001). *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Crossley, Pamela Kyle, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton (eds.) (2006). *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Foucault, Michel (2010). *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1982-1983*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan (French original edition, Paris: Gallimard and Seuil, 2008).
- Hathaway, Jane (2018). *The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem: From African Slave to Power-Broker*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hostetler, Laura (2001). *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Judson, Pieter J. (2016). *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*. Cambridge (MA) and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Kivelson, Valerie A. (2006). *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Pissurlencar, Panduronga S. S. (ed.) (1955). *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, vol. III. Bastorá (Goa): Tipografia Rangel.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay (2019). "Between Eastern Africa and Western India, 1500-1650: Slavery, Commerce, and Elite Formation." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. vol. 61, no 4: 805-834.
- Teng, Emma Jinhua (2004). *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*. Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press.
- Toby, Ronald P. (2019). *Engaging the Other: 'Japan' and its Alter Egos, 1550-1850*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Bionote/ Nota Biográfica

JORGE FLORES was educated at the University of Lisbon and the New University of Lisbon, Portugal. He is currently senior researcher at the Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia (CIUHCT), University of Lisbon, and has previously taught at the University of Macau, Brown University, and European University Institute, Florence. He is the author of several books and articles that explore the social and cultural history of the early modern Portuguese empire in Asia, especially in South Asia and the Central Indian Ocean. His most recent book is entitled *Unwanted Neighbours: The Mughals, the Portuguese, and their Frontier Zones* (OUP, 2018).

JORGE FLORES estudou na Universidade de Lisboa e na Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal. É actualmente investigador coordenador do Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia (CIUHCT), Universidade de Lisboa, tendo ensinado anteriormente na Universidade de Macau, na Universidade de Brown e no Instituto Universitário Europeu, Florença. É autor de vários livros e artigos sobre a história social e cultural do império asiático português no período moderno, com particular destaque para as regiões da Ásia do sul e do Oceano Índico central. O seu mais recente livro intitula-se *Unwanted Neighbours: The Mughals, the Portuguese, and their Frontier Zones* (OUP, 2018).

Concept Creep

Pedro Machado¹

Debates, examinations, and concerns over inequality—whether social, financial, political, or otherwise—have engaged a range of thinkers and actors (from state bureaucrats and government officials to moral philosophers and political economists) to varying degrees since at least early modernity. From the early to mid-nineteenth century, as industrial modernity and the depredations of Euro-American capital remade labor and social relations in metropolitan and imperial worlds, leading to the immiseration of thousands and the transformation of the global countryside, disparities in incomes and distribution of resources among population groups widened markedly. Divergences in rates of economic growth around the world in the postwar decades, intensified by inflationary crises in the 1970s and the logics of neoliberal privatization and developmentalist models of ‘structural adjustment,’ caused further and increasingly widespread inequality not only between but also within countries. Since the Great Financial Crisis (GFC, also often referred to as the Great Recession) of 2008-09 that ushered in stringent austerity measures in many countries, social and economic inequality has ballooned around the world, with wealth accumulation concentrated in the hands of highly privileged elites as the gulf between financiers and company leaders, and their employees and workers, has widened dramatically. Precariousness under capitalism has come to define many working lives, while social safety nets have either become smaller or disappeared entirely. In the wake of these dislocations and growing economic hardship for many, mobilizations, grassroots organizing, and mass protests (from Occupy Wall Street to anti-globalization movements of various kinds) have brought renewed focus on inequality and the social, economic, and political conditions under which it develops in fostering disparities in and across societies.

In response to these pressures, states, institutional actors, and non-governmental entities have sought in a variety of ways to address pervasive inequality among their populations. Economists, social commentators, and others have devised models and explanatory frameworks to understand its manifestations and valences in a world that has become ever-more unequal over the past forty years. Understanding the roots of this deepening inequality has equally preoccupied scholars with an interest in providing analytical

¹ Indiana University, Bloomington, USA. *E-Mail:* pmachado@indiana.edu

depth to this social and economic phenomenon which has (re)shaped human relations and lives in profound and profoundly different ways. The complexities of inequality, its persistence, and the socio-economic marginalization it produces both among and for millions of people necessitates perspectives from a range of specializations and fields of study. It thus comes as no surprise that the present volume edited by Francisco Bethencourt, *Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World: Global and Historical Perspectives*, adopts a markedly transdisciplinary examination of inequality throughout the Lusophone world. Although this world is heavily circumscribed, with the majority of the contributions focusing on Portugal and Brazil, three of the essays address the question of inequality in the contexts of Angola and Mozambique while one chapter tackles the subject of welfare colonialism from the perspective of the imperial state and its policy initiatives; another surveys various dimensions of social inequality across Portugal's widespread empire. However, other Portuguese-speaking countries, such as Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé e Príncipe, do not appear in this collection, which I should note does not make a claim to comprehensiveness. Given that these countries have exceedingly high rates of social and political inequality, though, the inclusion of at least one of these cases would have enhanced the breadth of the book's analysis.

Nonetheless, in ranging broadly across time and space, the essays provide insights into the range of factors, policies, and myriad political decision-making processes that created the conditions in and through which inequality developed and, in many instances, expanded. At the same time, the essays delve into the responses by states and their institutional mechanisms—as well as those of non-state entities—to ameliorate inequality and arrest its most pernicious effects. In the case of Portugal, for instance, this meant reversing the deleterious effects of the policies and politics of austerity that were introduced to address the GFC and which, in undoing social welfare programs that had been in place since the country's 1974 revolution, increased income inequality and raised rates of social exclusion between 2008 and 2015, even if these remained relatively low in comparison to most European states. Ultimately, after a leftist coalition assumed power, austerity “was contained and eventually reversed by a shared commitment to wider, progressive coalition-building among disparate social movements and between these and centre-left and radical-left political parties” (Fernandes: 81-82). The trajectory of Portugal's experiences with inequality is given further context in an examination of the Estado Novo and its authoritarian regime, which ruled the country between the 1930s and early 1970s. Over this period, the particular nature of the state's corporatist welfare policies and fiscal directives, which favored its supporters,

created highly unequal conditions for its citizens amid increases in income inequality and levels of material deprivation and poverty.

Yet, while conceptually and analytically, inequality can be a useful lens through which to read and understand the past (Francisco Bethencourt, for instance, in his broad treatment of inequality in the Portuguese Empire, regards social inequality as the driver of the imperial system “from beginning to end”) and apprehend the social, economic, and political dynamics of today’s societies, there is also the risk that its capaciousness assumes an all-encompassing explanatory primacy that either flattens the processes and patterns it seeks to illuminate or is over-burdened, especially when accounting for histories that are better explained through other frameworks. Inequality means different things to different analysts and scholars. For economists and political scientists, the “best known and most widely used inequality indicator” (Rodrigues: 59) is the so-called “Gini coefficient”—used in a number of the volume’s contributions—which purports to measure the degree of inequality in relation to the distribution of income among individuals or households within a given economy. It has assumed an authoritative place among the metrics used by the World Bank and other institutions in determining the levels of wealth accumulation and poverty—and the differences between them—in countries around the world. This statistical measure is not without its problems, however, none more so than how income is defined because of the disparate ways in which countries that provide data to the World Bank actually measure it—some do so on a per household basis while others measure income per individual; still others measure wage earnings but not financial holdings. This is to say nothing of the exclusion of earnings from the informal sector that in low-income (and even some middle-income) countries can constitute a significant portion of the economy. Clearly, the Gini coefficient is a deeply flawed metric and should be used, if at all, in a highly qualified manner.

For other scholars in this collection, however, inequality often assumes a nebulousness that seemingly makes it an applicable analytic for myriad contexts. It is either loosely employed in authors’ analyses or the subject matter described is not clearly related to inequality. Moreover, how does thinking with and through inequality alter understandings of, or challenge perspectives about, histories whose valences can be examined through conceptual frameworks such as power, domination, or violence? For example, in the short essay by Laurent Vidal, while asserting that “inequalities” are “socially determined social phenomena,” the author develops their arguments about the syncopated rhythms of “slow men” in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro (individuals such as longshoremen and construction workers who, by their actions during the period of Rio’s entry into “the era of

modernity,” sought to resist the “imposition of a new rhythm” dictated by the pace of “modern, industrial society” in ways that reflect “a logic of resistance” characteristic of strategies used by marginalized societies more broadly both to express their opposition to exploitative forms of labor mobilization and to assert an element of control over their lives (124-125). This resistance to new structures and imperatives of industrialized work, expressed also through music and dance, seems to bear little on inequality and rather is an exploration of the ways in which, and the spaces across which, the weak and poor enacted and performed a politics of resistance to exclusion and marginalization. The piece is suggestive but would have been just as effective without the concept of inequality.

This is equally the case with Hilary Owen’s fine essay that seeks to “explore how, and to what end” particular constructions of “woman [sic] as social ‘crossing points’ or figures of mediation between times and places of transition” (41) find cinematic expression through the work of two Mozambican directors, Licínio de Azevedo and João Luís Sol de Carvalho. Their films elucidate processes of “gender struggle” (144), “abuses of sexual power” (147), and “expose hidden and unacknowledged forms of sexual discrimination” (142) reflective of abuse, exploitation, and gender violence. As in the essay by Vidal, this contribution by Owen also makes mention of inequality but quickly moves onto its primary analysis, an incisive deconstruction of the gender dynamics at play during key moments of Mozambique’s postcolonial history. Conceptually and analytically, inequality does not serve the purpose of the argument, and its addition seems therefore somewhat gratuitous. Owen’s otherwise excellent examination of female subjectivity and experience as portrayed in the films of these directors would have been as compelling without attempting to tether it to the concept of inequality. What is gained intellectually, then, by utilizing inequality as an analytical framework?

There is no clear answer to this question. The range of complex and multifaceted processes analyzed in *Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World* are not reducible to, or contained by, inequality. Other conceptual frames and analytical optics offered by the authors in the collection—as found, for instance, in the section “The Colonial Period”—serve to capture historical realities and dynamics convincingly. Filipa Lowndes and Inês Vieira Gomes, for example, in their analysis of the 1919 trial of Tenente José Veloso de Castro in Luanda illuminate the politics of racialized rule, colonial violence, the dynamics of social hierarchies, white privilege, and class mobility (through the structures of the military and its influence that in this period were expressed in the “militarization of the public functions of the [Angolan] colony”) that allowed men from “different social backgrounds and education”

to establish themselves in the “more flexible environments” of nascent colonial governance (219). Although the charges against Veloso de Castro included the trafficking of African women between Angola and the Belgian Congo, and committing sexual violence and abuse, resulting in a sentence of imprisonment for a mere three days, he was able to leave the colony in 1920 (chastened but not defeated) and assume “an active involvement in the creation of a discourse on Portuguese colonialism” in metropolitan Portugal (232). White colonial subjectivity, anchored in the authority of the military and in the “predatory violence of photography” (220)—as practiced by Veloso de Castro who took over 2,000 photographs during military expeditions and included them in reports expressing the assertion of Portuguese power over the region and its inhabitants—afforded the Tenente an imperial legitimacy in Lisbon as producer of colonial knowledge and public supporter of colonial initiatives. This is another otherwise excellent essay but, once again, the question as to whether its analysis could have been as successfully accomplished without utilizing inequality remains. The analytical work of the other concepts on which the essay draws would suggest as much.

There is a great deal to recommend in *Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World*, and I encourage readers to consult its pages for the multidisciplinary perspectives that they offer on the Lusophone world. My aim here has been to encourage greater justification for the use of a concept such as inequality that, in being deployed across a range of temporal and spatial scales, flattens processes that other analytical frameworks used in the volume—such as power, violence, and race—elucidate in sharper and more precise terms.

References

Francisco Bethencourt (ed.), *Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World: Global and Historical Perspectives. Portuguese-Speaking World: Its History, Politics and Culture*. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2018. ISBN-10: 1845198468, 282 pages.

Bionote/ Nota Biográfica

PEDRO MACHADO (PhD History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2005) is a global and Indian Ocean historian with interests in commodity histories, labour and migratory movements, and the social, cultural, environmental and commercial trajectories of objects. He is based at Indiana University, Bloomington, and is the author of several works, among which are *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2014; 2016); “Views from Other Boats: On Amitav Ghosh’s Indian Ocean Worlds,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 121, No. 5 (December 2016); *Textile Trades, Consumer Cultures and the Material Worlds of the Indian Ocean* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); and *Pearls, People and Power: Pearling and Indian Ocean Worlds* (Ohio University Press, 2020). He is currently at work on a global history of pearl shell collection and exchange while also developing research on eucalyptus and colonial forestry in the Portuguese empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

PEDRO MACHADO (PhD History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2005) é professor de história no departamento de história da Indiana University, Bloomington, EUA. As suas áreas de investigação incluem as histórias do oceano Índico tal como história global abordada através dos movimentos de objetos, redes comerciais, ligações sócio-culturais, e ambientais. É autor de várias obras, entre as quais, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2014; 2016); “Views from Other Boats: On Amitav Ghosh's Indian Ocean Worlds,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 121, No. 5 (December 2016); *Textile Trades, Consumer Cultures and the Material Worlds of the Indian Ocean* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); e *Pearls, People and Power: Pearling and Indian Ocean Worlds* (Ohio University Press, 2020). Está atualmente a trabalhar num novo livro sobre as histórias globais de pérolas e madrepérola, e a desenvolver um projecto sobre florestas e eucalipto no império português nos séculos XIX e XX.

Slavery and Racism as Major Factor of Structural Inequalities in Brazil in the Long-run

Carlos da Silva Jr.¹

Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World: Its History, Politics and Culture, edited by Francisco Bethencourt and published in 2018, shows how inequality took different forms in different parts of the world. From literature to politics, from economics to gender, from culture to welfare, this volume highlights the diverse experiences of dealing with prejudice throughout the Lusophone world. Recently, Bethencourt has devoted his attention to understanding different kinds of inequality. Since the publication of *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World* in 2012, edited with Adrian Pearce, and especially since the publication of his acclaimed book *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* in 2014, Bethencourt has courageously tackled the subjects of ethnic relations, race, and racism(s). For this volume, he has invited scholars to consider the problem of inequality, and the final product offers a broad picture of how inequality has been treated in different academic fields.

In studying inequality, it is critical to pay attention to both slavery and racism in the Western world. While racial prejudice also existed in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, the slavery and racism of the Western world moulded societies to the extent that these two factors became a foundational building block of these societies' social organization. This is an undeniable fact. I refer here to places like Angola and Mozambique, Cape Verde and the "Rivers of Guinea," where Portugal made its presence felt since the beginning of Portuguese overseas expansion. In these places (and many others not under Portuguese control, such as Dahomey), Portuguese merchants, in association with local elites, extracted wealth from the enslavement and forced transportation of millions of enslaved Africans to various parts of the Atlantic world. The removal of African labor to be exploited in the plantation economies of the Americas during the early-modern period and European imperialism starting in the 1870s are responsible for many of the social and economic problems that the African continent faces up to this day—as Walter Rodney pointed out many decades ago.

¹ Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana, Bahia, Brazil. E-Mail: carlos.ufba@gmail.com

But the impact of the Atlantic slave trade was also felt in societies on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, such as in Brazil. This is not surprising since Brazil was Portugal's major Atlantic colony from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. It is therefore understandable that five out of the volume's fourteen articles are dedicated to Brazilian case studies. As Bethencourt stresses in both the volume's introduction and his chapter, the very basis of inequality in Brazil in the colonial period was shaped by the division between free and enslaved people, between categories of whiteness and blackness (205). Indeed, the forced labor of enslaved Africans was responsible for the development of the Portuguese economy in the Americas. According to recent estimates from the *Slave Voyages* dataset, some 3.8 million enslaved Africans arrived in Brazil's main ports of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador da Bahia, and Recife between the early sixteenth century and the early 1820s. Even after Brazil gained independence from Portugal in 1822, its leaders elected to preserve slavery and the country's share in the transatlantic slave trade, thereby challenging Britain and its mission to end human trafficking. Brazilian authorities colluded with the imperial government to continue trafficking hundreds of thousands of African captives into Brazil, despite a decree prohibiting the slave trade after 1831. All this proves the dependence of Brazil's economy on enslaved labor, and the latter aspect is particularly important this year, when Brazil celebrates the bicentennial of its independence from Portugal. Moreover, it demonstrates how this new nation excluded the black population from its political project of emancipation, whether African or Brazilian-born, enslaved, freed (*libertos*), or free.

The role of slavery in the formation of Brazilian society and its impact on the present-day are treated in the chapters by Laura de Mello e Souza and Lilia Schwarcz. Mello e Souza, while recognizing that slavery was the "point of departure" through which to understand the "violence and inequality" in Brazilian society, draws attention to other forms of inequality in Brazil. She especially highlights the multitude of poor men and women who lived in the cities of colonial Brazil, particularly in the region of Minas Gerais. Most of these people were attracted to this region by the mining boom. Mello e Souza has written at length on the growing number of *desclassificados*—"the outcasts, or those who have been denied even a classification"—living in this region's colonial cities (184). Although the *desclassificados* abounded in Brazilian society, their exact numbers are unclear. By comparison, the number of blacks and mestizos exceeded seventy-five percent of the population of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais.

If Mello e Souza is right in emphasizing other forms of inequality in Brazilian society, perhaps we should look more closely at slavery because it also affected the participation of

this group of outcasts within local communities. For instance, the eighteenth-century Brazilian Gold Rush resulted in the transportation of a growing number of enslaved Africans from the coastal cities of Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro to the *sertões*—the hinterlands—of Portuguese America. Moreover, vagrants were mostly “mulattoes, mixed-race Indians, or freed slaves” according to eighteenth-century reports from regional Portuguese authorities (188). As Mello e Souza also shows, these authorities also sought to turn enslaved Africans into quasi-militiamen who would capture *quilombolas*—runaway slaves. Ultimately, what the author demonstrates is that although Brazilian society experienced other forms of inequality, slavery continued to play a leading role in the social and racial relations throughout the colony. Moreover, in focusing on Minas Gerais, Mello e Souza did not take the opportunity to analyze how poverty affected people in other Brazilian regions, particularly those regions where slavery was a central component of society.

Comprehensive knowledge of the organization of Brazilian slavery derives from a 1980s current now known as the New Historiography of Slavery. Scholars such as João José Reis, Silvia Lara, Robert Slenes, Hebe Mattos, Sidney Chalhoub, Mariza de Carvalho Soares, and more recently Flávio dos Santos Gomes, Beatriz Mamigonian, Jaime Rodrigues, and Wlamyra Albuquerque, among others, have examined the organization of the system of slavery throughout (Portuguese) Brazil and its history. Mello e Souza recognizes that the historiography of slavery in Brazil “has grown more sophisticated,” but that it has also become “increasingly fragmented and focused on empirical cases” (183). She disapproves of this approach, which in her opinion “seems to manifest certain perplexity, or at least indecision, about the possibility of arriving at general explanations” (183). In my opinion, however, historical research based on case studies—a characteristic of this historiographical school—seems more a methodological or political choice rather than some perplexity or indecision. In fact, scholars seem to have shifted the focus of their analyses from that of the slave system, a theory-driven approach to the study of slavery, towards the enslaved themselves—their strategies of resistance, the makeup of slave families, perspectives on freedom, and the religiosity and biographies of enslaved Africans. For decades, slavery studies in Brazil were dedicated to understanding how the system of slavery functioned from a structural point of view—the exploitation of the enslaved on sugar and coffee plantations, and the relationship between them and their masters (albeit from the perspective of the masters).

This is not to say that the scholars associated with the New Historiography of Slavery have ignored this issue. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro’s *O trato dos viventes*, for example, has

examined the links between Brazil and Angola in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead of using a biographical perspective, Alencastro demonstrates how the transatlantic slave trade resulted from the wish of the Portuguese crown to agriculturally develop the colony of Brazil. The idea that “without Negroes there is no Pernambuco, and without Angola there are no Negroes”, as argued by Father Antônio Vieira in the seventeenth century, captures the importance of the Southern Atlantic exchanges between West-Central Africa and Brazil in the formation of the latter. This topic was almost entirely ignored by scholarship before the 1980s.

In 2011, Sidney Chalhoub published “The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society (Brazil in the Nineteenth Century),” an article about the perils of the re-enslavement of freed people in nineteenth-century Brazil. The possibility of being re-enslaved shows how pervasive slavery was in Brazilian society. In his 2012 book *A força da escravidão: ilegalidade e costume no Brasil oitocentista* (*The Force of Slavery: Illegality and Custom in Brazil in the Nineteenth Century*), Chalhoub discusses the enduring force of slavery, or the illicit continuation of the transatlantic slave trade in an era of abolition and emancipation. João José Reis, conversely, has researched those enslaved who were also slave masters—slave-owners, he calls them—in nineteenth-century Bahia. In analyzing manumission and baptismal records, Reis established that these slave-owners represented as much as nearly ten percent of all records between 1800 and 1850. As Reis argues in a 2021 working paper “Slaves who Owned Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Bahia,” “slaves who owned slaves did not challenge the system, of course; on the contrary, they abided by its rules and in a way reinforced them, even if their mere existence challenged, symbolically at least, the conventions—or a certain conventional model—of modern-era chattel slavery” (17). This underlines how slavery was embedded in Brazilian society in ways that historians are still in the process of discovering and uncovering.

As important as synthesis works may be, I argue that the Brazilian historiography of slavery became more relevant and sophisticated after historians abandoned structural analyses and dove deep into the sources. Slavery is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon, and as such, regional analyses have shown how it took different forms in different parts of Brazil.

Yet there are scholars who have gained much from structural analysis. Various historians have engaged with what is being referred to as the “Second Slavery,” or the transformation of nineteenth-century slavery under capitalism and industrialization. The relationship between capitalism and slavery has roots in the debate started by Eric Williams with his 1944 publication *Capitalism and Slavery*. This debate has intensified and become more

influential since the late 1980s. In Brazil, for instance, historians Rafael Marquese and Tâmis Parron, among others, have analyzed the development of slavery in the Vale do Paraíba. They were especially interested in the relationship between the rise of slavery in coffee growing regions, the transatlantic slave trade, and the production of tropical commodities for international markets.

Put differently, in the historiography of slavery, global and structural analyses have not been neglected. But this school has paid more attention to the living conditions of the enslaved and their strategies for survival—economically, socially, and culturally—in a society like Brazil's. This school also recognizes that the effects of slavery exist beyond abolition. After all, once slavery was abolished, the black population was confined to subalternity through limited labor market mobility and lower wages.

The racism resulting from over 350 years of slavery has affected the lives of Afro-descendants in present-day Brazil. As Schwarcz shows in her chapter, diverse social indicators reveal that the black population has been affected more severely by inequality than its white counterpart. This relates to the level of education, death rates, public health, employment, wages, etc. Even if not all problems of Brazilian society can be attributed to slavery and racism, Schwarcz's data shows that these two factors nevertheless played a significant role in creating the inequality of present-day Brazil. This statistical data leaves no room for doubt: racism is still a major problem in Brazilian society and affects the lives of as many as seventy percent of Afro-Brazilians. Some political campaigns from the 2000s sought to reduce inequality and close the gap between the black and white population through the introduction of a minimum wage, income redistribution, and the expansion of social security programs. In today's politics, however, these campaigns are under attack, as shown by Celia Lessa Kerstenetzky in her chapter. Even the policies and practices of affirmative action—such as a successful educational program aimed at increasing the number of enrolled Afro-Brazilians at Brazilian universities—are now under attack, which shows that earlier efforts to end racial inequality in Brazil are far from over.

In conclusion, *Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World* provides rich material for discussion about how slavery and racism shaped Brazilian society. The volume will certainly lead to much debate among scholars of different fields concerning global inequality. Its publication is very welcomed.

References

Francisco Bethencourt (ed.), *Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World: Global and Historical Perspectives. Portuguese-Speaking World: Its History, Politics and Culture*. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2018. ISBN-10: 1845198468, 282 pages.

Bionote/ Nota Biográfica

CARLOS DA SILVA JR. (PhD Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation, University of Hull, UK) is professor of Economic and African History at the Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana, Brazil. He has published about the social, economic and political connections between Bahia and the Bight of Benin, West Africa, between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. His focus is on the relation between Dahomey and the neighbouring kingdoms and the transatlantic slave trade. He is the current president of the Associação Brasileira de Estudos Africanos [Brazilian Association of African Studies] (ABEÁfrica).

CARLOS DA SILVA JR. (doutoramento em História, Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation, University of Hull, Inglaterra) é professor de História Econômica e da África na Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana, Brasil. Tem publicado sobre as conexões políticas, econômicas e sociais entre a Bahia e a Costa da Mina, na África Ocidental, entre os séculos XVII e XIX. Sua ênfase tem sido na relação entre o Daomé e os reinos vizinhos com o tráfico transatlântico de africanos escravizados. Atualmente atua como presidente da Associação Brasileira de Estudos Africanos (ABEÁfrica).

From Dances to Awnings and Arches: The Corpus Christi Procession of Porto in the 18th Century

Beatriz Catão Cruz Santos¹

Abstract

This paper analyses the changes made to the Corpus Christi procession by the Porto city council, as one of the authorities coordinating the feast. An examination of the council's minutes reveals a debate between different interest groups about the procession's reformation during the eighteenth century, during which time the dances and performances were replaced by awnings. The procession was considered holiness in motion on the streets of Porto, which carried different meanings. This reformation of sacred space, the recorded memory of the space, and the religion's materiality are brought to light in a context of Catholicism. This study also explores the cultural models for the reformation.

Keywords

Corpus Christi, Procession, Artisans, Reformation, Sacred space

Resumo

O artigo analisa mudanças realizadas na procissão de *Corpus Christi* pela câmara municipal do Porto, uma das instituições que regulamentavam a festa. Ao examinar as atas da câmara, aparece um debate entre diversos grupos sobre a reforma da procissão durante o século XVIII, que consistia em substituir as danças e *performances* por arcos. A procissão era um sagrado em movimento nas ruas da cidade, com diferentes significados. Através da reforma aludida o espaço sagrado, as memórias sobre o espaço e a materialidade da religião são destacadas em contexto católico. Esse estudo também investiga os modelos culturais, que informam a reforma.

Palavras-chave

Corpus Christi, Procession, Artífices, Reforma, Sacred space

¹ Instituto de História da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. E-Mail: biacatao@gmail.com

Among the processions of the monarchical bishopric's calendar, Corpus Christi was one of the most important in Portugal and its overseas conquests. It was one of the Eucharist's most solemn manifestations.² This paper analyses the role of Corpus Christi in producing public and sacred spaces, a kind of holiness in movement and in space made by a collective of believers in the Catholic world.³

For many years I have been consulting works by authors in the field of the anthropological theory of rituals in my research on the Corpus Christi feast and procession (Durkheim 1996: 3-60; Mauss 2003: 181-312; Turner 2008, 1974; Douglas 1984: 63). Corpus Christi is a religious and political ritual that celebrates the redemption of humankind through Christ's sacrifice.⁴ It is considered one of the most solemn manifestations of the Eucharist for Catholic devotees in early modern history. As a ritual, it was a complex system of negotiation between groups of different societal ranks (Schmitt 2002: 415-430).

Literature on the procession, including historiography and other fields, such as folklore and ethnography, demonstrate changes in the multi-secular Corpus Christi ritual, particularly in the eighteenth century. Some of these publications present rich sources that have not yet been examined thoroughly (Oliveira 1901: vols. 11-12). Others offer valuable insights as to how different groups contributed to the ephemeral architecture, and how the powerful used urban space to exclude popular and profane aspects of the procession (Janeiro 1988; Tedim 2001; Raggi 2014). However, there are no works that systematically and comparatively examine the transformation of what was to become the most solemn ritual in the cities of the Portuguese empire during the reigns of John V (r. 1706-1750) and Joseph I (r. 1750-1777). This article on Porto's procession contributes towards this field of research. Through an analysis of historical records from the Porto city council, I will discuss how the

² Although Portuguese and Brazilian historiography have been using the notion of Portuguese empire in reference to the domains of Portugal in Europe and overseas, perhaps it is preferable to use the term Portuguese monarchy. For this proposal and arguments supporting it, see Cadim 2010: 37-72. For the general use of Portuguese empire, see Fragoso, Bicalho & Gouvêa 2001; Xavier & Silva 2016: 21-63; Marcocci 2016: 125-150; Santos 2017: 247-270. For the use of the term empire as a research question, see Fragoso & Monteiro 2017: 13-45.

³ According to the Portuguese Episcopal norms "procession is a public prayer to God made by an assembly of the common faithful inclined towards a certain order which goes from one sacred place to another. It is so old in the Catholic Church that some authors assign it to the period of the Apostles". *Constituições Synodales do Bispado do Porto* [1690], vol. III, 2: "Das procissões". In all quotations of sources in the article I will keep the difference between upper and lower case as well as the original punctuation. The same definition is found in the Episcopal norms for Lisbon in *Constituições Synodales do Arcebispado de Lisboa* [1656]. It is elaborated on and adapted to the colonial society for the first time in *Constituições primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia* (1853 [1707]).

⁴ There are various interpretations of the Eucharistic sacrament amongst Christians, especially since the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century (Muir 1997: 171-175). In the Catholic church, the Eucharistic sacrament is understood as a "real presence", and the faithful are called to respond gratefully to the gift through Eucharistic services (Sartore & Triacca 1994: 395-415).

Eucharist, a gift given to mankind, came to be expressed in the use of space, particularly concerning material elements (Mauss 2003; Meyer & Houtman 2019: 81-113). These are indicative of changes in the procession in the eighteenth century, which had been a mandatory ritual in Porto since the seventeenth century. Although I will focus on spaces, especially how some of them became sacred, I will also pay attention to the dimension of time and agency, which, combined with space, give a panorama of the socio-religious context.

Officially, the Corpus Christi feast was established in 1264 by Pope Urban IV's *Bull Transitus de Hoc Mundo*, which made the celebration mandatory throughout the Christian world (Rubin 1994). The procession had become part of the liturgy a century later. In the early modern period, there was a strong tendency for the feast to become joined with lay and local powers, which created tensions between religious and secular authorities.

There is documented information about the feast during the reign of Afonso III of Portugal (r. 1248-1279), but it only became one of the *festas reais* (royal feasts) during the reign of Manuel I (r. 1495-1521), along with two other mandatory celebrations for all inhabitants within a league's distance from a city centre.⁵

The Corpus Christi feast and procession were coordinated by different authorities: the bishopric, the monarchy, the city councils, and the confraternities. The first one made up a three-tiered order around the eleventh century; the priests, the warriors, and the laborers, as we see in the work by Duby (Duby, 1982).⁶ In the early modern history of Portugal, the city council was one of the main authorities coordinating the procession, deciding over all its spatial and temporal aspects. These aspects included the streets the procession passed through, its ornamentation, and the schedule. Furthermore, the city councils decided over its composition, who would participate, and who would carry the poles of the canopy (Oliveira 1885: vol. 1; Gonçalves 1985; Santos 2005; Douglas 1984: 63).

Iria Gonçalves gives a precise analysis of the role of the Porto city council in its Corpus Christi feast, although she studies the second half of the fifteenth century. She points out that the feast was organised by the local church, the city councils, and the artisans' associations. Although the Catholic Church gave directions concerning doctrine and aesthetics, the city councils provided the materials, which Gonçalves analysed by studying the preserved revenue and expenditure books from 1450 to 1494 (Gonçalves 1985: 6-7).

⁵The Visitation of Our Lady and the Custodian Angel, as observed in the *Ordenações* from sixteenth and seventh centuries: *Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Manuel* [1797] Liv. I, tit. 78, 566-567; *Código Philippino, ou, Ordenações e Leis do Reino de Portugal: recopiladas por mandado d'El Rey D. Philippe I* [1870] Liv. I, tit. 66, 146.

⁶ Thinking in line with Mary Douglas, the rite is a symbolic act which needs a frame. The municipal councils used to be one of the main rulers of it, using it to establish space and temporal frames of the rite in the city (Oliveira, 1885, vol. 1, Gonçalves, 1985, Santos, 2005, Douglas, 1984: 63).

Many of the feast's components stayed the same, such as the city council deciding on the procession or providing the materials (e.g., sermon, music, and candle wax). However, since my analysis looks at the procession during the eighteenth century, I must pay attention to important changes in early modern history, such as the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and the Catholic Enlightenment.

There is documented information from the sixteenth century about the involvement of labourers, which differed in rank, in the procession (Santos 2015: 241-263). The procession was socially stratified: it began with the labour confraternities, then the communities, and finally the lay and religious authorities, who carried the Holy Sacrament. This order was a fantasy because social stratification had become increasingly complex since the beginning of the modern period, and subsequently the ritual was marked by continuous disputes over precedence.

Using the preserved minutes of the Porto city council meetings, I will discuss the alterations made to the Corpus Christi procession during the eighteenth century and focus on how urban space turned into sacred space. These alterations can be summarised as the following: substituting dances, inventions, and other antiquities with awnings and arches.⁷ Similar alterations occurred in other cities of the Portuguese monarchy: Lisbon, where the court and the patriarchal chapel were located, Rio de Janeiro, and Salvador.⁸ They are *Arts* modifications, that is, involving the artisans, who were traditionally given financial support, work and the garments of the cortege.⁹ As such, the changes made to the procession cannot be considered merely aesthetic. Instead, I argue that they must be understood from a political and religious perspective. The debate on the procession is recorded in the minutes of the council meetings in a specific manner. Since only citizens could attend, the artisan's participation was restricted in the city council, even though they were at the centre of debate. The city of Porto biased sources from the eighteenth century, "the second of the Reign [after

⁷ Pe. Couto used a formulaic expression "restriction of the inventions and dances to the awnings" in Couto 1936: 46. In the case of Porto, the agents favourable to the changes generally proposed awnings and arches and not columns as in Lisbon – the city model they usually referred to.

⁸ For Lisbon, from 1703 onward, see Oliveira 1885: vol. 1, 430; 1901: vol. 11-12; Janeiro 1988: 731-732; Tedim 2001: 218-220; Santos 2005: 109-154. For Salvador (South America), from 1742 onward, see Flexor 1974: 24. We have information on modifications that happened in the processions of Braga e Guimarães. See Santos 2005: 143. For an analysis on the history of the Patriarch of Lisbon (1716) associated with the procession, see Santos 2015: 463-493.

⁹ See the meanings of the term *officio* in Portuguese in Bluteau 1720: 47-48, vol.6. Although the Corpus Christi processions in Porto began in the fifth century, the general regulation dated 1621. In this regulation, we can see the strong presence of the artisans. See Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto (AHMP), A-PUB/3246. For a partial transcription of this document with commentaries, see Couto 1936: 19-35. To move from an analysis of the regiments towards the artisans who supplied the material goods of the procession in Porto for the council, see Gonçalves 1984-1985: 3-23; Barros 1993: 117-136.

Lisbon] and the first to imitate as closely [as possible] what is done at the Court'.¹⁰ However, far from the direct control of the Portuguese Crown, decisions concerning the procession and many of the city's other affairs were in the hands of the councillors.

According to Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, Porto's society knew three main groups: the clerics, the nobles, and the third state. Ribeiro da Silva examines how differentiation grew within the three-tiered model during Modern Times (Silva 1985: 2 vols.).¹¹ This paper focuses on the third state, because this group produced useful and ornate objects for the city's inhabitants (Chastel 1991: 9-36). Furthermore, as previously mentioned, this group provided the procession with financial support, the work and garments.

The top layer of the city council's administration was occupied by the *nobreza da toga*, or nobility of the toga. They were citizens, noblemen who had been knighted by the king. During Portugal's old regime citizens had their privileges given or affirmed by the king, and one of these privileges was political rights. In the city of Porto, citizens happened to be *fidalgos* (gentry), and they expressed their wealth and power by intervening in the city's governance.

In 1611, the House of Aziz granted the citizens of Porto privileges such as tax exemptions and permission to carry weapons. These privileges were publicly recognised through the citizens' place in the Corpus Christi procession, next to the canopy or by carrying poles. The third state was the largest and most heterogeneous group in Porto society: it ranged from the artisans to the merchants. Their status depended on society's regard for the profession, economic strength, and the honour carried in extra duties they were called upon to do and their proximity to the rulers (Silva 1994: 329). Some of the labourers had more prestigious activities, such as the goldsmiths, chemists, viol makers, oil painters, booksellers, joiners, ship-owners, pilots, and mariners (Barros 1993: 124-136). Because of their good reputation, sometimes goldsmiths and oil painters were made citizens.

Carrying out certain functions was another way to gain prestige. This was the case for those who were involved in the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro*, a working-class institution, which was established in cities across the Portuguese Empire, such as Lisbon, Coimbra, and

¹⁰ AHMP, Vereação de 2 de junho de 1773, em que o Senado da Câmara, a requerimento do procurador da cidade, resolveu suprimir na procissão de Corpo de Deus as danças, figuras, invenções e andores do costume, toldando-se e ornando-se todavia as ruas do trânsito, conforme o programa aí feito – L. o 86 de ver, a f. 197 e L. o 66 de Próp. A f. 109: "Vereação de 2 de junho de 1773, em que o Senado da Câmara, a requerimento do procurador da cidade, resolveu suprimir na procissão de Corpo de Deus as danças, figuras, invenções e andores do costume, toldando-se e ornando-se todavia as ruas do trânsito, conforme o programa aí feito", 2 June 1773. (Alternatively, see AHMP, A-PUB-842-010).

¹¹ See Silva 1994: 329 for information covering all levels of society. Francisco Ribeiro da Silva indicates that in early modern times the bishoprics were no longer considered "unquestionable lords" as they had been in Porto during the Middle Ages, but they were the local rulers of the Church, which had concentrated great economic power.

Salvador. In Porto, the institution was active from 1518 to 1834, except for the period 1757-1795, but overall little is known about it. Originally, as the name indicates, the leading traders and craftsmen elected 24 (*vinte e quatro*) representatives. They could only participate in the economic affairs of the city: first, at mass, the presence of all 24 or 48 representatives made a strong impression during council meetings. Second, two of their representatives called *procuradores dos mesteres* would sit in on all the meetings but only voted on economic matters. The *procuradores dos mesteres* and *juiz do povo* enjoyed a higher standing than their peers. In Porto, the most common representatives were shoemakers, coopers, and barbers, who constituted the largest contingent of the city's labourers.¹²

According to a ruling of 1621, the leading trades and handcrafts were responsible for the dances, the *andores* (parade floats bearing sculptures of saints), and several kinds of decorations.¹³ The richness and variety of these elements are hard to describe. For example, the female bakers contributed to the procession with the *péla*, a type of dance that involved twelve women with tambourines and small hand-held drums. The *regateiras*, the city's small vendors, also put on a *péla*. Alternatively, they carried little girls on their shoulders and rolled their hips.¹⁴ The shoemakers prepared figures of the king and Saint John the Baptist, a banner, as well as a dance with satyrs and nymphs. The gold- and silversmiths were obligated to provide twelve torches. Bakers, *regateiras* (marketmen, referred to as hagglers), and smiths were respectively positioned ninth, eighteenth and twenty-first in the procession, ordered according to increasing social importance.

Meeting minutes from the first half of eighteenth century describe artisans' petitions to the city council to negotiate their contribution to the procession. Thereza Pereira, inhabitant of Vila Nova, a parish of Porto, requested the city council to select another female resident to give the *péla* the following year. It is important to remember here that participation was mandatory for inhabitants within a league's distance from the city centre, which included the city proper and often the surrounding countryside.¹⁵ This source shows that Pereira was responsible for the *péla* (either financially or by coordinating the dancers), a significant contribution and a sacred job, which was publicly announced in the cathedral.¹⁶ Pereira had

¹² For Porto, see Silva 1994 and Sousa 1982, and for *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* in Lisbon, see Fernandes 1999.

¹³ AHMP, A-PUB/3246: "Mapa dos ofícios: Cota"; Couto 1936: 19-34, map II: 100-101.

¹⁴ See the term "pela" in Bluteau 1712-1728: vol. 6, fl.375-376. The *péla* of *regateiras* used to accompany the *Confraria de São Pedro de Miragaia* in Porto's Corpus Christi procession during the fifteenth century (Barros 1995: 126).

¹⁵ *Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Manuel*, Liv. I, tit. 78.

¹⁶ AHMP, A-PUB-826-041, 1724 Livro 50º Prop.: "Requerimento de Thereza Pereira, pedindo que tendo sido isempta de mordoma, do jogo da pella na dita procissão, a Camara obrigue as Regateiras a nomearem outra", 15 July 1724.

verbally abused the female assistants, who had not proposed a candidate to take her place, or her “ministry”. Thereza also requested the councillors to arrest the *regateiras* so they could carry out their obligation in prison. We can see from this source that she was responsible for giving the *pêla* (either financially or by organizing her coworkers), a significant contribution and a sacred function, publicly stated at the cathedral. The *regateiras* belonged to one of the city’s lowest orders of labourers, because they generated their income from interacting with the common folk.

In 1729, the female bakers of Porto successfully lobbied the council for a royal edict changing their contribution to the procession from a *pêla* to *andores*, which had also happened in Lisbon four years earlier (Albuquerque 2001: 47-55).¹⁷ Such demands appear to have occurred frequently and were caused by different circumstances, such as economic burden, disease, the disappearance of some crafts, and informed by notions of nobleness, “seriousness”, and “solemnity”. The first documented change to the Corpus Christi procession is from 1734.¹⁸ The minutes record a proposal presided over by the *juiz de fora*, the councillors, and the *procurador da cidade*,¹⁹ which stated that artisans were henceforth obliged to pay for the awnings along the route of the cortege instead of the dances. The awnings were a kind of ephemeral architecture used to decorate the procession’s route. The idea was to share the cost among the artisans and traders – one or two people representing the seven parishes of the city proper and its countryside²⁰ – such as the merchants and cloth merchants with draper’s shops. They were tasked with donating the awnings for the “Street of Flowers” instead of the “Little Shepherd’s dance”. This was achieved through the four or five percent tax paid by artisans and traders who represented a parish for a stretch of the route. Each elected person was nominated, sometimes including their declared profession and address. It can be surmised that the majority was substituted in the minute to avoid being a tax collector and responsible for the new direction of the municipal council. The proposal

¹⁷ Ibidem, Liv. 8º de R. G.: “Provisão para as Padeiras da cidade poderem dar hum andor para a mesma Procissão em lugar de Pellas”, 26 October 1729. For another example of a petition from a citizen who used to be an artisan, see ibidem, Livro 8º de R. G.: “Provisão determinando que os Cidadãos que pegam as varas do Palio vão vestidos á Cortezam”, 12 April 1731.

¹⁸ Ibidem, Série Registo Geral, A- PUB/76 Vereações 1732-1734, Livro 75: “Redução das invenções e danças aos Tôldos”, 1734.

¹⁹ The *procurador da cidade* was responsible for verifying the work to be done in the city. Also, they would transmit the complaints of the population to the council meetings and could check the councilmen (Albuquerque 1999: 32).

²⁰ The parishes of the city mentioned were Sé, São Nicolau, and Nossa Senhora da Vitória. Outside the city’s walls Santo Idelfonso, São Pedro de Miragaia, Massarelos, and Cedofeita. The administrative division is characterised differently by Silva, 1994: 258 and 264. According to the information of Pe. Agostinho Rebelo da Costa (1787), the city’s limits flowed depending on the suburb, which was more important at the time.

was nonetheless implemented that very same year and the year after the change to the procession was approved by the council.²¹

From 1734 the procession was increasingly up for discussion. One man appealed to the council for more time to talk with the other merchants, but a justification for said change is missing.²² In 1735 the notion of an “order” in the procession appeared. Porto thereby imitated the churches of the Lisbon patriarchy and West Lisbon, where this subject had already come to pass (Albuquerque 2001).²³ The minutes of this meeting specify that the procession should be ‘[w]ithout *andores*, dances, or [inventions], [and] only [consist of the attendance of the] Brotherhoods and communities, clergy, and Chapter, [...] ornamented windows, and [for] all the streets [to be filled with] the inhabitants and [...] the craftsmen [...]’.²⁴ The document thus excludes the procession’s traditional, popular elements and through sobriety seeks to underline the “Solemnity” of the day. This included punishment (both fines and imprisonment) for non-compliance, as well as dictating where each artisan from each district should be for the whole route.²⁵ The first part of the procession’s route was paid for by the city council, which contributed towards the awnings and arches from the “See door” to the “Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Vandoma”. The minutes of this 1735 council meeting were repeated almost entirely in 1773, indicating that this new direction for the procession was relatively successful.²⁶ To better contextualise this new direction, which I argue transformed the city into a sacred space, I will discuss some of the disputes that took place in the 1750s.

In February 1752, Luiz de Amorim, the *procurador da cidade*, tabled the motion to return the procession to its old format according to regulation of 1621. De Amorim’s motion was approved, overturning the changes made to the procession in 1735. The minutes show that the changes made to the procession had not been approved by the monarchy, and that

²¹ AHMP, Série Registo Geral, A- PUB/76 Vereações 1732-1734, Livro 75: “Redução das invenções e danças aos Tóldos”, 1734.

²² This according to Bento Pereira Guimarães in *ibidem*.

²³ It is worth remembering that the urban population of Porto increased by approximately 148% between 1700 and 1800, which was a markedly greater increase than Lisbon over this same period. At the end of the eighteenth century, Porto’s population is estimated at approximately 43.000 to 63.000 (Gandelmann 2005: 94). This council meeting involved the magistrate Diogo de Souza de Tavora, João de Figueiroa Vasconcelos, the *Procurador da Cidade* Francisco Leite Pereira, and the *Procuradores do Povo*. *Ibidem*, A- PUB/77 Vereações 1735-1737, Livro 76 das Vereações, fls. 53v a 55v: “Vereação para a confirmação da forma como seriam ordenados os diversos officios na Procissão do Corpo de Deus”, 1735. The Leite Pereira de Campo Belo family was quoted as one of the aristocratic families which occupied several posts in the city council for 21 years.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, A- PUB/77 Vereações 1735-1737, Livro 76 das Vereações, fls. 53v a 55v: “Vereação para a confirmação da forma como seriam ordenados os diversos officios na Procissão do Corpo de Deus”, 1735.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 54.

²⁶ “Vereação de 2 de junho de 1773”. (Alternatively, see *ibidem*, A-PUB-87, fl. 38-40).

the awnings were more expensive than the dances and traditional customs performed by the artisans. The councillors describe how the craftsmen decided to reinstate the various dances, *andores*, inventions, and instruments. The latter were played on the eve of Corpus Christi and on the day of the feast. The artisans' butlers would have with them a list of all artisans, who had in all likelihood signed the petition to overturn the changes.²⁷ In May, Jopseh I of Portugal published an edict which forbade all dances and masks during the feast of Corpus Christ. This counteracted a prior petition in which the noblemen and inhabitants requested the monarchy to reinstate the old format and the current format of the feast of the Holy Cross in Vila Nova de Gaia.²⁸ These documents suggest that the discussion about the procession had turned into a conflict. The rise and fall of old and new customs was thus not limited to Porto, but also played out in other cities of the Portuguese Empire, such as Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, and Salvador (Oliveira 1889: vol. 1, 1; Santos 2005; Flexor 1974: 24).

In 1773, the new pattern was again approved. The minutes of the council meeting of 2 July included an introduction, a kind of map of the procession, and recorded the values that the advocates of this change wished to uphold for future reference. The introduction is a proposal of sorts which aims to justify the changes made.²⁹ The councillors used the concepts of "solemnity", "decency", and "piety" to justify abolishing the dances, the characters, the inventions, and the *andores* in favour of awnings, decorative fabrics, and the exclusive veneration of the Holy Sacrament. The concept of "decency" is repeated in the same document, as was common in the early modern period. According to Rodrigo Almeida Bastos this concept was associated with the "doctrine of decorum", with which it shares an etymon, *decens*, meaning "that which is appropriate". In historiography, this concept has been interpreted through a moral lens, focussing on the development whereby profane and impure elements were banned from religious art, at the time when appropriateness and decorum in religious affairs held broader meanings. This historiography has established that the "decorum" was adopted from classical texts and developed by several Catholic authors to legitimise public worship. One of the movement's main figures was Carlos Borromeu, whose

²⁷ Ibidem, A-PUB/88, Livro 82 das Vereações, fls. 48v a 52v: "Fica definido que a procissão do Corpo de Deus deve realizar-se de acordo com o formulário dela descrito no livro 4 dos Alvarás e provisões, ou seja, à forma antiga", 1752.

²⁸ Ibidem, A-PUB/790, L.o. 14 de Próp., 104: "704 Provisão Régia de 19 de maio de 1752 proibindo as danças e máscaras na Procissão do Corpo de Deus e em qualquer outra", 19 May 1752.

²⁹ Ibidem, "Vereação de 2 de junho de 1773". (Alternatively, see AHMP, A-PUB-87 F. 38-40). See also, ibidem, Livro 66º Prop.: "Projeto de reforma e abolição das danças, figuras doutras invenções que mais provocarão riso que devoção na dita procissão, como também os andores, tudo alheio da dita festividade. Finalmente a tabela de todos os officios que havião de concorrer com suas quotas partes para as despesas do toldo que d'ahi em diante se uzaria. De antes de 1800". (Alternatively, see AHMP, A-PUB-842-010.)

work adapted the precepts established by the Council of Trent (1545-1563) into a religious architecture. His work is mostly concerned with the concepts of “decorum” and “piety” (Bastos 2009: 34-101, esp. 39-40).

The Enlightenment influenced Catholicism in Portugal since the reign of John V (r. 1706-1750). During the reign of his successor, Joseph I (r. 1750-1777), these ideas not only produced more public debate, but also found followers amongst the clerics and lay people, and subsequently spread throughout society. Especially after the 1760s the Portuguese monarchy supported reforms in the cultural fields (education, pastoral ministry, etc). While research concerning Portugal’s Catholic Enlightenment is still ongoing, it is becoming increasingly clear that Catholic thinkers like Luiz António Verney (1713-1792), Friar Manuel do Cenáculo de Vilas Boas (1724-1814), and the group of Jabobeu bishops led the Catholic reforms in Portugal during this period.³⁰ They were in favour of forging a more educated clergy, with proper theologians with a rounded training in biblical exegesis and in ecclesiastic history. They also desired a disciplined congregation, reducing the number of saints, pilgrimages, and other practices they considered superstitious. In short, these thinkers pursued a “regulated devotion”, to borrow an expression from Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750), one of the most influential thinkers among the Catholic reformers, whose work influenced others like António Pereira de Figueiredo (Muratori 1747: 378; Lehner & Printy 2010: 1-62; Souza 2010: 359-402).

Despite the changes proposed for the Corpus Christi procession in 1773, some of the inhabitants and artisans were still expected to maintain certain traditions, such as cleaning the streets and the facades of buildings, as well as and decorating the parade’s route.³¹

The changes to the procession proposed in 1773 originated from Lisbon, the seat of the monarchy and the patriarchy, which, according to the city council minutes, served as a model for the city of Porto. It seems likely that not everybody accepted the changes made by the proposal, because the city council repeated the proposal twice, in 1774 and 1779. In 1780, Queen Maria I (r. 1777-1816) declared that the proposal of 1773 would become a royal custom.³² Contemporaries felt that the changes made to the procession were appropriate in

³⁰ Information about the authors and their ideas which contributed to the Catholic Enlightenment, especially during the Pombaline Era (ca. 1750-1777), can be found in Santos 2004: 949-956. For the theological reformation and notion of this enlightenment as a “Second Reformation”, see Araújo 2001.

³¹ AHMP, “Vereação de 2 de junho de 1773”.

³² Ibidem, fls. 287 v e 288- 288v: “Vereação de 26 de Março de 1774”, 26 March 1774. Ibidem, L. 88, fls. 340 e 340v: “Vereação de 20 de novembro de 1779”, 20 November 1779. (Alternatively, see AHMP, A-PUB-881-001.) Ibidem, L. o. 11 do reg. Geral a f. 39 v.: “Provisão Régia confirmando o regulamento relativo à obrigação das corporações dos ofícios toldarem as ruas, em lugar das figuras e danças abolidas. É seguida do Regulamento”, 15 June 1780. The *Desembargo do Paço* was a central administrative organ created by John II

light of the Enlightenment and wished to do away with the old customs and practices. However, the religious significance of these alterations followed the principles of the Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century, which were applied from this period onward through the bishoprics.³³ For the Catholic Church, the changes made to the procession indicated growing control over the faithful and the public expressions of their faith.³⁴

In the case of Porto, I have identified several of the reform's supporters: Miguel Menguelo, *procurador da cidade*, who tabled a proposal in 1773 and was supported by the present councillors and perhaps several craftsmen and traders as well. The changes were modelled on the altered procession of Lisbon, which in turn followed the example of Rome's procession. The changes were demanded by Don Frei João Rafael de Mendonça, the Bishop of Porto from 1771 to 1793 (Basto 1947; Bernardi 2000: 228-242).³⁵ He was born into the aristocracy and favoured the Marquis of Pombal, who ruled the Portuguese Empire from 1750 to 1777 as chief minister of Joseph I (Brásio 1958: 165-233).³⁶ The bishop made his entry to the city in 1772, a year before the proposed changes to the procession. Perhaps he sought to reinforce the universal cult of the Eucharist by updating the procession.

Awnings were a strong sacred symbol during the Corpus Christi processions in the Portuguese Empire during the eighteenth century. The term *toldo* possibly derives from Latin *tholos*, which means dome-shaped or a pinnacle, the highest part of the temple where the ancient Romans hung vows to their "false divinities" or could also refer to the roof of a round chapel. The Portuguese word kept a similar meaning.³⁷ The awnings were a roman

(1481-1495), but it gained regiment with Manuel I (r. 1495-1521). It was presided over by the king and held jurisdiction over matters of grace and justice (Subtil 1989: 82).

³³ I argue that the Catholic Enlightenment was a kind of continuation of the sixteenth-century Catholic Reformation. Araújo discusses a "Second Reformation" that was inspired by the Enlightenment (Araújo 2001: 262). Lehner and Printy have written about how eighteenth-century Catholicism was shaped by confessional impulses that had their roots in the Council of Trent, such as the popular Jansenist tradition of a personal, individual piety. I have emphasised here the complementary relationship between the Portuguese state and the Catholic Church (Lehner & Printy 2010: 1-62).

³⁴ In my view, Schilling gives an excellent perspective on how to perceive the transformations of the ritual when he discusses the elites' more controlled processions (both ecclesiastical and civic), for which there were expectations of disciplined behaviour and spiritual concentration (Schilling 2006: 129).

³⁵ This work contributes to understanding the alterations made to the processions. One such example are the changes made to the Corpus Christi procession of the Genoese Republic after the conclusion of the Council of the Trent. It suggests, *inter alia*, the role of the clergy as guarantors of the universal cult of the Eucharist, not merely local agents.

³⁶ João Rafael de Mendonça (1717-1793) was a Lisbon presbyter and an abbot of the Order of Saint Jerome. He was son of de Nuno Manuel de Mendonça, the fourth count of Vale de Reis, and Leonor de Maria Antónia de Noronha.

³⁷ Obra Bluteau, *Vocabulário*, 1712-28, de Rafael Bluteau (1638-1734). Corpus Lexicográfico do português. <http://clp.dlc.ua.pt/DICIweb/default.asp?url=Concordancias> April 20 2018. See the presented meaning in early modern Portuguese, *toldo* is described as 'a kind of fabric roof, or dome that is used to cover the boats, the streets, the squares or other public spaces during the feasts and performances' (Bluteau 1721: 188, vol. 8).

curial fashion already in use, but that were introduced systematically by order of king D. John V at the Lisbon procession from 1717 and onward, although there were other material and/or symbolic elements which were brought together. These elements could be connected with the establishment of Lisbon's patriarchy, which combined with the notion of "order" underlined the ban on old procession customs. Such as the reinforced exclusion of several figures, the floats, the dances, and the muslins which used to bear the figure of Saint George. Conversely, the dated canopy was replaced by a more lavish canopy, and chains were used to block streets that crossed the route of the procession. Order also meant that artisans had their addresses and confraternities registered, which in turn dictated whether one would join the West or East Lisbon procession.³⁸

Why do I argue the awnings were a strong symbol? Selecting the sources about Lisbon's procession from 1717 to 1723 as a sample there were around thirty-three documents recording this celebration and nineteen of them concern the awnings.³⁹ In 1717, John V tried to pass the expenditure of the awnings on to Lisbon's inhabitants. Some councilmen resisted and argued that it would be difficult for the city's artisans to afford the expensive awnings. Instead, they proposed transferring some of the council's resources that were intended for public utilities, as well as putting new taxes on wine, salt, or meat. The councilmen also considered the idea of commonwealth, means such as an auction to pay for the awnings. Additionally, the minutes illustrate that the councilmen recognised the importance of the Blessed Sacrament because they discussed the proper height, colour, and fabric of the awnings.⁴⁰ John V nevertheless upheld the decision: ultimately, the city council would have to pay for the awnings and the columns, proposing that a private person would have to finance them in advance.

The King had also made João Frederico Ludovice (1673-1752), a German born architect and goldsmith, responsible for overseeing the placement of the procession's awnings in West and East Lisbon in 1719.⁴¹

³⁸ Livro de Cons. e dec. D'el-rei D. João V, do Sen. Occ. fs.80 (11 May 1717); Livro de Cons. e dec. D'el-rei D. João V, do Sen. Occ. Fs. 83. (12 May 1717) (Oliveira 1899: Vol. 11, 192-193). See also: (Tedim 2001: 219). The quotations are from letters written by Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real, a head of the State Department, sent to West Lisbon's city council. These letters are examples of several other documents detailing instructions for various festivities, especially the feast of Corpus Christi during the reign of John V.

³⁹ These numbers were calculated from the data presented by Eduardo Freire de Oliveira in the eleventh volume of his *Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa* (Oliveira 1899: Vol. 11).

⁴⁰ Liv.o I de cons. e dec. De El'Rei D. João V. do sen. Occi., f. 13 (15 October 1717); Liv.o II do reg.o de cons. E dec. Do Sr. Rei D. João V. do sen. ori. Fs 238 v (10 February 1718) (Oliveira 1899: Vol. 11: 234, 253-256).

⁴¹ Carta do secretário de estado Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real ao presidente do senado da Camara Occidental (2 May 1719); e Carta do secretário de estado Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real ao presidente do senado da Camara occidental (2 May 1719). (Oliveira 1899: Vol. 11, 316-317). There is a published article about João

After this particularly ornate procession, a debt had been worked up and the workers were left unpaid. The discussion about the awnings occupied many council meetings and the city remained in debt for years to come.⁴² Looking at the budget for (both parts of) Lisbon, the city councils spent 5:600\$000 to put up the awnings, the columns, and to decorate the buildings and streets on the procession's route. According to the same budget, the councils annually spent 6:750\$000 on the repair and construction of pavements, repairs to fountains, and other maintenance (Oliveira, 1903: vol. 12, 96-99).⁴³ Comparing these numbers, it is fair to conclude that the awnings for the procession were an important issue, one of great expense, and that the cost of these decorations was both a financial and a political burden.

In Porto, the city council sought to share the costs of the procession with the traders and artisans. A great deal of discussion concerning the procession's budget is documented in the minutes of the council meetings. Between 1785 and 1796, the council organised auctions to pay for the awnings in advance – with the exception of 1789.⁴⁴ This money was spent on the part of the route the city council was responsible for. For the procession of 1796, four men were elected by the council: Antonio Jozé da Cunha, Jozé António Guimarães, Manoel Jozé Duarte, and Francisco Jozé Gomes Monteiro, two with identified professions: the third was a shop assistant and the last one, a merchant. Manoel Jozé Duarte belonged to the house of Antonio Ribeiro de Faria, who probably owned the house and shop, but another man was named as his guarantor. The sum raised for financing the awnings, columns and decorations from the Cathedral door to Vandoma Arch in 1795 and from the Episcopal Palace to Vandoma Arch after 1796 averaged from 12\$000 to 33\$600.

The earthquake of 1755 brought about great changes to Lisbon, as well as its procession. Yet the notions of “solemnity” and “piety”, as well as the memories of the 1719 Feast of Corpus Christi, were kept alive. In 1719, the papal legate stated that ‘the city centre [of Lisbon had] looked like a formal church, ornate and covered on all sides, so that hardly any air could get in’ because of the many awnings and columns along the streets of the

Frederico Ludovice (born Johann Friedrich Ludwig), who converted to Catholicism and adopted a Latin name (Santos 2019: 287-313).

⁴² According to Giuseppina Raggi, information on the debts owed to the artisans was recorded in 1721, although the complaints were reported already in October 1719 (Raggi 2014: 87-109).

⁴³ These numbers are from 1724. The *reais* (or *réis*) is the plural of *real*, a currency used in Portugal from roughly 1430 to 1911.

⁴⁴ No information was available for 1789. AHMP, A-PUB /90 fl. 145 (14 May 1785); A-PUB /90 fl. 243-244v (1 May 1786); A-PUB /91 fl. 43v-44 (21 April 1787); A-PUB /91 fl. 150 (26 April 1788); A-PUB /92 fls. 55 e 55v (19 May 1790); A-PUB /92 fl. 151v (15 June 1791); A-PUB /92 fl. 248 (6 May 1792); A-PUB /93 fl. 55-55v (25 May 1793); A-PUB /93 fls. 166v e 167 (4 June 1794); A-PUB /94; fl. 73 (30 May 1795).

procession.⁴⁵ Ignácio Barbosa-Machado's eulogy praised John V, because, like God, the King had created for "only a minute, the whole machine of the sky, and the earth" by giving the streets the appearance of a temple (Barbosa Machado 1759). By quoting Saint Augustine, this eulogy demonstrates how power and the idea of the Corpus Christi procession were perceived at the time, as though the earthly city of Lisbon had become God's city for one day. Even though the awnings had been in use since the sixteenth century, the ephemeral temporary architecture decorations of 1719 were part of a project to emulate Rome, the capital of the Catholic Church and birthplace of the Roman Empire (Raggi 2015: 463-493).

Returning to 1773, the council meeting minutes also explain which parts of the route were assigned to each craftsman. The list contains the names of approximately fifty artisans and traders, who were instructed to take specific positions. The representatives to the city council were exempted because they were instead responsible for putting up the awnings at the start of the procession.⁴⁶ Using these minutes, it is possible to reconstruct the route, which is a circuit from the cathedral and back.⁴⁷ The cyclical character of this feast, the procession, also affirmed the sacredness of certain spaces and rendered other sacred. The procession, through its movement and decorations, established a narrative manifested into urban space. In this sense, as with the pilgrimages analysed by Victor Turner, Porto's Corpus Christi Procession were a topographic ritual, a distribution of permanent sacred places, which coexisted and contended with the city's political topography (Turner 2008: 172). The procession route from the seventeenth century is shown on the map from 1813 below.⁴⁸

It is important to highlight the urban spaces that the eighteenth-century processions passed through, where the processions took breaks, and fountains artisans and traders were tasked with decorating. At first glance, it seems that the Corpus Christi procession connected the upper city, which had been built around the city's episcopal see, with the lower city on the shores of the Douro, which had developed to serve maritime trade (Janeiro 1988: 729).

The episcopal see was the starting point of the procession. Its public ornamentation was the responsibility of the city council and was financed with auctions relying on private financial support. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the council's decorating duties

⁴⁵ Arquivo Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Segr. Stato, Portogallo 75. f. 138, 5 July 1719. In Raggi 2014.

⁴⁶ AHMP, "Vereação de 2 de junho de 1773". (Alternatively, see A-PUB-87 F. 38-40.)

⁴⁷ Nowadays the route of Porto's procession is very different. In 2018, it left from the Church of Santíssima Trindade to the Cathedral, passing by the Humberto Delgado Square, the Avenue of Allies, the Liberty Square, Almeida Garrett Square, and the Avenue of Afonso Henriques. It is a relatively straight route along modern avenues.

⁴⁸ Viewed 19 May 2022. Available at: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/planta-redonda-do-porto-de-george-balck-george-balck-arquivo-hist%C3%B3rico-da-casa-do-infante/6AHTkNEI_5Eang?hl=pt

shifted from the cathedral to the Episcopal Palace, both buildings radiating episcopal power.⁴⁹ The minutes also cite two doors in Porto's medieval city wall, which besides allowing for the procession to pass through, were also city monuments to be visited by the cortège.⁵⁰

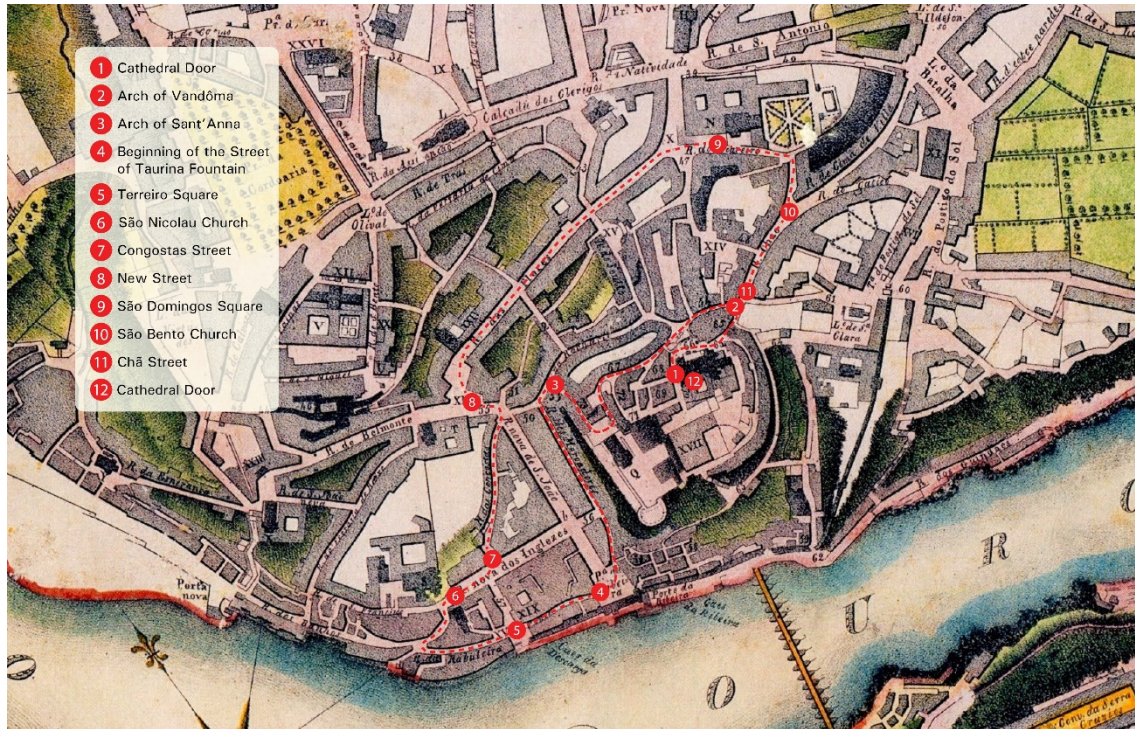


Figure 1: Map, *Planta Redonda de George Balck* (1813).

Source: Câmara Municipal do Porto/Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto: AHMP, F-NP/CMP/7/3097.

The churches mentioned in the minutes of 1773 belonged to important civic institutions. First, the *Igreja Paroquial de São Nicolau*, or the Church of St Nicholas, a parochial temple still in use today, where the brotherhood of goldsmith was installed. This was an association of artisans that enjoyed great prestige during the eighteenth century. Second, the Churches of São Domingos and São Bento, which were associated with the regular orders. Although these churches no longer exist, they were the focal point of the city squares and consequently for the route of the procession at the time. The streets the procession passed through typically had some social importance. For example, Chã Street lay on the route, which is where much of Porto's nobility resided (Silva 1994: 318).

⁴⁹ See note 43.

⁵⁰ The Arch of Vândoma, one of these doors, recalled the victory of Christian forces over the Moors. These forces came from Vendôme in France and named the arch in honour of Our Lady of Vendôme (Costa 1789: 14-15).

The *fontes* or *chafarizes* were located in public places and also recognized as an architectural element of the city.⁵¹ All the fountains mentioned in the minutes of 1773 were within the city walls, although sometimes the requested decorations referred to fountains from beyond the walls. The *Fonte Taurina* was probably the oldest fountain of the city, and its first name was associated with the presence of gold, since the square it was on was used as a marketplace. The *Fonte de São Domingos*, situated on above mentioned square with the same name, was the meeting point for councillors between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, the water chargers were mainly at the Quingostas Fountain, in the east side of it. The *Fonte de São Sebastião* was located near the first city council's main buildings, their seat of power, and the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* (Silva 2000: 32, 202-203, 250, 24-285).

The route was taken by these groups of whose various roles in the procession have been the subject of this paper: the bishop, the councillors, and the artisans. Their shared and individual narratives transformed an earthly assembly into the sacred even though their roles and power were deeply asymmetrical.⁵² I have argued that by the end of the eighteenth century, the procession had a more permanent route, it had become more solemn, and the popular and traditional elements had partially disappeared. Moreover, the elite expected a more disciplined congregation of the faithful, in accordance with the growing demand for “solemnity”.

I have considered the Corpus Christi procession in Portugal through the notion of “sacred space” and by consulting the records for the historical use of “urban space” since the beginning of the Corpus Christi procession in Portugal. During the eighteenth century, as shown by my analysis of Porto's procession, space became increasingly sacred because of the gained popularity of notions such as “solemnity”. In other words, the dances, characters, inventions, and other traditions were replaced by awnings and arches. Transforming the streets with the ephemeral architecture was one of the ways the Catholic Portuguese manifested their public devotion of the Blessed Sacrament. It was, in a sense, an eighteenth-century update.

Although this focus on the route, sacred space, and material objects are important components of understanding the Corpus Christi procession, these aspects are not sufficient. As seen in the ecclesiastical notions of procession and particularly in the Corpus Christi

⁵¹ The *fontes* were just water source and the *chafarizes* were used by the people (Teixeira 2011: 62-65).

⁵² I was inspired by Kessel 2012: 13-25 to reflect on the sacred character of the space. Kessel in turn had used Hans Belting's work to explain that the power of miraculous cult images and relics derived their power from narratives that connected them to each other.

procession of Porto, the ritual consisted of a variety of elements. Some were more concrete, such as the awnings, the canopy, the leaves, while others were not so tangible such as music and prayers. To better understand the role of religion in the early modern period, attention must be paid to a combination of elements: the construction of power, practices and rituals, as well as material objects.⁵³

The changes that took place in the Corpus Christi procession of Porto happened in several cities of the Portuguese monarchy I argue that these changes must be placed in a broader context of the Catholic Enlightenment. This paper has focussed on the procession's material elements, which I believe are exemplary for broader developments taking place in Europe at the time. These changes reinforced concepts rooted in the Catholic Reformation, such as the centrality of the Blessed Sacrament and its importance in religious events, the role of the bishops as pastors, and the Catholic Church's efforts to eradicate churchgoers' superstitions and profanities. However, it was only during the last decades of the eighteenth century that Porto's Corpus Christi procession was made into a ceremony, for which the public/faithful were informed how to participate in this ritual which celebrated the gift of redemption with due solemnity, simplified devotion and which required the discipline of the congregation and social order. This transformation happened, as demonstrated by the case of Porto, through a process of conflict and consensus between the clerics and the laity. Both parties would increasingly receive directions from the enlightened authorities at the head of the monarchy.⁵⁴

I know that there is a connection between the Corpus Christi procession, which acted as a standard for other festivities and vice-versa, that requires further research. Furthermore, this paper touches on how Portuguese processions imported elements fashionable in Rome, a nexus that deserves more attention. Interestingly, the traditional dances that were abolished from the Corpus Christi procession were preserved in other royal feasts, such as royal births, anniversaries, and weddings celebrated in Lisbon, Porto, and Rio de Janeiro between the eighteenth and nineteenth. Why was this the case? More research can hopefully shed light on the heterogeneity of collective life, and the ebbs and flows of change and restoration.

⁵³ Birgit Meyer and Dick Houtman indicated the critics of the idea of "creed" as a concept to inform the study of the religion. In containing a concern for interiority, meaning, and conscience underemphasizing questions of power, practice, and materiality, making us blind to the way religion appears and becomes tangible in the world. Meyer and Houtman also remind us that the concept of "creed" belongs to the Protestant religion and is thus historically construed (Meyer & Houtman 2019: 83).

⁵⁴ This definition of Catholic enlightenment is proposed by Lehner (Lehner & Printy 2010: 1-48). I consider here Corpus Christi as a kind of "ceremony of information" (Monod 1999: 83; Fogel 1998).

References

Printed sources

- Almeida, Candido Mendes de (ed.) [1870]. *Código Philippino, ou, Ordenações e Leis do Reino de Portugal: recopiladas por mandado d'El Rey D. Philippe I.* Liv. I, tit. 66. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Instituto Philomathico.
- Bluteau, Rafael, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*. 1712-1728. Coimbra: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesu
- Constituições primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia* [1853] S Paulo: Na Typ. 2 de Dezembro de Antonio Louzada Antunes.
- Constituições Synodaes do Arcebispado de Lisboa* [1656]. Lisbon: Off. Paulo Craeesbeek.
- Constituições Synodaes do Bispado do Porto* [1690]. Coimbra: Joseph Ferreyra.
- Costa, Pe. Agostinho Rebelo da (1789). *Descrição topografica, e historica da Cidade do Porto: Que contém a sua origem, situação, e antiguidades: a magnificencia dos seus templos, mosteiros, hospitaes, ruas, praças, edificios, e fontes...* Porto: Officina de Antonio Alvarez Ribeiro.
- Machado, Inácio Barbosa (1759). *Historia Critico-Chronologica da Instituição da Festa, Procissam, e Officio do Corpo Santissimo de Christo no Veneraval Sacramento da Eucharistia*. Lisbon: Off. Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno.
- Muratori, Ludovico Antonio [1747]. *Della regolata divoizion de' cristiani*. Venezia: stamperia di Giambatista Albrizzi q. Gir.
- Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Manuel*. [1797] Liv. I. Coimbra: Na Real Imprensa da Universidade.
- Voelker, Evelyn Carol (1977). *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae Et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae, 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis*. 2 Vols. PhD thesis, Syracuse University.

Bibliography

- Albuquerque, Ana Sílvia (1999). *História social da administração do Porto (1700-1750)*. Porto: Universidade Portucalense.
- Albuquerque, Ana Sílvia (2001). "As elites portuenses na administração municipal: 1ª metade de Setecentos." *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, 16: 47-55.
- Araújo, Ana Cristina (2001). "Ilustración y reforma de la teología em Portugal em El siglo XVIII." *Cuad. diecioch.*, 2: 261-279.
- Barros, Amândio Jorge Morais (1993). "A Procissão do Corpo de Deus do Porto nos séculos XV e XVI: a participação de uma confraria." *História*, 10:117-136.
- Basto, A. de Magalhães (1947). "Alguns Documentos do Arquivo Municipal do Porto: Que fornecem subsídios para a História da Cidade de Lisboa." In A. de Magalhães Basto. *Documentos e memórias para a história do Porto, XVII*. Porto: Publicações da Câmara Municipal do Porto, 68-70.
- Bastos, Rodrigo Almeida (2009). *A Maravilhosa fábrica das virtudes: decoro na arquitetura religiosa de Vila Rica, Minas Gerais (1711-1822)*. PhD thesis, University of São Paulo.
- Bernardi, Claudio (2000). "Corpus Domini: ritual metamorphoses and social changes in sixteenth- and seventh-century Genoa." In Nicholas Terpstra (ed.), *The politics of ritual kinship: confraternity and social order in early modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 228-242.
- Brásio, António (1958). "Três dioceses pombalinas: Castelo Branco, Penafiel, Pinhel." *Lusitania Sacra*, 3: 165-233.
- Burke, Peter (2010). *Cultura Popular na Idade Moderna. Europa, 1500-1800*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

- Cardim, Pedro (2010). “La aspiración imperial de la monarquía portuguesa (siglos XVI y XVII).” In Sabatini Gaetano (ed.), *Comprendere le Monarchie iberiche. Risorse materiali e rappresentazioni del potere*. Rome: Viella, 37-72.
- Chastel, André (1991). “O artista.” In Eugenio Garin (ed.), *O Homem Renascentista*. Lisbon: Presença, 9-36.
- Couto, Pe. Luís de Sousa (1936). *Origem das procissões da Cidade do Porto*. Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Douglas, Mary (1984). *Purity and Danger: An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Ark Paperbacks.
- Duby, Georges (1982). *As três ordens ou o imaginário do feudalismo*. Lisbon: Estampa.
- Durkheim, Émile (1996). *As formas elementares da vida religiosa: o sistema totêmico na Austrália*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.
- Fernandes, Paulo Jorge (1999). *As faces de Proteu: elites urbanas e o poder municipal em Lisboa de finais do século XVIII a 1851*. Lisbon: Arte e História.
- Flexor, Maria Helena Ochi (1974). *Oficiais Mecânicos na cidade de Salvador*. Salvador: Prefeitura Municipal do Salvador.
- Fogel, Michèle (1989). *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Fayard.
- Fragoso, João, Maria Fernanda Bicalho & Maria de Fátima Gouvêa (eds.) (2001). *O Antigo regime nos trópicos: a dinâmica imperial portuguesa (séculos XVI–XVIII)*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- Fragoso, João & Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro (eds.) (2017). *Um Reino e suas repúblicas no Atlântico: comunicações políticas entre Portugal, Brasil e Angola*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- Gandelmann, Luciana (2005). *Mulheres para um Império; órfãs de caridade nos recolhimentos femininos da Santa Casa de Misericórdia: Salvador, Rio de Janeiro e Porto – século XVIII*. PhD thesis, State University of Campinas.
- Gonçalves, Iria (1985). “As festas do ‘Corpus Cristi’ do Porto na segunda metade do século XV: a participação do concelho.” *Estudos medievais* 5/6: 3-23.
- Janeiro, Helena Pinto (1988). “A Procissão do Corpo de Deus na Lisboa Barroca – O Espaço e o Poder.” In *Arqueologia do Estado 1as Jornadas sobre Formas de Organização e Exercício dos Poderes na Europa do Sul, Séculos XIII-XVIII. Vol. 2*. Lisbon: História & Crítica, 723-742.
- Lehner, Ulrich L. & Michael Printy (eds.) (2010). *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Lima, António Augusto Pires (1949). “Procissões no Porto – o Toldo – Precedências.” *Boletim Cultural Câmara Municipal*, 12: 199-215.
- Kessel, Elsje van (2012). “How to Make an Image Work? The presentation of the miraculous Christ Carrying the Cross at San Rocco in Venice.” *Studiolo*, 9: 13-25.
- Marcocci, Giuseppe (2016). “Império e escravidão: nexos, tensões, controvérsias (ca. 1450-1600).” In Ângela Barreto Xavier & Cristina Nogueira da Silva (eds.), *Governo dos outros: Poder e diferença no Império português*. Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 125-150.
- Mauss, Marcel (2003). “Ensaio sobre a dádiva: Forma e razão da troca nas sociedades arcaicas.” In *Sociologia e Antropologia*. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 181-312.
- Meyer, Birgit & Dick Houtman (2019). “Religião material: Como as coisas importam.” In Emerson Giumbelli, João Rickli & Rodrigo Toniol (eds.), *Como as coisas importam: Uma abordagem material da religião*. Porto Alegre: Editora da URGs, 81-113.
- Monod, Paul Kléber (1999). *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1715*. Yale: Yale University Press.
- Muir, Edward (1997). *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oliveira, Eduardo Freire de (1885-1911). *Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa. 17 Vols*. Lisbon: Typografia Universal.

- Procissão do Corpo de Deus (1860). *Arquivo pittoresco: semanário ilustrado*, 3 (14-15): 109- 111, 114-115.
- Raggi, Giuseppina (2014). “A formosa maquina do Ceo e da terra’: a procissão do *Corpus Domini* de 1719 e o papel dos arquitetos Filippo Juarra e João Frederico Ludovice.” *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal*, 1: 87-109.
- Rubin, Miri (1994). *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Santos, Beatriz Catão Cruz (2005). *O Corpo de Deus na América: A festa de Corpus Christi nas cidades da América portuguesa*. São Paulo: Annablume.
- Santos, Beatriz Catão Cruz (2015). “A procissão de Corpus Christi e os ourives: Lisboa e Porto, séculos XVII e XVIII.” *Lusitânia Sacra*, 32: 241-263.
- Santos, Beatriz Catão Cruz (2015). “Os ofícios mecânicos e a procissão de *Corpus Christi* no Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa. Séculos XVII e XVIII.” *Locus*, 21: 463-493.
- Santos, Beatriz Catão Cruz (2017). “A procissão de Corpus Christi no império Português: discursos sobre as “faltas” e o tempo (século XVIII).” In Jacqueline Hermann & William de Souza Martins (eds.), *Poderes do sagrado: Europa católica, América Ibérica, África e oriente portugueses (séculos XVI-XVIII)*. Rio de Janeiro: Multifoco, 247-270.
- Santos, Beatriz Catão Cruz (2019). “João Frederico Ludovice e a procissão de Corpus Christi de Lisboa no século XVIII.” In Eliane Cristina Deckmann Fleck & Mauro Dillmann (eds.), *O universo letrado da Idade Moderna: escritoras e escritores portugueses e luso-brasileiros, séculos XVI-XIX*. São Leopoldo: Oikos Editora & Editora Unisinos, 287-313.
- Santos, Cândido dos (2004). “Matrizes do Iluminismo Católico da época pombalina.” In *Estudos em homenagem a Luís António de Oliveira Ramos*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 949-956.
- Sartore, Domenico & Achille M. Triacca (1992). *Dicionário de Liturgia*. São Paulo: Paulus.
- Schilling, Heinz (2006). “Urban architecture and ritual in confessional Europe.” In Heinz Schilling & István György Tóth (eds.), *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 138-161.
- Schmitt, Jean Claude (2002). “Ritos.” In Jacques Le Goff & Jean Claude Schmitt (eds.), *Dicionário Temático do Ocidente Medieval*. Bauru: EDUSC, 415-430.
- Silva, Francisco Ribeiro da (1985). *O Porto e o seu termo (1580-1640): Os homens, as instituições e o poder. 2 Vols.* PhD thesis, University of Porto.
- Silva, Francisco Ribeiro da (1994). “Tempos modernos.” In Luís de Oliveira (eds.), *História do Porto*. Porto: Porto Editora.
- Silva, Germano (2000). *Fontes e chafarizes do Porto*. Porto: SMAS - Serviço Municipalizado de Águas e Saneamento do Porto.
- Sousa, Ivo Manuel V. Carneiro de Sousa (1982). “1795: quando o Porto recuperou a Casa dos Vinte e Quatro.” *Humanidades: Revista trimestral da AEFLUP*, 2: 42-46.
- Souza, Evergton Salles (2010). “The Catholic Enlightenment in Portugal.” In Ulrich L. Lehner & Michael Printy (eds.), *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 359-402.
- Subtil, José Manuel (1989). “A administração central da Coroa.” In Joaquim Romero Magalhães (ed.), *História de Portugal: No alvorecer da modernidade. Vol 3*. Lisbon: Estampa, 78-90.
- Teixeira, Diogo Emanuel Pacheco (2011). *O abastecimento de água na cidade do Porto nos séculos XVII e XVIII: aquedutos, fontes e chafarizes*. PhD thesis, University of Porto.
- Tedim, José Manel (2000). “A Procissão das Procissões. A Festa do Corpo de Deus.” In João Castel-Branco Pereira (ed.), *Arte Efêmera em Portugal*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 216-223.
- Turner, Victor (1974). *The Ritual Process: Structure and Antistructure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

- Turner, Victor (2008). *Dramas, campos e metáforas: Ação simbólica na sociedade humana*. Niterói: Eduff.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto & Cristina Nogueira da Silva (eds.) (2016). *Governo dos outros: Poder e diferença no Império português*. Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais.

Received for publication: 12 de Fevereiro de 2021

Accepted in revised form: 22 February 2022

Recebido para publicação: 12 February 2021

Aceite após revisão: 22 de Fevereiro de 2022

Bionote/ Nota Biográfica

BEATRIZ CATÃO CRUZ SANTOS is Associate Professor of Early Modern History at Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). She integrates the Postgraduate Program in Social History and works in the area of Social History of Religion, with emphasis on rituals and festivals of the Portuguese Empire. Current post-doctoral research: "A festa de Corpus Christi, as cidades e os artífices na Monarquia portuguesa (1706-1777)".

BEATRIZ CATÃO CRUZ SANTOS é Professora Associada de História Moderna na Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (Brasil). Integra o Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social. Atua na área de História Social da religião, com ênfase nos rituais e festas do Império português. Pesquisa de pós-doutorado atual: "A festa de *Corpus Christi*, as cidades e os artífices na Monarquia portuguesa (1706-1777)".