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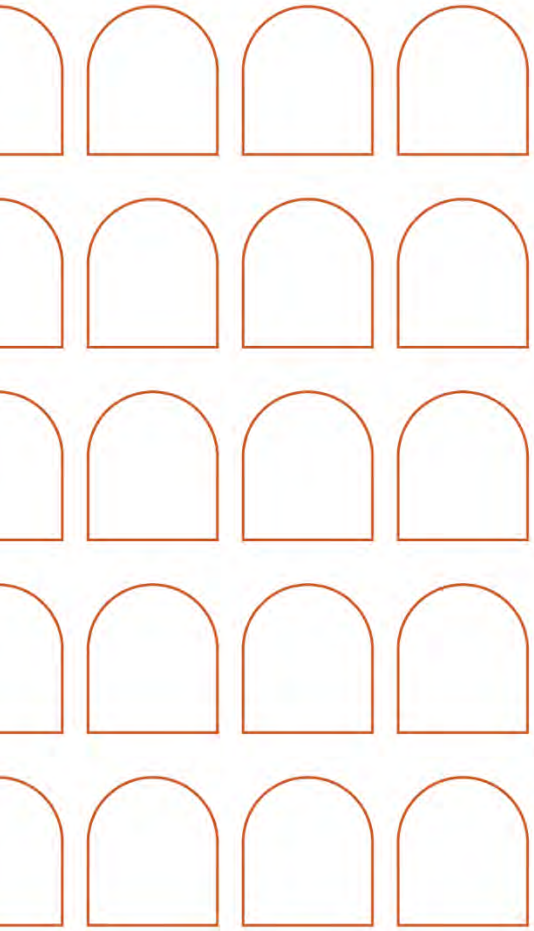

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WORKING PAPER

From Florence to Goa and Beyond

Essays in early modern global history in honor of Jorge Flores

Tilmann Kulke and Irene María Vicente Martín (eds.)

European University Institute

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Abstract

This volume is dedicated to Jorge Flores: scholar, supervisor, esteemed colleague, and friend. Twenty-three authors, close friends and colleagues at and outside the European University Institute, as well as his former and current doctoral students, have come together here to pay tribute to Flores' highly productive and constantly supportive period at the EUI. The result is an anthology in which the authors present their current research in essay form while also reflecting thematically and methodologically on the fascinating field of pre-modern global history. The reader will come to realize that, after an exuberant but difficult youth of more than two decades, global history as a perspective on our common past is by no means at an end or at a standstill; rather, this field is in constant motion, undergoing criticism and encouragement to become an indispensable part of our common historical and academic work. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam notes in his introduction to this study, Flores is one of the "leading figures in the study of the early modern Iberian world." And so he, too, will have a significant part to play in the development of pre-modern global history. It will be a pleasure and an honour for all of us to continue to collaborate, debate, and exchange with him, moving beyond traditional frameworks for analyzing the past in terms of national categories and methodological and institutional nationalisms.

Keywords

Global history, World history, Cross-cultural connections, Interactions, Jorge Flores

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Prelude

Tilmann Kulke and Irene María Vicente Martín

The title 'From Florence to Goa and Beyond' will seem apt to readers approaching the volume. This may be either because they are familiar with the career of Professor Jorge Flores, honored in these pages, or as they understand the hidden meaning of Florence and Goa as cities of the early modern period. The first, the cradle of Renaissance, and the second, after its abandonment by the Portuguese, associated with a sunset of the early modern era, seemed perfect to place together for a collection of essays covering a period of Global History spanning from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries. However, before settling for on the title, we considered for a while another which included a word equally appealing: crossroads. We were fascinated by crossroads, because of the path on which each of us encountered Jorge, yet it was particularly fitting also because this book acts as a both starting point for further discussions on Global History as well as a crossroads itself, with the nascent research of various emerging historians from across world published alongside that of leading scholars.

All the poetry behind this word came to nothing when the word 'Beyond' appeared in our minds. A crossing, in truth, is nothing more than something fleeting, fortuitous, and primarily conditioned by the two perpendicular paths that momentarily meet. 'Beyond' contained a clue into the future that we could as editors not neglect considering the motivations of the book. Indeed, most of the research contained in the following pages is still in the making. Some will shortly see the light in published books and articles, while others might need to grow a little before finding an interested publisher, designed as they are to pass a Ph.D. viva. Moreover, we do not believe that Global History ends here, nor in these essays, nor in us. Hence, what we offer with this collection is also some glimpses of what our current research can provide to this growing field. This variety is the reason why the upcoming essays are different in size, methodology, scope, language and style, yet all are equal in their authors' passion, skills and

curiosity in relation to the field of Early Modern Global History and their feelings of friendship, gratitude, and admiration for Jorge Flores.

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This volume was doomed to fail, and more often than we would like to admit, we thought about giving up and abandoning this project. In June 2019, we presented Jorge the first outline of the volume at a farewell organized by the EUI HEC Department. At that time, we already had a handful of outstanding essays that augured well for contributors' research and a smooth editorial process that would result in a quality volume. However, some months later, we were all astonished and shocked by Covid-19, a crisis that torn apart our usual and familiar lives. Once we managed to overcome the initial shock, it slowly became clear that this pandemic would not leave us so quickly.

Several contributors were unavailable for months (in a worrisome way), and others withdrew apologetically (of course, an understandable decision given the circumstances), which postponed the entire editorial process. Then, by June 2020, instead of having a book launch in honor of Jorge in his old office in Florence or his new one in Lisbon, what we had in our hands was a half-done book and two options ahead: either cancelling the entire project, which would have been a no-go for all those who had already delivered their piece, or asking patience from these same contributors and wait, along with them, for the essays which were still in the making. It is now clearer than ever that we made no mistake in taking the second course and placing our trust in the fruits of time. Having explained all this, we would like to once again, expressly apologize for the delay to all those who submitted before the outbreak of the pandemic, thank all those who found the strength and wrote their essays in the midst of it, and finally, to all of you for waiting until the end to see your contributions on paper. We hope that we have done well, that the result is to your liking and that the wait was worth it.

The main reason we finally succeeded is, of course, the excellent teamwork of all contributors, their patience, and their understanding of the given circumstances. At this point, we would like to express our gratitude to the professors of the HEC-seminar, who have been with us from the beginning of the project and even covered the entire

cost of the proof-reader. We would also like to thank James White, who, as always, did an excellent job of proofreading and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, who was the first to commit to the project and supported the volume from start to finish. Furthermore, we have much gratitude for the qualities we have experienced and learned from Jorge Flores during our years as his doctoral students, namely: resilience, a focus on the core task, and most importantly, the one we associate most with him as our supervisor, constant and supportive understanding when things do not go so well and one is thrown off track from a project, something every Ph.D. student goes through at least once, if not several times, in their doctoral training.

Writing a Ph.D. is not an easy task. The EUI's rigid deadlines, always back and forth between the old home and the new workplace, homesickness, psychological and financial stress, family plans, failed relationships, and the constant question: Is there life after Ph.D.? What would come afterward? During this process, talking to Jorge was, and still is, like a therapy session for many of us. He understands the most convoluted situations; offers answers to all kinds of questions and wonderings; his motivation, which never ends, and his irrevocable curiosity in connecting with our work keeps us on the right track, especially when it appears that there is none. Thanks to this, we leave his office hour encouraged, motivated, and with renewed vigor. And often, after saying 'Goodbye!' or 'Até logo!' at his office's door, adjacent to the Capella in Schifanoia or in Salviati's Manica, we crossed glances with other colleagues waiting for him and knew, momentarily, that their conversation with Jorge would become encouragement and satisfaction for them as well.

Dear Jorge, we thank you for everything you have done for us, we will never forget it! It is our firm intention to supervise our students by following your example in motivating, understanding and believing in them, their research and passion for history, languages and culture-studies; and we are not alone in saying thanks to your outstanding supervision and constant support, as you will now see your researcher's thank-you notes:

> *There are many reasons one can feel fortunate for working at the European University Institute, but I am particularly grateful to have had Jorge Flores as supervisor, colleague, and friend during my time there as a doctoral researcher. Those four years would not have been half as productive, creative, and*

congenial without his unflagging support, which continues to this day. He shaped my research and myself with generosity, integrity, and acumen, and for that I am deeply thankful. (José Beltrán)

It was a pleasure to work with Jorge as my second reader. I fondly remember our coffees and many conversations on South Asia and the cultural history of imperialism. I wish him all the best for the future and hope to stay in touch. (Moritz von Brescius)

When I was debating whether I should go to EUI or another place, my colleague told me to read an article each from all my potential supervisors, so I could make an informed choice. I read Jorge's "Distant Wonders", and of course I decided to go to EUI. Jorge epitomizes the transnational, global approach of the institute. Working with him is like going on a whirlwind of an intellectual adventure, passing through so many unexpected but marvelous places from French-Algonquian middle grounds to Ainu salmon fisheries, and meeting the most fascinating characters from Catholic monkeys to flying nuns. Jorge encourages the people around him to explore, wonder and come back with a fresh perspective. (Mark Dizon)

Ever since I joined the EUI, Jorge has helped me to broaden my views and to engage with Early Modern History literature and perspectives. Every meeting with him is of the outmost usefulness thanks to his reading advices that push me to take a step beyond the Andean historiography. Having Jorge as a supervisor is truly a chance thanks to his positivity, especially when doubts and difficulties are in the way. I am very thankful to work with Jorge, for my project would not have been the same without his valuable suggestions and encouragements. (Elfie Guyayu)

For writing, and finishing (!) a PhD, nothing better could have happened to me than being a doctoral student of Jorge Flores; already at the beginning, Jorge showed extreme flexibility after I had completely skipped the project I originally applied to the EUI's doctoral programme and preferred another one instead. Jorge could have simply rejected this. But it is exactly this flexibility and understanding of a PhD student's will to often go its own way, and when a

researcher sometimes needs a little push to return to pragmatic reality. Moreover, there is Jorge's empathy and constant understanding: Twice, two bereavements in the immediate family hit me so hard that it seemed almost impossible to continue, while at the same time we started having a little family on our own, always back and forth between Cologne, Florence and Tbilisi. The meetings with Jorge in those years were literally a haven of understanding, motivation, intellectual exchange and fruitful debates; something I will never forget and for which I will always be grateful. (Tilmann Kulke)

Almost ten years after meeting Jorge Flores, I'm only now starting to fully understand his contribution to the field of early modern global history. However, I will never be able to realize how lucky I was for doing my Ph.D. thesis under his supervision. This may sound cliché, but it gets a special meaning when it comes from someone who considers himself one of the world's luckiest academic. I could not have asked for a better or more generous supervisor as he was always able to provide the guidance, help and support that I needed. Without a doubt, his encouragement to continue enlarging my intellectual horizons moving beyond my research comfort zone had a deep impact on my career. In the personal sphere, his radiant personality has been a wonderful company even beyond distance, I cannot help but hoping it continues being so in the years to come. (José Miguel Escribano Páez)

Though my dissertation was not very global, your approach to global history strongly influenced my work. The essay in this volume is another sign that our exchange will be intellectually productive for many years to come. Thanks for being a great dissertation supervisor. (Luca Scholz)

Jorge has always been a kind and supportive supervisor, yet realistic in his advice and expectations. He has been willing to engage with and discuss topics and ideas, even when they have gone beyond his own work and expertise. Most importantly, he has always been available when I have needed his support, while also knowing the right moments to give me space and time to think things through for myself. (Mikko Toivanen)

The thesis is a navigation, sometimes turbulent and treacherous. The many discussions I had with Jorge during my five years at the EUI helped me to stay on course, to get closer to early-modern history when I was experimenting in other waters. I remember these five years as a rich intellectual exchange, sometimes challenging me, opening new perspectives. These continuous discussions allowed me not only to propose a more refined work, but also to face the daily difficulties of this scientific and inner navigation that is the PhD. (Martin Vailly)

In many ways, working close to Jorge has been, and is, a continuous learning experience. Thanks to him, I became fluent in Portuguese, I am increasingly curious about topics beyond my dissertation, and I learn every day about the human side of academia. He is a fundamental pillar of my pre-doctoral training, and his always willing-to-help attitude makes him a great advisor, and (I hope) an exceptional future colleague. (Irene María Vicente Martín)

Introduction

FROM LISBON TO FLORENCE, VIA SOUTH ASIA:
The Making of an Iberian World Historian

Sanjay Subrahmanyam
University of California, Los Angeles

This brief introductory essay will reflect on intellectual encounters over the last thirty years, years in which Iberian (and especially Portuguese) historians have come to terms with new trends in global history and world history. My narrative will begin around 1987-88, when Jorge Manuel Costa da Silva Flores – as he then was called – embarked on his Mestrado at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, which was a relatively new institution in Lisbon's Avenida de Berna, created in 1973, during the last throes of the Estado Novo. The university was conveniently located in the mid-1980s in what looked like a set of barracks, a stone's throw from the great cultural dynamo of that time, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Portugal then was a little more than a decade beyond its Carnation Revolution of 1974. The government by 1987 was that of the social-democratic politician Anibal Cavaco Silva, while the veteran socialist Mário Soares held on to the presidency. An economic liberal trained at York, Cavaco would take Portugal into the European Union, and hold on to power for nearly a decade. The traditional left of Álvaro Cunhal, which had dreamt in the aftermath of the 1974 Revolution of a very different kind of post-Salazarist economy and society, was steadily losing ground in every successive election. Inevitably, the academic world – and especially that of the historians – was one where many of these turbulent differences were reflected, albeit in a distorting mirror. What, then, was the world of early modern Portuguese historiography in the mid-1980s?

A handful of figures, each of a very different kind, dominated matters. Among the senior-most was Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, born in 1918 and by then in his late sixties. Godinho had long focused on the economy of the overseas empire, drawing inspiration on a great tradition that existed in Portugal but also – from the late 1940s – building on his contacts with the French historiography of the *Annales* school, in whose house journal he published a number of significant essays. Undoubtedly his most important work was the thesis he had defended while in France, *L'Économie de l'empire portugais aux XVe-XVIe siècles* (1969), which weighs in at just under nine hundred pages. He had also written earlier works on the fifteenth-century Portuguese discoveries, as well as on the price and monetary history of Portugal, the latter probably inspired by Ernest Labrousse. During the Salazar-Caetano years, Godinho, as a member of the political opposition, had largely spent his time in France, first working in the CNRS and then as a professor in Clermont-Ferrand. In 1974, he returned to Portugal and was briefly appointed Minister of Education. Some of his shorter and more popular works, which were based on a form of "modernization theory", widely circulated, so he exercised a huge influence over, for example, high-school teachers in Portugal and their thinking. At the same time, since he was a notoriously difficult personality with apparent delusions of grandeur (exacerbated by his French sojourn), Godinho was unable to come to terms with any institution in Portugal or create a real school around himself either before or after 1974, though he influenced some younger figures such as Joaquim Romero Magalhães, Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto. Acknowledging no equals in Portugal, he bore bitter grudges and was a ferociously factional academic, which became evident when he joined the Universidade Nova in the last phase of his career.

Amongst those with whom he violently quarrelled was a second important personality, António de Oliveira Marques, born in 1933. Oliveira Marques was a medievalist by training, who had begun by working on the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in Portugal. He then went on to study in Würzburg, where he was heavily influenced by the great German specialist of the Iberian world, Hermann Kellenbenz: there, he worked on relations between Portugal and the Hanseatic cities. On his return to Portugal, he too had a falling out with the regime in the context of a student strike and spent a good part of the 1960s in the United States, teaching in a series of institutions such as the University of Florida-Gainesville. Unlike Godinho, whose strong French orientation meant that very little of his work found its way into English

(exceptions being his essays on the Portuguese empire in the *New Cambridge Modern History*), Oliveira Marques seized the opportunity to address the Anglophone world, writing a very successful two-volume general history of Portugal in 1972, published by Columbia University Press. Though his own research remained largely focused on Europe and did not really enter directly into questions of the overseas empire, he was certainly well-read and kept abreast of developments in the field, as would become evident when he co-directed various general histories later in his life, in which Jorge Flores too participated. But he also did not train any significant students in the field of overseas history.

At least a few other senior figures from those times merit mention. One was Luís de Albuquerque, in fact a year older than Godinho, and who somewhat unusually had a background in mathematics and engineering, which inclined him towards the more technical aspects of the history of navigation, cartography, shipping and so on. Associated in the early part of his career with Armando Cortesão, with whom he shared an interest in the sixteenth-century figure of Dom João de Castro, Albuquerque was firmly based in Coimbra, and thus managed to some extent at least to stay away from the violent polemics that characterized Lisbon. In the 1980s, he emerged as an important populariser, editing a number of works for the *grand public*, and also as a personality around whom some younger scholars – whether Francisco Contente Domingues, Inácio Guerreiro or Rui Loureiro – tended to cluster. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Albuquerque as a personality was his capacity to remain well above the fray, whether with regard to his Portuguese colleagues or with regard to foreigners like myself, treating everyone with even-handed courtesy. If my memory serves me well, he was the first to invite me to publish in Portugal, in a multi-volume work he was editing called *Portugal no Mundo* (1989). At the other end of the spectrum in terms of sectarianism was António da Silva Rego (1905-86), a conservative Catholic priest who is today remembered mostly for overseeing the publication of enormous series of documents, both from the religious and the secular administrative spheres. Silva Rego's capacities as a historian were quite limited; as an editor, his work compares poorly with that of the Jesuits Georg Schurhammer and Josef Wicki, who were both his contemporaries. His history is often heavily moulded by Catholic apologism and an overweening sense of the *mission civilisatrice* of the Portuguese.

But mention should equally be made of the "other side", historians who were associated with the Faculdade de Letras of the Universidade de Lisboa (or "Clássica"). Among these was Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão (1925-2020), a plodding but extremely prolific historian who produced not only a very old-fashioned and nationalistic multi-volume history of Portugal, but a large number of other works, including compendia, itineraries of Portuguese kings, and the like. In his case, he was politically quite coloured, with a close personal association with Marcello Caetano, who succeeded Salazar as the head of the Estado Novo between 1968 and 1974. More complex was the case of Virgínia Rau (1907-73), the only woman of significance in this largely masculine world. Rau was partly of German descent, an imposing figure who worked on a variety of questions ranging from the place of salt in the medieval Portuguese economy to the role of Italian merchant-bankers in Portugal and the empire and the account-books of Portuguese officials overseas. She was also a sometime collaborator of Bailey Diffie, a professor at the City College of New York and a pioneer of Portuguese and Brazilian history in the United States whose influence has been acknowledged by Stuart Schwartz and others. Many of Rau's key works, often in the essay form, remain valuable even today; but she chose to remain in the Faculdade de Letras and support the Salazar regime when others either left or kept their distance. It was under her official supervision, but also influenced methodologically by others such as Jorge Borges de Macedo, that Luís Filipe Thomaz completed his 1964 *licenciatura* dissertation, "Os Portugueses em Malaca, 1511-1580".

Thomaz (b. 1942) is arguably the key figure of the next generation in the historiography, and the bridging figure between those mentioned above and the generation of Jorge Flores. He belongs to a colonial family with connections through his grandfather Ricardo Esteves to Goa, where some of his distant relatives still live. He was also the nephew of Américo Thomaz, a senior naval officer who became the last president of the Estado Novo. Thomaz himself, soon after completing his undergraduate degree in Lisbon, went to Timor for his obligatory army service and remained there for several years beyond the actual requirements. This may have been related to his proclivities as a practising Christian: his friends from the time include the Timorese bishops Ximenes Belo and Basílio do Nascimento. Returning to Europe, he began teaching at a junior level at the Faculdade de Letras from 1973, but also spent five years, from 1978 to 1982, in Paris, attending courses at the EPHE and the EHESS. Thomaz had a strong background in the classics and showed an early fascination for

the study of Asian languages, beginning with Sanskrit, but going on to Malay-Indonesian. While in Paris, he came under the influence of the important specialist of Southeast Asia Denys Lombard, and began work on a doctoral dissertation which was never completed. But he was equally – and perhaps even more – influenced by the philologically-inflected historical practices of Jean Aubin at the EPHE (IVe Section). He had by the mid-1980s acquired competence in a handful of non-European languages, whether those of Ethiopia, West Asia, India or Southeast Asia, which made him practically unique on the Portuguese scene, where no real tradition of a philologically-based orientalism existed, at least since the time of David Lopes (1867-1942).

I first briefly met Thomaz in Goa in 1983, and then renewed my acquaintance with him two years later, when he generously invited me to talk on a couple of occasions to his students at the Faculdade de Letras. Generous with his time and his personal library in Parede, and happy to transmit the difficult skills needed in the archives, he pretty much single-handedly transformed my first research experience in Portugal. It was he who was largely responsible for consolidating the *Mestrado* (or Master's) course on Portuguese expansion at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, where he moved in the mid-1980s. But lacking both the necessary higher academic degrees and the political savvy to manage it all himself, he needed allies such as Artur Teodoro de Matos, a far more traditionally-oriented historian, far removed from Thomaz's charisma, cosmopolitanism and eccentricity. A third figure, more self-effacing but extremely creative in the philological sphere and widely read, was Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, who became the pre-eminent interpreter of the Portuguese chronicling tradition, and especially of Diogo do Couto. Lima Cruz was also politically distinct from the others, belonging to a far-left milieu, though she was usually rather discreet about this.

I met the first students of this new *Mestrado*, which emerged in around 1985, in the Lisbon archives when I was doing my own early research. Three years later, to my pleasure and surprise, I was invited by Thomaz and Matos to teach an intensive seminar for a month there, after having completed a year as a visiting professor at the University of Pennsylvania. In so doing, I joined a handful of other far more senior figures who were also invited to teach such intensive sequences, such as Denys Lombard and Geneviève Bouchon (they taught in French, while I did so in Portuguese).

It was on this occasion, in June 1988, that I first met Jorge Flores and the others of his cohort, many of whom came from undergraduate degrees at the Faculdade de Letras. They included a few from important bourgeois families, one or two of whom even had historian ancestors, and those like Flores, who came from a modest family with a limited academic background. My first impressions of the experience were somewhat confusing. The seminars were to run from 10 AM to 1 PM, twice a week, and I always showed up promptly from my lodgings at the Avenida António Augusto de Aguiar only to find no-one there except a single blind student, José Alberto Barata. The others would drift in desultorily over the next half hour, some of them quite openly sceptical, no doubt asking themselves who this Indian historian was and what he was doing there. Of the Mestrado students, some were at least a few years older than me, which made matters worse; I obviously could not assume the authority of a Lombard or Bouchon. Besides, the experience of the preceding decades was one where only the French and the English historiography commanded any respect in Portugal, and they had not heard of any historian from India worth his or her salt. The few Indian historians who had come through Portugal from 1974 to 1988 had usually been Catholic priests, some of them with rather crude and self-promoting attitudes like Teotónio de Souza, which did not augur well for those who followed.

I cannot say I won these students over, but the whole risky exercise did bear some fruit. I was forced over these twenty-four intensive hours in a sweltering June to make an enormous effort of synthesis which eventually led me, while in England later that year, to embark on writing the book that became *The Portuguese Empire in Asia* (1993). On the other hand, I tried to convey two broad messages to those in the *Mestrado* as well as some others whom I met: the importance of placing the Portuguese experience in a larger context, which would include at the very least the British and Dutch overseas empires, and the need to gain a critical mastery of the most recent secondary literature on whichever part of the world they were working on, be it China, Japan, Southeast Asia, India or Iran. I believe that Thomaz may have had higher, or at least different, ambitions for some of them, in the sense of wanting them to become specialists in “area studies” rather than of the Portuguese empire (João Paulo Costa for Japan or Maria Ana Marques Guedes for Burma, to take two examples). But the atmosphere was not propitious for such an outcome.

In 1988, Flores was still hesitating with regard to which part of maritime Asia he would work on. Initially he thought it would be Kerala, while his contemporary Jorge Santos Alves was supposed to work on Bengal: my early nicknames for the two of them were "Jorge Malavar" and "Jorge Bengala". But quite soon, possibly under the influence and direction of Geneviève Bouchon, he decided to focus on Sri Lanka, and particularly on the first half-century of Portuguese interactions with the island. This meant delving into the sources in the Torre do Tombo archives, especially the difficult Corpo Cronológico and Núcleo Antigo series. Some of the groundwork had been laid by the Jesuit Georg Schurhammer, and there had also been a series of significant interventions by Sri Lankan historians such as Chandra de Silva and Tikiri Abeyasinghe. Flores's *Mestrado* dissertation, which was completed in 1992, is a solid piece of work, archivally anchored but attentive to the whole range of relevant secondary literature: a revised version appeared as *Os Portugueses e o Mar de Ceilão: Trato, Diplomacia e Guerra, 1498-1543* (1998). It is a pity that the project to translate it into English eventually fell through, since it is a far more impressive and important work than that of Alan Strathern, which is based on a bare acquaintance with the relevant archives. For his part, Flores has returned to Sri Lankan history in a series of other publications, including the edited volume *Re-Exploring the Links* (2007).

But the 1990s brought other important changes. The Mestrado experiment at the Universidade Nova began to peter out by the mid-1990s, as the financial wherewithal was no longer forthcoming and the pressure was now for Portugal to conform to the so-called "Bologna" system of the LMD, with a far shorter two-year Master's. Nevertheless, several important historians did emerge from this brief and fecund period besides those whom I have already mentioned: I refer to José Alberto Tavim, Manuel Lobato, Ângela Domingues, Ângela Barreto Xavier (from another stream of the Mestrado), José Damião Rodrigues, Vítor Rodrigues, Luís Frederico Dias Antunes, and others. Like Flores, they too have participated in the so-called "internationalization" of Portuguese historiography, though this is an idea that may need some unpacking. In the case of Flores, an important further experience was undoubtedly the period from November 1989 to August 1994, which he spent as lecturer at the Institute of Portuguese Studies in the University of Macau. Since these were the last years of Portuguese Macau, the experience there was both exciting and sobering, in the sense of providing a frontline view of the emergence of what some would call the "Asian century". Charles Boxer, with whom I was privileged to have a

number of conversations in the mid-1980s, once explained to me how profoundly his experience in East Asia (and especially Japan) had marked him in terms of relativizing the history of the European empires of the early modern period. Boxer, a military man by training, was a self-taught historian who began in the 1920s with rather glib views of European superiority, but in his writings after 1950s, the tone becomes rather different. On the other hand, someone like Magalhães Godinho remained unrepentantly Eurocentric to the end of his life, regularly making disagreeable remarks regarding non-European countries, cultures and intellectuals. I believe Flores was already predisposed, through his exposure to Thomaz and others, to an open and even-handed study of Asian history. The Macau experience only consolidated this, an effect we can equally see on slightly older scholars like Luís Filipe Barreto, whose interest is primarily in ittellectual history.

While in Macau, it would seem that Flores did flirt with the idea of studying the history of Portuguese interactions with China more profoundly, an understandable temptation. One of his underestimated essays, in my opinion, is his “Macau e o comércio da baía de Cantão (séculos XVI-XVII)”, dating to 1993, and he also wrote several general essays on the Portuguese in China and East Asia. He eventually decided, in the latter part of the 1990s, to retain his focus on South Asia, but move from Sri Lanka further north, to the Mughal domains. This was following a period of some years when, after returning to Portugal from Macau, he was heavily involved in administrative tasks at the Discoveries Commission (working closely with its head, António Manuel Hespanha), while at the same time teaching in the rather unrewarding atmosphere of the Universidade Lusíada. I had kept in touch with him somewhat intermittently in the Macau years, and far more regularly from 1995, when I moved from Delhi to the EHESS in Paris. He was among the readers of the manuscript of my book on Vasco da Gama and offered me a set of useful suggestions and comments.

Besides, both of us were undergoing some turbulent times in our personal lives, and it was certainly good to have a dependable friend who would offer support without moralistic judgment. Something that I have always appreciated about Flores since the earliest days was his droll sense of humour and his unfailing capacity to see the amusing side of the world. It certainly came in useful in those days, and even more so after the unpleasant personal attacks I had to suffer in Portugal after my book on Vasco da Gama was published in 1997. This was an object lesson in how a certain crude nationalism (and even jingoism) lingered just below the surface in the world of

Portuguese academics, even among historians who brandished their "leftist" credentials. It also possibly explains why, since 2000, I have usually spent time with Flores not in Portugal but elsewhere.

Our dealings, whether directly or through email, were intensive in the years leading up to the completion of his PhD thesis, "*Firangistan* e *Hindustan*: O Estado da Índia e os confins meridionais do Império Mogol, 1572-1636" in 2004. In the meantime, I had introduced him to my close friend and collaborator Muzaffar Alam, who agreed to serve as his joint adviser along with Thomaz. Of course, this was a subject I knew quite well: I had written a number of essays in the area, so I was able in the initial period to offer him a number of suggestions. But as always with Flores, his capacity to dig out nuggets and even whole seams in the archives was impressive, and even disconcerting. So, our conversations quickly became a mutual education, though (as he acknowledges) it was also my task to regularly pull him away from the fascinating details and towards the "big picture". As the external examiner of the completed dissertation in 2004, it was also my task to act as go-between and explain the Portuguese proceedings of the oral examination to Muzaffar Alam, who sat next to me as the "representative of the Mughal Empire" (as he jokingly remarked).

Armed with this dissertation, Flores was better positioned to find greener pastures than the Universidade Lusíada and the Universidade de Aveiro, where he had been teaching large classes of a generalist variety since 1994. The year that he completed his PhD was also the year that he took up his visiting appointment at Brown University, which in 2007 became a tenured position.

Whether he agrees with it or not, my impression is that the years spent between 2004 and 2010 in Brown completed Flores's transformation into an Iberian world historian. This was for a number of reasons. Even as the holder of the Vasco da Gama Chair in Brown's History Department, and located in the middle of one of the most important Portuguese-speaking communities in the United States, it was clear to him from the outset that his scope, whether as a teacher or as a research adviser, had to be far larger than the limits of the Portuguese Empire. Now, it is a commonplace that all Portuguese and Spanish historians can with a minimal effort read each other's language, but it is still only a minority who take advantage of this. On the Spanish side, there is the snobbishness of size and the impression that Portugal is the poor, stunted cousin, historiographically speaking. On the Portuguese side, there is the fear of being dominated or rendered secondary. Yet, those who have traversed this divide have

often done so with great profit, as we see with the cases of Stuart Schwartz or Serge Gruzinski. It is therefore with interest that one sees an increasing openness to Spain and the Spanish Empire in Flores's writings after about 2000, possibly also under the influence of colleagues like Pedro Cardim and Fernando Bouza.

A second reason was undoubtedly the quality of students at Brown, who made notable demands on Flores's time and ingenuity. I remember him telling me how impressed he was when some of the undergraduates would, after a class, actually demand additional reading so that they could have a better understanding of the subject. Even if he did not have the opportunity to advise many doctoral dissertations, this undoubtedly was a real challenge.

A third reason has to do with access to intellectual resources. In 1988, the Mestrado students made use of Luís Filipe Thomaz's personal library as a window into the larger world beyond the Portuguese historiography. Then, in the 1990s, Flores acquired his own library which he repatriated from Macau. But these libraries stand no comparison to the resources of a great American research library, especially in an institution such as Brown, which also has the John Carter Brown Library on its premises. Ever the bookhound, when you mention a new book to Flores, he has either already read it or is in the process of acquiring it. I make it a point every few months to compare notes with him to make sure that my reading on subjects where we have a common interest is up to date. This is a reflex one would not have found in those who were trained in Lisbon before his generation. Historians would write glibly about the conflict between the Portuguese and the Ottomans or relations between Goa and the Marathas without the faintest idea of what had been published regarding the Ottomans or the Marathas in the previous four decades. This explains the many howlers that populate the texts not only of Veríssimo Serrão and his disciples, but also those of Godinho and his acolytes, who simply did not keep up with the literature outside the narrow confines of western Europe. This is an elementary issue of attitude: those who aspire to be world historians must also show respect for the literature produced in the context of "area studies" in different parts of the world. And, last among our reasons, there was the advantage of being in a rich and diverse history department, with specialists on many periods and parts of the world, be it medieval Japan, revolutionary France, or the nineteenth-century United States. When I was visiting Brown in Spring 2019, I was pleasantly surprised by how many of his former colleagues still had memories of Flores and their fruitful conversations.

The harvest has undoubtedly come in the years at the European University Institute, where Flores spent the years from 2010 to 2019. By 2012, when I sat on the committee for his *agregação* in Lisbon, the change in terms of his ambitions and horizons was palpable in relation to 2004. António Hespanha was even somewhat taken aback by the "new Jorge", with his far greater interest in questions of cultural history, as he told me in a rather loud aside while we sat on the jury. But the harvest has equally come in terms of his personal production, with the publication of his dissertation as an imposing book and, more recently, of his *Unwanted Neighbours* (2018). Another useful work is the annotated edition and translation of a Jesuit text on the Mughal court, entitled *The Mughal Padshah*. Besides, there is a steady stream of edited volumes, chapters in edited volumes, and journal articles.

At this point, Flores certainly stands out as one of the leading figures in the study of the early modern Iberian world. As an examination of the impressive list of his PhD advisees shows, his range of interests – whether geographical or chronological – has only grown since his departure from Brown and his arrival in Florence. In the thirty years since the time we met at the Universidade Nova, much has changed. But there is also a stability, a continuity and even a logic to Flores's intellectual trajectory. Though a curious and voracious reader, he has never been one to chase after frivolous intellectual fashions. True in many ways to the path laid out by his teacher Luís Filipe Thomaz, he has also known wisely when to diverge from it. This means that, for all we know, the best is yet to come.

Part I

General Approaches to Global History

1

ABOUT TIME: The Problem of Periodisation in Early Modern Global History

Mikko Toivanen
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität

"What is global history?" It has been difficult, almost impossible, to avoid that question for anyone who has pursued a degree course of some sort in history over the past decade, or at least it can feel like that for those of us who have chosen to engage with the idea more closely. Discussions around it have reverberated – and continue to do so – from introductory undergraduate courses to graduate workshops and PhD seminars; variations still regularly show up in the titles of prominent conferences around the world. It is also the title of a recent volume by Sebastian Conrad, one that aims to provide "a comprehensive overview of this exciting new approach to history."[1] The purpose of this paper is not to cover such well-trodden ground. Nor indeed is it likely that the question could significantly be elucidated by a brief contribution such as this where decades of debates have evidently failed to do so. Rather, this paper proposes a slightly different angle, not to explain global history but to problematise it further: to take a look at the role of time, and specifically of periodisation, in the way that we as historians go about writing our global histories.

Glancing over the back cover of Conrad's work, one can see that the book promises, among other things, to examine how historians "compare different societies and establish compatibility across space."[2] A concern with space is also prominently foregrounded on the front cover, which is taken up by a reproduction of a nautical

[1] Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).
[2] Ibid., back cover.

chart, criss-crossed by a dense network of lines no doubt meant to evoke the – spatial – connections that remain a favourite topic of global historians, just as maps remain the preferred illustration for the histories they write. It is this expansive spatiality that provides global history with much of its attraction and drive, and even a potentially activist edge and topicality in times of increasingly insular politics and national retrenchment. And it is understandable, considering this centring of the spatial, that the debates over global history have repeatedly zeroed in on the question of how, and if, we can write histories that are truly global in their extent, and what we even mean by global in the first place. Consequently, there is rarely space for a deeper consideration of the work that time does in our narratives.

That is not to suggest that historians do not still work with very particular notions of time and periodisation. As much is clear from the connecting theme of this volume, early modern global history, which itself provides a bit of a conundrum, nonchalantly suggesting the existence of such a thing as a global early modernity. I cannot at this stage know if my esteemed co-authors have chosen to grapple with that idea in their pieces, but I myself feel compelled, even challenged, to do so, having been invited to contribute to this collection despite my – conventional, institutional – status as a historian of the modern era, as traditionally defined by a cut-off point somewhere around 1800. Of course, and regardless of later revisions, that vague turning point is firmly anchored around the twin revolutions – French and industrial – and their supposedly all-encompassing influence on society, politics, culture and economy in the nineteenth century. That, however, is an obviously (Western) European narrative, and whatever its usefulness as an organising principle in European history, some questions need to be asked about its wider applicability. The same is evidently true of early modernity, itself a strange second-order temporal category teleologically yet vaguely defined as the time leading up to the modern.

The argument for a global, cotemporaneous modernity has been put forward most forcefully and influentially in Christopher Bayly's seminal *Birth of the Modern World*, which sought to broaden the conventional Eurocentric narrative primarily by drawing parallels between contemporary developments in various Asian and European empires over the so-called long nineteenth century.[3] More recently, a similar

[3] C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of a Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

argument for a global turning point in that period has been made by Jürgen Osterhammel in his *Transformation of the World*.[4] Yet both of these works, regardless of their merits, are open to the fundamental criticism that they fail to define a freshly conceived periodisation based on a truly global historical perspective, and instead merely expand pre-existing notions of modernity outward from their Eurocentric origin. Both works are likewise wedded to the notion of seeking out the historical roots of modern globalisation, a once-popular exercise but one somewhat marred by the continuing conceptual confusion between globalisation and Westernisation, that is, the spread of Western cultural, technological and political influences around the world: in approaching a historical period with the specific goal of finding the former, there is always the danger of inadvertently stumbling upon the latter.

Approaching the problem from the opposite end is hardly a solution: in so far as modernity is an unfortunately Eurocentric idea, it is at least one with demonstrably global influence; the same cannot be said of the period that is conventionally thought to precede the early modern era, the Middle Ages. Indeed, the idea of the Middle Ages is again explicitly context-specific: the period in between – in the middle of – (European) antiquity and the (European) Renaissance. It is not necessary to continue this line of terminological analysis any further to make the point that many if not most of the labels we use to delimit time into useable parcels are not only geographically and culturally biased, but also remnants of earlier historical paradigms that have been revised several times over and can only be used within quotation marks in academic debates today: "the Dark Ages," "the age of discoveries" and so on. And even though it is often possible and enlightening to find global parallels for some of these historical processes, as, for example, when Benjamin Elman argues for the existence of a "Renaissance" in early modern Chinese intellectual culture comparable to what was happening simultaneously in Europe, it still seems like a less than optimal – and sometimes outright counterproductive – approach for writing a global history.[5] Much better, surely, to try to write the kinds of histories "on their own terms" proposed by Elton than to employ a tainted conceptual grid.

[4] Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).
[5] Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 225.

Abandoning the notion of fixed-limit periodisation, another possible approach to incorporating the wider world into a Eurocentric temporal framework is to allow for a certain flexibility in its boundaries: to suggest that broad time periods have global applicability but their limits may be different in different places. Thus, for example, Peter Boomgaard in his environmental history of Southeast Asia suggests that in that region, the early modern period can be thought to have continued up until around 1870, well past the generally accepted periodisation in a European setting.[6] His rationale for choosing that particular date: the Suez Canal, opened in 1869. The canal is notably not in Southeast Asia and its – indubitable – effect on Southeast Asian societies and environment is primarily due to the increased and more rapid mobility it allowed between that region and Europe. Yet, leaving aside the obviously Eurocentric and technological globalisation-based definition of modernity employed there, Boomgaard's formulation of early modernity exclusively by reference to its endpoint raises another, more interesting question: simply because at some point in time we can identify a place as reaching 'modernity' – by any definition – does that also mean that the preceding period of time is necessarily 'early modern'? If so, it would seem to suggest that the category of 'early modern' has little analytical content in itself, at least beyond its conventional historical referents in European history.

As the appetite for histories of early or proto-globalisation has waned over the past years – mirroring a more general loss of faith in globalisation – early modern global history has flourished. As Patrizia Delpiano notes in her recent analysis of the content of the discipline's flagship publication, the *Journal of Global History*, "[g]lobal history removes both geographical boundaries and chronological barriers, but it brings to the fore the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries" – that is, the early modern period.[7] For a historiographical project that developed from a concern with the very concept of modernity and its relationship with space, global history has been remarkably kind to early modernists. How is this preference to be explained? Partly, one suspects, it is a matter of the kinds of narratives that early modernists are trained to find. Historians like Natalie Zemon Davis have found a rich vein to mine in narratives of interactions and negotiations across cultural boundaries, finding space for agency in the margins

[6] Peter Boomgaard, *Southeast Asia: An Environmental History* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2007).
[7] Patrizia Delpiano, "Early Modern History in the Journal of Global History," *Annals of the Fondazione Luigi Einaudi. An Interdisciplinary Journal of Economics, History and Political Science* 52, no. 1 (2018): 63-72.

of the imperial situation through the lives of remarkable individuals or communities.[8] Understandably, such histories have been received as a refreshing and welcome alternative to accounts of empire in the modern period, where the prominence of administrative records and structural processes can occlude individual story lines and, yes, individual agency. Occasionally, these undeniably fascinating narratives are even implicitly presented as quasi-utopian alternatives to a present of anti-immigration populism and hardening national borders.

Another reason for the popularity of the early modern in global history can be found in the continuing centrality of – often but not exclusively European – empires to the historiography. It is no secret that many of the degree programmes and chairs in global history set up in recent years essentially replaced earlier initiatives in imperial history, the history of European expansion or other such nowadays less fashionable labels. This is not to say that global history is merely imperial history through other means, but it is important to remember that decisions on how to frame our historiographies are often shaped to a not insignificant degree by academic conventions and institutional inertia. Arguing for a new global history with radically novel periodisation would not only be very difficult intellectually; such a project would also inevitably face considerable institutional opposition and be faced with challenges in attracting attention and funding. By contrast, it is much easier for early modernists and other pre-existing specialisations to expand into the – literal and figurative – spaces opened up by global history.

The limited space of this short essay does not provide an opportunity for any serious attempt to resolve the issues identified, but hopefully the discussion above serves as a useful reminder of some of the pitfalls associated with ambitious historiographical projects like the one that global history represents. This should not, however, be read as a suggestion that such projects are not worthwhile and indeed necessary – the influence of global history on the intellectual landscape of history-writing in the twenty-first century is beyond doubt, and certainly welcome. But there is always space for improvement, and it is precisely that willingness to reconsider and revise where history as a scholarly endeavour draws its continuing vitality from. Whether the best way forward lies in a sophisticated application of a range of context-

[8] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (London: Faber, 2007).

specific periodisations or in something more radically holistic – or some kind of parallel application of the two – remains to be seen. What is certain is that there will be no shortage of proposed solutions, and that is precisely as it should be.

2

SPATIAL THINKING AND VERTICALITY IN GLOBAL HISTORY

Luca Scholz
University of Manchester

Global historians often conceive of their field in dichotomies: between the nation and what lies beyond, between centers and peripheries, or between the "micro" and the "macro". Almost all set their global outlook in opposition to national histories. Sanjay Subrahmanyam once complained that "nationalism has blinded us to the possibility of connection",[1] encouraging his colleagues to instead seek out the "threads that connected the globe". Fifteen years later, David Armitage expressed the same tension when he forwarded the hope that global historians would finally "put the national historians on the defensive".[2] His claim that "if you are not doing an explicitly transnational, international or global project, you now have to explain why you are not" opposed the limited purview of national history to the broad spatial horizon beyond the nation's borders.[3] While some have questioned the blunt oppositions between the national and the transnational,[4] even the recurrent voices proclaiming the end of global history are predicated on this antagonism. In a phrase that could just as well describe the culture wars of the Trump era, Jeremy Adelman recently lamented that "in the scramble to make Others part of our stories, we inadvertently created a new swath of

[1] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia", *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 3 (1997): 735–62,
[2] Martine van Ittersum and Jaap Jacobs, "Are We All Global Historians Now? An Interview with David Armitage", *Itinerario* 36, no. 2 (2012): 7–28, 16.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See: Jan Rüger, "OXO: Or, the Challenges of Transnational History", *European History Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2010): 656–668.

strangers at home."[5] The global history project seems to remain firmly rooted in the antagonism between the nation and the world that lies beyond.

Another dichotomy that informs the work of many global historians is that between "micro" and "macro" levels of analysis. The fortunes of the "micro" could be connected to the fact that micro-history has often been framed in a narrative of rebellion similar to that of global and transnational history. Rather than the nation, the antagonist was the social historian with their structuralist, long-term, quantitative vision of the past to which micro-historians opposed a renewed focus on context, the idiosyncratic, and narrative. In recent years, global historians, wary of their field's macro-historical tendencies, are rediscovering the virtues of micro-history and are trying to integrate it into their methodology. Francesca Trivellato suggested early on that micro-scale analyses "can best portray the entanglement of cultural traditions produced by the growing contacts and clashes between different societies".[6] In a historiography drawn to generalization and broad spatial vistas, microhistory thus offers a device "to balance abstraction and detail".[7] Today, a growing number of scholars are pursuing an interest in "global microhistory".[8] Obviously, the "micro" – "macro" dichotomy is more than just about geography: it raises questions of agency, epistemology, and narrative. In a spatial sense, however, it is predicated on a vision of a horizontal space mappable at different scales.

Another spatial dichotomy is less discussed: that between the horizontal and the vertical. Indeed, the spatial imagination of global historians has largely been a horizontal one, with the surface of the Earth as the primary stage of human history. Not unlike geopolitics, global history is a "flat discourse".[9] The following paragraphs discuss how vertical perspectives can complement scholarship in global and transnational history.

[5] Jeremy Adelman, "Is Global History Still Possible, or Has It Had Its Moment?", *Aeon*, 2 March 2017, (https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment).
[6] Francesca Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?", *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011).
[7] Ibid.
[8] See, for example: Ghobrial, John-Paul A., ed., *Global History and Microhistory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
[9] Stuart Elden, "Secure the Volume: Vertical Geopolitics and the Depth of Power", *Political Geography* 34 (2013): 35–51, 37.

Verticality

In *The Art of Not Being Governed*, James Scott interprets the history of the highlands of Southeast Asia as a history of resistance to state-building.[10] In his "anarchist history", the varied groups inhabiting the highlands deliberately eluded the nation-state-building efforts of the societies that surrounded them. Scott's bold reversal of perspective is embedded in a distinctive spatial framework: the stateless highlands – Scott's calls them Zomia – on the one hand and the subdued valleys and lowlands on the other hand. According to Scott, the spatial distribution of the diverse peoples in the highlands is better understood vertically than horizontally: "once one looks at Zomia not from a high-altitude balloon but, rather, horizontally, in terms of lateral slices through the topography, a certain order emerges".[11] Seen from above, for example, the settlement pattern of the Hmong appears like a "random scattering of small blotches".[12] Seen from the side, it becomes clear that this group settled within a narrow range of altitudes where they cultivated maize, opium, and millet which thrive at a high elevation. Thus, the "apparent anarchy of identity"[13] observable on horizontal maps was really just specialization according to altitude. The same phenomenon is familiar to scholars of modern urban environments, which "have always been segregated by height, and [where] the price per square foot varies vertically as well as geographically".[14] In Scott's Southeast Asia, the differences in elevation kept state interference away from the people in the highlands: state-building was "powerfully constrained by geography",[15] or, more specifically, a vertical geography.

For all its emphasis on the vertical, Scott's work remains firmly anchored to the surface of the Earth. Other scholars have ventured further up and down, into the atmosphere and into subaqueous and subterranean spaces. Sunil Amrith's *Unruly Waters*, an environmental history of South Asia, is a good example.[16] Structured around the different shapes of water – vapors, rivers, groundwater, oceans, etc. – Amrith's book describes the concerned societies' evolving understanding of the

[10] James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
[11] Scott, Anarchist History, 18. Ironically, Scott uses the terms "horizontal" and "vertical" differently.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Jeremy W. Crampton, "Vortex" in Franck Billé, ed., *Volumetric Sovereignty: A Forum*, 2019, http://societyandspace.org/2019/03/03/vortex/.
[15] Scott, Anarchist History, 50.
[16] Sunil Amrith, *Unruly Waters: How Mountain Rivers and Monsoons Have Shaped South Asia's History* (London: Penguin, 2018).

monsoons' atmospheric and subaqueous dynamics. An important element of his account is that even though "water and climate were boundless … they came under ever tighter but more fragmented territorial control".[17] As nineteenth-century meteorologists came to understand Asia as an integrated climatic system, their spatial imagination became increasingly vertical: "Asia appeared as an expanse of depth and altitude put in motion by the circulation of air … a land- and seascape defined by nature rather than by empires."[18] The image of border-crossing flows is a familiar trope in transnational history. What is new is the way Amrith situates these flows in terms of depth and altitude rather than in the flat topology of global history. This kind of "vertical" thinking is in line with the contemporary discourse around the climate crisis, which is global because it unfolds in the atmosphere. As Amrith put it: "Climate change creates problems of distance – between the source of pollution and its consequences – but it also creates new forms of proximity in the form of shared risks and interdependence". Like Amrith, historians interested in climate change are confronted with a history that evolves in depth and altitude.

Perhaps the most conspicuous vertical expansion has been led not by environmental historians, but by historians of outer space. Comparing the first human space voyages to amphibians' first ascent onto land, Walter McDougall opened his *Political History of the Space Age* with the statement that "in A.D. 1961 Homo sapiens, in turn, left the realm of solids and gases and lived, for 108 minutes, in outer space".[19] From the oceans onto land and now into space: like much of the rest of historiography on outer space exploration, McDougalls' narrative unfolds along a vertical axis. In "horizontal" terms, the history of space exploration brought about its own idiosyncrasies, such as the fact that the European side of the story remains underdeveloped at a time in which historians in other fields feel the need to provincialize Europe.[20] Unfortunately for historians of earlier periods, the history of space exploration is a distinctly late modern problem to which early and pre-modernists have little to contribute. The same cannot be said for the history of outer space. Recent decades have seen an increasing scholarly focus on "astroculture", the

[17] Ibid., 112.
[18] Ibid., 108.
[19] Walter A. McDougall, *The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3.
[20] Alexander Geppert, "European Astrofuturism, Cosmic Provincialism: Historicizing the Space Age", in Alexander Geppert, ed., *Imagining Outer Space: European Astroculture in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 3–28, 12.

(late modern) cultural history of the representation, imagination, and communication of outer space that complements the much more developed political, diplomatic, and technological historiography on space flight.[21] Here, early and pre-modern historians have a role to play by showing that the cultural history of outer space has a much longer history, from the history of popular astronomy to the social and political effects of celestial apparitions.

When it comes to writing the history of the subterranean and subaqueous worlds, one of the most compelling recent pieces of scholarship is Nicole Starosielski's *The Undersea Network*.[22] Her study of the underwater cables that carry 99% of transoceanic data flows (including phone calls) around the world combines network topology, an approach that focuses on the geometric arrangement of nodes, with network topography, the study of the network's relation to the physical and social environment. While a topological approach would primarily focus on connection and disruption, and thus employ a horizontal imaginary, topography (or bathymetry in the case of the ocean) takes into account natural and constructed features on the surface of the Earth, adding a distinctly vertical dimension. Shedding new light on the varied and evolving use and perception of the ocean floor over the last two centuries, Starosielski shows how the submarine environment, not the air, became the conduit of fiber optic links that connect the globe. As a consequence of the limited number and vulnerability of undersea cables, Starosielski argues that the internet should be seen as a "relatively centralized"[23] and precarious system rather than as the resilient, "rhizomatic and distributed network",[24] as it is often envisioned: "Despite the rhetoric of wirelessness, we exist in a world that is more wired than ever."[25] This myth of wirelessness is facilitated by the fact that the infrastructure enabling the digital revolution lies hidden deep under the surface of the world's oceans. By successfully combining topology with topography, Starosielski also shows that strict distinctions between "vertical" and "horizontal" connections are unnecessary and that the two dimensions may be better thought of together.

[21] See, for example, Alexander Geppert, ed., *Imagining Outer Space: European Astroculture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
[22] Nicole Starosielski, *The Undersea Network* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015). Starosielski, who holds a position in "Media, Culture, and Communication", would probably not describe herself as a global historian, but the story she tells could hardly be more relevant to the field.
[23] Starosielski, *The Undersea Network*, 2.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid, 9.

This dissatisfaction with the horizontal-vertical dichotomy has led scholars in other fields to think in terms of volume. In a recent article, the geographer Stuart Elden used the term "volumetric" for his take on issues as diverse as aerial warfare, bunkers, sewers, or tunnels. While Elden encourages his colleagues to consider "height and depth instead of surfaces, three dimensions instead of areas",[26] he does not just call for adding a vertical axis. Rather, the idea is to challenge "the assumed fixity and groundedness of space",[27] for instance when thinking about highly dynamic atmospheric flows and the way these transport particles around the globe. The anthropologist Franck Billé took these ideas up in several recent edited volumes on the problem of "volumetric sovereignty". One issue addressed in this collection is the way in which our "eminently horizontal"[28] cartographic practices stand in the way of a volumetric spatial imagination. This is a pivotal question, especially since advances in geographic information systems and digital mapping technologies have made three-dimensional mapping more accessible than ever before.

Conclusion

The last thing historians need is more turns, and arguing for a "vertical turn" would be pointless. There are reasons why human history mostly unfolds on the crust of the Earth, gravity being one of them. What vertical perspectives can do is help historians develop their spatial imagination and vocabulary to conquer new dimensions of history. Conceiving of space in vertical and volumetric terms means to abandon the "flat" topological dichotomies of connection and disruption, of proximity and distance that dominate the spatial imagination of global history. Topographic approaches that take into account the Earth's rugged terrain can reveal order in apparent disorder, as in Scott's history of upland Southeast Asia. Similarly, human interactions in the aqueous and gaseous seas, underground or in outer space bring about their own problems of boundlessness, integration, exposure, invisibility, and vulnerability, problems that should have their own place in the global history project.

[26] Elden, "Secure the Volume", 35.
[27] Franck Billé, "Introduction: Volumetric Sovereignty" in, Idem, ed., *Volumetric Sovereignty: A Forum*, 2019, http://societyandspace.org/2019/04/10/volumetricsovereigntyforum/
[28] Franck Billé, "Introduction".

3

FRAGMENTING THE GLOBAL: Globes and Empires in Early Modern Europe

Martin Vailly
University of Strasbourg

A short essay is not the best place for comprehensive development of a precise and well-identified topic. It is, however, the perfect place for experimenting, manipulating words and ideas, trying to open new pathways and foster reflection on sometimes uncommented issues. In this paper, I want to play on words and develop some thoughts about terrestrial globes and the global in early modern history.

As a historian of cartography in the early modern period, I have chosen to focus on the case of Vincenzo Coronelli (1650 – 1718), a Venetian mapmaker mostly known for building two terrestrial and celestial globes, four metres in diameter, for Louis XIV (1681 – 1683). Writing about a *globe*, of course, puts the issue of the *global* on the table: the spherical representation of the Earth in the early modern epoch implied that globe-users understood the world they were inhabiting as a finished and closed one. Despite apparent evidence to the contrary, this reveals a tension. On the one hand, the geographer's theoretical discourses tended to consider the world as a whole: new navigational and mapping techniques would enable navigators and geographers to reach the end of it and map each and every detail. On the other hand, this world was in fact not *global* when understood as a fully connected and unified space: maritime travels were still time-consuming and hazardous, and maps bore wide blank spaces. Rather than global, the space of the Earth was fragmented, very selectively connected by a web of maritime routes which grew denser at a slow pace and was occupied by fluid and moving political entities. It is this tension that I will investigate.

A global world on a wooden sphere

Working from maps and globes produced at the end of the seventeenth century, I had to engage with this reflection on the *global* in terms of my actors' perceptions of the world they were dwelling in. Indeed, these maps were a key element in the geographical culture of early modern sailors and scholars, pupils and merchants, as they provided them with what is referred to as a "synoptic view" of the world.[1] World maps and globes would therefore empower their readers by enabling them to embrace the whole world in one gaze, granting them access to a global and comprehensive understanding of the known world, dominated by an omnipotent Europe miniaturizing the planet into a map.

Early modern terrestrial globes echoed the first circumnavigations and incorporated the idea of a finished and limited globe, a unique and united sphere. This is the symbolic and theoretical discourse that was well-spread in the circles of European geographers during the early modern era. Engravings such as the famous frontispiece of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (1570) exemplified this symbolical dimension of the cartographer's gesture as one of seizing and representing the world: what was at stake with mapmaking was indeed to make the global world exist under the eyes of map amateurs. Mapmakers projected a grid of coordinates on the maps they were drawing, thus pinning the world down from European offices and observatories, reducing it to a mathematical abstraction.

Considering the significant place of such cartographical objects in the education of princes and children of wealthy European families, one could assume that this idea of a global world would have spread quickly among learned elites. Globes, for example, mirrored the world in its "real shape": in several treatises about globes and their use as educational tools, geographers acknowledged the efficiency of a spherical shape in teaching the shape of this now-global world, showing how a sailor could link various continents, benefitting from rear winds indicated on the surface of the maps.[2] Some globe-makers were especially famous during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Venetian Vincenzo Coronelli (1650 – 1718), whose products travelled widely throughout Europe. Travel narratives also conveyed the story of a

[1] See Christian Jacob, *L'empire des cartes. Approche théorique de la cartographie à travers l'histoire* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1992).
[2] Guillaume Delisle, among others, underlines this necessity. See Guillaume Delisle, *Introduction à la géographie avec un traité de la sphère* (Paris: E. F. Savoye, 1746).

global world whose edges were surveyed by careful European eyes. They became a literary genre *per se*, constructing an ideal understanding of a global world sailed, explored, and described.[3] The imaginary of a global world went hand in hand with imperial rhetoric, based on the capacity to hold onto a vast and sometimes piecemeal territory. This is what Denis Cosgrove has called the "imperial globe":[4] the shape of the globe itself mirrored a global imaginary which structured European imperial discourses.

The paradox unveiled: what lies on the surface

However, the ideal of a unified globe under control, measured, and represented from Europe is challenged when confronted on a lower scale. The representation of the world as a *globe* does not necessarily mean that it was thought to be *global* and must be studied that way. The ideal of a consciously global and well-connected globe does not withstand an in-depth investigation of the surface of these globes and maps, as I will show using the example of Vincenzo Coronelli's great terrestrial globe.

In fact, this terrestrial sphere depicts a swarming and complex ecosystem. The cover of entangled text and images on the surface of a wooden sphere displayed most of the geographical knowledge available at that time. Humans appear dwelling in a living world made of livestock, exotic species, and as mineral resources. Contact zones, political or military conflicts, and ethnographic encounters were also represented. This living world remained at the core of a Louis Quatorzian rhetoric of global empire and power: one made for and dedicated to the Sun King by Cardinal César d'Estrées, its commissioner.

The globe carried a painted dedication unveiling this (not so) "hidden agenda".[5] It referred to Louis XIV as a protector of the arts and sciences, paying homage to the scientific skills of French and European cartographers, their ability to map the world and create the instruments to control it. Geography, navigation, and astronomy

[3] On the (de)construction of this ideal, see Joan-Pau Rubies, "Futility in the New World: Narratives of Travel in Sixteenth-Century America", in Joan-Pau Rubies and Jaś Elsner, eds., *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999); Shureika Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
[4] Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).
[5] J. Brian Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe", *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57 – 76.

provided such instruments. The dedication to the king therefore echoed the allegorical view of a personified Europe ruling over the three other parts of the world, Asia, Africa, and America.

In this specifically French rhetoric, the true heroes of the making of a global world were the scientists of the *Académie Royale des Sciences*, active since 1666. In other words, the global world did not exist without situated actors collecting data and merging it into geographical works. Developing such a narrative implied an acknowledged eurocentrism, understood as the driving force bringing the world to a state of perfect connectedness. The "hidden agenda" of mapmaking, and especially Vincenzo Coronelli's globe-making, lay there: it was inserted into a broader understanding of geography as a universal knowledge and intention to summarize the world.

Coronelli's terrestrial globe was something of an incarnation of French imperial ideology: putting the French overseas empire on the surface of the globe involved adopting a French and Paris-centered understanding of the world. Exhibited since 1704 at Marly, the political core of Louis Quatorzian power, this globe became a central element in the king's diplomatic practices. It was shown to foreign rulers and ambassadors as a curiosity but also as a symbol of mastering the whole world. Viewing the entire world was then a privilege for a chosen elite. Only they would be granted access to critical information and the materialised ideal of a *global* world. Knowing the world in all its aspects was a king's privilege that he shared only with careful parsimony.

Yet this was a mere illusion of power. Looking at the details of the geographical knowledge displayed on the surface of the globe reveals that the imagined global world was in fact scattered into fragmented and disconnected spaces. First, Coronelli's representation of the world was shaped to please the king, highlighting the successes of the French and blatantly ignoring the failures. The encyclopedic knowledge covering the surface of the globe was selected in accordance with these political and social interests: the king would only see what pleased him on the surface of this globe.

Second, even this biased and idealised representation of the world betrayed the limits of a global understanding of the terrestrial globe. Reading the globe meant reading about enemies of the French Empire, powerful foreign rulers and hazardous obstacles on the road of imperial expansion. The globe functioned as a magnifying glass and revealed the existing limits of French power: Portugal controls most of the

African coastline; Native Americans rise against European settlers, crowning them with melted gold; Japan is closed to most European nations as it secures its borders with a remarkable strength; raging tempests tear entire fleets apart; and the Northern Passage traps careless mariners.

Epilogue: Following the tracks

From the theoretical discourse of the geographer to the concrete elements of geographical knowledge displayed on the surface of the globe, there is a tension between the discourse on the global world and the effective global nature of this world. Coronelli's globe itself embodies a certain kind of paradox: it aims to provide a synoptic view of the whole world, revealing at the same time the blind spots in the European eye.

The historian, focusing only on the global scale, could meet with the same terrible fate. It therefore seems useful to move from one scale to another, as showed by Jacques Revel's proposals on *jeux d'échelle*.[6] Maintaining a dialogue between the scales would partly help to resolve this tension – even if I do not pretend to accomplish this task in this short essay. Leading a historical inquiry based on the careful choice of key characters, key moments, or key places helps to seize this dialogue between global ambitions and local obstacles. Like Coronelli's globe-making, the writing of a truly *global* history may remain an unreachable horizon. Yet, by following the tracks of fluid actors travelling through space and time, the historian might grasp something of this ideal of a global narrative and translate it into a book.

[6] Jacques Revel, "Micro-analyse et construction du social", in Revel, dir., *Jeux d'échelle: La micro-analyse à l'expérience* (Paris: Seuil, 1996).

4

SUBVERTING THE FRENCH GLOBAL SCIENCES:

Notes on an Historiographical Shift

Stéphane Van Damme
European University Institute
Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris

Rooted in the framework of the Portuguese Empire but thought out from an early modern global perspective, the rich works of Jorge Flores maintain a relationship of complicity with the history of science and knowledge, including his analysis of the role of the Jesuits in the court of the Great Mughal, that of ghosts as an imperial supernatural or in the exploration of ethnographic practices. It reflects a renewed research agenda between science and empire in the last twenty years, to the point that we can speak of an imperial turn of the global history of sciences that aims to relocate or repoliticize the production and circulation of knowledge at a distance. On this occasion, I would like to reflect within the framework of the French Empire on these new displacements. A new historiographic cooperation between the history of science, environmental history and anthropology of nature is reflected in the convergence of investigations around nature and the environment in a global context. If the cultural history of science was eager to broaden the list of scientific actors or practitioners within societies (women, artisans, amateurs, and now slaves, go-betweens, and non-humans), new research is drawing the attention of historians of science to discussions among geographers, sociologists and anthropologists on other cultures of nature. In order to complete a teleological vision of globalization, some recent research proposes to explore or revisit the critical side of these global epistemologies. The second departure from the classical history of ancient scepticism and the social history proposed by Brendan Dooley is the serious consideration of the

question of mobility, the taking into account of the spatial constructions of distant knowledge.[1] Knowledge is expressed in a regime of mistrust of received opinions and values, whether religious or political, which can certainly feed pessimism and mistrust, but also clear-sightedness and lucidity. Too often associated with atheism, scepticism is certainly plural (sometimes even contradictory) but is based on a particular knowledge of the world that denies the possibility of full and absolute knowledge, of a systemic understanding of the world. The spatial history of French scepticism does not consider the global approach as an installed and routinized historiography, but rather as a methodological proposal to go beyond the local interactions of connected history, the culturalism of contact zones, the hybridizations and crossbreeding logics of global acculturations, the regional dynamics of imperial history or the meta-narratives of global economic history to take just a few major paradigms of the recent decades.

Early modern French science as cosmopolitan science

Over the last fifteen years, the history of the science of the modern era – and particularly of the eighteenth century – has taken a global turn, expanding the discipline's horizon of interests.[2] Major globalisation projects have become the subjects of close examination, from the Catholicisation of the world[3] to the emergence of the paradigm of trade and global pillage, from environmental tropicalism to political economy and slavery. Rather than considering the globe as a natural entity,

[1] Brendan Dooley, *The Social History of Skepticism. Experience and doubt in Early Modern Culture*, (Baltimore/ London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

[2] A huge discussion has been opened in the last decade: Simon Schaffer, Roberts Lissa, Raj Kapil & Delbourgo James, eds., *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence*, *1770-1820* (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2009); Sujit Sivasundaram, "Sciences and the Global: On Methods, Questions, and Theory", *Isis* 101, no. 1 (2010): 146-58; Fa Ti Fan, "The Global Turn in History of Science", *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 6 (2012): 249-258; Francesca Bray, "Only Connect: Comparative, National and Global History as Frameworks for the History of Science and Technology in Asia", *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 6 (2012): 233-241; Pilae Gonzalez Bernaldo and Liliane Hilaire-Peréz, eds., *Les savoirs-mondes. Mobilités et circulation des savoirs depuis le Moyen-Age* (Rennes: PUR, 2015); Jürgen Renn, "The History of Science and the Globalization of Knowledge" in Theodore Arabatzis *et al*., eds., *Relocating the History of Science* (Boston: Boston Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science, 2015): 241-252, Lorraine Daston, "The History of Science and the History of Knowledge", *Know* 1, no. 1 (2017): 131-154.

[3] Antonella Romano, *Impressions de Chine*. On space and conversion, see Ines Zupanov, "La science et la démonologie: les missions des jésuites français en Inde (XVIIIe siècle)", in Charlotte de Castelnau-L'estoile, Marie-Lucie Copete, Aliocha Maldavsky, Ines G. Zupanov, eds., *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2011), 401-422; Ines Zupanov and Angela Barreto Xavier, *Catholic Orientalism. Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th centuries)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster, *Empires of God. Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

globalization was the result of long and contradictory processes and strategies which involved merchant, cartographers and missionaries and mirrored various different projects.[4]

This discrepancy between the world and the globe is particularly visible in the production of globes for the French court from Louis XIV to Louis XVI, where the vision of the world was translated into French domination. Globes proved to be useful for recording new French discoveries and representing the success of French commerce. The globes made on the observations of the geographer Guillaume Delisle in 1700 or the Armillary Sphere of Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Debure in 1705 testify to their central place in geography. After Coronelli's globes, the abbot Nollet made globes in 1728-1730 dedicated to the Duchess of Maine and the Count of Clermont. In 1777, Pierre Lartigue and Louis Lennel made terrestrial and celestial globes supported by Atlas, which were installed in the library of Louis XVI. In 1786, Louis XVI commissioned globes for his son from Edme Mentelle (1730-1815) and Jean Tobie Mercklein.[5] The French 'englobement', to use Antonella Romano's expression, was concretized through the francization of globes while the production of *mappemonde* and the natural history of the globe at the end of the eighteenth-century privilege a no-where point of view.

Attention to French globalisation and imperial projects has been made manifest in the recent historiography in a survey of the colonial machine (McClellan and Regourd, 2011)[6] and the inclusion of ports (Richard Drayton):[7] such studies reveal the institutional and administrative framework governing the production and circulation of distant knowledge. However, the numerous studies on scientific expeditions highlight the plasticity and reversibility of such processes in the French imperial context. A recent book produced by literary scholars, the *French Global* proposed to challenge the imperial framework and to work through the notion of the globalisation of knowledge. To quote the two editors, Susan Rubien Suleiman and Christie

[4] Antonella Romano, *Impressions de Chine. L'Europe et l'englobement du monde (XVIe-XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 2016); Bruno Latour, "Onus Orbis Terrarum: About a Possible Shift in the Definition of Sovereignty", *Millennium. Journal of International Studies* 44, no. 3 (2016): 305-320.
[5] On the French globes and globe-makers, see Hélène Richard, *Les globes de Coronelli* (Paris: BNF, 2006). See Martin Vailly, "Le Monde au bout des doigts. François Le Large, le globe de Coronelli et les cultures géographiques dans la France de Louis XIV », PhD, EUI, 2020.
[6] J. McClellan III and F. Regourd, *The Colonial Machine: French Science and Overseas Expansion in the Old Regime* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).
[7] Richard Drayton, "The globalisation of France: Provincial cities and French expansion c. 1500–1800 " *History of European Ideas*, 34 (4), 2008: 424-430.

McDonald,[8] the book was meant to escape from a "binarism of the relationship between France and its former colonies".[9] It attempts to avoid the center and periphery model (strong in the colonial machine metaphor) and to propose a more dynamic and inclusive multipolar vision. Drawing on hybrid and connected history and diaspora studies, the *French Global* helps to better understand instances of cultural interaction, circulation and travel and processes of translation and integration, but we also seem stuck in a discussion about Frenchness.[10]

(Re-)Problematizing the French Empire

If *Colonial Machine* and the *French Global* opened large avenues of research and offer a coherent methodological vision, recent studies engaged historians to problematize the empire anew. The French Empire was long a legal fiction if we think of the publishing strategies set up by East Indian companies (both English and French) to make empires real by publishing books on it.[11] There was not really an imperial network but various attempts to establish trading posts and to explore certain parts of the world and cities. It has been noted by historians that the new trade companies were not efficient enough to secure a stable French Atlantic between 1660 and 1713. The lack of infrastructure, the lack of settler colonies (with the exception of New France), the lack of royal ships and the lack of creole societies underlined that the French Global was only a virtual network in the late seventeenth century rather than a colonial machine.[12] The French state had to rely on privateers and religious orders such as the Society of Jesus to maintain its soft power. Gilles Havard recently pointed

[8] Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman, eds., *French Global. A New Approach to Literary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010). See, for instance, Natasha Lee, "Planetary Perspective in Enlightenment Fiction and Science" in *French Global*, 94-109.
[9] Ibid., xviii.
[10] See David Bell, "Questioning the Global Turn: The Case of the French Revolution", *French Historical Studies* 37, no. 1 (2014): 1-24; Jeremy Alderman, "Is Global History Still Possible?" https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment: Frederik Cooper, "What is the Concept of Globalization Good for?", *African Affairs*, Vol. 100, n0 399 (April 2001): 189-213. On the concept of circulation, see Stefanie Gänger, "Circulation: Reflections on Circularity, Entity, and Liquidity in the Language of Global History", *Journal of Global History* 12 (2017): 303-318. In the field of history of science, see Peter Dear, "Historiography of Not-So-Recent Science", *History of Science* 50 (2012), 203.
[11] See Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink. Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007). On the French side, see *Relation de l'establissement de la Compagnie française pour le commerce des indes orientales* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1665).
[12] See the analysis of Nicholas Dew, "Vers la ligne. Circulating Measurements around the French Atlantic", in Nicholas Dew and James Delbourgo, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (London, 2007): 53-73., especially 59-60. On the ships, Daniel Dessert, *La Royale: vaisseaux et marins du Roi Soleil* (Paris: Fayard, 1996).

out in *Histoire des courreurs des bois* (2017) the essential role played in this context by mobile actors to structure the colonial enterprise.[13] For the late eighteenth century, Matt Matsuda has argued that the 'French Oceanic empire was not thought of as a bounded territory, but rather as a web or grid of strategic locations called "points d'appui"' and that empire was not developed through colonies:[14] 'In their literal definitions evoking points of rest and force, these markers declare control not of larger regions, but a mastery of critical maritime passages and places of crossing and provision'.

Long focused on the Atlantic settlements, the historiography of the French Empire downplayed the role played by African and Asiatic imperial experiences, especially when the loss of territorial possessions after 1763 forced the French to re-invent an imperial project in these regions. Against a flat description of orientalism or colonial sciences, it is important to understand how oriental knowledge was also mobilized against the Dutch in East Asia in the late seventeenth century or the British rule in the subcontinent.[15] If the history of science has tended to focus on processes of capitalisation, accumulation and acclimatisation with regard to understandings of nature,[16] it is better to criticise the perspective of an economy of predation or bioprospecting that influenced the identification of both natural resources and people.[17] New approaches in the history of science show the failures (expeditions in Mauritius and iCayenne), fragility and reversibility of these processes of globalisation.[18] Bioprospection was limited and marked by non-transmissions of local

[13] Gilles Havard, *Histoire des coureurs des bois* (Paris: Indes Gallantes, 2016).
[14] Matt K. Matsuda, *Empire of Love: Histories of France and the Pacific* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4-5.
[15] Blake Smith, "Diplomacy and its Forms of Knowledge: Anquetil-Duperron, the Balance of Power, and India in the French Global Imaginary, 1778-1803", in Marie Fourcade and Ines Zupanov, eds., *L'Inde des Lumières: discours, histoire et savoirs (XVIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Editions EHESS, 2013), 209.
[16] Lissa Roberts, "Accumulation and Management in Global Historical Perspective: An Introduction", *History of Science* 52, no. 3 (2014): 319-342. In the introduction of her book, Roberts wants to challenge the Latourian view of the centre of calculation and 'immutable mobiles': 'While Latour depicts the inevitable victory of modern, calculating science - a story of centres and peripheries, we want to focus on the processes and geographies of accumulation as a way to recover moments of historical openness and contingency', in Lissa Roberts, *Centres and Cycles of Accumulation in and Around the Netherlands during the Early Modern Period* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011), 6.
[17] Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, "Introduction", in Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, eds., *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2005), 1-16.
[18] Jan De Vries, "The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World", *The Economic History Review*, 63, no. 3 (2010): 710-733.

knowledge, as Londa Shiebinger has demonstrated for the West Indies. [19] The project of the French globe, lately called *Universal monarchy* (*monarchie universelle*) by Montesquieu in the 1730s, took a long time to form and emerged out of patient, careful work on the part of the scientists who established and maintained these long-distance networks – work which was not without its failures.[20] Science and knowledge help us in this respect to see the practices of controlling and mastering nature and people through the setting of technologies of collecting, visualizing and publicizing the empire (making the empire visible) while also allowing us to understand the gap between metropolitan intentions and local outcomes. Collecting is not only central to an imperial project: it is also a way of weaving together the different pieces of the empire.

From contact zones to critical zones: the cunning of scientific encounters

Moreover, this process was not only patient, but also controversial, often denigrated and revealed a scientific culture that was profoundly sceptical in relation to the new economy of globalised knowledge. I argue that the generalization of a renewed epistemology of distant knowledge is due to the specific context from 1660 and 1789, which saw the rise of uncertainty in the French context of imperial and global expansion. The multiplication of forgeries, imperial scandals or controversies and denunciation of fake news between the end of seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries suggests that a scientific culture critical of mobility and globalisation developed at a time when empires were being reshaped. From Richelieu to Choiseul, Mazarin, Nicolas Fouquet, Colbert and Pontchartrain, the period also saw the emergence of new projects for universalization closely bound to the academization of the scientific world and the royal administration of nature during the reign of Louis XIV, overseen by Colbert.[21]

This scientific Colbertism, to borrow Nicholas Dew's apt expression, lasted throughout the eighteenth century and was steered by ministries and academies and contributed to imposing a new vision of the world in a context of uncertainty. Dew

[19] Justin H. Smith, *Nature, Human Nature, and Human Difference, Race in Early Modern Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
[20] Montesquieu, *Réflexions sur la monarchie universelle en Europe*, eds. Françoise Weil et Catherine Larrère, tome 2, *Oeuvres complètes* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000); Pierre Bonnet, "La 'Monarchie universelle de Louis XIV: une notion clé de la pensée politique, de Campanella à Montesquieu", *Littératures classiques* 3, no. 76 (2011): 133-146.
[21] Cécile Vidal, ed., *Français? La nation en débat entre colonies et métropoles, XVIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 2014).

showed convincingly that the endeavour of producing a cartography of France was also one side of a more universal grand project by Cassini, embodied in the expedition to Gorée (in modern Senegal) and the Antilles.[22] The absolutist state, from the Fronde (political crisis) to the French Revolution. was obsessed with control over information, hoax, gossips, rumours and political scandals.[23] Distance was one of the major problems posed by the development of relations with the wider world.[24] The academies sought to respond by retrospectively checking information or seeking to oversee its collection. The requirement for precision in astronomy and cartography was particularly pressing during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV due to the urgent need to correct the world map.

The first decades of the eighteenth-century were also a period of high controversies against scepticism, if we think of the publication, in 1733, by Jean-Pierre de Crousaz of his *Examen du pyrhhonisme ancien et moderne*, where he clearly linked the threat between modern pyrrhonism 'with the disasters of the South Sea bubble or the Mississippi Company financial collapses'.[25] Anton Matytsin, in his book *The Specter of Scepticism*, argued that there was a new sceptical epidemic in the first decade of the eighteenth century nourished by the new French translation of Sextus Empiricus by J. A. Fabricius; the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* by de Pierre Bayle in 1702.[26]At the same time, numerous attempts to counter-attack scepticism were published by George Berkeley, Jean Leclerc, Jean-Pierre de la Crousaz, Samuel Formey. Between the end of the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution, the new orientalism was also accused of simultaneously fuelling scepticism and being part of a process of intelligence gathering.

Traditional views (Marxist, post-colonialist) insisted on the emergence of vast range of criticisms or scandals associated with radical politics, antislavery and anti-colonialism during the eighteenth century. However, with the notion of a critical zone, I intend not to limit the investigation to intellectual history and discourses but to give a new strength to practices and materiality. My take is that there was a coherent but

[22] Nicholas Dew, "Scientific Travel in the Atlantic World: The French Expedition to Gorée and the Antilles, 1681-1683", *British Journal for the History of Science*, 43, no. 1 (2010): 1-17.
[23] Simon Burrows, *Blackmail, Scandal, and Revolution: London's French Libellistes, 1758-92* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
[24] Simon Schaffer, *La Fabrique des sciences modernes* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2014).
[25] Richard H. Popkin, "Scepticism", in Knud Haakonssen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 426-450, in particular 427.
[26] Antony McKenna and Gianni Paganini, eds., *Pierre Bayle et la République des Lettres* (Paris: Champion, 2004).

diverse sceptical traveling culture during the long eighteenth century which questioned the project of a Catholic, absolutist and French globalized order of information. Methodologically, I suggest to replace the notion of 'contact zones' (which is becoming too culturalist and overused) with one of 'critical zones' used by natural scientists, as Bruno Latour recently suggested in a more environmentalist tone.[27] Critical zones offer the possibility to consider a vast plurality of actors (not only human) or ontologies. The critical zone subverts the grand narrative of the cross-cultural exchange and the integrative process of globalization by accepting a multi-naturalism and decentering encounters from human agency. Trapped in a culturalist (strongly identity-oriented) vocabulary, cultural historians of science are often less comfortable stepping outside the (supposedly) well-established frameworks of modern science. Under pressure from environmental history and the notion of the Anthropocene, history of science seems have to been giving way to a history of nature over the last decade. If the cultural history of science was eager to broaden the list of scientific actors or practitioners within societies, this new research draws the attention of historians of sciences to discussions about materiality, non-humans and the inanimate. By repatriating the concept of the 'critical zone' into the humanities and social sciences, the operation deeply transforms the very notion of the critic itself by moving away from the mere criticism studied by intellectual history.

[27] 'B. Latour, "Some Advantages of the Notion of 'Critical Zone' for Geopolitics', *Procedia Earth and Planetary Science* 10 (2014), 4-6.

Part II

CIRCULATIONS OF PEOPLE AND CONNECTIONS ACROSS THE GLOBE

5

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE RISE AND 'CRISIS' OF THE IBERIAN WORLD EMPIRES[1]

Bartolomé Yun Casalilla
Pablo de Olavide University, Seville

Unlike what authors such as D. North and R. Thomas said some decades ago,[1] the Iberian monarchies very quickly created formal institutions for the management of their empires and with positive effects on their economic activities. The viceroyalties, the c*apitanías*, the *gobernaciones*, the judicial audiences, the *Casa da India* of Lisbon, the *Casa de la Contratación* of Seville, the municipalities and the different consulates are good examples of this process, whose speed and precocious character are impressive. By the mid-sixteenth century, the administrative web that had to regulate these two empires' economic and social life was already set. Moreover, the rapid extension of the notarial system in America and the recompilation of legal codes helped establish similar rules in the furthest-reaching imperial framework ever known, thereby reducing risks and transaction costs. This experience, unique at the time, reveals the desire to present the royal authorities as third parties with crucial roles in

[1] This text is based on my recent book Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires and the Globalization of Europe 1415-1668* (Singapore: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2019) (see a free Open Access version in https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9789811308321). Some of the arguments were also presented at the workshop *"Empires, Networks, Intermediaries: Exchanges across Eurasia, 10th-19th Centuries"* Jerusalem on 18-19 December 2019, organized by François Gipouloux. I wish to thank François Gipouloux and the colleagues who participated in the event for their comments. The research has been carried out within the framework of the FEDER research group UPO-1264973 ("In search for the Atlantic aristocracies. Latin America and the peninsular Spanish elites, 1492-1824"PI: Bartolomé Yun Casalilla) and the PAIDI research group (PAIDI HUM 1000 "The history of globalization: violence, negotiation and interculturality", PI: Professor Igor Pérez Tostado).
[1] Douglas C. North and Robert P. Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

the enforcement of contracts. It is important, however, to contextualize these formal or political institutions in their different juridical frameworks, as well as within the social networks and informal enforcement institutions of the time.

The aforementioned institutional scheme was embedded in a political and social structure with a strong clientelist component. The patronage system, the crucial role of kinship and family, the relevant role of linage in political and social life and even the perception of friendship as a political institution[2] had an impact on the judicial courts and other political institutions' decisions and could make the application of the law less predictable. Furthermore, as A. M. Hespanha has recalled, these societies also harbored a non-official law comprised of traditions, non-written norms and local customs that ruled personal relations and affected enforcement systems.[3] The problem, therefore, was not only the potential arbitrariness of the king's *absoluta potestas*, as Acemoglu and others would say,[4] but also the coexistence of many juridical instances that clashed among themselves and increased unpredictability.[5] To summarize, one cannot blame the epoch's political formations for not having created institutions that aimed to reduce transaction costs. On the contrary, the institutions they fostered represented an improvement with respect to the earlier situation. But, at the same time, one needs to understand this step forward in a wider context.

The important role played by family and kinship obliges us to consider these institutions' internal dynamics.[6] We need to understand the family, kinship, linage and even clientelist relations as subject to two different kinds of logic. On the one hand, there was the personal agenda of each member of the group. On the other, the family itself sought its own reproduction as a unit alongside the promotion of different members of the group. Obviously, these two forms of logic were not necessarily opposed. But a family would be more united and its members could fulfill their own agendas when it was able to capture more external resources in the form of economic

[2] Bartolomé Clavero, "Del estado presente a la familia pasada (a propósito de estudios sobre la *Famiglia Aristocratica* así como también de la Familia Mediterránea)," *Quaderni fiorentini per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno*, 18 (1989): 583- 605.
[3] Antonio M. Hespanha, *Vísperas del Leviatán. Instituciones y poder político (Portugal siglo XVII)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1989).
[4] Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson and James Robinson (2005) "The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth", *The American Economic Review*, 95, 546–579.
[5] Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires.*
[6] Ibid., chapter 1.

and social capital (to use P. Bourdieu's term).[7] The outcome was the existence of an expansive rationale in these organizations.

This was even more the case due to their internally asymmetric character. These organizations were very hierarchical in that the *pater familias* had great power to make decisions upon which other members (women, second sons and even bastards) were very dependent. As a consequence, there was also a strong need to invest resources in the promotion of many of the group's members and to implement a system of side-payments (in the terminology of H. Simon)[8] in the form of dowries, investments in careers and promotion of second sons. The problem was even greater when patrimonies were subject to the system of entitlement and *mayorazgo*, which accentuated their internal asymmetry and the need for economic expansion.

What I tried to show in the book quoted above is that this need for expansion was at the core of the first imperial impulses. Of course, the reasons for the migrations of populations including many different social strata were varied and not all related to the above. But the overseas projection of elites, nobles, merchants and ecclesiastics in Europe and the colonies provided a sort of escape valve for these families' internal dynamics and need for expansion. All this, together with the importance of private initiative in the formation of these empires, gave rise to a situation in which the king conceded to family and kinship organizations colonial resources in the form of political, social and economic capital: *encomiendas*, *capitanías*, ecclesiastic positions, local offices, etc.

The consequences were important. The conquest and control of new territories was undertaken while the crown saved economic resources.[9] But the outcome was also a situation of shared sovereignty and overlapping authorities in which both formal and informal mechanisms of enforcement were interlinked in the implementation of coercion and the creation of trust among social agents. The norms applied in this way depended not only on the king's laws, but also on the conventions, dynamics and interlinking of these two types of institutions at a time when the frontiers between the public and private spheres were not at all clear.[10]

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[7] Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Les editions du Minuit, 1979).
[8] Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, "Reading Sources throughout P. Bourdieu and Cyert and March. Aristocratic Patrimonies vs. Commercial Enterprises in Europe (c.1550–1650)" in F. Ammannati, ed., *Dove va la Storia economica? Metodi e prospettive S. XVI–XVIII* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2011), 325–337.
[9] Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires,* chapter 3.
[10] Ibid., chapter 7.

For obvious reasons, this projection of family and social formations upon empires was especially important in the case of traders or the families of very different origins that very soon became involved in commerce. Consequently, institutions such as kinship, friendship, godparenthood or reputation became keys to relationships of trust, the reduction of transaction costs and the enforcement of contracts.[11] Studies such as those by Lohman, Studnicki-Gizbert, Boyajian and others are very meaningful in this respect.[12] But, at the same time, the strategy of these organizations in accruing social and political capital by placing their members in local governments, judicial and fiscal institutions, ecclesiastic bodies, etc. gave rise to their permeation into formal institutions.[13]

Three conclusions deserve to be extracted. Firstly, Iberian imperial expansion was very much grounded in the creation and development of political formal institutions. They were crucial in a process whereby completely unknown and distant worlds were part of an arrangement in which risk (though very high) could be estimated and afforded by economic agents. Secondly, this process also depended on the development of social networks, relatively efficient (for the epoch) in the construction of trust. Within these social networks, ethnic ties, family relations, kinship and friendship played a very relevant role.[14] And it is very important to note: these were the informal institutions normally associated with corruption, contraband etc. (a point to which I will return soon). Thirdly, from the combined action of these institutions, very complex political systems emerged, ones which were characterized by the overlapping of different forms of coercion and enforcement.[15] Thus, royal authority had to coexist,

[11] As is known, this situation was not a particularity of these empires, but rather a crucial feature of many other economies during the previous period. See the paramount case in Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[12] Guillermo Lohman, *Les Espinosa, une famille d'hommes d'affaires en Espagne et aux Indes à l'époque de la colonisation* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1968); Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626–1650* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983); Idem, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993).

[13] Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires,* chapter 7.

[14] Grief, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy.* The subject has been also treated in a more general imperial context and putting the accent mainly on merchant communities in Cátia Antunes and Amélia Polónia, eds., *Beyond Empires. Global, Self-Organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks, 1500–1800.* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016).

[15] On the role of formal institutions for coercion and enforcement in modern political organizations, see the classic Douglas C. North, John J. Wallis and Barry R. Weingast *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

and often clashed, with other sources of power, which, on top of what I have already said, benefited from a very asymmetric distribution of information between the center and the peripheries.[16]

As I have summarized in other works and developed in *The Iberian Empires*, early globalization led to increasing tension among different imperial formations in the seventeenth century.[17] This was so not only in the Atlantic, but also in Asia, as Flores and Subrahmanyan have pointed out.[18] Combined with the specific institutional game described above, such increasing tension was crucial for the history of both the Portuguese and Spanish empires. The Iberian empires had to face the mounting tensions of the epoch: the king's and the state's enforcement capabilities, though probably increasing, were not doing so at the necessary rhythm and proportion. This situation did not lead to a crisis in global trade, but, rather, created big problems for the empires as political formations. The empires, in fact, entered a period of crisis and change that only the deep reforms of the eighteenth century and a certain permissiveness in the negotiations between centers and peripheries would allow them to face. Globalization, in a way a product of the empires, corroded them and forced them to change their own parameters of governance and existence.[19]

Many historians have emphasized the exceptionality of the Iberian empires. But to what extent did all of the above make the Iberian empires an exceptional case? Obviously, all empires are different and only by comparing them can we answer these questions. Such a comparison is impossible in the framework of this chapter. However, some remarks are possible by considering only some of the aspects mentioned above. To begin with, we have to acknowledge that the predominance of informal enforcement institutions has been the rule in the history of empires. From the Roman

[16] Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires,* chapters 2 and 7.
[17] Idem, "Globalizaciones versus imperios. Una perspectiva mundial sobre el nexo panameño en el siglo XVII" in *Nuevos Mundos. Mundos Nuevos*, dossier edited by Bethany Aram and Alejandro García-Montón, *Globalizaciones versus imperios. Una perspectiva mundial sobre el nexo panameño en el siglo XVII*. https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.78942 [11/12/2019].
[18] Jorge M. Flores, "Zonas de Influência e de Rejeição" in Marques, António Enrique de Oliveira, eds., *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente. Em torno de Macau. Séculos XVI–XVII*, vol. 1. (Lisboa, Fundaçao Orientevol, 1998): 135–178; Idem, "The *Mogor* as Venomous Hydra: Forging the Mughal-Portuguese Frontier," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no. 6 (2015): 539-562; Idem, *Unwanted Neighbours. The Mughals, the Portuguese and their Frontier Zones* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018); Sanjay Subrahmanyan, *Explorations in Connected History: Mughals and Franks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[19] Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires,* chapter 7.

gens to the Mongol tribes or even the Chinese clienteles of mandarins, family and personal rule have strongly influenced very weak formal institutions.

Secondly, neither the negotiated character of the Iberian empires nor their consequent polycentric nature were unique features. Very meaningfully, the term "negotiated empires", the outcome of the existence of many political centers within empires, was in fact coined for the British Empire.[20] For the British Empire, John Darwin has spoken of an "unfinished empire" to refer to the need to coordinate its many nodes of decision-making and power.[21] The enormous power of the East India Company and the "de facto" state that it constituted in India is good proof. Lovejoy's classic book on the tensions between London and New England is further evidence of the existence of very divergent agendas within the British Empire.[22] Since some of the defenders of the idea of polycentric empires have also spoken on the way the expression reflects the agency of the different cultures, peoples and races coexisting within the Spanish Monarchy, one also has to remember that this was the central idea of subaltern studies, developed by Indian historians to refer to nineteenth- and twentieth-century India. In other words, what should interest us is not a fight between terms (centralism *vs* polycentralism). The mission of the historian is rather to compare the way distinct powers and agents within empires interlink and create different equilibriums and conflicts, and this is something still to be done.

Thirdly, the role of the family and private social networks in general in the British Empire is more than obvious if we consider the Johnston family, the case study at the center of Emma Rothschild's lucid book.[23] The Johnstons not only created chains of corruption but also were able to transform political into economic capital. They used personal rules to lower transaction costs. Whatever term we want to use, fraud, tax

[20] Amy Bushell and Jack Greene, "Introduction", in Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., *Negotiated Empires: Centres and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, (New York, London: Routledge, 2002), 1-14; J. Greene, *The Constitutional Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[21] Speaking about the British case, Darwin says that "It creates the illusion of a standardized apparatus of power whose command and control were centered in London. But it could never have been so. The first stumbling block was the astonishing scale and diversity of British possessions. By 1913**,** more than one hundred separate political units (even excluding the 600 or so princely states of 'Native State' India) owed allegiance to the British Crown. They had been acquired over centuries. They displayed almost every variety of human community, and their internal diversity was sometimes extreme." John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Allen Lande, 2012), 189.

[22] David Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (2nd ed. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1987).

[23] Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

evasion and corruption were present in the British Empire too. It is to be noted that even contraband, and more in particular the evasion of the Navigation Acts by New Englanders, were embedded in a political discourse which only shows the importance of the phenomenon: contraband was just an act of resistance against the tyranny of the metropolis, according to the Bostonian rebels in 1688-89.[24] The key to understanding the Iberian empires is not, therefore, to point out their "deficiencies" or "anomalies", as has been done for decades. One needs rather to compare the contexts and character of the negotiations, the specific dynamics of the relations among the different centers and (what interests us) the different ways in which formal and informal institutions interacted.

A new phase in the history of empires was starting by the end of the seventeenth century. Globalization and the enormous tensions created by it at the international level were extremely difficult for empires to face when informal enforcement institutions and the social networks on which they were based could severely limit state capacities and the role of formal "public" institutions in organizing coercion. The British Empire was maybe the first exception but we need to study it from this perspective. It is crucial to study to what extent it was more difficult for informal social networks to phagocyte the bureaucracy and formal institutions in this empire.[25] Was the British an empire where social and personal networks were very relevant for the creation of trust (and even for corruption), but they did not limit state capacity *to the same extent* as they had in previous empires? Of course, all empires of the eighteenth century, including the Iberian empires, tried to face the problems I have mentioned.[26]

[24] Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution.*
[25] Peer Vries, *State, Economy and the Great Divergence: Great Britain and China,1680s–1850s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).
[26] See, among others, Christopher Storrs, *The Resilience of the Spanish Monarchy 1665–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Idem, *The Spanish Resurgence, 1713–1748* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

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BETWEEN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE ANDEAN MOUNTAINS: Global History, the Slave Trade and Capitalism at Work

J. Bohorquez
ICS-Universidade de Lisboa

Global history: scales and skills

Upon the emergence and rise of global history, concerns were raised about the flaws of narrowly framed national histories and the benefits of transnational, global and comparative approaches. Historians became aware that past social, economic and cultural processes scarcely fit current national frontiers. Attempting to overcome nationally rooted narratives, nonetheless, was a task easier to convey than to carry out.[1] Several methodological approaches have therefore been developed, intended to connect cultural areas that were almost fully unconnected: the refashioning of the old

[1] Maxine Berg, ed., *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Angelika Epple, "Die Großen Zählt! Aber Wie? Globalgeschichte Zwischen Großen Synthesen, Skeptizismus Und Neuem Empirismus," *Neue Politische Literatur* 59, no. 1 (2014): 409–35; Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Richard Drayton and David Motadel, "Discussion: The Futures of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1, (2018): 1–21; Patrick O'Brien, "Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3–39.

political imperial history into a new comparative imperial one,[2] connected histories,[3] entangled histories or *histoire croisée*,[4] oceanic histories[5] and, more recently, microglobal history.[6] The scales gradually changed while a new vocabulary was slowly introduced.[7] There is no doubt that we have advanced a lot, but much remains to be done.

For the most part, histories continue to be framed locally and nationally. This does not mean that global history should in any sense replace local, regional or national ones. Quite the opposite, there exists a complementarity among all of them. I believe that the writing of good global history should entail at least two basic competences. On the one hand, the skills and willingness to conduct archival research at the local and national levels and, on the other, the mastering of social theory and openness of the spirit to dialogue with different theoretical approaches quantitatively or qualitatively. With regards to the latter skill, it is very well known that history as a discipline knew its apogee in the twenty century when historians were endowed with the necessary skills to enter into dialogue with economists, sociologists and anthropologists.[8] Besides, digital humanities and the development of applications

[2] Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and Politics of Difference* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010); John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2008); C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914. Connections and Comparisons* (Blackwell Publishing, 2001); Serge Gruzinski, *Les Quatre Parties Du Monde: Histoire d'une Mondialisation* (Paris: La Martinière, 2004); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Par-Delà l'incommensurabilité: Pour Une Histoire Connectée Des Empires Aux Temps Modernes," *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 4 (2007): 34–53; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007): 1359–85.

[3] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Euroasia"," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62.

[4] Michel Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Penser l'histoire Croisée : Entre Empire et Réflexivité » Annales, Histoire Sciences Sociales," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 1, no. 1 (2003): 7–36.

[5] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et Le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1976); Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); K. N. Chauduri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An Economic History from the Rise of the Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); David Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," in W. V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64–93; Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, *Seascapes. Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University Hawai'i Press, 2007).

[6] Jhon-Paul A. Ghobrid, "The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory," *Past and Present* 222, no. 1 (2011): 52–93; Tonio Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 4 (2010): 573–91; Christian G. de Vico, "Verso Una Microstoria Translocale (Micro-Spatial History)," *Quaderni Storici* 3 (2015): 815–33.

[7] Stefanie Gänger, "Circulation, Reflections on Circularity, Entity, and Liquidity in the Language of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 12, no. 3 (2017): 303–18.

[8] Francesco Boldizzoni, *The Poverty of Clio: Resurrecting Economic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

have made easier data analysis. Quite the opposite has happened lately. Currently, we are in a situation in which cultural history has been dragged into crisis due to its unreflexive dependence on critical theory. I believed that good global history should be supported by thorough archival research and not merely by a selection of good literature. The gathering of information from local holdings should remain at the very core of global history, as the production of new data allows us to carefully revisit former interpretations. This is not because of a certain positivist fetishism, but because this is a way to skillfully put (national or imperial) scholarships produced with highly different intents and scopes head to head.

Braudel's *Mediterranean World* remains still as the best instance of the fruitful outcomes a historian can reach when expertise on several cultural areas is mastered. The global historian should simultaneously have an in-depth knowledge of local, regional and national scholarships and a deep knowledge of past records; but equally, a practical awareness of how institutions produced and kept records over time is supposed to be possessed. In the case of imperial and comparative history, this expertise is still more necessary. Otherwise, incautious historians can merely end up echoing commonplace ideas whose roots are ideological or nationalistic. Still worse, this could lead to the writing of unbalanced texts which evince training in one cultural area and unawareness of another.

Global history: time and space

I am of the mind that global history is best at explaining *long-durée* processes. Equally, it is best at answering "big questions." Yet, for both tasks to be carried out, spatial and temporal frameworks should be clearly determined. Empires, oceans, global circuits and city ports have gradually reclaimed attention. This does not mean simply a return to structural explanations. Instead, global history could assist in preventing us from falling prey to the dangers and oversimplifications of metanarratives, which, as happened formerly with structural explanations, are recurrently brought to the front. Nowadays, poststructuralism and critical theory have no doubt become the most powerful, pervasive and dangerous of all metanarratives. In this sense, for instance, a global approach to travelogues may save us from the shortcomings of narratives that merely overemphasize the power and rhetoric of representations on otherness (Said's Orientalism, for instance) and the lack of concern those same narratives show for the

reality travelers appraised.[9] Exactly the same happens to broadly used concepts such as agency or negotiation. Overall used in a vague manner and most of the time taken for granted as though both concepts need no explanation. Agency is a concept which hang on nineteenth-century liberal discourses (dependence of which most of its practitioners are rather unaware), having become an umbrella that protects everyday subaltern resistance against oppression. Liberty therefore turns into a teleological narrative in which society is no more than an embellished background.[10]

Accurately setting the framework in which historical processes happened has provoked endless debates. Once structuralism started to lose track,[11] the micro reclaimed attention and was advanced as a solution for understanding events and processes that big scales left out. *Jeux d'échelles* was later brandished as an alternative owing to the flaws of micro-studies. More recently, the micro has metamorphosed into micro-biographies.[12] The debate on scales has been accompanied by a discussion on eurocentrism, a discourse essentially associated with postcolonial and subaltern studies. Scholars from the "periphery" complained about the centeredness that Europe has reclaimed in historical narratives. Not only is Europe assumed to be the center of modernity, but the continent has also imposed its chronological timeline on a peripheral world.[13] To me, there is no certainty what Europe those scholars are speaking about: southern or northern, eastern or western, Catholic or Protestant, monarchical or republican, rural or urban, rich or poor.

In the 1990s, as Chinese growth rates skyrocketed, voices were echoed requesting a "Reorient." Asia should be carefully placed into the debates and granted much more weight in the narratives. This unleashed a series of global and comparative economic studies whose main goal was to explain the so-called Great Divergence.[14] Placing Asia at the center and relativizing Europe's position have not necessarily led

[9] Jürgen Osterhammel, *Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).
[10] James M. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 2011); Rebecca Scott and Jean M. Hebrard, *Freedom Papers. An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).
[11] François Dosse, *Histoire Du Structuralisme*, 2 vols. (Paris: La Découverte, 1991).
[12] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Allien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2011).
[13] For interesting critics to postcolonial theory's claims see Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (London: Verso, 2013).
[14] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence. China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Jean-Laurent Rosenthal and Bing Wong, *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

to a more accurate picture of global processes. For instance, complaints have been raised that the new history of capitalism has become an American-centered narrative.[15] On the other hand, Eurasia-centrims has also its dangers.[16] This is for one reason: this kind of history leaves most of the world out of the picture, Africa and Latin America.

Tracking down flows: capital

This is the case of the slave trade and the slave colonial world, whose business operated through the interdependence of many interlinked "centers." The slave trade is beyond doubt a very well-studied topic and one which has awoken great interest recently. Regardless of the great number of studies, historians have barely approached the theme from a comparative and global perspective. This means that the Portuguese, British, French, Dutch and Spanish slave trades have essentially been studied from a national perspective or as a national business.[17] In the Iberian case in particular, apart from research on borderland areas or the Iberian Union period, the Portuguese and Spanish slave trades are barely studied conjointly.[18] There is no doubt that the slave trade should be placed into a global framework.[19] This implies simultaneously reflecting on methodological and theoretical issues.

From a theoretical viewpoint, the slave trade has been understood in two ways. This is the triangular-versus-bilateral debate. During the 1970s and 1980s, the slave trade was predominantly analyzed as a triangular business involving Africa, Europe

[15] Trevor Burnard and Giorgio Riello, "Slavery and the new History of Capitalism," *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 2 (2020): 225-44.
[16] Chris Hann, "A Concept of Eurasia," *Current Anthropology* 57, no. 1 (2016): 1–26.
[17] David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 17–46; Herbert Klein, *The Middle Passage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Joseph Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 433–61; Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[18] Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y El Comercio de Esclavos: Los Asientos Portugueses* (Sevilla: Escuela Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1977); Alex Borucki, "The Slave Trade to the Rio de La Plata, 1777–1812: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no. 1 (2011): 81–107; Alejandro García Montón, "The Rise of Portobelo and the Transformation of the Spanish American Slave Trade, 1640s-1730s: Transimperial Connections and Intra-American Shipping," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99, no. 3 (2019): 399–429; Rafael Marquese, Tâmis Parron, and Márcia Berbel, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790-1850* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016).
[19] J. Bohorquez, "Linking the Atlantic and Indian Oceans: Asian Textiles, Spanish Silver, Global Capital and the Financing of the Portuguese-Brazilian Slave Trade (c. 1760-1808)," *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 1 (2020): 19–38.

and America. The trading circuit began with the export of goods from Europe to Africa. The purchased slaves were then transported to the Caribbean and North America, where they were destined to harvest sugar, cotton and other commodities. These colonial staples were shipped to Europe, where profits were realized. Historians working on the Brazilian slave trade started to reject the above model, demonstrating the peculiarities of the commerce carried out in the south Atlantic. Journeys in these waters hardly fitted the model. Most ships set sail from Brazil, where they anchored right after purchasing enslaved humans in Africa. The geographical patterns of ventures naturally followed south Atlantic currents and winds. Brazilian staples, such as rum and tobacco, were the basis for purchasing slaves in Africa. Likewise, the eighteenth-century gold-mining boom offered an advantageous situation for Brazilian-based traders to tap into the African market. The bilateral system, which is so called because it closely connected the eastern and western basins of the south Atlantic, without the interposition of Lisbon, was underpinned by a powerful local Brazilian elite, which controlled the largest number of ventures and was supposed to own the capital needed to finance the traffic.

Yet, a different picture emerges when capital is tracked down and the South Atlantic decentered. A good way to do this is, for instance, by tracking down the business carried by those traders who were left out of this picture: Lisbon-based merchants. Their standing allowed some of them to simultaneously risk their own and other merchants' capital in Asian ventures, slave trade and carrier services. Yet, to track down capital is a hard task due to its flowing nature. At first glance, capital appears invisible: it is a kind of a "specter."[20] A way to understand capital is, for instance, going from the things themselves to the analysis of how capital goods are organized and put into productive cycles. In other words, how things are arranged temporarily.[21]

For the case of the Portuguese Empire, for instance, capital has mostly been depicted, assessed and researched as a locally situated asset. It is thus commonly brought to the literature in a dichotomic perspective: assets owned by Lisbon-based merchants or by Brazilian-based ones. In this vein, post-mortem inventories have been carefully employed in order to examine capital accumulation either in the colonies or

[20] Joseph Vogl, *Das Gespenst Des Kapitals* (Berlin: Diaphanes, 2010).
[21] Ludwig von Mises, *Nationalökonomie: Theorie Des Handelns Und Wirtschaftens* (Geneva: Editions Union Genf, 1940).

in the peninsula. Assets listed in the inventories serve as clear proof of local merchants' strong ability to accumulate wealth. This has led investments and contractual arrangements, as well as the institutional frameworks that affected business cycles and capital turnover, to be overlooked. In the case of merchants from Lisbon, for instance, foreign capital invested in different imperial economic circuits has been downplayed, while the capacity of local Brazilian merchants to accumulate capital has been overestimated. The case of Lisbon as a financial stock and credit market involving capital coming from different European centers is a topic which remains overlooked. My approach seeks to overcome this understanding of capital as a situated asset and instead puts the focus on capital turnover and investments (circulating capital).

The circulating nature of capital points towards the way in which businesses were organized and integrated: business cycles that operated on a truly global scale, which I call uncoordinated business cycles. The slave trade was a global venture that required a global division of labor and implied uncoordinated global investments. Investments, timing and business organization surpassed the borders of the so-called (imperially imagined) South Atlantic.[22]

Potosi and forced migrants

Silver *pesos* were a key commoditiy in the running of these interconnected business cycles. Silver was far from being merely a means of payment for defraying imports, such as is commonly discussed in the literature. Much has been said about Brazilian gold, some of which flowed directly from Africa to England and the Netherlands via African trade[23]. Yet, silver minted in the Andes has summoned less attention; for the most part, it is encountered in narratives simply as an occasional smuggling commodity whose impact was rather irrelevant for the imperial Portuguese economy. What really matters to these narratives is smuggling.

The actual share of silver mined in the Andes that circulated in the imperial Portuguese markets is unknown. Some numbers show that for the last decade of the

[22]For the idea of the South Atlantic system, see Pierre Verger, *Flux et Reflux de La Traite Des Nègres Entre Le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos Os Santos Du XVIIe Au XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1968); Luis Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato Dos Viventes: Formação Do Brasil No Atlântico Sul, Séculos XVI–XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000).

[23]Leonardo Marques, "Um banqueiro-traficante inglês e comércio interimperial de escravos no Atlântico setecentista (1688-1732)," in Carlos Leonardo Kelmer Mathias *et. al.*, ed., Ramificações ultramarinas. Sociedades comerciais no âmbito do Atlântico luso (Rio de Janeiro, Mauad, 2017): 73-92.

eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, the silver exported directly from Brazil to Asia equaled the amount of gold shipped to Lisbon. For the first half of the century, numbers are big as well. This challenges the above understanding and obliges us to reposition Spanish silver dollars in many of the economic sectors of the Brazilian colonial economy. Asian markets absorbed the largest share of silver, and we know that *pesos* were a globally accepted currency.

Silver minted in the high Andean world was inextricably linked to the slave business. Traders in Benguela recognized themselves that this was the first step in a set of global links and uncoordinated business cycles. This is telling of how actors themselves understood the temporal disposition upon which investment operations were conducted, a topic which deserves careful attention. While Africanists would naturally start their narratives in Africa, according to Benguela traders themselves, the business began with the shipping of silver from Lisbon to Asia. Exactly 445 grams of silver had to be shipped to purchase the Asian textiles needed to barter for an enslaved human in Africa. In Africa, this amount tripled, as the price of one slave amounted to 1,537 grams of silver.[24]

Apart from a few exceptions, Brazil's history is told as one fully disconnected from the rest of South America. The same goes for the latter. On those rare occasions where historians have looked at the links connecting both cultural areas, very specific issues come to light: borderland conflicts, smuggling, and international wars. Most of the scholarship has focused on Colonia de Sacramento, a highly disputed smuggling zone. From the sixteenth century, the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro interacted with those living in the Rio de La Plata basin. The case of Salvador Correa de Sá is repeatedly quoted as a case in point of relations during the Iberian Union: global elites whose scattered worldwide members inhabited both Portuguese and Spanish lands in South America.[25] It is precisely this period of political union that has frequently summoned the historians' attention. During these times, the whole Rio de la Plata basin became a "clandestine route" which connected the Potosi-Buenos Aires to Brazil and Portugal circuit through overland and maritime routes.[26] As Canavraba advanced

[24] Bohorquez, "Linking the Atlantic and Indian Oceans."
[25] C. R. Boxer, *Salvador Corrêa de Sá e a Luta Pelo Brasil e Angola, 1602-1686* (São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1973).
[26] Alice Canabrava, *O Comércio Português No Rio de La Plata: 1580-1640* (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1984).

several years ago, silver flowed illegally from Potosi to the Portuguese circuits, which, in turn, provided the Spanish city with textiles, commodities and slaves.

The actual impact of Potosi's and the high Andean plateau's economic circuits and economy on the slave trade remains a hidden fact. The Andean city was supplied by staples and commodities from a wide commercial circuit including Arequipa, La Paz, Cuzco, La Plata, Salta, Buenos Aires, Cochabamba, Lima, Cordoba and Puno. Some regions supplied the city with coca and foodstuffs. Others specialized in livestock. Textiles were manufactured and shipped to the city from long-distance markets. European goods were provided mainly via Buenos Aires. In 1793, a year for which data is available, a total of 743 merchants participated in the city's market. Indigenous communities were active agents in these commercial exchanges. A large number of merchants supplied the city with food and commodities. Small traders were at the top with 44 percent of the total transactions. Rich merchants accounted for 50 percent of the goods.[27] Indians participated in the market by selling goods. Yet, their workforce was essential for mining activities. At the turn of the nineteenth century, mining demanded broadly 5,000 workers. The work force was made up of forced labourers (provided by the Indian communities through a refashioned prehispanic institution called *mita*) and free labourers.[28] Indian communities were compelled to provide a number of workers every year. While at work in the mine, communities collaborated with the migrants. There was complementarity between forced and free workers: forced worker Indians used to sell their labor during their days off.[29]

Malabar and Coromandel circuits

Silver minted by forced and free workers in the Andes was reshipped through Rio de Janeiro to Asia. In several spots in India, capital organized the timing of the employed workforce. Europeans advanced money that Asians loaned to weavers, providing the latter with the capital needed to purchase yarn, equipment and food.[30] Advances were

[27] Enrique Tandeter, Vilma Milletich, Maria Matilda Ollier and Beatriaz Ruibal, "Indians in Late Colonial Markets: Sources and Numbers," in Brook Larson, Olivia Harris, and Enrique Tandeter, eds., *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes. At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995): 196-224.
[28] A recent reassessment of the literature in Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).
[29] Enrique Tandeter, "Forced and Free Labour in Late Colonial Potosi," *Past and Present* 93, no. 1 (1981): 98–136; Rossana Barragan, "Working Silver for the World: Mining Labor and Popular Economy in Colonial Potosi," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 97, no. 2 (2017): 193–222.
[30] Oman Prakash, "From Negotiation to Coercion: Textile Manufacturing in India in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 41, no. 6 (2007): 1331-1368; Hossain Hammeeda, *The Company*

supposed to last one year, until the order was finally delivered. There is a debate over whether weavers were tied by debt, and over the degree of their dependence on indigenous and European merchant capital. Several factors may explain why weavers preferred to borrow money, regardless of their own funds. The high costs of the materials required to produce luxury goods no doubt played an important role. Loans were also a means to oblige merchants to purchase a predetermined share of the produce or take on some of the risk. It has been argued that European sources tend to depict weavers as poor and wholly lacking in capital, whereas market conditions in which fierce competition prevailed potentially favoured producers. There were countless attempts by European companies to remove intermediaries and lend money directly to weavers, but they enjoyed little success.

Asian textiles were the most after-sought goods on African markets.[31] For traders to barter enslaved humans, a good supply of cotton produced in Asia was needed. Merchants in Africa basically depended on the capacity of their partners in Europe and Asia to put into circulation capital both westward and eastward. The business operated as follows. Bullion was shipped from Portugal to Asia, where textiles could be purchased. It was not only European-based merchants who invested capital to put slaves into slavery. Through different institutional mercantile mechanisms and forms of investments, merchants based in India advanced the necessary capital to oil the wheel. So far, the role these traders played has been downplayed. In the other hemisphere, high in the mountains in what is today Bolivia, indigenous communities mined the silver which was key for purchasing textiles in Asia. Without those commodities and the division of labor both activities implied, no slave trade was viable. Agents in each of these markets calculated and took decisions independently without having full information on what was happening in the other

Weavers of Bengal: The East India Company and the Organization of Textile Production in Bengal, 1750–1813 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988); K. N. Chaudhuri, "The Structure of Indian Textile Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 11, no. 2 (1974): 127–82; Prasannan Parthasarathi, *The Transition to a Colonial Economy: Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India 1720–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Karuna Dietrich Wielange, "The Geography of Weaving in Early Nineteenth-Century South India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 52, no. 2 (2015): 147–84; Pedro Machado, *An Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, ca. 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[31] Richard Roberts, "West Africa and the Pondicherry Textile Industry," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 31, no. 2 (1994): 117–45; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Dinâmica Do Comércio Intracolonial: Geribitas, Panos Asiáticos e Guerra No Tráfico Angolano de Escravos (Século XVIII)," in João Fragoso, Maria Fernanda Bicalho, and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa, eds., *Antigo Regime Nos Trópicos: A Dinâmica Imperial Portuguesa (Séculos XVI-XVIII)*, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001).

areas. It was precisely their anticipations that made possible global uncoordinated investment cycles. We can follow the silver circuit around the world. But instead of paying attention merely to quantities, we should unveil the ways in which its circulation unleashed the organization of labor at various points. In other words, how things were organized temporally.

7

REGRETS, I'VE HAD A FEW: The Global Life of Giovanni Francesco Giustiniani, Venetian Renegade

Giancarlo Casale
European University Institute

On 10 October 1531, scandalous news from Ottoman Istanbul reached Venice: two of *La Serenissima'*s highest born nobles, both renowned experts in naval affairs, had defected to the sultan.[1] The first of these, Giovanni di Marc'Antonio Contarini, aka "the Devil Chaser" (*Cazadiavoli*), had only a year earlier completed a term as the Republic's *Proveditor da Mar*, serving with such distinction that the Doge himself had publicly lionized him in a speech before the Senate.[2] Now, he had apparently fled Venice for the most venal of reasons: a series of pending lawsuits from creditors, alleging unpaid debts and misbegotten gains from an illicit corsair expedition. Adding to his troubles, "the Devil Chaser" was at the same time fighting a grave illness, a problem more difficult to avoid than even his creditors. Just days after his arrival in Istanbul, in fact, Contarini was said to have died—deservedly, according to more than one commentator—of an "ulcerous rupture in his chest," thereby ending his career in Ottoman service before it had even begun.[3]

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[1] Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, edited by Rinaldo Fulin et. al., 59 vols. (Venezia: F. Visentini), LV:37. The news was reported in two letters, one from the bailo, Francesco Bernardo, and the other from Vincenzo de Scudi, a merchant, both dated 25 August, 1531.

[2] The speech included this laudatory reference to Contarini's nickname: "*il Serenissimo lo laudò assai…dicendo 'Non volemo dir il soranome (videlicet, Cazadiavoli), ma questo e' capitanio da honorarlo*." Sanuto, LII: 124

[3] "*Se li rupe una postumation nel petto…poi zonto a Constantinopoli, che ando' per terra, morite*." From a private letter sent from Istanbul on 28 Sept 1531, in Sanuto, LV: 172. For the next several months, Venice received multiple, conflicting reports insisting that Contarini was still alive and had converted to Islam. See Sanuto, LV:443; LV: 532. These rumors possibly originated from the fact that another

By comparison, the second renegade, Giovanni Francesco Giustiniani, was a far less familiar figure in Venice, having spent most of his adult years far from the Mediterranean in the distant expanses of maritime Asia. But precisely for this reason, a brief consideration of Giustiniani's remarkable, trans-imperial life will make a fitting contribution to this volume in honor of my colleague and dear friend Jorge Flores, who has done so much to advance our understanding of the unexpected interconnectivity of early modern global history. In doing so, it will also provide an opportunity to expand upon—and to correct—some details of my own earlier work, inspired by Jorge's mentorship, on Ottoman relations with the world of Portuguese Asia.[4]

As we shall see, Giustiniani arrived in Istanbul having already served the navies of at least three other states (Portugal, France and his native Venice), and touting a reputation as an expert in the construction and operation of Portuguese-style ocean-going warships. In consequence, his career provides an unusually clear illustration of Ottoman participation in an emerging inter-imperial "arms race" to develop expertise in oceanic navigation (eventually leading to the first major Ottoman naval expedition to the India in 1538). But just as importantly, it opens a window onto the precarious world of freelance expert-entrepreneurs like Giustiniani, whose ambition and desire for autonomy could all too easily overshadow their perceived value in the eyes of their employers. In Giustiniani's case, this meant repeatedly gambling his future on an ability to not simply serve his imperial paymasters but to actively manipulate their policies to his own ends.

First steps: to India and back again

To the extent that the basic outlines of Giustiniani's career are already known to modern scholars, this is largely thanks to recent work by Alain Servantie.[5] As he has

Ottoman corsair who continued to serve under Hayreddin Barbaros was known by the similar moniker "Cacciadiavolo."

[4] I briefly discussed Contarini and Giustiniani in Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 49-57. There, based on incomplete evidence, I argued that both men converted to Islam and served together in Istanbul (instead, Contarini died while it appears Giustiniani remained a Christian). See note 3 above on the reasons for the confusion regarding Contarini's death. Conversely, other details of Giustiniani's life presented below demonstrate that enthusiasm for an expedition to India among Ottoman figures like Ibrahim Pasha and Alvise Gritti was even more sustained than I had previously realized.

[5] Servantie is the author of two recent articles on Giustinani's life, which together form an important basis for the present study. See Servantie, "Giovan-Francesco Giustinian: Osmanlı Donanmasına Venedik Teknik Yardımı (1531-1534)," in Özlem Kumrular, *Türkler ve Deniz* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), 147-162; and Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian, ou une assistance technique vénitienne à la flotte ottomane pour affronter les Portugais dans l'océan Indien (1531-1534)", *Acta Orientalia Belgica*, XXXII (2019), 215-232. See also Maria Pia Pedani, "Venetians and Ottomans: from the Suez Canal to

shown, Giustiniani began his life beyond the borders of *La Serenissima* as one of only a handful of Venetian nobles to serve in Portuguese India during the early sixteenth century, apparently remaining there for nearly a decade prior to his eventual return to Europe sometime in 1529. The details of his activities while overseas, as well as the reasons for his homecoming, are still largely unknown.[6] What is clear, however, is that when he did return from Asia he had little intention of permanently resettling in Venice. Instead, he hoped to leverage his experience abroad to gain the favor of one of Portugal's powerful maritime rivals, and with their support to once more sail for India as the commander of his own fleet.

The first concrete evidence of this ambition, which would consume Giustiniani for the remainder of his recorded life, is preserved in a diplomatic dispatch from his uncle, Sebastiano Giustiniani, posted from Dijon, France in early February 1530. Sebastiano, who was at the time Venice's ambassador to the French sovereign, King Francis I, wrote that his nephew had recently appeared in Dijon, where he had been granted an audience with Francis and had "asked for five ships to sail to India."[7] As later events would show, this request almost certainly involved a proposal to either build or to modify these vessels himself, using the rapidly developing techniques of ocean-going ship construction that Giustiniani had learned while in Portuguese service.[8] And, at least according to Sebastiano, the king seems to have found Giustiniani persuasive. Francis was said to have come away from the meeting "with the highest regard for [Giustinian's] knowledge of naval affairs," and to have told him that he "would be happy to give him the ships, and to make him supreme commander of the King's armada in the Indies."[9]

Diu (1502-1538)," in Svat Soucek, ed*., International Turkish Sea Power History Symposium. The Indian Ocean and the Presence of the Ottoman Navy in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Istanbul: Naval Training and Education Command, 2009), II/3-9.

[6] It is interesting to note that when the Portuguese ambassador in Venice, Pedro Caroldo, first sent word to Lisbon of Giustiniani's defection to the Ottomans (in a letter dated 24 Nov. 1531), Giustiniani was not known to him as someone who had previously been to India, raising questions about what his role may have been there (or even if he made it all the way to India). Instead, Caroldo's letter notes only "they say Giustinani fills the Turk's head with everything he needs to know to send an expedition through the Red Sea against the Portuguese, and that he knows very well the ways of the Portuguese crown and what this king can do." Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, 12 vols. (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960–1977), 12:619.

[7] "*ha domandato al re cinque navi per andar in India*." Sanuto, LI: 587.

[8] On the technical development of the Portuguese galleon, see Francisco Contente Domingues, *Os navios do mar oceano: teoria e empiria na arquitectura naval portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2004), 250-252.

[9] "*in grandissima existimation delle cose da mar…Il re è stà contento dargele et lo ha fatto capitanio zeneral di l'armada sua di le Indie*." Sanuto, LI:587, cited in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 224.

Just over a month later, Giustiniani appeared in Venice for the first time in a decade, grandly sailing into the lagoon, according to the chronicler Marin Sanuto, "in command of his own galleon."[10] Unfortunately, Sanuto does not make clear whether this was a ship from Portuguese India or one given to Giustiniani by King Francis following his audience. But in either case, a vessel of this kind would have been a most unfamiliar sight in Venice, since galleons, a state-of-the-art Iberian naval technology, had in the early 1530s only begun to be introduced into the Mediterranean.[11] In fact, just a few months earlier, in the fall of 1529, the annual convoy of galleys sent from Venice to Egypt had been attacked by a French galleon under the command of a Maltese corsair, the first time such a vessel had threatened Venetian shipping in the Levant.[12] As a result, within a week of Giustiniani's arrival in Venice he was summoned by the Council of Ten for a private meeting. No details of the discussion were divulged, but it was said to have continued late into the night.[13]

Frustratingly, Marin Sanuto's *Diarii*, our main source for Giustiniani's activities in Venice, makes no further mention of him until the spring of the 1531, more than a year after this meeting took place. In consequence, it is not known whether Giustinani remained in Venice during this time, and if so in what capacity. What we do know, however, is that the months immediately following this secret audience with the Council of Ten directly coincided with the first concerted attempts by *La Serenissima* to build a galleon of its own in the Venetian arsenal.[14] Moreover, it seems that "Devil Chaser" Contarini, Giustiniani's eventual fellow renegade, openly entertained hopes of being named this galleon's commander. Less than two weeks after Giustiniani was summoned to the Council, in fact, Contarini offered to captain this new vessel, and to sail it "to the west, to defend the Flanders galleys" [in other words, to the Atlantic, as an escort to the convoy of ships sent annually from Venice to the Low Countries].[15]

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[10] On 18 March, 1530, Sanuto records: "*Heri zonse in questa terra sier Zuan Francesco Justinian qu. Sier Nicolò, da san Barnaba, vien di Franza, el qual hessendo patron di uno suo galion [a blank in the text follows this passage]*." Sanuto, LIII:232.

[11] See John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Conway Press, 2003).

[12] Letter from Hironimo da Pexaro, written 29 Jan 1530, in Sanuto, LII: 620-621.

[13] Recorded on 25 March 1530: *"Il Serenissimo con il Collegio et li Cai di X si reduseno ad aldir Sier Zuan Francesco Justinian qu. Sier Nicolò da San Barnaba, stato 9 anni fuora, et è stato in India, et stetteno ad aldirlo fino hore [blank] di notte."* Sanuto, LIII: 73. See also Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 225.

[14] This vessel was funded in the spring of 1530 and "varato" in August of the same year. See Sanuto, LIII: 431.

[15] See Sanuto's note for 6 April 1530: *"mandandolo in Ponente farà che le galie di Fiandra anderà segure."* Sanuto, LIII: 124.

Keeping in mind the original motivation for building this vessel, namely, a series of attacks against Venetian shipping by a Maltese corsair in a French-built galleon, this timeline therefore presents us with a series of intriguing possibilities regarding Giustinani's activities during the months following his return to Venice. Might the Council of Ten, for strategic reasons, have blocked Giustiniani from returning to France, thereby interrupting his plans to build and command an "Indian fleet" for King Francis? Might Giustiniani have then been asked to offer his expertise to Venice as it attempted for the first time to build its own galleon? Might Giustiniani have agreed, but on condition that he would accompany Contarini in sailing this vessel to the Atlantic? And might he have hoped that such an expedition, if successful, could serve as the prelude to something analogous to his agreement with the King of France: an eventual return to India at the commander of a Venetian fleet of galleons?

Based on existing evidence, all of this must remain a plausible but unproven scenario. But if any of it is true, Giustiniani must have been gravely disappointed when, in May of 1531, command of this new Venetian galleon was instead awarded to a different man, Bertuzi Contarini, a distant relative of "the Devil Chaser" with no plans to sail to the Atlantic.[16] Moreover, this would also explain why, almost immediately after this decision to grant command to Bertuzi, both Giustiniani and "Devil Chaser" Contarini abruptly left for Istanbul, departing Venice "*insalutato hospite*" in Sanuto's words.[17] Suggestively, both men also headed to the Ottoman capital with the intention of securing a naval commission. And although, in Contarini's case, exactly *what* commission this might be was left unspecified before his death, in Giustiniani's case it was perfectly clear, and directly connected to his earlier proposal to the King of France. According to Francesco Bernardo, Venice's bailo in Istanbul and the first to report Giustiniani's presence in the city, he came "to secure an appointment in the armada that the Sultan intends to send through the Red Sea against the Indians and the Portuguese, he being a maritime man and much practiced in those seas."[18]

[16] Sanuto, LIV: 441.

[17] The exact date of their respective departures is not recorded, and they seem to have traveled separately. But since both had arrived in Istanbul by mid-August, they must have left Venice before the end of June.

[18] *"è andato a Constantinopoli per aver dal Signor turcho qualche cargo su l'armada che'l vol mandar per il Mar Rosso contra indiani et portogalesi, per esser homo maritimo et praticho in quelli mari."* Sanuto, LV: 37.

In the service of the sultan

This Ottoman expedition to India, actively planned since at least 1529, was itself the brainchild of two leading figures at the Ottoman court with their own deep connections to Venice: Ibrahim Pasha, the sultan's grand vizier and a native of the Venetian colony of Parga in the south Adriatic, and his advisor Alvise Gritti, the illegitimate son of the former bailo Andrea Gritti (and Venice's doge since 1523). As a result, it is likely that Giustiniani, either directly or through intermediate channels, had been actively recruited by these two men, who recognized in Giustiniani one of the few Venetians with both direct knowledge of Portuguese Asia and with technical expertise in oceanic navigation.[19] For that matter, it seems that, for the Venetian diplomats in the city, the involvement of a fellow countryman in an Ottoman expedition against Portuguese India was not entirely unwelcome, given the threat the Portuguese represented to Venice's own trade in Indian spices.[20]

In any case, the importance for Giustiniani of this web of Venetian contacts would become apparent within just a few weeks of his arrival in Istanbul, when a Portuguese Jew recognized him from Lisbon and accused him of being a Portuguese spy. The charges were taken seriously, such that Giustinani was promptly arrested and spent a night in prison. But he was released the next day when both Bernardo and Gritti appeared before the Grand Vizier and publicly vouched for Giustiniani as a "Venetian nobleman" known to both of them.[21]

Thereafter, Giustiniani quickly gained the confidence of his new Ottoman hosts. In January 1532, less than three months after his brief arrest, the vice bailo Piero Zen sent to Venice another update on his activities, explaining that Kemankeş Ahmed, the grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet and Ibrahim Pasha's cousin, "now loves [Giustiniani] well, and brings him to the arsenal whenever he desires." Revealingly, Zen also confirmed that Giustiniani had begun to use this new position to make himself useful to the Venetian diplomat, passing on to him information about work in the

[19] During these same years, in fact, Ibrahim Pasha also successfully recruited to Istanbul one of the surviving members of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe, probably Antonio Pigafetta (also a subject of Venice). See Dejanirah Couto, "Autour du Globe. La carte Hazine n°1825 de la bibliothèque du Palais de Topkapi, Istanbul," *Revue du Comité français de Cartographie, Cartes é Géomatique: Cartes marines d'une technique à une culture*, 216 (2013): 119-134.
[20] Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 34-52. More generally, see Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2008).
[21] These events were reported in a letter sent on 25 October 1531. Sanuto, LV: 232, cited in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 224.

arsenal and rumors about plans for the coming summer sailing season. In exchange, Giustinani asked—and received—permission for his exiled brother, Vincenzo, to return to Venice.[22]

In his correspondence with Zen, Giustinani also revealed more specifics about his evolving personal ambitions since arriving in Istanbul. While continuing to speak enthusiastically about an expedition to India, he insisted on the importance of "dissuading them [the Ottomans] from their current plans to send a fleet [to India] through Suez." Instead, reviving a version of the same proposal he had made to the King of France three years earlier, Giustiniani advocated that the sultan "send the expedition through the Strait of Gibraltar, by arming galleys from Dubrovnik which [Giustiniani] would command, and become himself governor [of India]."[23] To this end, he claimed to have already received the considerable sum of 1,000 ducats to finance such a plan, although he insisted that this was a "gift" that he "had not asked for," apparently implying that he was still a free man without any specific obligations to the Ottoman state.

Regrets, I've had a few

At this point, roughly six months after Giustiniani's arrival in the Ottoman capital, he was clearly invested in presenting himself as a sort of "independent contractor" rather a renegade, serving according to his own terms as an expert on Indian affairs, and remaining fundamentally loyal to his Venetian homeland as a result. But the complex politics of the Ottoman capital, and the precarious realities of his new position, were already making this pretense difficult to maintain. For although his two patrons, Alvise Gritti and Ibrahim Pasha, remained supportive of an eventual expedition to India, the empire also faced the more pressing problem of an intensifying naval war with Andrea Doria's fleet in the Mediterranean. Thus, as the summer sailing season of 1532 approached, Giustinani faced rising pressure to lay aside his plans to return to Asia and to take up arms as an Ottoman galley commander in the Mediterranean.

This prospect seems to have provoked a deep crisis of conscience for Giustiniani, revealed in exceptional detail in another of Pietro Zen's letters, sent from

[22] Letter from Piero Zen, written in Constantinople on 30 Jan 1532. Sanuto, LV: 618.
[23] "*fa profession di la India a disconsejar questi a tuor quella impresa per la via di Suez, dicendo sara' difficulta' et voria si andasse a ditta impresa per la via dil streto di Zibilterra et armar le galie ragusee e lui esser capitanio di quelle e haver quell governo*." Sanuto, LV: 618.

Istanbul on 21 March, 1532, in which he records a lengthy conversation with the renegade. It begins with Giustiniani telling Zen that the grand admiral, Kemankeş Ahmed, had become increasingly dependent on him, "never spending an hour without him either in the arsenal or in the artillery foundry," but that the grand vizier had instead begun to insist that he accept a commission in one of the galleys soon headed for Rhodes. Giustiniani had at first demurred, professing "respect for the commanders already in Ottoman service." But this had prompted a saucy rebuke from the corsair Kurdoğlu, who told him: "You have no respect! We are all obedient to the Grand Signor."[24]

Giustiniani then confided to Zen that he "did not want to go, saying that he is a good Christian, who loves his faith, and believed that to accept would be against Christian principles." Moreover, "he worried about what certain people, who don't know how things are, might say about him." But he concluded: "I am in their hands; I can't do otherwise."[25] Zen answered: "May God be the one to illuminate your soul. We are at peace with the sultan and wish him well. But as you know, you are a Venetian and a noble, and for your many virtues you maintain a good reputation. Think of what your peers and friends will say."[26] To which Giustinani responded dejectedly: "I recognize all of this, but force does not recognize reason."[27]

Intriguingly, Zen then turned the subject of their conversation back to the expedition to India, and brightened Giustiniani's spirits as he considered how a commission in the Mediterranean might bring him closer to a return to Asia after all. As he told Zen, "now is the time to take ten ships from those the Sultan is sending west and, when I sail with the armada, go with them through the Gibraltar Strait and lead that expedition."[28] In response, Zen agreed to inform the Venetian fleet of this

[24] "*Zuan Francesco Justinian mi ha ditto questo capitano mai lo lassa, non sta hora senza lui in l'Arsenal o a le fucine di le artellarie, el bassa' volea al tutto l'andasse con queste prime 20 galie a Rodi, lui dice haverli risposto non voler per rispeto a questi sui capitani. Curtogli li ha parlato, dicendo non habbi respeto, tutti semo obedienti al Gran Signor*." Sanuto, LVI: 105.
[25] "*Lui non voria andar, dicendo e' bon Cristiano, amator de la sua fede et pensa el contrario cerca li principi cristiani, et quelo che diran li popoli, li quali non sanno come passano le cose… sono ne le sue man, non posso far altramente*." Sanuto, LVI: 105.
[26] "*Conclusi Iddio sia quello che illumine l'animo Vostro. Siamo in pace con questo Signor, desideramo ogni suo ben. Come sapete, sete venetiano et nobile, et per le virtu' vostre tenite bon nome, pensate quelo dirano li emuli vostri et gli amici*." Sanuto, LVI: 106, quoted in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 226.
[27] "*Disse, cognosso el tutto, ma la forza non cognosse la raxon*." Sanuto, LVI: 106.
[28] "*Questo è il tempo de tuor 10 nave de quelle ne capiterano et acompagnato con l'armata, tirarme fuor dil stretto de Zibiltera, et andar a quella impresa*." Sanuto, LVI: 106, quoted in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 226.

possibility, and to forward to them instructions not to block Giustiniani's way should he attempt such a venture.

Kissing the pasha's hand

As Giustiniani must have known, his plan to sail through Gibraltar and around Africa—risky under any circumstances—was completely unrealistic with the existing ships in the Ottoman fleet, none of which were designed for an oceanic voyage.[29] In fact, it seems that the resourceful renegade would soon use precisely this argument to strike a compromise with Ibrahim Pasha, allowing him to successfully avoid taking up arms in the Ottoman Mediterranean while at the same bringing him a step closer to an eventual return to India.

On 26 April 1532, a month after his report of Giustiniani's "crisis of conscience," Pietro Zen wrote another letter from Istanbul affirming that Giustiniani had now "kissed the hand of the Magnificent Pasha [i.e. Ibrahim]," meaning that he had finally agreed to formally enter Ottoman service. In exchange, Ibrahim granted him an annual salary of 20,000 *akçes* and ordered him "to build two *galleons* [my emphasis], according to his own design, for a voyage to India, and to take these, together with some other vessels, and go through the Straits of Gibraltar."[30] At the same time, Ibrahim himself revealed to Zen that he intended to personally travel to Egypt to oversee the completion of the Ottoman fleet in Suez, in order to ensure that it would be ready to set sail by the following year. Since Giustiniani had estimated that his own trip around Africa would take approximately six months, Ibrahim instructed him "to join the other fleet of the Grand Signor that will be in those seas, that is, the Arabian Sea" by the following summer.[31]

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[29] In fact, there are strong arguments to suggest that, because of the combination of currents and prevailing winds at the entrance to the Straits of Gibraltar, a direct voyage from Istanbul through the Straits and around Africa would have been close to impossible under almost any circumstances using technology from the sixteenth century. On the problems of navigation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, see John Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 12-24.

[30] "*Missier Zuan Francesco Justinian mi ha ditto haver basà la man al magnifico bassà, et quelli haverli donato 20 mila aspri, et ordinate fazi far do galioni a la voia sua per l'India et con qualche altro navilio vadi in streto di Gibilterra."* Sanuto, LVI:312, quoted in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 226.

[31] *"Per conzonzersi con l'altra armata di questo Signor sara' in quelli mari, zoè ne l'arabico, et li ha ditto fra 6 mexi tornerà. Et ha fato comandamenti a preparar l'armar per Sues; et che'l ditto bassà li ha ditto vol andar al Cairo per meter ordine a quello el vorà.*" Sanuto, LVI:312.

Based on what we know of the political circumstances of April 1532, it comes as a considerable surprise to learn that Ibrahim Pasha was by this time still actively allocating resources for the India expedition, apparently to the point of planning to travel to Egypt himself. In my own earlier work, I argued that because Ibrahim was at the same time preparing to lead an Ottoman land campaign against the Safavids, he must have indefinitely postponed the India expedition by no later than the early months of 1532.[32] Nevertheless, Zen's letter seems to be corroborated by an even later entry in an Ottoman account register, in which "Francesco, a Frankish architect," appears as the recipient of 20,000 *akçes*—precisely the sum quoted by Zen—for "expenses related to a new ship he has built."[33]

Having concluded this agreement with the grand vizier, Giustiniani began his new assignment in the arsenal, about which he continued to regularly update the *Serenissima* with privileged information. However, as a regular salaried employee of the Ottoman fleet, he now did so more discretely, through private letters to his brother Vincenzo and his uncle Sebastiano in Venice, who then shared them with the Council of Ten in secret.[34] One unhappy result of this, from the historian's perspective, is that the contents of these letters remained confidential and are not recorded in Sanuto's *Diarii*. Nevertheless, there are at least a few crucial facts that become clear from what indirect evidence has been preserved. First, thanks to his duties in the arsenal, Giustiniani was indeed able to successfully avoid active service in the sultan's Mediterranean fleet throughout the sailing season of 1532. Second, he did *not* set sail for the Straits of Gibraltar and, from there, to the Indian Ocean as he had hoped, presumably because Ibrahim Pasha never left for Egypt as promised. Even so, by early 1533, Giustiniani was still confident enough that the Ottoman fleet in Suez would leave for India that summer that he was said to be preparing for the sultan "nautical charts of the route to Calicut."[35]

[32] Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration,* 50-51.
[33] The entry is dated 16 Receb 940 (31 January 1534): "*Efrenc mimar Françesko'ya yeni insa ettigi bir geminin insa masrafı olarak 20.000 akce verildi*." Istanbul, *BOA,* KK. 1863, 110. Quoted in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 226, based on a reference provided by Idris Bostan.
[34] See Sanuto, LVI:267; LVI:272; LVI:710; LVII:302; LVII:643.
[35] According to a letter from Hironymus of Zara to King Ferdinand, sent from Istanbul on 3 March 1533, "Justiniano…ha fatto qui charte da navigar del viazo de Cholocut e offertosi condur armata de li." The letter was discovered in Belgium's Archives Géneral du Royaume by Alain Servantie. See AGR SEA 766- diètes 1532-1533 f° 129-131, quoted in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 221.

Dark clouds on the horizon

Unfortunately for Giustiniani, by the spring of 1533 the political winds in Istanbul were changing once more, and by no means in his favor. Ibrahim Pasha had now left the capital for the Safavid front, precluding any possibility that he would instead head to Egypt. Meanwhile, in the Peloponnesus, Spanish forces under the command of Andrea Doria appeared more threatening than ever, having consolidated their hold on the Ottoman fortress of Coron. Partly as a consequence of this, the Sultan dismissed Kemankeş Ahmed from his duties as grand admiral, replacing him with a newcomer to Istanbul, the corsair Hayreddin Barbarossa.

Thus, as spring turned to summer and the new admiral prepared to confront Doria's fleet directly, Giustiniani once again found himself under pressure to accept a commission in the Mediterranean (specifically, to lead a squadron of ten galleys to Coron). According to a letter from Piero Zen, written from Istanbul on 12 May, Giustinani had appealed directly to Alvise Gritti in protest, expressing "pain and regret" at the prospect of leading a Mediterranean campaign against his fellow Christians. But Gritti's reply was simple and unyielding: "You've taken their money, now you must serve them.[36]

And yet, as several reports from the following months attest, it seems that Giustinani was able to repeat his trick of avoiding active galley service by making himself useful in the Ottoman arsenal, and by talking up the potential of his much-anticipated galleons.[37] By early 1534, he even seems to have completed at least one of them, a vessel described by a Spanish eyewitness in Coron, who also confirmed Giustiniani's plans to build several more.[38] And in June 1534, Daniello de Ludovisi, the outgoing secretary to the bailo in Istanbul, wrote in his *relazione* to the Venetian Senate that "near Istanbul, there is lumber that has been cut for five galleons to be sent [to India] by way of Gibraltar, according to the reckoning of Francesco Giustiniani, who appears extremely eager for such an expedition, and of which he claims to have expert knowledge."[39] Ludovisi opined that "this Giustinani, from what I gather from our

[36] Sanuto, LVIII: 303, quoted in quoted in Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 227.
[37] See the letters of Piero Zen, written from Istanbul on 10 June and 10 July, 1533. Sanuto, LVIII: 445, 574.
[38] Servantie, "Gian-Francesco Justinian," 222.
[39] "*v'è il legname tagliato presso Costantinopoli per far cinque galeoni, e mandarli per la via di Gibilterra secondo che ne ragiona messer Francesco Giustiniano, il qual dimostra di aspirar molto a quest'impresa, quale egli fa professione di ben intendere*." Eugenio Alberi, ed., *Le Relazioni degli Ambascatori Veneti al Senato* (Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1839-1863), series 3, vol. 3, 23-4.

conversation (having not had other dealings with him), seems to be a clever man, and from his speech appears to be quite experienced in the navigation of those parts, about which I can say nothing more, having no knowledge myself."[40] But in a cautious side note, he added: "The expedition, as far as I have been able to understand, seems at the moment unfeasible, considering how many other events have intervened."[41]

Ludovisi's caution was warranted, for despite Giustiniani's continued "eagerness," there were clear signs that his position was growing more isolated than ever. His main supporters in the capital were gone: Alvise Gritti had left for Hungary (where, in September of that year, he would be killed), while Ibrahim Pasha, still on campaign in Iraq, even tried to requisition for other purposes the lumber for Giustinani's galleons.[42] Meanwhile, the new grand admiral, Hayreddin Barbarossa, had never supported Giustiniani, whom he viewed as a protégé of his predecessor and a man of uncertain loyalties. His suspicion is clearly captured in an anonymous source from that year, describing Giustiniani as employed in the arsenal to build ships "for an expedition to the Portuguese Indies…even though they have no great or perfect confidence in him, as he is a Christian and Venetian, and pay him only fifty aspers a day."[43]

Indeed, it seems that by this time Giustinani's fading prospects had begun to take their toll on the renegade, to the point that he began exploring the possibility (however unlikely) of an eventual repatriation to Venice. According to Ludovisi, Giustinani came to him "making great demonstrations of affection towards the Most Serene Doge, and lamenting his tenuous fate, for which he had wandered the world to raise himself up, and instead had sunk to such depths."[44] His final words to the Venetian secretary were

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[40] "*Il qual Giustiniano, per quanto ho potuto comprendere avendo con lui ragionato (che altrove non ho avuto di lui pratica), mi par di buon ingegno, e per il parlar suo fa dimostrazione di gran pratica di quelle navigazioni, di che io non posso rendere altro testimonio, non ne avendo cognizione*." Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, series 3, vol. 3, 23-4.

[41] "*La quale empresa, per quanto ho potuto intendere e comprendere, non par che, intervenendo molti altri rispetti, si possa al presente mettere in effetto*." Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, series 3, vol. 3, 24.

[42] According to Ludovisi: "*Volendo Ibrahim adoperar detto legname nelle galere, il predetto Giustiniano gli aveva scritto per non lasciar che fosse mutato l'ordine delli detti galeoni*." Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, series 3, vol. 3, 19.

[43] "*Pour aller en l'entreprise des Indes de Portugal, le dit messire Jehan est le principal qui s'entend ausditz ouvrages et affaires de mer, nonobstant ne ont grande ny parfaite fiance en luy pour ce qu'il est crestien et vénétien, et ne luy donnent que cincquante aspri par jour*." In Léon Dorez, ed., *Itinéraire de Jérôme Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople, 1544* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), 200, n. 2. The source is undated but refers to the recent appointment of Hayreddin as admiral (in 1533).

[44] "*Egli mi ha parlato con dimostrazione di molt'affezione alla serenità vostra, dolendosi della tenuità della sua fortuna che lo fa vagare per ritrovar modo di sollevarsi da quella, avendo maggior animo che di star così in bassezza*." Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, series 3, vol. 3, 23.

a message to the Doge (Alvise Gritti's father, Andrea) "that if there were something he could do for His Most Serene Highness, he should be pleased to let him know, and he would do anything in his power to carry it out as his faithful servant."[45]

A return to the Indies?

With Ludovisi's account of 1534, we are at the terminus of the trail of Venetian sources documenting Giustinani's life, as Sanuto's *Diarii* end in 1533 and there no additional published Venetian relazioni from the rest of the decade. While there may be significant unpublished material still waiting to be uncovered in the archives of Venice, for the moment our knowledge of his final years is therefore limited to a handful of passing references preserved elsewhere, notably in Lisbon and Istanbul. Yet fragmentary as they are, these sources show quite clearly that Giustiniani's career in Ottoman service was to continue, and with an unexpected final act yet to be performed.

Our first clue in this regard is an Ottoman pay registry, recently identified by Gülru Necipoğlu, showing clearly that between 1534 and 1537 Giustiniani remained employed in Istanbul, but in a most unexpected capacity: neither as a shipwright in the arsenal nor as a galley captain, but rather as a member of the corps of imperial architects. In addition, the same document shows that he was initially paid 50 *akçes* a day (the figure also given in the anonymous source from 1534 cited above), but that by 1537 his salary was raised to 60 *akçes* a day—making him, at that point, more highly paid than even the sultan's chief architect, Alaüddin.[46]

What could be behind this change in status? While speculative, one possible explanation is that Giustiniani's salary was purposefully moved from the arsenal to the corps of architects to take him out of the jurisdiction of the grand admiral, such that he could avoid Barbarossa's demands to serve as a galley commander. If true, the timing of his eventual pay raise might also give an indication of a possible new patron for Giustiniani: Hadim Süleyman Pasha, who at the beginning of 1537 was promoted to

[45] "*lui potesse far cosa di servizio alla serenità vostra, quella sia contenta di fargli intendere l'intenzione sua, perchè secondo quella egli non mancheria da buon servidore in fare ogni possibile opera*." Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, series 3, vol. 3, 23.

[46] Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Aesthetics of Empire: Arts, Politics, and Commerce in the Construction of Sultan Süleyman's Magnificence," in Pál Fodor, ed., *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siegeof Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Miklós Zrinyi*, *1566*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 122-123.

the rank of vizier and sent to Egypt, where he began feverish preparations to finally send an Ottoman fleet to India.[47]

This impression is reinforced by a second piece of evidence, a dispatch sent to the king of Portugal from Pedro de Sousa de Tavora, the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, in July 1537. In his letter, de Tavora included an intriguing report by a Portuguese sailor, recently arrived in Rome, with news of two other Portuguese seamen who had been captured in the Arabian Sea sometime in the previous year. According to the sailor, these men were brought to Egypt, and then sent to Istanbul to be questioned by "a certain Giovanni Francesco Giustiniani, a Venetian, who was previously in Portugal, and in whom the Grand Turk relies upon for advice regarding the affairs of India."[48] Tavora estimated that this interview had taken place in October of the previous year, and affirmed that preparations for the long-delayed Ottoman expedition to India had picked up considerably since then. Moreover, he reported that, "sometime around Easter" 1537, Giovanni Francesco was himself sent to Egypt "as an advisor, and to oversee the fleet's preparation, and to serve as a master pilot."[49]

For Giustiniani, this was an extraordinary turn of events, which could not possibly have been timed more auspiciously. For only a few weeks after Tavora wrote this letter, in August 1537, war would break out between Venice and the Ottomans following the surprise Ottoman siege of Corfu. Had Giustiniani still been in Istanbul, this would have put him in an extremely difficult position, probably to the point of making it impossible to avoid service in the Mediterranean fleet—and to take up arms in a war against Venice. Instead, it seems that the renegade's luck had once again turned, finally bringing within reach his long-awaited chance to sail to India.

This brings us to the last, tantalizing clue to survive from the end of Giustinani's career, preserved in an important narrative source from Portuguese Asia, Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da Índia*. Correia's chronicle is noteworthy for containing the most complete description of the large Ottoman fleet that, after nearly a decade of delays, finally set sail for India from Suez in summer of 1538 under the command of Hadim Suleyman.[50] And here, in a section describing the many Christian captives who were

[47] Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration,* 55-56.
[48] "*E depois forom entregues a hum Joham Francisco Justiniano, Venezeano, que ja esteve em Portugal, de que ho gram turco faz gram conta per as cousas da India*." *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez,* 15 vols. (Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1846), III: 396.
[49] "*ao Johão Francisco justiniano mandou que fosse por sobreentendente e conselheyro e como piloto moor*." *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez*, III: 397.
[50] On this expedition, see Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration,* 53-65.

impressed into service by the Pasha, Correia mentions in passing "a captain of ten galleys, a Venetian, named Francisco, who entered Turkish service voluntarily, being a great expert in galley warfare. He brought with him eight hundred Christians from various nations, who fought for money alongside him."[51]

Admittedly, Correia's account does not include the surname of this "Francisco," and in other respects his description seems to disagree with what we know of Giustinani's career up to that point (particularly his demonstrated unwillingness, in previous years, to serve as a galley captain). As a result, it seems likely that Correia at least partially confused Giustinani with one of several other Venetian renegades who are known to have participated in this expedition. But intriguingly, the same passage in Correia's chronicle also indicates that the Ottoman armada included at least five vessels clearly described as "galleons," an unexpected affirmation that is nevertheless corroborated by several other contemporary sources.[52] Can we therefore conclude that Giustiniani had a hand in building these innovative, ocean-going ships, which are not known to have been deployed in any other Ottoman fleet of the sixteenth century? Based on the available evidence, this is impossible to answer with certainty, particularly since Correia's account suggests that these ships were built previously in India.[53] But whether or not he had a hand in building them, it seems hard to believe that, after a decade of self-promotion as an expert in the use of galleons for oceanic navigation, Giustiniani was not at least captaining one of these vessels when he finally returned to India with the Ottoman fleet of 1538.

What was Giustiniani's fate after this oceanic crossing, which culminated in the month-long Ottoman siege of the Portuguese fortress of Diu? What role did Giustinani play in this bloody and ultimately failed attack? Did he fall in battle? Did he safely return to Ottoman territory and continue his service in the Ottoman arsenal? Or is it possible that he, like so many other members of India's Ottoman diaspora (many of whom, like Giustiniani, were originally Italian), once more changed sides and took up service with

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[51] "*Vinha hum capitão de dez gales, veneziano, chamado myce Francisco, que vencia ordenado do Turquo de sua vontade, porque era grande homem da guerra de gales; trazia em sua companhia oitocentos christãos de diversas nações, que ganhavão soldo com elle.*" Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia,* Ed. M. Lopes de Almeida, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1858–1864), tomo 3, pt. 2, 870.

[52] See Giancarlo Casale, "Ottoman Warships in the Indian Ocean Armada of 1538: A Qualitative and Statistical Analysis," in Dejanirah Couto, Feza Günergün and Maria Pia Pedani, eds., *Seapower, Technology and Trade: Studies in Turkish Maritime History* (Istanbul: Denizler Kitabevi, 2014), 89-102.

[53] See Correia, *Lendas da Índia,* 869-871. The same view is not corroborated by other contemporary sources.

a local ruler in South Asia?[54] For the moment, these are all questions to which we have no answers. But, with any luck, future research may well reveal still more chapters in the global life story of this most remarkable individual.

[54] On India's "Rumi diaspora," see Giancarlo Casale, "The Ethnic Composition of Ottoman Ship Crews and the 'Rumi Challenge' to Portuguese Identity," *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), 122-144.

8

Le dîner des ambassadeurs: Micro-Global Comparisons and the Franco-Siamese Embassies of 1685-88

Giorgio Riello
European University Institute

The Franco-Siamese embassies of 1685-88 are a well-known topic in seventeenth-century transcultural diplomatic history. They have been widely studied, especially by French historians, since the second half of the nineteenth century. More recently, Thai scholars have also provided much-needed reflections on the Siamese side of these ambassadorial exchanges. Part of the enduring appeal of the Franco-Siamese embassies derives from their scale, publicity and frequency: over the space of just four years, two embassies from Siam arrived in France and two from France reached Siam.[1]

Early modern diplomatic exchanges across Eurasia were, for the most part, one-off affairs. A recent exhibition entitled *Visiteurs de Versailles* (held in Versailles in 2017-18) confirms that embassies from Asia to France were not uncommon.[2] The same was the case for other European states, where ambassadors from as far as Persia, Japan and the Congo were received in the course of the seventeenth century. Likewise, Siam had a cosmopolitan court, sending and receiving short- and long-distance embassies for most of the century.[3] Yet what distinguished the Franco-

[1] See especially Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: Apports culturels* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993); Dirk van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West, 1500-1700*, trans. Michael Smithies (Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2002).
[2] Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide and Bertrand Rondot, eds., *Visiteurs de Versailles. Voyageurs, princes, ambassadeurs (1682-1789)* (Paris: Gallimard, 2017).
[3] Dhiravat na Pombejra, *Siamese Court Life in the Seventeenth Century as Depicted in European Sources* (Bangkok: Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, 2001), 122-67; Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam*, passim.

Siamese embassies is the fact that they happened in quick succession over a short span of time, generating a great deal of materials including diaries, reports, correspondence, prints and paintings, and inventories of the artefacts presented as gifts. The second peculiarity of the Franco-Siamese exchange is its overall failure to generate a long-standing cultural connection. Going against the grain of much connected history that sees diplomacy as one of the tools to foster cultural communication, the enormous effort that went into the four Franco-Siamese embassies ended with the breakdown of diplomatic relations following the Siamese revolution of 1688.

This short paper considers the Franco-Siamese embassies as a way to connect diplomatic history with what is now called 'global microhistory'. Jorge Flores has been one of the most inspiring scholars working on cultural exchange and diplomacy. He has engaged with microhistorical methodologies for the study of wider – one might say – global contexts of analysis.[4] This so-called 'New Diplomatic History' has made an important intervention in 'provincializing Europe'; equally, by embracing global methodologies, it has cast new perspectives on the transcultural encounter, connectivity and exchange. [5]

My aim here is more modest: connection has been central to the ways in which embassies have been analysed. This framework has been particularly effective in considering cultural variables and at producing nuanced global cultural histories. In contrast, social scientists have adopted comparisons as a methodological tool of analysis. Roy Bin Wong and Kenneth Pomeranz have called upon global historians to employ "reciprocal comparisons" across Eurasia in particular, using China and Western Europe as benchmarks against which to compare each other.[6] While the

[4] See, among many, Jorge Flores, *Goa and the Great Mughal* (Lisbon and London: Calouste Gulbenkian Museum and Scala Publishers, 2004); Rudi Matthee and Jorge Flores, eds., *Portugal, the Persian Gulf and Safavid Persia* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011); and his recent *Unwanted Neighbours: The Mughals, the Portuguese, and Their Frontier Zones* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

[5] Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, "Introduction," in Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds., *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1-32. The term 'New Diplomatic History' first appeared in John Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008): 1-14. See also Maartje van Gelder and Tijana Krstić, eds., Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean, *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no. 2-3 (2015); Toby Osborne and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds., Diplomacy and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern World, *Journal of Early Modern History* 20, no. 4 (2016).

[6] Philippe Dangeau, *Journal du marquis de Dangeau*, 19 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1854-60), 1: 378; Michael Smithies, "The Travels in France of the Siamese Ambassadors 1686-7," *Journal of the Siam Society* 77, no. 2 (1989), 62-9.

emphasis on connectivity has been micro (through individuals, places, events, artefacts and commodities), comparisons have tended to be more 'macro' (often comparing entire economies, empires, societies, etc.). My aim here is to see whether there is an opportunity for comparative methodologies to be applied to the 'micro' world of embassies and so discover in what ways 'micro-global comparisons' (as I call them) might help us develop a new kind of global history.

The embassies

From an interest in Chinoiserie, Siamoiserie and the exotic in the late nineteenth century to more recent histories of diplomacy, the reception of the Siamese ambassadors at Louis XIV's court in September 1686 has received particular attention. The procession of the Thai ambassadors from Paris to Versailles and their progress from the port of Brest, where they had landed three months earlier in June 1686, were described in great detail in four volumes of the *Mercure Galant*, the official publication of the court at Versailles, and in numerous *mémoires*. Kosa Pan, its chief ambassador, became something of a celebrity in France not only because of his exotic appearance, but also thanks to his extensive knowledge of both French culture and diplomatic and ambassadorial etiquette.[7]

The reception at Versailles, however, is only a piece in a larger puzzle which extended far beyond the court and the borders of France. Louis XIV was partially involved in developing a diplomatic exchange with Siam because when the French Compagnie des Indes started operating in the Indian Ocean in the 1660s, it found itself in a subaltern position compared to the Portuguese Carreira da Índia, as well as the English and the Dutch East India companies.[8] Searching for a base in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, Siam was singled out as an important stepping stone to the Chinese market. The kingdom had significant trade with China and Japan: its capital, Ayutthaya, was known as the 'Emporium of the East'. It was a centre for the spice trade from Southeast Asia, Chinese porcelain and silk textiles, Japanese copper and local produce and hides. The English and Dutch companies had had factories in Siam since the 1610s: by the time the French strengthened their position, the Dutch had

[7] Smithies, "Travels in France," 59-70.
[8] Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, ca. 1604-1765* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

achieved great influence. Moreover, by the 1670s both the French Missions Étrangères and the Portuguese Jesuits had a strong presence in Siam, as Christianity was tolerated partially because the Jesuits' knowledge of solar eclipses was much appreciated by the court. This explains why a diplomatic letter sent by Phra Narai, the king of Siam, as early as 1673 to several European nations was addressed both to the king of France and Pope Clement IX. In the following years, rumour had it that Phra Narai might convert to Catholicism. This was taken as an additional incentive for Louis XIV to reciprocate an act of ambassadorial exchange that originated not in Europe but in Siam.

A dinner in Brest

One of the beauties of dealing with diplomatic history is the abundance of primary sources on events that are both exceptional and recurrent in political and court life. Just as the exchange of precious gifts was key to the success of embassies, also integral to diplomatic exchanges were a series of splendid banquets in the visitors' honour.[9] The Franco-Siamese embassies were no exception: reading the several diaries and recounts of these embassies, one is struck by the scale of the entertainment and the number of banquets held. During the so-called first Siamese embassy to France (December 1685 to March 1687), the Siamese ambassadors were granted no less than sixteen separate audiences and around the same number of banquets.[10] One such event was a dinner given in late June 1686 in Brest, a few days after the Asian ambassadors landed in Britany.

A dinner is a rather microscopic way of addressing either diplomatic history or even this specific embassy. This dinner was not even as important as those that would follow in Paris, and nothing of consequence happened. In Grendi's categorisation of the "exceptional normal", this was probably the most normal of the exceptional ambassadorial banquets. The dinner is recounted by Abbé Bénigne Vachet, who was part of the French ambassadorial entourage: he noted in his short text the music, the food and, most importantly, the behaviour of the Thai ambassadors. To quote it:

[9] On the gifts exchanged by the Franco-Siamese embassies, see my "With Great Pomp and Magnificence": Royal Gifts and the Embassies between Siam and France in the late Seventeenth Century', in Biedermann, Gerritsen and Riello, eds., *Global Gifts*, 235-65; and Meredith Martin, "Mirror Reflections: Louis XIV, Phra Narai, and the Material Culture of Kingship," *Art History*, 4, no. 3 (2015): 653-67. On banquets, see, for instance, Michel Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words: Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance*, trans. by Jeremy Whiteley and Emma Hughes (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).
[10] Smithies, 'The Travels in France of the Siamese Ambassadors 1686-7', 68.

> Hardly had we entered the house than the mayor and magistrates of the town appeared to address the ambassadors and offer them presents, consisting of wine, preserves, confectionary, candies and various fruits in season. The intendant's wife had assembled all the ladies of Brest, dressed in their finest, who saluted the ambassadors as they entered the main hall. This was the first time in their lives that the ambassadors had the honour to kiss foreign ladies on the cheek, about which, for fear of surprising them, they [the ladies] had been alerted. The first ambassador took the hand of the intendant's wife, who led him into a magnificent room where a splendid meal awaited. At nine in the evening, a table with twenty-four places with the most delectable dishes was served. In addition to this table, there were six others with eight places, which were all served at the same time. Throughout the meal, there was music, and from time to time some fine singers performed. Finally they broke up to let the ambassadors rest. What surprised me was to notice that our first ambassador [Kosa Pan] was not in the least embarrassed, and he played his part to perfection, which I thought a good augury for the future. It is indeed true that during the sea voyage we had often discussed the ceremonies and customs of France, with the result that they did not appear so novel as they would to a man who had never heard of them previously.[11]

We are lucky to have another description of the very same dinner at Brest in late June 1686. It is a unique record, a fragment of the narration penned by Kosa Pan that was left in France when the embassy departed. Vachet, previously the narrator, is here the object of analysis. It is worth citing this narrative in full:

> In the evening that day, Monsieur l'Intendant came to take us three Thai envoys to dinner on the floor below. I took my seat on the especially provided chair. Those who came to dinner with us were as follows: the city governor, Monsieur l'Intendant, Monsieur Or-li-vé [Olivet?], Monsieur Vaudricourt the captain of the ship [the *Oiseau*], and Fr. Vachet. At the start of the dinner, food was brought and placed upon the table in five large trays. One tray contained

[11] "Voyage et séjour des envoyés Siamois en France. Mémoire de Bénigne Vachet," in Adrien Launay, ed., *Histoire de la mission de Siam, 1662-1811: documents historiques*, 2 vols. (Paris: Douniol and Retaux, 1920), 1: 181.

pork, one tray was for mutton, one for the beef, and two for the duck and chicken. The food mentioned [here] was meant to be eaten with bread.

After eating these, the trays were taken away one by one. Then new trays were brought in containing grilled and roasted food, fried and fresh vegetables, boiled and roasted peas, totalling seventeen trays. Two of these trays were for chicken and duck, one for grilled mutton, one for buttered and grilled whole baby pork, one for grilled goat's meat, one for mixed grills, chicken, birds, and pork grilled and put together.

Every tray of grilled meat had parsley set around the food. One of the trays contained grilled mutton, another fried breaded chicken. One salad tray contained several vegetables topped with vinegar and salad oil, another tray for many kinds of succulent herbs, also topped with vinegar and salad oil. One tray was for boiled artichokes that looked like our ta-not-bua-khon or lotus suckers, one for fried potatoes, another tray for a pan-fried vegetable called ka-pe-ra-ya [champignon] that looked like our rāk-sām-sip or arrowroot, one tray for pan-fried bean-pods similar to our thua-kiu-nāng, one for a kind of peas like our thua-phū (winged beans) by the name of pra-chau [pois jaunes]. This kind of pea was very popular with the French people; a tray of cooked beans of this kind would cost as much as ten francs. One tray was for another kind of pan-fried peas, known as feau [fève]. They looked similar to our thua-phra-bāt. These varieties of food were served to us one at a time and were eaten while drinking red grape wine diluted with water.

After finishing these, the trays were taken away and three more trays containing deserts and five kinds of fruit brought in. One kind of fruit, called frabuya [franboise], was red and sour and looked like our thom-ma-nā. Another kind, which called fre-se [fraise], looked like our lūk-ta-lot-nam, tasting sour and sweet. Then there was sé-ri-sa [cerise], looking like our lūk-ta-khop, tasting sour and sweet. Another kind was called pa-ron [prune], similar to our phum-ma-riang, somewhat sour. The fruit, if eaten fresh, was topped with sugar, syrup, or cream. [….] There were three kinds of drinks. The red wine

was drunk while eating bread. The white wine flavoured with cinnamon, and a yellowish wine made from grapes, were served after the meal.[12]

Micro-global comparisons

The difference from Vachet's recount could not be more striking: Vachet makes no reference at all to food, a feast that to his eyes would have appeared quite ordinary. He observed instead what we might call the socio-cultural context of this dinner, underlining manners and protocol: the kissing of foreign ladies (and the fact that such ladies had been warned in advance of what was going to come) and the social skills shown by Kosa Pan, notwithstanding the cultural and linguistic barriers. Vachet adds authority when he suggests that Kosa Pan's performance derived from the knowledge that Siamese ambassadors had acquired from Vachet himself during their six-month-long voyage from Siam to France on a French vessel.

In contrast, in Kosa Pan's report there is no reference to time, music or French manners. The entire narrative is about the food and how it was served. Kosa Pan notes the ka-pe-ra-ya [champignon] that looked like arrowroot, the tray of pan-fried bean-pods and the peas similar to other Thai delicacies. He records the French names of *fèves*, *franboises*, *fraises*, *cerises* and *prunes*. The detail is both overwhelming and arresting.

We know from French sources that no expense was spared to entertain the Siamese ambassadors. M. Torf, in charge of their stay, recounts that they had 120 pounds of meat, six pounds of rice and an entrée of veal, followed by more entrees of meat; soups and clear soups, roosters, pigeons, roast beef, chickens and more were offered for dinner, including rabbits, turkeys, fruit, salads, wines and spirits at a total cost of 262 livres a day.[13]

But the point here is not the gluttony of the Siamese ambassadors but a very precise view of what they saw or at least thought noteworthy when recounting their embassy. This extract comes from a fragment of the diary/report kept by Kosa Pan intended for the king of Siam. He was following precise instructions to record everything that he saw and anyone he met. While the rest of the report (probably

[12] Kosa Pan, *The Diary of Kosa Pan (Ok-Phra Wisut Sunthon) Thai Ambassador to France, June-July 1686*, eds. Dirk Van der Cruysse and Michael Smithies (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2002), 46-7.
[13] Auguste-Alphonse Étienne-Gallois, *L'ambassade de Siam au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Typographie E. Panckoucke et Cie., 1862), 97.

several thousand pages long) was brought back to Siam, it is unknown why the fragment of the first two weeks was left in France. Long lost, it was rediscovered only in the 1980s: the rest was probably lost in the fire that engulfed the Siamese royal archives and palace in 1744.[14]

The two perspectives on a dinner that took place in Brest in 1686 are just a small example of a different – and flexible – mode of comparative analysis that, while being micro in its analysis of a specific event (and not even a very important one, for that matter), draws us to think about a global context. It should be noted that most global comparative history tends to focus on differences and similarities between units that are not just large-scale, but also most commonly spatial or geographical. The dinner in Brest considers instead different perspectives on the same event, highlighting cultural difference, as well as diverging narrative strategies and an understanding of socio-cultural contexts. Language and translation has become an important field of research in global history, as it captures the complex act of creating commensurability, especially in highly charged situations such as embassies, the signing of treatises and other court protocols. Yet - in line with much anthropological literature - mental structures, perspectives and diverging outlooks on social and natural phenomena are also among the topics highlighted by such an episode.

One of the problems of using such a microscopic case as a specific dinner is whether this dinner can be representative of anything. Is the difference the result of individual idiolect, or does it stand for wider cultural differences? The more one goes microscopic, the more one finds it difficult to give meaning to a comparison, in this case of the same event. One could actually compare the meals offered in France to the Siamese and those offered in Siam to the French. This is an equally interesting exercise, as all of a sudden the French are not reticent at all in observing in great detail the profusion of strange foods put in front of them. During the first embassy to Siam, for instance, the governor of Bangkok sent a boat full of fruit, fowls, ducks and pork.[15] The embassy also received food from the French East India Company, including 300 chickens, ten pigs, 40 ducks, coconuts, oranges and lemons.[16] The listing of foodstuffs

[14] Pan, *The Diary of Kosa Pan*, 14. The *Oiseau* and the *Maligne*, the two French ships transporting both the French and Siamese ambassadors, arrived in Brest on 18 June 1686. The fragment of 66 pages starts two days later (20 June) and covers the first two weeks (4 July) of the first Siamese embassy. Ibid., 11 and 17.
[15] Abbé François-timoleon de Choisy, *Journal du voyage de Siam fait en 1685 et 1686 par Monsieur d'abbé de Choisy* (Paris: S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1687), 184 and 189.
[16] Ibid., 186.

seems to characterise the narratives of guests in foreign cultures more than those of the hosts.

Part of the exercise is not to compare entire systems (what is an embassy in Siam and what is it in France?) but to relativize points of view. The type of 'micro-global comparison' I am suggesting is not about establishing measures of similarity or difference, but using the micro to address global frameworks such as embassies, providing a way into the narratives and perspectives of the different actors involved. Comparisons do not have to be limited to either the French or the Siamese, and they certainly do not need to be confined to assessing factual differences. Perception is key, for instance, in the French assessment of how their first embassy performed in Siam. At the same time that the French embassy was in Siam, an embassy arrived from Iran.[17] If one reads the French sources, they tell you that the Persians were much better placed, as they had excellent knowledge of Siamese etiquette and the court in Siam was heavily "Persianised". Yet the account by the Persians tells a different story, lamenting "our lack of familiarity with the Siamese protocol and the fact that we were not led by a clever ambassador and counselled by an intelligent guide who knew the Siamese language made our situation all the more difficult."[18]

Conclusion

This short paper is an attempt to reflect on the methodologies of micro-global history. Rather than comparing entire embassies or even different countries such as France and Siam, this paper has considered a very precise event. Yet the microscopic lens used is important because it allows us to reflect (comparatively and reflexively) on wider attitudes and perspectives that go well beyond a specific 'dîner des ambassadeurs'. The two sources are unremarkable and unique respectively, highlighting a further problem for global history. While a source such as Vachet's narrative is both expected and common in European archives, the same cannot be said of Kosa Pan's piece, the survival of which still defies easy explanation. This modest comparative exercise is more a suggestion than a fully developed proposal for

[17] Ibn Muhammad Ibrahīm*, The Ship of Sulaimān*, trans. John O'Kane (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1972).
[18] Ibrāhīm*, The Ship of Sulaimān*, 77. – Dear Irene, lets put these 2 footnoes in Times New Roman, 10,5 – otherwise the Arabic transliteration won't work – no one will realize…

discussion on what micro-global methods and methodologies of historical enquiry might look like.

Part III

THE TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION (MATERIALS, SOURCES AND TRANSLATIONS)

9

GEORGIAN IMAGINATIONS: Marco Polo Variations on the Kingdom of the Caucasus

Alicia Lohmann and Thomas Ertl
University of Heidelberg and Freie Universität Berlin

The authors of medieval travelogues not only wanted to impart knowledge to their readers, but also to offer them entertainment. Their reports therefore contain empirically obtained information about foreign countries and people, as well as fictitious descriptions of miracles, monsters and other exotic phenomena. This mixture of facts and fiction was shaped by the travel experience and the expectations of travelers and their audience. From a modern perspective, medieval travelogues therefore contain information about ethnographic, historical and topographical conditions in distant countries while also being testimonies to European ideas about these foreign places. These ideas were based on biblical and antique models, older medieval travelogues, and epoch-spanning topoi of external perception. In addition, medieval travelogues served the authors as a critical examination and comparison with the conditions in their homelands.[1]

These complex genesis and objectives especially apply to the Marco Polo travelogue.[2] More than 140 copies of Polo's travel report are known today. Already during the lifetime of the traveller, the report was one of the most popular such pieces of the Middle Ages. The lively interest in the text led to the fact that numerous copyists not only reproduced the text, but also translated it into various languages, changing it

[1] Cf. Folker Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China. Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), 170–196.
[2] Martin Gosman, "Marco Polo's Voyages: The Conflict Between Confirmation and Observation," in Zweder von Martels, ed., *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 72-84.

in the process.[3] The original version, original language and manuscript transmission have been much discussed issues in Marco Polo research for decades.[4] Less intensively discussed, however, are the changes to the content of these manuscripts. This is a stimulating question because it looks at the transformation of medieval imaginations of foreign spaces and the influence of the contexts in which the manuscripts were created.

The late medieval transformation of the travelogue will be examined using the chapter on Georgia as an example. It is uncertain whether Marco Polo actually set foot on Georgian soil. However, this is of secondary importance. The Georgia chapter lends itself to such a study for reasons of content, as it contains many characteristic elements of the travel report. The author remarks on historical, commercial, ethnographic and topographical topics, but also relates historical and religious legends. Georgia was a special imaginary space: although it was a Christian country on the fringes of ecumenical Christianity, from a Western European perspective it was still a little-known exotic kingdom.

To shed light on the Western European perception of Georgia in different versions of the travelogue, the Latin translation by the Dominican monk Francesco Pipino and the Franco-Italian version are compared. They are the two most frequently handed-down manuscripts. In addition, the Zelada manuscript, which is also in Latin and not discovered until 1932, is also used. Transcriptions of the texts can be found in the appendix.[5]

The Franco-Italian version of the travelogue has survived in about 20 manuscripts. The prologue of these manuscripts explains that Marco Polo, on his return, was imprisoned by the Genoese together with the poet Rustichello da Pisa. Polo asked Rustichello to write down his experiences.[6] Rustichello had already written courtly literature for the English King Edward I. Thus, he was familiar with writing

[3] Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Âge. Traduction, diffusion et réception du Devisement du monde* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).
[4] Barbara Wehr, "À propos de la génèse du 'Devisament dou monde' de Marco Polo," in Maria Selig, Barbara Frank and Jörg Hartmann, eds., *Le passage de l'écrit des langues romanes* (Tübingen: Narr, 1993), 299-326.
[5] Alvaro Barbieri, *Marco Polo. Milione. Redazione latina del manoscritto Z. Versione italiana a fronte* (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo/Ugo Guanda Editore, 2008); Justin V. Prášek, *Marka Pavlova z Benátek, Milion. Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s přislušnym základem latinskym* (Prag: České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1902); Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Marco Polo. Il Milione. Prima edizione integrale* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1928).
[6] Cf. Marina Münkler, *Marco Polo. Leben und Legende* (München: C.H. Beck, 2015), 82.

courtly epics and novels, incorporating this into his travelogue:[7] "Marco Polo's contribution was limited [...] to the provision of the material basis and to the oral presentation of his experiences. Rustichello gave them the right linguistic polish and a literary form."[8] Elise Guignard also claims that Rustichello's western educational heritage found its way into the travelogue. According to Guignard, the travelogue shows a mixture of literary and everyday language. This also speaks for the double authorship.[9] The Franco-Italian version and its first French translation were tailored to a highly aristocratic and courtly audience; together, they reveal most clearly the "fiction-literary strand in the history of transmission and impact of the book."[10]

Francesco Pipino, a monk of the Dominican monastery of San Domenico in Bologna, translated the travelogue from a Venetian original into Latin, probably during the lifetime of Marco Polo between 1310 and 1314/17. In addition to the translation, Pipino composed a chronicle of the history of Western Europe and a treatise on the places of the Holy Land. The Latin version was important for dissemination, since the use of Latin opened up the travelogue to learned circles and thus to a wider European audience. Barbara Wehr points out the translation's Christian purpose, which is not only evident within the prologue, but also through negative evaluations of and intolerance towards other religions and non-Christian customs within the report.[11] Folker Reichert speaks in this context of a spiritually admonishing accent. And indeed, the translation is the most widely used version. It also differs from other manuscripts in its structure, brevity and objectivity.[12] Also noticeable is that the elements attributed to Rustichello da Pisa are missing from this version.

The Zelada Codex of the Toledo Cathedral Library represents a special discovery. The unusual title comes from to the former owner, Cardinal Francisco Xavier de Zelada. The latter lent the manuscript for copying to the Paduan Giuseppe Toaldo. It

[7] See Dietmar Rieger, "Marco Polo und Rustichello da Pisa. Der Reisende und sein Erzähler," in Xenja von Ertzdorff, Dieter Neukirch and Rudolf Schulz, eds., R*eisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992), 293.
[8] Folker Reichert, *Asien und Europa. Studien zur Geschichte des Reisens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 214.
[9] Cf. Elise Guignard, *Marco Polo, Die Wunder der Welt. Die Reise nach China an den Hof des Kublai Khan. Il Milione. Übersetzung aus altfranzösischen und lateinischen Quellen und Nachwort* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 2018), 395f.
[10] Reichert, *Asien und Europa*, 217.
[11] See Barbara Wehr, "Zum Reisebericht von Marco Polo in der lateinischen Fassung von Fra Pipino da Bologna," in Hubert Petersmann and Rudolf Kettemann, eds., *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif. Actes du V. Colloque International sur le Latin Vulgaire et Tardif: Heidelberg, 5 – 8 septembre 1997* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1999), 119.
[12] Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China*, 160f.

was discovered in 1932 and can probably be traced back to the Franco-Italian version, since the prologue of Rustichello's version is found here slightly modified. The Franco-Italian version scarcely contributed to the travelogue's further distribution and was probably written before Pipino's translation. The discovery of the manuscript stimulated discussion about the original version, as there are sections that cannot be found in any other version. In the first section of the Zelada Codex, some reductions have been made, while the Indian islands and countries in particular are described in detail. Similar to Fra Pipino's translation, there are remarks against Islam in some places. Nevertheless, pagan beliefs are described very neutrally. Furthermore, there are always additions in which Marco Polo is listed as the guarantor of the descriptions in order to emphasize the credibility of the text. Additionally, the report focuses on ethnographic, natural history and medical aspects.[13]

Power relations, geography, trade

Basically, the structure of the Marco Polo travel report is very heterogeneous. However, in most cases the description of the countries, provinces and cities follows a pattern. First, countries, provinces and cities are named and their geographical location and accessibility indicated. The local people are then ethnographically classified and their cultural characteristics highlighted. Finally, local commercial goods and markets are described and their quality assessed. However, these components are weighted and ordered differently. The chapter on Georgia also follows this structure.[14]

Formally, the chapter is much shorter in the Latin translation by Francesco Pipino. Overall, the translation is characterised by clear structure and brevity. The chapter on Georgia is nevertheless one of those chapters that was not abbreviated, as a comparison with the other text versions makes clear. The chapter seems to have had special relevance for Pipino. Within the Zelada manuscript, however, the section on Georgia is much more detailed than in the other two versions. This, too, is not surprising, since the Zelada manuscript contains numerous additions that cannot be found in any other version. The basic chapter structure and the arrangement of the subject areas hardly vary. However, the thematic areas are weighted differently in each case. In all three versions, the chapter on Georgia has different headings. While

[13] Cf. Münkler, *Marco Polo*, 87–89; Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China*, 157–157.
[14] See Münkler, *Marco Polo*, 62–71.

the Franco-Italian version, according to the headline, focuses on the Georgian king and Georgian habits, the Zelada version wants to tell about the Georgian king and his life. The heading in Pipino's Latin version soberly announces that it will report on the province of Georgia. The Zelada manuscript in particular does not live up to its claim, as the Georgian king is only a marginal aspect of the multifaceted chapter. What is particularly striking about the structure, however, is that only in the Franco-Italian version does Marco Polo is mentioned personally as author who leads the reader through the chapter.

Georgia is referred to in the three versions as a province instead of a kingdom. This was either to illustrate its subordination to the Mongol Empire or ignorance of the Georgian political order. In other chapters, a distinction is made between kingdoms and provinces.[15] The inconsistency is particularly striking because all three traditions report that Georgia is ruled by a king. The Franco-Italian and Zelada manuscripts also state that the king was always and at all times called *David Melic*, meaning King David. The Arabic word *Melik*, which was used in several languages, means prince or king.[16] Based on this word, William Marsden assumed that Polo got his information from Arab or Mongolian informants.[17] During Polo's trip, King Dawit Narin ruled over the western part of Georgia. Before his flight to West Georgia, Dawit Narin had ruled over the entire kingdom of Georgia together with Dawit Ulu.[18] However, the Georgian Bagratid dynasty contained numerous rulers with the name Dawit, even after the deaths of Dawit Narin and Dawit Ulus.[19] But the mention of King David leads in another direction. The Georgian Bagratids traced the origin of their dynasty back to the biblical King David. The family tree that proved this ancestry was from the middle of the 11th century in the work of Sumbat Dawitisdse, "which begins with Adam and leads through King David, Solomon and Joseph to Guaram, the founding father of the Bagratids."[20] Sumbat Dawitisdse was also concerned with "proof of the inseparable affiliation of this

[15] E.g. the description of the kingdom of Cherman in Marco Polo's travelogue, where an exact differentiation is made.
[16] See Philippe Ménard, *Marco Polo. Le devisement du monde. Tome I. Départ des voyageurs et traversée de la Perse* (Genève: Droz, 2001), 194; M. G. Pauthier, *Le livre de Marco Polo citoyen de Venise conseiller prive et commissaire imperial de Khoubilai-Khaan* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1865), 39f.
[17] Cf. Thomas Wright, *The Travels of Marco Polo – The Venetian. The Translation of Marsden Revised, with a Selection of His Notes* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 32.
[18] Cf. Heinz Fähnrich, *Geschichte Georgiens* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 239–247.
[19] For an overview of the Bagratid kings of Georgia, see Fähnrich, *Georgien*, 514f.
[20] Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Zur ideologischen Bedeutung Jerusalems für das orthodoxe Christentum," in Thomas Pratsch, ed., *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), 254.

dynasty with Christianity."[21] However, Yule also notes that the name David could be a misunderstanding of the title Dadiani, which the princes of Mingrelia bore.[22] This would be another explanation for the fact that the king was always and at all times called David.

An additional piece of information about the kings of the Georgians remains a mystery. In the Zelada and Franco-Italian manuscripts, it is reported that the kings of the Georgians were born in antiquity with signs of the eagle on their right shoulder. Pipino's translation also contains this story. However, the sign of the eagle is above the shoulder here. Later editors provide little information regarding the eagle. The only explanation given by Marsden and Ménard is that this was a reference to the coat of arms of the *Palaiologos dynasty,* the last Greek dynasty of the Eastern Roman Empire.[23] This explanation is not very satisfactory. At this point, it must be emphasized that Georgia's relationship with the Eastern Roman Empire was always highly variable. Neither the Armenian nor the Georgian Bagratids had the eagle as their heraldic animal. Certainly, the eagle has a symbolic function. As a symbol, it stands for divine and ruling power and combines the qualities of farsightedness, strength, prowess, power and courage. It is precisely these characteristics that have been attributed to the Georgians since the twelfth century, as Polo's chapter shows. The Georgians were valued for their military strength and for their Christian faith. In addition, the eagle is mentioned in numerous biblical passages. Here the eagle becomes a symbol of the love of God and the believer, the hope of resurrection, ascension and the fight against evil. Tales from the Physiologus, such as the story of the rejuvenation of the eagle by submergence in a spring, a symbol of baptism, were also widespread. The eagle has always been considered a symbol of kingship. In these terms, the eagle could also illustrate the election of the ruler.[24]

Further considerations lead to Greek mythology. The eagle was regarded as the messenger of the highest gods. Georgia is connected with the legend of Prometheus.

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[21] Fähnrich, *Georgien*, 36.

[22] Cf. Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Translated and Edited, with Notes, by Colonel Sir Henry Yule. Third Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier* (London: John Murray, 1903), 53. The title 'Dadiani' probably goes back to the first prince of Mingrelia, the progenitor Vardan I. Dadiani.

[23] The dynasty ruled from 1259 to 1453 and had the Byzantine double eagle on its coat of arms. Cf. Ménard, *Marco Polo*, 194; Wright, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, 33f.

[24] Cf. Lieselotte Wehrhahn-Stauch, "Art. Adler," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, Freiburg i.B. 1968: 70–76.

After his crime, Prometheus was brought to the Caucasus by Zeus and chained to a rock. An eagle ate from his liver every day, which was renewed again and again until Heracles shot the eagle with an arrow.[25] During her reign, Queen Tamar founded the Order of Knights of the Bagratid Dynasty, the Order of the Eagle of Georgia and the Seamless Tunic of our Lord Jesus Christ to help the empire of Trapezunt. She gave Georgian knights an eagle as a distinguishing mark to differentiate them from the knights of Trapezunt.[26]

In Pipino's translation and the Franco-Italian manuscript, it is also emphasized that the Georgians pay tribute to the Tartar ruler. However, the Franco-Italian version also contradictorily informs us that the Tartars could never force the mountainous province under their rule because of its narrow passes and fortifications. The Zelada manuscript, on the other hand, does not give any information about tribute payments, but does discuss the division of the kingdom. It does not describe the division into a western and an eastern part, decided in a peace treaty between Queen Rusudan and Batu Khan in 1242, but it does explain that one part of the province was under the control of the Tartar king while the other was ruled by King David because of its fortifications.[27] The Lichi Mountains, which connect the Great and the Lesser Caucasus and divide Georgia into western and eastern parts, are probably the main theme here. The narrow mountain passes were easy to defend and thus made the independence of the western part of Georgia possible in the long run. This thesis is also supported by the subsequent addition in the Zelada manuscript, which reports that in these fortifications and mountains are forests where the only wood available is boxwood. The Lichi Mountains separate the western Kolchian Plain and the eastern Transcaucasian depression. The Kolchian Plain, where the Kolchian boxwood grows, stretches as far as the Black Sea.[28] As early as the sixth century BC, the kingdom of Colchis was established on the east coast of the Black Sea. The Greeks established trading settlements on the coast and intensive trade contacts developed. Wood was already being exported at this time. The boxwood tree was named after the ancient landscape of Colchis.[29] In the last third of the thirteenth century, during Marco Polo's

[25] See Fähnrich, *Georgien*, p. 32.
[26] No scholarly literature on the order can be found. The official website of the Royal House of Georgia provides some information about it: http://www.royalhouseofgeorgia.ge/p/eng/435/order-eagle-of-georgia.
[27] On the division of the kingdom cf. Fähnrich, *Georgien*, 237.
[28] On the geography of Georgia see ibid., 8f., 241.
[29] On the Kingdom of Colchis cf. ibid., 79–86.

trip, trading colonies were founded on the Black Sea. Henry Yule points out that in West Georgia boxwood became an important commodity in the Genoese trade.[30]

Furthermore, these assumptions are confirmed by the next addition in the Zelada manuscript. It is reported that the province looks out onto two seas. One was the Great Sea, which might be the Black Sea. Towards the east there was the Abaco Sea, which is said to resemble a lake because it did not mix with another sea. This refers to the Caspian Sea, which has no outflows and is therefore the largest lake on earth. All the manuscript traditions deal with the Caspian Sea in different ways. The Zelada manuscript also returns to the Caspian Sea at the end of the chapter. In all three versions, the Caspian Sea bears the name Glevechelan in different spellings. In the Zelada manuscript, it is also called Abaco. Later editors explain that the Caspian Sea had different names in all the regions it borders. They also found an explanation for the use of the names Glevechelan and Abaco, which are said to go back to the province of Gilan and the region around Baku.[31] While the Franco-Italian version gives a shore length, the Zelada manuscript and Pipino's translation give the circumference of the Caspian Sea. Only in the specification of the distance from the Caspian Sea to other seas are the varying traditions in agreement.

According to the Franco-Italian version, the Euphrates, the Tigris and other rivers flow into the Caspian Sea. The Zelada manuscript adds that the River Gyon discharges into the Caspian. The Gyon means the Nile. But Francesco Pipino's explanation stands out, as it reports concretely only about the Euphrates while also interpreting it as one of the four rivers of paradise. At the same time, other rivers flow into the Caspian Sea, creating bays surrounded on all sides by mountains. The descriptions once again illustrate the ignorance of the geographical conditions.

The Zelada manuscript alone also provides information about the presence of islands with beautiful cities in the Caspian Sea, inhabited by peoples who fled from the Great Tartar as he passed through the province or kingdom of Persia. Thus, the Zelada manuscript refers to the Mongol attack on Choresmians under the leadership of Genghis Khan from 1219 onwards, and that some Choresmians, such as Shah Muhammad II, fled from the Mongols to islands in the Caspian. Another unique feature of the Zelada manuscript is its emphasis on the variety of fish species in the Caspian

[30] Cf. Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco,* 57.
[31] See Wright, *The Travels of Marco Polo,* 33; Pauthier, *Marco Polo,* 43f.; Ménard, *Marco Polo*, 196; Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 58f.

Sea. Even today, sturgeons, as well as salmon and other large fish, live in this body of water. Moreover, only in the Zelada manuscript is the city of Tbilisi highlighted, with its castles and forts and its Christian, Armenian, Georgian, Saracen and Jewish populations. In 1226, the Choresmians took the city of Tbilisi and destroyed large parts of it. Shortly afterwards the Mongols conquered the city. As the most important commercial centre, Tbilisi always had a high proportion of immigrant inhabitants and a high degree of religious diversity. Dawit IV left behind a strong Georgian state after his death. His policy was characterized by a pronounced tolerance towards other religions and peoples, which is why more and more different nationalities settled down there. Followers of Islam were granted privileges in the commercial centre of Tbilisi, as these sections of the population had an important share in commercial transactions.[32]

Early on, Marco Polo was considered by researchers to be an example of the 'merchant adventurer', who overcame the narrowness of medieval society and viewed the world from the perspective of the merchant.[33] His report was considered a classic merchant's manual with a primary interest in trading the riches of Asia, one which only acquired its literary character through Rustichello da Pisa. However, Polo never described himself as a merchant, and his information was ultimately of limited use for trading along the Silk Road.[34] This leads us to the description of Georgia's trade goods. The natives are judged by all the manuscript traditions as capable workers and merchants. The Franco-Italian version also emphasizes that the people do not suffer lack and are active in agriculture. Pipino stresses that the land is very fertile. Both of these versions describe the occurrence of hawks. The Caucasus offers diverse fauna, including the hawk. In the Middle Ages, the hawk was a popular bird of prey for hunting and was known especially in courtly circles.[35]

Another important aspect within the chapter is the production of silk. Francesco Pipino and the Franco-Italian version emphasize the production of beautiful silk scarves and gold woven fabrics. At the end of the chapter, both versions return to silk, informing us about Ghella or Ghilian silk. Various editors point out that this refers to the well-known silk production in the northern Iranian province of Gilan on the Caspian

[32] See Fähnrich, *Georgien*, 200f.
[33] Münkler, *Marco Polo*, 104.
[34] Cf. ibid., 103–111; Reichert, *Asien und Europa*, 201–204.
[35] Cf. Christian Hünemörder, "Art. Greifvögel," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999: col. 1696–1698.

Sea.[36] The mention of Gilan silk also confirms once again the assumption that the sea described in this chapter is indeed the Caspian Sea. The Zelada manuscript, on the other hand, mentions Syrian and useful things in the cities and castles, emphasizing the production of Syrian golden cloths. Only in the Zelada manuscript does the reader learn that the Caspian is sailed by Genoese merchants and that these merchants have established local trade relations.

The Georgians as Orthodox Christians and their military successes

Among all oriental Christians, the Georgians enjoyed the greatest appreciation of the Franks in the Crusader states. In general, it seems to have been a common practice in the Middle Ages to evaluate the empires of the Christian Orient on the basis of their military successes. Defeat was usually seen as divine punishment. The clichéd national character of the Georgians as a brave and warlike people was the most widely disseminated. There was also a lot of knowledge about the Georgian Orthodox Church in terms of its history, organization and doctrine.[37] Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken describes the Georgians as a nation "to which hardly any Latin speaker took even the slightest offence."[38]

This characterization has been developing since the twelfth century. After the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch, there were permanent contacts with the Georgian monasteries in the Holy Land, which had resided there since the fifth or sixth century. After the rise of the kingdom under David IV, Georgia was even more in focus. One of the first reports about the Georgians comes from Ansellus, the cantor of the Church of Resurrection in Jerusalem, who called Georgia a bastion of Christianity in the Orient. Here, David was considered the guardian of the Caucasus passes against the peoples of the end times. But other historians also highlighted successful military actions against Islam and pointed to the Georgians' outstanding bravery and prowess with arms. In his chronicle, William of Tyre characterized the Georgian people as tall, strong and armed.[39] Ultimately, he

[36] Ménard, *Marco Polo*, 196; Yule and Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, 58f.; Wright, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, 36; Pauthier, *Marco Polo*, 44f.
[37] Cf. Peter Halfter, "Von den Kreuzfahrerstaaten in das Königreich Georgien," *Le muséon* 121 (2008), 431–434.
[38] Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 103.
[39] See Peter Halfter, "Georgien und die Georgier in den abendländischen Geschichtsquellen des hohen Mittelalters," *Le muséon* 125 (2012), 369–371.

established “a tradition of national stereotypes that permeated the literature of the Crusader states.”[40] The description of Palestine by an unknown European traveller also created a lasting impression. From this report, a variety of new knowledge about the Georgians emerged, such as the veneration of St George, their Greek Orthodox liturgy and peculiarities of the Eucharist. Care for head and facial hair, headgear and tonsure were also described.[41]

In his *Historia Hierosolimitana,* Jacob of Vitry describes the cult of St George, characterizes him as a helper in the fight against the infidels and testifies to the reverence of Islamic forces towards Georgia under the Tamar government in the Holy Places. With his *Historia Tartarorum,* Simon de Saint-Quentin offered the most comprehensive medieval account of Georgia, which contains important knowledge about the history and organization of the Georgian church. The subordination to the patriarchate of Antioch and the emergence of the autocephalous catholicosate were presented here for the first time.[42]

Until well into the thirteenth century, it was above all the characterization by William of Tyre, which was taken up and spread by the anonymous description of Palestine, that shaped the idea of the Georgians.[43] This national characterization can also be found in all three manuscript traditions of Marco Polo's travelogue. The military strength of the Georgians and their abilities as archers and soldiers are emphasized. At the same time, the manuscripts also provide information about the Georgians as Orthodox Christians, as followers of the Greek rite. All three traditions contain information about the tonsure of the clergy.

The miracle story of the monastery of St Leonhard

The story of the monastery of St Leonhard is exemplary for the crucial significance of miracle stories in Polo’s travelogue. In an otherwise fish-poor body of water near the monastery, a large number of fish suddenly appeared during Lent. During the forty-day fasting period, the Quadragesima, the consumption of meat from warm-blooded animals was forbidden. In the Middle Ages, the main fasting food was fish, a substitute for meat. The renunciation during Lent was a challenge for various social classes, as

[40] Ibid., 371.
[41] Cf. ibid., 378.
[42] Cf. ibid., 383–408.
[43] Cf. ibid.417.

there was a lack of nutritious substitute products, and those that did exist were particularly expensive.[44] All three traditions agree that the miracle lasted from the first day of Lent until Holy Saturday, the eve of Easter. The Zelada manuscript and Francesco Pipino use the term “Quadragesima” for Lent. In the Zelada manuscript, the Easter Vigil is explained in more detail with the reference “Resurrection of the Lord”. In the Franco-Italian version and in Pipino's translation, there is talk of a lake fed by water from the mountains, while according to the Zelada manuscript the miracle took place in a spring. In all three traditions, the miracle takes place at the monastery of St or Blessed Leonhard. Pipino's translation adds that the saint was St Leonhard of the East. It is striking that the Franco-Italian version speaks of a convent. All versions emphasize the abundance of fish, although the Zelada manuscript adds that most fish were present during the Easter Vigil. Here, fishing is also classified as a miracle, but the Franco-Italian version speaks only of a wonderful story. Only in the Franco-Italian version is the lake of the monastery linguistically clearly separated from the Caspian Sea. In Pipino's translation, the lake near the monastery is equated with the Caspian. The Zelada manuscript provides no further information about the body of water.

A localization of the monastery is not possible. Explanations for the miracle include fish spawning behaviour and a rise in water levels due to the melting of snow in the spring, which creates streams. Many species of fish spawn in the spring and migrate up rivers to reach their spawning grounds. The fish can be caught in tributaries during these months. Similar occurrences were noted by other travellers. Several subsequent editors have also pointed out that Wilbrand's *Itinerary of Oldenburg* contains a similar story about a castle near Anazarbos in Cilicia.[45]

> At the foot of this castle a river flows, which rushes with great force from the mountains of Hormenia and the neighbourhood. Three days before and three days after Palm Sunday, just as on the feast day itself, the river gives out from its source, where it springs or emerges, such an abundance of fish that they are carried away on chariots and hemming horses by all those who flow

[44] Heinrich Schipperges, “Art. Fasten, -zeiten, -dispensen. Fastenpraxis und ihre soziokulturellen Aspekte. Medizinische Aspekte,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999: 305–306; Helmut Hundsbichler, “Art. Fasten, -zeiten, -dispensen. Fastenpraxis und ihre soziokulturellen Aspekte. Soziokulturelle Aspekte,” *ibidem* 306.
[45] Cf. Ménard, *Marco Polo*, 196; Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 57f.; Pauthier, *Marco Polo*, 42–44; Wright, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, 35.

> together there from all over the land. This river and its miracle are said to have been given to them by St John the Baptist, for he is said to have struck the rock and the waters flowed.[46]

Despite the similarities, however, the time and place are different; moreover, the miracle in this story was caused by John the Baptist. The special thing about Polo's miracle story is the mention of St Leonhard. In the eleventh century, the Leonhard cult arose, which spread rapidly over France to the south and east. As the patron saint of prisoners, his vita spread eastwards through the Crusades.[47] In the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, there is a description of the miracles of St Leonhard. As a friar of Jacobus, Francesco Pipino must have known the *Legenda Aurea*. The story reads as follows:

> So he built himself a monastery on the site, and lived there with two monks who had joined him in great abstinence. But when the water was a mile away from them, the saint made a dry well dug in the depths, and when he prayed, it was full of water. But the place itself he called Nobiliacum, because it had been given to him by a noble king. There he worked great miracles.[48]

In the Middle Ages and even in ancient times, there were numerous such nutritional wonders. The miracle helped the faithful of the monastery to overcome their everyday worries with an abundance of fish during Lent. At the same time, miracles of nutrition that happened to God-fearing Orthodox Christians made it clear that they could trust in the intervention of heaven in times of need. The miracle described here thus once again makes clear to the reader the Orthodoxy of the Georgian Christians who lived on the margins of Christian ecumenism.[49]

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[46] Johann Christian Moritz Laurent, *Wilbrands von Oldenburg Reise nach Palaestina und Kleinasien lateinisch und deutsch mit erklärenden Anmerkungen und einer Biographie des Verfassers* (Hamburg: Theodor Gottlieb Meissner, 1859), 57.
[47] On Saint Leonhard cf. Josef Dünninger, "Art. Leonhard von Noblac", *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, 1974: 394–398; Günther Kapfhammer, *Sankt Leonhard zu Ehren* (Rosenheim: Rosenheimer Verlag, 1977); Britta Klemenz, ed., *Sankt Leonhard zu Ehren. 550 Jahre Leonhardikirche in Fürstenfeldbruck* (Furstenfeldbruck, 1990); Peter Pfister, *Ihr Freunde Gottes allzugleich – Heilige und Selige im Erzbistum München und Freising* (München: Don Bosco Medien, 2003).
[48] Richard Benz, *Die Legenda aurea des Jacobus de Voragine aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1955), 855.
[49] Cf. Heinrich Günter, *Psychologie der Legende. Studien zu einer wissenschaftlichen Heiligen-Geschichte* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1949), 130.

Alexander the Great at the Derbent Pass

According to the Franco-Italian manuscript, Alexander the Great could not pass through the province of Georgia on his way to the Western Tatar Empire because of the narrow and dangerous roads. One of the paths led over the mountains and was not suitable for horseback riding, while the other traversed a steep rocky coast by the sea and was therefore easy to defend. Alexander was stopped and therefore had a tower and a fortress built. With this facility, the Iron Gate, he wanted to protect his troops from surprise attacks. At this point Alexander had surrounded the Tatars in the mountains.

This is the Derbent Pass between the Caspian Sea and the slopes of the Caucasus in present-day Russia. Ménard stresses that the attribution of the fortifications to Alexander is a local legend.[50] Only the Franco-Italian tradition explicitly mentions an episode of the Alexander novel that reports on these events. Alongside the Bible, the Alexander novel was one of the most famous legends of the European Middle Ages. The intention of the stories was to glorify Alexander the Great as a world conqueror and ruler.[51] Although the literary knowledge of the young merchant Marco Polo was limited, it can be assumed that he was familiar with the popular literary tales of his time.[52] Figures like Alexander the Great "belong to the mythical geography of Europe and were so closely linked to the perception of foreign spaces that their depiction always reminds us of the places of their history and legend."[53]

The legend of the peoples surrounded by Alexander was already present in the Pseudo-Methodius and was altered and widely spread by the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor. These authors identified the peoples as Gog and Magog or the lost tribes of Israel. When the name Tartars arose and was interpreted in reference to *Tartarus*, Leo of Naples took up this interpretation: in his version of Alexander's story, the *Historia de preliis*, he labels the peoples Alexander encircled with the collective term *tatari*, thus explaining that the Tartars were apocalyptic peoples of the end times:[54] "The destructive, truly apocalyptic advance suggested early on that one

[50] Cf. Ménard, *Marco Polo*, 195.
[51] See Joachim Gruber, "Art. Alexander der Große in Kunst und Literatur. Alexanderdichtung. Antike Literatur," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980: 355–356.
[52] Cf. ibid., 112.
[53] Ibid., 19.
[54] See Felicitas Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden: die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1994), 258–261.

should look for possibilities of identification in the rich treasure of prophecies and legends of medieval eschatology."[55] But Marco Polo turns against this interpretation of Tartars, explaining that the tribes trapped by Alexander were not Tartars but Kumans and many others. As steppe peoples, the Kumans were also associated with apocalyptic peoples. By replacing "Tatars" with "Kumans", Polo created a new version of the legend of the Iron Gate. The Georgian King David II had settled Kumans, a nomadic Turkic people of controversial origin, on Georgian territory around 1118. They were to support him in his resistance against the Seljuks and the revolting Georgian nobility.[56] Felicitas Schmieder also sees in the replacement of "Tatars" by "Kumans" a historicization of the former.[57]

In Pipino's translation, however, Alexander the Great wanted to travel to Georgia from the east along a narrow path surrounded by the sea on one side and mountains on the other. At the beginning of this path, Alexander had an iron tower built to defend himself. The reasons for the construction and the use of the tower are not clear in this version. A reference to the Kumans is not found in this version. In the Zelada manuscript, this legend is clearly shortened. It is only reported that Alexander could not cross the province and that there was a passage there that would be called the Iron Gate. There Alexander is said to have trapped the Tatars between two mountains. The reference to the Kumans is also found here. In the Franco-Italian tradition and Pipino's translation, miles are given for the narrow path, although the numbers are contradictory.

Conclusion

Although Georgia was not on Marco Polo's itinerary, his travelogue contains a rich description of the exotic kingdom on the edge of the known world and Christian ecumenism. Especially after the thirteenth century, Georgia had become a special space of imagination. The Franks had been in contact with Georgian monasteries in the Crusader states since the twelfth century. From the reign of the Georgian Queen Tamar, more intensive contacts with Western Europe took place via the Trapezunt Empire and Cyprus. From the thirteenth century, the geographical horizons of Western

[55] Ibid., 258.
[56] Cf. Hansgerd Göckenjan, "Art. Kumanen," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991: 1568–1569.
[57] See Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, 304.

Europeans broadened. Envoys, pilgrims, merchants and refugees travelled through the Caucasus and new information reached Western Europe, which lined up or merged with older characterizations. In Polo's chapter on Georgia, the mixing of the literary tradition with new knowledge can be clearly seen. Comparing the Franco-Italian tradition, Francesco Pipino's translation and the Zelada manuscript, it becomes evident how the travelogue was constantly modified and expanded by copyists and translators. The travelogue benefited from these appropriations, changes and falsifications. Not only did the actual experiences of the traveller play a role, but also the demands of the audience, who were fascinated by adventures, exotic kingdoms and the Mirabilia Mundi.

The chapter on the province of Georgia has a special position in that it contains important characteristic elements of the travelogue. The classical structure of the description of countries, provinces and cities is found here, with a special focus on political domination, trade goods, geographical conditions and ethnographic topics. Religious and historical legends are also recounted with the miracle at the monastery of St Leonhard and Alexander the Great at the Pass of Derbent. There is hardly any other chapter in the report that offers such a variety of topics. A comparison of the three manuscript traditions makes it transparent that the basic structure does not change significantly apart from the additions in the Zelada manuscript. The content remains largely the same, even if the sentence order or wording varies and new information is added from time to time. At a few points, the misunderstandings of the writers are also noticeable. The known characteristics of the individual traditions are also confirmed in this examination. The studied chapter in the Zelada manuscript is characterized by historical, natural history, mercantile, geographical and ethnographic additions that are not found in the other traditions. Overall, the additions make the chapter longer, more concrete and more informative.

Francesco Pipino's translation of the chapter, with its Christian objective, is defined, as with the rest of the translation, by brevity and objectivity. In his foreword, Pipino explains that he made the translation for the reader's consolation and for the praise of the Lord Christ, as well as to expand the Christian faith and to ensure that the name of the Lord Jesus Christ will be carried on to the blinded peoples of the unbelievers.[58] With the help of the miracle at the monastery of St Leonhard, the reader

[58] Cf. Prášek, *Marka Pavlova,* 1f.

can understand the orthodoxy and godliness of the Georgian Christians, who in the travelogue face pagan religions with non-Christian customs. At the same time, the miracle story strengthens faith in the intervention of heaven, the reliance on the work of God in times of need. Pipino also uses the information about the kingdom of Georgia to refer to the Christian Paradise tradition. He identifies the River Euphrates, which supposedly flows into the Caspian Sea, as one of the four rivers of paradise, thus suggesting the proximity of the kingdom of Georgia in the east to the earthly paradise. If the sign of the eagle on the shoulder of the kings of Georgia is indeed to be considered a symbol of divinely legitimized rule, it would be yet another means of representing the orthodoxy of the Georgians.

The Franco-Italian manuscript, which is characterised by the influence of Rustichello da Pisa, reveals most clearly the readers' demand for literary entertainment. Research has succeeded in demonstrating the various ways that Western educational materials like stories from the Alexander novel found their way into the travelogue through Rustichello. In this chapter, there is the historical legend of Alexander the Great at the Pass of Derbent. Only in the Franco-Italian manuscript is there a direct reference to an episode of the Alexander novel within the chapter.

In the literary tradition, Georgians have been considered a brave and warlike people since the twelfth century. A great deal of knowledge was also gathered in the Crusader states about the Georgian Orthodox Church. Because of their military successes and their orthodoxy, the Georgians enjoyed the greatest recognition of the Franks in the Crusader states among all Oriental Christians. Exactly this national characterization from the literary tradition is reflected unchanged in the versions of Marco Polo's travelogue. At the same time, well-known historical and religious legends are also discussed. In the three manuscript traditions, new knowledge about geographical conditions, trade goods, power relations and living habits of the kingdom in the east is added. The variety of topics in the chapter on Georgia made the content attractive not only to commercial travellers, but also to geographers, missionaries, pilgrims and adventurous readers. In addition to information from the literary tradition, numerous new insights into the distant Christian kingdom were added. Marco Polo's travelogue thus vividly demonstrates that the medieval perception of Georgia was in contant flux.

Variations on Georgia in the Book of Marco Polo

Franco-italian tradition[59]	**Zelada**[60]	**Francesco Pipino**[61]
XXIII. Ci devise dou roi des Giorgiens e de lor affer	Hic naratur de rege Iorgensi et eius esse	De provincia çorçanie, c. xiiii.
En Jorgienie a un roi qui est apelés par tout tens Davit Melic, que vaut a dir en fransois Davit roi. Et est sotpost au Tartar. Et ansienement tuit les rois de cele provence nasoient con un seigne d'aigle sor la spale destre. Il sunt belle jens et vaillant d'armes et bon archier et bon conbateor en bataie. Il sunt cristiens; et tenent la loy grecois. Les chevoil portent peitet a mainere de clerges. Et [est] cest la provence que Alexandre ne poit paser quant il vost aler au ponent por ce que la vie est estroit et dotose. Car de l'un les est la mer et de l'autre est gran montagne que ne se poent cavaucher. La vie est mout estroit entre la montagne et la mer; et	In Iorgia est quidam rex qui David Melic totis temporibus nuncupatur, quod in lingua Galica dicitur Rex David. Pars una cuius provincie subdita est Tartareo regi, reliqua vero pars, propter fortilicias quas habet, non est subdita ei, sed regi David. Et in istis fortiliciis et montibus sunt eorum nemora in quibus non est aliud lignum quam busus. Et predicta provincia duo equora prospicit, quorum unum vocatur Mare Maius, quod est a latere tramontane, alterum vero Abaco, versus orientem, quod durat in suo circuitu per duo milia .viijc. miliarium et est tanquam stagnum, quia non miscetur cum aliquo mari.	Zorçanie provincia Regem habet tartarorum regi tributarium. Fertur quod çorçanorum reges cum signo aquile supra humerum antiquitus nascebantur. Çorçani pulcri homines sunt, in armis strenui et sagittarii optimi. Christiani autem sunt ritum grecorum servantes. Capillos breves deferunt ut clerici occidentis. Fertur, quod magnus Alexander volens ad çorçanos transire non potuit, quia opertet volentes ab oriente provinciam ingredi transire per viam artam longitudinis leucarum iiiI, que a latere uno mari concluditur, ab alio montibus, ita quod paucis viris multi exercitus prohibetur accessus. Tunc

[59] Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Marco Polo. Il Milione. Prima edizione integrale* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1928), p. 16f.
[60] Alvaro Barbieri, *Marco Polo. Milione. Redazione latina del manoscritto Z. Versione italiana a fronte* (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo/Ugo Guanda Editore, 2008), pp. 12–18.
[61] Justin V. Prášek, *Marka Pavlova z Benátek, Milion. Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s přislušnym základem latinskym* (Prag: České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1902), pp. 18f.

dure cest estroit vie plus de quatre liegues, si que pou homes tendront le pas a tout le monde. Et ce fo la caxon por coi Alexandre ne poet passere. Et voc di que Alexandre hi fist fermer una tore et hi fist une fortece por coi celle jens ne poesent pasere por venir sor lui et fu apellé la port dou fer et ce est le leu que le livre Alexandre conte comant il enclouse les Tartars dedens deus montagnes. Et ce ne fu pas voir qu'il fuissent Tartar, mes furent une jens qui estoient apellés Comain et autres jenerasion assez, car Tartars n'estoient a celui tens. Il hi a viles et caustaus asés et ont soie en grant abondance et hi si laborent dras de soie et dras d'ores, les plus biaus que homes veise unques. Il ha les meillor astor dou monde. Il ha de toutes couses abundance et vivent de mercandie et de labor. La provence est tout plene de grant montagne et d'estroit pas et de fort, si que je vos di que les Tartar ne postrent unques avoir tout entermant la segnorie.	Et in eo sunt multe insule bene habitate in quibus sunt pulcre civitates. Et habitate sunt iste insule a gentibus que fugerant a fade Magni Tartari, quando ibat conquirendo per regnum sive provinciam Persie, cuius civitates et terre regebantur a comuni: que quidem gentes fugiendo reduxerunt se ad istas insulas et ad montes, ubi tutiores esse credebant; et sic habitate sunt insule ille. Item dictum mare multos pisces producit, et precipue storiones, salmones et alios magnos pisces. Antiquitus quidem omnes reges illius provincie nascebantur cum quodam signo aquile super spatulam dexteram. Et sunt in ea pulcre gentes et valentes ad arma; sunt boni arceri et pugnatores in bello. Ipsi sunt christiani et observant legem Grecorum, more clericorum parvos portantes capilos. Hec est provincia quam rex Alexander preterire non potuit. Item est quidam passus ibi qui Porta Ferea nuncupatur. Alexander inter duos	ex quo nequit ad eos accedere, voluit eos ad se prohibere accessum ibique ad vie principium turrim fortissimam elevavit quam turrim ferream nominavit. In hac provincia multe sunt civitates et castra. Serico habundant, fiuntque ibi pulcherrimi panni de serico et de auro. Astures optimi sunt. Terra fertilis est. Homines patrie mercatores sunt et operarii optimi. Ibi est sancti Leonardi orientalis monasterium monachorum, iuxta quod est lacus magnus, qui ab aquis moncium congregatur, in quo a prima die xl usque ad sabbatum sanctum capiuntur pisces habundanter. Reliquo vero tempore anni pisces ibi omnino reperiri non possunt. Dicitur autem lacus ille mare Gheluchelam, habens in giro miliaria circa DC. Distat autem ab omni mari per dietas xii. In hunc lacum ingreditur fluvius Eufrates unus de quattuor fluminibus paradisi aliaque flumina multa, ex quibus omnibus lacune fiunt et ingrediuntur

Encore hi a un monester de nonain qui est apelé sant Lionard qui a une tel mervaie com je voc contera. Sachiés qu'il hi a un grant lac d'eve qui vent d'une montagne dejoste le yglise de sant Lionard: et en cele eive que vent de cele montagne en tout l'an ne se trove nul peson, ne peitet ne grant, for tant seulmant ke le primer jorno de quaresme comencent a vinir; et venent cascu[n] jor de caresme jusque a saba sant, ce est la vigille de Pasche; et en tout cest termene i se trevent peison asez, mes en toutes les autres tens de l'an ne s'en trovent mie. Et encore voc di que la mer que je voc ai conta, qui est juste la montagne, est apellé la mer de Glevechelan, et gire environ (II^{M})VII^{c} milles et est logne de tous mer bien doce jornee et hi met dèdens le flu[n] d'Eufrautes et mai[n]tes autres flu[n]s et est tout environee de montagne et de terre. Et novelemant les marchians de Jene najerent por cel mer, car il v'ont mis leign ou il najerent. Et d'iluec vint la	montes dicitur Tartaros inclusisse, sed quod Tartari fuerint non est verum, quia tunc temporis non erant. Ymo gens quedam fuit omine Cumani, et alia genera multa fuerunt. Sunt etiam in supradicta provincia multe civitates et castra, que syrico habundant et omnibus aliis oportunis; ibidem drapi syrici et aurei laborantur. De mercimoniis et laboribus vitam ducunt. In ea est quoddam monasterium titulo beati Leonardi descriptum, iuxta quod huiusmodi habetur miraculum. Nam fons quidam iuxta ecclesiam de quodam monte desendit, in cuius aqua per totum anum nuli pisces apparent, nisi solummodo a die prima quadragesime usque ad vigiliam Pascatis, videlicet resurectionis Domini ipsorum abundantia maxima reperitur; et facto die Pascatis amplius non apparent. Mare vero iuxta montem superius nominatum Mare Geluchelan vel Mare Abacco appelatur, in quod finiunt Tigris, Gyon et	illuc. Undique hec lacune circumdate sunt montibus. In illis partibus invenitur sericum, quod vulgariter dicitur ghella.

soie que est apellé G[h]elle. Or vos avo[n]s contés de les confin d'Armenie dever tramontane. Or vos volun conter de le autre confin que sunt entre midi et levant.	Eufrates et alia flumina multa. Penes istam provinciam quedam civitas est pulcra et magna valde, nomen cuius Tyflis, circa quam multa sunt castra et burgi que isti civitati obediunt; in qua habitant christiani, scilicet armenii et iorgienses, et aliqui saraceni et iudei, sed pauci.	

10

ANTIQUITAS GRAECO-ROMANA: De quelques vignettes antiquisantes dans les albums moghols

Corinne Lefèvre
CEIAS (CNRS-EHESS)

À l'instar de nombreux princes de la première modernité, plusieurs empereurs de la dynastie moghole (1526-1857) furent d'avides collectionneurs, dont les *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* ont récemment été l'objet d'une attention renouvelée de la part des historiens et des historiens de l'art[1]. Contrairement à leurs équivalents européens ou chinois, ces collections semblent toutefois à première vue n'avoir fait qu'une place extrêmement limitée aux antiques, quelle que soit leur provenance géographique. Si elles regorgeaient en effet de *naturalia*, les *artificiala* qu'elles recélaient — en particulier les *exotica* européens et chinois — étaient pour la plupart de manufacture récente. Seuls les objets se rattachant à l'héritage timouride des Moghols (ils descendaient en ligne directe de Timour-Tamerlan, m. 1405) faisaient dans une certaine mesure exception: remontant au plus loin au XV^e^ siècle, la valeur de ces *memorabilia* procédait cependant moins de leur antiquité que du statut dynastique et de la prestigieuse généalogie de leurs précédents propriétaires[2].

[1] Voir notamment Yves Porter, '*Regalia* and *Exotica*: Notes on the Imperial Collections of the Great Mughals', communication présentée au colloque international 'Patronage in Indo-Persian Culture', Paris, 21-23 mars 2001; Corinne Lefèvre, 'Curiosité et pouvoir: les collections de l'empereur moghol Jahāngīr (r. 1605-1627)', *Études Épistémè* 26, special issue *Curiosité et géographie en Orient et en Occident, XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles*, dir. L. Cottegnies, A. Horiuchi et L. Niayesh (2014), http://episteme.revues.org/341; Ebba Koch, 'Jahangir's Hazelnut and Shah Jahan's Chini Khana: The Collection of Mughal Emperors', in Maia Wellington Gahtan et Eva-Maria Troelenberg, éd., *Collecting and Empires. An Historical and Global Perspective* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 135-61 ainsi que sa contribution dans ce volume.

[2] Sur la question des *memorabilia* timourides, voir Thomas W. Lentz et Glenn D Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the 15th c.* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989).

Malgré leur apparente pauvreté en antiques, les collections mogholes incluaient néanmoins un type d'artefacts qui, comme y invite Sanjay Subrahmanyam dans une récente contribution sur les antiquariats à l'œuvre en Asie du Sud, mérite d'être exploré de façon plus approfondie[3]. Il s'agit des *muraqqaʿ*s, ces précieux albums qui constituaient en eux-mêmes une sorte de collection dans la mesure où ils rassemblaient côte à côte peintures et calligraphies issues de différentes époques et régions du globe[4]. La piste la plus évidente pour l'historien soucieux d'y identifier des objets qu'on pourrait assimiler à des antiques consiste à procéder à une excavation chronologique et à mettre en avant les matériaux les plus anciens présents dans ces *muraqqaʿ*s. Ceux-ci sont relativement bien connus et se composent d'une série de spécimens calligraphiques et de peintures réalisées entre la fin du XV^e^ siècle et le premier tiers du XVI^e^ siècle par les artistes de la cour de Sultan Husain Baiqara (r. 1470-1506), dernier descendant de Timour à gouverner Hérat, au Khorasan[5]. Toutefois, à l'instar des objets ayant appartenu aux descendants de Timour, les œuvres des célébrités de la cour d'Husain Baiqara — en particulier le peintre Bihzad (m. 1535) et le calligraphe Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi (m. 1520) — participaient davantage du discours et des stratégies généalogiques de la dynastie qu'elles ne procédaient de la constitution d'un savoir sur la proche antiquité timouride même si on ne peut évidemment nier les liens étroits existant entre préoccupations généalogiques et antiquaires[6]. Quoiqu'il en soit, ce n'est pas la piste des *memorabilia* comme antiques qu'on s'attachera à suivre ici mais plutôt celle d'un type particulier d'*exotica*, c'est-à-dire les gravures européennes originales et les copies mogholes d'œuvres occidentales (dessinées ou peintes) sises dans les albums impériaux. Bien que ces images forment probablement un des corpus visuels moghols qui a été le plus abondamment commenté par les historiens de l'art et les historiens s'attachant à

[3] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Traces of the Ancients in India: Notes on Two Possible Narratives', in Alain Schnapp, éd., *World Antiquarianism. Comparative Perspectives* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2013), 372-85.
[4] Pour une analyse magistrale de ce type d'artefacts dans le monde persanisé, voir David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400-1600: from Dispersion to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
[5] Une conclusion similaire ressort du monumental inventaire de la bibliothèque impériale dressé par John Seyller, 'The Inspection and Valuation of the Manuscripts in the Imperial Library', *Artibus Asiae* 57/3-4, (1997), 243-349.
[6] Sur les stratégies généalogiques mogholes, voir notamment Corinne Lefèvre, 'In the Name of the Fathers: Mughal Genealogical Strategies from Bābur to Shāh Jahān', in Simon Brodbeck et James Hegarty, éd., *Religions of South Asia* 5/1-2, special issue *Genealogy and History in South Asia*, (2011) p. 409-42.

explorer les rapports (artistiques, religieux, idéologiques) de la dynastie à l'Occident, la plupart des études les concernant se sont concentrées sur celles d'entre elles — il est vrai, largement majoritaires — ayant un contenu explicitement chrétien, en particulier les nombreuses illustrations de la vie de Jésus[7]. Une moindre attention a par contre été portée à une autre série d'images d'origine occidentale qui, toutes, prennent leur inspiration du mouvement de la Renaissance européenne et de sa fascination pour l'Antiquité gréco-romaine. Si plusieurs historiens de l'art se sont en effet attelés à identifier au cas par cas les sources occidentales dont ces représentations dérivaient, ils ne se sont en revanche guère interrogés sur le corpus constitué *de facto* par ces vignettes antiquisantes et sur sa signification au regard de l'histoire culturelle et politique des Moghols. C'est cette lacune que ce court essai a l'ambition de commencer à combler en livrant un premier aperçu de ces antiques qui, on l'aura compris, n'en sont pas vraiment mais qui, en tant qu'artefacts archaïsants exportés depuis l'Europe vers l'Inde et (re)produits pour certains *in situ*, n'en sont pas moins extrêmement intéressants dans l'optique des circulations culturelles entre ces deux régions du globe que les travaux de Jorge Flores sur l'Estado da Índia et ses voisins moghols ont déjà tant contribué à éclairer.

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Une première exploration des pages d'albums publiées et d'un certain nombre de peintures qui, si elles sont aujourd'hui isolées, étaient probablement à l'origine conservées au sein de *muraqqa*ʿs, permet ainsi de faire émerger plus d'une quinzaine de vignettes antiquisantes. Se présentant sous deux formes principales — soit des gravures occidentales collées sur les pages de l'album, soit des versions mogholes (dessins ou peintures) d'originaux européens oscillant entre copie fidèle et adaptation libre, ces vignettes peuvent être divisées thématiquement en deux grandes catégories. On trouve, d'une part, des représentations de la mythologie et de l'histoire gréco-romaine. À l'exception de deux gravures occidentales directement insérées sur des pages d'album — œuvre de Theodore Galle (1571-1633) réalisée d'après

[7] Parmi les nombreuses publications consacrées à l'impact de l'art occidental chrétien sur la peinture moghole, voir notamment Gauvin A. Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580-1630* (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998); Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology. Collected Essays* (Delhi, 2001), 1-11; et Mika Natif, *Mughal Occidentalism. Artistic Encounters between Europe and Asia at the Courts of India, 1580-1630* (Leyde/Boston: Brill, 2018) où on trouvera une bibliographie exhaustive à ce sujet.

Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet, 1523-1633), la première figure *Apollon écorchant Marsyas* tandis que la seconde est une représentation par Sebald Beham (1500-1550) du *Combat d'Achille et Hector*[8], toutes sont des peintures mogholes inspirées de sources européennes dont seules quelques-unes ont été à ce jour identifiées: un *Jugement de Paris*[9], un *Héros romain*[10] et un portrait de *Minerve*[11] attribués à Keshav Das ou à son école et réalisés dans la première moitié des années 1590, un dessin de *Minerve* par Basawan (v. 1600)[12], un *Neptune* peint par Abuʾl Hasan en 1602-1603[13] et, enfin, une représentation de *La mort d'Adonis* sise dans la partie inférieure de la bordure décorative d'un folio du *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan* (v. 1599-1618)[14], un album sur lequel on aura l'occasion de revenir. Suivant toujours une perspective thématique, la seconde catégorie de vignettes est constituée d'une série de personnifications allégoriques exécutées dans un style classicisant et illustrant des sujets issus de la conceptualisation et de la classification (notamment via la

[8] Voir Yael Rice, 'The Brush and the Burin: Mogul Encounters with European Engravings', in Jaynie Anderson, éd., *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art* (Carlton, Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2009), 305-10 (fig. 2 p. 307) pour la première conservée à la Staatsbibliothek de Berlin (A. 117); et Milo Cleveland Beach, 'The Gulshan Album and its European Sources', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 63/332, (1965), 62-91 (fig. 2 et p. 67) pour la seconde conservée dans la bibliothèque du palais du Gulistan à Téhéran (Ms. 1663).

[9] Cette adaptation d'une gravure de Giorgio Ghisi (1520-1582) réalisée d'après une peinture de Giovani Battista Bertani (1516-1576) apparaît dans la partie gauche du folio 45r de l'album dit de Saint Pétersbourg (Académie russe des sciences, Institut des Études orientales de Saint-Pétersbourg, Ms. E-14). Pour une reproduction, voir Oleg Akimushkin, *et al*., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqaʿ. Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th Through the 18th Century and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy by ʿImād al-Ḥasanī* (Milan: ARCH Foundation, Lugano & Leonardo Arte srl, 1996), pl. 194 et 111.

[10] Conservée au Rijksmuseum (RP-T-1993-33), cette peinture s'inspire d'une série de gravures sur les héros romains achevée par Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617), et plus particulièrement des représentations de Mucius Scaevola (VI^e siècle av. J.-C.) et Titus Manlius Torquatus (IV^e siècle av. J.–C.) dont elle combine différents éléments. Pour une analyse de la série originale de Goltzius, voir Walter S. Melion, 'Memorabilia aliquot Romanae strenuitatis exempla: The Thematics of Artisanal Virtue in Hendrick Goltzius's "Roman Heroes"', *MLN* 110/5, (1995), 1090-1134.

[11] Pour une reproduction et une description succincte de cette œuvre vendue aux enchères par Christie's (Londres) en 2005, voir: https://www.christies.com/Lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?sid=&intObjectID=4579993&SE=CMWCAT04%20124277%20-1410495013%20&QR=M%201%2096%20Aqc0000900%20108446%20%20Aqc0000900%20&entry=india&SU=1&RQ=True&AN=97

[12] Pour une reproduction et une description succincte de cette œuvre vendue aux enchères par Christie's (Londres) en 2007, voir: https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/minerva-mughal-india-drawing-ascribed-4892460-details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=4892460&sid=418fe4f0-fb09-4cbf-8796-b0cbae3944ee

[13] Sur cette peinture conservée dans la collection Goenka (Mumbai), voir B. N. Goswamy (avec Usha Bhatia), *Painted visions. The Goenka collection of Indian paintings* (Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, 1999), cat. n°42 p. 55.

[14] Sur cette copie d'une gravure éponyme d'Etienne Delaune (v. 1518-1583) (d'après Luca Penni, 1500-1556) conservée dans la bibliothèque du palais du Gulistan à Téhéran (Ms. 1663), voir Beach, 'The Gulshan Album', fig. 3-3a et p. 73.

numérologie) médiévale et renaissante des savoirs de l'Antiquité gréco-romaine[15]. Tout comme dans le cas des images représentant des scènes de la mythologie et de l'histoire classiques, les gravures originales directement collées sur les folios des albums impériaux se mêlent ici aux copies peintes ou dessinées par des artistes de la cour indienne. Au fil des pages des *muraqqaʿ*s, on rencontre ainsi des personnifications de la *Grammaire*, de l'*Arithmétique*, de la *Géométrie* et de la *Dialectique* issues de deux séries de gravures sur *Les sept arts libéraux* réalisées respectivement par Georg Pencz (1500-1550) vers 1541 et par Jan Sadeler I (1550-1600) après 1575, des allégories du *Goût* et de l'*Ouïe* provenant des *Cinq sens* (v. 1540) du même Pencz, une image de *La Lune* extraite du recueil sur les *Sept planètes* produit par Virgil Solis (1514-1562) et, enfin, une *Allégorie du printemps (ver)* — flanquée d'une procession de dieux et de héros de l'Antiquité — appartenant à une série sur les *Quatre saisons* également produite dans l'atelier de Virgil Solis[16]. Il n'est pas question ici de se livrer à une analyse approfondie de ces images, mais bien plutôt d'en faire ressortir les caractéristiques majeures en termes de dynamiques circulatoires et de s'interroger sur la signification de leur présence en contexte moghol.

Les vignettes antiquisantes qui prirent place dans les albums impériaux apparaissent de fait comme le produit d'une série de déplacements ou 'dépaysements'. Le premier relève évidemment de l'imitation et de la réinvention des arts de la Rome classique par l'Europe septentrionale renaissante du XVI^e^ siècle et, dans cette perspective, il est remarquable que nombre des graveurs occidentaux

[15] Geoffrey Shamos, 'Bodies of Knowledge: The Presentation of Personified Figures in Engraved Allegorical Series Produced in the Netherlands, 1548-1600' (thèse de doctorat: University of Pennsylvania, 2015), 3.

[16] Pour une reproduction de ces œuvres et une identification de leurs sources, voir: Rice, 'The Brush and the Burin', fig. 1 p. 306 pour les gravures de Pencz représentant la *Grammaire* et le *Goût* collées dans le registre supérieur d'une page du *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan*; Akimushkin, *et al.*, *The St. Petersburg Muraqqaʿ*, pl. 33 et p. 60-61 pour un dessin en *nim qalam* ou « demi-plume » réalisé par Manohar Das v. 1590-1595 et inspiré de l'*Arithmétique* de Pencz; Beach, 'The Gulshan Album', fig. 7 et p. 77 pour deux dessins adaptés de la *Géométrie* et de l'*Ouïe* de Pencz dans les marges d'un folio du *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan*; Elaine Wright, *Muraqqaʿ. Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin with contributions by Susan Stronge, Wheeler M. Thackston, Steven Cohen, Charles Horton, Rachael Smith with Jessica Baldwin* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 2008), fig. 33 p. 79 pour une autre version moghole de la *Géométrie* de Pencz sise dans la bordure décorative d'un autre folio du même album; Beach, 'The Gulshan Album', fig. 6 et p. 76 pour un dessin dérivant de la *Dialectique* de Pencz (marge d'un folio du *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan*); Akimushkin, *et al.*, *The St. Petersburg Muraqqaʿ*, pl. 61 et p. 71-72 pour une mise en peinture par Abuʾl Hasan (v. 1615) de la gravure originale de Sadeler figurant la *Dialectique*; Wright, *Muraqqaʿ*, cat. 35A p. 284 pour la *Lune* (original de Solis) collée sur un folio du *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan*; et Ebba Koch, 'The Mughal Emperor as Solomon, Majnun and Orpheus', *Muqarnas* 27, (2010), 277-311 (p. 280 et 289) pour un collage de l'*Allégorie du printemps* issue de l'atelier de Solis sur un autre folio du même album.

susmentionnés (notamment Theodore Galle, Hendrick Goltzius, Georg Pencz et Jan Sadeler) aient séjourné plus ou moins longuement en Italie dans le cadre de voyages d'étude destinés à parfaire leur connaissance des modèles anciens (mais aussi des nouveaux maîtres de la Renaissance italienne). À cette première translation temporelle vint s'ajouter le voyage dans l'espace vers l'empire du 'Grand Mogol' qui, à partir de la seconde moitié du XVI^e^ siècle, attira en nombre croissant aventuriers et marchands nord-européens désireux d'y établir une base pour participer au lucratif commerce des Indes mais aussi missionnaires jésuites venus de Goa en quête de nouvelles âmes royales à conquérir ainsi que de fraîches informations politiques à destination des gouvernants de l'Estado da Índia[17]. Tout comme les images religieuses chrétiennes mentionnées plus haut, c'est dans les bagages de ces acteurs occidentaux de la première globalisation qu'arrivèrent à la cour d'Agra les artefacts antiquisants: d'après une source moghole[18], l'importation de gravures européennes commença dès le début des années 1550 mais le mouvement s'accéléra considérablement entre 1580 et les années 1610 — période durant laquelle trois missions jésuites se succédèrent auprès d'Akbar et de son fils Jahangir (r. 1605-1627), lequel reçut également la visite de plusieurs représentants des intérêts commerciaux anglais (William Hawkins et Sir Thomas Roe). Au contraire des illustrations christianisantes dont on peut suivre la piste — certes de façon plus sporadique — dans la peinture et les albums moghols tout au long du XVII^e^ siècle et jusqu'au XVIII^e^ siècle[19], les vignettes antiquisantes semblent toutefois avoir disparu des horizons de l'atelier impérial dès la fin des années 1610. Je n'ai en tout en cas pu en trouver de trace qui soit postérieure à 1618 et à l'achèvement du *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan*, un album dû au patronage de Jahangir dont l'assemblage commença plusieurs années avant son avènement quand il n'était encore que le prince Salim et qui est

[17] Sur les dimensions politique et diplomatique des activités des jésuites à la cour moghole, voir les remarquables analyses de Jorge Flores dans *The Mughal Padshah. A Jesuit treatise on Emperor Jahangir's Court and Household* (Leyde/Boston: Brill, 2015), Idem, *Nas margens do Hindustão. O Estado da Índia e a expansão mogol ca. 1570-1640* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2015) et Idem, *Unwanted neighbours. The Mughals, the Portuguese, and Their Frontier Zones* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[18] Bayazid Bayat, *Tarikh-i Humayun*, in *Three Memoirs of Humayun's Reign*, éd. et tr. W. M. Thackston, vol. 2 (Costa Mesa, 2009), 28 (traduction anglaise) et p. 39 (original persan) cité dans Yael Rice, 'Lines of perception: European Prints and the Mughal *Kitābkhāna*', in Suzanne Karr Schmidt et Edward Wouk, éd, *Prints in Translation, 1450-1750: Image, Materiality, Space* (Londres: Routledge, 2016), 203-24 (n. 15 p. 220).

[19] On trouvera un large échantillon de ces œuvres dans Anand Amaladass SJ et Gudrun Löwner, *Christian Themes in Indian Art. From the Mogul Times till Today* (Delhi: Manohar publishers,2012), 35-100.

sans doute le *muraqqaʿ* impérial qui concentre le plus grand nombre d'images occidentales ou d'inspiration occidentale. Une fois intégrées dans les collections royales, les gravures européennes firent enfin l'objet d'un troisième type de dépaysement via leur insertion dans un univers visuel moghol extrêmement composite tant à l'échelle des *muraqqaʿ*s, dans lesquels elles en vinrent à être conservées et dont on a déjà évoqué la nature hétéroclite, qu'à l'échelle des pages mêmes de ces albums dont elles ne constituaient le plus souvent qu'un élément parmi d'autres. Si certaines versions peintes ou dessinées des originaux occidentaux pouvaient en effet à l'occasion occuper la pleine page d'un *muraqqaʿ* (c'est notamment le cas des portraits de *Minerve*, *Neptune* et du *Héros Romain* mentionnés plus haut), l'arrangement graphique le plus souvent privilégié consistait à faire cohabiter les gravures européennes ou leurs adaptations mogholes avec des artefacts issus de traditions visuelles bien différentes. C'est par exemple ainsi que l'*Allégorie du printemps* issue de l'atelier de Virgil Solis 'surmonte' une peinture moghole de la fin du XVI^e^ siècle représentant un éléphant et son cornac, tandis que le folio dans lequel apparaît la *Lune* du même Solis lui juxtapose trois dessins produits en Iran entre le XV^e^ et le début du XVII^e^ siècle (dont un par le célèbre artiste safavide Riza ʿAbbasi, 1565-1635) et figurant des hommes se tenant à genoux ou debout ainsi qu'un lion couché. Dans d'autres cas encore, le dialogue visuel se joue entre la ou les compositions occupant la partie centrale de la page et les figures d'inspiration européenne qui, telles des citations, émaillent ses marges: parmi les nombreux exemples existants, on peut mentionner une version dessinée de la *Géométrie* de Pencz qui, avec d'autres vignettes occidentales participant quant à elles d'une thématique religieuse, encadre une œuvre du calligraphe safavide Mir ʿAli al-Katib (m. 1559-1560).

Comme le suggère ce rapide survol du processus de localisation dont furent l'objet les artefacts européens puisant à l'Antiquité gréco-romaine, l'interprétation de leur remploi en contexte indien (tout comme d'ailleurs celui des plus nombreuses images christianisantes produites simultanément) s'avère particulièrement délicate non seulement au vu de la complexité des 'patchworks' à la mode moghole dont ils devinrent partie prenante mais aussi parce qu'aucun des albums impériaux n'est aujourd'hui connu dans sa forme complète originale, ce qui rend d'autant plus spéculative la réflexion concernant les logiques (esthétiques, épistémiques ou politiques) qui présidèrent à leur assemblage. Dans ces conditions, peut-on, à l'instar

des Jésuites qui virent dans l'intérêt porté par Akbar et Jahangir à l'art religieux chrétien un signe augurant leur proche conversion au catholicisme, considérer le corpus d'*exotica* antiquisants rassemblé ici comme une manifestation visuelle de la curiosité intellectuelle de la dynastie à l'endroit de la culture et de l'histoire de l'Antiquité occidentale ? Ou bien convient-il plutôt, suivant cette fois un certain nombre d'historien(ne)s de l'art, de déplacer la focale analytique des patrons (les empereurs) vers les agenceurs-producteurs (les artistes de l'atelier royal) de ces *exotica* et de faire sens de leur intégration dans l'art moghol en termes plus exclusivement formels ? Dès les années 1960, Milo Cleveland Beach a ainsi appelé à voir dans les 'copier-coller' à l'œuvre dans les albums indo-persans des 'arrangements inventifs au dessein purement esthétique'[20]. Suivant une perspective proche développée dans une série de contributions[21], Yael Rice a plus récemment mis en avant les affinités électives existant au niveau graphique entre, d'une part, les traditions de la calligraphie et de la peinture persane et, d'autre part, le medium de l'imprimerie européenne. Plus explicitement, c'est selon elle parce que les artistes moghols auraient reconnu dans les gravures occidentales la même attention portée (via des techniques naturellement différentes) aux lignes et aux contours consubstantielle aux pratiques artistiques dont ils étaient les héritiers que des peintres tels que Keshav Das les auraient si assidûment étudiées, collées et adaptées dans leurs propres productions. D'après cette interprétation, le contenu iconographique des images européennes-sources et l'intérêt que les empereurs auraient eu pour les sujets (antiquisants ou christianisants) qu'elles illustraient aurait donc joué un rôle au mieux secondaire dans leur appropriation, leur instrumentalisation politique en tant que manifestations visuelles du cosmopolitisme moghol et des prétentions universelles de la dynastie apparaissant du même coup comme une conséquence collatérale d'un processus fondamentalement esthétique.

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Si l'analyse de Yael Rice a l'incontestable mérite de mettre en lumière les écueils liés à la surinterprétation idéologique d'images dont la production ne s'accompagna pas

[20] Beach, 'The Gulshan Album', 67 (traduction de l'auteure), et p. 77 pour une affirmation du même ordre.
[21] Rice, 'The Brush and the Burin, 'Lines of perception', et 'The Global Aspirations of the Mughal Album', in Stephanie Schrader, éd., *Rembrandt and the Inspiration of India*, (Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum Publisher, 2018), 61-78. Voir cependant Natif, *Mughal Occidentalism*, 118-23 pour une récente revalorisation du contenu iconographique des images occidentales comme moteur de leur intégration dans les albums moghols.

d'un discours réflexif par les artistes ou leurs patrons, elle fait par contre l'impasse sur un autre type de matériaux qu'il vaut la peine, pour conclure, de mettre en relation avec le petit corpus de vignettes antiquisantes réuni ici. Il est en effet remarquable que celles-ci aient été produites au cours de la même période (le tournant des XVI^e^-XVII^e^ siècles) durant laquelle furent composés en persan les deux seuls textes, en tout cas les deux seuls qui soient connus à ce jour, permettant de cerner de plus près les savoirs sur l'Antiquité gréco-romaine disponibles à la cour moghole. Tout comme nombre des gravures européennes et leurs adaptations sud-asiatiques, ces deux ouvrages sont également le produit des échanges des élites de la cour indienne avec les jésuites qui y étaient présents depuis 1580 et, plus précisément, de la collaboration — parfois houleuse — entre l'Espagnol Jerónimo Xavier (m. 1617), directeur de la troisième mission de la Compagnie de Jésus (1595-1615) et figure bien connue de Jorge Flores qui en a considérablement renouvelé l'historiographie, et le lettré et dignitaire moghol ʿAbd al-Sattar ibn Qasim Lahauri (m. après 1619). Grâce à la connaissance respective qu'ils acquirent du persan (pour Xavier) et du latin (pour ʿAbd al-Sattar), les deux hommes en vinrent à former une sorte d'équipe de traduction, dont les réalisations les mieux connues sont une série d'ouvrages catéchétiques rédigés en persan et incluant des Vies de Jésus et des Apôtres[22]. Leurs compétences linguistiques nouvellement acquises furent par ailleurs mobilisées dans la quête impériale et quasi universelle de modèles royaux et de normes de gouvernement susceptibles de nourrir la domination moghole — un projet pharaonique qui aboutit aussi à l'adaptation en persan d'une série de textes sanskrits considérés comme dépositaires de la culture politique indienne. C'est donc plus largement dans ce contexte de transmission des savoirs (tant occidentaux qu'orientaux) ayant trait à l'art de gouverner que doit être comprise la composition des deux textes en question dont, à ce stade de l'enquête et au vu de leur caractère relativement volumineux, on ne peut livrer ici qu'une vision très préliminaire.

Intitulé *Samarat al-falasifa* (*Le fruit des philosophes*) ou, alternativement, *Ahwal-i Firangistan* (*Événements du pays des Francs*), le premier fut achevé en 1603 par ʿAbd al-Sattar et se présente comme une histoire des grands rois et philosophes de

[22] Voir Muzaffar Alam et Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Frank Disputations: Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608-11)', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46/4, (2009), 457-511 pour une réévaluation de la collaboration entre Jerónimo Xavier et ʿAbd al-Sattar et une présentation d'ensemble des textes qui en sont issus.

l'Antiquité produite suite à l'ordre donné par Akbar à l'auteur de 's'enquérir des secrets de ce peuple [les Firangis ou Européens] et des affaires des sultans de ce groupe, ainsi que d'exposer en persan ce qu'avaient écrit les philosophes grecs et latins dans leurs livres, et ce afin de dévoiler ce qui était jusqu'à présent resté caché à cause du caractère étranger de la langue, de l'absence de traducteurs et de la distance [séparant l'Inde de l'Europe]'[23]. Suivant un double schéma chronologique et biographique, le *Samarat* est constitué de trois grandes parties qui traitent respectivement de la monarchie romaine (759-509 av. J.-C.), de la Grèce ancienne jusqu'au règne d'Alexandre le Grand (356-323 av. J.-C.), et de la période contemporaine de la naissance du Christ. Cette progression générale est toutefois interrompue à plusieurs reprises par des sauts dans le temps ou l'espace (la deuxième partie inclut par exemple une digression sur la conquête musulmane de Tolède en 711), ainsi que par l'insertion de notices biographiques des grands hommes de chaque époque (législateurs, philosophes, poètes, etc.) accompagnées d'un échantillon de leurs propos. Cette structure est en parfaite consonance avec la source principale que ʿAbd al-Sattar mentionne dans sa préface: les chroniques ou *Summa Historialis* de saint Antonin de Florence (m. 1459), dont on sait qu'Akbar possédait une copie[24]. Du point de vue de l'organisation, l'archevêque dominicain ne faisait d'ailleurs que suivre le modèle inauguré par son coreligionnaire Vincent de Beauvais (m. 1264) qui, dans son *Speculum Historiale*, fut le premier chroniqueur universel de l'Europe médiévale à entremêler discours historique, bio-hagiographies et anthologies[25]. Pour ʿAbd al-Sattar, l'adoption d'une telle architecture fut d'autant plus facile qu'elle correspondait à celle de nombreuses chroniques indo-persanes qui portaient la double marque du *tarikh* (genre historique) et du *tazkira* (genre biographique). Deux remarques s'imposent encore pour terminer ce premier aperçu des contours des mondes de l'Antiquité classique que dessine l'ouvrage. La première

[23] British Library, MS. Or. 5893, 5. Pour d'autres éléments d'introduction à ce texte, voir Alam et Subrahmanyam, 'Frank Disputations', 472-475 et Corinne Lefèvre, 'Europe-Mughal India-Muslim Asia: Circulation of Political Ideas and Instruments in Early Modern Times', in Antje Flüchter et Susan Richter, éd., *Structures on the Move. Technologies of Governance in Transcultural Encounter* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2012), 127-45 (p. 131-35).
[24] British Library, MS. Or. 5893, 7. Sur la présence du *Summa Historialis* au sein de la bibliothèque impériale, voir Gauvin A. Bailey, 'The Truth-Showing Mirror: Jesuit Catechism and the Arts in Mughal India', in John W. O'Malley *et al*., éd., *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences and the Arts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 380-401 (p. 385).
[25] James Bernard Walker, *The "Chronicles" of Saint Antoninus* (Washington D. C.: The Catholic University of America 1933), 107-108.

a trait à l'absence quasi complète du haut empire romain auquel il n'est fait allusion qu'en rapport avec les événements concernant le Christ. La seconde remarque concerne l'organisation et le contenu de la deuxième partie. Bien que son titre promette au lecteur toute la vérité à propos de la Grèce, ce qu'on y lit est en réalité une histoire de l'empire achéménide. Le chapitre s'ouvre sur son fondateur Cyrus le Grand (v. 559-529 av. J.-C.) et s'achève avec Artaxerxés III (v. 425-338 av. J.-C.), à partir du règne duquel Alexandre et, à travers lui, la Grèce, devient le centre de la narration. Cela ne signifie pas pour autant que la deuxième partie fasse l'impasse sur l'histoire antérieure de la Grèce puisque chaque section contient des notices biographiques de personnages tels que Thalès, Solon, Démocrite ou encore Aristote, dont l'évocation occupe d'ailleurs la quasi-totalité de la section consacrée à Artaxerxés[26]. Bien que le choix du prisme achéménide par ʿAbd al-Sattar s'explique par son adhésion au schéma occidental de la succession des empires tel qu'il structure par exemple la *Summa Historialis*, il apparaît néanmoins particulièrement significatif au regard de l'identité de ses patrons moghols pour lesquels les rois de l'Iran pré-islamique constituaient un important modèle impérial dont ils étaient familiers via un tout autre corpus de textes.

Achevé en 1609 par Jerónimo Xavier, l'*Adab al-saltanat* (*Les devoirs de la royauté*), le second texte en question, participe d'un genre sensiblement différent puisqu'il s'agit d'un miroir des princes dédié à Jahangir[27]. Comme plusieurs lettrés moghols contemporains, il semble que le missionnaire ait cherché à tirer parti de l'intérêt affiché de la dynastie pour la littérature politique en cultivant lui-même ce 'genre' dans l'espoir de sensibiliser le monarque aux principes moraux du christianisme appliqués à l'art de gouverner[28]. Suivant cette fois nombre de ses

[26] British Library, MS. Or. 5893, 194ff.

[27] Longtemps négligé par les 'jésuitologues', ce texte est l'objet d'un regain d'intérêt historiographique depuis le début des années 2000, notamment grâce aux pages pionnières que lui a consacré Jorge Flores dans sa thèse de 2005 ('"Firangistan" e "Hindustan". O Estado da Índia e os confins meridionais do Imperio Mogol (1572-1636)', Universidade Nova de Lisboa). Voir notamment Adel Sidarus, 'O Espelho de Príncipes de Jerónimo Xavier SJ dedicado ao Imperador Mogol (1609)', in Philip J. Havik, Clara Saraiva et José A. Tavim, éd., *Caminhos Cruzados em História e Antropologia. Ensaios de Homenagem a Jill Dias*, (Lisbonne: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais 2010), 37-50; Lefèvre, 'Europe-Mughal India-Muslim Asia', 131-37; Muzaffar Alam et Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Mediterranean Exemplars: Jesuit Political Lessons for a Mughal Emperor', in Lucio Biasiori et Giuseppe Marcocci, éd., *Machiavelli, Islam and the East. Reorienting the Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, (Londres: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 105-29; et Uroš Zver, ''I Picked these Flowers of Knowledge for You': Jesuit Rules of Statecraft for the Emperor of Mughal India', *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law* 19/1, (2018), 68-102.

[28] Le premier quart du XVII^e^ siècle vit de fait la rédaction de quatre traités de gouvernement dédiés à Jahangir — un chiffre bien supérieur à ceux qu'on connaît pour ses prédécesseurs et successeurs.

coreligionnaires occidentaux, le jésuite choisit pour ce faire de largement puiser à l'Antiquité classique plutôt qu'aux seules figures de la tradition chrétienne, que celles-ci relèvent de la mytho-histoire biblique ou du passé médiéval et moderne de l'Europe occidentale. Sa mobilisation (et son imprégnation) de la philosophie et de l'histoire politique gréco-romaine se perçoit dès la préface de l'ouvrage dans laquelle il n'hésite pas à se comparer à une illustre lignée de conseillers du prince depuis Solon jusqu'à Plutarque en passant par Platon, Aristote et Sénèque[29]. Plus important encore, elle court en filigrane tout au long de l'*Adab* à travers les *exempla* dont Xavier illustre les principes de gouvernement qu'il invite le monarque à suivre, et parmi lesquels on trouve non seulement le nom des plus célèbres penseurs et hommes politiques de l'Antiquité mais aussi ceux de dieux et héros de la mythologie gréco-romaine[30]. Enfin, elle éclate si l'on peut dire dans la conclusion du texte qui, comme le précise le missionnaire lui-même à plusieurs reprises, constitue une version abrégée des conseils donnés par Mécène (70-8 av. J.-C.) au premier empereur de Rome, César Auguste (r. 27 av. J.-C.- 14 ap. J. C.)[31]. Bien que la source ne soit pas explicitée, il s'agit clairement ici d'une référence au 52e livre de *l'Histoire romaine* de Cassius Dion (m. après 229) dont la quasi-totalité est consacrée auxdits conseils. En dépit de la richesse des informations sur l'Antiquité classique incluses dans l'*Adab al-saltanat*, il convient néanmoins de ne pas surestimer l'importance de son impact local: la rareté des manuscrits identifiés à ce jour (deux) ainsi que leur localisation exclusivement européenne (Londres et Rome) donnent en effet à penser que le texte n'eut (au mieux) qu'un faible écho dans les cercles intellectuels moghols, au contraire du *Samarat al-falasifa* dont la moitié de la demi-douzaine d'exemplaires connus sont conservés en Inde.

Pour une présentation de ce corpus et une analyse détaillée de deux de ses textes, voir Corinne Lefèvre, *Pouvoir impérial et élites dans l'Inde moghole de Jahāngīr (1605-1627)* (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2017), 212-20 et 336-44.

[29] SOAS, Londres, MS. 7030, f. 3v-4r.

[30] Voir, parmi de nombreux exemples, SOAS, Londres, MS. 7030, f. 197v sur la relation entre Socrate et Platon comme modèle d'une amitié digne de confiance, f.126v-127r sur les césars romains Hadrien et Auguste comme figures de justice impériale, et f. 222v-223v sur l'épisode du cheval de Troie venant illustrer le recours aux ruses (*tislimat*) par les généraux de l'armée. On consultera par ailleurs Sidarus, 'O Espelho de Príncipes de Jerónimo Xavier SJ' pour une liste (provisoire) des personnalités gréco-romaines mentionnées dans l'ouvrage, ainsi qu'Alam et Subrahmanyam, 'Mediterranean Exemplars', 119-20 pour la discussion de quelques *exempla* issus de l'Antiquité.

[31] SOAS, Londres, MS. 7030, f. 9r, 274v, 275v, 286r.

Si les *Antiquitas graeco-romana* tant visuels que textuels qu'on a exhumés et très rapidement présentés ici méritent donc sans aucun doute une exploration approfondie, le fait qu'on n'en trouve plus guère de trace iconographique ou littéraire passée la fin des années 1610 donne à penser qu'ils ne constituèrent in fine qu'un pôle éphémère de la curiosité antiquaire de la dynastie[32]. Il en alla à l'évidence bien différemment en Inde portugaise voisine où le tropisme antiquaire romain joua un rôle bien plus considérable et pérenne.

[32] Bien que la seconde moitié du XVIII[e] siècle ait correspondu à une nouvelle floraison d'ouvrages indo-persans consacrés pour tout ou partie à l'Europe — notamment les premiers récits de voyage dans cette région du globe, ceux-ci apparaissent essentiellement comme le produit de (et une réaction à) l'emprise croissante de la Compagnie anglaise des Indes Orientales (l'East India Company, EIC) sur les territoires moghols: dans cette perspective, l'Occident ne constituait plus un réservoir de modèles anciens pouvant alimenter l'art impérial de gouverner mais une force politique ascendante dont les auteurs (souvent passés au service de l'EIC) cherchaient à expliquer les succès en Inde dans une histoire beaucoup plus récente. Sur ce corpus, voir notamment Simon Digby, 'An Eighteenth-Century Narrative of a Journey from Bengal to England: Munshī Ismāʿīl's New History', in Christopher Schackle, éd., *Urdu and Muslim South Asia: Studies in Honour of Ralph Russel* (Londres: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989), 48-65; Juan I. Cole, 'Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth-Century Constructions of the West', *Iranian Studies* 25/3-4, (1992), 3-16; et Gulfishan Khan, *Indian perceptions of the West during the eighteenth century* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

11

THE CHĪNĪ KHĀNA: Chinese Porcelain versus Florentine *Pietra Dura* in Imperial Mughal Collections and Display[1]

Ebba Koch
University of Vienna

The political, cultural and artistic exchange between the Mughal Empire and Portugal represents a major research interest of Jorge Flores, and thus I felt that the Mughals' appreciation of cultural products from another region, namely China, might be a suitable offering for a volume dedicated to him, the more so since eventually the Mughal display of Chinese objects was replaced by an exhibit of art works from Florence - for nine years Jorge's academic home.

Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, which ruled in India from 1526 to 1858, came from the small Central-Asian-Timurid territory of Ferghana in present-day Uzbekistan, not far from the Great Silk Road. Before directing his interests southwards to Kabul and finally to the conquest of Hindustan, Babur pursued his ambition to become, like his great ancestor Timur, the lord of Samarqand. When he failed and was driven out by the new Uzbek power, he found himself, in1502, in dire conditions at Tashkent. He despaired of his Timurid prospects and thought of his other great

[1] The article takes up and enlarges aspects previously discussed in Ebba Koch, "Jahangir's Hazelnut and Shah Jahan's *Chini Khana*: The Collections of the Mughal Emperors", in Maia Wellington Gahtan and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, eds., *Collecting and Empires: An Historical and Global Perspective* (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers-An imprint of Brepols Publishers 2019), 134-161, especially 151-52, 154-57. Shortly afterwards Mehreen Chida-Razvi published a related article: "From Function to Form: *Chini-khana* in Safavid and Mughal Architecture", in idem, ed., *Resituating Mughal Architecture in the Persianate World: New Investigations and Analysis*, special issue of *South Asian Studies* 35, no. 1 (2019): 82-106.

ancestor, Chinggis Khan, when he entertained an old dream of going to China (Cathay):

> 'With such difficulties', I said to myself, 'it would be better to go off on my own so long as I am alive, and with such deprivation and wretchedness it would be better for me to go off to wherever my feet will carry me, even to the ends of the earth.' I decided to go to Cathay on my own. From my childhood I had had a desire to go to Cathay, but because of having to rule and other obstacles, it had not been possible.[1]

The Mughals did not pursue this idea of their ancestor and though India had close religious, cultural and commercial ties with China from an early period, the connections between Mughal India and China are not obvious and still little known. The greatest interest went to the Mughal emperors' esteem of Chinese porcelain, but even here the studies are few: the pioneering research was carried out by Abdul Aziz and Aśok Kumar Das.[2]

Chinese porcelain has been appreciated at Muslim courts throughout the ages,[3] and India was no exception. The Delhi sultans owned porcelain in large quantities. In 1961, a rich treasure trove of porcelain was found in the fortress palace Kotla Firuz Shah at Delhi, built by Firuz Shah Tughluq (1354-1388) in 1354 on the west bank of the Yamuna River. It was destroyed by Timur in 1398, which gives us a terminus ante quem. Various dishes, plates and bowls came to light when a rose bed was dug out by workers of the Archaeological Survey of India, and they have been described as the largest known find worldwide of Chinese blue and white of the Yuan dynasty (**Fig. 1**).[4] In 1970, the American art historian Ellen Smart identified in the Kotla find at least 72 pieces of Yuan and early Ming blue and white of excellent quality, though all were

[1] Żahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, trans., ed. and annotated by W. M. Thackston (Washington, D.C./New York 1996), 138.
[2] Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls* (Lahore: Published by the author, 1942); Aśok Kumar Das, "Chinese Porcelain at the Mughal Court", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (1991-92), 383- 409; see also Susan Stronge, *Made for Mughal Emperors: Royal Treasures from Hindustan* (New Delhi: Lustre Press Roli Books, 2010); Stephen Markel, "Fit for an Emperor: Inscribed Works of Decorative Art Acquired by the Great Mughals", *Orientation* 21, no. 8 (1990): 22-36.
[3] See Linda Komaroff, ed., *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 48; Sussan Babaie, Kathryn Babayan, Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe and Massumeh Farhad, *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 122-25 and notes 35-36 on 184-86.
[4] *Indian Archaeology: A Review 1961-62* (New Delhi, 1964), 7, pl. CXXXVIII B.

damaged to varying degrees.[5] She noticed the inscriptions *maṭbakh-i khāṣṣ* (royal kitchen) and *ṣad* (hundred?), from which she deduced that these vessels were table ware. The find was believed to hold more Yuan pieces than the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul and the shrine of Shaikh Safi` at Ardabil, on which more below.

Fig. 1. Two Yuan porcelain plates from the Firuzshah Kotla find, c. 1315, Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India (after Indian Archaeology 1961-62, pl. CXXXVIII B).

As to the Mughals, they used porcelain as table ware but also collected it and exhibited their collection of plates, cups, bowls, ewers and even figures in their palaces. From representations in painting and contemporary textual sources, we learn that porcelain cups and plates were used to serve meals and drinks. Humayun's personal servant Jauhar tells us in his *Tazkirat al-Waki`at* that his emperor drank water from a porcelain cup (*kasa-i chīnī*) and that he distributed musk to his *amirs* on a China plate (*rikebī-yi chīnī*) when he got the message of the birth of Akbar.[6]

[5] Ellen S. Smart, "The Export of Chinese Porcelain to the Islamic World: Some Reflections on Its Significance for Islamic Art before 1400", *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 41 (1975-77), 199-230.

[6] Jauhar in Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Persian text ed. and English trans.) *Three Memoirs of Humayun Gulbadan Begim's Humāyūnnāma; Jawhar Aftabachī's Tadhkiratu'l-wāqīāt; Bāyazīd Bayāt's Tārīkh-i Humāyūn* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers), 11, 163.

In the famous Freer Gallery painting of the imaginary meeting of Jahangir and Shah Abbas of Iran, painted in the 1620s, Jahangir shows off as a collector and displays several of his art objects on an Italian-style table, among which we can make out a tiny Chinese cup with a flowering plum twig.[7]

From representations in paintings and from surviving porcelain inscribed to Mughal emperors, we can deduce that, like the Tughluqs, the Mughals favoured historical blue and white of the Yuan and early Ming period (1368- 1644) (**Figs. 1, 2**).

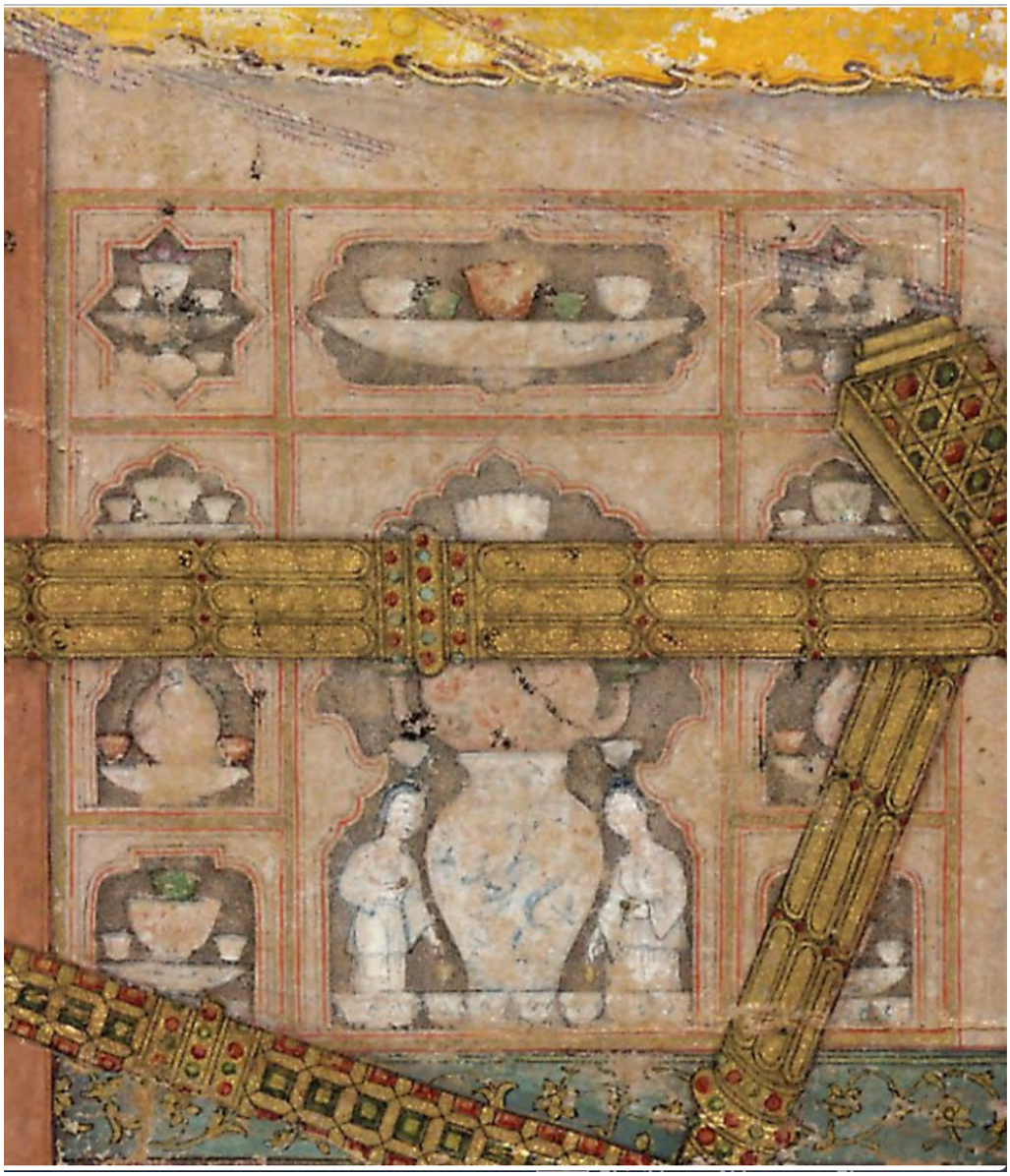

Fig. 2. Manohar. Jahangir weighing his son Prince Khurram. Detail of *chīnī khāna* wall decoration, Mughal, ca. 1615, British Museum, London, 1948,1009,0.69 (Photo: British Museum, Licenced for use under Creative Commons).

[7] Often illustrated and discussed. See Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections* (New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, 1961), pl. 13 and text on opposite page.

We have several dishes and vessels with engraved dated inscriptions by Mughal emperors, that is of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, the sons of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Aśok Kumar Das lists two large Yuan dishes inscribed to Shah Jahan, four early Ming dishes, also inscribed to Shah Jahan (one of which bears also a circular *waqf* seal of Shah 'Abbas), one Ming moon flask inscribed to 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb), one early Ming ewer (inscribed to Jahangir), one Celadon dish (light green ware with dragon) whose the inscription could not be fully deciphered, one polychrome dish of `Swatow ware' or Zhangzhou, which is Ming export porcelain and which inscriptions to Salim and the Khan- Khanan (the courtier and statesman 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan) and one saucer with yellow glaze mark of Hongzhi (1488-1505) inscribed to Shah Jahan.[8] There is also a Celadon dish inscribed to Shah Jahan's second son Shah Shuja in the Museum of the Archaeological Survey in the Delhi Red Fort, dated 1056/1646.

How much Jahangir valued his porcelain can be gathered from an episode reported by William Hawkins, and confirmed by other European eyewitnesses, about a broken China dish in the emperor's collection. Hawkins writes about 'a faire China dish' which got broken when the camel who carried it with other items of the royal household fell. When Jahangir found out that the piece was missing, he was furious and had the official in charge of his Chinese porcelain dishes cruelly whipped. Upon his recovery, the officer was sent to China with the order to get another vessel of the same quality. After fourteenth month of failure, Shah ʿAbbas of Iran, the leading porcelain collector of the Muslim world, who had heard about his misfortune, sent the officer a similar dish from his own collection so that he could return with it to Jahangir's court.[9] Jahangir himself speaks in his autobiography several times of Chinese porcelain (*chīnī-yi khatā'ī or chīnī-yi faghfūrī*) when it was presented to him by his nobles.[10]

[8] Das, 394-409; Markel, "Fit for an Emperor", 34-36.
[9] "William Hawkins, 1608-13", in Foster, *Early Travels*, 109-12. On Shah Abbas' porcelain collection see Babaie *et al*., *Slaves of the Shah*, 122-25; Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion and Power in Early Modern Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), especially 144-55.
[10] Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma: Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī by Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngir Gūrgānī*, ed. by Muhammad Hashim (Tehran: Intisharat-i Bunyad–i Farhang-i Iran, 1980/ Iranian Solar 1359), 76. For other passages mentioning Chinese porcelain see Jahangir, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans., ed. and annotated by W. M. Thackston (New York and Washington D. C.: Oxford University Press in association with Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution,1999), 89, 129, 176, 193, 221, 289.

The esteem in which the Mughals held porcelain can be gathered from representations in paintings which show scenes in and in front of buildings whose walls are decorated with *chīnī khāna* **(Fig. 2**).[11] The term means literally 'china house' or 'china room'', and refers to a form of wall decoration consisting of registers of small densely set niches of various shapes meant to hold Chinese porcelain, hence the name.[12]

An independent building called *chīnī khāna* is mentioned by Babur, who saw one in a garden of his Timurid ancestor Ulugh Beg at Samarkand. He describes it as a structure with four doors (*chārdara*: he may be referring to a four-arched pavilion) 'with porcelain all around the dado (*īzāra-i u tamām chīnī ast*) which someone sent to Cathay had brought'.[13] This obviously means that the dados were faced with tiles and not necessarily that the walls were also structured with niches holding porcelain vessels. The Mughals referred with the term *chīnī khāna* not to entire buildings but to the wall decoration. The earliest preserved Mughal *chīnī khāna* seem to be the two panels with small niches on the upper eastern wall of the room behind the east veranda of the Jahangiri Mahal at the Agra fort, a harem (*zanāna)* building which, despite its popular name, dates to the reign of Akbar, to the 1560s-70s (**Fig. 3**).

[11] In addition to our Fig. 2 see also Stronge, *Made for Mughal Emperors*, pls. 31, 42, 71, 75, 86.
[12] For a detailed study comparing Mughal and Safavid *chīnī khāna*s and analysing their differences and idiosyncrasies, see Mehreen Chida-Razvi, "From Function to Form: *Chini-khana* in Safavid and Mughal Architecture", *South Asian Studies* 35, no. 1 (2019): 82-106.
[13] Żahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian Translation, Turkish Transcription, Persian Edition and English Translation by W. M. Thackston, 3 vols. (Cambridge MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1993), part 1, 96; cf. Babur, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, 86.

Fig. 3. Two panels with *chīnī khāna*, wall in the room behind the eastern veranda, later 1560s to 1570s, Jahangiri Mahal, Agra Fort (Photo E. Koch 2015).

Under Jahangir the *chīnī khāna* was adapted in an abstracted form, which became a characteristic wall decoration of his buildings, displaying either real niches filled with painted vessels, painted niches with vessels, or niches and vessels entirely done in red sandstone stone relief (**Fig.4**).

Fig. 4. Wall with *chīnī khāna* relief, porch of gate-pavilion of Suraj Bhan ka Bagh, Agra, first quarter of 17th century (Photo E. Koch 2016).

Another variant were niches with vessels inlaid with white marble into red sandstone or, as in the case of the tomb of I'timad al-Daula (1627), inlaid with different coloured stones into white marble.[14] A further reduction of the *Chīnī khāna* in the form of blind engrailed niches or inlaid niches without any vessels became a popular wall decoration in Shah Jahan's buildings, including the Taj Mahal (1632-43).[15]

In neighbouring Safavid Iran, the spectacular *Chīnī Khāna* at Ardabil in the north-west of the country gave new weight to the *chīnī khāna* as an independent building. The Ardabil *Chīnī Khāna* was originally a fourteenth-century domed octagonal structure within the shrine complex of Shaikh Safi al-Din, the Sufi ancestor of the Safavid dynasty. It was rebuilt for the purpose of displaying the porcelain collection of Shah 'Abbas, which he donated to the shrine in 1610-11, together with other gifts from his collection (**Fig. 5)**.[16] The interior consists of four large niches and four monumental squinches, the corners of which are all faced with a wood and plaster shell of small, finely carved niches of various shapes meant to house vessels and plates. The decorative scheme is closely related to the interior of the fifth-floor hall of the Ali Qapu gate building of the Isfahan palace, which was built around the same time, establishing thus a direct connection with the palatial architecture of the shah and giving it an individualized and monumental expression. The shah's endowment to Ardabil included something between 1,162 and 1,221 porcelain and ceramic pieces, comprising some of the finest extant examples of late-fourteenth- and fifteenth-century white ware and celadon, along with blue-and white porcelain from the late Yuan and Ming periods, the major part of which (805 pieces) is today in the National Museum of Iran in Teheran, but several pieces have also found their way into other museums and collections of the world.[17] As far as I can see, the Ardabil *Chīnī Khāna* represents the first preserved independent and, at least to a certain extent, public 'museum' in the Muslim world, and is perhaps one of the oldest museum buildings altogether. Its fame certainly reached the Mughal court, since the two neighbouring (and rival) dynasties took a distinct interest in each other and exchanged embassies and gifts. And, if we

[14] Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (London: Thames & Hudson 2006), 50-53.
[15] See e.g. Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal,* figs. 228, 229, 230, 248.
[16] Kishwar Rizvi, "Sites of Pilgrimage and Objects of Devotion" in Sheila R. Canby, ed., *Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran*(London: The British Museum Press 2009), 98-127; Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine* as cited; Babaie *et al*., *Slaves of the Shah,* as cited.
[17] Mahnaz Rahimifar, "Transfer of the Collection of the Shrine of Shaykh Safi to the National Museum of Iran", in *Shah 'Abbas,* 125-27, see also cat. nos. 54-74.

believe Hawkin's episode, with his offer to present the office holder of Jahangir with a replacement for the broken porcelain dish, Shah 'Abbas made it clear that he not only possessed but could even easily spare a type of dish whose loss had deeply unsettled the Mughal emperor.

Fig. 5. Interior of the *Chīnī Khāna* (Porcelain House), shrine of Shaikh Safi, Ardabil, North West Iran, early 17th century (Photo Benno Koch 2015).

The awareness of the grand Ardabil *Chīnī Khāna* could also be the reason that under Shah Jahan entire rooms decorated with 'real' *chīnī khāna*, namely three-dimensional niches into which vessels were placed, gained in importance. Such rooms appear in several of Shah Jahan's palace buildings and even became the frame for the imperial

appearance in his viewing loggia of the Hall of Private and Public Audience at Agra (1637), the *jharōka-i daulat khāna-i khāṣṣ-u-ᶜāmm*. (**Fig. 6**)

Fig. 6. *Chīnī khāna* wall decoration of Shah Jahan's loggia of appearance (*jharōka*) in the audience hall (Diwan-i `Amm). Completed 1637, Agra Fort (Photo E. Koch 2015).

The loggia opens into the audience hall with three lobed arches, and its three marble clad walls are structured with small niches in a perfectly symmetrical arrangement, dear to the builders of the time. Conforming with Shah Jahan's striving for luxury and abundance, the vases, jars and bowls in the niches not only consisted of Chinese porcelain but were partly replaced by golden vessels studded with precious stones (*żurūf-i muraṣṣaᶜ*), which were made by Mughal artisans in the imperial workshops (*kārkhāna*).[18] We can imagine these vessels from the gold and jewel incrusted objects presented to Shah Jahan in paintings[19] and from preserved pieces of the Mughal imperial treasury.[20]

[18] 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī, *Bādshāhnāmah,* ed. by M. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and M. 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal 1866-72), vol. i/2, 236.
[19] See e.g. Beach, Koch, and Thackston, *King of the World*, cat. nos. 9, 14**.**
[20] Especially those vessels which Nadir Shah (r. 1736-47) looted in 1739 when he sacked Delhi. His booty included Shah Jahan's famous Peacock Throne. Soon afterwards, in 1741, Nadir Shah dispatched an embassy to Russia, which took along thirty-seven such pieces as gifts: eighteen remain

For the Mughals, the acquisition and display of foreign objects demonstrated power and cultural superiority. This line of thought is suggested by Shah Jahan's poet Abu Talib Kalim Kashani, who declares the Chinese porcelain vessels in the Agra *jharōka* to be a tribute of China:

> May the evil eye be away from the porcelains (*chīnī-hā*) of its niches (*tāq*),
> The emperor of China (*faghfūr*) has brought them as *pīshkash* (offering) to the court.[21]
> In the manner of the taking tribute (*bāj*) from the sultans
> The porcelain reaches as offering (*kharāj*) from the country of China.
> The (long necked) flasks (*ṣurāḥī*) are of porcelain and gold,
> They are bright like the stars in the arch of the sky. [22]

The ultimate transformation of the *Chīnī Khāna*

The exchange of porcelain for golden vessels to make it more precious, to symbolize the age of abundance under Shah Jahan, was a first step in the complete transformation of the *chīnī khāna.* The dado zone, the pillars and the ceiling of the Agra *jharōka* room, point to the further development of the decoration scheme. They are made of marble, inlaid with flowers and floral patterns in semi-precious stones through a minute technique which the Mughals called *parchīn kārī* and which corresponded to the Italian *commesso di pietre dure*, especially as practised in Florence. The Mughals came to know it through Italian artists and *pietra dura* tablets, which were brought, quite in the sense of Kalim, as gifts to the court.[23]

in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg See Komaroff, *Gifts of the Sultan*, 214, cat. no. 28, fig. 206.

[21] For *pīshkash* in the Mughal context, see Kim Siebenhüner, "Approaching Diplomatic and Courtly Gift-Giving in Europe and Mughal India: Shared Practices and Cultural Diversity", *The Medieval History Journal* 16, no. 2 (2013), 525–546; Stephan Popp, "Present Given to and by Jahangir and Shah Jahan", in Ebba Koch and Ali Anooshahr, eds., *The Mughal Empire from Jahangir to Shah Jahan* (Mumbai: Marg Foundation 2019), 132-43.

[22] Abū Ṭālib Kalīm Kāshānī, *Dīwān*, ed. by Partau Bayza'i, (Tehran: Khayam 1336 sh/1957), 345, lines 19-21.

[23] For this and the following, see Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlaganstalt, 1988), reprinted without introduction in Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*: *Collected Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 61-129.

In the *jharōka-i khāṣṣ-u ʻāmm* of Shah Jahan's palace at Delhi, the components of the Agra *jharōka* were reinterpreted to transform his loggia of appearance into an elaborate baldachined throne construction which expressed an ambitious allegorical concept: it was to represent Shah Jahan's copy of the Solomonic throne. The Mughals knew it from Arabic texts based on Jewish writings, which described the throne with jewelled trees and figures of birds and lions. Shah Jahan's realisation projected elements of the Solomonic throne, in the form of Florentine *pietra dura* panels displaying the signature birds, lions, and flowery plants and vases, onto the wall behind the throne (**Fig. 7**).[24] The bilateral symmetrical arrangement of the panels took its cue from the previous *chīnī khāna* schemes, with *pietra dura* panels now featuring in place of niches. And since in the fields of the lower zone of the wall the Florentine panels displayed (flower) vases (**Fig.8**), a conceptual link to the Chinese (and golden Mughal) vessels was established. In the Delhi throne arrangement, the Mughals updated themselves by using Florentine art works instead of Chinese objects for the decoration of their palace setting: this can also be seen as a purposeful and permanent exhibition of European art at the Mughal court.

[24] The drawing shows a reconstruction of the Delhi wall with the information: 'Taken from a drawing by Ghulam Alia Khan made in 1837 and from the original mosaic still left in the wall. Drawn in the Office of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India 1882. By Abdul Aziz'. It was published by H. H Cole, "Report for the Year 1883-84" in *Preservation of National Monuments India: Delhi* (Delhi: Published by order of the Governor General for the Office of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, 1884), appendix P, pl. 1.

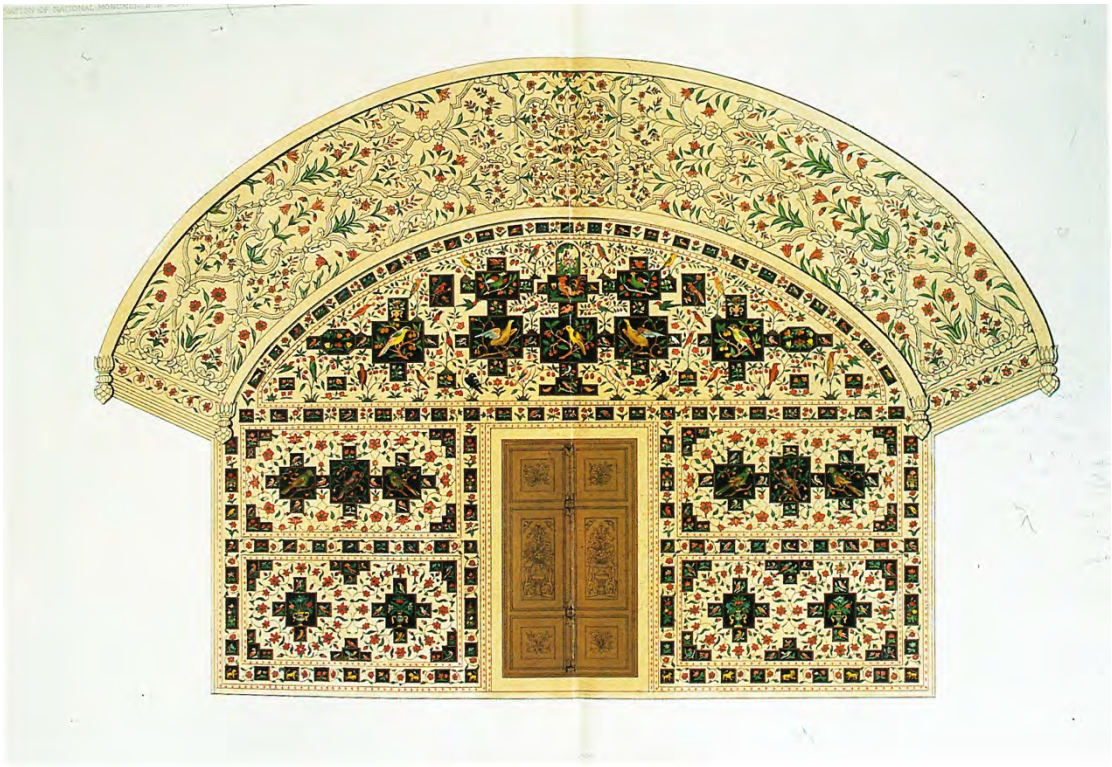

Fig. 7. Back wall of Shah Jahan's throne-*jharoka* in the audience hall (Diwan-i`Amm), Red Fort of Delhi, completed 1648, displaying Florentine *pietra dura* plaques showing Orpheus, various species of birds, flowers and vases (lunette-shaped top field), South American parrots (middle field), vases (bottom field) and tiny lions (bottom stripe). In the interstices are flowers, flowery scrolls and birds by Mughal artists. 'Taken from a drawing by Ghulam Alia Khan made in 1837 and from the original mosaic still left in the wall. Drawn in the Office of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India 1882. By Abdul Aziz'. Published by H. H Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments India: Delhi* (Delhi: Published by order of the Governor General for the Office of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India 1884) (Photo E. Koch 1982).

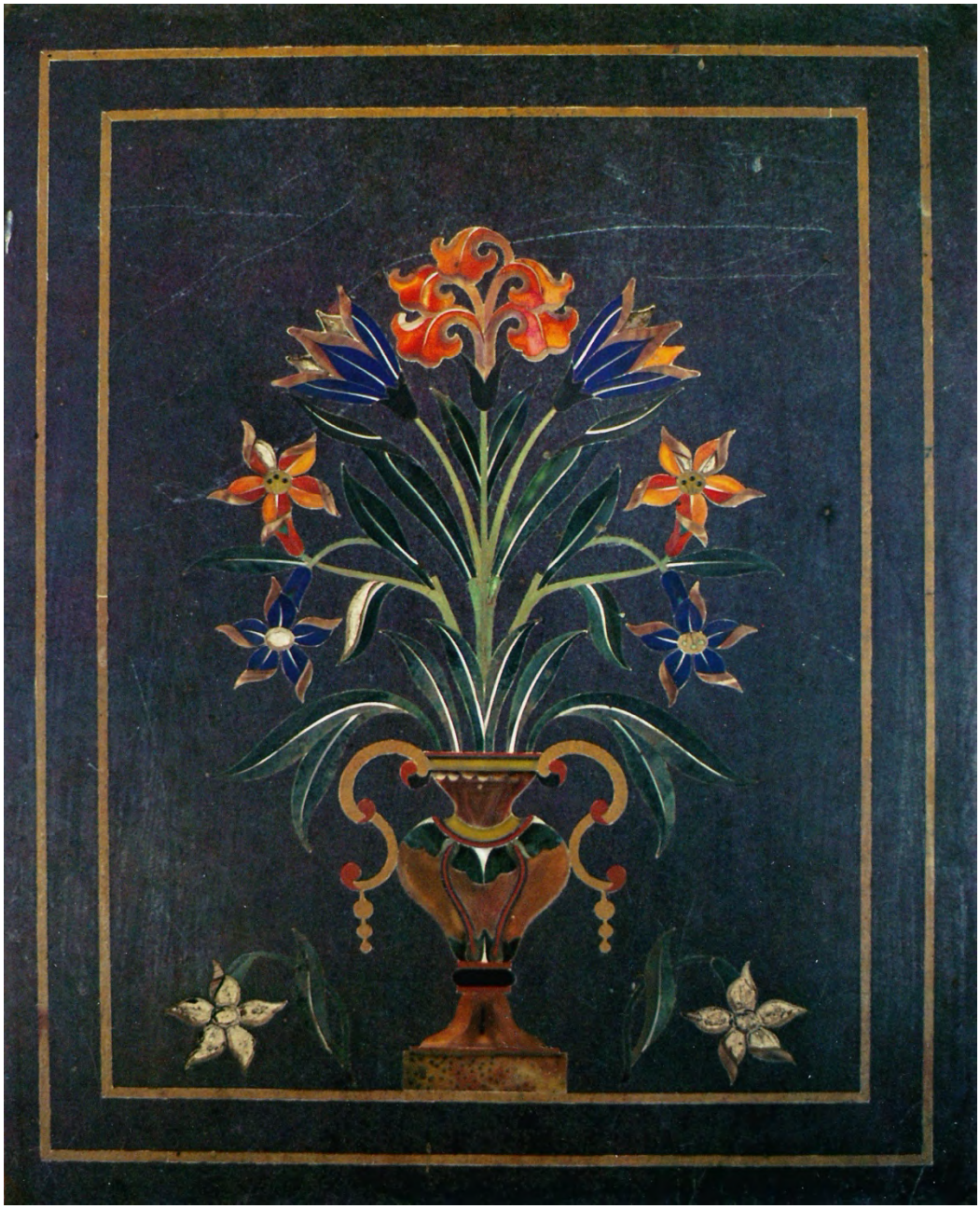

Fig. 8. *Pietra dura* panel with flower vase, Florence, detail of the back wall (lower right) of Shah Jahan's throne-*jharoka*, Red Fort of Delhi (Photo E. Koch 1984).

12

EREKLE II. (1720-1798) GOES GLOBAL: Zwischen Aufklärung, Wissenstransfer und strukturellen Reformen in Georgien ab den 1750er Jahren

Nino Doborjginidze and Tilmann Kulke
Ilia State University Tbilisi

Und wir bitten Seine Herrlichkeit und Gnädigkeit, möge er uns die Gelegenheit geben, unser Militär nach europäischen Regeln auszurichten, […] damit einmal auch dieses Land dem herrlichen europäischen König mit all seinen Kapazitäten dienen möge (Erekle II., in einem Brief an Kaiser Joseph II., 18 Oktober 1782).[1]

Georgien hat sich in den letzten Jahren zu einem gigantischem Touristenmagneten entwickelt, welcher Abenteurer und Hipster aus der ganzen Welt anzieht, ständig darum bemüht, das Exotische und Außergewöhnliche mittels ihrer umgehängten Nikon-Spiegelreflexkameras für ihre Peer-Group zu Hause festzuhalten. Sie werden angelockt von unzähligen Kurzbeschreibungen, die sich letztlich aber immer gleich anhören. Denn keine Reisebeschreibung Georgiens kommt ohne das klassische Adjektiv ‚chaotic' aus, wie dieser Reisebericht aus der New York Times aus dem Jahre 2017 so trefflich zeigt; hier geht es gleich in der ersten Zeile los:

> With chaotic yet charming cobblestone streets, dome-shaped bathhouses steaming with sulfuric waters, and crumbling Soviet factories repurposed as hipster hotels, Tbilisi is a study in contrasts. Capital of Georgia and the heart of the Caucasus, the city teems with riches: cathedrals that rise in the hills like layer cakes; hidden cafes bursting with bric-a-brac, and a bohemian art scene

[1] Erekles Briefe an Joseph II. stehen uns im Wiener Staatsarchiv zur Verfügung, s. Wiener Staatsarchiv, AT-OeStA/HHStA StK Vorträge 138-2 (1783.09-10).

> that is slowly peeling away the Soviet grit from this survivalist town to reveal a vibrant creative core.[2]

Die Autorin dieses *NYT*-Artikels ist sich sehr wahrscheinlich nicht darüber bewusst, wie sehr sie sich mit derlei klischeehaften Beschreibungen in eine jahrhundertelange Tradition der Berichterstattung über Georgien und den Kaukasus einreiht. Denn solche Beschreibungen finden wir überall. So war es vor allem Ende der 90er und Anfang der 2000er ein gängiges Motivbild, wenn sich in die Jahre gekommene deutsche Reporter des öffentlich-rechtlichen Fernsehens vor irgendeinem Berg fotografieren ließen, um dem westlich-zivilisierten Lesepublikum den *wilden Kaukasus* zu erklären.[3] Und es hat ganz den Anschein, dass dieses kleine Land noch einen langen Weg vor sich hat, sich von diesen orientalistischen Clichés zu befreien.[4]

Im folgenden Essay wollen wir uns der georgischen Geschichte, und hier vor allem der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, aus einer anderen Perspektive annähern, nämlich einer globalhistorischen, und aufzeigen, dass hier keinesfalls durchgehend chaotische, rückwärtsgewandte und archaisch-unstrukturierte Verhältnisse herrschten, sondern vielmehr beeindruckende Reformbemühungen angestoßen wurden. Mit diesem Perspektivwechsel hoffen wir, einen weiteren Beitrag zu dem nach wie vor heftig diskutierten Konzept der globalen Sattelzeit und dem Zeitalter der Aufklärung aus globalgeschichtlicher Perspektive beitragen zu können.

Zu Beginn werden wir unsere aktuelle Forschungsagenda präsentieren, also was wir uns überhaupt unter einer Globalgeschichte des Kaukasus vorstellen, um dann unsere aktuellen Forschungsprojekte vorzustellen, welche wir wieder aufnehmen werden, sobald die Archive wieder geöffnet sind; hier geht es primär um eine Neueinordnung der faszinierenden Herrscherpersönlichkeit Erekle II. (1720-1798) und seiner Regierungszeit, die geprägt war vom Aufprall der drei großen Imperien dieser Region und Zeit, also dem Osmanischen, Qajarischen und Russischen Reich, und seinen beeindruckenden Reformbemühungen und weitreichenden geostrategischen Allianzplänen weit über den Kaukasus hinaus.

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[2] https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/07/travel/what-to-do-in-tbilisi.html, Letzter Zugriff 11. Juni 2021.
[3] Ein gutes Beispiel ist bspw. Fritz Pleitgen, *Durch den Wilden Kaukasus* (Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 2000).
[4] Eine ausgezeichnete und erfrischende Darstellung der aktuellen georgischen Gesellschaft, Politik und Kultur liefert Luka Nakhutsrishvili, ed., *Georgien, neu buchstabiert: Politik und Kultur eines Landes auf dem Weg nach Europa* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2018).

Ab den 1750er Jahren entwickelte sich Erekle zu einem wahren medialen Superstar der europäischen Öffentlichkeit und zeigte sich gleichzeitig fasziniert von aufklärerischen Strömungen Europas, ließ wichtige Werke der Aufklärung übersetzen und führte zahlreiche Reformen ein, die mit archaischen Traditionen des Adels und der Kirche brachen und darauf abzielten, sich vom „*Dunkel der Unwissenheit*" („*umecrebis sibnelit dafaruli*") endgültig zu verabschieden.[5] Doch bevor wir im vorliegenden Essay unsere aktuellen Forschungsprojekte vorstellen, werden wir auf den nächsten Seiten einen (sehr) kurzen historischen Abriss über die frühneuzeitliche Kaukasusregion liefern, um daran anschließend die Möglichkeiten und Herausforderungen einer Globalgeschichte des Kaukasus im 18. Jhd. zu diskutieren.

Eine (sehr) kurze Geschichte des Kaukasus, ca. 1300-1800

Stark christlich geprägt, doch bis zur Unabhängigkeit 1991 Teil der Sowjetunion, liegt Georgien auf der Grenze zwischen Europa und Asien. Jenseits seiner sowjetischen Vergangenheit suchte es seit Jahrhunderten seinen ganz eigenen Weg nach Europa und schaut nach dem Jubiläumsjahr der Oktoberrevolution auf sein kurzes, aber unvergessenes demokratisches Erbe von 1918.[6] In der Geschichtsschreibung gelten Georgien und der Kaukasus gemeinhin als Brücke zwischen Europa und Asien und als Bindeglied zwischen Christentum und Islam; der Kaukasus umfasst den Gebirgszug zwischen dem schwarzen und dem kaspischen Meer und ist zugleich die übergeordnete Bezeichnung für die Region mit den unabhängigen Staaten Georgien, Armenien und Aserbaidschan im Süden, sowie den offiziell noch zur Russischen Föderation gehörenden semi-autonomen Regionen im Norden.[7] Er wird in zwei Subregionen - den Nord- und Südkaukasus - aufgeteilt, in dem ca. 30 Millionen Bewohner zwischen 40 und 50 Sprachen sprechen, weshalb er bereits im 10.

[5] Wir werden auf die bedeutende öffentliche Inszenierung dieses Zitats, welches vom Rektor des theologischen Schule in Telavi 1782 stammt, weiter unten ausführlicher eingehen, s. hierzu Geronti Kikodze, *Erekle der II. (გერონტი ქიქოძე, ერეკლე მეორე)*, (Tbilisi: Sakhelgami, 1942), 179; alle georgischen Titel werden in deutscher Übersetzung angegeben.

[6] S. hierzu Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy 1883-1917* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[7] Sehr zu empfehlende Einführungen sind Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus: an Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn., 2019); Charles King, *A Ghost of Freedeom. A History of the Caucasus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Heinz Fähnrich, *Geschichte Georgiens* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

Jahrhundert vom großen arabischen Gelehrten und Reisenden Abu l-Hasan al-Masʿudi, (ca. 893 - 956) als Berg der Sprachen (*jabal al-alsun*) beschrieben wurde.[8] Unter David dem Erbauer (1073-1125) und Königin Tamara (1160-1213) entwickelte sich Georgien zwischen dem 11. und 13. Jahrhundert zu einer regionalen Großmacht und einem äußerst wichtigen Akteur während der Kreuzzüge. In dieser Zeit blühte die sogenannte georgische Renaissance auf, welche für die Kunst und Literatur beachtlichste Werke hervorbrachte und ohne Zweifel ein faszinierendes, in der westlichen Forschung jedoch noch weitestgehend unbekanntes Forschungsfeld ist.[9] Dieser Blütezeit wurde durch mehrere Mongoleneinfälle in den dreißiger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts und die daran anschließenden verheerenden Militärkampagnen Timur Lenks (1386-1403) ein dramatisches Ende gesetzt. Vom 16. Jahrhundert an fungierte Georgien primär als dauernd lockendes Beutegut der beiden Dauerrivalen, dem osmanischen Reich im Westen und dem safawidischen Reich im Süden, welche sich das ressourcenreiche Land im Frieden von Amasya 1555 zwischen ihren Frühjahrs-und Herbstfeldzügen untereinander aufteilten.[10]

In den nun kommenden 300 Jahren folgten endlose Eroberungen und Plünderungszüge, in denen die georgische und vor allem kakhetinische Bevölkerung unsagbares Leid zu ertragen hatte. Hier, im Osten des Landes, fanden die meisten Schlachten zwischen den beiden islamischen Dauerrivalen statt und vor allem Persien versuchte zuletzt in den 1790er Jahren, Kakheti endgültig zu okkupieren, indem es die Bevölkerung vertrieb, versklavte, tötete und die Region anschließend mit muslimischen Turkmenen aus den nordöstlichen Provinzen Persiens besiedelte. Zu jener Zeit sank die Bevölkerungszahl dieser Region absolut und proportional auf ein solch erschreckendes Niveau, dass es den Anschein hatte, Kakheti würde sich von diesem nicht enden wollenden Aderlass nicht mehr erholen können.[11] Es ist diese

[8]Antonio Sagona, *The Archaeology of the Caucasus: from Earliest Settlements to the Iron Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 30.

[9] Ivane Javakhishvili, *Die Geschichte der georgischen Nation (ი. ჯავახიშვილი, ქართველი ერის ისტორია)*, (Tbilisi: Sabchota Saqartvelo, 1965), 327-343; 354-377.

[10] Siehe hierzu Grigol Beradze und Karlo Kutsia, “Towards the Interrelation of Iran and Georgia in the 16th-18th Centuries”, in Raoul Motika und Michael Ursinius, eds., *Caucasia between the Ottoman Empire and Iran 1555-1914* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 121-131.

[11] Einen sehr guten ersten Überblick liefert hierzu Clara Leeder in ihrer Bachelor-Arbeit, die ich zusammen mit Thomas Ertl betreuen durfte, s. Clara Leeder: *Eine Stadt im Kaukasus als Schauplatz großer Konflikte - Die Zerstörung Gremis im Kontext der persisch-georgischen Beziehungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Unveröffentlichte Bachelor Arbeit an der Freien Universität Berlin, 2021).

dramatische Übergangszeit des 18. Jahrhunderts, derer wir uns erstmals aus globalgeschichtlicher Perspektive zuwenden wollen.

Erste Ansätze einer Globalgeschichte des Kaukasus

An dieser Stelle wollen wir ausdrücklich hervorheben, dass wir keine neue Nationalgeschichte 2.0 Georgiens unter dem Etikett *Globalhistory* verfassen wollen, wenn wir von einem neuen Zugang zur georgischen Geschichte und Kultur sprechen;[12] zu groß ist die Gefahr, ein neues Opfer-Narrativ zu kreieren, welches gerade in Zeiten des bedauerlicherweise an viel zu vielen Orten auf der Welt erstarkenden Nationalismus und all seiner negativen Begleiterscheinungen äußerst gefährlich wäre. In diesem Zusammenhang sind wir uns auch den Grenzen des ohne Zweifel wichtigen Konzepts der *multiple modernities* bewusst und wollen daher auch keine abgeschottete, isolierte und klassische Nationalgeschichte Georgiens verfassen, welche den aus eigener Kraft und nach Jahrhunderten der Besatzung und Ausbeutung den Telos Moderne endlich erreicht hat, „(as) the call for alternative perspectives thus frequently deteriorate into forms of cultural essentialism and identity politics.[13]

Uns ist auch bewusst, vor allem wenn wir uns mit vormodernen Quellen beschäftigen, dass mit unseren Fragestellungen die reale Gefahr besteht, sich in der Konstruktion des gerade genenannten teleologischen Arguments hin zur Moderne zu verlieren, in dem Sinne also, das unsere Quellen die Basis für das Schreiben der globalen Geschichte des 21. Jahrhunderts liefern und dass das Konzept des "*Globalen*" uns als Historiker dazu verleiten kann, die spezifische Logik der Vergangenheit auszulöschen und Formen der *connectedness* zu fetischisieren, sie also quasi überall zu sehen, und wichtige Aspekte wie beispielsweise globale und imperiale Machtstrukturen zu vernachlässigen „(…) *and to flatten historical reality in a quest for unifying frames*.“[14]

[12] Dies hat sich in letzter Zeit bei vielen auf den Blick sehr vielversprechenden Projekten gezeigt, die jedoch mit einem gewissen Ballast in den Bauchläden erschienen und letztlich nur die eigene Nation und beschriebene Region rühmten und zelebrierten. see e.g.: Marnix Beyen, ed., *Wereld Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Polis, 2018); Giuseppe Barone, ed., *Storia Mondiale della Sicilia* (Bari: Laterza, 2018); Andrea Giardina, ed., *Storia Mondiale dell'Italia* (Bari: Laterza, 2017); s. hierzu unser Interview mit Jorge Flores im vorliegenden Band.
[13] Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 181.
[14] Idem, 224.

Auch wollen wir unbedingt festhalten, dass wir unsere Analyse als eine Methodik unter vielen anderen begreifen und unsere globalhistorische Analyse keinesfalls als das absolute methodische Heilmittel verstehen.[15] Und wenn wir von einer globalhistorischen Analyse kaukasischer Themengebiete sprechen, dann meinen wir damit nicht einfach das Schmücken unserer Texte mit fancy Schlagwörtern wie *border-crossing*, *mobility*, *travelling*, *networking*, *connectivity* und *exchange*, sondern wollen gezielt den Wegen und Formen struktureller Veränderung und gesellschaftlichem Wandel nachgehen, welcher eben an geographischen und politischen Grenzen haltmachte:

> A global history that aspires to be more than an ecumenical and welcoming repository of happy stories of cross-border encounters, then, needs to engage systematically with the issue of structured global transformations and their impact on social change.[16]

Wir wollen diesen Weg einschlagen, da die Historiographie im Bereich der frühneuzeitlichen Globalgeschichte, also zwischen 1300-1800, über die Region des Kaukasus und Georgien große Forschungslücken aufweist. Zwar gab es bereits einige wichtige, jüngst erschienene Studien, die sich vor allem auf die neuere Geschichte konzentrieren und Kernfragen der Globalgeschichte, wie bspw. Migration, etc. aufnehmen, sich aber vor allem auf das für Georgien ohne Zweifel bedeutende 20. Jahrhundert und seinen umfassenden und tiefgreifenden Umwälzungen konzentrieren.[17] Begeben wir uns aber in die Zeit vor 1900 wird es schon dunkler, ganz zu schweigen, wenn wir uns in die Zeit vor 1800 begeben. Spätestens hier scheint das Interesse nicht-georgischer Historiker für diese Region erheblich nachzulassen und es erscheint weiterhin, wenn überhaupt, höchstens als Nebensatz oder Fußnote in den Studien. Dies mag sicherlich zuallererst an der Sprache liegen. Denn nicht nur ist die Anzahl außergeorgischer Historiker, welche die Sprache beherrschen, natürlich auffallend gering, allein in Deutschland gibt es nur einen

[15] Idem, 5.
[16] Idem, 71.
[17] Hier seien bspw. erwähnt Manja Stephan-Emmrich and Phillip Schröder, eds., *Mobilities, Boundaries, and Travelling Ideas: Rethinking Translocality Beyond Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2018); Nicholas Tarling, *Decolonisations Compared: Central America, Southeast Asia, the Caucasus* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Hiroaki Kuromiya und Georges Mamoulia, eds., *The Eurasian Triangle: Russia, the Caucasus and Japan, 1904-1945* (Warschau/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2016).

Lehrstuhl in Jena, der, darüber hinaus, primär philologisch ausgerichtet ist. Hinzu kommt die institutionelle Isoliertheit dieser kleinen Fächer, ihre Entstehungsgeschichte als *area-studies* in der Zeit des kalten Krieges und ihre gewisse Sonderrolle des Exotischen, der stets etwas leicht Spinnerisches anhaftete; es ist zwar schön, einen Lehrstuhl für Tibetologie, Islamwissenschaft oder Afrikanistik an der Universität zu haben, mit der ‚eigentlichen', also europäischen, Geschichtswissenschaft hatte dies jedoch wenig zu tun, wie Alessandro Stanziani am Beispiel Italiens aufzeigt. [18]

> Although they were highly visible on the international scene, these authors were still exceptions in Italy, where history remained national, as in other European countries of the same period: in most university curricula, history was synonymous with the history of Italy. The history of a few European countries was perhaps present in universities specializing in the humanities; but, in general, area studies were kept separate and located in Institutes of Eastern Languages and Civilizations, such as the Langues Orientales in France or the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in England. Relations between area studies were practically nonexistent, and even European construction hardly had an impact on the organization of historic disciplines.[19]

Und wenn wir uns nach Georgien begeben, dessen Bildungslandschaft zwar zahlreiche bedeutende Gelehrte und Intellektuelle hervorgebracht hat, liegt der Mangel an globalhistorischen Analysen noch deutlicher auf der Hand. Bis 1990 stand die georgische Geschichtswissenschaft ganz im Dienste der Sowjetunion, woraus genau das Dilemma folgte, welches Sebastian Conrad so treffend als die beiden Geburtsfehler der Geschichtswissenschaft beschrieben hat:[20] Nämlich die kollektive und intellektuelle Selbstfindung der *eigenen* nationalen Identität mit dem nun unabhängigen Nationalstaat Georgien als ultimativen Referenzrahmen, deren nationalhistorisch orientierte Geschichtswissenschaft in Jahren des Umbruches (ca. 1990-2000) die nötigen identitätsstiftenden historischen Narrative lieferte und nach

[18] In diesem Zusammenhang ist die wichtige Initiative „*Arbeitsstelle kleiner Fächer*" von großer Wichtigkeit, siehe https://www.kleinefaecher.de/, letzter Zugriff 23. Juni 2021.
[19] Alessandro Stanziani, *Eurocentrism and the Politics of Global History* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 120-121.
[20] Conrad, *What is Global History*, 3-4, sie auch Roland Wenzlhuemer, *Globalgeschichte schreiben: Eine Einführung in 6 Episoden* (Stuttgart: UTB, 2017), 9-10.

wie vor liefert.[21] Kritische Globalhistorische Analysen hingegen zielen darauf ab, festgefahrene historische und auf die eigene Nation fokussierte (Opfer)Narrative zu hinterfragen und die intellektuell konstruierte, historische Sonderrolle zu dekonstruieren, eben weil die hier gestellten Analysefragen nicht an staatlichen Grenzen halt machen, sondern stets dezidiert grenzübergreifende Perspektiven eingeschlagen, und mehrere Quellen, Genres und Sprachen in die Analyse miteinbezogen werden:

> As the relevance of territorial boundaries has been called into question, history has become more complex. In retrospect, some older studies may now appear to us like broad-casts of a football game that show only one of the two teams, to say nothing of other factors, such as the audience, weather conditions, and league ranking. Global history, by contrast, allows a wide-angle view of processes that were for a long time undetectable by the knowledge systems of the academy, or were at least considered irrelevant.

Globalgeschichtliche Analysen sind jedoch nicht nur eine echte intellektuelle Herausforderung für die jeweiligen Autoren, für die öffentliche Bildungslandschaft und bequeme einseitig-nationale Deutungsmuster. Der Aufbau eines Instituts für die Globalgeschichte bedeutet natürlich auch eine institutionelle und monetäre Herausforderung; noch einmal ausführlich Conrad:

> Global history is also less attractive in countries where nation-building ranks high on the public and intellectual agenda. This is the case in many parts of Africa, but also in Eastern Europe in the wake of the Cold War. Under such conditions, funding—when at all available—tends to be allocated primarily to projects relating to the national past. And more generally, of course, the issue of funding is crucial—and not only for global history agendas. In Africa in particular, many universities and academic institutions are in deep crisis, so much so that instruction in history itself may be called into question. Global history can be a particularly expensive undertaking. Journals and research

[21] Einen ausgezeichneten aktuellen Überblick über die georgischen Historiographie und deren Probleme liefert Oliver Reisner, “Vergangenheit, die nicht vergeht”, in Bernd Bonwetsch, Marc Junge and Daniel Müller, eds., *Грузия в пути. Тени сталинизма* (Moskau: Airo, 2017), 244-267, idem, *Trends and Problems of Contemporary Georgian Historiography: Ivane Javakhishvili’s Long Shadow in Times of Globalization* (in Vorbereitung).

> centers, language training, international conferences, and the like can flourish only where foundations and government organizations are willing to promote, and take a risk on, the new approach, and where publishers can count on a return on their investments. Their willingness depends not least on the extent to which societies can benefit politically and economically from the globalization process;" [22] (in anderen Worten:) "Global history comes at a cost.[23]

Es ist uns auch wichtig zu betonen, dass wir mit unserem Ansatz nichts romantisieren und Georgien und den Kaukasus als fröhliche und konstant aufgeschlossene Durchgangs- und Austauschsregion von Kulturen und Gesellschaften verschönen wollen. Denn wie wir eingangs ja gezeigt haben, wurde Georgien und der Kaukasus über Jahrhunderte mit Kriegen überzogen, was generell zu katastrophalen Verwüstungen und gigantischen Migrationsbewegungen führte. Aber auch diese Konflikte gilt es unter einer grenzüberschreitentenden, globalhistorischen Perspektive zu analysieren und weniger einzig unter klassisch-nationalgeschichtlichen, da die Analyse von Konflikten und Kriegen die Grenzen vom In-und Ausland per se aufhebt, wie Jeremy Black in seinem neusten Werk argumentiert, da „(…) general beliefs, attitudes towards conflict or the means for conflict, such as conscription and popular mobilisation, cannot be separated from the discussion of the domestic sphere."[24]

Ohne das jahrhundertelange und katastrophale Leiden der Zivilbevölkerung zu verharmlosen, was wir natürlich unbedingt vermeiden wollen, verhindern wir auf diese Weise dennoch mit alternativen Perspektiven auf diese Konflikte die Entstehung eines gefährlichen Opfernarratives und können andere Fragen an die Vergangenheit und die damaligen Akteure und ihre Quellen stellen. Zum Beispiel die Rolle georgischer Adliger und Händler als transregionale Akteure, die auf engste in den Sklavenhandel verwickelt waren, von der Versklavung ihrer eigenen Landsleute enorm profitierten und sich, wenigstens für eine kurze Zeit, mittels dieses Tributsystems, das tief in der Kultur und des Alltagslebens des Kaukaus verwurzelt war, [25] Sicherheit erkaufen konnten. Ein weiterer, möglicher Perspektivwechsel auf diese dramatischen Konflikte

[22] Conrad, *What is Global History*, 216-217
[23] Idem, 15.
[24] Jeremy Black, *Military Strategy: A Global History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), xv-xvi.
[25] Megan Dean Farah, "Autocratic Abolitionists: Tsarists Russian Anti-Slavery Campaigns" in Maurice Bric und William Mulligan, eds., *A Global History of Anti-slavery Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 201), 97-116, 105.

wäre eine komparatistische Analyse, wie es meine geschätzte EUI-Kollegin Suzan Kalayci jüngst mit der kollektiven Verarbeitung von Traumata und deren identitätsstiftender Funktion in Armenien und Irland getan hat.[26]

Zuletzt müssen wir natürlich auch noch – in aller gegebener Kürze – das komplexe Verhältnis von Kultur und Identität ansprechen, was umso komplizierter wird, umso weiter wir uns in die Vergangenheit des *Berges der Sprachen*, begeben. Um diese Komplexität besser analysieren zu können, drängt sich eine globalhistorische Perspektive auf das mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Georgien geradezu auf, was bedeutet, dass wir uns bspw. auf die vielfältigen *transkulturellen Verflechtungen* fokussieren; hierzu Michael Borgolte:

> Globalhistorische Studien im Mittelalter zielen (...) auf transkulturelle Verflechtungen ab. In transkultureller Perspektive gibt es keine reinen, sondern nur „hybride“ Kulturen, in denen sich Elemente verschiedener Herkunft vermischt und gegebenenfalls etwas ganz Neues ergeben haben. Um diese Verflechtungen zu bezeichnen und zu analysieren, bedient sich die gegenwärtige Forschung auch der Begriffe „interconnectivity“ und „entangled histories.“[27]

Darauf aufbauend möchten wir noch die von Sanjay Subrahmanyam dargelegten fünf spezifischen Elemente, welche die afro-Eurasische Ökumene der frühen Neuzeit maßgeblich charakterisieren und jüngst von Ray A. Kea treffend zusammengefasst wurden, präsentieren, da sie maßgeblich auf die Geschichte des frühneuzeitlichen Georgiens angewendet werden können und eine weitere, wichtige Orientierung für uns liefern:

> He (Subrahmanyam) argues that concurrent developments and changes (or “synchronicities”) across the Afro-Eurasian oikumene between c. 1350 and c. 1750 were foundational in the emergence of early modernity. The specific elements that were constitutive of early modern conditions were necessarily heterogeneous - cultural, commercial, discursive, intellectual, ideological, social and political: (1) the emergence of new ideas pertaining to travel and

[26] Dieter Reinische and Suzan Meryem Rosita Kalayci, eds., “Daredevils of History? Resilience in Armenia and Ireland”, *Special issue of Studi irlandesi. A Journal of Irish* Studies, No. 8 (2018).
[27] Michael Borgolte, “Mittelalter in der größeren Welt”, in Michael Wildt, ed., *Geschichte neu denken: Perspektiven auf die Geschichtsschreibung heute* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 201), 52-68, 57.

> "discovery" and the related appearance of travel literature as a literary genre; (2) heightened systemic conflict between settled urban societies and nomadic groups of pastoralists and foragers; (3) intensification of global commodity and bullion flows and the enhanced circulation of ideas, goods and people in ways not known earlier due to new modes of communication and transportation; (4) a new political theology concerning the Universal Empire, millenarian visions of empire, empire-building projects, and revolution in military organization and methods of warfare; (5) and new ideas concerning universalism that were expressed as new and intensified forms of hierarchy, domination and exclusion, and a humanism that formulated conceptual and empirical links between medical knowledge, religion and novel conceptions of the individual.[28]

Hinzu kommt, dass sich das Konzept der *Connected History* ausgezeichnet mit beiden Ebenen der Mikro-und Makrogeschichte verbinden lässt.[29] Ein Ansatz, den wir ebenfalls bei unseren künftigen Analysen unbedingt berücksichtigen wollen:

> In turn, connected histories could be combined with other approaches, from the quantitative and macro-historical (as applied, say, to monetary history) to the micro-historical (as applied, say, to individual trajectories). They can equally be brought together (…) with imperial history or the study of empires.[30]

Aber natürlich gibt es auch bei diesem Konzept Grenzen. Noch einmal Subrahmanyam:

> (…) if there were some extraordinarily powerful networks and circuits that crossed early-modern political boundaries in Asia, whether for political, military, or commercial reasons, we must also be aware of the limits of these networks and circuits. Not everything was connected, and not all the time.[31]

Aber auch gerade diese Begrenzungen der Vernetzung können unter globalhistorischen Fragestellungen höchst interessante Ergebnisse liefern, wenn wir uns bspw. den abgeschiedenen Regionen Svaneti und Tusheti unter genau diesen

[28]Ray A. Kea, "Africa in World History, 1400-1800," in Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry Q. E. Wiesner-Hanks, eds., *The Cambridge World History Vol. VI: The Construction of a Global World, 1400-1800 CE, 2 Parts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 243-268, 244-245.
[29] S. Jan de Vries, "Playing With Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano", *Past and Present 242*, No. 14 (2019), 23-36; Francesca Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?", *California Italian Studies 2*, No. 1 (2011), 1-24.
[30] Subrahmanyam, *Empires between Islam and Christianity*, 22-33.
[31] Idem, 370.

methodischen Fragestellungen annähern und der Frage nachgehen, welchen Einfluss diese Regionen auf global-imperiale Machtstrukturen hatten und, umgekehrt, wie sie von diesen beeinflusst wurden. Gerade an diesen stark abgeschiedenen Regionen kann sich das Zusammenspiel zwischen Mikro-und Makrogeschichte als besonders ertragreich erweisen und dem Zusammentreffen kolonialer und indigener Wissensproduktion analytisch nachgegangen werden, wie es bspw. Sujit Sivasundaram in seiner wichtigen Studie *Islanded* so vorbildlich aufgezeigt hat.[32]

Eine weitere Möglichkeit der *Connected History* wäre eine gezielte *long durée* zwischen dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, bzw. ab 1871 dem deutschen Kaiserreich, und Georgien im langen 19. Jahrhundert zu schreiben. Hier erweisen sich einige Fallbeispiele als wahre Fundgrube globalgeschichtlicher Fragestellungen: Eine äußerst interessante Figur ist an dieser Stelle der deutsche Arzt, Naturforscher und Entdecker Johann Anton Güldenstädt (1745-1781), welcher sich in den 70er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts in Georgien aufhielt und erkrankte Menschen in Tbilisi behandelte; darunter sogar den Protagonist unseres Essays, Erekle II.,[33] welcher, wie noch gezeigt werden soll, entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Region und seine Geschichte haben sollte; wir können hier nur kontrafaktisch argumentieren, was geschehen wäre, wenn Güldenstadt Erekle nicht erfolgreich behandelt hätte…

Und als 1815 in Indonesien der Vulkan Tambora ausbrach und sich dessen riesige Aschewolken bis nach Europa ausbreiteten, führte dies in der nördlichen Hemisphäre zu Ernteausfällen in einem bisher nicht gekannten Ausmaß.[34] Dieser gewaltige Ausbruch ließ im Jahr darauf den süddeutschen Sommer ausfallen und 1816 wurde das *Jahr ohne Sommer*, in dem dramatische Ernteausfälle zu Hungernöten und Krankheiten führten. Hinzu wirkten sich die nicht enden wollenden napoleonischen Kriege explosionsartig auf die Lebensmittelpreise aus, was zur breitflächigen Verarmung der Bevölkerung führte. Doch anstatt das Glück in der neuen Welt zu suchen, entschlossen sich schwäbische radikale Pietisten, gen Kaukasus

[32] Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
[33] Mikheil Sarjveladze, *Deutschland und der Südkaukasus: Georgien im Fokus deutscher Außenpolitik von 1992 bis 2012* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2019), 27; King, *A Ghost of Freedeom*, 102.
[34] Edgar Reitenbach, "Auswanderung aus Deutschland nach Russland im 18. Jahrhundert und insbesondere in den Kaukasus ab Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts", in idem, Max Hertsch und Mutlu Er, eds., *Deutsche im Kaukasus*, (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovaç, 2017), 23-32; Wolfgang Behringer, Tombora und das Jahr ohne Sommer: *Wie ein Vulkan die Welt in die Krise stürtzte* (München: Beck, 2016).

aufzubrechen. Diese sogenannten Separatisten fühlten sich in ihrer Religionsausübung durch die Einführung einer neuen, liberaleren Liturgie eingeschränkt und wünschten sich einen Ort, an dem sie ihren Glauben ihren Vorstellungen entsprechend ausüben könnten. Da sie zudem an die nahe Wiederkunft Christi und das Anbrechen eines „Friedensreiches" glaubten, erschien ihnen Transkaukasien und die Nähe zu dem Berg Ararat als biblischer „Landungsstelle" der Arche Noah als besonders passende Gegend für eine Neuansiedlung. Dabei spielten die Verwandtschaft der Landesherrin mit dem russischen Zaren sowie der Einfluss einer religiös-bekehrten Deutschbaltin auf denselben eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle; zwischen 1817 und 1819 emigrierten mehr als 2.500 Deutsche nach Georgien. Zur gleichen Zeit und während des gesamten 19. Jahrhunderts unternahmen mehrere deutsche Wissenschaftler, Reisende und Entdecker Forschungsreisen nach Georgien und in den Kaukasus; einigen deutschen Wissenschaftlern aus Jena und Berlin gelang dies mit Unterstützung Alexander von Humboldts. Zu ihnen gehörte etwa der Geologe Hermann Abich (1806-1886), der sich vor allem auf die Erkundung von Bodenschätzen wie Manganerz in Georgien sowie Erdöl in Aserbaidschan konzentrierte, wodurch die deutsche Industrie erstmals auf das georgische Manganerz aufmerksam wurde.[35]

Es gäbe noch unzählige weitere, faszinierende Forschungsfelder, die in der Forschung bisher jedoch noch keinerlei Beachtung gefunden haben, vor allem nicht unter aktuellen, globalhistorischen Fragestellungen, obwohl teils ausgezeichnete Quelleneditionen vorliegen: Wie können wir den Prozess der Aufklärung im Kaukaus verfolgen (ein treffender Arbeitstitel wäre hier bspw. ‚*Kant goes Caucasus*'), wie wurden die Anfänge der Psychotherapie im urbanen Zentrum Tbilisi aufgenommen[36] und welchen Effekt hatte bspw. die Ankunft der ersten Druckerpresse auf das kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Leben in Tbilisi? Diese wurde auf Drängen des damaligen Königs Vakhtang VI. (1675-1737), der wie sein späterer Nachfolger Erekle II. alles daran setzte, mit westlichen Monarchen und Wissenschaftlern in Kontakt zu treten,[37] und durch die Vermittlung des georgischen Mönchs und Gelehrten Anthimos

[35] Sarjveladze, *Deutschland und der Südkaukasus*, 27.
[36] Eine inspirierende Vorlage hierzu liefert Uffa Jensen, *Wie die Couch nach Calcutta kam. Eine Globalgeschichte der frühen Psychoanalyse* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2019).
[37] Junko Takeda, "The Princesses' Representative' or Renegade Entrepreneur?, in Estelle Paranque, Nate Pobrasco, Claire Jowitt, eds., *Queenship and Power: Colonization, Piracy and Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 141-168, 155-157.

Iverieli (c. 1650-1716) aus Rumänien Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Tbilisi geliefert; Iverieli wurde in seiner Jugend von Osmanen gefangen genommen und in Istanbul an den Patriarchen verkauft, um hier eine beeindruckende Karriere als Theologe und Philosoph zu verfolgen und schließlich das Druckerhaus in Tbilisi zu leiten.[38]

Im kommenden Abschnitt wollen wir uns nun, in gegebener Kürze, unserem eigentlichen Protagonisten dieses Essays zuwenden, Erekle *Heraclius* II., seinen weitreichenden Reformbemühungen und seinem brennenden Interesse an der europäischen Aufklärung und Wissenschaft. Seine Regierungsphase und Reformbemühungen fallen in eine Zeit der internationalen Beziehungen, welche wir als nächstes in Kürze vorstellen wollen und die komplexer nicht hätten sein können; und bei deren Bewältigung es sprichwörtlich um die Existenz des georgischen Königreiches ging.

Erekle II. und das imperiale Machtgefüge seiner Zeit

Erekles lange Regierungszeit (1744-1798) fällt sowohl in die Zeit der Kampagnen Nader Shahs (1688-1747), des Siebenjährigen Krieges (1756-1763), Russlands Vordringen in den Kaukasus ab der Mitte der 1770er Jahre, Aga Mohammed Schahs (1742-1797) vernichtenden Kampagnen in den Kaukasus, als auch in die epochale Phase der Koalitionskriege (1792-1815).[39] Allesamt also Konflikte von globalem Ausmaß, welche fundamentale Konsequenzen für sein Reich, die gesamte Kaukasusregion und die an Georgien angrenzenden islamischen Imperien und dem Russischen Reich hatten. Wenn wir uns nun die Kontinuität und das gigantische Ausmaß dieser Konflikte vor Augen führen, überrascht es, dass Erekles Herrschaftsgebiet keinesfalls nur Spielball und Opfer der Mächtigen blieb, sondern, wie wir in Zukunft noch ausführlicher darlegen werden, im vorliegenden Essay jedoch nur kurz anreißen können, der Herrscher, seine Berater und Netzwerke sich vielmehr

[38] Siehe hierzu David Karichashvili, *Die Geschichte der georgischen Buchdruckrei (დ. კარიჭაშვილი, ქართული წიგნის ბეჭდვის ისტორიიდან)*, (Tbilisi: Sakhelgami, 1929); Christine Sharashidze, *Die erste Druckerei in Georgien 1709-1722 (ქრისტინე შარაშიძე, პირველი სტამბა საქართველოში 1709-1722)*, (Tbilisi: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Sowjetrepublik Georgien, 1955).

[39] Eine ausgezeichnete Darstellung dieser konfliktreichen Epoche für Georgien liefert Alexander Mikaberidze, *The Napoleonic Wars: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), wir beziehen uns auf den folgeden zwei Seiten im Wesentlichen auf seine Zusammenfassung, siehe Mikaberidze, *The Napoleonic Wars*, 98-100.

als aktive Gestalter zahlreicher einschneidender gesellschaftlicher Reformen, als auch kühner globaler Allianzpläne erwiesen.

Erekle II. wurde 1720 geboren und regierte die beiden Königreiche Kakheti (1744-1762) und Kartli-Kakheti (1762-1798). Seit seiner Jugend war er direkt in die Schwankungen der internationalen Politik verwickelt, bereits 1732 und 1735 wurde seine Heimat durch die Osmanen besetzt. Erkle's Vater Teimuraz II. (1680/1700–1762) hatte sich die Gunst des neuen Herrschers aus Iran seit seinen erfolgreichen Feldzügen in Georgien und gegen das Osmanische Reich (1743-1746) erworben, in denen er die persische Herrschaft über das ressourcenreiche Georgien wiederherstellte. Erekle erwarb sich bereits in seinen Teenagerjahren ein hohes Ansehen als Militärkommandant, als er an den erfolgreichen Feldzügen Nader Shahs nach Afghanistan und Indien teilnahm (1737-1739) und wo er direkt von diesem wahrscheinlich bedeutendsten militärischen Strategen seiner Zeit lernen konnte. Direkt aus Indien zurückgekehrt kommt es nun zu einem kongenialen Zusammenspiel zwischen Vater und Sohn. Beide schafften es, ihr Königreich zur einer Großmachtstellung im Kaukasus zu verhelfen und ein, „(…) *large, though fragile, Caucasian empire*"[40] zu errichten. Dies erscheint umso beeindruckender, wenn wir die damaligen geostrategischen Gegebenheiten Georgiens zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts berücksichtigen.

Nach dem Tod Nader Shahs 1747 fiel Iran in ein politisches Chaos, während Russland mit dem Osmanischen Reich und den europäischen Mächten beschäftigt war, was vor allem während des Siebenjährigen Krieges noch erheblich zunahm (1756-1763). Und so zeigte Russland erst seit den 1780er Jahren wachsendes Interesse am Südkaukasus, insbesondere an Ostgeorgien, wo unser Protagonist ja bereits seit längerem russische Hilfe gegen die Osmanen und den Iran suchte. Die russische Regierung hielt es aus mehreren Gründen für äußerst sinnvoll, in dieser Region endgültig Fuß zu fassen. Durch die nun einsetzende Expansion erhoffte man sich Zugang zu den regionalen und exzellent vernetzten und einflussreichen Handelsnetzwerken der legendären Seidenstraße, die Russland unbedingt dominieren wollte.

[40] Ronald Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2nd edn. 1994), 56; einen sehr guten Überblick über diese Epoche liefert auch Adrian Brisku, *Bittersweet Europe: Albanian and Georgian Discourses on Europe, 1878-2008* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 23-24.

Aber auch militärisch und geostrategisch spielte der Süd-Kaukasus eine herausragende Rolle, da man von ihm zusätzlichen Druck auf das Osmanische Reich ausüben konnte, welches der historischer Rivale Russlands per se war, als auch, darüber hinaus, eine weitere Machtposition gegen den Iran aufzubauen anstrebte. Auch war die russische Führung über die enormen natürlichen Ressourcen des Südkaukasus informiert, welche die Basis für die weitere Expansion in dieser Region bedeuten würden.

Zudem erhoffte man sich, dass sowohl das christlich-georgische Königreich Erekles, als auch die kleineren, benachbarten muslimischen Khanate die Ankunft der protektionistischen und zivilisatorischen Superpower aus dem Norden begrüßen würde, um die persische Bedrohung ein für alle Mal zu beenden. Und so kam es, dass 1781 die erste russische Expedition unter der Führung des Grafen Voinovich schon fast die Region Astrabad, im heutigen Norden Irans, erreichte. Ziel des Unternehmens war es, eine befestigte Basis zu errichten, um von hier aus die anschließende Eroberung der nördlichen Provinzen Persiens zu beginnen. Doch das russische Militär unterschätzte die neue Führungsperson in der persischen Politik, Agha Muhammad Khan (1742-1797), welcher äußerst schnell und erfolgreich reagierte und alle Mitglieder der Expedition verhaften und deportieren ließ. Obwohl der neue Machthaber im Iran anschließend sofort versuchte, die Beziehungen zu Russland zu glätten, empfand Katharina II. den Vorfall als klaren Affront, obwohl sie doch zuvor persisches Territorium besetzen ließ, und weigerte sich, die iranischen Gesandten zu empfangen. Die Beziehungen beider Mächte verschlechterten sich darauf weiter, wobei die russische Führung nun gezielt damit begann, die Gegner Agha Muhammads zu unterstützten und letzterer russische Produkte mit Zöllen belegte; Georgien und Erekles Herrschaftsgebiet lagen dabei direkt zwischen den beiden Konfliktparteien.[41]

Doch wie so oft kam es zu einer abrupten Kursänderung in der Kaukasuspolitik Russlands, welches sich bald darauf auf seine Angelegenheiten in Polen und auf dem Balkan zu konzentrieren begann, nachdem es doch zuvor gezielt die iranische Führung hinsichtlich ihrer Präsenz in der Region herausgefordert und deutlich provoziert hatte. Letztere erkannte sofort die Chance, seine geschwächte Autorität über den Südkaukasus endlich wiederherzustellen. 1795 führte Agha Muhammad

[41] Siehe Mansoureh Ettehadieh Nezam-Mafi, "Qajar Iran (1795-1921) " in Touraj Daryaee, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Iranian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 319-345, 320-322.

Shah eine riesige Streitmacht nach Ostgeorgien. Sein Ziel war die Perle des Kaukasus, die Hauptstadt Kartli-Kakhetiens, Tbilisi, wo er Tausende von Anwohnern massakrieren ließ und versklavte, nachdem Erekle II. mit den ihm verbliebenen Truppen und deutlich in der Minderheit noch fast einen Sieg hervortragen konnte und welcher nur durch Verrat im eigenen Lager misslang.[42]

Russland hingegen verhielt sich völlig passiv und leistete keinerlei militärische Hilfe gegen die iranische Invasion, welche sie doch einst zugesagt hatte. Dennoch empfand Katerina II. die Nachricht über die Zerstörung von Tbilisi als erneute direkte Kampfansage, denn sie verstand sofort, dass die russische Führung im Südkauskasus fürs Erste enorm an Prestige verloren hatte. Eine großangelegte Invasion gegen den Iran sollte alles wieder gut machen und Agha Muhammad mit einem aus russischer Sicht günstigeren Kandidaten ersetzt werden. Bereits im April 1796 brachen russischen Truppen gen Süden auf, eroberten Derbent und gewannen sogar die nominelle Unterwerfung der meisten ostkaukasischen Khanate. Der Tod Katharinas II. im Jahr 1796, Agha Muhammad Shahs im Jahr 1797 und von Erekle II. im darauffolgenden Jahr beendete das Zusammenspiel und die Konkurrenz dieser wichtigen Herrscherpersönlichkeiten und es sollte eine Zeit der Annäherung zwischen den Regionen beginnen.

Mit dieser kurzen Darstellung der teils dramatischen imperialen Gemengelage zur Herrschaftszeit Erekles II. wollen wir nun, in unterschiedlicher Gewichtung, unsere beiden wesentlichen Analysefragen vorstellen, die wir in naher Zukunft abarbeiten werden. Erstens, welche Bilder zirkulierten in der europäischen Öffentlichkeit über Erekle II. und, darauf aufbauend, welches Interesse zeigte Erekle an aufklärerischen und reformerischen Schriften aus Europa, wie genau sah der Wissenstransfer in seinem ‚*fragile Caucasian Empire*' aus und welche gesellschaftlichen Reformen versuchte er umzusetzen?

[42] Ibd.

Erekle ‚Heraclius' Superstar - Zwischen Aufklärung, Reformen und imperialen Dauerbedrohungen

Eine ausführliche, bspw. narratologische oder diskursanalystische Analyse des Bildes von Erekle in europäischen Schriften des 18. Jahrhunderts steht noch aus und wurde bisher in der westlichen Forschung keinerlei Aufmerksamt geschenkt;[43] dies wollen wir, sobald die Archive wieder geöffnet sind, umgehend ändern, denn so wenig Erekle II. heutzutage außerhalb Georgiens bekannt ist, sah es vor 250 Jahren noch komplett anders aus. Denn nach mehreren militärischen Siegen gegen die persischen Besatzer zwischen 1748-1752, erscheint Erekle II. in zahlreichen Berichten in Europa und Westrussland wie ein Shooting-Star und Heilsbringer aus dem Osten: Britische und irische,[44] deutsche, österreichische,[45] italienische,[46] portugiesische[47], französische und russische[48] Zeitungsberichte und Pamphlete berichten begeistert und voller

[43] Auf Georgisch wurden bereits einige Quellen übersetzt und publiziert; s. Ilia Tabaghua, *Europäische Berichte über über Erekle II. (ევროპული ცნობები ერეკლე მეორის შესახებ)*, (Tbilisi: Institut der Europa- und Amerikaforschung Georgiens, 2000); Giorgi Kalandia, *Prinz Heraclius in britischen und irischen Medien (მეფე ერეკლე ბრიტანულ და ირლანდიურ პრესაში)*, (Tbilisi: Georgian Art Palace, 2017).

[44] S. ausführlich Kalandia, *მეფე ერეკლე ბრიტანულ და ირლანდიურ პრესაში.*

[45] Die in deutschen und österreichischen Archiven und Bibliotheken aufbewahrten Quellen über Erekle II. sind nur teils bearbeitet worden, wie bspw. seine detaillierten Briefe an den österreichischen Kaiser Joseph II. im österreichische Staatsarchiv (Wiener Staatsarchiv, AT-OeStA/HHStA StK Vorträge 138-2, 1783. 09-10), siehe hierzu ausführlich Nino Doborjginidze *et al*., eds., *Georgian Cultural Traces in Germany (ქართველთა კულტურული კვალი გერმანიაში*), (Tbilisi: Ilia State University Press, 2019).

[46] Nicht anders sieht es mit den italienischen Schriftstücken über Erekle aus; hier sei vor allem das Material der *Propaganda Fide Historical Archives* zu nennen; s. hierzu s. hierzu Nino Doborjginidze, "On Some Implications of Ilia Chavchavadze's Barakala" ("ორიოდ სიტყვა ილიასეული ბარაქალას შესახებ"), *Kadmos* (*კადმოსი*) - *A Journal of the Humanities*, vol. 4, 2012: 73-115; idem, "Religious Inculturation and Problems of Social History of the Georgian Language", in Cornelia Horn and Basil Lourié, eds., *Philalethes: Collected Studies Dedicated to the 135th Anniversary of Shalva Nutsubidze (1888–1969*), (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 136-157; idem, "Le Missioni cattoliche di Georgia nel periodo di Russificazione", in Tamar Grdzelidze, ed., *Roma e i Georgiani. Le Relazioni Diplomatiche tra la Georgia e la Santa Sede (1992-2017)*, (Roma: Studium Editioni, 2017), 212-231; idem, "Historical Aspects of Modernity in Georgia", in Giga Zedania, ed., *Modernization in Georgia. Theories, Discourses and Realities* (=Interdisciplinary Studies on central and Eastern Europe, vol. 18), (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018), 69-89.

[47] Zwei Broschüren (*Nova Relacao da Famosa Batalha e incluta Victoria, que o famigerado Heraclio, Principe dos Georgianos alcancou contra hum formidavel Exercito De Arrogantes Turcos. Lisboa: MDCCLXVI*), 1766 in Lissabon publiziert, berichten über Erekles Siege gegen die Osmanen und Qajaren, s. Ilia Tabaghua, *Georgien in der internationalen Arena in der zweiten Hälfte des XVIII Jhd.: Aus der Geschichte der Außenpolitik Erekles II. (საქართველო საერთაშორისო არენაზე XVIII საუკუნის II ნახევარში: ერეკლე II-ის საგარო პოლიტიკის ისტორიიდან)*, (Tbilisi: Sabshota Sakartvelo, 1979), 81-82.

[48] Hierzu liegen mehrere Beschreibungen (описание) auf Russisch und Georgisch vor, s. bspw. Бурнашев, *Картина Грузии или описание состояния царств Карталинского и Кахетинского*, 1896, Тифлис; А. Цагарели, *Грамоты и другие исторические документы, относящиеся до Грузии*, Т. II. Вып. I, грузинские тексты с 1768 по 1801 г., 1898, Санкт-Петербург; Sargis Kakabadze, *Georgia in the Period of Erekle the II.* (სარგის კაკაბაძე, *საქართველო ერეკლე მეორეს*

Hoffnung vom jungen und ambitionierten georgischen Herrscher und seinem erfolgreichen Kampf gegen den vordringenden Islam.

Wichtige Mitglieder der ‚*Republique des Lettres*' feiern ihn als aufgeklärten Monarchen, welcher das Licht aus dem Osten in das noch dunkle Europa bringen würde, was ganz dem damaligen Zeitgeist entsprach. Denn noch bevor „*eine Europazentrierung des Kulturvergleichs und eine Modernitätszentrierung des geschichtlichen Rückblicks*" zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts einsetze, wie Niklas Luhmann es formulierte, [49] war es für europäische Gelehrte und Reisende des 18. Jahrhunderts quasi ‚*in*' asiatische Monarchen, die man als die eigentlichen aufgeklärten Herrscher im Vergleich zu den heimischen Despoten betrachtete, zu lobpreisen und zu bejubeln; denn „*Asien war Europa vergleichbar, solange sich Europa noch nicht für unvergleichlich hielt*."[50] Und auf Erekle trifft diese Faszination und Bewunderung ganz besonders zu, indem er als idealer, christlicher, aufgeklärter und reformbegeisterter Monarch und festes Bollwerk gegen die Türken, Perser und den Islam im Allgemeinen beschrieben wird. Einen regen Briefwechsel finden wir bspw. zwischen Katherina der Großen, in der Zeit, als sie noch begeistert war von aufklärerischen Ideen, und Voltaire. Hier beschreibt die Kaiserin dem wissbegierigen Voltaire Erekle II. als äußerst tapferen und klugen Herrscher, der sich in zahlreichen Kämpfen gegen die Türken ausgezeichnet hat.[51]

Nicht anders sieht das Bild Erekles bei Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) aus, einem der wichtigsten Schriftsteller und Gelehrten der deutschen Aufklärung. In seinem 1767 in Hamburg uraufgeführten großen Bühnenerfolg *Minna von Barnhelm*, *oder das Soldatenglück*, welches bald darauf von allen wichtigen Bühnen im Ausland gespielt wurde, nachdem es zuvor heftige Konflikte mit der Zensur gegeben hatte, fungiert die Beschreibung des *Heraclios* (=*Erekle*) in der Unterhaltung der beiden Charaktere Just und Werner vor allem als Spiegel gegenüber den eigenen

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ხანაში. ისტორიული მოხსენება), Tbilisi 1919; О. П. Маркова, *Россия, Закавказье и международные отношения в XVIII веке,* Москва, 1966.

[49] Siehe hierzu den Klassiker von Jürgen Osterhammel, aus dem das Luhmann-Zitat stammt, Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (München: Beck, 2010), 378.

[50] Ibd.

[51] über die Briefwechsel zwischen Katharina der II und Voltaire über Erekle siehe: Ivan Fabiyan, ed., *Переписка Российской императрицы Екатерины II и господина Волътера, продолжавшаяся с 1763 по 1778 год*, (Moskau, 1805); Evgeni Bliadze, "Georgia in the Correspondence of Katherina the II. and Voltaire" (ევგენი ბლიაძე, "საქართველო ეკატერინე მეორისა და ვოლტერის მიმოწერაში"), *Kartvelian Heritage, vol. XII.* (ქართველური მემკვიდრეობა), (Kutaisi: Kutaisi State University Press 2008).

dekadenten und faulen Herrschern in Deutschland und Europa. Denn er sei es, so beschreibt ihn der Diener Just euphorisch, der mutig und tapfer wieder und wieder erfolgreich gegen die Türken und Perser ins Feld ziehe und mit seinem Leben das Christentum verteidige. Für Just, einen mittellosen Bediensteten des Majors, liegt die Zukunft im Osten, unter der Herrschaft dieses tapferen und edlen Herrschers, und so beschließt er, an den Hofe Erekles zu reisen und mit ihm gemeinsam in den Kampf zu ziehen.[52]

Ein weiterer, hochinteressanter Aspekt des Erekle-Bildes in der westeuropäischen Medienwelt des 18. Jahrhunderts ist der Topos seiner angeblichen Europareise, die wahrscheinlich so nie stattgefunden hat, sich jedoch wie ein roter Faden durch die Berichterstattung der 1750er Jahre zieht. Britische, irische, deutsche und österreichische Presseberichte sowie Schriften europäischer Missionare beschreiben Erekle, oder allgemein '*Prinz Heraklius*', mit dem ausdrücklichen Ziel, die inakzeptable georgische Situation aus Besatzung, regelmäßigen Plünderungen und gesellschaftlichem und ökonmischen Rückstand zu verändern, indem er heimlich nach Europa reist, um hier eine exzellente militärische und administrative Ausbildung zu erhalten. In diesen Schriften zeigte Erekle ein besonderes Interesse an den Methoden der Regierungsführung der bereisten Länder, vor allem Preußens, und der Wirtschaft, welche diesen Ländern zu Reichtum verhalfen. Während seines Dienstes als Leutnant in den Streitkräften Friedrichs II. (1712-1786), so die Berichte, lernte Erekle die Vorzüge einer europäisch trainierten und ausgerüsteten Armee aus erster Hand kennen, und nach seiner Rückkehr in sein Heimatland begann er, ein gigantisches Reformpaket nach europäischem Vorbild einzuleiten. In diesem Zeitraum präsentieren britische Zeitschriften, darunter die *London Evening Post*, *Public Advertiser*, *London Chronicle*, u.v.m., ihrer Leserschaft regelmäßig Informationen über Erekles Reisen und seine erfolgreiche Ausbildung in Europa, seine wachsende militärische Macht in Georgien und seine bedeutenden Reformen nach seiner Rückkehr – ein Bericht ließt sich etwa so:

[52] Karl Lachmann und Wendelin Maltzahn, eds., *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Sämtliche Schriften* (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1853), Bd. 1, 564-566.

> Prince Heraclius of Georgia, who, as it is well known, served in quality of Lieutenant in the King of Prussia's forces, at his return to Georgia, some years ago, firmly resolved to free his country from the Ottoman Yoke. […] At his (sc. Father's) death the son (sc. Heraclius) refused the royal title, but continued his enterprise, the happy beginning and progress of which are known.[53]

Der Topos von Erekles europäischen Reisen, Abenteuern und seiner vielschichtigen militärischen, administrativen und wirtschaftlichen Ausbildung in Preußen findet sich auch ausführlich in einer hochinteressanten deutschen Biographie von 1793 (*Kurze Geschichte des Prinzen Heraclius und Beschreibung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Georgien*).[54] Während wir jedoch keinerlei Belege aus Erekles eigenen Schriften, bzw. Zeugnisse aus seinem engsten Umfeldes hinsichtlich seiner Europareise haben, sieht es bzgl. seiner ab den 1750er Jahren angestoßenen Reformen ganz anders aus. Nun berichten zahlreiche georgische Texte beeindruckt vom Willen ihres Herrschers und seiner engsten Berater, das krisenzerrüttete und dauerbesetze Land polit-ökonomisch, militärisch und kulturell völlig neu zu organisieren. Dies bringt uns zur zweiten Frage unseres Essays: welches Interesse zeigte Erekle an der europäischen Aufklärung und welche gesellschaftlichen Reformen strebte er an?

Neben den begeisterten europäischen Stimmen, die Erekles Reformwillen rühmen und ihn als aufgeklärten Monarchen beschreiben, finden sich zeitgenössische Stimmen, die auf die verheerenden gesellschaftlichen Zustände im Georgien des 18. Jahrhunderts hinwiesen. So beschreibt bspw. Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1720-1771), jedoch ohne jemals die Grenzen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches verlassen zu haben, in seinen *Vergleichungen der europäischen mit den asiatischen und andern vermeintlich barbarischen Regierungen* (1762) Georgien als komplett zerstört und in Ruinen brach liegen.[55] Dieses Bild des komplett und konstant archaisch-anarchischem Georgiens hat sich, wie wir eingangs schon gesehen haben, fest im kollektiven Gedächtnis und bis in die aktuellste Forschung verankert und zieht sich wie ein roter Faden durch die Historiographie über Georgien, bspw. in Revaz Gachechiladze ‚*The New Georgia – Space, Society, Politics*.'

[53] Kalandia, *მეფე ერეკლე ბრიტანულ და ირლანდიურ პრესაში*, 83-84.
[54] Hermann Henrichs, *Kurze Geschichte des Prinzen Heraclius und des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Georgien*, (Flensburg/Leipzig: Kortensche Buchhandlung, 1793), 28, 12.
[55] Jürgen Osterhammel, *Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 77.

> (…) the Middle Ages were too long drawn out for Georgia and it turned out to be impossible for the small and divided country to escape from permanent crisis. While in western Europe industrial development was beginning, Georgia remained purely an agrarian society. In the few towns, the traders and artisans were people of different faiths. There was not even an embryo of a national bourgeoisie. This hindered nation-building. Internal economic ties were restricted. The dangerous proximity of the economically and politically stagnating, but still powerful, Middle Eastern superpowers persisted. In spite of a moderate and political progress, the general backwardness of the country against the European background became even more apparent.[56]

Auch wenn sich dies auch nach einer Darstellung aus den 1960er Jahren à la William McNeill anhört, die davon ausgeht einzig in Europa fänden sich Anzeichen der Modernisierung und Industrialisierung, während auf dem Rest der Welt archaische Strukturen und Rückständigkeit herrschten (vor allem in den islamischen Großreichen und dem Kaukasus), müssen wir doch berücksichtigen, dass Gachechiladze's Argumentation aus den Neunzigern absolut *up-to-date* und gerade erst 2012 bei Routledge neu erschienen ist. Und so sehr diese Schilderung in vielen Teilen natürlich ihre Berechtigung hat, ist sie dennoch viel zu einseitig und übersieht die enormen Anstrengungen, die vor allem ab den 1770er Jahren unter Erekle II. und seinem Beraterstab unternommen wurden und die allesamt darauf abzielten, das eigene Herrschaftsgebiet und sein Volk grundlegenden gesellschaftlichen Reformen zu unterziehen.

In der Lektüre von Gachechiladze's Darstellung Georgiens im 18. Jahrhundert nach aufklärerischen Gedanken, Reformen und gesellschaftlichem Wandel zu suchen wäre sicherlich kein ertragreiches Unternehmen, finden wir in hier doch lediglich Substantive und Adjektive wie „*Middle Ages – permanent crisis – purelely agrarian society – no bourgeoise, no nation building and restricted economies*…" Und, darüber hinaus, so Gachechiladze, war Georgien ein konstanter Krisenherd, welcher von, wie könnte es anders sein, ebenfalls von ‚*politically stagnating*' islamischen Großreichen umgeben war. Wenn wir nun unter diesen Voreinnahmen dennoch an unserer Fragestellung festhalten würden, also wie aufklärerisches Gedankengut nach

[56] Revaz Gachechiladze, *The New Georgia: Space, Society, Politics* (London/New York: Routledge, 2012), 26.

Georgien kam und strukturelle Reformen umgesetzt wurden, dann doch einzig unter dem klassischen diffusionistischen Ansatz, indem wir uns der Analyse hingeben würden, wie sich das Licht der europäischen Aufklärung in das Dunkel des Kaukasus verbreiten konnte.

Wir wollen in unseren künftigen Analysen über diese Region und ihrer Akteure jedoch einen anderen Weg einschlagen, denn (…), the more important causal links, it turned out, lay elsewhere."[57] Sebastian Conrad fasst diese Herangehensweise in seinen wegweisendem Studien, bspw. the *Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique*,[58] sowie ‚*What is Global History*'? ausgezeichnet zusammen, indem er als Beispiel die Marx-Rezeption in Asien analysiert. Zwar argumentiert der Autor mit späteren Texten und einer anderen Region, die Herangehensweise bleibt jedoch die gleiche, indem Conrad nämlich den klassischen diffusionistischen Ansatz vermeidet und vielmehr der Frage nachgeht, was denn eigentlich die gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen und Strukturen waren, die es überhaupt erst ermöglichten, dass sich Intellektuelle, Wissenschaftler und lokale Machthaber vor Ort an aufklärerischen Gedanken und Texten (oder eben welchen von Marx und Engels) interessierten, diese übersetzen ließen und für die Gestaltung eigener Reformen anwandten.

> (…) connectedness proved to be itself the result of social changes that had created the conditions under which reading Marx in Vietnam began to make political sense. In the last instance, the influence of Marx could not be reduced to the power of his arguments alone. Rather, aspiring young intellectuals were shaped by the forces and concerns that dominated the times, and the way in which they translated, cited, and highjacked Marx's texts was structured by these conditions. Connections - reading Marx - were thus primarily an effect of prior social, political, and cultural transformations (and not the source of these transformations).[59]

Die Geschichte der Aufklärung und struktureller Reformen also quasi rückwärts zu lesen erweist sich im vorliegenden Falle vor allem deshalb als produktiv, als dass wir noch über keinerlei detaillierte Fallstudien über diese faszinierende Epoche verfügen.

[57] Conrad, *What is Global History*, 70.
[58] Idem, "Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique," *American Historical Review*, No. 117 (2012), 999–1027.
[59] Conrad, *What is Global History*, 70.

Zwar referieren einige ausgezeichnete aktuelle Studien, die sich dem eingangs erwähnten *doomsday*-Szenario Georgiens im 18. Jahrhundert entziehen wollen, in aller Kürze die Reformbemühungen Erekle's und seiner Berater;[60] wie dieser vielfältige, grenz-und kulturübergreifenden Transfer und die einhergehenden Reformen aber genau abliefen, welche Akteure, Netzwerke, Intellektuelle, etc. daran genau beteiligt waren, ist noch weitestgehend unbekannt. Während uns ganze Bibliotheken über die europäische *Republique des lettres* und ihre Autoren zur Verfügung stehen, tappen wir bezüglich der vorliegenden Region und ihrer Akteure also noch völlig im Dunkeln. Wir möchten mit unserer künftigen Arbeit also zu einer Erweiterung der über die Grenzen Europas nach Osten hinausreichenden *Republique des Lettres* beitragen, da sich letztere eben nicht auf die intellektuellen Netzwerke in Kopenhagen, Amsterdam, Leiden, Berlin und Paris begrenzen lässt; vielmehr muss das Debattieren, Denken, Schreiben, die intellektuelle Neugierde und das Engagement zeitgleich lebender Gelehrter in Metropolen wie bspw. Istanbul[61] oder, wie wir in unserem Fall zeigen wollen, Tbilisi und Telavi, miteinbezogen werden. Denn, noch einmal in den Worten von Sebastian Conrad:

> Social groups in Istanbul, Manila, and Shanghai literally made the Enlightenment; they were not merely on the receiving end of innovations conceived elsewhere a century earlier. Historians have tended to read the history of knowledge as a script that is written in one place and then adopted and adapted in another, influencing if not determining the thoughts and actions of the recipients. But the reverse trajectory is at least as important. Speaking "Enlightenment" in Seoul was a response to a specific situation in Korea in the 1890s, and not a belated answer to Voltaire.[62]

Bei unseren künftigen Ansätzen werden wir uns auf die folgenden fünf analytischen Aspekte der "Wissenszirkulation" konzentrieren, die natürlich auf engste miteinander verbunden sind: (1) Die Akteure der Wissensproduktion und -zirkulation, (2) die

[60] Erwähnt seien hier die wichtigen Studien von Ivan Biliarsky, Ovidiu Cristea, Anca Oroveanu, eds., *The Balkans and Caucasus. Parallel Processes of the Opposite Sides of the Black Sea* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub 2012), 16-18; Ronald Suny: *The Making of the Georgian Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana Univeristy Press 1996), 56-58; Brisku: *Bittersweet Europe*, 23 und das Standardwerk von Heinz Fähnrich: *Geschichte Georgiens* (Leiden: Brill 2010), 386-387.
[61] Einen sehr guten Überblick lieferen Deniz Peker und Özgür Taskin, "The Enlightenment Tradition and Science Education in Turkey", in Michael Matthews, ed., *History, Philosophy and Science Teaching. New Perspectives* (Cham: Springer 2018), 67-97.
[62] Conrad, *A Historigraphical Critique*, 1025.

Medialität und die Materialität des Wissens, (3) die Räumlichkeiten des Wissens und, schließlich, (4) das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Machtverhältnissen und Wissensproduktion.[63] Darauf aufbauend wollen wir (5) aufzeigen, welche Rückkopplungen die Erkenntnisse lokaler Wissenschaftler auf die Arbeiten und Schriften bspw. katholischer Gelehrter in Georgien hatten, wie deren Übersetzungen nach Europa gelangten und hier, vor allem im Bereich der Medizin, traditionellen Heilkunde und Botanik, Einzug in den intellektuellen und akademischen Diskurs in Europa fanden.[64] Im Folgenden wollen wir, in gegebener Kürze, einige Fallbeispiele präsentieren, die allesamt eine detaillierte Analyse verdienen und zu denen ausreichend georgisches Quellenmaterial zur Verfügung steht.

Zwischen den 1770-1780er Jahren kommt es zu einer Reihe beeindruckender Übersetzungstätigkeiten am Hofe Erekles: So beauftragt er die Übersetzungen deutscher, vor allem preußischer Leitfäden zur Verwaltungsführung als auch zur Grundlage der Polizei-, Handels- und Finanzführung. 1783, im Zusammenhang mit dem Erfolg der Erfindung des Heißluftballons durch Joseph-Michel und Jacques-Étienne Montgolfier, ließ Erekle die gesamte relevante Literatur ins Georgische übersetzen. Neben dem eingangs erwähnten wachsenden europäischen Interesse an diesem schillernden Herrscher im Osten berichten nun auch vermehrt georgische

[63] Hier schließen wir uns den Ansätzen der neuern Wissenschaftsgeschichte an, s. bspw. Kapil Raj, "Go-Betweens, Travelers and Cultural Translators", in Bernard Lightman, ed., *A Companion to the History of Science* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016) 39-57; idem, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (Basingstoke: New York, 2007); Philipp Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?", *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, vol. 36, No. 1, 2011: 159-172; Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, Erling Sandmo, Anna Nilsson Hammar, Kari Nordberg, eds., *Circulation of Knowledge: Explorations in the History of Knowledge* (Lund: Lund University Press 2018).

[64] Diese im 18. Und 19. Jhd. von italienischen Missionaren verfassten georgisch-italienischen Fachwörterbücher sind im *Georgian National Center of Manuscripts* mit der Signatur *Hs. A 1455* verfügbar. Bezüglich der italienischen Archive sind vor allem zu nennen: *Archivio Storico de Propaganda fide*, *Sacra congregatione per la Chiesa Orientale*, *Archivio dei Teatini di Sant'Andrea della Valle*, *Archivio Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini*, *l'Archivio Storico Diocesano dell'Arcidiocesi Ravenna-Cervia*, *la Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna, la Biblioteca Comunale di Forli* "Aurelio Saffi"). Mit den hier vorliegenden Materialien zielen wir in Zukunft darauf ab, diesen hochinteressanten Wissenstransfer zwischen italienisch/europäischen und georgischen Gelehrten und Medizinern ab Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts zurückzuverfolgen; es sei jedoch erwähnt, dass der Großteil der vorliegenden Texte weder katalogisiert, noch editiert ist. Siehe hierzu Ana Chkuaseli, *Aus der Geschichte der georgischen Philologie: Katholische Inculturation und unbekannte Wörterbücher des XVIII-XIX Jhds. (ქართული ფილოლოგიის ისტორიიდან: კათოლიკური ინკულტურაცია და XVIII-XIX საუკუნეების უცნობი ლექსიკონები)*, (Tbilisi: Ilia State University, 2021); idem, "Methods and Strategies of Learning Georgian as a Foreign Language by the First Europeans" ("პირველი ევროპელების მიერ ქართულის როგორც უცხო ენის შესწავლის მეთოდები და სტრატეგიები"), in *Catholic Heritage in Georgia (კათოლიკური მემკვიდრეობა საქართველოში)*, Vol. 2, (Tbilisi: Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani University Press, 2019), 78-88.

Zeitzeugen vom nicht enden wollenden Interesse ihres Herrschers und seiner Berater an der europäischen Aufklärung, ihren Gelehrten und Schriften; insbesondere über den wohl berühmtesten Voltairianer im Umfeld Erekles, nämlich dessen Enkel David (1767-1819), dem Übersetzer von Voltaire's „*Vom Geist der Gesetze*". Von dieser Faszination Erekles und seines Umfelds an den Standardwerken der europäischen Aufklärung und strukturellen Reformen informiert, so Petersburger Zeitungen aus den 1780er Jahren, zeigte auch Voltaire Interesse an den intellektuellen Tätigkeiten am Hofe Erkles und seiner Berater.[65]

Neben dieser regen Übersetzungstätigkeit war es ein weiteres, wesentliches Ziel Erekles und seines Beraterstabs, die exekutive, legislative und judikative Gewalt in seiner Hand zu konzentrieren, indem er seine Regierungsfunktionäre genauestens überwachen und zur Rechenschaft ziehen ließ. In der Innenpolitik trieb er die Zentralisierung der staatlichen Verwaltung auf Kosten der lokalen, oft korrupten und autonomen Adligen voran, die kein Interesse an einem gestärkten Reichszentrum unter Erekle hatten. Dazu ersetzte er einflussreiche lokale Adlige durch eigene Agenten, oftmals Mitglieder seiner engsten Entourage, und stützte sich auf eine beeindruckende, nach europäischem Vorbild modernisierte Armee, die ihm die nötige Stärke verlieh, um die aristokratische Opposition zu überwinden, die während seiner Herrschaft immer wieder aufblühte. Erekle's neue Eingreiftruppe, treu ergeben, diszipliniert und optimal ausgerüstet, war ein Schlag ins Gesicht für den reformunwilligen Flügel des Adels, da sie primär auf meritokratischen Prinzipien beruhte und keinerlei archaische Adelsprivilegien zuließ.[66]

In diese Zeit fällt auch die feierliche Eröffnung der philosophischen Schule in Telavi (*seminaria*) 1782, die auf die Initiative Erkles und des Theologen und Patriarchen Antons I. (1720-1788) errichtet wurde. Ganz im Sinne seiner europäischen Nachbarn berief sich der damalige Rektor auf antike Topoi, um dieser öffentlichen Inszenierung eine sakral-historische Legitimation zu verschaffen[67]: So

[65] Bzgl. dieser regen Übersetzungstätigkeit am Hofe Erekles und seiner Reformbemühungen s. Kikodze, *გერონტი ქიქოძე, ერეკლე მეორე*, 172-180; Oman Kherkheulidze, *Herrschaft des Erekle, Sohn des Teimuraz (ომან ხერხეულიძე, მეფობა მეფის ირაკლისა, ძისა თეიმურაზისა)*, (Tbilisi: Mecniereba 1989); Mikhael Kavtaria, *Von der Geschichte des gesellschaftlichen Denkens Georgiens im 17. Jhd.* (მიხეილ ქავთარია, *XVII საუკუნის ქართული საზოგადოებრივი აზროვნების ისტორიიდან)*, (Tbilisi: Ganatleba, 1977).

[66] Siehe hierzu Biliarsky, *The Balkans and Caucasus*, 17-18.

[67] S. Louis Dupre, *The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) 79-80.

beschreibt er Anton, dessen Reich vom Dunkel der Unwissenheit (*umecrebis sibnelit dafaruli)* verhüllt war, als Aristoteles und Baumeister eines neuen Athens, wohingegen Erekle den Titel Philipp der Makedonier erhält.[68]

Doch diese beeindruckende und für Viele des alten Adels völlig unerwartete Modernisierungswelle Georgiens hätte unter keinen ungünstigeren Bedingungen stattfinden können. Denn nach wie vor wurde das Königreich, wie eingangs erwähnt, durch die zahlreichen Invasionen durch osmanische, persische und, darüber hinaus, durch die regelmäßig stattfindenden Raubzüge der Lezgin-Sippen aus Dagestan (den verheerenden *Lekianoba*) heimgesucht und verwüstet. In dieser Zeit fehlt es Georgien nicht nur an der Produktion von nicht-landwirtschaftlichen Gütern, sondern durch die vielen Kriege waren auch die Arbeitskräfte stark dezimiert. Und obwohl noch Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts vor allem in Kakheti enorme Summen durch Exporte, vor allem Seide, erwirtschaftet wurden, bis es 1616 durch den Einfall von Shah Abbas (1587-1629) dem Erdboden gleichgemacht und die gesamte Infrastruktur zerstört wurde,[69] und bereits Erekles Vorgänger wie etwa Wachtang VI. (1703-1724) versucht hatten, großangelegte Reformen nach europäischem Vorbild anzustoßen, musste Erekle II. zum Zeitpunkt seines Regierungsantritts eine nüchterne Bilanz ziehen: Er trat seine Herrschaft über eine Region an, deren Einnahmen fast ausschließlich auf der Landwirtschaft basierten und die nach wie vor, trotz aller vorheriger gesellschaftlicher Umgestaltungsversuche, strikt feudal verwaltet wurde. Dennoch verfügte Erekle II. zu Beginn seiner Herrschaft noch über ausreichend Kapital, um erste, visionäre strukturelle Reformen umzusetzen, die Heinz Fähnrich in seinem Standardwerk ausgezeichnet zusammenfasst:

> In der Waffenfabrik von Tbilisi ließ Erekle II. Gewehre, Kanonen und anderes Kriegsgerät herstellen; hier waren hochqualifizierte Lohnarbeiter beschäftigt, die eine eigene Schicht der Bevölkerung repräsentierten. 1770 ließ Isaia Taquaschwili eine Pulverfabrik bauen, die keine Konkurrenz hatte. Bald nach ihrer Gründung ging sie in das Eigentum des Königs über, wechselte aber dann wieder in den Privatbesitz Taquaschwilis. Andere Betriebe der verarbeitenden Industrie, größtenteils Manufakturen, befanden sich damals in der Hand vermögender Privatleute, aber auch von Besitzergruppen oder

[68] Kikodze, *გეორგი ქიქოძე, ერეკლე მეორე*, 179.
[69] S. hierzu Leeder, *Eine Stadt im Kaukasus als Schauplatz großer Konflikte*.

> Genossenschaften, so beispielsweise Kleinbetriebe wie Werkstätten zur Glasherstellung, Betriebe zur Salzgewinnung oder Töpfereien. In privatem Besitz befanden sich die Ölpressen, Tabakfabriken, eine große Keramikfabrik, wo größtenteils Tongeschirr hergestellt wurde, und eine Ziegelei. Seit alten Zeiten unterstand die Münze dem Königshaus, wurde allerdings an Privatunternehmer verpachtet. Halbindustriellen Charakter trug auch die Arbeit der seit 1707 bestehenden Druckerei. Aber die markanteste Erscheinung stellten die zahlreichen Tuchfärbereien dar, deren Besitzerin offiziell die Königin war, die sie aber an Subunternehmer verpachtete. Ursprünglich eine Art Manufakturbetrieb verkörpernd, zeigten sie deutlich den Übergang zur fabrikmäßigen industriellen Produktion und entwickelten sich von feudalistischen Arbeitsstätten zu kapitalistischen Unternehmen.[70]

Darauf aufbauend zielten Erekle's Reformen darauf ab, die Leibeigenschaft und Zwangsarbeit endgültig abzuschaffen und die Entstehung einer entlohnten Schicht von Arbeitern und Facharbeitern zu fördern, die bspw. den Fortbestand der Metallurgie und Waffenherstellung autark und in unter eigener Leitung gewährleisten konnten. Dies führte zu einer erheblichen Verbesserung der Arbeitsmotivation, der Identifikation mit dem Herrscherhaus und dessen Herrschaftslegitimation, erhöhte den Lebensstandard der Menschen, gab Anreize, in Humankapital zu investieren (da viele der genannten Aktivitäten qualifizierte Arbeitskräfte erforderten) und führte zu einer weiteren Streuung des Kapitals in der Gesellschaft. Noch einmal Fähnrich:

> (…) In der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts entwickelten sich innerhalb des Feudalsystems kapitalistische Produktionsverhältnisse. Es entstanden Manufakturen und Fabriken, in denen Lohnarbeiter beschäftigt waren. Sie wurden vorwiegend vom Staat, von der Bagratiden-Dynastie mit ihrem Verwaltungsapparat, eingerichtet und dienten dem Gewinn und der Versorgung des Königshauses und den Bedürfnissen der königlichen Streitkraäfte. Zu ihnen zählten die Minen und Betriebe des Erzbergbaus, die in dieser Zeit vor allem in Ostgeorgien bestanden, wo Kupfererz gefördert, aber auch Gold- und Silberlagerstätten ausgebeutet wurden. Die Erze wurden in naheliegenden Hütten weiterverarbeitet. An dieser Produktion hatte König

[70] Fähnrich, *Geschichte Georgiens*, 387; siehe hierzu auch Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation*, 378.

> Erekle II. ein besonderes Interesse, weil er dringend für seine Truppen gute Ausrüstung und Bewaffnung brauchte.[71]

Da die durch Kriege und Krisen dezimierte georgische Bevölkerung jedoch nicht das Potenzial hatte, die ehrgeizigen Wirtschaftspläne zu verwirklichen, entschlossen sich Erekle und sein Beraterstab, ausländische Expertise und Arbeitskräfte anzuheuern. Auf Initiative des Königs wurden 800 griechische Bergarbeiterfamilien nach Georgien rekrutiert, um den Bergbau des traditionell an Gold und Silber reichen Landes wiederzubeleben, nachdem in den 1770er Jahren durch großangelegte geologische Erkundungen neue Bodenschätze entdeckt worden waren. Außerdem befahl der König seinem Adel, die einzig in der Landwirtschaft arbeitenden Bauern für die notwendige Arbeit in Bergwerken einzusetzen, was den Beginn einer georgischen "Arbeiterklasse" bedeutete, die nun nicht mehr unbezahlt auf den Feldern arbeitete. In diesem Zusammenhang schaffte er auch das jahrhundertealte staatliche Monopol auf alkoholische Getränke ab und verpachtete das Recht zum Handel und zur Produktion mit Salz und Tabak an private Unternehmer. Im Rahmen der zahlreichen wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten der Regierung wurde der gesamte von den Bürgern angebaute Rohtabak in Tbilisi gesammelt, in einer staatlichen Fabrik verarbeitet und anschließend an jene Kaufleute verkauft, die Handelsrechte erworben hatten. In einem seiner Dekrete hebt Erekle hervor, dass die Ausbildung einer qualifizierten Arbeiterschaft entscheidend für die georgische Wirtschaft und somit für die gesamte Nation sei und dass er vor allem in der Förderung des Bergbaus die Zukunft eines starken Staates sehe. Die erfolgreichen gesellschaftlichen, politischen und militärischen Reformen und das Anwachsen des Staatsschatzes blieben seinen Feinden jedoch nicht verborgen: Als 1795 Muhammad Khan Qajar in Ostgeorgien einfiel, war es eines seiner ersten Ziele, dem florierenden Bergbau unbedingt ein Ende zu setzen, indem er alle Bergwerke zerstören und alle Arbeiter niedermetzeln ließ, darunter 700 der griechischen Minenarbeiter.[72]

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[71] Fähnrich, *Geschichte Georgiens*, 386.

[72] Bzgl. der weitreichenden Reformen Erekle's, und ihrem letztlichen Scheitern, s. Valerian Gabashvili, *Essays über die Stadtgeschichte des Nahen Ostens (ვ. გაბაშვილი, ნარკვევები მახლობელი აღმოსავლეთის ქალაქების ისტორიიდან)*, (Tbilisi: Mecniereba, 1970); Giorgi Melikishvili *et al.*, eds., *Essays über die Geschichte Georgiens (გიორგი მელიქიშვილი, საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები)*, vol. 4, (Tbilisi: Sowjet Georgien), 1973).

Erstes Fazit

Die Faszination der europäischen Öffentlichkeit für Erekle II. (1720-1798), seinen tiefgreifenden strukturellen und gesellschaftlichen Reformen und den angeblichen Reisen des Herrschers durch Europa, sowie das brennende Interesse Erekles und seiner Berater an der europäischen Aufklärung sind außerhalb Georgiens nicht bekannt. Zwar liegen eine Handvoll aktueller wissenschaftlicher Überblicksdarstellungen über die georgische Geschichte vor, die auf ein, maximal zwei Seiten das Interesse des Herrschers an der europäischen Aufklärung, am intellektuellem Austausch mit europäischen Gehlehrten und seine weitreichenden gesellschaftlichen Reformen in Kürze beschreiben; über die eigentlichen Akteure der damaligen Wissensproduktion und -zirkulation, über die vielfältigen Räumlichkeiten des Wissens und das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Machtstrukturen und Wissensproduktion sind wir jedoch noch größtenteils desinformiert. Ganz zu schweigen von der Rückwirkung georgischer wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse im Bereich der Medizin und Botanik auf den europäischen Wissenschaftsdiskurs des 18. Jahrhunderts.

Ein wesentlicher Grund für das Desinteresse an dieser faszinierenden Periode der georgischen Geschichte, ihrer tiefgreifenden und wegweisenden gesellschaftlichen Reformen, dem grenzübergreifenden intellektuellen Austausch und der vielfältigen Übersetzungstätigkeiten, liegt sicherlich in der philologischen Herausforderung sich mit vormodernen georgischen Quellen zu beschäftigen, als auch dass die revolutionären Anstrengungen Erekles und seiner Berater (Abschaffung der Lehnspflicht und archaischer Adelsprivilegien, Förderung der Industrialisierung und einer auf meritokratischen Prinzipien basierende Militärreform, u.v.m.) aufgrund der damals für Georgien katastrophalen imperialen Gemengelage letztlich zum Scheitern verurteilt waren. Denn spätestens nach dem Vernichtungsfeldzug durch Muhammad Khan Qajar 1795, der Kakheti, halb Georgien und die unter Erekle II. aufgeblühte Hauptstadt Tbilisi niederbrennen und Großteile der Bevölkerung versklaven ließ, beendete die russische Besetzung 1801 endgültig die ersten Anfänge der Industrialisierung und der einsetzenden kapitalistischen Entwicklung, da die neue Besatzungsmacht eine vorerst rein feudalistische Regierungspraxis bevorzugte und einzig auf weitere Expansion ausgerichtet war.

Wie sich im Laufe des 19. Jahrhundert jedoch noch zeigen wird, ließen sich die aufklärerischen, progressiven und reformerischen Gedanken nie in Gänze unterdrücken und im Zeitalter der ‚*Global Bourgeoise*' entwickelte sich Tbilisi zu einem intellektuellen HUB im Kaukasus,[73] dessen Künstler, Intellektuelle, Dichter und Wissenschaftler auf die Bemühungen und Übersetzungen ihrer Vorgänger zurückgreifen konnten, weltweit vernetzt waren und weiterhin für eine unabhängige, aufgeklärte und freie Nation kämpften.[74]

[73] Die gerade erschienene, wichtige Studie *The Global Bourgeoise* erwähnt die ökonomische und kulturelle regionale Bedeutung der urbanen Zentren Tbilisi und Baku im 19. Jahrhundert in einen knappem Satz, s. Christof Dejung, David Motadel und Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 51; in diesem Zusammenhang wesentlich ausführlicher sind Oliver Reisner, "Ethnos und Demos in Tbilisi (Tiflis) - Armenier, Georgier und Russen in den Stadtdumawahlkämpfen 1890 -1897", in Guido Hausmann, ed., *Gesellschaft als lokale Veranstaltung. Selbstverwaltung, Assoziierung und Geselligkeit in den Städten des ausgehenden Zarenreiches* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 301-329.

[74] Bzgl. des im 19. Jahrhundert anwachsenden georgischen Nationsgedankens siehe ausführlich Oliver Reisner, *Die Schule der georgischen Nation: Eine sozialhistorische Untersuchung der nationalen Bewegung in Georgien am Beispiel der Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Lese- und Schreibkunde unter den Georgiern" (1850 - 1917)* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004).

13

THE TREATY OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC AND THE CITY OF ALGIERS: A Double-Edged Weapon in the Imperial Struggle for the Maghreb[1]

José Miguel Escribano Páez
Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville.

Introduction

The treaties concluded between imperial powers and non-European subjects have attracted increased attention in recent times. Crucial in this have been works by Saliha Belmessous. This author has brought together different scholars to revisit these treaties in an interesting attempt to include indigenous agency in the long debate on European appropriation of vast territories beyond the Old Continent.[1] While the compelling nature of this intellectual enterprise is obvious, it has received some criticism. Hence, Martine Van Ittersum has analysed the treaties concluded by the representatives of European trading companies with local rulers in Southeast Asia and North America to show that these covenants were not an alternative to violent conflict but a means to subjugate peoples.[2] Despite the obvious opposition between these interpretations, the authors share a unidirectional approach to these texts. This contrasts with one of the aspects I found most interesting from Jorge Flores' work, his

[1] This work was funded by a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Action Individual Fellowship from the European Commission, grant agreement H2020 MSCA IF-2016 GA 748592.
[1] Saliha Belmessous, "The Paradox of an Empire by Treaty", in Saliha Belmessous, ed., *Empire by Treaty: Negotiating European Expansion, 1600-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.
[2] Martine Van Ittersum, 'Empire by Treaty?: The Role of Written Documents in European Overseas Expansion, 1500-1800', in Adam Clulow and Tristan Mostert, eds., *The Dutch and English East India Companies: Diplomacy, Trade and Violence in Early Modern Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018). Ittersum's position has been recently endorsed by Hans Hägerdal, 'Between Resistance and Co-Operation: Contact Zones in the Aru Islands in the VOC Period', *Wacana* 20, no. 3(2019): 480-506.

analysis of sources that escape any dichotomic categorisation as European or native writings.[3] Building on this, the aim of this essay is to focus on the treaty forged by Ferdinand the Catholic and the city of Algiers in 1510 in order to show how different agents instrumentalised this treaty according to the changing power-relations of the early sixteenth-century Mediterranean.

The changing face of a treaty

In the late fifteenth century, Queen Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, expanded their new empire in the Maghreb by conquering some of the most important strongholds on the Mediterranean coast. The authorities of many Maghrebi coastal towns addressed the Spanish authorities, offering surrender in order to avoid violent conquest. Algiers was not an exception: in January 1510, the Algerian authorities signed a preliminary agreement with the general captain of the Spanish army that had conquered the neighbouring city of Bougie. Three months later, an Algerian embassy signed the official treaty with Ferdinand.[4] By signing such a treaty, the Algerians were avoiding the bitter trauma of a violent conquest similar to that which Malaga, Melilla, Mers el-Kébir, Oran, and Bougie had suffered.

The most accurate reference to this treaty comes from the work of the Aragonese historian Jerónimo Zurita (1512-1580).[5] The juridical language of the text conceals the implicit coercion (although only to a certain extent) behind the appearance of an agreement mutually beneficial for both parties. In line with tradition, both parties agreed to the liberation of the Spanish-held captives in Algiers. Interestingly, special care was taken not to harm the economy of their captors, so the captives' ransom was to be paid by the Jewish community. This decision not to harm the economic interests of the Algerians showed that despite the obvious power asymmetry, both parties were

[3] To quote just a few early examples, Jorge Flores and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Os firangis na Chancelaria Mogol. Cópias portuguesas de Documentos de Akbar (1572-1604)* (New Delhi: Embaixada de Portugal, 2003); and Jorge Flores and Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "A Tale of Two Cities, a Veteran Soldier, or the Struggle for Endangered Nobilities: The Two Jornadas de Huva (1633, 1635) Revisited", in Jorge Flores, ed., *Re-Exploring the Links. History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 95-124.

[4] José Miguel Escribano Páez, 'Negotiating with the "Infidel": Imperial Expansion and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in the Early Modern Maghreb (1492–1516)', *Itinerario* 40, no. 2 (2016): 189-214.

[5] Zurita was most probably able to consult the original document when he received royal authorisation to access the royal archive to prepare his work on Ferdinand the Catholic. Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 104-106.

able to compromise, even if at the expense of a third (and weaker) party excluded from the negotiation. The first item of the official treaty referred to the acceptance of Ferdinand's sovereignty over Algiers by the local authorities: in exchange, no military attack would be conducted against this city. The rest of the treaty included the usual items on free trade, the payment of previous tributes to the new king, and respect for their laws, government officers, and Islamic religion by the new ruler. The reference to Ferdinand's right to construct a fortress on an islet at the entrance of Algiers' bay to defend the port, city and inhabitants deserves special mention. Interestingly, the coda of the treaty made clear that Ferdinand signed this treaty because he was moved by his desire to ensure the security of the Algerians.[6] As we can see, the treaty was more than archetypical. First, it only represented the usual exchange of loyalty in exchange for protection. Second, it implied no significant changes in the life of the city of Algiers and its inhabitants. In a nutshell, the main aim of the treaty was to make official the new status of Algiers as a subject of Ferdinand.

Usually, the problem with this kind of treaties is that we only have the vision from the imperial viewpoint. This is also the case here, but fortunately we have some sources providing us an idea of how the treaty was understood from the other side. Al-Hasan al-Wazzan, also known as Leo Africanus, made a meaningful reference to the treaty in his *General Description of Africa* in the following terms:

> The inhabitants of this city building for themselves galleys, began to play the pirates, and greatly to molest the [Balearic] islands. Whereupon king Ferdinando provided a mighty armada, hoping thereby to become lord of the city (...). Wherefore, the citizens immediately sent ambassadors into Spain, to crave a league for ten years, upon condition that they should pay certain yearly tribute, which request was granted by king Ferdinand. And so they remained for certain months free from danger of war.[7]

As we can see, the treaty was understood as an exercise of political pragmatism to avoid a violent conquest. This was also the view from another contemporary source from the Maghreb, the letter that the Algerian authorities sent to Sultan Selim I in 1519.

[6] Zurita, *Los cinco libros postreros de la historia del rey don Hernando el Catholico: de las empresas y ligas de Italia* (Zaragoza: Colegio de San Vicente Ferrer, 1610), 210 and 221.
[7] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa: And of the Notable Things Therein Contained* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896). Vol. II, 683. On this author and his works, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

The author of the letter made a clear connection between the fear of violent conquest and the treaty:

> The Spanish enemy has invaded Andalusia and has conquered Oran. From there, the Spanish attacked the whole hinterland. After the occupation of Bougie and Tripoli, our city, Algiers, remained isolated in the centre of an enemy circle (...) In order to avoid a bloodbath, the dispersion of families, captivity, and aiming to save our women, our children and our belongings, we concluded a treaty with the Christians while we waited for God to give us victory.[8]

It is quite clear that this treaty was grounded on violence and coercion. Hence, it seems that this case backs up current understandings of the treaty as a means to impose violent subjugation upon non-Europeans. However, later events complicated matters further.

Just a few months after signing the treaty, the same army that moved the Algerians to sign was defeated by the inhabitants of the island of Djerba (off the Tunisian coast), where thousands of the Spanish rank-and-file died or were held as captives. In the following year, Ferdinand planned a new attack against Tunis but internal opposition to that plan, as well as new hostilities in Italy, obliged the king to divert his army and navy and to abandon his military ambitions in Africa. Just a year after the signing of the treaty, the military menace over the Maghreb ended. From then onwards, the Spanish authorities focused on defending the cities under their control from the attack of powerful newcomers: the Barbarossas.[9] Despite all of this, the Algerian authorities did not disclaim the treaty after Spanish military power was no longer a threat. According to al-Hasan al Wazzan, the Algerian authorities believed that the treaty was valid only until 1516, because King Ferdinand passed away.[10] However, the Algerian authorities tried to instrumentalise the treaty for their own ends. The petition that they addressed to Queen Joana of Castile shortly after the death of Ferdinand in February 1516 seeking redress after a corsair raid is a clear example.[11]

[8] Abdeljelil Temimi, 'Lettre de la population Algéroise au sultan Selim I[er] en 1519', *Revue d'histoire Maghrébine* 5 (1976): 95-101.
[9] Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Cisneros y la conquista española del norte de África: cruzada, política y arte de la guerra* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2006), 194-209.
[10] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*. Vol. II, 683.
[11] Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla, Personas, Leg. 1-2, nº 549.

In line with the usual structure of these documents, the petition starts with a salutation to Joana by the petitioners: “The sheikh and moors of your city of Algiers, vassals of Your Highness, kiss your royal hands”. These words directly referred to the contractual relationship between the crown and its Algerian subjects from the treaty signed in 1510. The origin of their grievance was a raid by some Christian corsairs that took place two years before. Some light ships from Malaga raided the surrounding *ksur* (fortified quarters constituted by storehouses and agglomerations of houses where a lineage lived together) and several coastal locales, capturing around 70 people. The corsairs then returned to Malaga with the booty and waited for the payment of the captives’ ransom. However, the Algerian authorities refused to pay because the seizure was illegal, given that they were “vassals of Your Highness”. As a result, the Algerian authorities asked for the fulfilment of the “capitulation made with them when they gave themselves as vassals of Your Highness”. It can be argued that the Algerian authorities were only remembering the treaty as a rhetorical weapon for their legal strategy. However, the treaty also influenced the ways in which the Algerian authorities acted. Hence, it seems that they took special care to perform respect for the treaty. When the captain of the Spanish garrison deployed in the new fortress on Algiers’ islet captured one of the corsairs and delivered him to the Algerian authorities, they gave him back to the Spanish officer so they could not be accused of breaking the treaty by holding Spanish captives.

The Algerian demands received a positive answer. As Ferdinand did before, Joana and her advisers decided to send an order to the authorities of Malaga commanding them to liberate the Muslim captives without payment. However, later developments prevented the implementation of these royal orders. In addition to the chaotic dynastic crisis taking place between Ferdinand’s death and the arrival of Charles I, a violent tax revolt took place in Malaga. The local authorities expelled the crown’s representatives, thus preventing the implementation of royal mandates to the city.[12] Despite the lack of the desired outcome, both the Algerian authorities and the Spanish crown were committed to fulfil the treaty, even if the conditions under which it was signed had radically changed.

[12] David Coleman, ‘Before the Comuneros: Castilian and Genoese Traditions of “Liberty” in the 1516 Málaga Rebellion’, *Mediterranean Studies* 22, no. 1 (2013): 1-26.

Conclusions

The treaty that the Algerian authorities reached with Ferdinand the Catholic in 1510 is a good example of how problematic it is to either catalogue treaties like these as tools of subjugation or as testimonies of non-Europeans during European territorial appropriation. Without a doubt, the treaty the Algerians arranged with the Spanish was the result of their need to prevent a violent conquest. However, the Algerians did not forget about the treaty when Spanish military power in the Maghreb fell to pieces. On the contrary, they continued referring to it in their interaction with the Spanish authorities. Perhaps the previous fear of a violent conquest was over, but the treaty was still one of their best assets for fighting Spanish corsairs. The later failure of the Spanish authorities to implement effective protection over their Algerian subjects can be interpreted as clear proof of their lack of commitment to the treaty. However, more than that it was the result of their weak position *vis-à-vis* local communities profiting from maritime violence. Furthermore, this failure can be understood as a reason behind Algiers' shift towards Ottoman influence shortly after. In this way, the treaty of 1510 and its subsequent evolution can help us to better understand the dynamic and contingent nature of asymmetric power-relations in the Mediterranean.

This treaty escapes simple categorizations as a tool to subjugate peoples or as the testimony of non-European agency in European expansion. Each party had different and changing understandings of the treaty. Paradoxically, the Spanish crown made use of this instrument when it appeared almost useless due to its military ascendancy in the Maghreb. When this military power disappeared, and precisely when the Ottoman threat was gaining momentum in the region, the treaty could have been far more useful, but the Spanish authorities could not make use of it due to their own weakness. In contrast, the Algerian authorities could not profit from the treaty in their legal strategy against Spanish corsairs, but at least their willingness to subscribe to the treaty allowed them to prevent violent conquest. Neither of the parties was able to use the treaty to fully reach their objectives. However, the way in which different actors handled this two-sided legal tool can help us better understand the changing power relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean.

14

FROM SMYRNA TO SÉNITOT: Translating the Ottoman Empire from a Small Place in France

Ann Thomson
European University Institute

Unlike the work of Jorge Flores, which concerns actors on the global stage far beyond Europe, my contribution to this volume concerns someone who, as far as I know, never left France. It deals with a very obscure scholar about whose life practically nothing is known, except that he spent most of it as the pastor of a small Protestant church in Normandy, in north-west France. This essay will be devoted mainly to the connections revealed in his writings, as we know nothing about the concrete nature of his network or his links to the wider world, which however seem undoubted. Nevertheless, the literary evidence will take us at least to the opposite end of the Mediterranean and beyond.

The name of this pastor was Henri Bespier. He was a Protestant, born in 1627 or 1628 in Sedan, in the east of France, the son of a Gascon from the South West. On finishing his studies in 1651, presumably at the Protestant Academy in Sedan, he was appointed to the church of Sénitot, near the port of Harfleur in Normandy, where he died on 5 August 1676.[1] He does not seem to have travelled and apparently lived a

[1] See *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français. Etudes, documents, chronique littéraire* 127 (1981), 48; Henri Amphoux, *Essai sur l'histoire du protestantisme au Havre et dans ses environs* (Le Havre: L. Dombre, 1894), 180-181. There is no entry in Haag's *La France protestante.* The reformed church of Sénitot was founded by Antoine de Brachon, seigneur de Bévilliers, in 1596. It was destroyed in 1686: http://gghsm.forumpro.fr/t6083-temple-de-senitot-manoir-de-bevilliers-gonfreville-l-orcher

life devoted to his pastoral duties and to scholarship. He was, however, apparently suspended for a while by the local synod before being reinstated in 1665, and in 1673 was involved in a campaign for the reunification of the churches, having circulated in Lower Normandy a text proposing how this could be done, which he seems to have received from Paris. This led to his being investigated by the local representative of the state, the *Intendant*.[2] These few facts indicate that he was not content with tending to his flock, but was also independent-minded. In a letter to his brother, referring to Bespier's death, Pierre Bayle writes that the pastor had had 'de grands demelez' with his colleague at Le Havre, Henri Du Moulin,[3] a disagreement which may possibly have been linked to his suspension. But we know nothing else and can only surmise.

The other piece of information provided by Bayle explains my interest in the obscure Bespier; Bayle writes that he was very learned in all the 'oriental languages' and many others. It is impossible to know where or when this village pastor had studied all these languages, as he apparently never travelled. The proof of this knowledge, as Bayle indicates, is provided by the work which is the object of my article, the only one we know by Bespier. This is a posthumously published French translation of the English work by Paul Rycaut called *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, published in London in 1668, which went through several editions in the late Seventeenth Century. It is an important book, consulted for a long time as an authoritative source on the Ottoman Empire and is known to have been used by Montesquieu, amongst others. Sir Paul Rycaut spent many years in the Levant as agent for the English Levant company, and was English ambassador in Istanbul, then consul in Smyrna. His detailed work, describing all aspects of Turkish life, customs, government and religion, insists on the despotic nature of the government and provides a definition of despotism that fed into Montesquieu's influential description of 'oriental despotism'.[4] Montesquieu read the work in a French translation published by Paul Briot in 1670, which was widely circulated and republished several times in France and the Netherlands. Briot's book continued to be the authoritative translation of the work, which helped to make it well known in the French-speaking world. Despite

[2] Luc Daireaux, *'Réduire les huguenots': protestants et pouvoirs en Normandie au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2010), 615-616.
[3] Letter from Pierre Bayle to his brother Jacob, 26 November 1678: http://bayle-correspondance.univ-st-etienne.fr/?Lettre-160-Pierre-Bayle-a-Jacob
[4] See my 'L'Empire ottoman, symbole du despotisme oriental?', in I. Gadoin and M.-E. Palmier-Chatelain, eds., *Rêver d'Orient, connaître l'Orient* (Lyon: ENS Editions, 2008), 177-96.

this, Henri Bespier decided to re-do the translation, perhaps because he was dissatisfied with it and considered it to be unreliable. He seems to have worked for years on the text, which was more or less finished when he died. The editors, who published it in Rouen, remark that the manuscript was in perfect order and ready to be published.[5]

What makes this translation fascinating is that fact that, far from being satisfied with re-translating the English work, Bespier adds, at the end of each of the work's two volumes, copious "Remarques curieuses sur la diversité des dignités & des charges des Officiers du Grand-Seigneur & sur les opinons différentes des auteurs qui ont écrit de l'état de l'empire ottoman, le tout pour l'intelligence & l'éclaircissement de plusieurs choses".[6] These notes are hugely erudite commentaries on vocabulary, etymology, points of history and geography, and corrections of mistakes not only in Briot's translation but also in Rycaut's text, as well as in certain of the authorities quoted, including in Du Ryer's recent translation of the Quran. Bespier calls on a wide variety of authorities in several languages (the list occupies three pages at the beginning of the work), sometimes accusing them of copying each other without indicating their sources. He often discusses in some detail the mistakes he has found in the translation, sometimes explaining them as a misreading of the English text, at other times attributing them to the printer. His comments demonstrate that he must have had both a quite considerable library and a good knowledge of several languages: apart from Latin and English, of course, at least Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic. According to the anonymous editor, Bespier knew eighteen languages. From his notes, it seems that this knowledge was far from superficial. It is perhaps surprising that in addition to remarks on etymology and precise meanings, as well as the correction of inappropriate translations, he includes numerous comments on pronunciation. This may possibly indicate that he had contact with native speakers, but we must be cautious about this, as many of the remarks on pronunciation are based on information provided by travel accounts. We can only speculate about where he learnt all these languages and whether he ever in fact had any contact with native

[5] *L'Etat present de l'Empire ottoman. Divisé en trois livres. De la traduction du sieur Bespier, sur l'original anglois du sieur Ricaut, secretaire de M. le comte de Winchelsey, ambassadeur pour S. M. Britannique vers la Porte. Avec les figures au naturel; le tout enrichi de remarques fort curieuses* (Rouen: David Berthelin, 1677).

[6] 'Curious remarks on the diversity of categories and charges of the officers of the Sultan and on the different opinions of the authors who have written on the state of the Ottoman Empire, in order to understand and explain several things.' All of the translations from the French are my own.

speakers or whether his knowledge was purely from books. In any case, the global connections of a modest pastor in a small parish in Normandy are intriguing.

The scrupulous erudition of this pastor, who does not appear to have published anything else and who has left few traces in the archives, is also astounding; all his comments are referenced, the precise sources are indicated, and when no reliable source is available, he admits ignorance. He was very well-read in Muslim literature, including, of course, the Quran. This enabled him to be a more open-minded, or at least objective, commentator. While making the ritual denunciations of the false religion of Islam, he is above all concerned with accuracy. For example, commenting on Rycaut's remark that music is forbidden by the Quran, he notes: 'Je ne me souviens point d'avoir vu cela dans l'Alcoran, je souhaiterois que notre auteur eut marqué le chapitre où cela se trouve'.[7] He also targets inaccurate criticisms of Islam made by Christians. For example, in a note concerning the claim that, according to 'Mahomet', there was no need to honour promises made to infidels, Bespier writes:

> Il ne paroit rien de pareil dans l'*Alcoran*: on y trouve au contraire au chapitre 9 qui porte pour titre *De la Conversion*, qu'il est recommandé expressément à ses partisans d'observer exactement, jusques au terme préfix, ce qu'ils ont promis aux infidèles. Il ajoute que, si les Infideles tiennent ce qu'ils ont promis aux Mahometans, on leur doit aussi tenir la parole qu'on leur a donnée. je ne sçay pourquoy on affecte d'attribuer à Mahomet & aux Mahometans, une infinité de doctrines pernicieuses ou ridicules, à quoy ils n'ont jamais pensé, puisqu'il n'y a que trop de véritables erreurs dans leur religion, qu'on leur peut reprocher légitimement.[8]

Such remarks show, beyond the scrupulous erudition, a certain openness, and at least a willingness to judge Islam on the facts, based on detailed knowledge, and combat inaccurate prejudices against it while, of course, sticking to the usual Christian condemnation of this 'false religion'. This attitude is combined with a denunciation of

[7] *L'Etat présent*, II, 670. 'I do not remember having seen that in the Alcoran. I wish our author had marked the chapter where that is found'.
[8] *L'Etat présent,* I, 'Remarques curieuses', 117. 'Nothing of that sort appears in the Alcoran: on the contrary, we find in chapter 9, whose title is *On Conversion*, that his followers are specifically recommended to observe exactly, until the end of the fixed term, what they promised the infidels. He adds that if infidels keep to their promises to Muslims, Muslims must also keep to their word to the infidels. I do not know why we like to attribute to Muhammad and the Muhammadans an infinity of pernicious or ridiculous doctrines that they never thought of, as we can already reproach them legitimately for too many real errors in their religion.'

those who voluntarily distort the teachings of Islam, as can be seen in his comment on those historians who attributed the Prophet's doctrines to a monk called Sergius:

> Toutes les histoires que l'on fait de Sergius & de Mahomet sont de l'invention des Chrétiens & doivent être mises au nombre des fraudes pieuses, dont on ne s'est que trop servi dans les premiers siècles de l'Eglise, pour autoriser la Religion chrétienne, & pour rendre les autres religions odieuses. Comme si la verité avoit besoin du mensonge pour se soutenir, & comme si les fausses religions ne fournissoient pas assez d'argumens pour les combattre & pour les réfuter, sans avoir recours aux calomnies & aux impostures.[9]

Bespier also insists that the Turks often follow their religion better than do the Christians, and finishes his first volume with a long quotation from Thévenot's travel account, explaining that ordinary Turks are 'honnêtes gens' and criticising Christians' prejudices against them.[10]

Bespier is also very well informed, not only on the doctrines and sacred texts of Islam, but also on its history, and makes frequent comparisons between the language, culture and beliefs of different parts of the Muslim world. He pays particular attention to the different sects into which it is divided, expanding greatly on the information about these sects provided by Rycaut. This interest should, I think, be linked to his own concern to reduce the divisions among Christians and his support for attempts to bring together Catholics and Protestants. From many of the remarks on this subject, we can infer that he sees the similarities between Muslims and Christians and wants to encourage the reader to make comparisons with the situation at home. At one point, for example, he refers to a sect that denies any freedom of action to humans, saying they believe that God forces humans to behave in a certain way; this is followed by remarks on an opposing sect that believes in complete freedom for humans, who can do good or evil according solely to their free will.[11] It is difficult to believe that he did not have in mind the contemporary discussions among Protestants concerning free will and predestination. This supposition is reinforced by the fact that Rycaut, who was

[9] *L'Etat présent,* II, 619. 'All the stories about Sergius and Muhammad were invented by Christians and must be counted among the pious frauds which were too often used in the early Church in order to authorise the Christian religion and make the other religions odious. As if the truth needed lies in order to be supported and as if the false religions did not already provide enough arguments to combat and refute them, without having recourse to calumny and imposture.'
[10] *L'Etat présent,* I, 'Remarques curieuses', 118-20.
[11] *L'Etat présent,* II, 635-6.

a royalist, frequently makes comparisons between the Muslims and the Puritan revolutionaries who had executed Charles I and instituted a republic, based on elements like their belief in predestination and refusal of hierarchy; he even accuses the 'phanatick reformers' of having copied from Islam:

> considering the manner of their designation to the Religious office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Layetie, and the manner of their single Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unaptly seem to square with the Independency in England, from which original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatick Reformers appear to have drawn their Coppy.[12]

Perhaps it was this comparison between Islam and reformed Christianity, usually made by its Catholic enemies, that led Bespier to translate the work again and produce a version that omitted some of the hostile comments about the English Puritans, such as this last one. He also omits the following passage, following Rycaut's remark that the Turks consider their success in war to be proof of God's approval:

> And the same argument (if I am not mistaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in England, was made use of by many, to intitle God to their Cause, and make him the Author of their thriving sin, because their wickedness prospered, and could trample on all holy and humane rights with impunity.

However, he also omits the following sentence, which takes a different tack:

> And I have known that the Romanists have judged the afflictions and almost subversion of the Church of England, to be a token of Gods desertion and disclaim of her profession, forgetting the Persecutions and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in sorrow and established with patience and passive graces; but these men rather than want an argument, their malice will use the weapons of Infidels to oppugn the truth.[13]

[12] See Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Polity, the most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, their Sects and Heresies, their Convents and Religious Votaries. Their Military Discipline, with an exact computation of their forces both by sea and land*… (London: John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668), 24, 105, 109.
[13] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 105.

This criticism of the Catholic Church's attacks on the Church of England, but also a reminder that persecution was a sign of God's favour (which could be applied to the French Protestants), was perhaps omitted due to prudence and in order not to upset the censors, as the work was published with official approval. This shows how discussion of the Ottoman Empire was a weapon in internal European debates. Particularly interesting is Bespier's denunciation of the inaccurate criticism of the Persian Shi'ites made by the Mufti of Constantinople. He comments:

> Il ne faut pas s'étonner si le Mufti de Constantinople leur attribue des choses qu'ils ne croyent point, car c'est la coutume presque générale de tous ceux qui parlent d'une religion différente de la leur, d'attribuer à ceux qui en font profession une infinité d'erreurs auxquelles ils n'ont jamais pensé.[14]

Or again, concerning the Mufti's claim that the Persians rejected some of the chapters of the Quran: 'Je crois que c'est encore ici une imposture du Mufti de Constantinople; car je suis presque assuré que les Perses ont le même Alcoran que les Turcs, & qu'ils n'en ont rien retranché'.[15] It is not difficult to believe that these comments on the Mufti's distortion of the Shi'ites' beliefs were dictated by the situation of the French Protestants and their treatment by the Catholic Church.

It is therefore impossible to ignore the fact that Bespier was a Protestant, a member of a minority church that was by then scarcely tolerated and was to be outlawed in France less than ten years later when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. For Bespier, the way the Sunnite Muslims (whom he calls the Turks, in line with contemporary usage) spread disinformation about the Shi'ites, whom they consider heretics, is the same as the way the Catholics try to discredit the Protestants. Thus, beyond purely erudite preoccupations, Bespier's interest in translating and annotating Rycaut's work clearly arose from a wider concern with contemporary problems. He is also using this work on the Muslim world to make global comparisons

[14] *L'Etat présent,* II, 641: 'We should not be surprised that the Mufti of Constantinople attributes to them things that they do not believe, as it is the almost general custom of those who speak about a religion different from their own, to attribute to its followers an infinite number of mistakes that they have never believed in.'
[15] *L'Etat présent,* II, 642: 'I think this is yet another imposture of the Mufti of Constantinople, for I am almost certain that the Persians have the same Alcoran as the Turks and that they have not removed anything from it.'

which allow him to denounce the behaviour of the Catholic Church in France without doing so openly. In so doing, he mirrors Rycaut's work, which used the Ottoman Empire to praise the moderate monarchy of the Stuarts, who ruled according to the laws in contrast to the Sultan's despotism, defined as ruling by fear and without any laws. Thus Rycaut writes, in his 'Epistle to the reader':

> If the Tyranny, oppression, and cruelty of that state, wherein reason stands in no competition with the pride and lust of an unreasonable minister, seem strange to thy liberty and happiness, thank God that thou art born in a country the most free and just in all the world; and a subject to the most indulgent, the most gracious of all the princes of the universe; that thy wife, thy children, and the fruits of thy labour can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant arm of thy fortunate King: and thus learn to know and prize thy own freedom, by comparison with foreign servitude, that thou mayst ever bless God and thy king, and make thy happiness breed thy content, without generating into wantonness, or desire of revolution.[16]

Rycaut, it is true, was more of a global subject than Bespier, having studied in Spain during the Interregnum and spent many years in the Levant as a diplomat. His knowledge of the Ottoman Empire, which informed his writings, was acquired to a large extent on the spot, thus differing from Bespier's much more erudite information, based on a thorough knowledge of histories, commentaries and sacred works, but also travel accounts, from which he frequently quotes. The extensive use of first-hand travel accounts and a huge variety of works in several languages providing information on the diversity of the Muslim world indicates that from his study in Normandy, Bespier was able, thanks to these writings, to range widely in distant lands.

But as I have already indicated, there are some intriguing indications that Bespier did have some wider connections, even if we only have some hazy indications about them. First of all, he seems to have had a network of contacts who provided him with information. For example, he adds to the description of Ottoman kiosks taken from the travels of Pietro della Valle a description of the seraglio provided by Pierre Girardin, who was a royal advisor and Lieutenant of Paris. Girardin had visited Constantinople and apparently knew Turkish quite well; he was later, in 1685, appointed ambassador

[16] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 'Epistle to the reader' (pages not numbered).

to the Ottoman Empire and died in Istanbul. Bespier quotes here, and several times afterwards, from a manuscript which he says Girardin had given him.[17] It also seems possible that some of his information, and perhaps remarks on Turkish pronunciation, came from the same informant, as Bespier also refers to his Turkish Grammar.[18] Again, one would like to know how Bespier knew Girardin. Elsewhere, Bespier mentions an account of the death of Nassouf Bassa, sent from Constantinople by the French Ambassador de Sancy.[19] Bespier therefore seems, in his Normandy parish, to have been part of a network for the circulation of information and writings that extended to Istanbul. He was apparently linked both to intellectual circles and to the upper reaches of society, as his sister married the Dutch governor of Maastricht and he himself married, just over a year before he died, the daughter of a local notable.[20] It was perhaps through his network that he came to own a manuscript containing an Arabic prayer, referred to in the notes.[21] It is not clear, however, whether this is the same manuscript to which he refers elsewhere as having been given to him by 'Monsieur Hugo, Capitaine d'un navire de guerre pour le Roy'; the manuscript is called 'Bab el Islam', or the gate of 'Mahometism', as he says.[22]

Here perhaps we need to pay attention to the location of Bespier's church. As I have indicated, although he came from Sedan in the east of France and his family was from Gascony, he spent most of his life in Normandy, near Harfleur. This port, on the estuary of the Seine, not far from the seaport of Le Havre, was for long an important trading port, with large fortifications and a tradition of resistance to various monarchs. As a result of this, its fortifications were destroyed by Louis XIII and its trade declined, although under Louis XIV, with the help of the canal built by Vauban in 1665-67 linking Harfleur to nearby Le Havre, its activity revived somewhat. Bespier was thus near a port with a proud tradition, despite its decline. Le Havre was at the time an important centre of the slave trade and trade with the West Indies. This doubtless meant that he was more open to the rest of the world than he would have been in an inland town, and was in contact with members of the fleet, as the reference to the manuscript

[17] *L'Etat présent,* I, 'Remarques curieuses', 9-10; see also 30, 32, 41, 48, 5, 65, 68-70, 95, 106-8, 111; II, 707, 708.
[18] *L'Etat présent,* I, 'Remarques curieuses', 24, 33, 65; II, 696, 708.
[19] *L'Etat présent,* I, 'Remarques curieuses', 19.
[20] *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 1981, 48; *Essai sur l'histoire du protestantisme* 158
[21] *L'Etat présent,* I, 'Remarques curieuses', 35.
[22] *L'Etat present*, II, 621. I have not been able to find any information about this captain Hugo of the royal navy.

indicates. This location perhaps facilitated his awareness of global connections and comparisons, even though there was no particular connection with the Mediterranean or the Ottoman Empire. One example of Bespier's awareness of connections and comparisons is his note concerning the name of one of the types of Ottoman soldiers: discussing the possible etymology of the name, he claims that it referred to bandits in Hungary, and then proceeds to quote Ménage, who provides a list of the different names given to such bandits in Sicily, England, the Pyrenees, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Poland, Muscovy, 'etc.'[23]

Perhaps if Henri Bespier had not died in his church before the age of 50 without apparently having published anything, he might have made more of a name for himself in the wider world, in line with his transcultural interests. As it was, his translation, published in Rouen, seems to have had little impact and was overshadowed by the earlier, and much less erudite, one by Briot. He was not, however, completely ignored and his learning was not completely buried; Pierre Bayle used Bespier's notes in his *Dictionnaire*, which remained an important reference work throughout the Eighteenth Century, and they are also quoted in the book devoted to Islam in the famous *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peoples du monde* by Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart.[24] In this way, this obscure pastor managed, from his small church in Normandy, to contribute to knowledge, and arguably a better understanding, of the Muslim world not only in France but among Europeans more widely. What this case also shows is how European discussions of the Muslim world intervened in domestic debates, that these debates were transcultural, and that their global dimension was evident to participants, even those who did not themselves travel.

[23] *L'Etat present*, II, 700.
[24] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peoples du monde*, vol. V (Amsterdam: Bernard, 1737).

15

RECOUNTING THE RESTORATION OF SALVADOR DA BAHIA (1625): The writing of an Early Modern Global Episode

Irene María Vicente Martín
European University Institute
Mauritshuis Museum

In September 1625, the first rumors of the recovery of Salvador da Bahia, capital of the *Estado do Brasil*, reached Madrid.[1] They all alluded to the victorious feat of the Castilian, Portuguese, and Neapolitan troops commanded by Captain Fadrique de Toledo in expelling the Dutch, who had seized the city the previous year. Once confirmed, whispers of the triumph led to massive written and pictorial production. [2] Pamphlets, *gacetas*, and poems assailed the public with glittering visions of the enemy forces' expulsion. Officials' correspondence stimulated reports of events where

[1] There are no records of when notice of the triumph reached the Court, but as early as July 1625 Olivares informed the monarch "in Brazil, Bay of All Saints had been recovered with great reputation", Gaspar de Guzmán Olivares and John Huxtable Elliott, *Memoriales y cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares*. Vol. 1: Política interior: 1621 -1645: tomos 1 y 2, Nueva ed. ampliada, anotada y revisada, Colección Los hombres del rey Documentos (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013), 148–58. It is conceivable that between July and September 1625, news spread through informal means: epistles written by soldiers, Fadrique de Toledo's letter to king Philip IV and early engravings of Alardo de Poopma could have been the sources of inspiration for *El Brasil Restituido*, as they were well known at that point.

[2] While there is not great evidence about the first pamphlets and *gacetillas*, complete lists on the writing about the Restoration of Bahia can be found in Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence (1624-1640)," *American Historical Review*, June 1991:735–62. More recently two studies have come to complete the list: Carlos Ziller Camenietzki and Gianrricardo Grasia Pastore, "1625, o Fogo e a Tinta: A Batalha de Savador Nos Relatos de Guerra", *Topoi* 6, no. 11 (2005): 261–88; Guida Marques, "L'invention Du Bresil Entre Deux Monarchies: Gouvernement et Pratiques Politiques de l'Amérique Portugaise Dans l'union Ibérique (1580-1640)" (PhD. diss. Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2009).

Castilians' courage stood out among the paragraphs. Soldiers' wanderings inspired theatrical pieces like Lope de Vega's *El Brasil Restituido,* which suggested the Portuguese New Christians' collaboration with the invaders.[3] And the event itself was depicted in Maíno's *La Recuperación de Bahía de Todos los Santos* (c. 1635), where Philip IV and Count-Duke Olivares stood out as central heroes of the fight.[4]

Public enthusiasm was similar in Lisbon.[5] Along with early *folhas de notícias*, an equivalent number of accounts and plays brought the episode to the Portuguese capital.[6] Authors presented it as a feat of Catholicism over the heretical rebels, but they all significantly emphasized the Portuguese side of the fight.[7] For instance, Jerônimo de Ataíde put his efforts into writing about the financial support of the Portuguese nobility, Bartolomeu Guerreiro focused on the heroic disposition of the *fidalgos* on the battlefield, and Manoel de Menezes had no qualms in accusing the Spanish soldiers of looting the city as soon as they took it.[8] With a similar approach, Antonio Correa's play *La pérdida y Restauración de la Bahía* depicted the arrogant and conceited attitude of the soldiers from Castile, largely confronting his counterpart in Madrid, Lope de Vega, for whom the stubborn were, not surprisingly, the Portuguese.[9] After all, what these authors alleged was that Brazil was of Portuguese

[3] M. Menéndez Pelayo, in his preliminary observations to the piece, states that this comedy was written 'under the printing of the first news that arrived in Madrid', being already performed in October 1625. We adopt here the fact that the sources of Lope de Vega must have been the relations or gazettes that in those days were printed to satisfy public curiosity. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Observaciones Preliminares a El Brasil Restituido, in Comedias Americanas (Buenos Aires: Poseidon, 1943).*

[4] Maíno's painting about Bahia was one of the twelve the canvases that decorated the walls of the Hall of Kingdoms of the Palacio del Buen Retiro in Madrid, specially conceived to commemorate the *annus mirabilis* of Hispanic Monarchy. Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliot, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003).

[5] Ana Paula Torres Megiani, "Das Palavras e Das Coisas Curiosas: Correspondência e Escrita Na Coleção de Notícias de Manuel Severim de Faria," *Topoi* 8, no. 15 (2007): 31.

[6] One of the earliest that has been preserved is *Relação apresentada a S. M. a respeito do ataque aos holandeses na Bahia*. S. l. 29 de março de 1624, 4f. (Sig: BNRJ, II-33, 31, 11)

[7] Schwartz, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence (1624-1640)," 735.

[8] I am referring to *A Jornada dos Vassalos* of Jerónimo de Ataide (1625), transcribed in Volume III of Pablo Antonio Iglesias Magalhães, "Equus Rusus A Igreja Católica e as Guerras Neerlandesas Na Bahia (1624 – 1654)" (Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2010); *Iornada dos vassalos da Coroa de Portugal pera se recuperar a Cidade do Saluador, na Bahya de Todos os Santos* of Bartoloeu Guerreiro (1625), available in Biblioteca Nacional de España, BNE, Ms. 2357 'Sucesos del año 1625, tomo II, fols. 129-130'; and *Recuperação da cidade do Salvador* of Manuel de Menezes (1625), in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, no. 22, 1859, 357-411.

[9] This play remained unpublished until very recent times. It was catalogued in José Carlos Lisboa, *Uma Peça Desconhecida Sobre Os Holandeses Na Bahia, Coleção de Obras Raras 6* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministerio de Educação e Cultura / Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1961).

sovereignty, and that the enemies of Castile had taken its capital was just *another* consequence of the already-criticized Iberian Union (1581-1640).[10]

The Iberian Union's political context played a crucial role in gathering, constructing, and disseminating this Brazilian news. After the Thirty Years' War resumption in 1621, an impressive series of victories in Europe and America seemed to confirm the success of Olivares' Union of Arms (1626). Together with Bahia, victories at Genoa, Cadiz, and Breda demonstrated the value of the military co-operation of the different territories composing the Hispanic Monarchy, increasingly centralized in Castile, as a unique way to defeat European opponents. [11] However, the use of Castilian troops to expel the Dutch and English from Portuguese overseas possessions gave rise to new debates about the legal rank of such *reconquered* lands in Brazil. As can be easily inferred, Lisbon thinkers stood against any legal change of status or sovereignty, while also begging the king to spend more time in Portugal.[12] In this situation, the recapture of Bahia seemed to mark a turning point in the history of the two peninsular countries and their expansion in America. The Dutch presence in Brazil and their interference in the Luso-Atlantic markets were the initial problems, but more so was the way the struggle between certain social groups (nobility and mercantile bourgeoisie) that increasingly frustrated their relationship with the state and the king was taking shape.[13]

Aware of this juncture, authors set their narratives about Brazil in such a European context, sometimes forgetting the Atlantic and global world already functioning. Why Bahia mattered so much in Portugal's and Castile's geopolitics was visible in the writings, where its wealth, its defensive role towards Potosí, and its economic importance as sugar producer center were emphasized. However, the episode and its later fabrication were mainly *used* by Castile to reassert its leading role in the Union of Arms, clearly visible in both Lope de Vega's and Maíno's creations, while for Portugal it was a clear manifestation of the disadvantages of belonging to it.[14]

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[10] António de Oliveira, *Poder e Oposição Política Em Portugal No Período Filipino (1580-1640)* (Lisboa: DIFEL, 1990); Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Le Portugal Au Temps Du Conde-Duc D'Olivares* (1621-1640) (Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2001).
[11] John H. Elliot, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986; Schwartz, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence (1624-1640)."
[12] Ana Paula Torres Megiani, *O Rei Ausente - Festa e Cultura Política Nas Visitas Dos Felipes a Portugal (1581-1619)* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2004).
[13] Schwartz, "Voyage of the Vassals…", p. 737-737.
[14] Íbid.

While it is true that the material destruction of the attack deprived us of much original documentation, what cannot be uncritically accepted is the permanence of such past fabrications in current studies about Brazil during the Iberian Union. In the same way, inaccuracies and discrepancies between Portuguese and Castilian chroniclers lead us to know more about the written hopes of the peninsular reigns rather than about the actual reality of each of the three territories involved.

The disparities, contradictions, and inaccuracies of the data presented were inherent to narratives of the early modern period. Portuguese and Castilian writers and many others throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries used history – or selected episodes from the past – to explain their present. Despite such structural and generalist explanations, we could easily infer that the episode of Salvador and discrepancies in its narrations presented quite precise grounds. Maybe the Dutch presence in the Atlantic, the economic effort to prepare the army, or Olivares' increasingly contested policies mattered differently to each of the peninsular countries. But the fact is that these discrepancies have a great deal of connection with the sources of the writings, along with the role played by each of the authors regarding the event. As mentioned, for those who did not witness the Bahian fight, letters from soldiers and officials served as the primary sources of information, thus turning their texts into memoirs rather than well-balanced interpretations of the event they all were recounting. Along with this, the writers' personal backgrounds, together with the role they assumed as divulgers on the mainland, encouraged diversity. For instance, soldiers like Juan de Valencia narrate each military affair with caution, from the name of each vessel to the exact amount of ammunition each of them carried. Accordingly, professional chroniclers created a more balanced storyline based mainly on official documents and usually commissioned by nobles or the king himself: they wished for these narratives to remain the official story of the event that would pass to posterity.

The authors' intentionality was also a reason for important differences in the way the recapture of Bahia was recounted. Painters, dramaturges, and storytellers were aware that they were creating for a wide and expectant public, eager to know the facts of an event they already knew ended in victory. With the intention to please, but also to entertain, authors used fables, symbols, and known episodes from classical mythology mainly related to treason, courage, and war. Playwrights included dialogues and romances in an attempt to make the episode closer to the common audience. But, above all, the interest in obtaining a reward for their writings made each of them orient

their speech to please a very well-selected audience, to a large extent nobles, high-ranking officials, and even the king himself.[15] In their intention to promote themselves in social terms, all the writers transformed their already subjective impressions into a text that matched the political and cultural atmosphere of the time, whether in Portugal or Castile, thus reflecting in their writings the existing political and social tensions of the period.

But it was the authorities' desire to manage the news flow and construct their own political narrative that fuelled the quarrels over the narrations. [16] It is true that each author's background was a determinant. It is even truer that their roles in the episode, whether as witnesses, informants, or official chroniclers, underline the differences between their creations. However, it was their need to satisfy a well-selected audience, often the people commissioning the writings, that largely contributed to a premeditated distortion of the event. In this sense, most of the narratives about Salvador offer previously constructed identities, intertwined assumptions, and collective visions in Portugal and Castile about each other. Different emphases on the behavior of the Lusians and Spaniards, discussions about the actual hero of the fight, or even the detail of the best actor in Madrid interpreting Fadrique de Toledo while the Portuguese troops were just musicians are symbolisms that are impossible to overlook. Each of these niceties was part of a whole set of beliefs and the more or less pre-national attitudes that existed in the Iberian Peninsula. On top of such mindsets, the fact that the immense majority of chronicles with Castilian authors obtained a license of impression while only a small percentage of the Portuguese obtained one is an indication of the existence of a political culture largely under institutional control. [17]

Given this situation, some caution is needed when recalling the political and social scene of Bahia and Brazil during the Iberian Union. The capture of Bahia, of course, attracts writers, both then and now. Objectively speaking, the armada was one

[15] Fernando Marías Franco, P*inturas de Historia, Imágenes Políticas. Repensando El Salón de Reinos, Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: 2012, n.d.), 53; Lygia Rodrigues Vianna Peres, "El Brasil Restituido de Lope de Vega y La Pérdida y Restauración de La Bahía de Todos Los Santos, de Juan Antonio Correa: Historia, Emblemática", *Espacios Del Teatro Áureo. Texto, Espacio y Representación*. X Congreso de La Asociación Internacional de Teatro Español y Novohispano, UNAM, 2013, 245–61.
[16] Michiel van Groesen, *Amsterdam's Atlantic. Print Culture and the Making of Dutch Brazil* (Philadelphia: University of Pensilvania Press, 2017.), 10
[17] As an example, it could be said that three of the most important Portuguese accounts were only published in the late 19th -20th centuries, according to Guida Marques, "As Ressonâncias Da Restauração Da Bahia (1625) e a Inserção Da América Portuguesa Na União Ibérica," in *Governo, Política e Representações Do Poderno Portugal Habsburgo e Nos Seus Territórios Ultramarinos (1581-1640)*, Centro de Historia de Além-Mar, vol. 11 (Lisboa: Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2011), 136.

of the largest ever to be organized; the economic efforts had no precedents either in Spain or in Portugal, and the victory obtained gave a momentary turn in the war against the Dutch, securing Habsburg dominance over Brazil until at least 1630. However, academic focus on the event, mainly carried out by Spaniards and Portuguese (although also by Dutch and Brazilians) academics, is still stagnating in such European perspectives. Who was to blame, what damage the Castilians did to the city, what role the Church played in this overseas episode of the Eighty Years' War, or how cowardly the Portuguese were when they fled the city as soon as they saw the Dutch flags are still issues of discussion.

Despite this discouraging scenario, a growing number of approaches are now stressing the significance of both the recapture of Bahia and the Iberian Union for Brazil's own understanding of itself and its defining roots during the colonial period. [18] Thanks to new methodologies and extra-peninsular sources, it can be stated today that although many of the changes were at the behest of the Habsburgs, the large majority were not, despite occurring during the same period of the Iberian Union. The fixation of the population in *vilas*, towns, and cities, the entrance of Brazilian products into the Atlantic trade flows and routes, the presence of so-called subaltern sectors (Indians, slaves, and women) in colonial power circles, and even perceptions of Brazil outside the Iberian Peninsula, are issues that have only now begun to become known. All of this has, of course, opened the doors to a greater knowledge of Brazil's past, no longer from the eyes of Europe but as an integral part of what is called the global and transnational early modern world.

As Fernand Braudel cautioned, distance in terms of space and time has remained the primary enemy of writing early modern history. [19] Back in the sixteenth century, Portuguese America entered the daily life of Madrid and Lisbon, becoming part of the political culture of the entire Hispanic Monarchy.[20] As explained above, the political climate in Portugal and Castile generated certain misconceptions about this land that were translated into a then-prevailing vision of what was happening in Brazil. However, what remains to be addressed is the persistence of such perceptions today.

[18] After the Carnation Revolution (1974), several historians confronted previous interpretations, such as J. Veríssimo, E. Oliveira França and, later, Evaldo Cabral de Mello, António Manuel Hespanha, Fernando Bouza Álvarez, Rafael Valladares and Jean Fréderic Schaub.
[19] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1995).
[20] See, for instance, the attention paid to the events in Salvador in the Netherlands, Italy, or even in territories outside the Hispanic Monarchy, such as England or Germany.

It is true that current history abides by criteria of objectivity, but the lack of original documentation, the –sometimes- distorted narratives we use as sources, and the influence of each historian's background are clear remnants. Although it may seem surprising, the most recent works on Brazil and the Hispanic Monarchy still suffer from nationalist conceptions. The differences between these interpretations of the Bahian episode are still not very distinct from those circulating in Madrid and Lisbon back in 1625.

The multiplicity of interpretations is inherent to the process of doing history. Just as we now recognize the misconceptions of previous narrations, our own will be recognized in the near future. This is a great advantage. It is from discussions, opposing interpretations, and the overcoming of perspectives that scientific progress is born. However, this implies that most of what we know about the past is far from being definitive. This is not only because every historian today, as then, has his own training and writes from a specific context (academic, professional, and personal), but also because new methodologies are opening new insights thanks, precisely, to confronted interpretations and the rewriting of earlier ones.

In the end, then, one thing is clear: the current writing of history, as well as the writings, *coplillas*, and novels that circulated in Madrid, is nothing other than an invention. The quality of the historian depends on whether such an invention is based on feasible interpretations and supported by collated documentation. On the quality of the historian depends the quality of his invention, supported by the documentation that remains. On the quality of the historian depends the understanding of our past and, by definition, our present.

16

MISERABLE INDIANS AND EXEMPLARY CACIQUES:

The Judicial Narratives of Indigenous Lords from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

Elfie Guyau
European University Institute

Indigenous lords, called *caciques*, played a key role in the colonisation and evangelisation of the Spanish Empire. The families that converted to Christianity and rallied around the Spanish Catholic Monarchy kept some of their governing powers and were granted privileges.[1] The status of indigenous elites was often debated during the colonial period (the 1530s to the eighteenth century), but their position as mediators between the Spanish authorities and the indigenous populations led some of them to gain enough influence to successfully adapt pre-Hispanic forms of legitimacy and power in the new colonial society.

When it comes to the evangelisation in the Andes, most historians and anthropologists now agree on emphasising the adaptative methods of missionaries and the Church. But the negotiations are mainly examined from European clerical perspectives, while Andean populations are often merely depicted as their interlocutors.[2] A few recent studies have turned to the agency of indigenous

[1] Thierry Saignes, *Caciques Tributes and Migration in the Southern Andes: Indian Society and the 17th-Century Social Order* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1985); Marina Zuloaga Rada, *La conquista negociada: guarangas, autoridades locales e imperio en Huaylas, Perú (1532-1610)* (Lima: Instituto de estudios peruanos, IFEA, 2012); Laura Escobari de Querejazu, *Caciques, yanaconas y extravagantes. La sociedad colonial en Charcas. Siglos XVI-XVIII* (Lima: Plural et IFEA, 2005).
[2] Kenneth J. Andrien, "Chapter 6. Religious Conversion and the Imposition of Orthodoxy", in *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule. 1532-1825* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes:*

populations, especially their *caciques*, but they often focus on local scales.[3] Hence, we lack a larger picture of the *caciques*' reactions to evangelisation and how they perceived the process in different territories of the viceroyalty, as well as a diachronic approach highlighting its evolutions. One way to achieve such a program is to turn to the numerous judicial and legal procedures Andean *caciques* produced to ask for privileges or to complain against the Spanish authorities. In the narratives they brought before the civic and ecclesiastical courts, they regularly displayed themselves as "good Christians" and described some of their Christian practices. Focusing on this specific aspect of *caciques*' judicial and legal procedures in two districts of the viceroyalty of Peru (the audiences of Lima and Charcas), I wish to investigate the processes of appropriation and cultural blending visible in these documents. Thus, I hope not only to better understand to what extent Andean *caciques* had a specific idea of their role as Christian leaders, but also how they appropriated Catholic practices and, finally, through comparing several profiles coming from different territories, to question the existence and nature of "Andean Catholicism".

In this short paper, I would like to focus on one specific common rhetorical figure in the *caciques*' procedures: the miserable Indians and their exemplary *cacique*. This very short contribution offers a quick overview of the issues I wish to tackle in my thesis project.

The miserable Indians and their spiritual distress

The "Indians" (*indios*) depicted as miserable is a common theme of Spanish early colonial literature rooted in the monarchy's legal practices. Under the influence of Dominican missionaries such as Bartolomé de las Casas, the Spanish Crown decided to apply specific legal treatment to the indigenous populations of its territories.[4] All "Indians" were legally defined as miserable, according to the medieval legal tradition

Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Juan C. Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad: la incorporación de los Indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532-1750* (Lima: IFEA, 2003).

[3] Norman Meiklejohn, *La Iglesia y los Lupaqas de Chucuito durante la colonia* (Cuzco: Centro de estudios rurales andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1988); Frédéric Duchesne, "L'ajustement indien. Les villages du Coropuna (Arequipa, Pérou) au 18e siècle" (PhD Thesis: Université de Paris III, Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2008); Juan Cobo Betancourt, "The Reception of Tridentine Catholicism in the New Kingdom of Granada, c. 1550-1650" (PhD Thesis: University of Cambridge, 2014).

[4] "Pretensión del Padre Las Casas dirigida al Consejo de Indias, para que se nombrara procurador de los indios del Perú a Diego de Ocampo", in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de América y Oceanía*, Vol VII (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Hernández. 1875), 161-162.

of the *personae miserabiles*.[5] This status was supposed to consider the disadvantages of indigenous populations in colonial society due to their subjection to workforce demands, their lack of knowledge of Castellan legal culture, and their recent conversion to Christianity. The status of miserable would give indigenous people judicial privileges to defend their rights more easily and limit their exploitation from abusive Spanish employers, Spanish authorities, or even malicious *caciques*.[6] The categorisation of the *indios* as miserable supplied several political or theological texts, as well as chronicles produced between the 1530s and the first half of the seventeenth century, with arguments to support or criticize vice-royal and royal laws.[7] In this literature, the *caciques* were not portrayed in their best light and were often described as tyrants, preventing evangelisation and harassing indigenous people.[8] When facing the Spanish legal system, it was then crucial to distance oneself from the "bad" *caciques* inhabiting colonial literature and to alter the theme of miserable Indians.

When they alluded to the miserable state of their flocks, *caciques* not only mentioned financial pressure or abusive Spaniards, but also underlined the natives' spiritual distress and their difficulties in facing cultural changes. For example, in 1592, villages from the Chayanta region asked for lands in the court of La Plata (Sucre, Bolivia). The *cacique* don Garcia Guarayo justified this petition, stating the Indians were so poor that, had he not been there to protect them and ask for royal mercy, they would have fled from their villages to the mountains, far from the moral guidance of their priests, *caciques*, and, thus, a Catholic life.[9] The trope of indigenous people running away from the villages to return to their pagan lives is a constant in these narratives until the second half of the eighteenth century. The emphasis on the spiritual

[5] Caroline Cunill, "El indio miserable: nacimiento de la teoría legal en la América colonial del siglo XVI", *Cuadernos inter C.A.mbios* 8, no. 9 (2011): 229-48.

[6] *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias. Mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Majestad Católica del Rey Don Carlos II*, Livre 6, Titre 7, 1590-1660. Online: http://www.leyes.congreso.gob.pe/leyes_indias.aspx; Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Woodrow W. Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

[7] Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno*, 1615-1616. Online: http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm; Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú, 1567.* Edited by Guillermo Lohmann Villena (Lima: IFEA, 1967); Polo de Ondegardo, *Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas*, 1571. Edited by Horacio H. Urteaga (Lima: Sanmarti, 1916-1917).

[8] Juan de Matienzo, Ibid.; Polo de Ondegardo, Ibid.; *Memorial de La Gasca a su sucesor,* 1550. Copied in Roberto Levillier, ed., *Gobernantes del Perú. Cartas y papeles del siglo XVI. Documentos del Archivo de Indias, Tome II.* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra. 1921-1926), 29.

[9] *Los ayllus de Chayanta contra el Fiscal de la Audiencia*, 1592. ABNB, Tierras y indios, E1592, N. 149.

fragility or the necessary policing of the Indians is not specific to the *caciques'* discourses and is a clear example of their appropriation of Spanish legal and political cultures. However, the *caciques* also staged themselves as protectors of the "miserable Indians", responsible for their policing and evangelisation.

The *caciques* are represented as exemplary because of their good governance and, most of all, their perfect Christian behaviour. Don Francisco Aymozo's narrative is a striking example. In 1593, he insisted that he "drove the Indians with good means away from their abuses and drinking […] giving them good example and forcing them to have the obedience and respect that are due to the clerics".[10] The argument of the exemplary *cacique* also comes from an appropriation of Spanish political and religious debates. Indeed, during the first attempts to evangelise the Andes, two different conceptions of the indigenous lords' role collided. On the one hand, Dominicans and Franciscans argued in favour of evangelising Indians in communities separated from any kind of Spanish influence and governed by *caciques* once they had received a proper education and training that would allow them to work along with the priests. On the other hand, former *conquistadores* and royal agents wanted the *caciques*' powers to be limited and Indian governments to be supervised by Spanish officials to better control the workforce and tributes. Since the second model of colonial organisation prevailed with Francisco de Toledo's reforms in the 1560s,[11] the *caciques* tended to mix both ideas in their narratives. They mentioned their important role in helping the priests in the parishes and the power they had over indigenous people' behaviour, but also insisted on the necessity of having Spanish officials' models to imitate in order to act as examples. It was a clever way to claim more responsibilities whilst also pleasing their Spanish audience.

The duet of miserable Indians and the exemplary *cacique* constitutes one of the clearest examples of Spanish legal culture's appropriation by indigenous elites. Interestingly, the exemplary *cacique* remained a central argument in the *caciques*' judicial and legal procedures long after the Spanish authorities promoted their ideal role in evangelisation. The theme did not really evolve before the 1730s, when the exemplary Christian was no longer so linked with the *caciques'* functions. By then,

[10] "quitando a los indios con buenos medios sus abusos y borracheras […] dandoles buen exemplo e vida y poniendoles a todos a la obidiencia respeto que deben tener a los tales curas". *Informacion de Francisco de Aymozo*, 1587-1593. AGI, CHARCAS, 79, N.22.
[11] Nejma Jalal-Kermele, "Pouvoir indigène et écriture coloniale: la place du cacique dans les Lois de don Francisco de Toledo", in *Lineas: Revue interdisciplinaires d'études hispaniques*, 2011.

different royal reforms had limited their powers in indigenous communities. The plaintiffs would then rather depict their actions as patrons to highlight their personal investments in Catholic institutions.

Multiple authorships and dissonant voices

Judicial narratives are interesting when read as "public writings of oneself".[12] That is, we should look at the biographical elements displayed not only as careful choices made to meet both the judge's expectations and the plaintiff's agenda, but also as determined by the "public" nature of the document, which influenced the picture the plaintiffs wanted to give of their lives. It is hardly convincing to argue that such narratives were constructed by the *caciques* alone, given the complex appropriation of Spanish legal culture entailed by using arguments such as miserable Indians or exemplary *caciques*.

Firstly, the *caciques* could have accessed such rhetorical skills through their practice of the judicial and legal systems. Indeed, the argument of miserable Indians and exemplary *caciques* rarely appeared in a plaintiff's first procedure, generally coming up after a few unsuccessful attempts. Secondly, *caciques* were sometimes advised by legal professionals to prepare their narratives and/or to represent their interests directly in court. Even when such professionals are not mentioned in the document, it does not mean the plaintiffs where left to rely on their own skills. A collective petition sent to the Spanish king by the *caciques* of the Jauja Valley in 1563 gives another insight into the social contexts of legal procedures.[13] The *caciques*' letters contained a rich religious vocabulary and references to colonial laws with no equivalent in other documents from that period. Among the documents they attached to their petition as proofs, there is a letter written by three priests, stationed in some of the *caciques*' parishes. This letter is almost identical to the *caciques*' one. It is very easy to imagine that the clerics helped in the writing of the petitions or that they wrote the letter themselves and made the *caciques* sign it. This example compels us to take a closer look at the different witnesses presented in courts to see who could have acted as mediators for the *caciques'* familiarisation with Spanish legal and religious cultures.

[12] Aude Argouse, "Archives notariales et témoignages de soi : sens et raison d'être du testament dans Les Andes au XVIIe siècle ", in *Revue électronique du CHR*, 2009.
[13] *Los caciques e indios del Perú sobre que se quiten los corregidores*, 1566. AGI, LIMA,121.

Judicial narratives clearly display multiple voices. Nevertheless, even if these procedures implied the plaintiffs' subjection to Spanish rules, legal culture, and the judges' expectations, speech-act theory can help in retrieving their influence on the documents. Judith Butler offered an interesting analysis of performative language that takes into consideration both the discursive norms and the author's aims. She explains that to be a subject means to be given a norm to repeat; nevertheless, this assignment of repetition is never completely carried out according to expectation.[14] Speech-act is possible thanks to a gap between norms and their application by authors that leaves room for their intentions. These gaps, or dissonances, are very much present in the *caciques*' judicial narratives and evolved with their social and legal status.

In judicial narratives throughout the colonial period, *caciques* are described as essential religious actors, but ones that often crossed the blurred line between Spanish laws and precolonial habits, adapting the ideal political and religious discourses of the Spanish Crown. In many procedures from the sixteenth century, the exemplary Christian *cacique* watched over indigenous people' behaviours as stated by the royal laws, but he also led them to mass and even judged their bad habits. For example, the *cacique* Don Gonzalo, in 1559, claimed he "lead behind him a lot of Indians to the church of Santa Ana for the mass", "he punished a married Indian woman because she let her husband lay down with other Indian women", and even "persuaded and pushed his Indians to get baptised and be Christians".[15] Some religious actors regarded these habits as possible re-enactments of pre-Hispanic religious practices.[16] Indeed, pre-Hispanic Andean lords oversaw the rituals, decided when to begin or end them, and led the processions. Moreover, according to the colonial laws, *caciques* were supposed to watch the Indians; although they were required to report any concerns, they did not have the right to punish without the consent of a priest or a local judge.[17] To prevent any form of idolatry, the crown quickly created specific offices to

[14] Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014 [1993]).

[15] "llevar del antes de si detrás muchos indios e indias a la iglesia de santa ana a misa"; "ha castigado a una india casada porque consintió que su marido se echase con otras indias"; "ha persuadido e hecho a sus indios que se bautizasen y fuesen cristianos". *Información de don Gonzalo*, 1559. AGI,LIMA,205,N.2

[16] *Carta del arzobispo sobre idolatrias*, 6 August 1626. AGI,LIMA,302.

[17] Ley XIII, "Que los caciques en sus pueblos tengan la jurisdicion que esta ley declara", 1558. in *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias. Mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Majestad Católica del Rey Don Carlos II, nuestro Señor,* Libro VI, titulo 7.

take these practices away from the *caciques*.[18] Yet *caciques* continued to use these arguments until the 1670s. By putting forward these barely legal actions as arguments in favour of their good Christian behaviour, the *caciques* tended to be depicted as central actors in the religious lives of indigenous groups and necessary mediators in their evangelisation. It was also a revitalization, whether conscious or not, of their pre-Hispanic functions and an adaptation of their spiritual role.[19]

Throughout the entire colonial period, *caciques* would describe themselves as exemplary Christians. However, the link with pre-Hispanic customs and seigneurial functions would progressively disappear following the progress of cultural blending and the crumbling of Andean pre-conquest social organisations. Hence, from the 1670s to the 1780s, the exemplarity they described in their narratives is not so much linked to their functions as *caciques*, but more to their social qualities as Christian elites, close, if not equal, to their Spanish counterparts. The families remaining in power by that time had rich real estates, claimed extensive Inca lineages, and obtained many royal privileges. Many of them led legal battles to obtain a status similar to the Spanish elites, such as the right to enter religious careers. The dissonances that are to be found in this period emphasize their capacity to act as old Christians and to judge bad Christian behaviours. Hence, several *caciques* denounced priests or justified a rebellion when they reckoned that the Spanish authorities had not acted as "good Christians". For example, the *cacique* of Toropalca was accused of rebellion in 1747 because he took the keys of the church and banned the priests for asking excessive fees and introducing new religious festivities without his consent or the archbishop's certification.[20] In front of the tribunal in la Plata, he staged himself as protector of the miserable and poor Indians by accusing the priests of introducing unnecessary and luxurious festivities.

[18]Ley VII, "Que en los pueblos haya fiscales que junten los indios para la doctrina", 1610s. in *Ibid.*, Libro VI, Titulo 3.
[19] José Luis Martinez Cereceda, *Autoridades en los Andes, los atributos del Señor* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995); Luís Millones, "Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas of the Central Sierra", *Ethnohistory* 3, no. 26 (1979): 243-263.
[20] *Cura de Toropalca contra los indios de su doctrina porque sublevaron contra el*, 1747. ABNB,EC1747,18.

Being acknowledged as Christian by colonial justice

If the *caciques* themselves might not have been aware of the dissonant nature of their narratives, the legal professionals, the clerics that helped them, and the judges would have been. Hence, we can argue they were not always mere accidents but could also result from sensible choices tolerated by Spanish justice. We must question their purposes in the *caciques*' rhetorical strategies, and what they reveal about their appropriation of Christianity and Spanish legal culture. The answer would have to consider, first, the use of these rhetorical themes as a strategic choice, providing more persuasive efficacy to the document. However, the narratives that did use these arguments did not prove to be more successful in court. Moreover, efficiency does not entirely explain the choice to make use of barely legal behaviours. Hence, I believe the *caciques'* motivations in using such arguments lie elsewhere.

Most recent works on colonial justice explain the Andean populations' craze for judicial and legal procedures because they offered a space for expression and negotiation, despite their cost and uncertain outcomes. In this regard, the dissonances in the *caciques*' judicial narratives are not mere misunderstandings. They reflect some indigenous elites' will to negotiate Catholic norms and practices, as well as their role in evangelisation, through the construction of an ideal portrait of their power in the indigenous communities. These narratives are, then, perfect examples of how Andean *caciques* also contributed to accommodate Catholic culture at a local scale.

Furthermore, these accounts could bring something even more valuable and useful to *caciques*. They allowed them to inscribe, permanently, in the Spanish administrations' archives, an idealised portrait of their Christian lives. I argue this last dimension is crucial in the *caciques*' adaptation strategies. Once validated in justice, their narratives were used as proofs of the plaintiff's Christian exemplarity in other procedures, and they participated in the construction of a Christian reputation. In my thesis, I argue these narratives should be understood as complementary to local religious investments and practices. Indeed, by registering an ideal Christian behaviour in front of colonial justice Andean *caciques* inscribed on paper their local investments in case of future difficulties and built an official reputation as good Christians that would go beyond their villages and could compete with other colonial actors and rivals.

Perspectives

Judicial accounts reveal the *caciques*' will to negotiate some Christian practices as well as their role in evangelisation. They also illustrate how the adaptation of Catholicism in the Andes was not only due to the will or toleration of Spanish actors but was also very much based on a variety of local exchanges in which *caciques* took an active part. When it did not challenge the colonial order, it was necessary to leave space for accommodation and revitalisation practices to create adhesion to the new religion. Hence, *caciques* found in local Catholic practices, along with the construction of a public reputation as Christians, powerful tools to recreate legitimacy both for indigenous people and the Spanish authorities, responding to the different reforms of their powers and status.

Part IV

SCIENCE, BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

17

THE JESUIT COLLEGES IN EARLY MODERN SPANISH AMERICA: Some Considerations for Research

Pablo Abascal Sherwell Raull
Instituto de Investigaciones sobre la Universidad y la Educación
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Introduction

Currently, there is a great deal of scholarly interest in the Society of Jesus in the Old Regime. This interest is visible in the multiple global works that have been published on the Jesuits, and it is largely due to the variety of ways that the sources can be problematized and analyzed. For instance, to study the Jesuit colleges does not mean to analyze just the establishments themselves, but also their changes and continuities in a broader global context. Studying the history of the colleges also means conducting research on the history of education, the mobility of people, and the circulation of knowledge. It also means historicizing the conflicts of power between church and state.

In 2014, Jesuit historiography was enriched by a fresh wave of research that was published to commemorate the restoration of the Society of Jesus more than 200 years ago, in 1814. Since then, important books and new journals have appeared with the aim of rethinking the way in which we study this religious order from a historiographical point of view.[1] Among the many recent publications on the Jesuits,

[1] Among the projects which appeared to commemorate the restoration of the Jesuits, there is a collection of six books entitled *1814-2014: La Compañía de Jesús ante su restauración. La construcción de una identidad,* coordinated by Perla Chinchilla and published by the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City. In the collection, there is one special volume dedicated to the Jesuit colleges: Paolo Bianchini et. al. *De los colegios a las universidades: los jesuitas en el ámbito de la educación superior* (México: UIA, 2013). Likewise, two journals of Jesuit studies appeared for the commemoration. They are *Antiguos Jesuitas en Iberoamérica* (2013), by the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba in Argentina, and *Journal of Jesuit Studies* (2014), by Boston College in the United States. The latter published an

there is a noticeable trend to publish collective works in order to give a more general view of the religious order. However, the dichotomy between national and local histories and global ones still exists.[2]

Thus, the aim of the next few pages is to show some of the current trends regarding research on the Jesuit colleges in Spanish America, using the studies of the commemoration as a starting point.[3] Although there is a recent line of research focused on analyzing the continuities and ruptures between the old and the new Society, for lack of space I will just focus on the colleges before the suppression.[4]

Some current research trends

In sum, the range of possibilities for conducting research on the Jesuit colleges in Spanish America is vast.[5] Taking into account the academic works published in the

article in its first volume devoted to the historiography of the Jesuit colleges in Europe: Paul F. Grendler, "Jesuit Schools in Europe: A Historiographical Essay", *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014): 7-25. Boston College also launched a global research project entitled *Jesuit historiography online*. Its editor, Robert Mayrks, seeks to give a global vision of Jesuit historiography before the suppression and after the restoration. In the case of Mexico, some academic congresses were later published as books. They are Alfonso Alfaro, Iván Escamilla et. al. (coords.), *Francisco Xavier Clavigero, un humanista entre dos mundos. Entorno, pensamiento y presencia* (México: FCE/UNAM, UIA, ITESO, 2015); María Cristina Torales Pacheco and Juan Carlos Casas García, *Extrañamiento, extinción y restauración de la Compañía de Jesús, La Provincia Mexicana* (México: UIA/UPM/Sociedad Mexicana de Historia Eclesiástica, 2017).

[2] Besides the works already quoted, some relevant examples of collective works are José Martínez Millán, ed., *Los jesuitas: religión, política y educación (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 2012); Ines G Zupanov, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). Conversely, global historiographical trends have recently tried to give the Spanish world a greater protagonist role within early globalization: previously, it tended to give more importance to the Anglo-Saxon world. Among the new works are Bernd Hausberger, *Historia Mínima de la globalización temprana* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2018); Ryan Crewe, "Connecting the Indies: The Hispano-Asian Pacific World in Early Modern Global History", *Estudios históricos* 30, no. 60 (2017): 17-34. Among the publications regarding the Jesuits with a global perspective are Michela Catto, *Evangelizzazione e globalizzazione: le missioni gesuitiche nell'etá moderna tra storia e storiografia* (Milán: Societa editrice Dante Alighieri, 2011); Alexandre Coello et. al., eds., *Jesuitas e imperios de ultramar: siglos XVI-XX*, (Madrid: Sílex, 2012); Guillermo Wilde, ed., *Saberes de la conversión: jesuitas, indígenas e imperios de coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: SB, 2014); Giuseppe Marcocci et. al., *Space and Conversion in Global Perspecitve* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

[3] As the commemoration is still very recent, I will also give examples of some scholarly works published earlier.

[4] Some of these works are Paolo Bianchini, *Morte e resurrezione di un ordine religioso: le strategie culturali ed educative della Compagnia di Gesù durante la soppressione*, *1759-1814* (Milán: Vita e Pensiero, 2006); Francisco Migoya, S.J., *Muerte y resurrección de la Compañía de Jesús: 1773-1814* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2013); Manuel Revuelta González, *El restablecimiento de la Compañía de Jesús* (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2013); Robert Maryks and Jonathan Wright, eds., *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773-1900* (Boston: Brill, 2015).

[5] I also consider it important to mention the current interest in Jesuit overseas missions. For a balanced view on the current historiographical perspectives, see Rafael Gaune Corradi, "Jesuitas de papel: un balance historiográfico nacional a contraluz del global turn", *Historia* 50, no. 1 (2017): 306-329. See until page 310. After that, the article focuses specifically on Chilean historiography.

last decade, I will mention four trends that I consider to be important for any study in the region:

Tensions and relationships between the Jesuit colleges and local/central powers

Studying the Jesuit colleges in Spanish America means studying their conflicts and power relations in-depth. Currently, the historiography is trying to leave aside case studies in order to study the relations between the colleges and central powers. The Jesuits were ruled by two authorities, the general of the Jesuits, based in Rome, and the Spanish royal patronage in Spain. Therefore, in researching the history of these establishments a scholar will inevitably also conduct a history of the Catholic Church in the Spanish world. Given the multiple political and religious pressures that the Jesuits faced, there has been a growth in the number of studies which focus on the tensions between the local realities where the colleges were based and the projects that Rome and the Spanish Crown wanted to impose on them: the debates on whether they had to focus on missions or colleges, the conflicts between the Jesuits and the secular clergy, or other religious orders or corporations are just some issues being analyzed.[6]

Mobility of personnel

Recent studies have shown that the mobility of personnel was a crucial factor for understanding how Jesuit colleges were set up. By understanding that the ultimate goal of the religious order was for their members to go out and preach, we see that they must have been constant mobile among their colleges and missions. [7]

[6] There is a massive amount of literature which focuses on specific Jesuit colleges through case studies. However, I will focus on those that clarify the aforementioned problems. For a general introduction to the history of Jesuit colleges, see María Palomar, Martirene Alcántara, *et al*., *Colegios Jesuitas* (Mexico: Artes de México y del Mundo, 2001); Bianchini, *De los colegios.* For the relationship between the colleges and the central powers, I allow myself to quote my PhD thesis: Pablo Abascal, "Tepotzotlán: la institucionalización de un colegio jesuita en la frontera chichimeca de la Nueva España (1580-1617)" (PhD thesis: European University Institute, 2015). For the relationship and conflicts between the Jesuit colleges and other corporations, the works of Enrique González González are crucial. Some of them are: "La historia de las universidades en el antiguo régimen, ¿una historia de la iglesia?", María del Pilar López Cano, ed., *La Iglesia en Nueva España: problemas y perspectivas de investigación* (México: UNAM, 2010): 69-104; "Jesuitas y universidades en el Nuevo Mundo: conflictos, logros y fracasos", in Bianchini, *De los colegios*, 95-123. Regarding the debate on whether missions or colleges were given greater privileges, see Antonella Romano, "La experiencia de la misión y el mapa europeo de los saberes sobre el mundo en el Renacimiento: Antonio Possevino y José de Acosta", in Guillermo Wilde, ed., *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: Sb, 2011): 133-154.

[7] *Constitutions,* Part IV, Point 308, 173-174.

Mobility depended on at least three different factors: the first was the mandate that the Spanish monarchs granted to the Jesuits when they sent them to the New World. The second was the orders given by the general based in Rome for their movement. The third was the Jesuits' (un)willingness to be transferred to a determined place and the logistics of sending them there. Unwillingness was very visible among Creole Jesuits. Thus, the number of Jesuits based in a college at a certain moment of time depended on the historical moment that the institution was living in, as this affected the desires of men in the province and the profile that each Jesuit college sought.

To summarize, to conduct an in-depth study into the world of Jesuit colleges means to explore a complex world where the interrelation of these institutions was caused, in part, by the networks of personnel mobility. Hence, each college acquired a special place within their province and through their personnel were linked to all the other institutions. The constant mobility of the Jesuits was an important factor for the consolidation of their institutions.[8]

What were the characteristics of the Jesuits in the colleges?

The complexity of colonial society in Spanish America was present within the Jesuits colleges. The migration of personnel from Europe caused significant diversity among them. Colleges were generally composed of peninsular Jesuits, non-peninsular European Jesuits, and creole Jesuits. The number of the latter increased considerably during the seventeenth century.

The aforementioned diversity caused several fluctuations of power among Jesuit institutions. It resulted in innumerable struggles between creole, peninsular, and non-peninsular Jesuits, who each took different sides. The ranks of power within the colleges depended on the social background of the Jesuits. The peninsular Jesuits were initially superior, but the creoles and non-peninsular Europeans started to achieve higher positions throughout the course of the seventeenth century.[9]

[8] For more on Jesuit mobility in Spanish America, see: Antonio Rubial, "Religiosos viajeros en el mundo hispánico en la época de los Austrias (el caso de Nueva España)", *Historia Mexicana* 61, no. 243 (2012): 813-848; Aliocha Maldavsky, "Conectando territorios y sociedades: la movilidad de los misioneros jesuitas en el mundo ibérico (siglos XVI-XVIII), *Histórica* 38, no. 2 (2012): 71-109. Pablo Abascal, "Movilidad jesuita en la provincia de México a finales del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII: un análisis desde las biografías individuales de los miembros de la Compañía de Jesús", *Antiguos Jesuitas en Iberoamérica* 5, no. 2 (2017): 86-99.

[9] For the case of New Spain, see Pablo Abascal, "Recíbanlos con cautela y consideración: las pugnas por el poder entre el personal de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva España durante el generalato de Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615)", *Colonial Latin American Review* 27, no. 1 (2018): 52-72. For the case of Peru, see Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "De mestizos y criollos en la Compañía de Jesús", *Revista*

Libraries: the circulation of information and the creation of knowledge

Besides the mobility of personnel, the circulation of information and the production of knowledge is an important factor for studying the Jesuit colleges. The importance of the history of the book and libraries is increasingly highlighted in Jesuit studies. Its aim is to rebuild the spaces where knowledge was stored and produced.[10] The great amount of book printing that occurred in the American territories obliges scholars to link the analysis of Jesuit libraries with the circulation of books.[11] This has led to multiple case studies about the formation of libraries in the Jesuit colleges of the Spanish American viceroyalties.[12] Likewise, new works which study the production of books, their content, and materiality have appeared.[13] These have been augmented by studies on how these books were received on the American continent.[14]

Final considerations and perspectives

Finally, we can conclude that Jesuit historiographical trends seek to go beyond the local context where the colleges were located. Although some of the aforementioned topics have previously been discussed, they continue to generate relevant questions. Current trends tend to link the global projects of the Society of Jesus to the local realities it had to face and adapt to.

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de Indias 78, no. 243 (2008): 37-66; "Pureza, prestigio y letras en Lima colonial: El conflicto entre el Colegio de San Martín y el Colegio Real de San Felipe y San Marcos (1590-1615)", in Nikolaus Böttcher et. al. (coords.), *El peso de la sangre: limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispánico* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2011): 137-168; Alexandre Coello, "El estatuto de limpieza de sangre de la Compañía de Jesús (1593) y su influencia en el Perú colonial" *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 159, no. 1 (2011): 45-93; Larissa Brewer García, "Bodies, Texts and Translators: Indigenous Breast Milk and the Jesuit Exclusión of Mestizos in Late Sixteenth-Century Peru", *Colonial Latin American Review* 21, no. 3 (2012): 365-90.

[10] A good general introduction for the libraries within Jesuit colleges is offered by José del Rey Fajardo S.J., "El papel de las bibliotecas jesuíticas en la fundación de la cultura moderna", in Bianchini, *De los colegios*, 125- 152. Also, see the volume of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* devoted to Jesuit libraries, their current problems, and trends of study: *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 2:2, 2015.

[11] Just to give a recent example: Alexander S. Wilkinson and Alejandra Ulloa Lorenzo, *A Maturing Market: The Iberian Book World in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[12] See the case of libraries in New Spain, Idalia García, "Imprenta y librerías jesuitas en la Nueva España", in Idalia García and Pedro Rueda (coords.), *El libro en circulación en la América colonial: producción, circuitos de distribución y conformación de bibliotecas en los siglos XVI al XVIII* (Mexico: Quiviera, 2014).

[13] Regarding the materiality and content of Jesuit publications, see Perla Chinchilla (dir.), *Lexicón de formas discursivas cultivadas por la Compañía de Jesús* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2018).

[14] See the case of the reception of Antonio Vieira in New Spain: Claudia Alejandra Benítez Palacios, "La presencia de Antonio Vieira en la Nueva España: siglos XVII y XVIII" (PhD thesis: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2013).

The approaches to which this paper refers are not enough for the enormous field that seeks to be researched. For instance, an in-depth analysis on the characteristics of the students who composed the Jesuit colleges in Spanish America is still needed.[15] For such a study to be done comprehensively, it needs to include the specificities of the students in certain regions, as well as provide a global context without falling into generalizations. Although in many countries in eighteenth-century Europe the number of students in Jesuit colleges was diminishing, enrolment increased in New Spain.[16] Analysing the motivations of students in Spanish America beyond what is already known about the historical context of the Enlightenment in both parts of the Atlantic appears to be an open field of research with sources ripe for further analysis.

[15] There are already some works regarding this subject. See, for example, the chapter "los colegiales" in Monique Alaperrine Bouyet, *La educación de las élites indígenas en el Perú colonial* (Lima: IFEA, 2007); Coello de la Rosa, "Pureza, prestigio",.

[16] I make this distinction by taking just some particular studies into account, without having conducted a deeper analysis. For the European case, see Paolo Bianchini, "Los colegios jesuitas y la competencia educativa en el mundo católico entre el fin del antiguo régimen y la restauración", in Bianchini, *De los colegios*. For the case of New Spain, see Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, "Grados y colegios en la Nueva España, 1704-1767", *Tzintzun* 36 (2002): 25-52.

18

FOREIGNERS IN THE PRINCELY STATES AND BRITISH INDIA: Recruitment Conditions and a Typology of Outsider Involvement

Moritz von Brescius
Bern University

Scholarly attention has turned in recent years to the remarkable permeability and openness of imperial systems for indigenous and other groups of actors who originated from beyond the boundaries of their respective imperial homelands.[1] The British – and other European powers active in South Asia since the early modern period – sought to overcome their geographical, cultural and political ignorance about the subcontinent through the deployment of different strategies. For their incremental acquisition of 'useful' knowledge in the realms of topography, languages and the social and religious mores of subjected or frontier territories and populations, British authorities massively enlisted the services of indigenous intermediaries, 'informants' and explorers.[2] While this 'internal' co-optation of expertise and personnel was

[1] A pioneering work on the appropriation of imperial networks, even for anti-colonial objectives, is Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014). On the 'permeability of imperial domination', see also Achim von Oppen and Silke Strickrodt, "Introduction: Biographies Between Spheres of Empire", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 44 (2016), 717–729, and other contributions to this special issue.

[2] C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Michael S. Dodson, "Re-Presented for the Pandits: James Ballantyne, 'Useful Knowledge,' and Sanskrit Scholarship in Benares College during the Mid-Nineteenth Century", *Modern Asian Studies*, 36 (2002), 257–298. On the Company's insatiable appetite for useful knowledge from its inception, see Anna Winterbottom, *Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); on 'native explorers' in British India and how their expertise and important contributions to frontier knowledge were routinised and invisibilised by the colonial state, see Tapsi Mathur, "How Professionals Became Natives: Geography and Trans-Frontier Exploration in Colonial India" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2018); eadem, "Afterword: Ani Choki, Indian Exploration, and the Work of Invisibility", *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 44 (2021), 245–255.

essential, empires were also embedded in much larger environments. Many were unable, or indeed unwilling, to shield themselves from external ideological, commercial or scientific influences.[3] A concern with mobile specialists and the 'rule of experts' (including recruited foreigners) provides a salient opportunity to rethink the scientific activities and history of institutional innovation within diverse European and non-European imperial projects, as in the Ottoman and Japanese cases.[4] While such a perspective does not suggest that the political sovereignty of the power in question was undermined through the agency and activities of outsiders, it redirects attention to the significant exchange and employment of ideas, skilled personnel and ideologies across geographical and political boundaries often too readily taken for granted.[5]

The British Empire, from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, is a prime example of how processes of scientific exploration, imperial expansion and resource management and exploitation offered opportunities not only for domestic subjects but also for a wide range of non-British agents.[6] Within the empire's heterogeneous realms of settlement colonies, colonial bridgeheads and trading posts, British India in particular saw a small but impactful influx of skilled sojourners and migrants. Among them were many experts in the fields of expeditionary science,

[3] John Darwin, Commentary on the Panel "Migration, Social Mobility, and Indo-European Exchanges in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" at the 2016 Historikertag, Hamburg; David Arnold, "Globalization and Contingent Colonialism: Towards a Transnational History of 'British' India", *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 16 (2015): doi: 10.1353/cch.2015.0019. Focusing on inter-imperial exchanges and cooperation in Africa is Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen. Deutschland und Grossbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880–1914* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2011); important works include Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, c. 1740–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); on the multinational personnel in 'Company-States', see also William A. Pettigrew and David Veevers, "Introduction", in idem, eds., *The Corporation as a Protagonist in Global History, c. 1550–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 1–39, at 19.

[4] Hoi-eun Kim, *Doctors of Empire: Medical and Cultural Encounters between Imperial Germany and Meiji Japan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014); Kristin Meißner, *Strategische Experten: Die imperialpolitische Rolle von ausländischen Beratern in Meiji-Japan (1868–1912)* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2018); Pascal Firges, *French Revolutionaries in the Ottoman Empire: Diplomacy, Political Culture, and the Limiting of Universal Revolution, 1792–1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 52.

[5] Moritz von Brescius, "Empires of Opportunity: German Scholars between Asia and Europe in the 1850s" (PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2015), published as *German Science in the Age of Empire*. The notion of imperial opportunities to outsiders has gained wider traction, see the contributions to Bernhard C. Schär, ed., "The Dutch East Indies and Europe, ca. 1800–1930. An Empire of Demands and Opportunities", special issue of *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 134:3 (2019); for US-German imperial relations and exchanges, see Janne Lahti, ed., *German and United States Colonialism in a Connected World: Entangled Empires* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021).

[6] Derek J. Waller, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990).

surveying, philology, medicine, agronomy and technology.[7] This article is particularly concerned with the attraction of South Asia's vast social, natural, cultural and disease landscapes for various engagements by surveyors, naturalists, health experts and technical advisers, many of whom came from the German-speaking parts of central Europe.[8] These imperial outsiders were individuals of foreign origin (not born or naturalised British subjects), who, upon entering into contact or even into official service with the colonial authorities, maintained multiple allegiances, affiliations and identifications outside of the host colony. That transnational recruitment was a widespread solution to the challenge of adequately staffing imperial offices has become widely established and acknowledged. It may indeed be plausibly argued that transnational mobility and enlistment was the norm, as it was in British India, while more seclusive imperial systems present the exception, so that their relative isolation from outside agency, influence and intervention (as in the case of certain French overseas colonies) should attract future scrutiny.[9]

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[7] David Arnold, *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3.5: *Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[8] German expertise in the Raj has been the subject of a great deal of study, especially in the case of forestry and agricultural management; see, among many others, Ulrike Kirchberger, "German Scientists in the Indian Forest Service: A German Contribution to the Raj?", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 29 (2001), 1–26; Ravi Rajan, *Modernizing Nature: Forestry and Imperial Eco-Development, 1800–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Prakash Kumar, *Indigo Plantations and Science in Colonial India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); on the changing perceptions of 'German science', see Moritz von Brescius, "Empires of Opportunity: German naturalists in British India and the frictions of transnational science", *Modern Asian Studies* (2020, First View article), 11–17; doi:10.1017/S0026749X19000428; most recently also Kirchberger, "Between transimperial networking and national antagonism: German scientists in the British Empire during the long nineteenth century" in A. Goss, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Science and Empire* (London: Routledge, 2021), 138–147.

[9] On the more centrally directed operation of French colonial science, see e.g. Lewis Pyenson, *Civilizing Mission: Exact Sciences and French Overseas Expansion, 1830–1940* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); on the comparatively small influence of foreigners in the French Compagnie des Indes, see Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 211. On German colonies, see W. O. Henderson, "British Economic Activity in the Germany Colonies", ch. 4 in idem, *Studies in German Colonial History* (London: Frank Cass, 1962), 58–74; on the global entanglements of German colonial enterprises, see also Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); idem, "Rethinking German Colonialism in a Global Age", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41 (2013), 543–566; Geoff Eley and Bradley Naranch, eds., *German Colonialism in a Global Age* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015). On the open structures of the Dutch East Indies, which saw numerous openings for skilful outsiders, see John S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939); on Germans involved in Pacific explorations of various powers, see Andreas W. Daum, "German Naturalists in the Pacific around 1800: Entanglement, Autonomy, and a Transnational Culture of Expertise", in Hartmut Berghoff *et al*., eds., *Explorations and Entanglements: Germans in Pacific Worlds from the Early Modern Period to World War I* (New York: Berghahn, 2019), 79–102.

After reflecting, in the first part, on the changing conditions of outsiders' activities in the Indian subcontinent, the article fleshes out a more inclusive model of European imperialism. It does so by providing a typology of outsiders' involvement in the scientific, technical and medical developments and projects of British India. To consider the personal experiences of temporary sojourners and skilled migrants allows one to connect macro-level approaches to migratory movements between Europe and South Asia with a more contextual and vivid exploration of individual lives – including the professional opportunities and social obstacles these mobile actors encountered.[10] The suggested typology of imperial outsiders in British India reflects on the varying degrees of their institutionalised service in the structures of the East India Company (EIC) and, after 1857 and the crown takeover, the Raj. While the scientific and technical services in particular were remarkably open to foreign involvement even for high positions, other segments of the imperial labour market worked through a different machinery of recruitment and were effectively closed to non-British subjects. Exemplary of this was the Indian Civil Service (ICS), a central pillar of British Indian statecraft.

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Before turning to the typology, two points should be emphasised in relation to the experiences of imperial outsiders in British India. First, there always existed different degrees of marginality, and these could change considerably over time. While some foreigners never established lasting connections with the host empire, others, by contrast, sought to consolidate their personal integration into colonial society – not least by building strong social ties and close friendships, by entering into cross-cultural marriages or by assuming new titles and memberships in polite bodies of the arts and learning. Other initial strangers from continental Europe ended up assuming elevated and authoritative professional positions within the foreign imperial establishment. The

[10] An early proponent of such a *jeux d'échelles* was Dirk Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems, Networking Individuals, Cultural Change: Balancing Processes and Interactive Change in Migration", in Veit Bader, ed., *Citizenship and Exclusion* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 81–95, at 84. On a foreign civil administration with a cosmopolitan nature and the experiences of recruits on the ground, see Catherine Ladds, *Empire Careers: Working for the Chinese Customs Service, 1854–1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); on Indian doctors and their intra- and inter-imperial mobilities and challenges, see Margret Frenz, "To Be or Not To Be … a Global Citizen: Three doctors, three empires, and one subcontinent", *Modern Asian Studies* (2020, First View article), https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X20000256.

precise modes and networks of recruitment of these auxiliaries are treated elsewhere; suffice it to say that, among other channels, the Hanoverian union with Britain (1714–1837) and the connection of the crown with German princely states until the First World War were important factors of familial-transnational entanglements, with far-reaching influences on the academic market between the two countries.[11]

Second, the range of available opportunities for imperial outsiders in the Company Raj and also within the nominally independent Indian states underwent important transformations over time. This became especially clear in the late eighteenth century within the polarising context of the French Revolutionary wars and heightened Anglo-French conflict in South Asia. As Maya Jasanoff has shown, it was, until then, possible for various continental Europeans to assume flexible identities and to mix and mingle among different European and Indian cultures. A case in point was the French-born military officer, and later savant and imperial collector, Claude Martin (1735–1800), who, after working in first the French and then the British East India Company, chose to live the life of an *English* artistic connoisseur and gentleman in Lucknow whilst being employed as superintendent of the nawab of Awadh's arsenal from 1776 until his death.[12] Such cosmopolitan self-fashioning and cross-cultural aspirations somewhat waned with the recurrence of Anglo-French hostilities on the subcontinent. The conflict put questions of origin and political allegiance to the forefront, and consequently closed down previously open realms of cultural exchange and transgression. 'No longer was it possible to sustain the sort of ambiguity of loyalties enjoyed by Claude Martin: French by origin, British by preference, European in habits.'[13]

The East India Company, wary of a resurrection of French power in South Asia, consequently not only sought to reintegrate British turncoats and Anglo-Indians back into its own civil and military apparatus; it also signed a number of discriminatory treaties with allied Indian states that prohibited them from continuing to employ foreign European personnel. Telling is the example of Hyderabad, whose royal court had been a centre of cross-cultural meetings and rivalling British and French influences. Through

[11] On Anglo-German recruitment channels, see Brescius, "*Empires of Opportunity*", 8-18. See also Brendan Simms and Torsten Riotte, eds., *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714–1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*.
[12] Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, "Martin, Claude (1735–1800)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource.
[13] Maya Jasanoff, "Collectors of Empire: Objects, Conquests and Imperial Self-Fashioning", *Past and Present*, 184 (2004), 109–135, at 122.

the treaty of 1798 between the nizam of Hyderabad and the EIC, which essentially constituted a permanent defence alliance against the state of Mysore, the local British resident also succeeded in stipulating not only that the sizeable French corps in the Indian state be disbanded, but also that the Company's own military forces would from now on be permanently stationed in Hyderabad, paid for by the nizam himself.[14]

Similar legal and discriminatory treaties to keep foreigners out of the civil, technical and military services of Indian rulers followed, as the EIC signed such treaties with the rulers of Bengal, Oudh, Mysore, the Carnatic, the Deccan and the Marathas. Discriminatory clauses, besides requiring 'the expulsion of "other" European nationals from the territory of the contracting ruler', generally also stipulated 'the closure of frontiers and harbours to foreigners, the prohibition of free navigation, and the prohibition of accepting foreign military or technical assistance': these were also intended to monopolise trade to the benefit of the Company.[15] This shift in the practice and perception of roaming outsiders by Company authorities partly signalled the coming of what Chris Bayly has termed Britain's 'new imperial age'. This was marked by different and more openly exclusionary and racial ideologies, the employment of new personnel and the emergence of a social structure shaped by 'an altogether sharper sense of national identity'.[16] While a small number of continental Europeans did continue to be employed by Indian rulers and later in the princely states, their much faster-growing presence in the ranks of the East India Company, and then the Raj, demonstrates that British imperialism in this period was, to a degree, a shared European project that involved individuals of many different nationalities and cultures.[17]

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[14] On Anglo-French rivalries in Hyderabad and the detailed genesis of its discriminatory treaty of 1798, see Tanja Bührer, "Intercultural Diplomacy and Empire: French, British and Asian Intermediaries at the Court of Hyderabad, *c.* 1770–1815" (unpublished habilitation thesis, University of Bern, 2020).

[15] C. H. Alexandrowicz, "G. F. de Martens on Asian Treaty Practice (1964)", in David Armitage and Jennifer Pitts, eds., *The Law of Nations in Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 189. On the company's suspicion of European nationals operating outside of its own army in South Asia, see Seema Alavi, *The Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India, 1770–1830* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 232–250.

[16] Chris A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780–1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 250.

[17] The significant Irish and Scottish dimension in British empire building has long received systematic attention; from a large literature see Barry Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, eds., *Scotland and the British Empire*, Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Thomas M. Devine and Angela McCarthy, eds., *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c. 1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); most recently Jessica Hanser, *Mr. Smith Goes to China: Three Scots in the Making of Britain's Global Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019).

Even before the enlistment of European personnel into the service of Indian states was suppressed through discriminatory treaties, EIC officials had been sceptical about the arrival of non-British individuals on the subcontinent, including foreign soldiers, travellers, scientists and technical advisers. Their fear that these outsiders could undermine British authority by working in the civil, technical or military branches of South Asian powers was reasonable. This was particularly true for the eighteenth century. For instance, after the French defeat in the Seven Years War (1757–63), 'several hundreds of the French [East India] company's soldiers', together with German and Swiss mercenaries formerly in French service, decided to join the armies of Indian states.[18] These offered at times more favourable terms of employment than the British, reflecting the fact that European imperial enterprises in South Asia met and had to contend with Indian powers which pursued their own modernising and political-expansive designs.[19]

Above all, the powerful military apparatus of the kingdom of Mysore, the Company's greatest opponent in south India, relied heavily on a French connection: the Mysore ruler, Haidar Ali, received a formidable detachment of troops from the French crown, which fought for him between 1771 and 1784. Commanded by an officer from Alsace, the detachment brought together soldiers from the Holy Roman Empire, Alsace and Switzerland, with German being the language of command.[20] But the entire military machinery of the kingdom was modernised through European, especially French, involvement, as Mysore's army deployed, as well as foreign fighters, European uniforms, weapons, legislation and military tactics. Moreover, its rulers 'financed their war machine with a system of military-fiscalism just like the one that drove British expansion'.[21] The Company, aware of French troops having landed in Egypt and threatening to join forces with Tipu Sultan, were driven by Francophobia to attack and defeat the Mysore ruler in 1799.[22]

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[18] Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 33–34.
[19] Against a linear success story of a supposedly inevitable British ascendancy to dominance in South Asia, see Richard B. Barnett, *North India between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals, and the British, 1720–1801* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980); for a critique of Whiggish teleology in company studies, see the reflections by Michael Mann, "Return of the Empire: A New Agency of the Old East India Company?", *South Asia Chronicle*, 2 (2012), 398–415.
[20] Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 33–34.
[21] Jasanoff, "Collectors of Empire", 124–125.
[22] A comprehensive account of the war and the acquisition of numerous war trophies is Susan Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009).

With growing British ascendancy on the subcontinent, there were fewer openings for skilled continental Europeans to find employment in Indian states.[23] However, even if often dependent on the consent by Company and Raj officials, some managed nonetheless to achieve elevated offices outside of 'British' India. One remarkable career was that of the economic botanist, urban planner and reformer Gustav Hermann Krumbiegel (1865–1956).[24] After training at Kew Gardens near London, he was recruited to India in 1893 as superintendent of the Baroda State Gardens,[25] and worked from 1908 for the Mysore maharaja as superintendent of Lal Bagh, the botanical garden of Bangalore.[26] Krumbiegel established, among other things, a bureau of economic botany at the site in 1911, which provided practical information and seed samples to the rural population.[27] Keen to import useful and ornamental plants into the state, he also founded its first horticultural school the following year and explored means to prevent fungi and pests in extensive trial areas. He also established a successful fumigatorium in the Lal Bagh Garden, which allowed 'for receiving and sending out plants free of pests'.[28] A widely recognised horticulturalist, he was the representative of the Mysore state in the Indian Central Cotton Committee in the mid-1920s,[29] and served as director of horticulture in Mysore until his retirement in July

[23] On the vital importance of empires to control mobility, see James Belich, John Darwin and Chris Wickham, "Introduction", in idem and Margret Frenz, eds., *The Prospect of Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 3–22, at 20.
[24] On his training and work in India, see also Gert Gröning, "Bio-Aesthetic Planning – a Conjuncture about an Imperialistic Garden Cultural Relation between the German Empire and Independent India via the British Empire", in Marcus Köhler and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds., *Hanover and England: A Garden and Personal Union?* (Munich: Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft München, 2018), 191–216, at 194–197.
[25] 'Employment of Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel by the Baroda Darbar as Superintendent of the Baroda State Gardens', NAI, Foreign Department, Internal, Progs., nos. 204–211, June 1893.
[26] 'Appointment of Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel as Superintendent of Government Gardens in Mysore', NAI, Mysore Residency, 1907, Progs., nos. 180.
[27] See Joachim Oesterheld, "Germans in India between Kaiserreich and the End of World War II", in Joanne Miyang Cho, Eric Kurlander and Douglas T. McGetchin, eds., *Transcultural Encounters between Germany and India: Kindred Spirits in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2014), 101–114, at 105; Patrick Bowe, "Lal Bagh: The Botanical Garden of Bangalore and Its Kew-Trained Gardeners", *Garden History*, 40 (2012), 228–238; Anja Simonsen, "Krumbiegel, Gustav Hermann", *Sächsische Biografie, Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde*, online edn: http://www.isgv.de/saebi/ (02.2.2020).
[28] "Amendment in Rules Issued Under the Destructive Insects and Pests Act, 1914", NAI, Education and Health, Agriculture, B, May 1929, 6.
[29] "Annual Report of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, for the Year 1926", NAI, Department of Education and Health, Agriculture, B, June 1927, 72–73, 5.

1932.[30] Unlike many Germans, Krumbiegel was allowed to continue his work during both World Wars, even if under restrictions as a potential 'enemy foreigner'.[31]

Company science and the integration of outsiders: a typology of institutionalised service

Throughout its existence, and particularly since becoming a growing territorial power in the second half of the eighteenth century, the British EIC, a 'company-state', acted as one of the most important patrons for scientific enquiry in, but especially outside of, Britain.[32] Apart from the puny remains of 'French', 'Portuguese' and 'Danish' India, since the end of the eighteenth century the Company commanded almost a monopoly over European scientific activities on the subcontinent. And yet, the role of science in running the Company territories was always ambiguous. The EIC's Court of Directors in London, whose lack of monetary support and 'niggard spirit' was frequently attacked by British naturalists and surveyors, only gave unsystematic support to the sciences.[33] This was even the case for projected works that would have advanced the Company's material interests.[34] During much of the pre-1858 period, important scientific activities in India were thus the result of private initiative and commitment.[35]

However, state-supported projects did exist, not least in the form of the long-running Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (GTS), launched in the early nineteenth century, and other revenue and route surveys.[36] These enormous operations, together

[30] From 1932, he remained active in the state even after Indian independence; his scientific and architectural legacy still endures in Baroda and Mysore. He published *A Note on the Development of Horticulture in Mysore and the Organisation of the Department of Horticulture and Botany* (Bangalore, 1920).

[31] "Grant of permission to Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel to undertake work for the Mysore State while in the parole cent at Kodaikanal, Government of India", NAI, Home Department, Political Branch, NA F-30-31, 2; see also "Treatment of Enemy Aliens at Liberty in Mysore", NAI, Home Department, Political Branch, EW 1940, NA F-66-13. The Diwan of Mysore, Sir Mirza Ismail personally sought to achieve his release from parole settlement through intervention with the Home Secretary, 17–18.

[32] Crucial for understanding the East India Company as a self-conscious body politic already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, well before Plassey, is Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); see also the important work by Andrew Phillips and J. C. Sharman, *Outsourcing Empire: How Company-States Made the Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).

[33] Clements R. Markham, *A Memoir of the Indian Surveys* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1878), 22. See also Jim Endersby, "Joseph Hooker: A Philosophical Botanist", *Journal of Biosciences*, 33 (2008), 163–169.

[34] Andrew Grout, "Geology and India, 1770–1851: A Study in the Methods and Motivations of a Colonial Science" (unpublished PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London, 1995), 131.

[35] Arnold, *Science, Technology and Medicine*, 21–25.

[36] Expert treatments of the GTS are given in Waller, *The Pundits*, 17; Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765–1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago

with botanical seminaries, medical establishments and other agencies of the imperial state, offered significant opportunities to find scientific, medical or technical employ not only for Britons, but also for those of other nationalities. Indeed, while often ignored in accounts of 'British' India, the colonial government enlisted over time a few hundred naturalists, technical and scientific advisers from the European mainland – with Scandinavia and Germany acting as significant pools of recruitment.[37] India thus became accessible not only to a large cohort of foreign visitors, collectors and observers, but also to their academic communities and larger publics at home. From the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, India was not merely colonised by the British but also, on account of its various entanglements outside of the imperial nexus, became, in some sense, 'globalised'.[38] Such mobile careers beyond the circuits of a single power provide a glimpse into a widespread presence of German-born scientific specialists active in various imperial frontiers of the British world, yet without a common identity or the aim of carving out spheres of influence for their non-colonial homelands.[39]

India's extremely diverse geographies, languages, creeds, diseases and exploitable resources proved particularly attractive for outside engagement. The pattern of drawing on foreign expertise occurred throughout the entire period of Company rule and for most of the Raj. Early figures encapsulating this trend included an eighteenth-century naturalist taken into Company service, the Baltic German Johan Gerhard König (1728–85). König was a pupil of the famous Swedish naturalist Carl von Linné (Linnaeus). He had first been involved in the Danish Tranquebar mission in south India, itself an important channel for the spread of botanical and medical knowledge to Western countries, as a missionary surgeon.[40] But since his meagre income did not suffice to fund his field trips, König also accepted, in 1774, a paid position as naturalist to the nawab of Arcot. Only on the later recommendation of

Press, 1998); Ian J. Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India, 1756–1905* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[37] 'Germany', to which even contemporaries referred, was not a unified nation state before 1871.

[38] Arnold, "Globalization".

[39] Ulrike Kirchberger, "Temporalising Nature: Chronologies of Colonial Species Transfer and Ecological Change across the Indian Ocean in the Age of Empire", *International Review of Environmental History*, 6 (2020), 101–125; William Beinart and Saul Dubow, *The Scientific Imagination in South Africa: 1700 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 63.

[40] Niklas T. Jensen, "Making it in Tranquebar: The Circulation of Scientific Knowledge in the Early Danish-Halle Mission", in Esther Fihl and A. R. Venkatachalapathy, eds., *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014), 325–351.

Joseph Banks was he able to realise his ultimate goal and enter the Company's service as the EIC's first surgeon and naturalist in 1778. Banks was convinced that König was 'to repay his Employers a thousand Fold in matters of investment, by the discovery of new Drugs and Dying materials fit for the European market'.[41]

König's trajectory – from initial service in a Danish mission to later employment by an Indian ruler and then his entrance into the Company as botanist – points to the different degrees to which non-British visitors and specialists could remain detached from, or become ultimately drawn into, the formal structures of colonial rule. Indeed, while most scholars have merely noted the presence of outsiders on the subcontinent, the terms of employment and the level of institutionalisation of their service could significantly differ. The following thus suggests a widely applicable typology of outsiders' involvement in British India (and beyond) – from detached observers to long-established imperial servants and administrators. As far as concerns the conflicts of transnational science (beyond the specifics and durations of individual employments), one clear recurrent pattern emerges: the size of salary and the prominence of the foreigners' assigned positions often correlated with the intensity of adverse responses non-British recruits drew, at least initially, from both British competitors and larger publics at home and in colonial India.

Indian visitors and agents without government commission

While some non-British naturalists and travellers received permission to visit the Indian empire, they did so without Company salary or a specific government commission, and received only patchy local support from interested officers and other naturalists. One exemplary case is the German traveller and author Otto E. Ehlers (1855–1895). While relying heavily on the support of German consuls in India as well as British letters of introduction and systems of support, Ehlers undertook trips across British India and Burma, including Kashmir, Assam, Kathmandu and other parts at the north Indian frontier in the early 1890s.[42] A German colonial enthusiast, Ehlers had previously been involved as an unsuccessful expedition leader in Wilhelmine

[41] Banks quoted in David Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science and Empire, 1780–1801* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 172.
[42] "Letter of introduction granted to Lt. O.E. Ehlers to facilitate his travels in India", NAI, Foreign Department, Secret, Progs., nos. 63–70, August 1894.

Germany's imperial enterprise in East Africa.[43] He developed, like other contemporaries, a particular fascination with the idea of taming wild elephants in Africa to facilitate processes of physical labour.[44] Whilst in India, to which he returned once again in 1894, he carefully studied how Indian elephants were domesticated to assist human workers.[45] As he wrote: 'What could those animals, which are killed on the Dark Continent exclusively for their teeth … not contribute to civilising its inhabitants if they were put into the service of humanity in a similar fashion to their Asian cousins.'[46] While attracting interest and financial support for the scheme, Ehlers even endeavoured 'to launch a company for taming East African elephants, and so utilising them, as in India, for transport purposes'.[47] Those making only brief stays in the Raj could thus use their stints in the foreign empire to study a reservoir of indigenous and colonial practices, including the *mise-en-valeur* of wild animal populations to facilitate heavy physical toil.

Such study trips, however, could also provoke criticism of the British in India. When the German African traveller and economic botanist Franz Stuhlmann, for instance, visited the Dutch East Indies, Ceylon and the subcontinent in the early twentieth century to investigate colonial plantation cultures, practices of indigo farming and tropical research stations, he openly condemned the supposed British lack of eagerness to develop and refine cash crop production: 'Regardless of the many large-scale plantations in India, the cultivation methods have not changed over the last thousand years. The Englishman wants to make a quick profit and does not spare a thought about the future as long as he makes a profit. Only now, as crisis looms, have the indigo planters employed two chemists (altogether!)', while in Java the Dutch had already established many years ago 'a well-run scientific institute' focused on 'indigo cultivation'.[48] Since Stuhlmann was eager to gain useful insights through his imperial

[43] Ehlers described himself as an "in Bezug auf Ländererwerbungen bekanntlich unersättlichen Kolonialschwärmers"; idem, *An indischen Fürstenhöfen*, 2 vols (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für deutsche Literatur, 1894), 4; India and Burma were not the only Asian countries he visited; he later published *Im Sattel durch Indochina* (1894) and *Im Osten Asiens* (1896).
[44] This was a more general concern among German colonial proponents at the time, see Paul Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika. Das Land und seine Bewohner* (Leipzig: Otto Spamer, 1892), 518.
[45] Friedrich Ratzel, "Ehlers, Otto", in Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ed., *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 48 (1904), 282–283.
[46] Otto E. Ehlers, *Indische Reisebilder* (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel Verlag, undated), 164.
[47] "Death of Herr Ehlers, the Explorer", in Foreign Office, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports: Miscellaneous Series, 1896* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1896), 76.
[48] My translation, from Franz Stuhlmann, Entwurf Tagebuch, Bericht von einer Reise nach Indien, to the Kolonialwirtschaftliches Kommitee, Bundesarchiv Berlin, N 2303/1, no. 246; published serially as

visits that could be applied in the German colonial empire in Africa,[49] it becomes clear how imperial comparisons were a key practice of colonial improvement and identity formation.[50] Stuhlmann's inter-imperial study trips proved most valuable, as he was subsequently made director of the tropical research station at Amani in German East Africa. Many other German agronomists active in the Wilhelmine empire in Africa visited British India to study cultivation techniques, including comparing the sophistication of Indian agriculture unfavourably with the leading centre for tropical agricultural and agronomic research in the world, the Buitenzorg Botanic Garden (with its extensive plant laboratories) in the Dutch East Indies.[51] Such recurrently negative assessments matter, as they relativise – at least in the field of tropical agronomy – the supposed centrality of the 'British model' as it is said to have served German imperialism as a blueprint.[52]

Throughout the nineteenth century, India also attracted much wider international interest and concern because it was perceived as a source of danger to the populations of other countries. The perceived risk was exemplified by several great cholera pandemics that originated in India (first noticed in the Gangetic Plain in 1817, whence it spread outwards) or the outbreak of plague in the 1890s. These incidents led to different foreign government missions being sent to India to study disease origins and possible treatments. Among the most notable was a Prussian-backed expedition that allowed the German bacteriologist Robert Koch to (supposedly) discover the hitherto unknown cholera bacillus in a water basin in Calcutta in 1884.[53]

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idem, "Studienreise nach Niederländisch- und Britisch-Indien", *Der Tropenpflanzer*, 5:6 (1901); 5:8 (1901); 6:4 (1902); and in the *Beihefte zum Tropenpflanzer*, 4:19 (1903).

[49] Benjamin Gollasch, "Von Hamburg nach Amani und zurück – Franz Ludwig Stuhlmann und die 'Gegenwart der imperialen Vergangenheit'", in P. Wenzel Geißler *et al*., eds., *Amani – Auf den Spuren einer kolonialen Forschungsstation in Tansania* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020), 33–39, at 36.

[50] On practices of comparison, see also most recently Eleonora Rohland, Angelika Epple, Antje Flüchter and Kirsten Kramer, eds., *Contact, Conquest and Colonization: How Practices of Comparing Shaped Empires and Colonialism Around the World* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

[51] Florian Wagner, "Inventing Colonial Agronomy: Buitenzorg and the Transition from the Western to the Eastern Model of Colonial Agriculture, 1880s–1930s", in Ulrike Kirchberger and Brett Bennett, eds., *Environments of Empire: Networks and Agents of Ecological Change* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 103–128.

[52] Cf. Niles Stefan Illich, "German Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Study" (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Texas A&M University, 2007).

[53] On Koch and the slow acceptance of contagion theory by the colonial government, see Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 136. On the earlier history of cholera studies and controversies, see Michael Mann, "Cholera in den Zeiten der Globalisierung. Oder wie die Welt in zwei Teile zerfällt", in Michael Mann and Jürgen G. Nagel, eds., *Europa jenseits der Grenzen. Festschrift für Reinhard Wendt* (Heidelberg: Draupadi Verlag, 2015), 389–431.

While Koch was never employed by the British administration, his activities in India nevertheless shaped its scientific policies: following his studies, the colonial government established in the same year its first medical laboratory to advance the field of bacteriological research.[54]

However, in Robert Koch's case, there was a connection between his outsider status and initial British resistance to his scientific findings. The Scottish doctor David Cunningham, first director of the new bacteriological laboratory, forcefully opposed Koch's work and even ridiculed his brief observations in the British colony: 'Are we to assume that he was endowed with supernatural powers of diagnosis, which rendered him capable of infallibly discriminating true cases of cholera and avoiding errors to which Indian medical men with a lifelong experience of the disease are liable?'[55] Cunningham further belittled the foreigner's interpretations as 'an excellent example of theories frequently founded by *tourists in a new country*'.[56] The charge of superficial observation against the German scientist encapsulated a wider British sentiment at the time that only long-established Anglo-Indians were able to understand the 'mysteries of the subcontinent'. In reflecting the political tensions around multi-national science in India, 'Anglo-Indians found it acutely embarrassing that a German should be responsible for discovering the cause of a disease that the British colonial authorities were struggling to contain.'[57] Cunningham's critique of Koch was, to be sure, part of the great nineteenth-century cholera controversy, which has become the focus of a rich historiography.[58]

Despite the insinuations of touristic ignorance, Koch was later vindicated when a new generation of members in the Indian Medical Service (IMS) started to undergo 'training in bacteriological methods in European research institutes, such as Koch's laboratory in Berlin and the Pasteur Institutes in France', and ultimately succeeded in

[54] Janine Wilhelm, *Environment and Pollution in Colonial India: Sewerage Technologies along the Sacred Ganges* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 33.
[55] Quoted from D. D. Cunningham, "The Results of Continued Study of Various Forms of Comma-Bacilli Occurring in Calcutta", *Scientific Memoirs by Medical Officers of the Army of India*, 8 (1894), 1–58, at 2.
[56] Quoted from idem, 'On the Association of Several Distinct Species of Comma-Bacilli with Cases of Cholera in Calcutta", *Indian Medical Gazette*, 25 (1890), 139–142, 139, my emphasis.
[57] Jeremy D. Isaacs, "D. D. Cunningham and the Aetiology of Cholera in British India, 1869–1897", *Medical History*, 42 (1998) 279–305, 298.
[58] For example, Michael Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Naomi Oreskes, "Objectivity or Heroism? On the Invisibility of Women in Science", *Osiris*, 11 (1996), 87–113, at 105; P. B. Mukharji, "The 'Cholera Cloud' in the Nineteenth-Century 'British World': History of an Object-Without-an-Essence", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 86 (2012), 303–332; Mann, "Cholera".

founding the first Pasteur Institute of India in 1900.[59] The reception of Louis Pasteur's work also signified that outside scientific influence on British India could be indirect and mediated via expert migration: even if the French doctor never set foot there himself, his research on bacteriology and the work of his disciples had a lasting influence in the colony, which had long been associated with high white mortality and decay.[60]

The contributions of Robert Koch in 1890 to the field of epidemiology and bacteriology in India had a long echo in the context of India's quest for independence. The discoveries made by the visiting scientist were, decades later, still remembered, appropriated and distorted for the fight against British rule. Koch's achievements were presented in a way that suggested the foreign practitioner cared more deeply about the health of Indian peoples than British officials. For instance, the India Independence League issued a 'Manifesto' in 1935, printed on the pages of *The New Asia*, the 'Organ of the India Independence League and the New Asia Association Standing for Complete Independence of India, Asia and Humanity'.[61] The 'Manifesto' generally attacked the imperial self-interest of Britain. One part of the text was dedicated to 'Epidemics – plague, cholera, dysentery, malaria, smallpox, and a host of others', which, it was stated, 'annually visit the unhappy land. Millions are swept away like autumnal leaves before a gale.' Contrasting supposed British indifference to Indian suffering with German achievement in combating deadly diseases, the 'Manifesto' continued:

> The English government does nothing to check their ravages. Nay, when the cholera commission, under Robert Koch, succeeded in discovering cholera vibrio the causative agent of Asiatic Cholera – he was shipped away quietly, the matter was hushed up, lest English shipping suffer – and the discovery was not made public until ten years later.[62]

[59] Wilhelm, *Environment and Pollution*, 33, 66. This was followed by other Pasteur Institutes: in Coonoor in 1907, Rangoon in 1916, in Shillong the following year and Calcutta in 1924.
[60] David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800–1856* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), ch. 2.
[61] *The New Asia*, July/August 1935, published by 'nationalist Indian residents abroad'.
[62] "Manifesto", *The New Asia*, July/August 1935, 3; from the folder "Italo-Abyssinian War, leaflets & pamphlet", *The New Asia*, 1935, Roll 00023_File No 229 (Microfilm), 1–30, NAI, Private Papers M. R. Jayakar.

While historically inaccurate, the politically motivated invocation of Koch's cholera studies makes clear that even non-commissioned German scientists in India could be integrated into anti-British sentiment and struggle, their supposed feats highlighted to dismiss, at the same time, the exploitative nature and damaging legacies of British rule on the subcontinent.

There is a great ambiguity about two further groups of foreigners in British India who sometimes maintained only lose connections with (or even complete detachment from) the formal structures of imperial power and who sometimes got closely and wilfully drawn into the fabric of British power. The first group encompassed the members and orders of various missionary enterprises, the second, international humanitarian and philanthropic organisations. As far as concerns the first category, members of various Christian missionary orders generally did not get drawn into official relations with the EIC or the Raj, despite their often prolonged stay in the country. (In 1813, the Company had only reluctantly opened up its possession to missionary work.)[63] Many missionaries, be they British, Swiss, German or American, were also keen naturalists and linguists.[64] Members of the Basel mission, for instance, conducted botanical studies in India from the late 1840s, collecting and then selling herbaria in Europe as a way to earn funds to support the construction of missionary buildings in the subcontinent.[65]

Exemplary for natural historical and linguistic studies is also the Moravian religious order, 'Herrnhuter Gemeinde', German missionaries active in the western Himalayas.[66] The mission's most famous philologist was Heinrich August Jäschke (1817–83), believed to have mastered fourteen languages. While working as a

[63] Karen Chancey, "The Star in the East: The Controversy over Christian Missions to India, 1805–1813", *The Historian*, 60 (1998), 507–522, 507.
[64] G. Th. Reichelt, *Die Himalaya-Mission der Brüdergemeinde* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1896); one of the best accounts of German-speaking missionaries in South Asia is Panikos Panayi, *The Germans in India: Elite European Migrants in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).
[65] C. Stolz, *Five Hundred Indian Plants and Their Use in Medicine and the Art* (Mangalore, 1881), written in Canarese, entered its third edition in 1948; earlier, another Swiss Basel missionary, Friedrich Metz, had published several plant studies in the journal *Flora, oder botanische Zeitung* in the mid-1850s; his "Sammlungen ostindischer Pflanzen aus Canara und den Nilgherries" [Collections of East Indian Plants from Canara and the Nilgherries] were also advertised for sale; e.g. "Metz, *plantae Indiae orientalis*", 200–260 species for 36–46 fl., *Botanische Zeiung*, 7 November 1851, 795–798; on Metz, also R. R. Stewart, "Missionaries and Clergymen as Botanists in India and Pakistan", *Taxon*, 31 (1982), 58.
[66] The observations and scientific discoveries of various Moravian Brethren occasionally entered official reports, see S. B. Paterson, "Ladakh Trade Report for the year ending 31st March 1905", in *Reports on the Trade between India and Ladakh and Between India and Chinese Turkestan via Ladakh for the year 1904–05*, Pro No. 44, NAI, Foreign Department, April 1904, 9.

language teacher of young Herrnhuters in Saxony, Jäschke studied Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. This equipped him well to work, between 1857 and 1868, at the Kailang station near Tibet. There, he acquired Tibetan, wrote scholarly treatises and compiled a Tibetan–German dictionary and grammar still in use today.[67] Jäschke also translated the Bible into Tibetan, and remained an important informant for German and European oriental scholars and botanists in the nineteenth century.[68]

By the 1860s, the Moravian Brethren had established principal mission stations in various corners of the British Empire; once war broke out in 1914, however, followers were subject to speculation and accusations of siding with the enemy. The application of 'the Vorstand of the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Ranchi, Praying that they may be Exempted from the Provisions of the Foreigners Ordinance' in 1914 provoked official attempts to collect and assess various information on their missionary activities and loyalties.[69] With the brothers being especially active in South Africa, British officials in India prepared an intelligence report on the Moravians. One such consular file stated on their activities in South Africa that:

> where he [a Swedish missionary and informant] was stationed, the natives were exploited, that the missionaries established trading monopolies and even tried to sell the land which had been given to them, and that they remitted all their profits to the central institution in Germany. The Swedish missionary did not state whether the Moravians were acting disloyally towards the Governments that offered them hospitality, but it is quite probable that as they are Germans they would be tempted to work in favour of German political interests.[70]

Against such an implicit accusation of the Moravians' supposed loyalty to Britain's enemy in the Great War stood other collected voices in the colonial report. An extract

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[67] H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan–English Dictionary* (London: Published at the charge of the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1881); British officials made use of his work, see "Enquiry as to how many copies of Jaeschke's Tibetan Grammar, 2nd edition, will be required by the Foreign Department", NAI, Foreign Department, Progs., nos. 56–58, December 1883.

[68] Gisela Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich: die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde als globale Gemeinschaft, 1727–1857* (Göttingen: V&R, 2009), 128. For the missionary as botanical collector and observer, see J. E. T. Aithchison, "Lahul, its Flora and Vegetable products &c. From Communications received from the Rev. Heinrich Jaeschke, of the Moravian Mission", *Journal of the Linnean Society*, 10 (1869), 69–101.

[69] "An Ordinance to Provide for the Exercise of More Effective Control over Foreigners in British India", 20 August 1914, reprinted in Government of India, Legislative Department, *Legislation and Orders Relating to the War*, 3rd edn (Delhi: Government Printing, 1915), 22–25.

[70] Report by W. A. Churchill, Consul in Stockholm, 3 November 1914, in *Rejection of the Petition of the Vorstand of the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Ranchi*, NAI, Home Department, December 1914, Home Political, A, December 1914, 244–255, 13.

from a Scottish religious journal was quoted on the Moravians that '[i]n India alone it is estimated that 400 German missionaries are at work'. They were not only depicted as trustworthy individuals, but also their fragile political and financial situation after the outbreak of military conflict seemed to require contributions and official support.[71] The religious journal's plea ended emphatically: 'Between our Missions, German and British, there is no war; we are all soldiers of the one King.' In the end, the Moravian petition to be exempted from the Foreigners Ordinance was rejected, demonstrating the vulnerable position of foreign missionaries when a global conflict clearly drew lines between friendly and enemy nations and empires.[72]

Western missionaries could also be responsible for economic impulses and technical transfers in India. The Basel mission, among other things, introduced the fly-shuttle loom to weaving establishments in Madras, an important device for increasing output. This was a feature of the large industrial factories the missionaries established, especially after 1851, for modern handloom weaving and tile manufacture.[73] What is more, under the direction of the missionary and agronomist Sam Higginbottom, members of the American Presbyterian mission founded an agricultural institute in Allahabad in 1912. Harald Fischer-Tiné has shown that they saw agricultural training and research 'as the best remedy against the perceived rural decay and poverty'.[74] When 'the annual contributions to this Institute from America' fell 'from approximately Rs. 1,20,000 to Rs. 40,000' a year in the midst of the Great Depression, colonial officials considered agricultural production training sufficiently important to pay for a range of hardware improvements.[75]

[71] "Extract from *Life and Work*, the Church of Scotland Magazine and Mission Record", October 1914; ibid., 11.
[72] The most recent and comprehensive treatment is Stefan Manz and Panikos Panayi, *Enemies in the Empire: civilian internment in the British Empire during the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
[73] Theodore Morison, *The Economic Transition in India* (London: J. Murray, 1911), 149; see also Jaiprakash Raghavaiah, *Faith and Industrial Reformation: Basel Mission in Malabar and South Canara* (Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2018).
[74] Harald Fischer-Tiné, "The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia, c.1922–1957", *Past & Present*, 240, 1 (2018), 193–234, at 201.
[75] *Report of Committee appointed to consider the application of the Principal, Allahbabad Agricultural Institute, for financial assistance from the Government of India, to enable that Institute to continue with its present course of training for the Indian Dairy Diploma*, 5; the committee also agreed to a yearly grant at the rate of Rs. 6,000 per annum, Report of Committee in "Indian Dairy Diploma – Allahabad Agricultural institute – Grant", NAI, Department of Education, Health & Land, Agriculture, NAI, F-221, 36A, 1936.

Other groups that were similarly detached from formal government structures while at the same time sometimes collaborating intensely with them were the many businessmen and philanthropists who visited and worked in the subcontinent during the period of British rule. In an article on a Swiss trading firm in British India, for instance, Christof Dejung has explored 'the often ambiguous relation between the business goals of individual enterprises and colonial rule', arguing that this suggests that 'that capitalism and imperialism were two different, although sometimes converging, spatial structures, each with a distinct logic of its own'.[76] One example in the field of philanthropy, in turn, are the agents of the Rockefeller Foundation active in South Asia since the early twentieth century, promoting anti-malarial campaigns and other large schemes of public health.[77] While the Rockefeller Foundation was never formally part of any government structure in India, it nonetheless had close relations with British authorities, with its ideology being seen as fiercely 'imperial'.[78] Increased US involvement in tropical medicine, and a willingness to provide significant means for its advancement, emerged in the wake of the US occupation of the Philippines in 1898. The imperial expansion of the most potent industrial power of the time brought a new impetus and urgency to the transnational engagement with the medical control and *mise-en-valeur* of the tropics (including its human resources), and led to new international exchange forums and expert congresses that also shaped tropical medicine in India.[79] This only increased after the First World War, when the devastatingly high mortality figures of Spanish influenza (which hit South Asia particularly hard) became arguably the most important factor for the expansion of international health, especially in India.[80]

[76] Christof Dejung, "Cosmopolitan Capitalists and Colonial Rule. The business structure and corporate culture of the Swiss merchant house Volkart Bros., 1850s–1960s", *Modern Asian Studies* (2020, First View article), https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X20000384, 1.
[77] John Farley, *To Cast Out Disease: A History of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, 1913–1951* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Arnold, "Contingent Colonialism"; Rohan Deb Roy, *Malarial Subjects: Empire, Medicine and Nonhumans in British India, 1820–1909* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 292–293.
[78] Donald Fisher, "Rockefeller Philanthropy and the British Empire: The Creation of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine", *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 7 (1978), 129–143; Richard E. Brown, "Public Health in Imperialism: Early Rockefeller Programs at Home and Abroad", *American Journal of Public Health*, 66 (1976), 897–903.
[79] Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
[80] See Ian D. Mills, "The 1918–1919 Influenza Pandemic: The Indian Experience", *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 23 (1986), 1–40.

However, even when the colonial government in India attempted to incorporate non-governmental and international organisations into its fold, as in the case of the Red Cross, it was usually with only limited success.[81] The Indian Red Cross Society, founded in 1920, was formally presided over by the viceroy and maintained close ties to the military and industrial brokers of the British Raj.[82] Its agenda, however, was neither exclusively shaped by the colonial considerations nor dictated by London.[83] Arguably the two first 'Asian' international health conferences were organised by the Red Cross and held in Bangkok (1922) and Tokyo (1926).[84] Despite the arrogant behaviour of British (partly representing India) and American delegates (representing the Philippines), who alienated the Japanese and Indian representatives alike, these were the first forums to study and debate specific Asian health problems outside the strategic considerations of empire. They were testimony to a broader shift away from the imperial centre both in the debates and in the circulation of medical experts and their specialised knowledge for discussing and launching health activities in Asia.

Short-term employment and contractual workers

The next group of the typology encompasses those advisers and scientists, such as the German botanist Wilhelm Sulpiz Kurz (1834–78), who were formally recruited by British officials and instructed to carry out specific scientific missions over a limited period of time. Kurz, a pupil of the Brazilian traveller and botanist Professor Carl Friedrich Phillip von Martius during his studies, had first worked at the botanical establishments of the Dutch East Indies in Java (Buitenzorg). Thomas Anderson, superintendent of the Calcutta Garden, personally enlisted him in 1863 to work for the

[81] Melanie Oppenheimer *et al*., "Resilient Humanitarianism? Using Assemblage to re-evaluate the history of the League of Red Cross Societies", *International History Review*, 43:3 (2021), 579–597, at 582.
[82] Indian Red Cross Society, *First Report, 1920–1921* (Allahabad: Indian Red Cross Society, 1921).
[83] See Adrian Ruprecht, "De-Centering Humanitarianism: The Red Cross and India, *c.* 1877–1939" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2018), who kindly shared his knowledge and sources on the Red Cross in South Asia with me; see also idem, "The Great Eastern Crisis (1875–1878) as a Global Humanitarian Moment", *Journal of Global History* (2021, First View article), doi:10.1017/S1740022821000085.
[84] League of Red Cross Societies, *Proceedings of the First of Conference of Oriental Red Cross Societies* (Bangkok: League of Red Cross Societies, 1922), League of Red Cross Societies, *Substantive Resolutions adopted by the Oriental Red Cross Conference, Bangkok, 8th December 1922* (Bangkok: League of Red Cross Societies, 1922), League of Red Cross Societies, *Second Conference of Oriental Red Cross Societies* (Paris: League of Red Cross Societies, 1927); Melanie Oppenheimer, "Reflections on the Easternisation of the Red Cross Movement: The Role of the Japanese Red Cross and League of Red Cross Societies, 1907-1926", *Pacific and American Studies*, 20 (2020), 23-39, at 33–37.

British, first as curator of the Calcutta herbarium and later as a forestry expert despatched to Burma, the Andaman Islands and other parts of Southeast Asia.[85] In order to carry out their missions, these colonial employees usually received substantial scientific, administrative and political support.[86] Their careers make clear that professional migration was indeed a 'balancing process' that 'permits a matching of human resources with perceived opportunities' across the German and Indian labour markets – sometimes, as in the case of Kurz, via a detour through other European empires.[87]

For many German sojourners in India, the empire's temporary employment was only a short chapter in a prolonged scientific career. However, the limited period of their service could in many cases prove crucial for future trajectories, and while some of these mobile scientists and surveyors may not have directly managed the cultivation and modification of colonial resources, many still collected information and useful knowledge on these subjects for the growing British colonial archive on India's natural riches.[88] Many of those temporary German employees, after finishing their contractual assignments, neither maintained lasting connections to the subcontinent nor ever returned to foreign government service. They exemplify how many German specialists perceived British India as an attractive labour market that offered lucrative short-term openings to skilled outsiders. For such circular migrants, a multi-annual stay increased the range of available opportunities and forms of income at home. Generally, their short-term placement at lower or mid-level positions within the colonial hierarchy, and the usually 'small salary' such employees received, did not provoke much controversy among Anglo-Indians or the metropolitan public.[89]

Yet even then, murmurs of discontent could be heard. When the trained doctor Georg von Liebig was taken into modestly paid service (initially at the Calcutta mint and as a military physician with British and Indian troops) in 1853, the London journal *The Athenaeum* protested that the German physician 'had not been three months in India before he was appointed Deputy Assay-Master at Bombay, where, to say the

[85] Under the direction of Dietrich Brandis, Kurz went to the Andaman Islands in 1866 and completed two excursions to Burma (Myanmar) in 1867–68 and 1870–71, using his local observations to publish his most significant work, *Forest Flora of British Burma*, 2 vols (1877).
[86] "Employment of Mr. Kurz in the preparation of a Forest Flora of Burmah", NAI, Finance Department, Expenditure, Progs., nos. 144–146, February 1871.
[87] Hoerder, "Macrosystems", 82.
[88] Brescius, *German Science*.
[89] Isaac H. Burkill, "Chapters on the History of Botany in India", Part I, *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, 51 (1952), 348.

least, his qualifications were unknown', while deserving British servants in India 'were passed over'.[90] By contrast, when more elevated offices were filled with outsiders whose exalted position meant greater income, prestige and power, the almost knee-jerk reaction among British scientific circles and the metropolitan public sphere was one of general objection, and at times even violent outcry. Professional opposition to expert immigration required, in turn, a greater effort to legitimate such high-level appointments on behalf of the enlisted scientists and their German and British supporters. Indeed, the struggle over authority and the fairness of recruitment was in more than one case fought in the open. Calls for public scrutiny appeared regularly in the British press when foreigners were appointed to positions of significant pay and prestige in the sciences, either in Britain or its colonies.

The rule of foreign experts

To round up the typology, there were also those specialists whose service in India was highly institutionalised, as they held formal and long-term scientific and advisory offices in government structures, and indeed became integral to the operation of colonial science. One such figure was the Danish naturalist Nathaniel Wallich, who significantly shaped British colonial botany in India during the first half of the nineteenth century.[91] Wallich was first employed in the medical service of the Danish settlement of Serampore in Bengal before the British took him as a POW in 1808, an incident that turned out in his favour. Released thanks to his scientific talents, he later became superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden from 1817 to 1846 (albeit with multiple absences), then one of the most prestigious scientific offices outside of Europe. He became secretary of the Plantation Committee and got involved in British attempts to cultivate tea in Assam as a secretary to the Tea Committee.

Over his remarkably long period in office, Wallich pushed for numerous measures connected with economic botany, convinced as he was of the almost boundless but still underexploited natural resources of the Indian subcontinent.[92]

[90] *The Athenaeum*, 1379 (1 April 1854), 408.
[91] His outstanding contribution to science in India was expertly studied by David Arnold, "Plant Capitalism and Company Science: The Indian Career of Nathaniel Wallich", *Modern Asian Studies*, 42 (2008), 899–928; see also Mark Harrison, "The Calcutta Botanic Garden and the Wider World, 1817–46", in Gupta U. Das, ed., *Science and Modern India: An Institutional History, c. 1784–1947* (Delhi: Pearson Longman, 2011), 235–253; most recently, Martin Krieger, *Nathaniel Wallich. Ein Botaniker zwischen Kopenhagen und Kalkutta* (Kiel: Wachholtz Murmann Publishers, 2017).
[92] Arnold, "Plant Capitalism", 911.

Besides his duties at the botanic garden, he was also employed between 1837 and 1838 as professor of botany at Calcutta Medical College.[93] Frequent study trips to little-known and frontier regions also allowed Wallich to accumulate a highly important set of botanical specimens. In the eyes of his successors, Wallich thus established an important tradition for later superintendents of the Calcutta garden to travel in order to become 'acquainted with the Botany of India': as Thomas Anderson noted in 1864, 'Wallich spent three years in Nepal, many months in Assam, the Cossyah Hills, and Sylhet, and also the Straits' Settlements'.[94]

After frail health dictated Wallich's retreat from service in India, he settled in England in 1847. Wallich's life demonstrated how 'foreigners' could, over time, fully assimilate into colonial or British metropolitan society, which in his case was facilitated by his marriage to an English woman from Yorkshire and his membership in some of the leading scientific societies of London. Wallich's elevated status was reflected in his appointment as vice-president of the Linnean Society and the Royal Society in 1852.[95] His large and significant collection of botanical specimens from India was later housed at the India Office, London, and after 1879 passed on to the Kew Gardens herbarium. Half a century after its preparation, an application to repair and restore his collections proved successful. It was argued in 1926 that '[t]he Collection was a very valuable one, and was probably the most complete of its kind in existence. Since it had been housed at Kew Gardens, it had become more widely known, and was frequently consulted by Indian Forest Officers and others interested in Indian flora', especially by those authors 'engaged in the preparation of manuals', as it contained nearly 20,000 specimen sheets taken from various provinces.[96]

Yet, Wallich's later success never entirely healed the wounds that his initial entrance into high office in British India had at first provoked: strong condemnation and open resistance flew from his scientific peers and the Anglo-Indian press. At the

[93] "Lahore Medical College", NAI, Home Department, Education, Proceedings 14 January 1864, nos. 38–43, 5; see also Peter Burke, *Exiles and Expatriates in the History of Knowledge, 1500–2000* (Waltham, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2017), 91.
[94] Thomas Anderson to J. Geoghegan, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 27 September 1864, NAI, Home Department, Education July–December 1864, Pros. no 4479, 365–366.
[95] Roger de Candolle and Alan Radcliffe-Smith, "Nathaniel Wallich, MD, PhD, FRS, FLS, FRGS, (1786–1854) and the Herbarium of the Honourable East India Company, and Their Relation to the de Candolles of Geneva and the Great Prodromus", *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society*, 83 (1981), 325–348.
[96] "Repair and Restoration of the Wallichian Collection of Indian Plants Housed in the Herbarium, Kew Gardens", Increase of the Annual Grant to Kew Gardens for 1925–26, NAI, Department of Education and Health, Agriculture, B, April 1926, Pros. nos. 158–160, 8–9.

end of his successful career, Wallich still vividly remembered how his suggested superintendence of the highly influential gardens in 1815 had set off a 'fierce and fiendish scandal in the Calcutta papers', which decried him as incompetent to lead this flagship institution.[97] In the eighteenth century, the British had often turned to Scandinavia to recruit scientific personnel for the empire. One reason for this had been the international prestige of Linnaeus and his method of systematic botany. However, the Linnaean system of classification was seen as outdated by the early nineteenth century. This diminished Wallich's botanical reputation, even among his colleagues, since he continued to adhere to the old system.[98] Wallich therefore struggled for two years to establish control over the Calcutta Garden while he eagerly awaited the offer of a permanent appointment. After several British competitors (James Hare, Thomas Casey and Henry Thomas Colebrooke) had initially been favoured for the position, the Company's court only confirmed Wallich as permanent superintendent in 1817 – after Colebrooke, who was no trained botanist himself, had recommended him.[99]

While Nathaniel Wallich took over an existing institution, other practitioners proved instrumental in bringing their expertise to India in order to suggest or personally establish entirely new institutes or government branches. Among them was the Indian Forestry Department, founded in 1864. For the establishment and operation of the forestry department in particular, German practitioners played essential roles: it remained effectively under German leadership for several decades. Dietrich Brandis, its founding director, served as inspector general of forests between 1864 and 1883: he was followed in the same position by Wilhelm Schlich and then Berthold Ribbentrop from 1884 until his retirement in 1900 – both of whom he had personally trained.[100] Schlich, who eventually trained British foresters at Cooper's Hill for service in India, also wrote the definitive and widely used treatise in this field with his *Manual of Forestry*. In demonstrating how the transnational exchange of knowledge often required translations, it was noted that 'the sources from which he drew his material were almost entirely German, and the particular quality of his mind enabled him to

[97] Wallich, letter to G. Bentham, 6 December 1849, Bentham Correspondence, Archives of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (RBGK), quoted in Arnold, "Plant Capitalism", 905.
[98] Frans Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linnaens: The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735–1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1971); recent scholarship about the naturalist and systematiser and his (failed) improvement plans for the Swedish natural economy has thrived; Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).
[99] Burkill, "History of Botany in India", 868.
[100] Gregory Allen Barton, *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 63.

distil the essence of central European experience, and present with great success principles and generalisations in a subject which is, in a marked degree, local'.[101]

The administrative and interventionist power of Dietrich Brandis was significant, as he helped bring about the 1878 Indian Forest Act. It entailed a considerable increase in forest areas protected and monopolised by the imperial government and thus shaped the lives of millions of people dependent on the use of forests.[102] Similar to the initial opposition Nathaniel Wallich's appointment aroused, Brandis' nomination to a position in British *Burma*, in 1856, was equally criticised, this time in the British press.[103]

Another example of the significant migration of specialists and expertise from Germany to Britain, and thence to India, can be found in the influential careers of the scientific dynasty of the Voelckers, father and son. The latter, John Augustus Voelcker (1854–1937), became centrally involved in the formulation of progressive and modernising policies in the field of Indian agriculture at a moment of crisis. India was repeatedly devastated by famines throughout the nineteenth century, yet only in the 1880s, in the wake of the disastrous Great Famine (1876–78), with over 5 million deaths, was a commission formed to implement large-scale measures to improve the colony's agricultural output. Voelcker junior, who had studied agricultural chemistry in London, Gießen and Cambridge, was recommended by Sir James Caird, a member of the Indian Famine Commission, for a scientific mission to tour the Indian subcontinent and to make recommendations on how to improve its agrarian production.[104] Voelcker had been born in London in 1854 to J. C. A. Voelcker, a German migrant from Frankfurt, and shared his father's conviction of the power of science to improve the human lot. J. C. A. Voelcker, a pupil of the agricultural chemist

[101] H. M. Steven, "John Nisbet", *Forestry: An International Journal of Forest Research*, 7 (1933), 48–49.
[102] On the many regulatory interventions of Brandis's work in Indian forestry management, Herbert Hesmer, *Leben und Werk von Dietrich Brandis, 1824–1907. Begründer der tropischen Forstwissenschaft, Förderer der forstlichen Entwicklung in den USA, Botaniker und Ökologe* (Bonn: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1975); Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, "State Forestry and Social Conflict in British India", *Past and Present*, 123 (1989), 41–77; Ajay S. Rawat, "Brandis: The Father of Organized Forestry in India", in idem, ed., *Indian Forestry: A Perspective* (New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1993), 85–101; Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992); Ramachandra Guha, "An Early Environmental Debate: The Making of the 1878 Forest Act", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 27 (1990), 65–84; Arupjyoti Saikia, *Forests and Ecological History of Assam, 1826–2000* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011); Rajan, *Modernizing Nature*.
[103] "Our Weekly Gossip", *The Athenaeum*, 1567 (7 November 1857), 1392. On the forgotten controversy over Dietrich Brandis's initial employment in Burma, Brescius, *German Science*, 85–88.
[104] Bernard Dyer, "Obituary: John Augustus Voelcker", *Analyst*, 63 (1938), 79–84, at 82.

Liebig at Gießen, had already made a successful career in Britain, first as a university lecturer in chemistry at Durham University and then as professor at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. He later became founder and director of an innovative laboratory for soil science and agricultural chemistry in London. This model institution, whose practices were copied worldwide, was subsequently run by the two Voelckers.[105]

The explorations of the younger Voelcker across India in 1889–90 resulted in the publication of the highly influential *Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, published in 1893 for the colonial government. Prakash Kumar concludes that Voelcker's report 'became the basis of colonial policy for a few decades to come, and thus the impact of his particular interpretation of new chemistry and its relevance for India cannot be overestimated'.[106] Voelcker's travels and publications also lastingly shaped institutional arrangements in the colony, as his interventions led, a decade later, to the foundation of the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute in Pusa, Bihar.[107] The comparatively short length of Voelcker's stay in India was thus not proportional to the far-reaching impact of his submissions as an adviser. Already in 1890, at a conference in Simla, 'Dr Voelcker had expressed his opinion that teaching in Agriculture should be made a part of the ordinary educational course; that higher agricultural education should not be provided by special institutions, that such education should be utilised to provide teachers; and that students should, after passing through their course, be provided, as far as possible, with Government appointments.'[108] Voelcker's suggestions led to numerous resolutions being passed in that direction in October 1890. While Voelcker returned to London, his approach to Indian agricultural education and the pursuit of technically sophisticated agricultural science in the colony was continued by his former assistant, John Walter Leather, who was appointed chemist to the Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India, a position he held until retirement in 1916. This mediated impact points to the significance of scientific schools and training regimes, whose effects, as a result of expert mobility, were not confined to operations within the scope of a single power.

[105] "Obituary Notices: Dr. J. A. Voelcker, C.I.E.", *Nature*, 11 December 1937, 1001–1002.
[106] Kumar, *Indigo Plantations*, 124–126.
[107] Fischer-Tiné, "YMCA".
[108] "Agricultural Education in India", NAI, Home Department, Education, A, October 1895, 6, 5–6.

Since Voelcker was born as a British subject in London, he was never perceived as an intruding outsider. Indeed, second-generation migrants had it easier when reaching high office in British or colonial society. This was also demonstrated by the career of a German oriental scholar and medical expert born to a missionary family active on the subcontinent. Frederic Rudolf Hoernle (1841–1918) was the son of the Revd Christian Theophilus Hoernle, a Protestant from southern Germany (Württemberg). The reverend had led a mobile life himself, having first been despatched by the Basel Missionary Society in 1823 to Shusha, on the Persian border, where he worked until 1836, becoming closely acquainted with the Qur'an. In the same year, Hoernle senior settled in India, where he would pursue missionary work for 41 years and translate 'the gospels into Kurdish and Urdu'.[109]

Since the reverend was naturalised in India, the young Augustus Hoernle was born a British subject. However, demonstrating the lasting intellectual and emotional affiliations of his parents with their homeland, Augustus received, from the age of seven, his education in Württemberg. After finishing theological studies in Schönthal, he moved on to Basel University in 1858 and then continued his university studies in London, where he studied Sanskrit under another German orientalist, Theodor Goldstücker. Hoernle returned to South Asia in 1865, first working, like four of his brothers, for the Church Missionary Society in Mirat (Meerut), in northern India.[110] However, he abandoned this family tradition in 1869 and took up the professorship of Sanskrit and philosophy at Jay Narayan College in Benares. His scholarly prowess was soon demonstrated through widely praised philological publications, and he rapidly became a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[111] This, however, only proved the beginning of Hoernle's prestigious career at various Indian centres of learning and instruction. In 1878, he took up office as the principal of the Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta. Three years later, he was recruited into the Indian

[109] While Christian Hoernle had taken charge of the missionary station in 1861, he later passed this position down to one of his five sons active in the service of this mission. Ursula Sims-Williams, "Rudolf Hoernle and Sir Aurel Stein", in Helen Wang, ed., *Sir Aurel Stein: Colleagues and Collections* (British Museum Research Publication 184, online resource, 2012). Hoernle's wife also became involved in missionary work, as she was in charge of the infant school at Secundra in the 1840s; see A. M. Barney, *A Star in the East: An Account of the Church Mission Society's Work in North India* (London, 1860), 171.

[110] The following from Sims-Williams, "Hoernle".

[111] Hoernle obtained his doctoral degree from Tübingen in 1872.

Educational Service (an institution that attracted many learned Germans at the time) as principal of the Calcutta Madrasah.[112]

Crucially, Hoernle's work on archaic Indian scripts, Indo-European languages and manuscript findings on the Silk Road not only shaped growing scholarly concerns with Central Asia's ancient civilisations. It also had practical consequences. His prolific activities influenced the British archaeological exploration of Central Asia in the late nineteenth century and beyond. After the earlier discovery of old manuscripts, Hoernle successfully suggested to the Indian government in 1893 that British political agents in various parts of Central Asia should search for, and possibly seize, all available antiquities. He would thus receive several large consignments of objects despatched from British officials in Kashgar and Kashmir.[113] Given Hoernle's breadth of knowledge, the Indian government enlisted his service to analyse these supplies and report, on 'Special Duty', on the spectacular materials and manuscripts that later became known as the 'British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities'. The sensational discovery of ancient texts in this world region, which Hoernle's analysis and publications made known to a wide readership, kicked off archaeological and exploratory enterprises by multiple powers. 'A direct result of the discoveries of these ancient writings was the triad of memorable expeditions to Central Asia carried out so successfully by Sir Aurel Stein, and other expeditions, such as those for the Russians by Klementz, for the Germans by Grünwedel and von Le Coq, for the Japanese by Otani, and for the French by Pelliot.'[114]

Hoernle's growing reputation as an oriental scholar was reflected in his climbing up the ladder of office in the Asiatic Society. In 1879, he was elected honorary philological secretary, with the responsibility of editing the philological contents of its journal. He held the office for twelve years, finally receiving the highest honour of this

[112] Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*, 24.
[113] His eagerness to present sensational new manuscripts written in unknown languages also made Hoernle prone to fall for spectacular forgeries; see Ursula Sims-Williams, "Forgeries from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library's Hoernle and Stein Collections", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, 14 (2000), 111–129.
[114] G. A. Grierson, "Augustus Frederic Rudolf Hoernle", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1919), 114–124, at 117. Notable was the Bower Manuscript and those later collected and brought to British India by Weber and Macartney, all placed at Hoernle's disposal. On transnational rivalry and cooperation during the archaeological frenzy in Central Asia, Ingo Strauch, "Priority and Exclusiveness: Russians and Germans at the Northern Silk Road (Materials from the Turfan-Akten)", *Études de Lettres*, 2–3 (2014), 147–178; Mikhail Bukharin, "The 'Maîtres' of Archaeology in Eastern Turkestan: Divide et Impera", in Svetlana Gorshenina *et al*., eds., *"Masters" and "Natives": Digging the Others' Past* (Oldenburg: de Gruyter, 2019), 87–104.

eminent body by becoming its president in 1897–98. Hoernle was the only Anglo-German so honoured in the society's remarkable history. His status as a British subject by birth was a factor for this distinction. While the Asiatic Society started in the final decades of the nineteenth century to elect Indian scholars to lead this prestigious body, there was otherwise not a single non-British scholar or scientist who held its highest office in the saeculum.[115] In the same year as his presidency, Hoernle also became a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire (CIE). He retired from the Indian Educational Service in 1899 and settled as an internationally acclaimed philologist and expert on Hindu medicine in Oxford, spending the rest of his life publishing the rich materials British authorities and other Indian scholars had placed at his command.[116]

Closed doors

It seems pertinent to end the typology of outsiders' involvement in the scientific departments and administration of British India by turning to the few closed sectors of the imperial labour market. Above all, and despite several reform acts, the Indian Civil Service (ICS), besides the Army the backbone of colonial statecraft, never opened its ranks to anyone other than 'any natural-born subject of Her Majesty'. Even naturalised foreigners were excluded from entering the civil service, at home or abroad, and thus no trace of naturalised Germans can be found in the annals of the elite corps.[117]

The ICS was upheld as a haven of 'Englishness' and a guarantor of imperial stability and racial hierarchies.[118] Until the early 1850s, the twenty-four elected members of the East India Company's Court of Directors used their privilege liberally to appoint personal protégés to an Indian career. Instead of receiving a formal salary from the Company, such patronage opportunities (which were in reality often paid for by the

[115] These included, in chronological sequence, Haraprasad Shastri, Ashutosh Mukherjee, Rajendra Nath Mookerjee and Upendranath Brahmachari.

[116] For instance, in 1893, Hoernle received a unique collection of manuscripts from the Revd F. Weber, a Moravian missionary in Leh in Ladakh, showing how he was supplied by both official British structures and more detached visitors, such as German proselytisers, in India; idem, "The Weber Mss: Another Collection of Ancient Manuscripts from Central Asia", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 62 (1893), 1–40. See also his treatise, *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

[117] *Report of the Royal Commissioners for Inquiring into the Laws of Naturalization and Allegiance* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1869), Naturalization Commission: Appendix to the Report, 8 December 1868, 140–141.

[118] Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 150.

candidates and their families) were part of the directors' personal compensation. This system of nomination meant a huge annual patronage reserve for the court, 'extending over the civil, military, medical, and marine services' of the Indian empire.[119] As a result, recruitment for the ICS led to 'an arbitrary choice by the authorities' only partly corrected by considerations of competency. It was therefore widely seen as corrupt and in need of reform. Even well-meaning observers remarked that it entailed 'unavoidably, to some extent at least, the evils of patronage and favoritism'.[120]

Owing to public pressure in an age of liberal reform, the year 1853 saw the introduction of competitive exams for entering the ICS. These, at least technically, also allowed Indians, as 'subjects of Her Majesty', to compete for entry into a body that stood at the heart of a system of rule most aptly described as bureaucratic autocracy.[121] 'Given the enormous political authority wielded by the ICS in the absence of any representative institutions', upper-class Indians sought to secure a place not only for the expected remuneration but also as a symbol of their advances towards more political rights.[122] Yet, the 1853 Act merely provided the illusion of open competition and meritocracy. Not only were the entrance exams exclusively held in Britain, which greatly reduced the chances of Indians taking part in them, but the demonstration of 'good health and character' was also part of the selection process. And since the ideal ICS servant was modelled upon white, upper-class Oxbridge graduates, this rather subjective evaluation of fitting 'character' was an excluding factor for South Asian candidates. In other words, whereas British India's scientific and medical bureaucracy saw numerous openings to trained non-British staff, including Indian surveyors, translators, guides and other assistants in imperial exploratory missions,[123] the ICS apparatus, as the elite civil body of the Indian empire, remained effectively in British hands until after the Great War – with entry barriers so rigid as to

[119] "Indian Administration", *Miscellanea Critica: Comment upon Contemporaneous Literature and Current Topics Relating to India, 1808–1858*, 4 (London: Wm. H. Allen, 1858), 46–76, at 68.
[120] A. Lawrence Lowell, *Colonial Civil Service: The Selection and Training of Colonial Officials in England, Holland and France* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), 6.
[121] Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 608.
[122] Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, 150.
[123] Kapil Raj, "When Human Travellers Become Instruments. The Indo-British Exploration of Central Asia in the Nineteenth Century", in Marie-Noëlle Bourget, Christian Licoppe and H. Otto Sibum, eds., *Instruments, Travel and Science: Itineraries of Precision from the 17th the 20th Century* (London: Routledge, 2002), 156–188.

secure the objective that, as far as the Civil Service was concerned, 'foreigners do not obtain a footing'.[124]

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Despite the recurrent private and public resentment over the entry of several well-paid non-British practitioners into the Indian service, the established practice to turn to northern and central Europe in the search for candidates by no means stopped or even decreased after the Company's suppression and the crown takeover in the wake of the Great Indian Uprising in 1857–58. If anything, this major imperial transformation entailed a significant enlargement of government services and departments in India, which only increased the need to find suitable specialists from across the English Channel. While the ambitions of a unified Germany after 1871 certainly increased the political tensions between the two powers in Europe and, later, on the seas, British India continued to host German short-term visitors, temporary employees in official capacities and long-term servants of the Raj, also after the German *Kaiserreich* had established its own colonial protectorates in Africa, coastal China and the Pacific. Indeed, the long-running and multifaceted involvement of German specialists in British India and other foreign imperial services suggests that the history of Germany's scientific relations with the extra-European world was richer and more sustained than the brutal period of the *Kaiserreich*'s own short-lived overseas empire between 1884 and 1918 ever was. As the political instrumentalisation of Robert Koch's cholera studies by Indian nationalists has further shown, the significant presence of German specialists in South Asia may also have offered advantages to Indians themselves in the form of 'other Europes' to which to relate and through which to compare and expose the fraught policies and legacies of British colonial rule.[125]

The fact that German scientists, advisers, explorers and medical practitioners moved quite effortlessly in and out of the colonial structures in British India also provides a salient opportunity to rethink common historiographic assumptions and

[124] Quoted from "A Guide to the Civil Service", *Phonetic Journal*, 52 (4 February 1893), 68. Even more exclusive was the Indian Political Service, whose officers were responsible for foreign policy and relations with the Indian princely states: almost until Indian independence, it remained an elite all-white service, with the first Indian entering its ranks only in 1925; Sneh Mahajan, *Foreign Policy of Colonial India: 1900–1947* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), ch. 1.
[125] See also Arnold, "Contingent Colonialism"; Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*.

blinkers. To what degree do we write within the framework of histories dominated by nation-states and thus assume it makes most sense for German scientists to work under the auspices of German institutions or states? Is that what we hold as normative while regarding those who were more mobile and took up positions in other states and multiple empires as something other than that? That assumption has underwritten a sizeable body of earlier historiography.

The previous elaborations suggest, in addition, several other potential avenues for future research. First, one challenge not considered in this article remains the thorny issue of the assignation of national identity across such a long period of time. Only since the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and especially since the period of Robert Koch, does it seem relatively straightforward to associate officials and scientific practitioners with specific national communities in the German states. Before then, it is a familiar issue that questions of state formation and of citizenship were highly fluid. This is of especial relevance in the case of South Asia, where a series of European trading companies such as the Emden Company, the Ostend Company, the Trieste Company and the Swedish East India Company had all acted in the eighteenth century as corporations recruiting a wide range of foreign individuals as agents. European merchants in South and East Asian trading factories and the different European East India Companies sometimes stressed and sometimes minimised their mutual national differences for commercial advantage.[126] It would present a worthy object of enquiry to address the production, or absence, of a specifically 'German' identity in cases such as those considered above.[127]

Second, several German scientific practitioners in foreign imperial service (and India in particular) accumulated – that is, purchased, looted or traded – artefacts, including large ethnographic and natural history collections that they brought home for further study, social and scientific advancement or as a source of income. Today, when many European museums and archives are researching the provenance of their

[126] See Meike von Brescius, *Private Enterprise and the China Trade: Merchants and Markets in Europe, 1700–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

[127] The fraught question of clear 'national' identities of mobile scientists has clearly not gone away. As a recent work has argued: 'The focus on measuring the performance of different countries in producing Nobel Prize winners … becomes more complex if diasporas are taken into account. In a number of cases, the Nobel Prize does not clearly fit nationally oriented analytical frameworks since the movement of scientists between countries makes it difficult to pin down clear national identities.' Hugh Richard Slotten, "Introduction", in idem, Ronald L. Numbers and David N. Livingstone, eds., *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 8: *Modern Science in National, Transnational, and Global Context* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1–5, at 4.

collections, and when public debates are under way in various national public spheres over the responsibility of the respective country's long-silenced colonial past and its immaterial and material legacies, the collections acquired by 'imperial outsiders' can tell significant stories to inform future discussions.[128] The reason is that most of today's debates remain nationally framed – as the ongoing discussion of, for instance, the origin and right treatment of German colonial collections from the formal Wilhelmine empire in Africa between 1884 and 1918 can attest. It is high time that scholars reframed their histories of European overseas exploration, dispossession and exploitation and included sojourners' careers in foreign empires, too. As I have shown elsewhere, many commissioned German scientists in British India had unhindered access to colonial infrastructures and enjoyed far-reaching political privileges to acquire Eastern booty. Their privileged position as recruited imperial servants meant that India (and other British colonies) became sites of transgressive opportunities.[129] This would suggest turning scholarly attention towards pan-European practices and cultures of looting, accumulation and exploitation – a topic that deserves further scrutiny in the future, since its results can inform and correct existing perceptions that continue to shape public debates.

[128] See most recently, Thomas Sandkühler, Angelika Epple and Jürgen Zimmerer, eds., *Geschichtskultur durch Restitution? Ein Kunst-Historikerstreit* (Cologne *et al*.: Böhlau, 2021).
[129] Brescius, "The Schlagintweit Collections, India Museums and the Tensions of German Museology", in idem, *German Science*, ch. 7, 255–302.

19

SCRIBAL PRACTICES IN NATURAL HISTORY: The Archive of Philibert de Commerson (1727-1773)[1]

José Beltrán
École normale supérieure de Paris

The writings of Jorge Flores are populated by a varied cast of vivid characters that range from a creatively deceitful Luso-Malay cosmographer to a legendary prophesying ape.[1] One of my favorites, no doubt due to my own research interests, is Mughal Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605-1627): an active and refined collector, the son of the great Akbar was a passionate student of plants, animals, and stones, as well as a careful recorder of his own observations of the natural world—and naturalists-cum-scribes are precisely the protagonists of my paper. Flores focused on a manuscript treatise describing the emperor's household, written in all probability by Jéronimo Xavier, a Navarrese Jesuit missionary to Jahangir's court. Flores's analysis of Xavier's treatise impinges on a central theme of the research presented in this paper: the text never made it to press, but it circulated quite widely in manuscript form. The printing revolution, after all, was not half as revolutionary as we once thought. As book historians have been telling us for decades, and as Flores reminds us in his analysis of the Jesuit treatise, print did not extinguish manuscript communication.[2]

[1] Warm thanks to Jorge Flores, first of all, for years of unwavering support and priceless insights, and to Caroline Mezger (yet again) and James White for their superb proofreading.
[1] Jorge Flores, "Distant Wonders: The Strange and the Marvelous between Mughal Indian and Habsburg Iberia in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 449, no. 3 (2009): 553-81 and "Between Madrid and Ophir: Erédia, a Deceitful Discoverer?" in *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 184-210.
[2] Jorge Flores, *The Mughal* Padshah*: A Jesuit Treatise on Emperor Jahangir's Court and Household* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 3-82. On Jahangir as a collector and naturalist, see Corinne Lefèvre,

What is the point in thinking about manuscripts? At a time when digital libraries such as Google Books and the Internet Archive are putting a rapidly increasing number of printed texts literally at our fingertips, we historians may want to ask ourselves whether and how our relationship with non-printed sources has substantially changed (in nature or degree) during the last two decades at least. It may also be interesting to think about the kind of manuscripts that we tend to use: narrative documents—from epistolary correspondence to texts that, for one reason or another, never made it to print—have long been historians' privileged unpublished sources, at least for early modernists. They constitute, however, the tip of the vertiginous iceberg that must have been manuscript production in the age of print. For a number of years, historians of topics as deceptively arid as erudition and administration have been producing vivid and innovative accounts of another kind of manuscript sources. Lists, catalogs, inventories, forms, notes, and scribbles were the most common scribal products of the early modern period, although avowedly less resilient as historical sources. They may not speak by themselves as letters and treatises do, but on their surfaces are recorded the practices by which they were produced, circulated, and preserved.[3]

For historians of science in particular, the stakes in thinking about manuscripts are high as well. At some point or another in the early nineteenth century, the narratives of the Scientific Revolution and the printing revolution came together to weave the grand tapestry of European modernity. Purportedly born and raised in the same region (Western Europe) and around the same time (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), "modern Science" and print worked in tandem to help "the West" delimit itself from "the Rest." This association proved resilient until at least three decades ago,[4] when historians began to fiercely dismantle both mythical revolutions. And yet little has been done so far to explore one of the shadows cast by those narratives: the unquestionable endurance of a lively manuscript culture among practitioners of natural knowledge long after the impact of print.[5] Astronomers, natural philosophers,

"Recovering a Missing Voice from Mughal India: The Imperial Discourse of Jahangir (r. 1605-1627) in His Memoirs," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 4 (2007): 452-89.

[3] For the history of erudition, see the seminal article by Ann Blair, "The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe," *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 303-316.

[4] Nobody has probably articulated these two legendary events more sophisticatedly than Elisabeth Eisenstein in her ground-breaking *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[5] The exception has been the history of erudition, especially with the work of Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). For the history of natural history in particular, see Staffan Müller-Wille and Isabelle

physicians, and naturalists never stopped being scribal scholars of one sort or another: obsessive in taking notes of their observations and readings; profuse in the annotations and *marginalia* with which they stuffed their printed books; patient in gathering archives that were more often than not destined, not for the press, but to sustain their scholarly investigations; greedy in getting their hands on their colleagues' papers.

The pages that follow aim at presenting some of the arguments and ideas that organize my current research project on scribal practices in the sciences between the mid-seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. I will focus on one particular field of knowledge, natural history, which at the time mostly consisted of the description and inventory of the natural world—namely, plants, animals, and "fossils" or all things "unearthed." The main challenge naturalists had to face back then was one that we, digital twenty-first-century people, are constantly complaining about: "information overload." Like researchers in the Internet era, early modern naturalists were overwhelmed scholars. With the consolidation of European global networks and the rapidly expanding technology of print, students of the natural world were, from the sixteenth century onwards, swamped by a seemingly unstoppable flow of information: not only was there a rapidly increasing number of previously unknown plants and beasts to deal with, but also a growing number of books (like nowadays, not always necessarily good or useful) to peruse. Scribal practices, from notetaking to archiving, were the indispensable tools with which naturalists managed that flood of information.

One of the clearest examples of the centrality of manuscript practices of information management in the sciences is provided by the French physician and naturalist Philibert de Commerson (1727-1773). Commerson is nowadays mostly known for his participation in the famous expedition around the world lead by Louis-Antoine de Bougainville in the second half of the 1760s. For two years the frigate *La Boudeuse* and the supply vessel *L'Étoile* navigated the South Seas and visited places such as Rio de Janeiro, Tahiti, Batavia (Jakarta), Sumatra, and Île-de-France (Mauritius). Besides a dozen naval officers and a couple of hundred sailors, Bougainville's expedition included an astronomer, two surgeons, an engineer, and

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Charmantier, "Natural History and Information Overload: The Case of Linnaeus," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science, Part C* 43 (2012): 4-15; Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Marie-Noëlle Bourguet, *Le Monde dans un carnet. Alexander von Humboldt en Italie (1805)* (Paris: Félin, 2017).

Commerson as botanist. The expedition caused a sensation among French polite society. Bougainville was received by Louis XV—along with the Tahitian he had brought along, Ahutoru—and hurried to publish his picturesque travel journal, which became an immediate bestseller and inspired Denis Diderot's philosophical dialogues on some of the hottest topics of the Enlightenment, from colonization and slavery to sexuality and Catholicism.[6]

Historiography does not remember much of Commerson other than his Austral adventure. Upon his death in Île-de-France, he left behind a vast archive of manuscript notes and a considerable collection of specimens, but he published nothing apart from an article in the *Mercure de France* on the exotic and often scandalous mores of the islanders of Tahiti. He was elected as an associated member of the Académie des sciences, but only a week after his death (of which no news had yet reached the metropole). Commerson, nonetheless, stirred the interest of several nineteenth-century writers, who devoted a couple of hagiographies to him.[7] No doubt, they were fascinated by a life and death that were surrounded by quirky stories. Commerson was known as something of a maverick during his studies of medicine in Montpellier—he was banned from entering the university's garden for helping himself to its specimens, which did not prevent him from jumping over the garden walls at night and maintaining business as usual. His journey around the world also became the object of Parisian gossip due to the shocking discovery during the trip that the servant who accompanied him was not a man, but his cross-dressed female lover. And his testament was published soon after his death due to several curious clauses, including one by which he donated his body to the faculty of medicine closest to his place of demise for it be

[6] [Louis-Antoine de Bougainville], *Voyage autour du monde par la frégate La Boudeuse, et la flûte L'Étoile; en 1766-1767, 1768 & 1769* (Paris: chez Saillant & Nyon, 1771). Antoine Lilti, "1769: The World's a Conversation," in eds. Patrick Boucheron et al., *France in the World: A New Global* History (New York: Other Press, 2019 [2017]), 415-20, deconstructs much of the enduring myth around Bougainville's expedition and demonstrates that, at least for scholars, this was disappointing in comparison to James Cook's Pacific travels. For a comprehensive account of Bougainville's expedition and an edition of the journals by different members of the crew, including Commerson, see Etienne Taillemite, *Bougainville et ses compagnons autour du monde, 1766-1769* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1977).

[7] Pau-Antoine Cap, *Philibert Commerson, naturaliste voyageur* (Paris: Victor Masson et fils, 1861), and F.-B. de Montessus, *Martyrologe et biographie de Commerson, médecin-botaniste et naturaliste du roi, médecin de Toulon-sur-Arroux (Saone-et-Loire) au XVIIIe siècle* (Charlon-sur Saone: Typographie et lithographie de L. Marceau, 1889). There are more recent works on Commerson: see, for instance, Henry Chaumartin, *Philibert de Commerson: médecin-naturaliste du Roy et compagnon de Bougainville* (Vienne: imprimérie Ternet-Martin, 1967), Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World: Europe and the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 15-32.

dissected and his skeleton to be exposed for the instruction and pleasure of the public.[8]

Although we do not know much more about Commerson's life, some elements of his biography provide promising clues for a study of scribal practices, although they require much further investigation. Two in particular are worth mentioning here. First, he seems to have been initiated during his youth to the craft of those who were paper masters par excellence: notaries. His father Georges-Marie was a *procureur* in his town of Châtillon, an advisor to the prince of Dombes—a territory formally independent of France until 1762—and above all a royal notary. It seems that the father expected Philibert to follow his professional and lucrative steps and that he trained his reluctant son for some time in the art of making and keeping official records. Philibert's stubborn inner calling would prevail and bring him to Montpellier to study not law, but medicine.[9] This might seem like one more instance of filial rebellion, but it is interesting because he is not the only well-known early modern naturalist born into a family of notaries and trained during his youth in the art of legal record-keeping.[10] In recent years, historians have highlighted some of the parallels and lines of transmission between scholarly, mercantile, and administrative practices of information management.[11] The question remains, then, whether and how these cases of contact between the world of naturalists and that of notaries constitute a mere coincidence, an eminently social phenomenon, or whether we can actually hope to trace cross-fertilizations of practices between both fields.

[8] Cap, *Commerson*, 31, and Philibert de Commerson, *Testament singulier de M. Commerson, docteur en médecine, Médecin Botaniste & Naturaliste du Roi* (Paris: n.d., 1774).
[9] Cap, *Commerson*, 8-9.
[10] Early sixteenth-century Italian botanist Luca Ghini, who is often considered the inventor of herbaria—the most consequential paper technology in early modern natural history—was the son of a notary, as were the Jussieu brothers and Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton in eighteenth-century France. For the case of the Jussieu, see Louise Audelin, *Les Jussieu. Une dynastie de botanistes au XVIIIe siècle (1680-1789)*, archivist-paleographer dissertation (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 1987), 5-15.
[11] Ann Blair and Peter Stallybrass, "Mediating Information, 1450-1800," in *This is Enlightenment*, ed. Clifford Siskin and William Warner (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 139-63, and Markus Friedrich, *The Birth of the Archive: A History of Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018). In a remarkable study of Jean-Baptiste Colbert's private library, Jacob Soll has argued for another contemporary case of the circulation of practices between two distinct fields of expertise, antiquarian erudition, and political administration: *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009).

Second, the case of Commerson points to another fundamental aspect of scholarly scribal labor: the role of "invisible" helpers.[12] To what extent were day-to-day, purportedly menial practices of record making and keeping in natural history performed by collaborators whose labor went unrecognized because they were considered social and intellectual inferiors to scholars? Servants, spouses, children, slaves, and other assistants were often involved in naturalists' scribal work, but their contribution was obliterated from the historical record more often than not, partly because the reality of collaborative scholarly labor conflicted with the rising authorial figure (masculine, individual, gentlemanly) of the naturalist.

Commerson offers what may be the most shocking example of all in this respect. During his circumnavigation he was himself assisted by a servant who went by the name of Jean Baret. The story of Baret became famous at the time because he happened to be his cross-dressed female lover, Jeanne. Bougainville himself made the story famous in his *Voyage autour du monde* (1771), where he related how he and the crew found out the real identity of the fake servant only in Tahiti, where "Baret had hardly set his feet on shore with the herbal [*avec les cahiers sous son bras*] under his arm, when the men of Taiti surrounded him, cried out, It is a woman, and wanted to give her the honours customary in the isle."[13] Even the phlegmatic Bougainville was shocked: "How was it possible to discover the woman in the indefatigable Baré, who was already an expert botanist, had followed his master in all his botanical walks, amidst the snows and frozen mountains of the straits of Magalhaens, and had even on such troublesome excursions carried provisions, arms, and herbals [*cahier de plantes*], with so much courage and strength that the naturalist had called him his beast of burden?"[14] Baret's case, no doubt, is exceptional: but it is precisely because it is exceptional that we still have some trace of the role she played, with the notebooks

[12] On the assistants in English seventeenth-century experiments, see Steven Shapin, "The Invisible Technician," *American Scientist* 77, no. 6 (1989): 554-63, and *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), ch. 8. On amanuenses and scribes as helpers in textual management, see Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 102-112, and "Hidden Hands: Amanuenses and Authorship in Early Modern Europe," A. S. W. Rosenbach Lecture, University of Pennsylvania, March 17, 18, and 20, 2014, online on https://repository.upenn.edu/rosenbach/8/ [consulted on 5 March, 2018].

[13] Louis de Bougainville, *A Voyage Round the World. Performed by Order of HIs Most Christian Majesty, in the Years 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769*, trans. John Reinhold Forster (London: printed for J. Nourse and T. Davies, 1772), 300-301. On Jeanne Baret, see Londa Schiebinger, "Jeanne Baret: The First Woman to Circumnavigate the Globe," *Endeavour* 27 (2003), 22-5.

[14] Bougainville, *Voyage Round the World*, 300.

under her arm, in the composition of the archive exclusively associated to the name of Commerson—were it not for her cross-dressing, Bougainville would not have written about a servant. Only by establishing a substantial body of often elusive empirical evidence can we hope to shed some light on these unnoticed contributors to the history of natural knowledge.

Commerson's papers, then, pose some questions that have to remain unanswered for the time being, but they also shed crucial light on at least three other aspects of scribal practices in natural history with which I would like to deal in the following pages. The first one regards reading. Even if naturalists during Commerson's time saw themselves as a generation of "Moderns" for whom the only book worth perusing was that of nature, reading remained central to their work. Much of naturalists' scribal labor went into managing bookish data, not first-hand observations. Take, for instance, a little leather folder carefully kept by Commerson: it contains about a dozen quarto notebooks bearing the title of "Notes & Excerpts of Some Rare Books of Natural History" (*Notice & extraits de quelques livres rares d'histoire naturelle*).[15] Made over a period of several years preceding his circumnavigation, Commerson compiled in these notebooks reading excerpts from books that any eighteenth-century naturalist worthy of the name should have read: Carolus Clusius, Gaspard Bauhin, Paolo Boccone, Matthias de l'Obel. Under the heading "*pro primi desiderantur*," the compiler listed books he wished to read but on which he had not yet had the chance to lay his hands. Through the several hundred pages of the notebooks, Commerson took crisp notes on his readings, indicating basic bibliographic information for each book (author, title, date, format, and sometimes an assessment of the price) and then listing the excerpts (*citationes*), which extracted the information deemed worth retaining—mostly plant names and references on where to find their descriptions.

Erudite reading practices were central to the work of empirical scholars such as naturalists. Commerson's reading notebooks are an excellent example of how, during the early modern period, scholars read "pen in hand," copying and excerpting passages as they went through a text. The compilation of abundant reading notes was a common gesture among naturalists until at least well into the nineteenth century (the great Georges Cuvier had his assistants read and compile reading excerpts for him).[16]

[15] Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle (henceforth BCMNHN) MS 885.
[16] José Beltrán, "Ciencia amanuense: cultura manuscrita e historia natural en la Francia moderna (c. 1660-1830)," *Asclepio. Revista de historia de la medicina y de la ciencia* 71, no. 1 (2019), 257.

Excerpting plant names was specific to naturalists, but the practice stemmed from routine, extended during the Renaissance, of composing commonplaces (*loci communes*): that is, quotations from well-read authors, usually Greco-Roman classics.[17]

Another point of contact between erudite textual practices and the empirical work of naturalists is natural classification. The papers of Commerson provide a beautiful example of this link between material gestures of archival manipulation and the problem of taxonomy: a box containing 2,386 playing cards turned into paper slips. Commerson used the back of the cards as writing material for creating an etymological and historical dictionary of names that could be used for baptizing newly discovered species and genera of plants, each playing card corresponding to an entry in the dictionary. In principle an infinitely expandable filing system, the playing-card databased allowed the user to easily add new names, remove others, and modify their order—from the alphabetical one in which Commerson left his playing cards to one based, for instance, on one of the competing taxonomic systems of the time.[18] The system may have seemed useful to some naturalists, such as the influential Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, who after perusing Commerson's databased composed one of his own (although he never completed it, his playing-card archive attained 2,227 entries).[19]

There is nothing exceptional in the use of playing cards as writing supports or for contriving a convenient filing system. Before industrial production as the nineteenth century would know it, paper was expensive and writing materials were constantly reemployed—Rousseau used the back of playing cards for the draft notes of one of *Reveries of a Solitary Walker* and a contemporary Genevan physician embarked on a monumental, introspective, and rather narcissistic "history of my mind" for which he used no less than 35,000 playing cards. Playing cards were also made of stiff paper

[17] Élisabeth Décultot, ed., *Lire, copier, écrire. Les bibliothèques manuscrites au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2003); Alberto Cevollini, *De arte excerpendi. Imparare et dimenticare nella modernità* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2006), and Iveta Nakládalová, *La lectura docta en la Primera Edad Moderna (1450-1650)* (Madrid: Abada, 2013).

[18] Taxonomy was one of Commerson's main preoccupations as a botanist: although in his youth he claimed to be a partisan of Carl Linnaeus's taxonomic system—the one we use nowadays—rather than that of Joseph Pitton de Tournefort—which was still preferred by a considerable number of French naturalists at the time—, Commerson seems to have been working on some taxonomic proposals of his own, as in his "Index nomenclator amplissimus," BCMNHN MS 803.

[19] Philibert de Commerson, "Dictionnaire étymologique, mythologique et historique, pour servir à la creation de terms et de noms d'histoire naturelle," BCMNHN MS 42, and Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, "Dictionnaire alphabétique des plantes et de leur usage en médecine," BCMNHN MS 41.

in a standardized size, so they provided good materials for composing catalogs—Louis XIV's general intendant of the galleys proposed to replace the register of oarsmen with a catalog made out of playing cards, and a librarian at the Mazarine in Paris completed a catalog of the holdings using playing cards in what probably constitutes the first library card catalog.[20]

In the arduous quest for the order of nature, however, more common than Commerson's playing card box was another filing system whose functioning was often similar to that of a malleable paper-slip catalog. Herbaria—that is, collections of plants that were dried and affixed onto paper sheets, usually one specimen per sheet—began developing in Europe in early sixteenth-century Italy, but they became a crucial paper technology for coping with order and the management of botanical information from the late seventeenth century onwards. Some herbaria, especially those of botanists primarily concerned with classification—such as the French Joseph Pitton de Tournefort and the Swedish Carl Linnaeus, whose taxonomic system we still use in our day—consisted of loose sheets, sometimes kept in purpose-built closets. Most taxonomies at the time were morphological in one way or another, that is, they were based on the form of some parts of the organism. Herbaria of loose sheets, like Commerson's playing-card database, allowed the scholar to deal with the order of botanical species by physically manipulating files.[21]

The importance of herbaria for an inquiry into the scribal practices of naturalists is double. First, as we have seen, the management of empirical data—taking observation notes or keeping a herbarium—seems to be resonant with textual practices, such as compiling reading notes and organizing an archive. Second, like printed books appropriated by means of handmade annotations, herbaria were often hybrid artefacts: halfway between the collection of plant specimens and unique manuscripts. One of Commerson's extant herbaria is an example of this sort of hybridity: bound as a codex rather than kept in loose sheets, it shows how notetaking allowed naturalists to draw a bridge between the management of bookish information and that of first-hand data. Entitled "Botanical Notebooks," this herbarium was

[20] Claire Bustarret, "La carte à jouer, support d'écriture au XVIIIe siècle," *Socio-anthropologie* 30 (2014): 83-98.
[21] Denis Lamy and Aline Pelletier, "La conservation et la valorisation de l'herbier de Tournefort au Muséum national d'histoire naturelle," *La lettre de l'OCIM* 130 (2010), 19-26, and Staffan Müller-Wille, "Linnaeus' Herbarium Cabinet: A Piece of Furniture and Its Function," *Endeavour* 30, no. 2 (2006): 60-64.

composed in the early years of the 1740s, when Commerson was around 16 years old.[22] It consists of 5 notebooks amounting to almost 150 pages in which the young naturalist-to-be pinned down plants from his region of origin and carefully annotated information about each specimen, including "places" ("this plant grows in humid places"), synonyms or the different names given by different authors to the same specimen, and "virtues" ("this plant is good for fortifying the brain"). Commerson's "Botanical Notebooks" are a half-herbarium, half-manuscript reading notebook: the annotations orbiting around the dry plants were actually reading excerpts from a classical textbook in medical botany: the fabulously successful *Dictionnaire ou traité universel des drogues simples* by Nicolas Lémery, a French apothecary and one of the first pensioners in chemistry of the Académie royale des sciences in Paris. Published for the first time in 1698, Lémery's *Traité* was by Commerson's time in its fifth French edition and had already been translated into Dutch, English, Italian, and German. All in all, the "Botanical Notebooks" are an exceptional artefact: probably entertaining for a student of botany but not very useful for a practicing scholar. Yet it illustrates beautifully what natural history was about at the time: to be a good naturalist, one had to become a superb information master.

One last question emerges from this brief survey of scribal practices in natural history: if naturalists invested much effort and many resources into composing manuscript records, what was the worth of these papers to others? Naturalists could be shamelessly greedy about the archives and collections of their fellow scholars, and some strove to acquire them—something that became slightly easier after their deaths. A good case in point of the value of naturalists' collections of notes is, once again, the hectic life of Commerson's papers. On the homeward trip of Bougainville's expedition, the naturalist was dropped off in Mauritius along with Jeanne Baret, never to set foot again in France. Commerson's death in 1773 soon triggered a controversy over the fate of his records and specimens. He had left a testament, one, as I mentioned, printed soon after the author passed away. In it, the naturalist divided his collections among three beneficiaries. To his executor and friend, a certain doctor Vachier, he left his library. To the king he gave all his botanical collections, which amounted to 200 folio volumes of dried plants gathered mostly by himself but also including parts of other naturalists' herbaria, such as Tournefort's, on which he had

[22] Philibert de Commerson, "Cahiers de botanique, ou recueil de plantes sèches," BCMNHN MS 200.

gotten his hands some years beforehand. To his only son Archambault, Commerson bequeathed whatever compensation the king might think appropriate in exchange for the herbaria, as well as his ichthyological collection and, more important, his manuscripts. Commerson did not forget Jeanne Baret, whom he mentioned as his "housekeeper," to whom he left all his furniture. Interestingly enough, he also gave her the crucial task of sorting out his archives and collections before they went to the designated inheritors. The clause gives another clue to the degree of involvement Baret may have had in the work associated to Commerson's name: the testament suggests that she was a collaborator close enough to be the only one able to organize it after his death.[23]

Commerson's testament was crystal clear. The problem, however, was that the document had been written right before the naturalist embarked on Bougainville's circumnavigation; at the time of his death, eleven years later, the nature of his collections had changed radically, vastly enriched with specimens and information from the little-known faunas and floras around the Indian and Pacific Oceans—both areas that were the object of trans-imperial ambitions in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. By that time, the French crown was interested enough in the natural history of those regions to move surprisingly quickly regarding Commerson's collection. A few months after the naturalist's death, the governor of Isle de France, Jacques Maillard, seized the collections from Commerson's own house and sent them to the residence of the minister of the Navy in Lorient, one of the main ports in metropolitan France. Commerson's executor was furious: he wrote to the minister to claim the papers for Archambault Commerson, the naturalist's son, as established in the naturalist's testament, or at least to have them sold for the child's benefit. He was careful to highlight that the herbaria and manuscripts were not made on the king's orders or at his expense, and that therefore they were the scholar's private property.[24] Vachier was neither the only nor the first to complain. Another individual had already entered the fight: Louis-Guillaume Le Monier, none less than the professor of botany at the Jardin du roi and a king's physician, wrote to the minister as well and assured him that Commerson had entrusted him—in a letter suspiciously lost—with the revision

[23] Commerson, *Testament singulier*, 12-16.
[24] Clériade Vachier to an unknown recipient, Paris, July 15, 1774, quoted in Yves Laissus, "Catalogue des manuscrits de Philibert de Commerson (1727-1773) conserves à la Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle (Paris)," *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 31, no, 2 (1978), 137-8.

of all his manuscripts in view of publication. He claimed, therefore, that the manuscripts and herbals belonged to him, at least for a certain period of time.

Both Vachier and Le Monnier came late, however, for another scholar had already made his move: the unique Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, a virtuoso of courtly social skills, had successfully won Commerson's papers and collections for the Jardin du roi, of which he was the intendant. We do not know how Commerson's son and executor reacted to this outcome but, ironically enough, the Jardin du roi professor Le Monnier was infuriated. He did not hesitate to try a last shot at getting the coveted papers into his private hands rather than have them deposited at his own institution: he wrote to the Dauphine, the wife of the king's son, and asked for her mediation in gaining for him the papers and herbarium, graciously leaving "the rest," which was not much, to Buffon and the Jardin.[25] Le Monnier's efforts were to no avail: Buffon managed to have his way and Commerson's papers and collections came to enrich those of the Jardin's.

Even more ironically, the fact that the collections landed in the Jardin allowed another cheeky scholar to get his hands on them: Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, member of the Académie des sciences, professor at the Jardin du roi, and the scion of one of the most influential scientific dynasties in the history of France. Slowly but surely, Jussieu borrowed one by one most of Commerson's manuscripts and nothing less than his entire herbarium, spanning 24 boxes and 45 folders, never to return a single item. Antoine-Laurent argued that his loans were in view of an edition of Commerson's work, but Archambault spent twenty years checking with Jussieu about the progress of his edition only to be politely rebuffed by the professor. When the Jussieu dynasty's library was sold in 1857, upon the death of Antoine-Laurent's son, the catalog listed seven of Commerson's precious manuscripts. Today, Commerson's collection of dried plants from the southern hemisphere can actually be consulted as part of the Jussieu family's herbarium. Scientific archives, especially when harboring precious records of rare natural phenomena, were coveted objects of possession: no inquiry into the scribal practices of scholars is complete without tracing the many lives that these archives have passed through until reaching us or getting lost.[26]

[25] Draft letter from Louis-Guillaume Le Monier to "Madame," n.p., n.d., quoted in Laissus, "Catalogue des manuscrits de Commerson," 139.
[26] Lorraine Daston, ed., *Science in the Archives: Pasts, Presents, Futures* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017) and, more generally, Etienne Anheim and Olivier Poncet, "Fabrique des archives, fabrique de l'histoire," special issue of *Revue de synthèse* 125, no. 5 (2004).

Manuscripts matter. A vast and varied world of scribal practices lurked below the surface of print culture. Like Jerónimo Xavier's treatise on Jahangir's household and court, unprinted texts circulated widely—sometimes more widely, and certainly more cheaply, than printed ones.[27] Yet there are also other kinds of manuscripts common among scholars, merchants, and administrators; lists, catalogs, archives, notes, and other forms of mostly non-narrative records show us that our information age was long in the making.

[27] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusstts Press, 1998); Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de* Oro (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001).

20

TAMERLANE AND CHRIST AMONG EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INDIOS

Mark Dizon
Ateneo de Manila University

In his latest book *Unwanted Neighbours*, Jorge Flores argues that frontiers and borderlands offer an alternative point of view from the usual perspective coming from imperial centers.[1] Not only do they articulate a more realistic assessment of actual imperial power on the ground, they also serve as an antidote to the usually monolithic, static narrative emanating from the center. More than mere counter examples to ostensibly hegemonic discourses, frontiers force us to rethink basic concepts like territory and empire and reconceptualize them with greater nuance and dynamism. Even though frontiers were, relatively speaking, located on geographical margins, they nonetheless participated in wider global trends and practices. Precisely due to their intermediate position, frontiers are the ideal setting to witness the global phenomena of hybridity and fluidity.[2] Characters like Jahangir's monkey and the immortal Bengali might not have physically traveled to Europe, but their stories circulated and resonated globally even to "peripheral" Firangistan. We can witness similar phenomena of global flows and cultural hybridity in the interior frontier of the island of Luzon in the Philippines, where Tamerlane and Jesus Christ made appearances among the indios who lived there in the eighteenth century.

1 Jorge Flores, *Unwanted Neighbours: The Mughals, the Portuguese, and Their Frontier Zones* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018), 12–15.
2 Jorge Flores, "Between Madrid and Ophir: Erédia, a Deceitful Discoverer?," in Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig, eds., *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Jorge Flores, "Distant Wonders: The Strange and the Marvelous between Mughal India and Habsburg Iberia in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 3 (2007): 579–81.

Despite scholastically trained priests' propensity to make references to classical and biblical figures, the Franciscan missionary Bernardo de Santa Rosa saw Tamerlane in the friendly interactions between animist Aetas and Christian indios in the frontier near the Pacific coast of Luzon.[3] Apparently Aetas and indios had a peculiar habit of establishing friendship with one another by calling each other sibling, but the fictive kinship did not end between the two friends because even their respective families became part of the extended kin group. As a friend was effectively one's sibling, his parents were one's parents too. His sister became one's sister, and even his children were considered to be one's children too. Such a promiscuous manner of building kinship was a source of pride among them: "y todo esto es por vanidad, que tienen, por enparentar con los del pueblo, como si fueran o se hizieran parientes del gran Tamberlan" (They do all of this because of the conceit that they have of becoming the relatives of [the indios] of the town. It is as if they were or became the relatives of the great Tamerlane).[4] Instead of referring to the ancient Greek or Roman characters or biblical figures commonly found in friar chronicles, Santa Rosa resorted to a medieval central Asian conqueror to describe what he witnessed in his mission in 1747. Even if Tamerlane himself did not make the voyage from central Asia to the Iberian Peninsula and the Philippines, his image transformed as it traveled from one end of the globe to another and reached the Aetas and indios in a frontier of the Pacific.

At first glance, it might seem unusual for Santa Rosa to use the figure of Tamerlane to describe the friendly interactions of eighteenth-century animist Aetas and Christian indios. After all, the great Tamerlane was best known for his rapid conquest of a vast portion of Eurasia from 1395 to 1405. Initially, European observers conceived of Tamerlane as a cruel conqueror who unleashed unspeakable horror on the cities and peoples who stood in his way.[5] However, a shift in Tamerlane's image occurred after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. With the subsequent rise of the Ottoman threat to European polities, in hindsight Tamerlane became a more sympathetic figure in Europe because he had defeated the Ottoman army in Ankara,

3 Bernardo de Santa Rosa, "Carta-relación escrita por el P. Fr. Bernardo de Santa Rosa, en la cual describe las costumbres de los Aetas que habitan en los montes de Casiguran y Baler," in Lorenzo Pérez, ed., *Archivo Ibero-Americano: revista de estudios históricos* 15, no. 88 (1928): 94.
4 Santa Rosa, 94.
5 Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Tamerlane's Career and Its Uses," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (2002): 11; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 204.

and had captured and humiliated the Turkish emir.[6] From 1453 onwards, he stood as an inspiration for Europeans that the Ottomans had been vanquished once and could be defeated once again. Even though he was a harsh Muslim conqueror, Tamerlane became a beacon of hope for European polities looking for an ally from the East against their immediate Ottoman neighbor.[7]

By the time Santa Rosa wrote his account in the mid-eighteenth century, Tamerlane was already an established figure in the European imagination. As long as European countries did not have imperial interests in central Asia,[8] they maintained a benign positive image of the great conqueror. Stories circulated in Europe that Tamerlane had treated Christians in his domains kindly and that he had supposedly converted to Christianity.[9] In this context, Santa Rosa's comparison of the friendly relations between animist Aetas and Christian indios with Tamerlane seems justified. In the same way that Muslim Tamerlane and Christian Europe surpassed their religious differences and became imagined allies against the Ottoman Empire, Aetas and indios also overcame their differences through friendship and kinship. In early modern Spain, the account of Ruy González de Clavijo's embassy to Tamerlane in Samarkand was widely disseminated.[10] Although we do not know for certain, it is not far-fetched that Santa Rosa was aware of Clavijo's account, or at the very least of the existence of the Castilian embassy to Samarkand from more than three centuries ago. The impetus for the embassy was a letter sent by Tamerlane to Henry III offering commercial and diplomatic relations.[11] In response, the Castilian monarch sent Clavijo to represent him at Tamerlane's court.

In Santa Rosa's description of the formation of friendship between Aetas and indios, he mentioned how each side invited their friends to visit their relatives: "ya le dizen quando has de visitar a nuestra madre, a nuestro padre, &, y los indios les dizen lo mesmo, quando vienen al pueblo, cómo está nuestra madre, hermano &" ([Aetas] ask [their friend], 'When are you going to visit our mother, our father, etc.?' Indios say

6 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 204–5; Marcus Milwright, "So Despicable a Vessel: Representations of Tamerlane in Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 336–37.
7 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 217.
8 Adam Knobler, "Timur the (Terrible/Tartar) Trope: A Case of Repositioning in Popular Literature and History," *Medieval Encounters* 7, no. 1 (2001): 101–12.
9 Knobler, 102; Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 204–5.
10 Flores, *Unwanted Neighbours*, 26.
11 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 205.

the same thing when they come to town, 'How is our mother, sister, etc.?').[12] Perhaps the invitations extended between Aetas and indios reminded Santa Rosa of Tamerlane's invitation and Clavijo's subsequent embassy. Santa Rosa equated the open kinship and mutual visits on a mid-eighteenth-century Philippine frontier with the more formal diplomatic relations between early-fifteenth-century Eurasian polities. While Clavijo was in Samarkand, he witnessed feasts where Tamerlane invited his ambassadors and relatives from all over the world to come and celebrate with him.[13] Perhaps Santa Rosa saw distinct similarities between such open Timurid feasts and the friendly invitations among Aetas and their indio kin.

When Santa Rosa observed that Aetas and indios were like the relatives of Tamerlane in the way they easily extended their kinship ties, he might also have been referring to how long after Tamerlane's demise succeeding leaders in Eurasia tried to establish ancestral ties or any kind of link with the great conqueror in order to consolidate their political legitimacy. More successful than his predecessors in establishing Mughal power over India, Akbar emphasized his shared ancestry with Tamerlane.[14] Shah 'Abbas elaborated on a supposed prophecy of Tamerlane that predicted the rise of the Safavids. Perhaps Santa Rosa imagined that Aetas were performing a similar maneuver when they manufactured their kinship with their Christian friends.

If Tamerlane only made a metaphorical appearance on a far-off island in the Pacific, an Ilongot in the island's inland frontier actually saw Jesus Christ.[15] People in his community of Emotlen considered the old Ilongot man to be crazy because he spoke of things that nobody understood. For instance, he repeatedly told them the story of a mysterious man who kept appearing before him and threatening him. The man was dressed like a Christian priest and had stigmata on his hands. These encounters had happened even before the very first missionary arrived in the area. When he reached the mountains of Emotlen, the Franciscan missionary Olivencia

12 Santa Rosa, "Carta-relación," 94.
13 Ruy González de Clavijo, "Vida y hazaña del gran Tamerlán," Biblioteca Virtual Katharsis, February 24, 2012, 94, 98, 102, 106, https://revistaliterariakatharsis.org/Vida_Gran_Tamerlan.pdf.
14 Manz, "Tamerlane's Career and Its Uses," 12–14; Flores, *Unwanted Neighbours*, 17, 26.
15 Manuel de Jesus Maria Joseph de Olivencia, "Relación de los progresos de la misión de San Antonio de Padua de los montes Emotlen y los motivos para emprender una nueva salida a los pueblos bárbaros ilongotes" (June 28, 1755), 3–4, FILIPINAS,301,N.24, Archivo General de Indias (Seville); Mark Dizon, "Sumpong: Spirit Beliefs, Murder, and Religious Change among Eighteenth-Century Aeta and Ilongot in Eastern Central Luzon," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 63, no. 1 (2015): 29–30.

showed a crucifix to the old Ilongot man in an attempt to verify the identity of the mysterious man and to dismiss any possibility of demonic apparitions. The old Ilongot man immediately recognized the figure on the cross as the person who had been appearing before him. Told in the context of the missionary efforts in the frontier and in the framework of a conversion narrative, Olivencia's account resorted to the longstanding strategy of discovering Christian elements in existing indigenous practices and experiences to justify and facilitate conversion. Making references to apparitions of Jesus Christ among future converts was a more conventional proselytization tool than making tangential comparisons to the supposed Christian ally Tamerlane.

Although visions of Christ on a random Philippine frontier could arguably be a simple manifestation of a universalizing Christian outlook that desperately looked for glimmers of Christianity everywhere from Samarkand to Emotlen, the perception of Spanish missionaries was far from being a unilinear imposition from Europe. Stories from medieval central Asia influenced how Santa Rosa viewed interactions among indios. Due to their linguistic expertise and experience on the ground,[16] Spanish missionaries acquired a certain level of understanding of local cultures. Santa Rosa used the Tagalog word *maguinoo* (nobility) to describe the friendly relations among Aetas and indios, so both Timurid and Tagalog elements colored his perception. It was a cultural *bricolage*.[17] Olivencia might have eventually declared the mysterious man in the old Ilongot man's vision to be Christ, but for the longest time he also entertained the idea that it was a *bueteng* or ancestral spirit in the local language. Imperial globe-trotting Spaniards were not the only ones who crossed apparent cultural borders and ended up with a unique mélange of overlapping visions: even indios who remained on relatively isolated frontiers performed similar globe-trotting mental acrobatics.

Aetas, Ilongots and indios would not have minded being compared with Tamerlane or having Christ as an ancestor spirit. Even before the arrival of Europeans, a "Southeast Asian modernity" already existed that embraced and appropriated outside elements that found resonance in local societies.[18] Countless cities in the region had foreign princes married to local women as their rulers. It was never

16 Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Ethnography and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern Missions," *Studies in Church History* 53 (June 2017): 286–88.
17 Flores, "Distant Wonders," 581.
18 Barbara Watson Andaya, "Historicising 'Modernity' in Southeast Asia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 4 (1997): 391–409.

construed as a form of subjugation or contamination, but rather as an opportunity to strengthen their ties to and acquire new things from the outside world. A certain openness pervaded their worldview. Aeta and indio friends opened and shared their kin networks with one another. Among twentieth-century Ilongots, marriage alliances often harked back to kin relations from earlier times.[19] The present couple was simply reviving ties that had always existed between their respective families. Marriages did not create kinship but rather renewed them. Eighteenth-century Ilongots considering the Christ apparition as a bueteng worked in a similar fashion.[20] Conversion was not the creation of kinship ties with Spaniards but rather the renewal of age-old ties, since Christ was an ancestor spirit all along. Aetas, Ilongots and indios constantly reworked their kin alliances and manipulated their histories to incorporate strangers and foreign ideas into their world. Although most frontier indios remained in the relatively restricted confines of their domain, in their own way like Tamerlane they conquered the world with their adaptation of foreign influences, and like Spanish missionaries they had a universal vision where, if needed, Tamerlane and Christ would have fitted in perfectly with the rest of their ancestor spirits and those two figures' descendants would have been welcome in their communities as kin.

19 Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 31, 50.
20 Dizon, "Sumpong," 30–31.

Closure

CURRENT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH IN EARLY MODERN GLOBAL HISTORY: An Interview with Jorge Flores

Jorge Flores, Tilmann Kulke and Irene María Vicente Martín

1. Dear Jorge, first of all, thank you so much for being with us today. Let us start with your experience at the EUI. How do you look back at your extended time in Florence from 2010 to 2019, and how did this specific academic milieu shape the overall direction of your research? What were some of the key interactions you had?

First of all, thank you very much for taking the trouble to do this interview. I left Florence more than a year ago and distance — temporal and spatial distance — allows me to see more clearly how these nine years at the EUI marked my life and career. The EUI, it is widely recognized, offers excellent working conditions for faculty, researchers, fellows, and staff. As in any other institution, there are also drawbacks but, overall, it requires some imagination to find serious reasons to complain. As I said in my farewell at Villa Salviati, June 2019, I left the EUI a far better historian than I was upon arrival and I will expand on this later in the interview. I have immensely profited from exposure to ideas, debates, and books which were not on my "map". At the EUI, I became more receptive to alternative approaches and to themes which were not on my radar, as well as to chronologies that go beyond "my" sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Co-teaching had its share in this transformation. In fact, the EUI's "layout" and the structure of the History PhD help foster a congenial atmosphere and close work relationships. Learned discussions are often entwined with trivialities, which I find healthy. One cannot say that the EUI's doctoral programme is distinctly international

since, due to its funding structure, it seldom crosses the walls of Europe. But it is diverse within Europe and I therefore became acquainted with several "Europes" (and their historiographies) of which I knew very little, be it Scandinavia or Eastern Europe. I had a wonderful time in Florence, never losing sight of the fact (though some do) that it would be a limited period since the EUI does not offer tenure. That's one of the good lessons learned from this experience.

2. Lisbon, Macau, Portugal again, Brown University, the EUI (…). What have these academic environments meant in your professional activity as historian? Was there some kind of thread (or threads), taking you through these different institutions? How did you change as a historian?

I'm afraid this will be a long answer… Yes, it had been (so far) a thirty-year journey (1989-2019) and I'm now back to square one. Lisbon in the 1980s corresponded to my formative years as an historian successively at the Universidade de Lisboa and the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, always under the overwhelming influence of an outstanding scholar called Luís Filipe Thomaz. A true sage with no PhD, Thomaz is a unique man and historian, who might be considered unfit for a university position if he were on the job market today. His unusual professional path reminds me of a joke that circulates widely in US academia on "Why Mozart did not get tenure". Macau (1989-1994) offered me my first academic position, rich international contacts in the pre-internet era, cultural immersion, and the beginnings of my continued interest in working abroad. By then I already had a Portuguese MA — a four-year programme which resulted in a 300-page dissertation and my first monograph. With an MA degree one could teach in those days, at least in the "Portuguese world". Had I stayed in Asia, as I at some point pondered, I would probably have become an Asian studies scholar. Instead, I decided to return to Lisbon in order to do my PhD, even though it was unfunded. From 1994 to 2004 I lived in Portugal and combined intense doctoral research with bread-and-butter teaching jobs. The most rewarding experience of this period was to work for three years with another remarkable person and historian — the late António Manuel Hespanha — at an institution whose existence would be highly improbable nowadays: the National Commission for the Celebration of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). With a PhD in hand, but also with several publications and sizeable teaching experience in my professional portfolio, the next fifteen years (2004-

2019) would give me the opportunity to research and teach at a very high level, first at Brown University and then at the EUI. These were different but complementary experiences. Brown is a top private US university, known for its open curriculum and the excellence of its undergraduates. The EUI is a younger public institution where people are trying daily to implement an innovative idea on how postgraduate education should look in an entangled Europe. Looking back, I started as a student of Portuguese expansion in Asia and eventually became an historian very curious about the early modern world in its globality and in its myriad intersections. Brown put me in contact with early America, colonial Spanish America, and the sophistication of the historian's craft. My engagement with the many ways of doing history continued at the EUI, where I also became closer to the study of early modern Europe and Renaissance Italy. I have failed to become a serious South Asianist, or a Sinologist (if I were to return to the paths not taken in my Macau experience), or even both, as some historians have succeeded in doing. I have never learned the languages I should have, and this is the result of several factors, including my reluctance to be tied to a region or a cultural nexus during my entire academic career. The risk, of course, is to be shallow. To return to your question, there is a thread, or at least I like to believe there is one. But there is also serendipity. In some cases, and that's definitely my case, you go where work, life, and instinct takes you, but one should avoid becoming a restless soul. I have returned to Portugal in mid-2019 and earned a six-year senior position at a research centre of excellence devoted to the history of science and technology: the CIUHCT, Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade de Lisboa.[1] My new colleagues have a broad and flexible understanding of the field and define it loosely as the history of knowledge. I therefore feel at home at the centre, with my socio-cultural approach to the history of the early modern world. But I never had a stable university position in Portugal, which says something about myself… or about the country.

[1] http://ciuhct.org/en

3. Munis Faruqui recently called you the world's leading scholar of Portuguese-Mughal relations.[2] When was it for the first time that you 'encountered' the world of the Mughals and when did you decide to focus your research on this topic? What did the field of research look like then?

Strangely enough, I encountered the Mughals coming from China. For my first research project I focused on Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Southern India, and the central part of the Indian Ocean in the early sixteenth century. I was then interested in how littoral societies interacted with the newly arrived Portuguese and this angle is at the core of my first book, *Os Portugueses e o Mar de Ceilão: trato, diplomacia e guerra (1498-1543)* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1998), which I still like. But, while living in Macau, I was struck by the fact that a tiny port city managed to survive under siege during several centuries. A metaphorical siege, but often a real one too, imposed by China — a colossal territorial state which has woven intriguing ties with the maritime world over time. I became curious to know how European early modern empires dealt with Asian imperial formations marked by the centrality of political ritual, a strong paper culture, and a posture of superiority with regard to the outer world. The Mughal Empire is very much comparable to Ming-Qing China in this respect, and so I sought to research how the Portuguese, from their capital city of Goa, faced the threatening Mughals and with what bag of tricks. Upon my return to Portugal in 1994, I discussed the matter with several scholars and friends, namely with Sanjay Subrahmanyam — he is the world's leading scholar of Portuguese-Mughal relations (among other subjects…), not me — and decided to embrace the topic as my doctoral dissertation. The field by then was shaped by two distinct approaches. There were scholars studying the Jesuits at the imperial court and the religious exchanges and tensions sparked by missionary activity in Mughal domains from 1580. Several experts of Indian Ocean history focused otherwise on the Portuguese and other European commercial ventures — namely the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) and the East India Company (EIC) — on the coastal fringes of Mughal India, especially Gujarat and Bengal. A set of articles penned by Sanjay Subrahmanyam and later collected in his *Explorations in Connected History: Mughals and Franks* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2005) contributed decisively to transforming the field. Subrahmanyam asked ingenious questions by artfully exploring new documents and balancing European and Persian source

[2] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GZB9KgbWqos (last accessed May 26, 2020).

materials. Not only did he underscore the geopolitical issues at stake, but also put both the Portuguese and the Mughals into a much broader canvas, one that comprises several neighbouring powers. This is when I "came in", albeit my inability to read Persian has always been a shortcoming.

4. In one of their works on the historiography of the Mughals, Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam listed a research manifesto that included seven future analytical questions, such as the question of religion under the Mughals, the aspect of neglected periods in 'Mughal history' (first half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century), the lack of textual editions, the treatment of gender, etc.[3] What would you add to this list?

In the introduction to their *Writing the Mughal World*, Alam and Subrahmanyam survey the evolution of the field since the nineteenth century to eventually focus on what were "the new trends and themes of the changed Mughal historiography" (p. 27) in 2011. I would say that considerable progress has been made over the last decade with regard to most of the seven areas they have identified then as new and renewed. For instance, innovative studies published since then have substantially changed what we know about the visual history of the Mughals, and the same holds true for the many threads that connect Mughal literature (especially poetry) to politics and society. To the several subjects discovered and rediscovered in recent years, one could add some more that presently call for reconsideration. I have three in mind, all somehow interrelated: i) a serious reassessment of the nature and uses of European primary materials vis-à-vis Mughal history[4]; ii) a transformative analysis of Mughal "cultures of documentation" (to borrow from Paolo Sartori's concept) in comparative perspective; iii) an in-depth study of the missing links between bazar and record (or between oral and written culture) concerning the Mughal political and social landscape.

[3] Muzaffar Alam, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World: Studies in Political Culture* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2011), 27-32.
[4] See, for example, Jorge Flores, *The Mughal Padshah: A Jesuit Treatise on Emperor Jahangir's Court and Household* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016).

5. Recent work like that of Audrey Truschke has returned to the period of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb-Alamgir (r. 1658-1707)[5]. How would you approach this king from your methodological perspective?

My research seldom goes beyond the mid-seventeenth century (I'm improving, though…) and I'm therefore less acquainted with Aurangzeb than with his predecessors. But I of course know the extant literature, have very much enjoyed reading Truschke's book, and have kept up on the heated debate that followed. I won't suggest a specific methodology in order to approach Aurangzeb, yet several unexplored relevant themes immediately come to mind. To start with, his dealings with Goa or, better yet, the Mughal-Portuguese-Maratha triangle, are in need of revision. In a broader perspective, we lack a proper study of Aurangzeb's management of the "European factor", which is extremely varied: besides the *Estado da Índia*, think of the Jesuits and Aurangzeb's "black legend", the Anglo-Mughal War, the Dutch diplomatic offensive at the Mughal court, the French view from Pondicherry at the time when the empire reaches its territorial peak to the south, or the heyday of the European freebooter in Mughal India. Finally, one definitely needs to insert the Mughal empire into the geopolitics of Central Asia at the turn of the eighteenth century. There is excellent work done recently from the perspective of Moscow and Beijing, but little is known about the view from Aurangabad.[6] We ought to put Aurangzeb into conversation with Peter the Great and Kangxi!

6. In that context, and if we may ask, what are your current academic endeavors and projects nearing completion?

Time goes fast and I must confess that I'm experiencing some anxiety with regard to what and how much I will be producing in the coming years. I'm currently completing the companion volume of *Unwanted Neighbours: The Mughals, The Portuguese, and Their Frontier Zones* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018), tentatively titled "The Accidental Persianate State: Political Communication Between the *Estado da Índia* and Mughal India". Concurrently, I'm planning to write a short book together with my

[5] Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb: The Life and Legacy of India's Most Controversial King* (Stanford (CA): Stanford University Press, 2017).
[6] Matthew W. Mosca, *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford (CA): Stanford University Press, 2013); Gregory Afinegenov, *Spies and Scholars: Chinese Secrets and Imperial Russia's Quest for World Power* (Cambridge (MA) and London: The Belknak Press of Harvard University Press, 2020).

friend and colleague Giuseppe Marcocci (Oxford) on statue destruction and political iconoclasm in early modern Goa (a very timely subject…).[7] Then I have the bigger individual research project that brought me back to Lisbon. It is funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and I titled it "The Hidden Layer: In-between Lives and Archives of the Early Modern Empire". I'm already working on a couple of articles in this framework, but the major endeavour in this context is an in-depth study of the Luso-Malay cartographer Manuel Godinho de Erédia (who died in Goa c. 1623) and his writings; an intriguing "hybrid" figure on whom I have published an article a few years ago.[8]

7. Your writings combine the approaches of micro- and macro-history in an intertwined analysis. In your *Unwanted Neighbours*, how did you try to make use of these two levels of analysis?

As I explain in the initial pages of the book (which has been shortlisted for the ICAS prize 2019), I have mostly selected instances of Mughal-Portuguese frontier interactions between ca. 1570 and ca. 1640, incidents that sparked debates, actions, and emotions among the main actors involved. Such "snapshots, flash points, and episodes" (p. xvi) are traceable from Sind and Gujarat to the Deccan and Bengal and left a considerable paper trail, at least from the Portuguese side of the story. My tendency to be meticulous with regard to source mining and text analysis favours engagement with the microlevel, the downside being that I sometimes miss the forest... The macrolevel comes naturally at least in two distinct forms. On the one hand, Mughal-Portuguese tensions are usually part of a wider process, and so they force us to look at the Ottomans, the Safavids, the Uzbeks, the Deccan sultanates, or the so-called Maghs of Arakan, as well as the VOC and the EIC. On the other, the incidents under review often lead to a rich cross-cultural analysis of topics like gendered politics and political dissimulation, which is what I tried to do particularly in chapter 5 of the book. In *Unwanted Neighbours*, thus, the micro and macro meet every time localized events manage to engulf broader political spaces as well as when certain themes beg

[7] This project draws from Flores and Marcocci, "Killing Images: Iconoclasm and the Art of Political Insult in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Portuguese India", *Itinerario* 42:3 (December 2018), 461-489.
[8] Jorge Flores, "Between Madrid and Ophir: Erédia, a Deceitful Discoverer?", in Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig, eds., *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 184-210.

for larger, global explorations of their meanings and manifestations. But, *mea culpa*, the book has a problem which several scholars have rightly pointed out: the lack of a conclusion. I will correct this lacuna in a possible second edition.

8. In his important synthesis *What is Global History*? Sebastian Conrad writes: "It is the professed goal of the entire phalanx of transnational, world, and global historians to write '*histories for a less national age*'."[9] First of all, do you agree and, secondly, now being back in Lisbon, how will you seek to implement a more global historical approach at your new institution?

Sebastian Conrad, who is likewise a former EUI professor and unfortunately left the Department of History and Civilization when I joined in 2010, is absolutely right. Global history is one of the counterweights to national histories, and a much needed one. Yet, some words of caution are in order here. There is a debate to be organized about the scientific role and institutional place of national histories, for global history is not about excommunicating other modes of doing history, even if its rise has sometimes been made at the expense of the national scale. Such conversation is all the more urgent because national historical approaches might return sooner rather than later. Besides, they really never lost traction in myriad classrooms around the world. After all, the "less national age" referred to by Conrad back in 2016 turned into a more national (and nationalist) age in 2020 across continents. This can't be ignored. As to my new institution and my own contribution, I presently run a reading group on global history and am enjoying it greatly. It's an excellent group of graduate students, post docs, and faculty, all doing history of science but so far with limited contact with global history. I intend to continue and diversify this experience in the years to come.

9. Let us turn to our central question: how do you feel about the field of "early modern global history"? What do you perceive as its promise and limits, and how do you see its development in the future?

There is an ongoing debate about global history, its meaning, reach, method, and prospects. This debate takes place mostly in top universities and research centres in Europe and the US and has been molded in recent years by the Adelman vs Drayton

[9] Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 116.

& Motadel controversy. The advantages and weaknesses of global history are thus well surveyed and it is now time to move on and improve what we do without becoming paralyzed by harsh criticism or the undefined nature of global history itself: is it a field, a method, an approach? These are questions repeatedly asked in academic meetings. Yet, when one leads seminars or working groups on global history, those attending always expect clear-cut definitions and easy recipes. The advantages of global history are many, but I also see the downsides. Colleagues have rightly insisted on the need to privilege space and structure. The study of global cities — some are probably discontinuously global — might be an interesting avenue of research in this regard. Micro history, as posited by John-Paul Ghobrial, can certainly contribute to a more "rooted" global history.[10] To interlace global history and micro history was Maxine Berg and Ghobrial's project (I joined later) and it resulted in a series of workshops organized between 2016 and 2019 in Venice, Warwick, Florence, and Oxford, besides the recent publication of a *Past and Present* supplement on the subject. I particularly think that global history's poor diachronic range is a problem: change over time is seldom addressed. Yet, what worries me most is the attitude (embodied by Adelman) that global history is past its prime and that one should instead concentrate on what is the next big thing, as if we were talking about financial markets. Global history is neither a new religion of the book nor a youth elixir, so that this extremely fast erosion — an artificial and sometimes self-inflicted erosion in my view — is a problem. The craft of history was shaped by several "schools" and paradigms over the last century and none of them was that short-lived. Global history has come to stay, I believe, and now needs to gain institutional recognition worldwide (its practice is currently too "western", as we know), and an enduring influence in university curricula. When I was an undergraduate student in Lisbon in the early 1980s, the *Annales* school had great prominence in our curriculum, and this was probably the case everywhere in Europe, but global history is still far from such a level of recognition (partly because it is not a school as such). NYUAD and Yale-NUS represent intriguing experiences with regard to the way history is taught and practiced: neither national nor global, they are understandably regional, but primarily organized by "worlds", maritime worlds mostly. More about this in the following answer.

[10] John-Paul A. Ghobrial,"Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian," *Past and Present*, volume 242, issue supplement 14 (2019), 1-22. This text introduces a substantial set of 12 articles on "Global History and Microhistory".

10. Global history sometimes gets criticized from the perspective of postcolonial studies. Here, the argument goes, non-European history only gets analyzed in its relationship to the West. Secondly, terms such as mobility, travel, networking, border-crossing, connectivity and exchange, etc., can overlook the often-devastating impact of colonial and imperial power structures. Are these criticisms justified?

These are fair criticisms that one cannot ignore. The postcolonial question first. I agree with Conrad when he states that global history wouldn't be possible without postcolonial studies. Like area studies, the focus of postcolonial studies on societies and cultures other than Europe is crucial. Yet, and besides a tendency to excessive theorization and poor contact with primary sources, several postcolonial scholars insist on seeing everything through the lens of the colonizer-colonized binary, and this is fundamentally problematic. Non-European societies were neither pure prior to European contact nor did they become irretrievably stained after it. Ironically, this is what contributes to reifying the "West and the Rest" paradigm, not global history's attention to the West, which is usually not diffusionist. Consider, for instance, the rich imperial geographies of the early modern world: Is it possible to study tensions and confluences across empires and other states of the period by erasing Europe and the Europeans from the picture? Why are Mughal-Safavid interactions seen as part of the Indo-Persian ecumene while Portuguese interactions with the Malay sultanates have to be labeled as colonial history? Area studies share with postcolonial studies a penchant for rigid segmentation and add deep specialization to it. Deep specialization can sometimes be arrogant, since it tends to demote those who venture to write, say, about the Ottoman world or Tokugawa Japan in the context of broader arguments and wider scales of analysis without belonging genetically to the "tribe". Rigid segmentation — of geographical spaces and civilizational nexuses — tends to miss the point by neglecting areas and phenomena that simply defy classification. True, global historians cannot be conversant in all languages and cultures, but Fernand Braudel (who was not really a global historian, not even *avant la lettre*) would have never written his *Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World* had he been worried with compartments. People have their own entry points to global history and these obviously reflect their prior training. My springboard was the Portuguese Asian empire and Indian Ocean studies. It is my view that imperial history and especially maritime

history have contributed decisively to global history. Now some thoughts about the topics and buzzwords of global history and their possible dangers. Yes, there's the risk of directing a "feel-good movie" when studying circulation and mobility, travelers and go-betweens. I believe this approach was and can still be groundbreaking, since it puts the spotlight on individuals and agency while contributing to tear down categories, hierarchies, and artificial divides. Our understanding of the early modern world has changed considerably thanks to this research strand. But we may now be on the verge of banalization and lack of purpose; the simple accumulation of flashy case studies will leave us nowhere. And what to make of the individuals who stayed on and the communities that did not experience the vertigo of movement? What about the failed connections, the broken bridges, and the unhappy go-betweens? The analysis surely ought to be complexified. Be that as it may, the alternative is not necessarily to focus on the "devastating impact of colonial and imperial power structures." We would be back to the simplistic colonizer-colonized narrative.

11. In the last few years, the history of emotions developed into a new and promising field of historical research, as scholars such as Joseph Ben Prestel und Uffa Jensen have shown in their studies.[11] How do you feel about analyzing historical emotions from a global perspective?

I'm a reasonably committed reader of the subject matter but not a real practitioner. As in other fields, a global history of emotions calls for systematic connections and comparisons across cultural zones in a given time period. There are areas particularly suitable to pursue such a path regarding the early modern era. Think of objects and emotions, markets and emotions, epistolary exchanges and the self, emotions in history writing and literary cultures, feelings and popular politics… For obvious reasons, much has been written recently on mobility and sentiments of belonging and displacement in the *longue durée*. I'm curious to see how the field will evolve in the coming years beyond fashions and presentism.

[11] Joseph Ben Prestel, *Emotional Cities: Debates on Urban Change in Berlin and Cairo, 1860-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Uffa Jensen, *Wie die Couch nach Kalkutta kam: Eine Globalgeschichtliche Analyse der frühen Psychoanalyse* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2019).

12. We are coming to an end and would like to close this interview with two questions that concern the historian's social responsibility: You have produced both exhibition catalogues as well as editions of historical sources. To what extent is it possible, through this kind of work, to connect academic history with a wider audience? Do you feel any need to engage in larger public debates, for example on the role of the Portuguese in slave trade?

This is an interesting and complex question. I took great pleasure in curating exhibitions (*Goa and the Great Mughal* is my favourite[12]) and preparing editions of early modern texts. But while the former certainly contributes to reach out to the community (as well as to connect different segments of the academic community itself, by bridging the gap between historians, art historians, and museum people), the latter's virtues in this regard are less obvious. It very much depends on what kind of sources and editions — it is hard to imagine the man or woman on the street reading avidly my *Mughal Padshah*! Obviously, it is the historian's duty to leave the cloister, as Dipesh Chakrabarty put it, and connect with the society that supports their scholarship.[13] The historian's social responsibility is key here and I realized it very clearly when I contributed in the mid-1990s to organizing the official celebrations of the Portuguese discoveries. The themes and debates that one picks are crucial, but so are form and method since one is expected to communicate with larger audiences not acquainted with the codes of the historical profession. Yet, the politics of history is felt in any country and society and I'm afraid people do not always want to hear what historians have to say. Regarding my own stance, I could well engage in larger public debates but I'm reluctant to do so basically on two grounds. Firstly, these debates take place mainly on social media nowadays and I'm rather suspicious of such channels, for they often contribute to weak argumentation and an unhealthy polarization of the views at stake. Secondly, academic freedom is sacred to me and I'd like to be the one to choose my scholarly conversations. Referring to the case you mentioned, I have never conducted specific research on the Portuguese slave trade and therefore don't feel the need to rush into a debate to which my contribution would be poor. Besides,

[12] Jorge Flores, Nuno Vassallo e Silva, eds., *Goa and the Great Mughal* (London: Scala Publishers, 2012, 1st ed. 2004). This show took place in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, 2004.
[13] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *The Calling of History: Sir Jadunath Sarkar and His Empire of Truth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 11. Also see Sumit Guha, *History and Collective Memory in South Asia, 1200-2000 (*Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 4-5.

some of these discussions in Portugal and elsewhere are highly politicized and do not really stem from civil society, as they should.

13. Recent years have seen a proliferation of big popular books which seek to place one's own nation and region in a more global context.[14] Some critics feel this can end up in the production of a national history 2.0; although the title announces a global-historical analysis that promises to overcome the paradigm of the nation-state, the work leads to the usual praise of one's own nation and its grandeur in the wider world.[15] The debate between Patrick Boucheron's controversial *Histoire Mondiale de la France*, and its critics is an example of this.[16] Those on the right accused him and his team of authors of being the "gravediggers of the great French cultural heritage" ("*les fossoyeurs du grand héritage français*"), but those on the left accused Boucheron of being a crypto-nationalist himself. How does this appear from the standpoint of Lisbon? After all books with titles like *Portugal e o Mundo* are nothing new there.

I fully agree with the critique made of several such books as being national histories in disguise, yet I do not always identify a right-left divide. The rise of global history has side effects and the overemployment of the word "global" (or *mondiale*, especially in the French context) in book titles without a clear rationale is one of them. It helps authors to fashion themselves as global historians and publishers to increase their sales. What we often have is a specific country — always a European one — being placed at the core of world developments invariably by historians of that same country. Countries and national communities, whether imagined or not, are taken as the privileged unit of analysis. This in fact reifies the national paradigm while the potential for historical oversimplification is considerable. Such approaches found fertile ground in Portugal as early as the 1980s and materialize today in debates about the origins of globalization and the country's role in it — never tell a Portuguese that there is more to it than "our" *Descobrimentos* being the founding moment of globalization! The same probably applies to the Dutch and the way they see themselves reflected in

[14] See e.g. Marnix Beyen *et al.*, eds., *Wereld Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Polis, 2018); Giuseppe Barone *et al*, eds., *Storia Mondiale della Sicilia* (Bari: Laterza, 2018).
[15] Andrea Giardina, ed., *Storia Mondiale dell'Italia* (Bari: Laterza, 2017). See Sebastian Conrad's comments on Andrea Giardina's book launch in his lecture at the IAS, Princeton, February 20, 2020: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MavMMCGl0oY&t=593s (last accessed May 26, 2020).
[16] Patrick Boucheron *et al.*, eds., *Histoire Mondiale de la France* (Paris: Seuil, 2018).

seventeenth-century world history. “Don’t touch my globalization” is an attitude common to many national and nationalist visions of the phenomenon.

14. Dear Jorge – thank you so much for your time, the shared years at the EUI, your intellectual inspiration and continued support.

I am the one that feels grateful for this opportunity. In thanking you, Irene and Tilmann, I also express my gratitude to all the EUI researchers with whom I worked during the past decade, especially the ones I have supervised and those I have followed closely as second reader, as well as the postdoctoral fellows — mostly Max Weber Fellows — I have mentored and often co-taught with. Life takes people in different directions and the increasingly difficult conditions of the historical profession have led some of my former associates to find alternatives outside academia. Yet I have managed to stay in contact with most of the group, more as new colleagues and friends than as former PhD students. It is a joy to exchange information, readings, and research ideas among us and I look at this network initiated at the EUI as part of my small Republic of Letters. To those who continued and are now in the early stages of their academic careers, I can only wish they will be able to overcome the current challenges. Two recent and admirable pieces — Mary Beard’s “Competitive Martyrdom” and Charles Petersen’s “Serfs of Academe” — paint a harsh but accurate picture of what is out there, especially with regard to Humanities.[17] I can only hope that you and your colleagues won’t be captured by what I also perceive as threats to one’s academic freedom and critical spirit: jargon, “flavours”, hollow projects, and coercive causes.

[17] Mary Beard, “Competitive Martyrdom. The Decade in Review: Discontent and Unfunding in Academia”, *Times Literary Supplement* number 6090, December 20/27, 2019 (https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/no-competitive-martyrdom/); Charles Petersen, “Serfs of Academe”, *The New York Review of Books* volume LXVII, number 4, March 12, 2020 (https://www.academia.edu/42036560/Serfs_of_Academe?email_work_card=view-paper).

Contributors

Pablo Abascal did his Ph.D. in History and Civilization at the European University Institute, Italy, under the supervision of Professor Antonella Romano. He did one postdoc at Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, and is currently doing a second one at "Instituto de Investigaciones sobre la Universidad y la Educación/ Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México" (IISUE/UNAM). He is part of the National System of Researchers of Mexico (SNI/Conacyt) since 2019. His line of research is the history of Jesuit colleges in New Spain from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Abascal has taught in several universities in Mexico, both private and public, and at bachelors and masters' level. He has also published several book chapters, research articles, and book reviews, in Mexico, Argentina, and the United States.

José Beltrán is historian of science and Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the Centre Alexandre-Koyré, Paris. His first book, based on his PhD dissertation at the European University Institute, is forthcoming with the title *Nature on File: Images, Paperwork, and the Natural History of the Americas in Louis XIV's France*. His current project deals with scribal practices and scientific archives in the work of French naturalists between between 1660 and 1830.

Moritz von Brescius is PI of a Research Group in Modern History at the University of Bern. He is currently also a Fellow at the Munich Centre for Global History. In 2021-2022, he will be a John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellow at the Centre for European Studies, University of Harvard. His first book is *German Science in the Age of Empire: Enterprise, Opportunity and the Schlagintweit Brothers* (Cambridge University Press, 2019). It was a Waterloo Centre for German Studies Book Prize Finalist. He has also published articles in *Modern Asian Studies*, among other journals, and is a contributor to *The Oxford World History of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021). His research areas include the global history of science and empire and, increasingly, the

environmental and economic history of plantation economies and the acclimatisation of cash crops as part of the global expansion of commodity frontiers. His new research is on the 'synthetic age' and resource regimes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. An early iteration of this work on 'Rubber in the Synthetic Age' was awarded the 'Environment Award' of the foundation 'Environment and Society' at the University of Konstanz in 2017. He previously studied in Berlin, Oxford, Florence, and Cambridge. His doctoral dissertation was awarded several prizes, including the 'Gisela-Bonn Prize 2018' of the Indo-German Society; in 2016 the 'Martin Behaim Award' of the German Society for Extra-European History, and in 2015 the 'Young Scholar Award' of the German Society for History of Science, Technology and Medicine (GWMT).

Jesús Bohorquez gained his PhD from the European University Institute in Florence. He has been a postdoctoral researcher at the ICS-Universidade de Lisboa, and previously, he was a Weatherhead Initiative on Global History fellow at Harvard University. He is a global historian with an interest in social sciences, particularly the evolution of economic theory and the interplays between history and social theory. His research engages three main fields: global history and political economy, international trade and globalization, and law, economics and economic thinking. It revolves around four main lines: globalization and capitalism, state-and empire building in the Global South, slave trade from a global and comparative perspective, and the Enlightenment as a global intellectual movement. His research has been published in Journal of Global History, Itinerario, Revista de Historia económica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American History.

Giancarlo Casale is Chair of Early Modern Mediterranean History at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and a permanent member of the history faculty at the University of Minnesota in the United States. His publications include *Prisoner of the Infidels: The Memoir of an Ottoman Muslim in 17th-Century Europe* (University of California Press 2021), and *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford, 2011). Since 2010, he has also served as executive editor of the *Journal of Early Modern History*.

Stéphane van Damme. Former professor at the University of Warwick (Britain), SciencesPo (Paris) and at the EUI, Stéphane van Damme has joined the department of History at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris where he holds the chair in Transnational History of Early Modern Europe. His research examines the origins of early modern scientific knowledge and European Culture between 1650 and 1850 by looking at essential elements such as scientific centres (Lyons, Paris, London, Edinburgh, New York), founding fathers (Descartes), paradigmatic disciplines (philosophy, natural history, archaeology), imperial projects. His last book is entitled *Seconde Nature. Rematérialiser les sciences de Bacon à Tocqueville* (Presses du réel, 2020).

Mark Dizon is assistant professor in the Department of History at Ateneo de Manila University. His interests are in the cross-cultural encounters of the early modern world. His current research project is on the mobilities in an eighteenth-century Philippine borderland.

Nino Doborjginidze is the Vice Rector of Ilia-State University (Tbilisi) and Director of the Institute of Linguistic Studies at Ilia-State University. She worked at several German Universities as invited-fellow and, recently, at the Historical Archives of Propaganda Fide, Italy. Her work focuses primarily on the History of Linguistic Ideas, Georgian Medieval Studies, Digital Humanities and Georgian Philology. Her main studies include, *Die georgische Sprache im Mittelalter* (Reichert-Verlag: Wiesbaden, 2009) and, in Georgian, *Language, Identity and historical concepts. An attempt to interpret sources of religious historiography* (Tbilisi: Nekeri-publishing, 2011). Together with Oliver Reisner and Tilmann Kulke, she is currently working on an edited-volume tentatively titled *The Caucasus in Global History*.

Thomas Ertl is Professor of Medieval History at the Freie Universitaet Berlin. His research interests include the social and economic history of the Middle Ages and pre-modern global history. Publications in this area include, for example: “Repercussions from the Far East: A Comparison of the Catholic and Nestorian Presence in China”, in: *Transcultural Studies* 2 (2015) 38-63; “Acculturation and Elimination: Europe’s

Interaction with the Other (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Century)", in: *Medieval Worlds*, 3 (2016) 83-97.

Jose M. Escribano-Páez is a specialist in the frontiers of the Spanish Empire in Europe and the Mediterranean World. He got his BA (2008) and his Diploma of Advanced Studies (2011) at the University of Alcalá (Spain). Later on, he entered the doctoral program of the European University Institute (Florence) under the supervision of Professor Jorge Flores. His PhD dissertation (defended in 2016) analysed the shaping of frontier political spaces in the European and Mediterranean territories of the Spanish Empire during the first half of the sixteenth century. Departing from this core focus, his research has evolved in different directions and materialized in articles on cross-cultural interaction, violence and diplomacy in the Ibero-Maghrebi frontier (Itinerario 2016 and Historia Social 2017) and his recent monograph *Juan Rena and the Frontiers of Spanish Empire (1500-1540)* (New York, Routledge, 2020). In the framework of his ongoing project, he is expanding his research horizons to address the inner workings of cross-cultural violence and its restraint in the frontiers of the Iberian empires in maritime Southeast Asia (Diplomatica 2020). Currently, he is lecturer in early modern history at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Seville). Prior to that he has been teaching fellow in Early Modern Global History at the University of Warwick (2017/2018), Juan de la Cierva Postdoctoral researcher (2018), and Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow (2018/2020).

Elfie Guyau joined the European University Institute's PhD program in 2017. She became an associate researcher at *Mondes Américains* (UMR 8168- EHESS, Université Paris 1 et Université Paris Nanterre) in April 2019. After having investigated precolonial forms of authority in South Peru for a master thesis in archaeology as well as their transformation in colonial times for a master's degree in History, her PhD project explores how Christianisation affected Andean indigenous elites' behaviours between 1540 and 1780. Exploring the indigenous elites' rhetorical strategies to be identified as Christians in judicial and legal procedures, she investigates how they reformulated their powers and social practices to reconcile their new duties as Christian and colonial elites with their hereditary status as Andean lords.

Ebba Koch taught at the universities of Vienna, Oxford and Harvard; she specialises in the architecture, art and court culture of the Great Mughals of South Asia and their artistic connections to Central Asia, Iran and Europe. Her publications include *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (London 2006/2012) and *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays* (2001). Presently she is working with the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on a Museum for Humayun's Tomb at Delhi and an accompanying book for its permanent exhibition.

Tilmann Kulke works as an Assistant Professor for Islamic and Global History at *Ilia State University Tbilisi*, Georgia. Before arriving in Tbilisi, he worked at the *DAAD*-scholarship programme for Syrian refugees and trained at the universities of Cologne and Bonn, the German Historical Institute Paris, Doguš Üniversitesi Istanbul, Damascus University and the European University Institute in Florence. His most recent publications include, for example, *Aurangzeb and Islam in India. 50 Years of Mughal Realpolitk*, in Knut Jacobsen, ed., Routledge Handbook of South Asian Religions (London/New York: Routledge, 2021), 190-205 and *Narrative Strategies for India in Transition: The 18th and 19th Centuries*, together with Anna Kollatz (Bonn), which has just been submitted to Oxford University Press, Delhi. He is co-editor of the *Islamische Welten* at www.sehepunkte.de and a contributor of several articles to the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Together with Nino Doborjginidze and Oliver Reisner, he is currently preparing (a) the Georgian edition of Sebastian Conrad's study *What is Global History?* and (b) a collective volume tentatively titled *The Caucasus in Global History*.

Corinne Lefèvre completed her PhD in history and civilizations at the EHESS, Paris. She is currently a research fellow at the Paris-based CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research) and the CEIAS (Center for South Asian Studies). Her research deals with the political and cultural history of the Mughal empire. Recent publications include *Pouvoir impérial et élites dans l'Inde moghole de Jahāngīr* (2018) and *Cosmopolitismes en Asie du Sud. Sources, itinéraires, langues XVI^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles* (co-edited with Ines G. Zupanov and Jorge Flores, 2015).

Alicia Lohmann is a doctoral assistant at the University of Heidelberg, where she is currently writing a dissertation about the usage of lists in the Middle Ages. She is particularly interested in the history of travel and discovery and is actively involved with the auxiliary sciences of history as well.

Giorgio Riello is Chair of Early Modern Global History at the European University Institute and Professor of Global History and Culture at the University of Warwick. He is the author of *A Foot in the Past* (Oxford University Press, 2006), *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), *Luxury: A Rich History* (Oxford University Press, 2016 - co-authored with Peter McNeil), and *Back in Fashion: Western Fashion from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Yale University Press, 2020). He has published extensively on global trade and technological exchange between Europe and Asia in the early modern period and has recently co-edited *Global Economic History* (Bloomsbury 2019); *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary in a Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2019); and *Reinventing the Economic History of Industrialisation* (McGill University Press, 2020). He held Visiting Fellowships at Stanford University, The National University of Australia, The Max Planck Institute, Berlin, and the EHESS. He is currently co-writing a book (with Dagmar Schäfer) entitled “Cultures of Innovation: Silk in Pre-Modern Eurasia”; and he is developing a project on “The European Factories of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800” considering the system of trade and information exchange in the Indian Ocean.

Luca Scholz is a scholar of European and digital history whose work examines social, legal and intellectual history with geospatial and computational methods. Luca holds a PhD in History from the European University Institute, a joint MA in History from the École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris and the University of Heidelberg, as well as BA in Economics from the latter university. His first book, *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire*, was published with Oxford University Press in 2020. After holding a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship at Stanford University, he is now Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in Digital Humanities at the University of Manchester (UK).

Sanjay Subrahmanyam: Sanjay Subrahmanyam is Distinguished Professor of History and Irving & Jean Stone Chair of Social Sciences at UCLA, where he has taught since 2004. He has also taught earlier in Delhi, Paris, and Oxford, as well as for shorter stints in Lisbon, Belo Horizonte, and Philadelphia. Subrahmanyam has written extensively on various aspects of early modern history, including the history of the Portuguese empire.

Ann Thomson is Emerita Professor of Intellectual History at the European University Institute, where she was professor from 2013 to 2020. She has published widely on the intellectual history of the long Eighteenth Century in Europe, and more specifically on the 'Natural History of Man(kind)' in this period, as well as on thinking about non-Europeans, in particular European views of the Moslem world. She is also particularly interested in the circulation of ideas and information, intellectual networks and translation, and has created the online biographical dictionary of European translators in the long Eighteenth Century (https://www.eutec-project.it/). Her recent publications include: *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (Oxford University Press, 2008); *L'âme des Lumières. Le débat sur l'être humain entre religion et science Angleterre-France (1690-1760*) (Champ Vallon, 2013); *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the long eighteenth century*, edited with Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski (Voltaire Foundation, Oxford, 2010: SVEC 2010:4); *Diderot et la politique, aujourd'hui*, edited with Marie Leca (L'Atelier Société Diderot, Paris, 2019). She also edited the sections on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France of *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 31 and 37 (Brill, 2017 and 2019), and published a critical edition of Book XI of Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes*, (Ferney-Voltaire, vol. III, 2020).

Mikko Toivanen is a colonial historian working on nineteenth-century Southeast Asia and the global cultures of imperialism. He defended his PhD, on practices of trans-colonial travel between Java, Ceylon and the Straits Settlements, at the European University Institute in October 2019. Toivanen is currently a research fellow at the Munich Centre for Global History, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, where he is

working on a postdoctoral project examining the development of urban culture and uses of public space in colonial contexts in Southeast Asia. This research is funded by the Osk. Huttunen Foundation. Further topics that Toivanen has published work on include Nordic entanglements with colonisation in the Indian Ocean arena; notions of authorship in the long nineteenth century; and the colonial politics of information control.

Martin Vailly is a historian of Early Modern science and knowledge. He was trained in the history and anthropology of knowledge and he holds a PhD from the European University Institute. His dissertation explores the role of geography at the court of Louis XIV, using Coronelli's great terrestrial globe and its reception among the Parisian geographical elite as a central case-study. His research now focuses on the broader "geographical cultures" of "Ancien Régime" France, investigating both the constitution of geographical knowledge and its impact on Early Modern societies. He has taught the history of Humanism at Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle and the sociology and history of sciences at Sciences-Po Paris. He co-edited Lieux et milieu de saviors, a special issue of the Cahiers François Viète with Paul-Arthur Tortosa (EUI) and Simon Dumas Primbault (EPFL).

Irene María Vicente Martín: Irene Vicente is a Spanish historian, whose research has focused mainly on elite family networks and the manifestation of their politics in local and global levels in colonial Salvador, Brazil (16th-17th c.). Her broad research interests include the effects of the Iberian Union (1580-1640) on the Luso-American territories and the role of colonial cities as intermediate nodes of local contexts and imperial junctures. She is currently finishing her PhD in History and Civilization at the European University Institute, under the supervision of Prof. Jorge Flores, she is member of BRASILHIS Database (University of Salamanca) and a Doctoral Researcher of the 'Revisiting Dutch Brazil and Johan Maurits' project initiated at the Mauritshuis Museum in late 2020.

Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla is currently Full Professor at Pablo de Olavide University, Seville (Spain). He has been Full Professor at the European University Institute of Florence (2003-2013) and head of its Department of History and Civilization (2009-2012). He specializes in the study of political economies, the Iberian Empires, and the history of consumption in a global context, as well as in the history of the European aristocracies in a cross-border and trans-Atlantic perspective. His lasts monographs are *Iberian Empires and the Globalization of Europe 1415-1668*, Palgrave-Macmillan: Singapore 2019 (translated into Spanish and Portuguese) and Historia global, historia trans-nacional e historia de los imperios. El Atlántico, América y Europa (siglos XVI-XVIII), Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza, 2019. He recently co-edited *American Globalization, 1492–1850. Trans-Cultural Consumption in Spanish Latin America*, Routledge: New York and London, 2021.