

FRONTIERS OF HUMANITY AND BEYOND



TOWARDS NEW CRITICAL
UNDERSTANDINGS OF BORDERS

V CHAM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
Lisbon

21 - 23 July 2021

Organization:



Support:



V CHAM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
FRONTIERS OF HUMANITY AND BEYOND:
TOWARDS NEW CRITICAL
UNDERSTANDINGS OF BORDERS

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

TITLE

V CHAM International Conference — Frontiers of Humanity and Beyond: Towards new critical understandings of borders. Book of Abstracts.

EDITORIAL COORDINATION

Pablo Sánchez León (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Nina Vieira (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Nunziatella Alessandrini (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Pablo Ibáñez-Bonillo (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Patrícia Carvalho (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Rui Loureiro (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Vanessa Rato (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

AUTHORS

Various

EDITOR

CHAM – Centro de Humanidades

Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da

Universidade NOVA de Lisboa | Universidade dos Açores

Av.ª de Berna, 26-C | 1069-061 Lisboa | Portugal

cham@fcsch.unl.pt | www.cham.fcsch.unl.pt

ISBN (E-BOOK)

978-989-8492-72-2

PLACE AND DATE OF PUBLICATION

Lisbon, July 2021

COPYRIGHT

This is an open access work distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Licence (CC BY 4.0).



This event and publication had the support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH/UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020 and UIDP/04666/2020), funded by FCT.



ABOUT CHAM

CHAM - Centre for the Humanities is a Portuguese inter-university research unit of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa and of the Universidade dos Açores, funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. CHAM's team includes researchers from different disciplinary fields (Archaeology, Art History, Heritage, Literature, Philosophy and History of ideas), different domains of History (Economic, Cultural, Political, Social, Religious, History of Science and History of books and reading practices) and specialists from various geographic spaces. CHAM's strategic project is focused on "frontiers". This multi-disciplinary project considers frontiers as limits that distinguished, throughout history, a plurality of societies and cultures, but also as social and cultural constructs that promoted communication and interaction.

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Pablo Sánchez León (Chair), Nina Vieira (Chair), Nunziatella Alessandrini, Pablo Ibáñez-Bonillo, Patrícia Carvalho, Rui Loureiro, Vanessa Rato.

SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION

Pablo Sánchez León (Chair) (CHAM)
Adelino Cardoso (CHAM)
António Camões Gouveia (CHAM)
Carla Alferes Pinto (CHAM)
Claudia Rosas Lauro (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú)
Cristina Brito (CHAM)
David Beorlegui (Universidad del País Vasco)
Henrique Leitão (Universidade de Lisboa)
Izaro Gorostidi (Universidad del País Vasco)
João Luís Lisboa (CHAM)
João Paulo Oliveira e Costa (CHAM)
Juan Marchena Fernández (Universidad Pablo de Olavide)
Juciene Ricarte Apolinário (Universidade Federal de Campina Grande)
Laura Fernández de Mosteyrin (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia-UNED)
Luís Vicente (Universidade de Lisboa)
Mark Harris (University of Saint Andrews)
Pedro Cardim (CHAM)
Rafael Chambouleyron (Universidade Federal do Pará)
Susana de Matos Viegas (ICS – Universidade de Lisboa)

SPONSORS

We are grateful to FCT - Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, FLAD - Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento, APASSIFERRATI Association, EPAL-Empresa Portuguesa das Águas Livres, Pastéis de Belém, and Turismo de Portugal for their financial or logistic support.

WIRELESS INTERNET

Login: chamconf@fcsh.unl.pt

Password: con.ch

CONTENTS

Welcome address	3
Opening word	4
Conference concept	5
Keynote lectures	7
Panels and papers	8
List of participants	67
Conference timetable	69
Facilities maps	rear



WELCOME TO CHAM CONFERENCE 2021

Dear speakers and participants,

On behalf of the Board of CHAM - Centre for the Humanities and the Organising Committee, I welcome you to the V CHAM International Conference 2021.

Held every two years, the CHAM Conferences have established themselves as spaces for intellectual exchange between full-time researchers and postdoc specialists from all over the world. These meetings around a thematic axis are the emblem of CHAM, which demonstrates its commitment to research excellence, interdisciplinarity and academic internationalisation.

This edition is special. When, at the end of the previous Conference, the Centre's Board planned this V edition, nobody could anticipate that it would take place in the midst of a phenomenon such as the covid-19 pandemic. We are still marked by an emergency that has not only caused suffering and has modified our living habits, but has also lasted long enough to highlight emerging needs that affect humanity's relationship with itself and with the natural environment, redefining for the future our conception of the global as something that transcends human interaction, encompassing it.

The theme "Frontiers" was chosen for this edition because of its strategic relevance for CHAM's longer-term planning. The pandemic has made it more urgent and necessary to rethink borders as affecting "humanity and beyond". Frontiers delimit as much as they connect, in space and in time; they do so between human groups and between them and nature; also between disciplines and cultures. Knowledge of borders continues to provoke intellectual challenges that the Conference seeks to critically address during the coming 21st, 22nd and 23rd of July, through the exchange of ideas as a mean to contribute to the current global crossroads.

Many setbacks and difficulties have been dealt with in organising this edition, and I would like to thank the members of the Scientific Commission, the Organising Committee, and the technical and dissemination services of CHAM and of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa for making a hybrid conference possible, with online and face-to-face participation. Here too we are breaking boundaries and exploring alternatives.

I hope that, from Lisbon or elsewhere, you will feel welcome by CHAM to participate in the best way.

Best regards

Pablo Sánchez León

Conference Convener



EMERGING FROM THE GREAT PAUSE: AN OPENING WORD ON FRONTIERS OF NATURE AND CULTURE

The Anthropocene - a new geological era on planet Earth, coined by chemist Paul Crutzen and colleagues in 2000 - is also known as the epoch of humans, or *Sapiens*. It is one in which human actions have impacted and significantly changed and continue to change planet Earth; it is one in which the borders between the *anthropic* and the *biologic* dissolve or merge, even when we do not realize it. In this sense, this chronology in which we move today is the time of humans, where all societies' activities temporarily or permanently affect the house we all inhabit and depend on.

As I write these words, we have already lived through well more than a year in which daily human practices have been forced to slow down and stop by the action of a virus and its consequences on human survival. The Covid-19 pandemic has been a 'trigger' of events or a recent disruptive moment in this time of the Anthropocene – as so many before it, at least, for the past 500 years. It drastically altered human existence on the planet and led, in March 2020, to a moment lasting several months that many have called 'The Great Pause'. Total lockdown of many world's nations, people confined to their homes, cities left empty, animals returning and occupying urban spaces previously colonized only by humans, the non-human world trying to reclaim some of its once natural territory. Since then, the world remains locked in successive waves. The idea of going back to normal is increasingly questioned.

We are discussing a 'new normal' in different sectors of civil society and academia, including historical views and the socioeconomic impacts of the pandemic. But we need to do that in an interdisciplinary manner, by grounding it in the basic problem - the 'eco-cultural-system' that supports life and allows our survival as a species and the survival of all other species on Earth. At a time when scientists are beginning to review the solid evidence for the multiple ecological interdependencies between humans, other animals, and the rest of the non-human world, scholars from the Humanities can strongly contribute by disentangling the natural-cultural relationships and in its many interconnected perspectives in human history.

It is time to analyse, to think, to teach, and to act beyond our own frontiers and boundaries. It is time to get the word out, from our minds and closed circles of scholarship, well into the open. The Great Pause demands rethinking, reflection, and respect, and demands a recovery – of individual life, and life as an entity - supported on renewal and empathy.

Let us take the opportunity of these days of sharing knowledge and experiences to do just that.

Cristina Brito

Head of the Board at CHAM Centre for the Humanities

Lisbon. July 13, 2021



CONFERENCE CONCEPT

The challenges of the early decades of the 21st century relate to the survival of humanity as a species. While the covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated a global-scale awareness of the limits of human life on Earth, climate change has for long been putting to the fore the interactions between social, cultural and natural processes. In this context a whole new understanding of the essence and role of *Borders*, in its multiple dimensions, needs to be brought into focus, and include as well the notions of physical boundaries and territorial control.

In this sense, the definition of the Anthropocene as a stage in the history of the Earth entails a radical reshaping of the traditional chronological divisions based on a vision of human history disconnected from nature and reduced to the account of social and technological change. Redefining the idea of border in its multiple dimensions, in present days and through history, becomes of critical importance.

Political and geographic frontiers require attention too. Up until the covid-19 crisis, national frontiers seemed to be on a vanishing process: in the post-Cold War world, mass media and popular culture have favoured a

narrative of the world open to synergic interconnections. However, this view of globalization has always presented an incomplete picture of reality. Borders, although dispersed and controlled through their constant shifting and movement, may have indeed proliferated rather than disappear, whilst becoming more resistant to particular activities and peoples.

Additionally, the boundaries of human society require renewed critical approaches on issues of gender, class, ethnicity, religious beliefs or ideology. Instituted forms of dehumanization, animalization or reification relate to the establishment of social and cultural frontiers throughout history. A focus on the divisions, intersections and hierarchies between human and non-human species, animals, plants and minerals is of paramount importance.

Finally, rethinking the traditional, culturally mediated relations between beings and objects demands a thorough disciplinary critique. This approach is a means of assessing frontiers in the quest for knowledge as established by modernity in order to overcome their normative representations and to propose new forms of self-consciousness as well as multi- and inter-disciplinarity.

THEMES

- Boundaries of knowledge and disciplinary work: frontiers between the humanities, the social and the natural sciences
- Urban frontiers: inclusion and segregation in contemporary cities
- Ecologies of identity. Fluid boundaries: Renegotiating gender identity
- Mestizo mindscapes and the new frontiers of racial constructs in the 21st century
- Earth unbound: indigenous leaderships and ecocultures
- Humans vs non-humans and other forms of specist boundaries
- Temporalities, chronologies and the organization of time
- Expansion, Resistance and Negotiation: agency at the edges of the European Empires
- Nationalisms and the definition of frontiers
- Overcoming frontiers: migrations and forced displacements

- A world of trade: hubs, economic zones and global routes
- Science at the Frontier: exploration, plunder and restoration
- Confinement and self-isolation in pandemic times
- Climatic change and citizenship
- Beyond natural borders: land and sea heritage



KEYNOTE LECTURES

Abolition Geography: Contemporary Radical Internationalism

Ruth Wilson Gilmore (City University of New York)

Wednesday 21 July, 18:45-19:45

The world has been partitioned and repartitioned by imperialism, colonialism, treaties, devolutionary eruptions of sovereignty, struggles over land-control, land use, resource extraction, political-economic activity, and the forces of climate change and war. This lecture will explore social causes and effects of impediments to human motion by examining overlapping and interlocking regimes of organized violence and organized abandonment. By shifting our attention between scales of analysis — that themselves are in continual, contested process of reconfiguration — we will see the dramatic, explicit dynamics that inhere in the social construction of race. After a discussion of how the cultural biologizes the political through the extraction of time and the ordering of space, we will conclude with some examples of how vulnerable people organize themselves against their own extinction.

Frontier Informants and the Subversion of Portuguese Imperial Power in Brazil

Hal Langfur (University at Buffalo)

Thursday 22 July, 18:45-19:45

Throughout its colonial history, much of Portuguese America's sparsely populated territory remained tenuously colonized, the province of not only independent Native peoples but also fugitive slaves, straying subsistence farmers, criminals, rural potentates, and others. During its final half-century of colonial rule, the Portuguese crown intensified efforts to control Brazil's many inland frontiers. This talk focuses on one of these regions, the rugged backlands west of the colony's primary mining zone in Minas Gerais. Exploring relations between Portugal's centralizing transatlantic state and the zone's free people of color, it emphasizes the importance of territorial intelligence, as well as misinformation, gathered from small-stakes miners operating outside the law by royal officials who dispatched a scientific expedition to verify reports of rich new diamond deposits. I will argue that in this and other frontier regions, by mediating the flow of information to Lisbon, marginalized backcountry informants shaped the limits of imperial power while fortifying their own precarious autonomy.

Bordered Imagination

Shahram Khohsravi (Stockholm University)

Friday 23 July, 16:50-17:50

PANELS AND PAPERS

P02 BEYOND FRONTIERS PERSPECTIVES: INNOVATION, CREATIVITY AND SUSTAINABILITY IN HERITAGE RESEARCH

ORGANISERS Carla Alferes Pinto (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa) & Paula Ochôa (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Wednesday 21 July, 09:45

Heritage has long been a contact zone field of knowledge and practices. Current cultural heritage studies call for interdisciplinary, collaborative, cross-sectorial approaches and new critical methodologies entailing a 'paradigm shift' that repositions Humanities, Social Sciences and other cultural heritage related disciplines in their relation and response to the rest of the society needs. Although thematic holistic approaches to the study of cultural heritage are well implement, this panel aims at challenging call for papers that seek to widening frontiers beyond binomials such as culture and nature; tourism and ecological responsibility; historiographic and alternative narratives; academia and professional heritage practices; different models and practices of care and curation of heritage, providing many opportunities to reflect on best practices and gain valuable insights from research projects and intervention areas.

• • •

The cultural landscape in the Andean border of Ecuador and Colombia. Tourism insights.

Jaime Iturralde (Universidad Politécnica Estatal del Carchi; Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The Andean border of Ecuador and Colombia has an impressive cultural landscape. In this border, Tulcán (Ecuador) and Ipiales (Colombia) are the largest cities located 2,980 MASL so the materialized culture reflects several traditions related with cold weather. Dialect, manners, food production and problems are similar. Also, this border region has suffered from the stolen of its archaeological heritage during centuries and since 1830 the aggressive imaginary of being each one part of a new border nation, living from that time, unfavorable socioeconomic conditions provided by their own countries.

Despite this situation, the inhabitants have had to solve their disadvantages and, for instance, they have created two impressive tourism attractions that are very difficult to find in other borders of South America: The Cemetery of Tulcán and Las Lajas Sanctuary, both used to attract many visitors every year before the pandemic. Tourism is a social phenomenon and its aim is visiting "others", taking pictures of imaginaries created by nationalist thought, so following this dynamic, each part of the border could develop by their own, but perhaps the better way to progress, as a border region, is by using their cultural landscape as a unit. Finally, it must be said that this process is not quite easy because frontier administrative problems have been set and cooperation could be a real challenge. To do this research, a qualitative analysis was based on performed semi structured interviews with key cultural and tourism stakeholders. The results show that there are three interpretations of tourism development in this border according to: a) tourists and tourism entrepreneurs, b) locals, and c) authorities.

Industrial heritage as an object of dispute. The patrimonialization process of Fontana (Chaco).

María Patricia Mariño (Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo - Universidad Nacional del Nordeste)

Many efforts were employed around a large industrial heritage in the city of Fontana (Chaco), located in the Northeast of the Argentine Republic, in the province of Chaco. It is an old agro-industrial territory belonging to the Greater Resistance Metropolitan Area (AMGR), developed at the end of the 19th century, whose industrial heritage coincides with the urban center and its increasing value, from the cultural and social point of view, began in the last five years of the 20th century. Cultural strategy in pursuit of the conservation of industrial heritage and urban reconversion in Fontana, promoted by institutionalized actors in the last decade, converted the territory, attracting new urban uses, which put aspects of its conservation in tension. Although an urban development policy linked to industrial memory is stimulated, a process of urban reconversion associated with places of memory of industrial activity that puts their material preservation at risk is also promoted.

This paper presents the conflict that began in the last decade, around the conservation of a portion of territory associated with industrial memory as a moment that generates new social positions. Around the memory of the industry, actions were deployed to protect the architectural heritage of the old tannin factorie and the complementary infrastructure, considered resources for the symbolic valuation of the territory, visible in the rescue and intervention of spaces, but it is also the object of tension in the face of spatial reconversion, in which various voices emerged.

Conservation practices of document heritage

Ana Claro (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa); Margarida Nunes (HERCULES laboratory) & Teresa Ferreira (HERCULES laboratory; Chemistry department – University of Évora)

Archives as institutions, and records as documents, are generally seen by academic and other users, as passive resources to be exploited for various historical and cultural purposes. Yet, archives were established and documents were preserved by the powerful to protect or enhance their position in society.

As to all fields in exact sciences, conservation practices of written heritage have been of exponential development mainly since the last two centuries. Nowadays we are more aware that the good solutions of the time are seen as bad for the environment, ourselves, and even for our heritage. Creating new and more sustainable conservation methodologies has been a challenge [1]. In a different light, which preventive conservation is advocated for its higher efficiency, we are required to look upon the importance of a system-thinking in the development of improved integrated strategies [2]. The complementarity between preservation and conservation strategies could prompt a step-change in the development and application of wide-ranging techniques. For example, recent innovations including imaging techniques allow to reveal inaccessible underlying information, which may become, the foundation for conservation interventions [3].

Based on an interdisciplinary strategy, this paper will present degradation issues that conservators and archivists have been seen in manuscripts, the awareness to their degradation and will to preserve them. It will also be discussed different approaches of intervention along the time, their benefits and drawbacks. It will present new conservation methodologies and identify remaining challenges related to our written cultural heritage.

References

[1] IRONIC project (PTDC/ART-HIS/32327/2017); Iron Gall Ink project (<https://irongallink.org/>); Nano for Art project (<http://www.nanoforart.eu/>).

[2] Wirilander, H., 'A Key Method to Ensure Cultural Heritage Authenticity and Integrity in the Preservation Process By Heidi Wirilander', (2014).

[3] Stromer, D., et al, 'Browsing Through Closed Books: Evaluation of Preprocessing Methods (...)', IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering 229(1) (2017).

Underwater archaeotourism. A liquid frontier.

Maria João Castro (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

The sea is the last frontier on our planet. This blue universe of silence, beauty and fragility hides a semi-unknown world in a pure liquid state. With their multiple resources, the oceans are a field of excellence for tourism, particularly with regard to the potential of marine / underwater archaeotourism (archaeological tourism). As tourism is the largest industry in the world, ocean-based archaeotourism has been gaining adherents and has become not only a differentiating product but also one of the most fundamental for advancing both knowledge and science.

Portugal, with its Atlantic coast and extensive maritime history, presents itself as an excellent space in which to consider the possibilities of this phenomenon, starting from the increasing visibility of the activity in the 21st century. From the Modern Age and the Portuguese Expansion to the contemporary postcolonial era, there is a whole genealogy of submerged archaeological sites and artefacts integrated in cultural tourism. These affirm underwater and nautical archaeotourism and attest to the importance of effective management policies through new models appropriate to this new reality, namely those that safeguard its conservation, preservation and resilience.

Thus, this reflection will seek to summarise the main products of Portuguese (oceanic) archaeotourism in the world as well as foreign products in national territorial waters with a view to their dissemination and conservation. Finally, the potential of archaeotourism at a global level will be made clear describing a successful emerging phenomenon: the (re)creation of nautical and underwater heritage with a view to exploiting it for tourism.

P03 LEGAL BOOKS IN THE IBERIAN WORLDS. CROSSING THE BORDERS OF NORMATIVE KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN THE AGE OF PRINTING PRESS

ORGANISER Manuela Bragagnolo (Max Planck Institute for European Legal History)

Wednesday 21 July, 16:50

This panel aims at better understanding the phenomenon of early modern normative knowledge production in the Iberian Worlds, by combining, in a multi-disciplinary approach, legal-historical research with the categories and methodologies of book history and media history. The aim is to observe, from different angles, the case of a pragmatic normative book, which was both emblematic and extraordinary: *Manual de Confessores* by Martín de Azpilcueta (1492-1586). It was a book through which normative knowledge, namely canon law filtered by case-oriented moral theology, crossed both geographical, political, and social boundaries.

The *Manual* had an extraordinary success: it was a real best-seller in the early modern period. Mainly produced and largely used in Tridentine and Post-Tridentine Europe, it had a 'global' circulation, being omnipresent, from the New World book trade to Asian libraries. But Azpilcueta's case is also emblematic of the instability of normative knowledge in the age of the printing press: an incredible number of editions, translations, and compendia circulated between the 16th and 17th centuries, storing and mobilizing in different media forms, languages, and settings, the normative knowledge contained in the *Manual*.

The idea is to look at Azpilcueta's *Manual* from a global perspective by analyzing its global production, circulation, and consumption from some concrete, local, observation points on the Globe. The aim is to see if and how this global bestseller served and was adapted to the local needs. Moreover, the panel will analyze if and how, in the different geographical, political, and religious contexts of the early modern Iberian Empires, the *Manual* contributed to the 'legal literacy' reaching different kinds of readers: from learned jurists to common people.

...

Sinful women in Japan: guilty and repentance in the application of Azpilcueta's Manual for Confessors

Luisa Stella De Oliveira Coutinho Silva (Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory)

The commitment of sins and how a Christian feels guilty and repentant is a fundamental question for Christianity. Even before the 16th century, the confession was highly discussed in the ecclesiastic literature. In Portugal, the topic was so relevant that the first book printed in the kingdom is considered to be the *Tratado de Confissom*, in 1489. In this type of normative literature, women appear as a special category of sinner: daughters, mothers, wives and widows; virgins, prostitutes, as well as women living in concubinage with men committed sins that are intrinsically connected to their gender. This paper aims to analyze the recommendation for women as sinners in one of the most famous manuals for confessors from the 16th century: *Manual de Confessores*, written by Martín de Azpilcueta. The study focusses on a global perspective of how the knowledge of this pragmatic book travelled throughout the world and influenced normative practices, laying the basis for a methodological approach named *Gender in Global Legal History*. I will compare the same topics related to women as sinners in Azpilcueta's *Manual*, in the Compendium by Alagona and in the Compendium printed in *Nagasaki*, in Japan, by the Jesuit Press in 1597. Furthermore, the paper focuses on the pragmatic application of the model of confession and application of penances influenced by such book to the converted Japanese, who, in their turn, had previous religious beliefs and religious rituals before converting to Christianity. Therefore, in applying such recommendations found in the Compendium to converted Japanese women, missionaries had to introduce, made sense and correspondences, and culturally translate the idea of sins and guilty. To understand how this process occurred, I will compare those concepts with the ideas and normativities in Buddhism using Japanese sources.

Doctor Navarro on the Borderlands: The use of Martín de Azpilcueta's work in New Spain's Northern Frontier

David Rex (Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez)

This presentation focuses on the use of Martín de Azpilcueta's work in and out of the Franciscan colleges of propaganda fide, the main Franciscan missionary endeavor during the long 18th century. This presentation deals with two aspects: the presence of Azpilcueta's texts in the colleges's libraries and their use in the colleges's frontier missions in northern New Spain. I particularly focus on a manuscript with the instructions to Sonora missionaries on the ban of handling money and specie that relies on Azpilcueta as well as an important text on moral theology that deals at length with usury. I argue that by the end of the 18th century, Azpilcueta's 16th-century work still remained valuable as a normative text on the distant frontiers of the Spanish Empire. The presentation reveals how Franciscan missionaries working on the conversion of

Catholics and non-Catholics alike relied on Azpilcueta for temporal issues such as usury, poverty, and money handling, among others.

Global Normative Knowledge Production under the Author's Control?

Manuela Bragagnolo (Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory)

This paper aims at introducing the case of *Manual de Confessores* by Martín de Azpilcueta (1492-1586) as a case of global normative knowledge production in the early modern period.

Printed for the first time in Coimbra, Portugal, in 1549, and based on an anonymous text written by a Franciscan friar, the book was then transformed and translated time and again by the celebrated Spanish canon law professor Martín de Azpilcueta's, and had an extraordinary success. Mainly produced and largely used in Tridentine and Post-Tridentine Europe, it had a 'global' circulation, being omnipresent, from the New World book trade to Asian libraries. But Azpilcueta's case is also emblematic of the instability of normative knowledge in the age of the printing press: an incredible number of editions, translations, and compendia circulated between the 16th and 17th centuries, storing and mobilizing in different media forms, languages, and settings, the normative knowledge contained in the *Manual*. This continuous revision process of the *Manual* accompanied the canon lawyer until his death, for more than 35 years, following him in his moving across Europe, namely from Portugal to Spain to Rome.

In this paper, I will give an overview of Azpilcueta's complex editorial history. I'll provide a map of the editions that appeared between the 16th and 17th centuries, focusing in particular on the editions supervised by Azpilcueta himself. I will show how Azpilcueta not only did transform, improve, update and adapt the content of the book to the needs of a rapidly changing world. But I'll analyse how he also tried to control the production and also the circulation of the book on a global scale, by showcasing a deep knowledge of the regulations and mechanisms related to book production and trades. Namely, he carefully and systematically used the privilege of print system.

Following the Franciscan Path: 16th century Portuguese and Italian editions of the Martín de Azpilcueta's Manual de Confesores y Penitentes

Federico Palomo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

As mentioned in the front page of its first edition (Coimbra, 1549), the *Manual de Confesores y Penitentes* by Martín de Azpilcueta was based on a previous text written by a Franciscan friar, traditionally identified as being Friar Martinho do Porto. Indeed, several Portuguese and Italian editions of the *Manual* – or of the *Compendio* – were printed still in the 16th century under the supervision or the intervention of different Franciscan friars, such as Masseo de Elvas, Antonio de Zurara, Niccolo da Guglionesi and Paolo Calanna. Therefore, this presentation aims to analyse some of those 16th century 'Franciscan' editions, in order to understand the divergences they show vis-à-vis Azpilcueta's text and to what extent the *Manual* ended up by knowing a particular 'Franciscan path'.

Traces of normative knowledge in the Iberian empires: Azpilcueta's Manual de Confesores beyond disciplinary frontiers

Airton Ribeiro Da Silva Jr. (Centro Universitário Paraíso) & Idalia García (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

This paper attempts to account and evaluate the available sources to establish the presence of Azpilcueta's *Manual de Confesores* throughout Portuguese and Spanish Americas, while reflecting the potentialities of these sources in explaining the phenomenon of the circulation of normative knowledge. Besides presenting the accessible sources that contains traces of legal books, we intend to make a critical assessment of these sources, reflecting about the record of the books within these documents. Among the different kind of sources available - *postmortem* inventories, censorship control, documents from book trading, catalogues of libraries, etc – their explanatory potential may vary according to the manner the book is recorded in the testimony. Understanding the role of a legal book within a particular society is a daunting task that requires an interdisciplinary approach combining legal history and book history. On the one hand, legal history considers the book mostly for its content, this is, understands the role of a legal book mainly for the normative information stored, and how this information can be applied. On the other hand, book history takes the book as an object, realizing its materiality. Thus, we use a combined disciplinary background to carry out a source criticism of the traces of law books within colonial spaces of the Iberian empires, using the occurrence of Azpilcueta's *Manual de Confesores* as a reference.

P04 CROSSING BORDERS AT SEA

ORGANISERS Ryan Jones (University of Oregon), Brooke Grasberger (Brown University), Jason Colby (University of Victoria) & Nadin Heé (Freie Universität Berlin)

Thursday 22 July, 16:50

This panel examines the way that engagement with the living sea encouraged and sometimes forced humans to cross various borders, including those of nation, history, culture, law, and species. Individual papers consider migratory marine animals including whales, tuna, and salmon, creatures which took little notice of human borders. The humans who tried to exploit, study, or manage these creatures were drawn into their lifeworlds, often with transformative impact on animal and human histories.

• • •

Shifting Boundaries in Consuming and Conserving Tuna across Borders in the 20th and 21st Century

Nadin Heé (Global History of Knowledge - Freie Universität Berlin; History of Science - Max-Planck Institute)

For centuries, tuna has been fished and consumed along the coasts, which this migratory fish approached on his journey through the oceans. In the 20th century, however, tuna became a global commons rather than a local one. Increasingly it was perceived as an important source of protein to fight hunger and ensure the survival of the human species. In the second half of the 20th century, global capitalization of marine migratory species such as tuna went hand in hand with the idea of scarcity and fear of overexploitation, most famously exclaimed by Garrett Hardin in his theory of the “tragedy of the commons.” In this spirit, new territorial regimes such as the International Law of the Sea by the United Nations were established to conserve and manage fish and other marine resources as a global commons or national good.

This contribution seeks to show that consuming and conserving tuna in the 20th and 21st centuries implied to think and act beyond borders. First, the migratory character of tuna forced humans to follow them through the oceans. By so doing, they opened up oceanic frontiers and crossed geographic borders, a process that was steered by human-non-human species interaction. Second, not only in exploiting, but also conserving tuna border crossing was crucial. Looking at tuna management under the International Law of the Sea regime will demonstrate how both human and non-human species crossed not only nation-state borders but also legal borders. Thirdly, we will look at tuna farming and hatchery projects to save tuna from extinction while continuing to consume it from a multi-species approach. Here, the aim is to explore how marine species' borders are crossed by new forms of mobility, feeding practices, or crossbreeding.

“It Was Foul Murder”: The Borders of Species and Sentiment in Human Views of California Gray Whales

Jason M. Colby (University of Victoria)

This paper will explore the role of violence and emotion in the shifting human relations with eastern Pacific (or “California”) gray whales. Nearly hunted to extinction in the mid-nineteenth century and again in the early twentieth century, gray whales recovered and became celebrated icons of the Pacific Coast of North America in large part due to the perception of the species' mother-child bond. As early as 1869, for example, former whaler Prentice Mulford used profoundly emotional language in describing the sight of an orphaned gray whale calf off Baja California. “The poor, helpless, starving creature still swam by the dead mother's side,” he wrote. “It was foul murder.” Such humanization through sentimental language only grew in the mid-twentieth century, as researchers and observers became more familiar with gray whales—the most coastal of all large cetaceans. Drawing upon archival and oral history sources, the paper will track how the growing recognition of devoted motherhood as central to the species' survival served to blurred the cultural boundaries between human and non-human. By the 1970s and 1980s, the rhetoric and imagery of the tourist industry had progressively brought gray whales into the imagined community of the Pacific Coast.

Across Oceans and Ideologies: Studying and Managing Migratory Animals in the North Pacific, 1950 - 1991

Ryan Tucker Jones (University of Oregon)

This paper examines the attempts by the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, and Canada to understand the complex migratory life-strategies of commercial North Pacific species, including whales, salmon, and other pelagic fish. All of these species were targets of industrialized fishing and whaling fleets from the 1950s, and because they range widely across the ocean, they forced scientists and administrators from opposite sides of the Cold War to coordinate their activities. In the process of joint scientific voyages and international conferences, humans made great advances in understanding North

Pacific animals' border crossings, in the process gaining insights into regional climate and oceanographic regimes. They also failed, in almost every case, to halt these species' decline.

Lines, Circles, and Degrees: Navigation and Sailors' Spiritual Lives across the Nineteenth Century

Brooke Grasberger (Brown University)

As sailors traversed the world's seas, guiding and guided by wooden sailing ships, they traversed and positioned themselves by the grid of degrees known as latitude and longitude. In navigating oceans by these lines, sailor ranged not just across but around various borders, the first evidence of which was often found aboard their ships: in the varied origins of crew members themselves, in the materials of which the ship itself was constructed, people and forests flung far from the soil of their first growth. Created through and by these crossed lines and borders, the continual circling and cycling of maritime commerce — and all the interrelated forces of weather, water, vessels, and nations — created a particular life course for sailors themselves, which extended to life and death not just at sea but on shore.

Centering around the voyage from the North Atlantic to the South Atlantic in various iterations across the nineteenth century, with the Equator and the attendant ceremony of crossing the Line as its central feature, this paper uses records from British, Dutch, and American vessels to examine sailors' experience of maritime borders — such as the Equator, the horizon, and the surface of the ocean — and how this affected the spiritual-temporal horizons of sailors themselves.

P05 SHIFTING BORDERLINES OF A MULTICULTURAL CITY: THESSALONIKI BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE GREEK NATION-STATE

ORGANISER Shai Srougo (University of Haifa)

Wednesday 21 July, 09:45

Between 1912 and 1943 Thessaloniki was subjected to political, economic, and social upheavals. The aim of the proposed panel is to study the effect of these geo-strategic factors in Thessaloniki, a living space whose traditional spheres of activities were shifted from separated (on the basis of ethnicity, religious) to a local multicultural identity. The dynamism of borderlines in the cityscape of Thessaloniki will be analyzed through a comparative view of Israeli and Greek researchers of Modern Greece.

• • •

Business and adjustment in times of shifting borders in the Balkans (1912-1923). Thessaloniki's entrepreneurial scene

Andreas Bouroutis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Ottoman Thessaloniki was facing an entrepreneurial boom. Its geographic location (between East and West), its human composition (a polyglot mosaic of different ethnic communities), and a heavy investment of foreign and local capital in the city's infrastructure, turned the city into the maritime and commercial hub of the Balkans. However, the era of prosperity ended with the Balkan Wars and the First World War, which led to the establishment of new rigid, political borders in the historical hinterland of the Balkans.

The first part of the presentation discusses the responses of local entrepreneurship, namely Jewish, Greek and Turkish businessmen to these changes. What was the impact of both the exogenous conditions and border constraints on the local economic initiatives? How did companies doing businesses with the Balkan states adjust to the new environment? In addition to the new political landscape in the hinterland of Thessaloniki, the local businessmen were facing a second challenge, an internal national border. Athens, the national capital, became the commercial and maritime center of Greece, at the expense of Thessaloniki's glowing past and future potential. Why did Thessaloniki's entrepreneurs' respond to the Athens threat only in a partial manner, and why did their efforts meet with only partial success? How was this situation reflected in the establishment of new companies, and how many of them were joint schemes between Jewish and Greek partners? In the second part of the presentation, I will discuss the difficulties of establishing a unified human agency among the entrepreneurial community of Thessaloniki due to the communal internal borders which stood between the Jewish population and the Greek population.

The Fall of the Balkan Port: The Free Zone of Thessaloniki

Shai Srougo (University of Haifa)

My presentation concerns the decline of the port of Thessaloniki in the interwar years, manifested in the failure of the Free Zone scheme. The establishment of a transit center free of duty for the use of neighboring Balkan states was the flagship scheme of Thessaloniki to restore its economic trade with the historical hinterland—commercial ties which ended after the two Balkan Wars (1912-1913). However, the Free Zone failed to meet expectations, because it attracted only a small portion of the maritime transport of the Balkans. Greek historiography links this failure to the inter-Balkan conflicts which hampered commercial cooperation. This argument oversimplifies the broader challenges that the grand Free Zone scheme was actually facing. My presentation suggests a much more comprehensive explanation of the process which hindered the growth of the Free Zone. It shows the creation of internal borderlines—Old Greece (i.e., the national territory before the Balkan Wars) versus the New Lands (i.e., the new territories after the Balkan Wars)—which in the interwar years brought the Thessaloniki Port to a state of underdevelopment while the Piraeus Port flourished.

The uneven interregional development and the dominance of Piraeus Port will be studied through the role of the *bureaucratic*, political and economic elites in the core society, who successfully preserved their privileges through shaping the government policy of development in the Athens-Piraeus region, resulting in underdevelopment in the periphery, i.e., Thessaloniki. As such, local proposals promoting commercial development, initiated by the Thessaloniki Port Authority, were rejected by the powerful central government. This mechanism of underdevelopment

will be revealed by two key issues: (1) the operation of a second Greek Free Zone in the Piraeus Port (2) the loss of the opium trade, which was shifted from Thessaloniki to Yugoslavian ports.

Boundaries of the labour force in an empire and a nation-state: The Salonika case.

Alexandros Dagkas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

The Ottoman city of Salonika *intra muros* presented the peculiarity of an enclosed multi-cultural area, where each national and ethnic community organized its own unique life within its own boundaries, with the sole points of contact between them being the sites where the functions of the capitalist economy were carried out. On the waterfront, where after 1913 the border of the free zone of the port was *added*, Jewish dockworkers were employed, *and*, beyond the water frontier, Jewish fishermen were claiming the fluid space exclusively for *themselves*. Within the Jewish community, there was horizontally a class stratification with distinct limits (high bourgeoisie, middle strata, workers' and other *lower strata*). Vertically, in the superstructure, a fragmentation into three main *factions* (assimilationists, Zionists, socialists) was occurring.

The aim of this study is to discuss the context in which the disadvantaged strata of the Jewish community—workers and others who shared the same economic-social interests and often the same ideology—were living and acting. The joint effort of the three factions in some exceptional cases during the Ottoman era, and then in the period of incorporation of the city into a Greek nation-state, is a phenomenon that has to be pointed out. Although the cooperation model between the factions was constantly fluctuating, in violation of the truce between them, the vertical (cultural) communication reveals a pillar of solidarity when emergencies arose.

The most numerous stratum occupied in industrial production, the tobacco workers, held, in their majority, a radical ideological inclination, characterized by a militant disposition at the economic level (towards the capital holders) and at the political, ideological and cultural level (*vis à vis* the bourgeois parties, Zionists, cosmopolitans). The communication *extra muros* (a movement of Jewish tobacco workers, coming from the other tobacco cities) served to reinforce the cultural Jewish labour *identity*.

Fluid Boundaries on an Urban Frontier: Gender, Class and Religion in Thessaloniki 1912–1936

Gila Hadar (Department of Jewish History University of Haifa)

The subject of this lecture will be the construction of identity and the crossing and extension of boundaries among working-class Jewish girls in Thessaloniki from the year 1912 and culminating in the events of Bloody May in 1936.

After the Great Fire of 1917 and the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey, a ring of neighborhoods for the Jewish and Greek refugees was built around Thessaloniki. The mixture of Greek refugees and Jewish slums and factories in which people lived and worked side by side produced new urbanization processes with ethnic, cultural and religious differences, new forms of urban exclusion, and multiple points of tension.

Despite the tensions and struggles between the Jewish and Greek refugees, the neighborhoods and workers' organizations established a united front against the government, the municipality and the employers. Both Jews and Greeks (and both men and women) led the workers' demonstrations, and in the events of 1936 the boundaries of the factories and neighborhoods were breached and the struggle took place in the center of the city.

The Jewish and Greek female workers protested against the unemployment, the layoffs, and the salary reductions, but mostly the struggle was on the gender front. For the poverty-stricken female laborers, this meant making enough for a dowry, being able to realize their femininity and becoming wives and mothers. Love stories, religious conversions, and the violation of ethnic and religious boundaries were expressed in folk songs, stories, and articles in the Jewish and Greek press.

The secret and forgotten salts traded at the Silk Road's frontiers: - Byzantium's - Pre/Post-Islam's impact upon the fall of The Supreme Ottoman State

David Bloch (SALT ARCHIVE - M.R.Bloch)

The Hebrew word for "border" or frontier is ["גבול" gvul] - or tax point –eg- where customs tax was and still is collected [hebr "גביה"] by the authority representing the relevant community on the route either side of the check point. Their purpose, to collect tax on the first traded industrial commodity needed by early mankind - commonsalt. The Silk Road source and forgotten trade of irreplaceable essential salts has impacted mankind's ethnic and cultural borders up to the advent of WW1.

More than 150,000 thousand GALLERIAS, QANAT, KAREZ AFLAJ FOGARA sweet water distribution systems including more than 200,000 kilometers of tunnels still exist in the Middle East, Central Asia and Mediterranean basins. It is proposed that the reason for the original ancient Qanat design was to direct water to arid zone SABKHA basins in order to irrigate and dissolve salt deposits of endorheic alluvial basins by leaching, then recrystallizing and precipitating the salts as pure salt crust during the hot desert seasons. With now ubiquitous salt supplies, Qanat tunnels are used today only for domestic and local agricultural water supply. The engineering and construction of these systems involved an extremely heavy investment,

in extreme desert conditions. The human cost of building the tunnels and boreholes could only have been justified by the priceless value of the salt products resulting from the irrigation and flooding mechanisms. After reorganising the management control of these water sources The Islamic [Shiia Jafari] agricultural revolution the Ottoman regime and its client trading partner Byzantia - This forgotten leaching technology is no longer in use and the consequences of the Silk Road trade border points have little meaning. They do however leave the modern world with a multiplicity of religious borders ports and cities like Thessaloniki to contend with the aftermath of the Silk Road.

P06 NEW MATERIALISMS, NEW REALISMS, AND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE HUMAN ORGANISERS

ORGANISERS Diogo De Carvalho Cabral (Trinity College Dublin) & André Vasques Vital (University Center of Anápolis)

Thursday 22 July, 11:50 / Friday 23 July, 09:45

This panel aims to bring together studies that challenge the boundaries – both conceptual and physico-geographical – between humans and nonhumans established by humanism. As the literary critic Predrag Cicovacki reminds us, ‘The Latin word *definitio* means a boundary. To define means to bound and determine, to limit and fix the essence of something.’ At odds with the modern humanist tendency to internalize the universe as a mere reflection of the human psyche, the biophysical world continues to manifest its autonomous existence at every step of humanity’s journey. Volcanoes, hurricanes, and tsunamis continue to destroy cities and towns, insect pests continue to devastate crops, soils continue to erode, and water gets increasingly polluted and scarce in the largest urban settlements. Climate change, mass species extinction, the COVID-19 pandemic, and several other phenomena at the regional level attest to the failure of human-exceptionalist frameworks in making sense of people’s place in planetary ecologies, turning clear the reductionism of categories such as nature, environment, and technology. Countering that, in recent decades, several studies – often artificially categorized under different labels such as Materialist Feminism, Multispecies Studies, Object-Oriented Ontology, Speculative Realism, and Critical Post-humanism – point to new ways of (un)bounding the Human by exploring how people and nonhuman beings and things affect and produce each other in their entanglements. We invite submissions that focus on how boundaries are negotiated in more-than-human assemblages rather than imposed by people and how these transactions shape history, the arts, and all those other dimensions of life which humanist frameworks would consider as purely ‘social’ activities.

• • •

Porous Boundaries: Human and Nonhuman Intra-Action in the Art of Maria Tomasula

Soo Kang (Chicago State University)

Maria Tomasula (b. 1958) produces mesmerizing Neo-Baroque still lifes of flowers, fruits, and insects. Her meticulously detailed paintings of uncanny arrangements usually denote human presence through the inclusion of an implied silhouette of a figure, doll’s hand, glove and other human accessories. Since the early 1990s, she has delineated these organic, human, and material fragments conjoined by means of nails and strings. Over the years, the still life components are ever more intertwined and coalesced: her *River* of 2017-8 reveals a hand that emerges directly out of a tree trunk and bears branches of fruits in its fingers.

Tomasula’s belief in the porousness of all borders originated from her Catholic upbringing. Beside the apprehension of spiritual embodiment, she absorbed the lesson of the interconnectivity between humans and the material, as she witnessed how the churchgoers touched hard stone statues of saints, which exhibited worn-out surfaces due to decades of rubbing, evidencing, in her mind, a material exchange at the moment of contact. Her understanding of the porousness of boundaries expanded to embrace the notion of entanglement of all existing forms through her study of New Materialism. She indeed endeavors to visually illustrate the New Materialist position through her nature-centered creations of multispecies that deny exclusive human superiority and defy any boundaries and fixation as they appear to be in the process of further transmutation.

This paper will explore the adoption of New Materialism in the still life paintings of Tomasula. The concepts of intra-action, thing-power, natureculture, sympoiesis, and holobiont will be examined in light of specific works of art to demonstrate the influence. Donna Haraway’s *Staying with the Trouble* (2016) is especially applicable, as Tomasula too ultimately espouses a sense of optimism through her entangled pictorial formations.

The Non/Inhuman Within: Beyond the Biopolitical Intrauterine Imaginary

Paula McCloskey (University of Derby)

In the context of the increasingly entangled, devastating markers of this time (climate crises, unfettered capitalism, tribal nationalism, increasing borders, species extinction), this paper stakes a claim for the importance of attending to the human intrauterine as a way to connect with non/inhuman alterity. It is argued that the intrauterine phenomena, as a process experienced by all humans, has a part to play in understanding “humanness”, human connectedness and entanglement to nonhumanness, which can be used as part of a wider strategy to re-imagine collaboratively and with co-response-ability ways to live and survive within multispecies landscapes. Methodologically, Karen Barad’s diffractive approach is used to explore the intrauterine as a time-space of affect and connection between the human and nonhuman. With this approach, the paper assembles selected philosophers, alongside a re-reading of Mary Kelly’s *Antepartum* (1973) in the proposal of an intrauterine imaginary unhitched from the biopolitical. In doing so, it seeks to re-draw some of the boundaries around the

intrauterine imaginary, to propose how paying attention to the non/inhuman of the human intrauterine might generate images and ideas of connections, entanglement and co-response-ability beyond birth, between humans and more than humans.

Crossing Boundaries: Gender Transitions as more-than-human-assemblages

Louka Maju 'Goetzke (Goethe University Frankfurt)

Gender transitioning means moving away from the gender assigned at birth. This movement crosses the boundaries constructed by one's culture to delimit and contain the assigned gender. The seemingly purely social phenomenon in fact involves a number of human and nonhuman elements, e.g., transitioning subjects, bodies and what they are capable of, hormones, implants, tucking tape, wigs, or other pieces of clothing. The way gendered bodies are able and allowed to change is, amongst others, shaped and defined by the fleshy physicality of human bodies, laws and regulations, technological and medical innovation, community knowledge, and other human and nonhuman actors. In an always already entangled process, these material-discursive elements contribute to forming, maintaining, and redefining the boundaries that form a gender transition.

In my paper, I explore gender transitions as more-than-human-assemblages. I focus on the transversal entanglements of humans with nonhumans and the physical, material and discursive ecologies of practices in the process of transitioning. For this, I make use of an anti-dualistic new materialist approach (Deleuze, Barad) to replace the idea of inter-relations and autonomous subjects with individual agency by entangled, intra-acting, material-discursive processes with multi-situated agency.

To describe the more-than-human processes co-constituting a gender transition, I conducted a genealogical research. With multiple methods of data collections (interviews, observations, re-enactments), I engaged with the intra-related practices and elements by which gender transitions materialize as more-than-human phenomena. Since Gender transitions emerge with the crossing of boundaries as well as boundary-making practices, my research focused on the boundary-making practices that constitute the boundary crossing. In addition to presenting my research findings on how these boundaries are negotiated by humans and nonhumans, my paper explores a methodological arrangement for qualitative research that doesn't reduce research data to simple processes of causation but instead accounts for the complex intra-relations and entanglements in more-than-human-assemblages.

The Roundness of Earth: Of time, space and nature in the early modern Atlantic

Cristina Brito (CHAM and Departamento de História, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

'We are all blips of life in a sea of eternity. We are all visitors in the earth.' The Rock-Water Earth is ever fluid in its cycles, times and stories that *Repeat, Rediscover, Resume, Reunite* creating geological, genetic and cultural memories. The temporality of historical flows can be seen as oceanic patterns of water circulation in such a way that historical processes are not linear but rather organic, circulatory and global. Addressing past moments in time, in my case events of early modern exploitation of the ocean, allows an understanding about and casts light on the interactions between humans and the rest of the natural world. Likewise, it allows to understand how different peoples – with different worldviews and ways of being on Earth – have acted, in parallel and converging ways in some cases, and in totally divergent ways in others, when facing interactions with their environs and with the resources they needed. Here, I am using an analogy of current-day Rs - *Recycle, Reuse, Reduce, Refuse* and *Rethink* – with their alter-Rs - *Reverence, Responsibility, Reciprocity, Respect* and *Relations*. I am following the thought of several authors from the Environmental Humanities to discuss dichotomies in westernized and indigenous ways of viewing the more-than-human world. I will also discuss connections and interdependencies of our (human) existence and (all) other existences in an interconnected nature-culture system. I will address these relationships and the perceptions of existing in an intricate dialogue and being kin to one another in the past with influences on the present and our common future. Our present can touch our past and our future. Animals, plants, rivers, oceans, forests, societies, we are all parts of the same system; we are undoubtedly interconnected through time, space and evolution, as well as through kin and memory.

Boundaries of the Human/ Boundaries of the Humanities

João Pereira De Matos (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

1. Nowadays it is more and more visible that the humanities are in crisis if we are to compare it with the development of the so-called hard sciences and with the impact of technology on everyone's life. Thus, comparatively, the humanities have,

to a certain extent, been forgotten or relegated to their specific niches, where specialists remain locked up in their respective fields, and are no longer called upon to give answers to contemporary global problems.

2. Now, this is a specific frontier of what it is to be human in the 21st century: to what extent will the absence of fulfilment of the role of the intellectual marks a Copernican transformation in the direction of the common destinies of humanity? It is no longer the ideas of the thinkers that are the engine of transformation, but the creations and initiatives of the technologists, the true agents of global transformation (it is enough, for example, to think about the coeval role of the internet revolution).

3. The frontier is precisely here and this is our proposal for this paper: to argue for the importance of re-evaluating the modes of *integration* between the humanist intellectual traditions of the humanities (with their epistemological and gnoseological paradigms) and the scientific methodologies and technical achievements in rapid expansion, as a way not only to solve most of the global civilizational issues of our Zeitgeist, but also to achieve new equilibriums towards a more sustainable and humane future.

Bugs in the text: writing and reading in ecologies of selves

Diogo De Carvalho Cabral (Trinity College Dublin) & André Vital (University Center of Anápolis)

In this paper we challenge the modern humanist tradition of viewing texts as expressive of the “inner life of the [human] speaker,” as Wilhelm Dilthey put it at the turn of the twentieth century. We contend that rather than just “residues of human reality,” written texts – both fictional and nonfictional – are surviving structures of multispecies encounters, hence also of nonhuman thoughts and doings. By being in the world, by fertilizing their surroundings with that “energy” mentioned by Jules Michelet in his *L’Insecte*, nonhuman critters write themselves on us. As Michel Foucault once observed, the human body is “the inscribed surface of events,” though not only of human-driven, human-shaped events like he imagined. Our skin, for example, is the breathing parchment where countless creatures write up their lives, a document of how we are made intelligible by nonhuman selves. We also read our own skin to track these other “intelligencings” that objectify us, transposing what we make out from it into different surfaces, including the traditional supports of alphabetic writing. Thus, human writers inadvertently incorporate nonhuman thoughts – more precisely, nonsymbolic representations of the presence and activities of people – in their texts, which can be conceived as attempts at making sense of being made sense of (by nonhuman critters). Focusing on nonfictional reportings of human-animal (mostly but not exclusively human-insect) encounters from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we argue that alphabetic texts are part of complex webs of impure meanings shaped in-between different beings and surfaces, something we call “multispecies emergent textualities.”

P08 INFORMANTS FROM THE BORDERS: AGENCY AND TERRITORIAL MEDIATION IN EARLY MODERN IBERIAN EMPIRES (15TH-18TH CENTURIES)

ORGANISERS Ida Mauro (Universitat de Barcelona), Diego Sola (Universitat de Barcelona) & Anna Busquets (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya)

Wednesday 21 July, 16:50 / Friday 23 July, 09:45 / Thursday 22 July, 11:50 / Friday 23 July, 14:45 / Thursday 22 July, 16:50

For more than three centuries, the monarchies of Spain and Portugal ruled over a plurality of territories. Consequently, a complex information system was needed in order to manage the large heterogeneity of interests of kingdoms, cities, corporations, dioceses, congregations and religious provinces. Circulation, in many directions, of information and people was the first form of connection of these institutions. Our panel wants to focus on the practice of representation of local interests through the sending of agencies and memorials to the court from border territories. These representations were part of a framework of negotiation between the rulers and the ruled, which strengthened loyalty to the monarch but in which informants often moved in a context of multiple loyalties. In turn, these practices provided useful information to the knowledge and govern of border areas, both external and internal –e.g.: the regions between kingdoms ruled by the same crown.

We analyse the acts (agencies) of representation as well the news and reports on territories scattered throughout Europe, Africa, America and Asia generated by the agencies. We also focus on the figure of the agents (the informants), the features of their mission and the results obtained.

This panel reflects on all these practices trying to establish shared patterns in the action of representing and reporting advanced by local actors. The panel also pretends to highlight both differences and singularities conditioned by the type of agency, in order to value the power of information to foster dominance and fidelity. We will attend proposals focused on the representatives of cities or kingdoms; we also welcome papers on religious that operated inside and outside the borders; as well as on the informal agents that built a global imagery of these empires, analysed from the perspective of the expansion culture, the ethnographic knowledge and the cultural translation.

• • •

Treacherous ambassador in Flanders, loyal viceroy in Aragon: biographical approach of Juan de Lanuza (†1535)

Jaime Elipe (Universidad de Zaragoza)

Ferdinand the Catholic fought and lost a hard struggle against Emperor Maximilian I in order to bring up his heir and grandson, prince Charles. However, the king tried to influence Charles' Flemish court by all means and he sent different people to achieve it. In 1512, he sent his bastard grandson Juan and one of his courtiers, Juan de Lanuza. He was a trustworthy and loyal knight of Calatrava Order but during his stay in the north, he gradually achieved to gain trust of Flemish courtiers –those who he should have spied-. Of course, that means Juan de Lanuza betrayed his old network power of the Trastámara family and the old King Ferdinand. In 1520 Charles V rewarded his new loyalty to him; Juan de Lanuza was appointed as viceroy of Aragon. Despite of his violent relationship with the new archbishop of Zaragoza –and old friend- Juan de Aragon, he managed to maintain this position until his death in 1535.

The first years of Charles V politics in Spain –apart from *Comunidades* and *Germania*- still remain unknown. A cornerstone to better global comprehension is, logically, the politic followed by different viceroys of Iberian Peninsula. That is why our proposal tries to approach Juan de Lanuza. He was a minor character of Catholic King politics but he managed with his party defection to enhance his positions. Moreover, Juan de Lanuza obtained total confidence of the new king Charles during 15 years to rule the Kingdom of Aragon. How did he inform his master during his embassy in Flanders? How did he change his political position? What was the new relationship in Aragon with his old party? And how did he use viceregal power with his new friends? These are some questions we will try to answer.

From exoticism to convention. Representing the Indies in the Empire, 1580-1640

Gibran Bautista Y Lugo (Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM)

As Assadourian (1989) pointed out, the main result of the Magna Junta, summoned by Felipe II in 1568, consisted in demanding higher income from the Indies for his royal treasure. The need to better know the resources of those latitudes triggered, in the following decades, an intense flow of information (Brendecke, 2009) in which royal officials, local authorities, residents, clergymen and agents acted. Geographical novelties and the expectation of profits outlined the guidelines of an “economy of information” (Stigler, 1961; Greenwald and Stiglitz, 1986; Stiglitz, 2000) that impacted the relationship between the Indies, the commercial networks and the royal authorities. In that transcontinental scenario,

agents of various kinds appeared, who continuously moved from America to Europe to represent private, family, corporate and more diffuse agglomerations interests rooted in Indian cities (Mauro, 2014; Gaudin, 2017; Mazín, 2017; Sola, 2018; Bahena, 2020). Based on a shared culture of Mediterranean imprint, but resignified on a planetary scale (Cardim, 2016), the negotiating actions that these characters operated in favour of their represented produced a matrix of conventions (Boltanski and Thévenot, 1991; Billaudot, 2006; Moutoukias, 2017) defining the Iberian empires and the role of the Indies in this set of universal claims. Based on a cross-sample based on grants of habit, travel licenses and letters from town councils during the union of Iberian crowns (1580-1640), this contribution has the purpose of explaining the role of the agents representing Indian interests in the European courts in the formation of the conventions that delineated the dynamics of the Indies in the general environment of the Iberian empires.

LA RAYA: Luso-Spanish frontiers: bridges and borders of Lusitania Romana in the Siglo de Oro

Sabina De Cavi (Department of Art History, FCSH, Universidade NOVA, Lisboa)

In this paper I will concentrate on bridges as a metaphor of connectivity between Iberian cultures. The key concept of this paper is universal, and it engages with multiple temporalities. The construction, demolition and rebuilding of bridges over the borders and through time is a powerful lens to study the flux of political, economic, and cultural connections between states, territories, and local intermixed communities, which embody *in situ* the powerful strength of cultural transfers and international travel. A timeless analysis of bridges in the Iberian peninsula could start with the Roman bridge of Alcántara on the Tagus river in the province of Cáceres (104-106 AD), ordered by Trajan, and end with the current refurbishing of the modern Guadiana International Bridge (1991), designed by structural engineer José Luis Cândia Martins, connecting Andalusía and Algarve, supported by Spanish and Portuguese shared partnership. Based on the study of early modern topography and cartography, as well as the study of major monuments of architecture and urban planning in the *Siglo de Oro*, my paper will focus on a few, well-chosen case studies which cast light on the continuity of shared history between Portugal and Spain, reveal the deep strata of negotiation between architectural cultures, and help discover and debate the great “highways” of early modern travel and connectivity.

Walking with grasshoppers: toward a symmetrical approach of non-human agencies in the Spanish Empire

Fabício Ferreira De Lema (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul)

The establishing of the juridical apparatus in the colonial peripheries became a traditional topic of interest for the legal historiography, especially for the History of Law. In the last decades, this topic had been object of special attention, as it emerges as a focus of multiples approaches. Recent studies emphaticise the global dimension that informs the determinations dictated by the Crown, and the local decisions of the Courts extended in diverse spots of Spanish Empire. Otherwise, this way of conceiving the relation established between municipal Courts and the central administration also permits the reallocations of new actors, previously overshadowed by the exclusive attention on central government emissaries. This approach allowed the development of a multi-localized cartography that complexifies the perception of the center/periphery model. This work aims to explore other forms of non-human agencialities that conform the juridical apparatus allocated in both sides of the Atlantic, in Spain and in the Viceroy of the River Plate. We will be focus on two isolated cases, separated in time and space, as initial points of observation: an excommunication trial against the grasshopper that devastate the Párraces abbey (Ségovia, XVII century) and a *Bando* of the Viceroy of the River Plate (Buenos Aires, XVIII century). Both cases analysed have, as a conduct wire, the problematic of the relation established between humans and non-humans on the juridical field. Starting from the Actor Network Theory [ANT], our proposal is problematizing the configuration of non-human agencialities as constitutive elements of the juridical apparatus, more than a religious heritage, highlighting the necessity of a symmetrical approach between the diverse elements that compose this network.

Borderland Shenanigans, Failed Conspiracies, and “Fake News”: Imperial Rivalries in the Natchez Area (1795-1798)

Soizic Croguennec (Université de Guyane)

Pinckney’s Treaty in 1795 supposed the redefinition of the Northern border of Spanish West Florida and the cession of the disputed Natchez area to the United States. The treaty became a reality two years later, over the course of the summer of 1797, and the territory of Mississippi was founded in 1798, consecrating the US presence and authority in the area. As presented here, this rapid evocation of the events between 1795 and 1798 might serve the combined narratives of the unstoppable US expansion to the South West and the corresponding and unavoidable collapse of the Spanish empire in the region. However, as J. C. A. Stagg wrote, a more nuanced approach of the period is necessary to better understand the complexity of the borderland dynamics in this remote area of Western Florida, at the edges of the Hispanic and Anglo-

American worlds. A cross-examination of the Spanish judicial documentation, the administrative correspondence, and the US press during these three years makes it possible not only to confront points of view from “both sides of the border” but also to operate a change of scale between imperial and local perspectives. A combined analysis of two failed conspiracies of vastly different scale that occurred in 1796-1797 sheds a light upon a wide range of actors, strategies, and agencies. Therefore, the proposed communication examines the articulation between center and periphery, from the West Florida populations’ fluctuating loyalties--characterized by the denunciation of Barton Hannon’s conspiracy to the Spanish authorities in Natchez--to the ripple effects of William Blount’s conspiracy and the subsequent power games between Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Madrid.

Mariangelo Accursio, an Ambassador and Mediator Between the Spanish Monarchy and its Border Possessions

Silvia Mantini (Università degli Studi dell'Aquila)

In the complex system of information managed by the Spanish Monarchy to govern its territories, its border possessions were an important panorama of the Crown’s attention and of the perceptions of sovereignty. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Abruzzo, part of the Kingdom of Naples and a hinge between the Papal States and the Adriatic Sea, represented a rich configuration of identities that triggered frequent communications between subjects and empire. The case of Mariangelo Accursio, a jurist charged with pleading to Charles V’s court for the reintegration of the City of L’Aquila with its surrounding lands, is an example of the creation of a network to mediate between imperial political vision and the practices at Empire’s outskirts.

His messages show the complex search for balance between Charles V’s strategies of power and visibility and the consensus of the governed. In 1536, the City of L’Aquila, through its mayor Accursio, initiated intense diplomatic activity with the viceroy and the Emperor (ASAq, ACA, Letters of Accursio). Accursio was a Latinist and humanist of certain imperial loyalty, well-known to the Habsburg court. The Crown’s actions following Accursio’s requests show the will to respect local autonomies and check feudality through investigations of abuses.

Accursio advocated personally before Charles V in Mainz, Regensburg, Augsburg, and Valladolid (Ambrosiana Library, Accursio Fond) for representing his civic requests. The circulation of information and the consequent political actions reflect the mediator’s (Accursio’s) - and L’Aquila’s - desire to confirm its loyalty to the Crown (ASNa, Segreteria dei Viceré) and the perception, from the *universitates* (AGS, Estado, Memorials), that imperial protection would be a safeguard against the new feudal lords. Resistance from the lords and slow bureaucracy prevented the implementation of the King’s decision, and the debate continued in the following centuries.

Information and local interests. Civic agents from the Mediterranean borders of the Spanish Monarchy (16th century).

Ida Mauro (University of Barcelona)

In the instructions delivered to the viceroys of Naples in the second half of the 16th century, the extended coastline of the Kingdom were frequently presented as a risky boundary, constantly exposed to the Ottoman fleet attacks. It was the main weak spot of the Kingdom, that concerns the Crown as well as the coastal villages and cities, and demanded not only towers and forts disposed all around the coasts but also continuous information about the movements of the enemies in the Mediterranean. Scholars as Gennaro Varriale have studied the information networks and the role of the secret agents (as the renegades or the members of the Greek community in Naples), others, as Paola Nestola, have pointed out the presence of religious representatives of the Crown in the frontier territories, like the bishops of the royal patronage dioceses of Terra d’Otranto. Besides these agents, this paper wants to focus on the practice of representation of local interests moved forward by the *sindaci*, *procuratori* and “ambassadors” that were sent by the coastal cities to the royal court. Comparing the petitions presented by civic agents sent by the coastal cities of several Mediterranean kingdoms (Naples, Sicily, Majorca or the Principality of Catalonia), the paper analyses whether their negotiation could be benefited from the geographical boundaries and the threats of the Ottoman attacks. These local agents were seen by the Crown as inexpensive information providers (as they went straight to the royal or viceregal court moved by other interests) but also as essential tools to strengthen the border defense by reinforcing the fidelity ties between the Monarchy and the subjects who lived in frontier territories.

Echoes from the Indian Ocean. The Ottoman-Portuguese confrontations through the sources of Hispanic espionage in the Mediterranean sea (16th Century)

Álvaro Casillas Pérez (University of Alcalá-Università di Genova)

One of the consequences of the conflict between the Spanish Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire — which took place in the Mediterranean and the Hungarian areas during a large part of the 16th Century — was the use of espionage methods to learn about the political and military movements of the opponent. In particular, Charles V and Philip II set up extensive news

gathering networks stationed in or within Turkish territory in order to anticipate the Sultan's actions against their interests. Made up of people from different socio-cultural backgrounds, the spies were able to translate and represent to their readers distant and culturally distinct realities, with stories that referred to actions that occurred throughout the Sultan's dominions. Although there was no direct confrontation in the Indian Ocean between these two global empires, the eyes and ears of the Spanish-Imperial side were very vigilant to everything that happened in this space. There, the Sublime Porte faced the expansionism of another Iberian power, the Portuguese Monarchy. This paper aims to unravel the reasons that led spies to include news of the Ottoman-Portuguese confrontation in their accounts, and the Hispanic Monarchy — as well as other Mediterranean actors — to take an interest in these events. It is also intended to reflect on the places where their news items were obtained, and the agents involved in this action. The aim is to offer a reflection on the conception of the frontier as a space for the circulation of people and news, and the capacity of spies to build distant worlds with their stories.

Disseminating Avvisi in Barcelona: agents and mediators of Esteban Liberós' news network

Milena Viceconte (Università di Napoli Federico II)

Among the most significant printing houses active in Barcelona during the first half of the seventeenth century, that of the printer Esteban Liberós played a leading role in the production and diffusion of printed news about military battles, royal ceremonies, diplomatic visits and natural disasters that occurred inside and outside the borders of the Spanish Empire.

Many of its *avvisi* and *relaciones de sucesos* - published by him between 1611 and 1633 - are copies translated into Spanish from handwritten news and official reports originally written in Italian, French and other languages. To make the sheet appealing and thus attract the public avid for news, the printer used to decorate the first page with simple woodcuts as a visual paratexts of the printed news, more or less linked to the content.

The information offered in the long titles and across the text of these newssheets let us to know more about the extended information network of Esteban Liberós outside Barcelona, which involved ecclesiastical and political agents, associated printers and foreign reporters. This paper will focus on the role of this local Catalan printer in gathering, selecting and spreading news coming from the vast Spanish Monarchy territories and the different Mediterranean centres of power.

Local Mediations in José de Acosta's *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*

Miguel Ibáñez Aristondo (Villanova University)

This paper will examine the configuration of an Iberian vision of history through José de Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590). The presentation will analyze Acosta's interaction with local mediators by emphasizing the role that mediations had in the production of a connected historical approach. The presentation will discuss how Acosta brought to this work sources and local experiences related to the history of Peru, New Spain, and China. In this regard, the presentation will examine Acosta's exchange with local mediators such as Juan de Tovar (154-1623) in Mexico and address the question of how local experiences were translated and incorporated into an Iberian historiographical connected corpus. Ultimately, the presentation argues that the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* initiated a new form of connected historiography made through the entanglement of local mediations and experiences associated with both translation and the writing of history.

Martín Ignacio de Loyola (1550-1606) and the Asian politics of the Catholic Monarchy

Diego Sola (Universitat de Barcelona)

This paper analyzes the memorial contribution of the Franciscan Martín Ignacio de Loyola (Éibar, 1550 - Buenos Aires, 1606), missionary in the Far East and bishop of the Río de la Plata. Due to his career, this religious, nephew-grandson of Ignacio de Loyola, developed a well-known degree of knowledge about Asian affairs thanks to the publication of his traveling account «Itinerario del Padre Custodio Martín Ignacio de Loyola» in the printed work of Augustinian Juan González de Mendoza *Historia del Gran Reino de la China* (Rome, 1585). During his life, the religious wrote to the king giving his opinion about the conservation of the dominions of the Catholic Monarchy in Asia and the Pacific. Through the analysis of this documentation, we will reconstruct Martín de Loyola's vision of the politics of the Monarchy in the Asian sphere.

Carlo di Orazio da Castorano and his travels in Asia: politics, religion, and missionary agency.

Marina Torres Trimállez (University of Cantabria)

Carlo di Orazio (1673-1755) was an Italian Franciscan that worked in China as a missionary between 1700 and 1733. He is a well-known figure in the 18th century missions in China for his definitive role in the condemnation of the Chinese rites about

which he tirelessly wrote. Considering Castorano's manuscripts and the books he wrote, this paper has a two-fold objective. In the first place, it aims to analyse the context of the mission around 1700 and to understand the political profile of this missionary, underlining both the friendly and conflictive relations that he cultivated during his stay in China and in his return to Europe. In the second place, it seeks to study both his training, formation, and experience in the mission field to deepen into his knowledge of Chinese traditions and culture beyond his most prominent works. By combining these two perspectives, it will be possible to reflect about missionaries' agency and the use of information to pursue his religious interests that have been usually underrepresented in historiography. Carlo Orazio, who responded directly to *Propaganda Fide*, becomes a singular case that exemplifies the complexity of the mission in the 18th century in which new actors, new loyalties, and new problems, were added.

How to deal with the Chinese? A Spanish informant in Canton, late 18th century

Eliette Soulier (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - LECMO/CRES)

This presentation aims to shed light on a manuscript kept in the Spanish national library which has not been studied yet, in spite of its interest in terms of economic history, expansion culture and ethnography.

The author was probably Manuel de Agote, who took part in two expeditions to China chartered by the trading company Ustáriz, San Ginés and Cie, in 1779-1782 and 1783-1785. At the time, the Spanish monarchy was willing to reorganize transpacific trade, in order to make it more profitable for the metropolis and to limit competition between Spanish and Chinese goods in the viceroyalties. Thus, Agote was aiming to pass on valuable information collected directly in the field, on the Asian border of the Spanish empire. In his task, he was helped by the Augustinian missionary José de Villanueva, who had been in China since 1759.

As a result of this collaboration, a rather hybrid text, that not only transmits valuable commercial information but also provides the reader with a description of compelling aspects of Chinese society, including a summary of a Chinese text, probably the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, translated by Villanueva.

In this research, I will focus on three aspects:

- the collaboration between these two local agents of the frontier
- the insights into Spanish trade in Canton: agents, prices, goods; information to protect the interests of local actors – Spanish traders – and a global structure, the transpacific trade.
- the action of representing, as the expression of a genuine interest for Chinese culture and an incipient sinophobia, and as part of an imperialist agenda in which the expansion of knowledge goes along with the expansion of trade and power.

Crossing the borders by belonging to the Society of Jesus. The case of Joseph Guinet

Antonio Ruiz Castellanos (Universidad de Cádiz, España)

Echávarri, *El Reyno jesuítico del Paraguay* (The Jesuit Kingdom of Paraguay), p. 45, accuses the Jesuits of Paraguay of this, when he affirms that "The first means (of keeping the Jesuits their independence as a kingdom) was to load these Missions of a greater number of Foreign priests than Spaniards ..."

This is the case of Joseph Guinet, author of ms. BNMadrid colec. Gayangos, signed: Paraguay / Misiones / n. 41. He was born in 1683 in Saint-Meen, France. He fought as a soldier in the war in Catalonia under the command of Marshal De Noailles. He was captured by the English, but escaped to Saint-Malo. He was later rescued by the Spaniards and taken to Buenos Aires in 1717. There he decided to "surrender to God."

He became a coadjutor brother (hermano) in Córdoba (Argentina), where he obtained the novitiate in 1718. (*AHSJ*, 1947, 98-176). Between 1720-24 he studied Theology in Buenos Aires. But he surely acted as an instructor for the Guarani armies against the Portuguese in the taking of Colonia Sacramento in 1735, as Carlos A. Page says (2014: "“La presencia de los jesuitas en Colonia del Sacramento. *Jesuitas en América Latina*, p, 71).

Other issues to be discussed are the extraction of aspiring foreign Jesuits and their knowledge and practice of Spanish and the indigenous languages.

The First Official Spanish Embassy to China: The Defeat of Privateer Limahong by Spanish Authorities

Brayan Serratos (Vanderbilt University)

During the second half of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, China shifted back to the *Haijin* policy, which was a series of regulations that confined private maritime trade. This prohibition was very problematic, not only for the coastal cities of the empire, but also for all foreign merchants who benefited from maritime trade on the Chinese coasts. The *Haijin* policy also explains the great difficulty that Spanish missionaries had in entering and establishing themselves in Chinese territory. The Augustinians and Dominicans unsuccessfully attempted to infiltrate China by making

several missionary expeditions. There was clearly a great interest in discovering and, at some point, colonizing the Chinese Empire, even before the arrival and settlement of the Spaniards in Manila in 1571. It was not until the Spanish army defeated the Chinese privateer Limahon that the Chinese government officially allowed them to enter their borders.

I aim to analyze the dynamics of the first official Spanish embassy to China. I will study how the defeat of Limahon (also known as Lin Feng) enabled the Spanish authorities to enter the Chinese territory for the first time and to begin a diplomatic relationship with the emperor. This event is of great significance, not only because it favored the great desire of missionaries to access the mainland, but also because it allowed the opportunity to change the image that the Chinese authorities had about the Spaniards. Finally, I argue that Limahon's overthrow is crucial to critically understanding the failures of previous delegations, and the beginning of the Spaniards' presence in China.

In between the Jesuits, the Portuguese, and the Chinese: Antonio Santa María de Caballero in China

Anna Busquets (Open University of Catalonia)

After the frustrated Franciscan attempts to establish themselves in China in the 16th century, the members of the St. Francis order finally established themselves on the continent in the 17th century. Initially the Franciscan faced opposition from the Jesuits and experienced hostility and persecutions of the Chinese authorities. Furthermore, the local conditions were constrained by the fall of the Ming dynasty and the subsequent establishment of the Manchu in China. In this context, the Franciscan Antonio de Santa María Caballero appears as a fundamental figure that gives testimony of this turbulent decade in which the implantation of Christianity in China was shaken by the tenacious maneuvers by the Jesuits to preserve their exclusive presence in the Chinese empire. This paper will firstly explore Santa María Caballero's networks of relationships with special attention to his relationship both with the local Chinese and the Jesuits. Secondly, it aims to study the influence of his nationality and his religious adscription on his actions and words through the study of his writings.

Jesuits in Bengal. A missionary view of an erratic world

Inês De Sá (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

This paper focus on the first Jesuit missions in Bengal, between 1599 and 1603. With the encouragement of the viceroy of Goa, the first Jesuit priests are sent to Bengal with the purpose of reconnecting with the portuguese adventures who had crossed and challenged the empire borders and to try to establish contact with the different powers and kings of the area. Bengal in the beginning of the 17th century is a boiling world, confronted with many interests, political alliances and betrayals, with social, religious and political borders who are constantly moving and shifting. A difficult environment for four men from a order whose success relied on political support and rulers' protection. This paper will target the Jesuit views and writings on the many characters who constantly shaped and changed these borders, the kings, the moors, the portuguese, and how those views constrained their action and their relations with the Bengal rulers and built a psychological border who eventually led to the failure of their missions.

Skirting new "borders:" The continuity of pre-colonial trade networks into the late seventeenth-century Philippines

Grace Liza Concepcion (University of Asia and the Pacific) & Nicholas Michael Sy (University of the Philippines)

Chinese trade with the Philippine archipelago's indigenous polities declined after the establishment of the Galleon Trade. The existing literature agrees about that. The galleon trade was more profitable for the Chinese than their trade with indigenous communities. But conquest was a protracted process. Although archaeological evidence hints that direct regional trade between Chinese and indigenous communities continued into the 1600s, exactly how late this trade extended is unclear. How abruptly or gradually did the Galleon trade disrupt these autonomous relationships? How much is the literature's emphasis on that disruption a reflection of reality? How much is it the result of a perspective circumscribed by the colonial archive?

This study hypothesizes continuities in the trading relations among the Chinese and the native Filipinos outside the region of Manila, the center of colonial control. It uses entries from one seventeenth-century register of media anata (payments of half a year's salary made to obtain privileges from the crown). Within this register are permits made out to Chinese to trade. Between 1655 and 1663 multiple Sangleys (Chinese merchants) sought licenses to open shops in provinces surrounding Manila. Others paid for the positions of Sangley governor and army officers in Visayas, suggesting that a Chinese colony existed there. The media anata register presents an opportunity to map and measure the trade's decline. Any findings will be corroborated with data from transcribed epics and from archaeological findings.

The authors explore how local dynamics supported or undermined the colonial government's economic agenda. They examine how seemingly isolated occurrences at the borders of colonial power explain larger issues in indigenous-Spanish relations. By focusing on Chinese trade with native Filipinos, it decenters the Eurocentric narrative that has tended to

characterize borderlands history—a novel approach. Much of Philippine history written by Filipinos were never framed within studies of borderlands dynamics.

Representación política, información y producción normativa para la gobernación del Paraguay y Río de la Plata, 1580-1618

Arrigo Amadori (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas)

Este trabajo aborda el problema de la comunicación política mantenida por las ciudades de la gobernación del Paraguay y Río de la Plata entre 1580 y 1618, y focaliza su atención en el estudio de la relación entre la representación cortesana a cargo de procuradores enviados desde la provincia y el proceso de producción legislativa para el área. El período delimitado, que se abre con la fundación definitiva de Buenos Aires y se cierra con la división de la extensa jurisdicción original en dos gobernaciones distintas, corresponde a un momento fundamental del equipamiento político del territorio en el que los agentes locales, tanto en América como también en la corte, participan de un modo decisivo en la configuración de un espacio fronterizo y periférico de la Monarquía Hispánica. Una participación que canalizó y sustanció disputas, concentradas en la regulación del comercio transatlántico del área rioplatense, que se vivenciaron dentro de la gobernación entre grupos sociales que trascendían las ciudades y atravesaban el territorio, y se complejizaron en la corte con la concurrencia de agentes interesados en el asunto, como los cargadores sevillanos o los mercaderes limeños.

El abordaje micronanalítico y configuracional de la procuraduría de la gobernación propuesto por este trabajo persigue calibrar el impacto de los memoriales y de la información provista por los agentes rioplatenses al Consejo de Indias en el ritmo del despacho de las cédulas reales, en los asuntos regulados por ellas, e, incluso, en su formulación textual. De este modo, y mas allá de las distorsiones propias de un escenario complejo, el estudio del canal de interacción abierto por los procuradores de la gobernación constituye un importante punto de partida para profundizar en el conocimiento de las relaciones entre rey y reino y en las prácticas que permitían el establecimiento de un orden político.

“Time tends to give wings to the bringers of bad news”. The fragility of the political communication from Colonial Chile (1598-1620)

José Araneda Riquelme (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)

The political communication between Chile and the Spanish Court (Madrid) was the principal issue for the Spanish Empire in the seventeenth century. Its distance and organizational problems of the weak Peruvian postal service had caused informal and hazardous circulation of letters sent from Chile. The aim of this paper is to analyze the fragility of political communication in Chile in the context of the 1598 Great *Mapuche* Uprising. Global circulation of news started with the destruction of Spanish Cities, the murder of the Spanish governor and the arrival of Dutch Pirates ships. The historiography of Colonial Chile points out the relevance of Jesuit Luis de Valdivia as the principal communicational transfer. However, we argue that news of the uprising arrived in Madrid through diverse channels in a multimedial communication process (printed text, manuscripts letters and oral expositions, with successes and failures). Through paratextual and textual analysis of different letters and documents based on Chile news inside the Council of Indies, we can reconstruct the agents and its media. They were important part of these communicational process in the first decade of the seventeenth century. This analysis allows us to, firstly, comprehend the complexities of Atlantic communications. Secondly, to place Chile not as an isolated colony. Finally, to make some spaces that were behind of Communications Revolution in Renaissance Europe visible.

Local instances and global dynamics. American Procurators and Agents in Rome in the Seventeenth Century

Flavia Tudini (Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici)

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, the Papal Curia and the city of Rome welcomed numerous royal agents representing the Indies or procurators from the American territories. In particular, these procurators represented the archbishops, the *cabildos eclesiásticos* or the religious orders. They came to Rome to participate in the general congregations of the religious orders, to beg for papal briefs and bullas, to represent distant bishops on the occasion of ad limina visits or to promote the causes of beatification and canonization of the first American saints (Saint Rose of Lima, Saint Toribio Mogrovejo, Saint Francis Solano). Despite the limits imposed by the Royal Patronage, it's possible to observe how America was present in Rome and numerous of its *naturales* were welcomed even for long periods of time. The research is part of the rich historiography that have highlighted the links between global issues and interconnections and local spaces. That has made it possible to define the "global history of the local", overcoming the limits of microhistory and pure global history (Yun Casalilla, 2019; Ghobrial 2019).

The proposal aims to analyse the institutional dynamics and informal relations entertained by the american procurators with the Papal Curia, the communities belonging to the Monarquía Hispánica and the city of Rome in the 17th century. In

addition, it will be possible to question the process of settlement and rooting in the city of Rome of a community coming from the Viceroyalty of Peru, which found its own religious and public space in the chapel dedicated to Blessed Mogrovejo in the basilica of Saint Anastasia on the Palatine. In this reality, the presence of people who moved between Lima, Madrid and Rome, gravitating around the Curia and Propaganda Fide, advocating their personal and community interests, is therefore particularly important.

The making of Orinoco: Space, Border, and Race

Guillermo Pupo Pernet (University of Arkansas)

El Orinoco Ilustrado y Defendido written by Joseph Gumilla (1741), a Spanish Jesuit, serves as a kaleidoscope where one can analyze the establishment of social, political, economical, and racial borders in the early 18th century in the Orinoco basin. One can find in this narrative descriptions of plants, animals, and other natural resources in detail. As an informant inside the colony, Joseph Gumilla promotes this colony for investors and future missionaries. Under these circumstances, I consider this text is an excellent resource to understand how space, border, and race are established in the early 18th century.

On the one hand, I will explain how space is depicted through the interaction with indigenous peoples, maroons, and other Europeans. For example, indigenous' lands were regarded as "empty" and unproductive, marron communities were described as insignificant and docile, and Dutch/French/English closer colonies were depicted full of resources but handled in barbaric approaches. I consider that these representations reveal an apparent attempt to appropriate indigenous land, a conscious disregard for maroon communities' resistance, and the struggle of Spaniards to control other European nations' influence on indigenous peoples.

On the other hand, I will show how through Gumilla's text, one can see cultural, temporal, and racial borders. I will use the rejection of indigenous peoples and enslaved peoples' manners, science, religion, and technology to support my argument. Finally, to discuss race, I will connect the concepts of Blackness, Indigeneity, and Whiteness. Whiteness is an unnamed race category, but it is essential to understand the concept of race. For this reason, I will analyze the peripheries, indigenous and enslaved peoples, to understand what the center is, in other words, Whiteness.

Basting borders: the management of the Marquis de Aguilar in Rome, 1536-1543

Martha Atzin Bahena Pérez (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

This communication will present and compare the Marquis de Aguilar's management as ambassador to Rome between 1536 and 1543. The paper studies the marquis's agency in the Holy See, based on royal provisions and letters kept in the archives: "General de Simancas" and the "General de Indias". The topics discussed were related to Indian frontiers and the Mediterranean border (France, Naples, Genoa, Venice and the Turk). For the first case, the negotiations revolved around tactics to expand the Spanish king's jurisdiction on the American borders, such as the founding of bishoprics in Chiapa, Nicaragua and Cartagena. The Marquis de Aguilar also processed marriage permits between Spaniards men and Indian women. The aim was to increase Hispanic populations near spaces not yet subordinate to the Catholic crown to strengthen local ties in these territories.

Meanwhile, it was essential to build armadas against the Turks on the Mediterranean border, negotiate with the Pope about the relationship with France and Venice, among other war issues.

As a hypothesis, the paper proposes that Ambassador Juan Fernández Manrique de Lara basted together both borders' information. With this, the marquis planned his negotiation strategies with the Pope and other agents.

P09 CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS BORDERS: UNDERSTANDING INTERACTIONS AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN FAITHS IN PREINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES.

ORGANISER Esther Pascua Echegaray (Madrid Open University)

Wednesday 21 July, 14:45 / Thursday 22 July, 11:50

One of the factors that divide current human societies is religion, a powerful generator of identity discourses, capable of uniting collectives beyond national borders and triggering warlike conflicts. Given the current perplexity in the face of the emergence of phenomena and attitudes that were considered to be confined to the private sphere or to primitive societies, it seems appropriate to respond by offering comparisons with past realities. The world has not become multicultural; it has always been. This panel aims to explore the foundations and contexts behind the changes between moments of peaceful interaction and violent confrontation in multicultural societies. The aim is to focus the papers mainly on the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age, 15th and 16th centuries, in the Iberian Peninsula. However, the chronology and geography is deliberately broad.

Therefore, we would like to invite colleagues working in other time periods and in other latitudes to compare their cases and engage in a discussion around 3 questions and combining 3 approaches. How are the contours of a religious group defined that end up determining who stays outside or inside the political body and by whom? What role does the constitution of state powers play in defining religious and cultural boundaries or in standardizing groups with diverse idiosyncrasies? How do juxtaposed identities operate and reproduce? We want to deepen the scenarios in which the religious sphere is placed at the center of political conflict and social divides. To do so, we propose to analyze these moments from the relationship that is established between 7 elements: habits, appearance, customs, beliefs, race, political position and language. Papers that address these issues from literature or art will also be very welcome.

• • •

Religion, ethnicity and the limits of politics in 15th century Castile

Pablo Sánchez León (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

In 1449 Pero Sarmiento, a *regidor* (municipal councillor) of Toledo, the big town in Castile hosting the largest *aljama* (Jewish community) in western Europe at the time, ruled the expulsion of *conversos* (converted Jews) from public offices in the city. The decision marked the beginning of a policy of exclusion of conversos from institutions in the kingdom of Castile, later to be implemented in all the domains of the Hispanic Monarchy. The so-called *sentencia-estatuto* (verdict-statute) was enacted in a context of political turmoil in the kingdom of Castile and against the background of a decided policy of conversion of Jews into Christianity.

The purpose of this paper is to disentangle the spheres of religion/theology, ethnicity/customs and politics in the arguments in favour and against the *sentencia-estatuto*. For the measure spawned a debate in the coming decades, where a series of theologians, moralists and publicists in general sharpened their views on the matter. The controversy, which was to have influence on the eventual expulsion of the Jews in 1492, can be analysed as defining the spheres of the political *vis-à-vis* the metapolitical (religion or beliefs), but also the infrapolitical (cultural and moral habits or customs).

My content is that the Castilian debate of the second half of the XVth century set limits to the political sphere by placing the metapolitical above the political but also by confusing and mixing up the spheres of religion and customs, which were hitherto in a process of mutual distinction in discourse. By taking place in cities exerting a degree of self-government, the outcome of the debate thwarted the evolution of urban communities towards citizenship. Beyond its historical relevance, study of the case can help understand how in general the three spheres in question relate to the institutionalization of moral prejudice and social exclusion.

Building boundaries between religious identities in Castile (15th century): customs and appearance in Hernando de Talavera

Esther Pascua Echegaray (Madrid Open University)

This paper deals with the strong political-religious dimension that customs acquired in fifteenth-century Castile, when there was a growing identification between appearance and lifestyle, and beliefs and faith; between what was conceived as the external and internal *forum* of the subjects. This process was fundamental in the transition that was experienced in this century between a moment of porosity in the relations between diverse religious groups, and another of cultural rigidity and segregation. This transformation required the convergence of sectors of the Church and the Monarchy to intervene in more areas of the domestic life of Christian and converso families and in the preservation of their orthodoxy, which affected their relationship with the Jewish and Muslim communities. In order to delve deeper into the process, the moral and doctrinal texts of the archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera (1430-1507) are going to be used. He was an author

who advocated distinguishing between the beliefs of the faithful and social practices and relations, but whose work denotes the long journey that had taken place in the subsumption of politics by religion. The scope of the analysis allows to argue that conversion lost credibility as the idea that beliefs, like identity, could not be renounced, gained ground. In the same line, it was derived that the coexistence between different religions was an undesirable fact, a source of heterodoxy and conflicts and, therefore, that the borders between the different cultural and religious groups were established on the basis of a discrimination based on image and appearance. Fifteenth-century Castile testifies the substantial change in the way of conceiving the relationship between custom, identity, religion and politics, an early laboratory of the transformations experienced by European monarchies throughout the first century of the Modern era.

Symbolic appropriation of urban space. The religious borders in the territorial management of Fontana (Chaco).

María Patricia Mariño (Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo de la Universidad Nacional del Nordeste)

Since the second half of the 20th century, there have been various interventions in the Fontana (Chaco) urban center featuring different actors linked to Catholicism, which transformed its dynamics. Fontana is a municipality that integrates the Greater Resistance Metropolitan Area (AMGR), located in the northeast of Argentina, whose territory was politically consolidated at the end of the 19th century, and its foundation with industrial characteristics emerged in 1916, as an industrial city of tannin.

From the period of the government of Gral. Perón, this industrial site had various facilities that implied the insertion of the state presence in the living conditions of the workers, among which the school and the church had special relevance. With the advent of democracy, in 1983, the Franciscan Order continued the alliance between state and society, in relation to the Qom ethnic group by managing the first bilingual school.

Other interventions of the Fontana's urban space of the last decade reveal religious action, not only catholic, but also of other creeds where the spatial situation of the chosen territory symbolically and politically outlined a relevant role of the groups that interact in the definition of cultural identity, through institutions in dialogue with the state.

It is expected to be able to define the strategies of social, political and cultural positioning, in relation to territorial construction, undertaken by various actors involved in the management of new centers of religious reference installed in the urban center of Fontana. Symbolic, political and cultural variables will be analyzed from an ethnohistorical approach to make the transformation of identities visible.

Kashrut, the Jewish Dietary practice and its possible social effects in cultural and religious borders

Elíshabá Mata (University of Salamanca)

Nowadays, almost everyone knows the meaning of «kasher» 'fit for consumption' or, at least, can identify it as a food tendency that comes from the Jewish world and guarantees some sort of quality. If we go back to the biblical ages, we can find out that this word already appears in certain texts with meanings such as 'proper' (Est. 8,5), 'to succeed' (Ecl. 11,6) or 'to give success' (Ecl. 10,10). During the rabbinical period the concept became an important subject in the talmudic texts. In the Jewish laws code is put in relationship to the relevant concept «tahor» 'pure' and both, at the same time, within the sphere of «qodesh» 'holiness'. Reading philosophical writings from the 2st. Century B. C. reveals the importance of understanding the kashrut in a symbolic way. Even more, some scholars assume that those laws helped the Jewish community to maintain themselves in a separate condition from other peoples in those periods where the Jewish community integration was compromised. They sustain that the establishment their rules and laws could prevent socialization with non-Jew, staving Jewish identity off being diluted. Given that the impact of the food laws was a public matter, this would have increased the Jews' attachment to them as a reminder of their distinctive Jewish condition not only in the Early but also in the Middle Ages and later on.

My paper intends to explore several literary works (funerary epigraphic texts, halakhic commentaries of conspicuous sephardic rabbis such as Yor'e Dea or Shulchan Aruch, etc.) in order to find out if it exists the possibility of that these mentioned concepts and the dietary practice could have its real application between social practices and relations and how could they be affected the coexistent religions of the Iberian Peninsula from the XIV and XV.

Hebrew poems about wine and conversion from the 15th.

Arturo Prats (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Shelomo de Piera (c. 1350 – post-1417), was the central figure of the so-called "troubadour group", a group of writers and poets who carried out their literary activities in the kingdom of Aragon in the first half of the 15th century, and of whom at least he and his disciple Don Vidal (Yosef) ben Labi converted to Christianity during the Dispute of Tortosa (1413-1414).

After his conversion and in his later years, Shelomo de Piera wrote a collection of short poems in Hebrew, containing in its heading the last known date in his biography (1417) and dedicated to some “bad wines” from the city of Monzón. This group of poems has traditionally been read as a further example of the comic-satirical poetry of the time, based on Hebrew-Andalusian models from the 11th and 12th centuries, the “golden age” of this literary tradition. However, I propose that these poems should be approached as conversion literature, arguing that they were not intended to ridicule the quality of the wine produced in Monzón in 1417, but are rather verses in which the poet addressed the conversion to Christianity.

Exílio católico e religiosidade contrarreformista: as comunidades religiosas femininas refugiadas em Lisboa (sécs. XVI – XVII)

Maria Jacquet (Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa; CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

O exílio, em Portugal, de comunidades religiosas femininas fugidas às sucessivas vagas de perseguição anticatólica verificada no contexto das guerras de religião da Europa dos séculos XVI e XVII, revela aspetos essenciais da implementação da Contrarreforma, de que inclusive se terá, a teor de estudos recentes, instituído como importante catalisador. O caso representado pelas três fundações portuguesas em que tal refúgio ficou vertido – o Convento das Flamengas, o das Inglesinhas de São Salvador de Sion e o das irlandesas do Bom Sucesso – revela um percurso nada linear de sobrevivência e adaptação, fundado num imperativo de preservação institucional dentro da mais estrita observância religiosa. A comunicação proposta visa pôr em relevo as estratégias e meios de ação a que recorreram estas comunidades e avaliar o reforço, por elas, de uma identidade católica contrarreformista.

P10 EARLY ANTHROPOCENE: EXPLOITATION AND EXTINCTION IN THE SEAS

ORGANISERS Nina Vieira (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa) & Cristina Brito (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Thursday 22 July, 09:45 / Friday 23 July, 11:50

The Anthropocene as a geological era is under avid debate within different fields of the natural and social sciences and the humanities - its beginning being the Neolithic Revolution or the 20th -century Great Acceleration. We will discuss a premodern Anthropocene, from the late 15th century onwards, marked by the European expansions. The early modern Europeans' expansion is closely related to the so-called first globalization; geo-political, economic and cultural globalization as much as ecological globalization. These were supported on the development of extra-European colonial territories, new regional and imperial trading networks, and on the exploitation of and consequent transformations and impacts on ecosystems. Extractions of sea life led to habitat degradation and long term negative impacts on marine ecosystems, leading populations and species to the brink of extinction. Cod, sharks, marine turtles, whales, seals, sea cows, coral, seashells, ambergris, were appropriated, handled, and transformed into commodities shipped worldwide.

The Humanities are now being called to acknowledge the ecological and material foundations of cultures and societies, its energy sources and forms of biological coexistence, and the interdependency of humankind and the non-human world.

We invite scholars - maritime, environmental, art and science historians; archaeologists, zooarchaeologists, geographers, historical ecologists, among others - to address and discuss the construction of knowledge, technology and science; perceptions and representations of maritime communities and marine populations; convergent or divergent ways of exploitation of the ocean, transformation processes, uses and patterns of trade and consumption. Analysing trends at local and global levels, will allow to assess dynamics and impacts in marine ecosystems in the long durée. Crossing different scientific fields will shorten the frontiers within academia and those between people and the rest of nature.

...

Oceans and animals: Accounts for an Early Anthropocene and a 'Wet Globalization'

Cristina Brito (CHAM and Departamento de História, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Extractions of marine resources from the edges of the Atlantic Ocean in the early modern age, the use and trade of animals and products, and technologic and knowledge circulation, following European maritime expansions are a way of addressing processes of contact and exchange between different societies. Historically, and separately, Europeans, Africans and Amerindians engaged with the ocean in diverse ways, ranging from occasional use to total dependency. But with the advent of the so-called early globalization, and the growing power of European nations in their overseas colonies, many natural populations from tropical and subtropical waters started to be continuously (over) exploited, to be commodified and turned into staples. This disrupted marine animals' populations, setting many at the brink of extinction. But it also disrupted local and indigenous societies, changing the way these peoples interacted with one another and with nature and resources. The profoundly increasing impacts on ecosystems, the simplification of habitats, the transfer and introduction of species, the domestication and manipulation of animals, may allow to set early boundaries of the Anthropocene, or the Age of Humans, in this period as well as in these geographies. Following the words of Donna Haraway according to which the Anthropocene is much more like a border than a period, it is important to signal drastic discontinuities as the ones I have mentioned. To address this question, I will use examples of marine megafauna exploitation by the Portuguese and Spaniards in colonial Americas and their interactions with local societies. I will also discuss the well-known concept of the Columbian Exchange coined by Alfred Crosby's and the recent concept by Steve Mentz, the 'Wet Globalization'.

From sea exploitation to global transforms. Social, Biological and Environmental consequences of Basque Fisheries

Agustin Azkarate (University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU); UNESCO Chair on Cultural Landscape and Heritage) & Sergio Escribano-Ruiz (University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU); UNESCO Chair on Cultural Landscape and Heritage)

The growing influence of human activity on the global environment can be geologically, but either archaeologically traced. For a long time, archaeology has consisted primarily on the study of people removals of earth and waste. Is precisely for that reason that we can trace human-environment relation development along the course of History, as well as define how different pasts are blended in making up the present. These past and present activities are extensive to the sea, and could be studied in several ways. Through this proposal, we would like to focus on how sea activities transformed specific parts of the Earth, along with different social and biological ecosystems, from the closest to the most distant. Using the case of Basque North Atlantic fisheries we explore the major transformation that the development of transatlantic migratory fisheries entailed both in Europe and in North America. The basic research question is: how was the land and life on it modified as a consequence of the systematic exploitation of North American marine resources? Answering such an

important question will lead us to trace and understand the global transformations of the landscape, domestic spheres of activity, gender relations, sensory experiences, fashion and food within the framework of colonialism and globalisation.

Multi-secular and regional trends of aquatic biodiversity in European Early Modern paintings

Anne-Sophie Tribot (UMR TELEMMe, Aix-Marseille University; Mediterranean Institute of Oceanography, IRD); Daniel Faget (UMR TELEMMe, Aix-Marseille University); Thomas Richard (Mediterranean Institute of Oceanography, IRD) & Thomas Changeux (Mediterranean Institute of Oceanography, IRD)

Works of art are testimonies to past civilizations and biodiversity, and provide fundamental information for guiding current conservation programs. The success of such programs requires an understanding of the reference state of ecosystems, which is rarely known because current references are in perpetual slippage towards the acceptance of degraded states. For this reason, international organizations regularly alert to the fact that fish and aquatic resources are threatened, signaling a major challenge for our societies. In this article we aim to enrich the historical and ecological knowledge of aquatic resources in Western Europe (Atlantic, North Sea and Mediterranean Sea) by analyzing the taxonomic composition of aquatic biodiversity as represented in Early Modern paintings, using the statistical tools of numerical ecology. The geographic and temporal variations of the biodiversity represented in these paintings are interpreted according to ecosystem forcings, technical filters, and socio-cultural filters. Our results highlight the natural and anthropic factors that shape the spatial and temporal variations of the aquatic species depicted. These species belong to significantly different periods and regions, with a convergence between the origin of the paintings and the biogeographic area of the species. We show an overall decrease over time of represented taxa, and particularly of continental and freshwater species. We discuss the results in the light of previous works of historical ecology, archeology, history and biology. Finally, we discuss the relevance and potential future contributions of the method developed herein to better understand the past reference state of aquatic socio-ecosystems.

***Piscilegio lusitano* by Franco Quaresma, an unpublished 18th century pioneer treatise on Portuguese aquatic fauna**

Samuel Iglesias (Museum national d'Histoire naturelle)

The unprecedented and until now virtually unknown manuscript *Piscilegio lusitano* appears to be the first comprehensive treatise on Portuguese aquatic fauna written by a Portuguese author, significantly preceding the pioneering work of the naturalist Baldaque da Silva, *Estado actual das pescas em Portugal* (1891). In the mid-18th century (c. 1750), the doctor Domingos Franco Quaresma, a native of Peniche (Portugal), wrote *Piscilegio lusitano, New, Exact, Natural, and Medicinal News of the names and qualities of Fishes that are caught in the seas and rivers of the Coast of Portugal....* The erudition and completeness of this study should have marked the second half of the 18th century, like the *Traité Général des Pesches* (1769-1782), by Duhamel du Monceau, in France, or the *Ensayo de una Historia de los Peces* (1788), by Cornide, in Spain. However, the Lisbon earthquake in 1755 and its consequences for the country, particularly at the economic level, most likely stalled the publication of this work, which thus remained unpublished, unknown to the scientific community and hitherto without having been studied. The 650 pages contain extremely precise information on 135 marine species (including bony fishes, elasmobranchs and marine mammals) in Portuguese waters and their exploitation. An important part is devoted to the exploitation of whales and ambergris. Likewise, a final section is devoted to the origin of the thermal waters of Caldas da Rainha. The transcription and future studies of *Piscilegio lusitano* may considerably accentuate many other perspectives besides the history of marine sciences - namely, marine historical ecology, with a major interest in conservation of threatened species, and in Portuguese and European maritime anthropology, marine environmental history, history of natural history, and human-animal relations. No documents alike are found in the Portuguese production of natural history for the 16th to 18th centuries.

Atlantic Sea, Tupi Indigenous Costa do Brasil and Colonizers: Knowledge, Environmental Impacts and Sustainabilities

Juciene Ricarte Apolinário (Universidade Federal de Campina Grande; CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa) & Maria Adelina Amorim (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

The Atlantic Sea is one of the central elements of reproduction, not only material, but also symbolic of Tupi indigenous peoples along the Brazilian coast. It is present in countless creation myths of these ethnic groups, from which the deities separated the firm lands from the ocean and rivers that flow into the sea. Dependence on the sea is fundamental for the production and reproduction of the way subsistence and spiritual-ritual practices of ethnic groups, however this natural resource has been suffering environmental impacts. The cultural representations of the Atlantic Sea among indigenous peoples, vary according to their ethnicities, cultural practices, ethno-economic and religious. The main objective of this project is to research / record / analyze, through interdisciplinary theoretical-methodological contributions, the narratives

of the chroniclers, travelers and cursive, printed and iconographic European documents on the cosmological and subsistence relations of the Tupi indigenous peoples with the Atlantic Ocean between the 16th to the 19th centuries and the current resignifications of these ethnic groups through the symbolic territorialities that are narrated focusing on survival processes, environmental impacts and sustainability with the Atlantic Sea. All information and documentary sources listed, analyzed and reframed for the proposed research will be the basis for the creation of an Interactive Digital Museum that will allow accessibility to the academic and non-academic community and, especially, heritage / environmental education to schools through TICS (Technologies of Information and Communication) in which the TUPIHÍGUA pedagogical game can be made available, for example, in a virtual / cultural environment in which indigenous and non-indigenous youth and adults will learn about how the Tupi indigenous peoples, especially the Potiguara, were related and related with the Atlantic Sea in which scenarios of interactive virtual worlds will appear from that Digital Museum.

Abundance and finitude of whales: a case study for an early change of marine ecosystems

Nina Vieira (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

It happened that I recently watched *Interstellar* for the first time, and I immediately recall on Donald Worster's idea of a 'Second Earth': the discovery of a new planet, the development of new technologies, new economic, political and religious dynamics, new thoughts, another nature, another world. What we cannot find in the movie is a promising place abundant in natural resources; such as Worster as told us it will not happen again as it once did when the European reached the Americas. While studying the history of whaling in early modern Brazil, Europeans' views of abundance facing a sea full of whales are revealed in documental sources, and it triggers the importance of the animal as supporting the Portuguese presence and practices in the South America since early settlement.

The perception towards the animal-resource and the development of techniques and processes of knowing, hunting, commodifying, and trading whales and its products, made of whaling a valuable case to analyse early exploitations of the ocean. Whaling in Brazil was a royal monopoly from 1614 to 1801 and during these two centuries thousands of baleen whales were killed in four major coastal areas, promoting the construction of littoral spaces and providing both daily-life and luxury products to be consumed locally and in Europe. Historians of whaling usually focus in the 18th and 19th centuries, however in this paper I wish to set the tone on an early and continuous extirpation of whales' populations in the South Atlantic and the way people perceived both the abundance and finitude of this marine resource. Moreover, I wish to review past concerns about the sustainability of whaling and current conservation status of some whales' species, encouraging the debate about human relationships with the oceans.

The quasi-extinctions of Juan Fernandez fur seal (*Arctocephalus philippi*) and southern elephant seal (*Mirounga leonina*) in Juan Fernández and Desventuradas Islands, Eastern South Pacific, between 18th & 19th centuries

Daniel Quiroz (Subdirección de Investigación, Servicio Nacional del Patrimonio Cultural; Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Chile) & Marcelo Mayorga (Universidad de Magallanes)

The paradoxical nature of the logic and practices of extractive capitalism is based on a contradiction between the tendency to grow and expand exponentially and the destruction of the resources that capitalist modes of production extract and transform. The commercial hunting of marine mammals, developed since the ends of the 18th century in the Pacific Ocean's waters, responds exemplary to this extractive logic. Some 50 species of marine mammals live in the Eastern South Pacific, a highly varied group of animals adapted to life in the sea or dependent on the sea for food. The uncontrolled exploitation of some species caused a considerable reduction in the population sizes of great whales, fur and hair seals and sea and marine otters, both in the northern and southern hemispheres, generating a real risk of extinction for some species.

One of the species most persecuted by European and American hunters to obtain skins was the Juan Fernández fur seal (*Arctocephalus philippi*), an endemic species of the Juan Fernández and Desventuradas Marine Ecoregion. The southern elephant seal (*Mirounga leonina*) was another species hunted in this area, but for its oil. In a very short period of time, the local populations of these species were severely decimated by intensive and uncontrolled killing. We are interested in describing this type of hunting and to evaluate its effects on the populations of fur seals and elephant seal between 1790 and 1810, and we will use the information provided by the logbooks and journals generated by different hunting expeditions that visited these islands in that period. We should mention that a similar situation occurs in South Shetlands with catches to near extinction of local populations of antarctic fur seal (*Arctocephalus gazella*) in the 1820s.

A network for whales' history: Examples from two bilateral initiatives on the oceans' cultural, heritage and memory

Patrícia Carvalho (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa); Joana Baço (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa); Cristina Brito (Departamento de História, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa); Ana Catarina Garcia (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa) & Nina Vieira (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Marine Lexicon and *H-Whale* are two bilateral initiatives co-funded by EEA Grants Portugal - European Economic Area Financial Mechanism and CHAM - Centre for the Humanities, promoted by CHAM with the University Museum of Bergen and NIFU - Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education, and the Sea Observatory of the Azores /Porto Pim Whaling Station and Húsavík Whale Museum, respectively.

Marine Lexicon aims at the joint construction of a thesaurus of common names of marine mammals and elements represented in the early modern age as sea monsters, hybrid beings, and folklore in different languages. *H-Whale* is focused on the creation of an European network for the study and dissemination of the cultural heritage and memory of historical whaling and whales' cultures. In the first we are dealing with historical records and intangible heritage; in the latter both materiality and immateriality, and both the past and the present, will be addressed. The projects involve different institutions and researchers with different expertises in marine environmental history, zooarchaeology, marine ecology, education, science communication and museology allowing different perspectives of the relationship between humans and marine mammals in different chronologies and locations. At the two initiatives, whales occupy a place of relevance - as animals, resources and symbols, as target species and flag species, they allow us to dig into the intemporal connection between people and ocean through history, memory, and ocean literacy.

In this paper we will present main goals and first results and how these projects will contribute to the creation of an interconnected network focused on the historical evolution of human relationship with these animals. We will consider not only their relationship in the past but also in current days as examples of heritage, preservation and sustainability.

P11 TRANS-IMPERIAL CIRCULATION OF MODERN POLITICS

ORGANISER François Godicheau (University of Toulouse)

Thursday 22 July, 09:45

Knowledge of the transition from the imperial scenarios to the post-imperial constellations has progressed greatly as a result of the Atlantic perspectives, especially for the period at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. On the one hand, the debates on whether to speak of the imperial monarchies of the modern age as composite, polycentric, federative or aggregative have called into question the hitherto unconventional separation between "central" national histories and "peripheral" colonial histories. On the other hand, global history approaches and connected histories have provided a critique of the Eurocentric character of some historiographical traditions, raising the relevance of off-centre approaches and pointing to unexpected or hitherto neglected circuits.

The proposal of this panel aims to go one step further and puts the focus on the inter- or trans-imperial circulations that affected the political field in a broad sense. To this end, it invites participation with reflections and proposals that address processes of transfer and appropriation of political languages, discourses and practices, as well as institutional models in the period of the Enlightenment, revolutions and independence. The perspective prioritizes the Hispanic and Portuguese empires, which demand a treatment, not comparative but joint, that is unprecedented until now - although in their complex interactions with the contributions of the British and especially the French imperial cultures.

The aim is to generate a truly interdisciplinary cross-border space between political history, historical anthropology, history of law, history of concepts and history of thought, which will make it possible to move towards the definition of appropriate categories and to question not only the usual spaces and flows of production and reception, but also the established periodizations, and with them deep-rooted dichotomies such as break/continuity, traditional/modern or enlightened/liberal.

• • •

Politics without boundaries beyond an Old Regime: The Spanish 1808 Revolutionary Juntas

Pablo Sánchez León (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

The aim of this paper is to reflect on the notion of limit or frontier in the sphere of "the political" in general and of formal politics in particular, by studying a historical process at the origins of modern history in Spain.

As coined by Alessandro Pizzorno (taking inspiration from Carl Schmitt), the notion of "politics unbound" tries to capture a context in which all aspects and dimensions of community life are regarded *sub specie politicae* (under the form of politics), and thus potentially subjected to collective decision-making through deliberation. Historically such contexts relate to states of exception, in which the existing order is challenged by overflowing situations that spur the creation of new collective identities marked by political values and referents.

The paper addresses a situation such occurred in early 19th-century Spain (and its colonial domains in America) with the formation of so-called Juntas in many cities and towns throughout the country. Triggered in response of a power vacuum due to the absence of the legitimate king, the shaping and performance of urban juntas echoed traditions of collective self-organization and popular protests throughout the *ancien régime*, yet also brought about novel experiences urged by the successful takeover of local institutions by the mobilized populace. A critical precondition for the collective military effort, the juntas can be interpreted in the light of a perspective that addresses subjects as being converted into "political animals" by resorting to the reflexive power of politics, through which the political sphere in turn expands or contracts its instituted frontiers.

Political Conflict and Constitution in the Hispanic World in Revolution. A Study Case on the Crisis of Colombia, 1826-1832

Maria Teresa Calderón (Universidad Externado de Colombia)

The political crisis unleashed by the abdications of the Spanish domains to Napoleon in 1808 paved the way to the creation of an outstanding number of republics in the Hispanic world. The remarkable feature of this process is that after three hundred years of undisputable Monarchy, the creation of Hispanic republics did not draw the pressing concerns that surrounded the creation of the American republic or the French *république*. Despite this seemingly smooth transition, Hispanic republics experienced great instability during the XIXth century. This paper explores the difficult stabilization of Latin American republics by stressing the vitality of a public culture grounded on Catholicism. It places attention on the intertwining of a number of institutions which played a central role throughout the Hispanic world during the revolutions: petitions, elections and *pronunciamientos*. The crisis of the first republic of Colombia (1826-1832) is here considered as a study case.

Borders at sea through the fog: disputed sovereignties in the Atlantic between politics, force and rights (notes on the eviction of Puerto Egmont, Gran Malvina, June 1770).

Darío G. Barraera (CONICET)

On June 10, 1770, a Spanish expedition under the command of Juan Ignacio de Madariaga expelled the British garrison that had established itself on Trinidad Island (north of Grand Malvina Island). On this occasion, the Spanish military superiority was so evident that the British chiefs had no alternative but to agree on the best terms to be allowed to return to their land. This episode is well known above all for its consequences. The crisis of 1770 refers to two facts singularly emphasized in books on the period: a strong diplomatic confrontation that almost led to war between the Bourbon crowns and the United Kingdom and the solution of that same confrontation through concessions to the English that Charles III would have accepted in a "secret clause", for which he was later heavily criticized.

In this paper, however, I would like to focus on the moments preceding the expulsion, the period of negotiations between Commander Juan Ignacio de Madariaga and his British counterparts William Maltby and George Farner. The brief oral and written exchange between them will be the basis of a situational analysis where the voices embodying the interests of the entangled empires allow us to access uses in the field of the notions of sovereignty, force and politics.

Public order, ultima ratio of politics and administration in Hispanic nations

François Godicheau (University of Toulouse)

The notion of public order, in Spanish-speaking national spaces, results from the transfer of an expression born in the French monarchy as a justification of the absolute power of the king. This contribution aims to examine its transfer to the Catholic monarchy, between the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, which was marked by the French revolutionary process. The latter made the notion of public order central to the construction of the liberal legal system. The conditions of the birth of the Hispanic nations - jurisdictional constitutionalisms, retroversion of sovereignty in the bodies of the monarchy, weighed heavily, however, in both hemispheres, in the appropriation of the notion of public order. This became both the ultima ratio of administration and politics. It served to articulate the space of rights (the state of normality) with the state of exception and the constitutional space, i.e. defense against enemies from within. Whatever its articulation with the constitutional texts, the notion of public order thus served as a clause to separate the space of politics from that of internal war. At the same time, this hinge notion was embodied in the first police institutions theoretically capable of enforcing the law and also of pursuing "bandits", enemies of "political society".

P12 FRONTIERS, RACE AND ENVIRONMENT: CONFLICT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES NARRATIVE IN THE EDGES OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRES.

ORGANISERS Gisele C. Conceição (University of São Paulo, FFLCH/USP) & Fabiano Bracht (University of Porto, FLUP)

Friday 23 July, 11:50

The European colonial empires of the 18th and 19th centuries were formed largely as complex systems of mobile, dynamic and mutable frontiers. In this sense, for this panel, we propose to foster the debate on the history of the production of scientific knowledge within the limits of colonial empires, whether in Africa, America or Asia. The central question to be addressed is how the environment and conflicts of a social, religious and racial nature conditioned the processes of knowledge construction concerning colonial nature, as these often depended on the interaction and incorporation of local knowledge, exchanged, shared, transmitted and negotiated across complex cultural boundaries. In its metaphorical sense, a frontier may also be understood as a territory of dispute, where new cultural standards are forcibly moulded as each side gains, or loses, terrain. In this sense, the establishment of continuous processes of exchanges, appropriations and resignifications took place, profoundly influenced by the eventual degree of imbalance that would exist between the opposing forces positioned at the frontier complexes. The production of knowledge in colonial environments, far from being the direct outcome of understanding, emerged from conflict, from mutual interests, through sensitive processes of negotiation. The congruences – or concordances – common points of interest that stemmed from these processes were, to a great extent, the result of an incomplete understanding of the other, being, nevertheless, a continuous process of mutual misunderstanding. What was the importance of these processes in the construction of the scientific narratives, between the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century?

In what way did these cultural clashes condition the vision of science concerning different themes, such as race, climate, environment and nature? It is to the debate on these issues that we hope this panel can offer its contribution.

• • •

Gunboat Pharmacists: Apothecaries, Colonial Collecting, and the Legitimacy of Knowledge

Amanda Respass (Ohio State University-Marion)

In the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, European colonial powers embedded apothecaries and pharmacists in their voyages of conquest and discovery to Southeast Asia and China. The apothecary-explorer became an increasingly visible role with the publication of works like the *Suma Oriental* and *Ambonese Herbal*. With these and similar works, apothecary-explorers identified and categorized medicinal plants once only available for purchase through intermediary merchants and facilitated the violent appropriation of the spice trade from local experts and producers. The continued association in Europe of apothecaries with the foreign exotica at their disposal is visible in an analysis not only of the material culture and adopted symbolism of their profession, but in increasing legal and cultural battles over their professional scope of practice. At the heart of these battles lay a fundamental question about the nature of authoritative medical knowledge and how it should rightfully be produced. This paper analyzes the role of Sir Hans Sloane as a natural history collector, colonial physician, and plantation holder at the periphery of empire. Trained as an apothecary and qualified-as-a-physician, Sloane began a self-consciously fastidious form of collecting in colonial Jamaica made famous by his later role as founder of the British Museum. Though qualified as a physician, his earliest medical education had been as an apothecary and his relatives-through-marriage were at the center of one of the most important legal cases against the apothecaries. This paper addresses his embrace of the role of physician-collector as a middle ground within these tensions and analyzes the connections between colonial collecting and authoritative knowledge production at the edges of empire and at the end of a gun.

Publish or perish: subalternation, social barriers, and knowledge circulation in the 18th-century lusophone world

Fabiano Bracht (FLUP – CITCEM – REMA/ University of Porto)

Imagine two individuals working simultaneously on the same subject and reaching similar conclusions. Both submit their results to the same scientific institution for peer review. While one had his educational background in Europe and established a network with scholars from the world's most important institutions, the other was born and educated in one of the world's less developed regions. Although both works had similar characteristics, the first author saw his results published and was later widely recognised for his academic merits. The second was several times rejected, and, years later, his work fell into ostracism. Although plausibly contemporary, these events took place in the last decade of the 18th century. The two men were João de Loureiro, one of the most important botanists of his time, and the Indo-Portuguese Francisco de Meneses. The institution, the Lisbon Royal Academy of Sciences.

One possible interpretation for the described case is that it is an example of the subalternation concept. The alleged (either true or false) characteristics of a given universe (a given country development level) are assigned to a particular set of elements therein contained (the science there produced). In knowledge production contexts, this phenomenon frequently embodies power relations impacting the validation of knowledge produced outside the scientific institutions from economic and cultural dominant countries. This paper will address this contemporary problem by analysing its historical, social, and cultural roots. It is hoped to contribute to answering questions about the post-colonial concepts of circulation, reconfiguration and global impact of the local-based knowledge produced in the Early Modern colonial territories. In this sense, the paper will focus on the production and circulation of botanical and pharmaceutical knowledge in the 18th-century Portuguese empire.

Expanding colonial borders: science, diplomacy, and military strategy in the formation of Angola (1883–1886)

Daniel Gamito-Marques (Interuniversity Center for the History of Science and Technology (CIUHCT), NOVA University of Lisbon)

The purpose of this communication is to show how science, diplomacy, and direct military action were mobilized to expand the borders of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa further north during the scramble for the continent. In the late nineteenth century, economic and political interests coalesced to make the colonization of Africa an appealing undertaking, technoscientific advances being crucial in this context. Portugal, a small European kingdom of limited financial resources, had enormous colonial ambitions in the lower Congo and defended them in terms of its historical priority in the region. The Portuguese elite saw its empire as a central piece of its national identity and a necessary element for the recognition of its sovereignty in the international arena. However, Portuguese colonial claims risked being entirely overthrown as other colonial powers tried to effectively occupy disputed territories. The coordination among agents who accumulated scientific and diplomatic expertise, such as J. V. Barbosa du Bocage (1823–1907), Portugal's Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1883 and 1886, and Francisco Ferreira do Amaral (1843–1923), then Angola's Governor-General, resulted in the expansion of Angola north of the Congo River, thus redefining the colony's borders by creating the Cabinda exclave. This diplomatic victory emerging from the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 had far-reaching consequences, which are still felt today, as Cabinda retained its connection to the modern-day state of Angola following its independence.

Local knowledge for environmental protection and climate change adaptation in Africa: Towards Decolonizing Climate Science

Geoffrey I. Nwaka (Abia State University)

Africa contributes least to but suffers the most from the negative impacts of climate change. How can the continent cope with the threats of flooding, droughts and other emergencies that result from extreme weather conditions? We argue that Africa should search within their own knowledge systems for appropriate ideas and approaches to its development challenges. Most traditional African societies have deeply entrenched ideas about environmental protection and sustainability because their livelihood depends largely on the land and on the stability of the ecosystem. They believe that land and other forms of nature are sacred, and are held in trust by the present day users on behalf of dead ancestors and future generations. These local communities have over the years developed intricate systems of forecasting weather systems in order to mitigate natural disasters; traditional techniques of soil management, pest and disease control, adopting suitable crop and animal varieties, and other coping strategies that have ensured traditional resilience. The paper recognizes that the unprecedented scale of climate change today may have undermined the reliability of many traditional indicators for predicting the pattern of climate variability, and techniques for preventing and adapting to climate induced natural disasters. There is a need for those who hold and use traditional knowledge to partner with scientists and practitioners in order to co-produce updated knowledge for better climate risk management. This way, the traditional and modern knowledge systems will be made to complement and enrich each other. Researchers and the development community should try to tap into the vital resource of indigenous knowledge for locally appropriate and culture-sensitive ways to protect the environment, and ensure climate resilience and sustainable development.

Colonizing nature: capitalization of Mato Grosso lands by international companies

Alexia Shellard (Associação Diáspora Sem Fronteiras)

At the nineteenth century, international capitals started to be invested in cattle, rubber and furs enterprises, in Mato Grosso, a distant Brazilian province right at the confluence between Amazon and Pantanal. Meanwhile, numerous indigenous and quilombola population were planting, hunting and fishing, besides collecting local material to live their lives. In the encounter

between natives and colonialists, a conflict over different ways of considering and experiencing nature was engaged. In this paper I address specifically to a Belgian enterprise, Cibils Company, which invaded fields and wetlands of Upper Paraguay River, associating itself to Brazilian state agents and institutions in order to violently impose specific forms of interaction with nature. The rightful occupants of central Mato Grosso, the Bororo people, and also Chiquitanos, Guatós and others, were turned into workers and forced to abandon their traditional ways of life to spend their times hunting and processing cows. The invaders, along with Brazilian public authorities that were working to incorporate indigenous lands to Brazilian territory through mapping and researching, saw nature as an economic resource. Supported by an ideology of progress, Modernity created an arbitrary distinction between subjects and objects, being included in the latter the indigenous populations. Sustained by a naturalist paradigm – which could be seen as an opposition between men and nature –, sciences were, and still are, barely permeable to alternative cosmologies, tending to consider local knowledge as idolatry, folklore, primitivism. Reflecting distinct aspects of a common political-economic project of territorial dominance, the processes of capitalist expansion and formation of modern state in the nineteenth century strongly relied on Science and scientists.

Identity and mummification during the Ptolemaic Egypt

Alejandra Izquierdo Perales (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The Ptolemaic period is the Hellenistic era of Egypt. The conquer Alexander the Great conquered this beautiful land during the 332 B. C., and, after his death in the 323 B. C., the Diadochi Ptolemy I got the control over the country around the 305 B. C., and started a dynasty that ruled Egypt until the death of Cleopatra VII the 30 B. C. During this time the society begins an important hybridization process between the Greeks and the Egyptians.

During this time, they continued the practice of mummification and the other funerary rituals over the dead that were funerary Egyptian practices. All these processes had a religious meaning, and their goal were to guarantee his access to the life after death. Through the mummification the dead transformed themselves in an Osiris.

As we know an individual doesn't have only one identity, the identity it's build by many types of it, as the cultural identity. In this sense, the funerary identity was performed as a mirror of the cultural identity itself. During this period the two cultures, the others, had to develop progressively a new society, and then a new cultural identity. Of course, it affected to the eschatological beliefs. Through the mummification, the mummy labels and the archive of the choachitai in ancient Thebes, we would see how some people adopted the Egyptian beliefs and funerary practices when they had a Greek name or a double name Greek-Egyptian, or even a Greek family. The other was progressively included in the society and its funerary adaption it's a prove of this.

The first goal is to briefly talk about the context, and the second one will be to show how this identity and the meeting with the other is changing through the adaptation of the Greek to the Egyptian practices.

Wolves Among Us: Wolf-Human boundaries in Greco-Roman Antiquity

Pedro Albuquerque Vaz (University of Lisbon - Centre for History of the University of Lisbon)

The wolf was arguably the first non-human animal to enter into a relationship of domestication with humans. Pastoralism made this alliance of hunters problematic and redrew these boundaries. Seen as a threat to the food supply, the "wolf" was cast out and humans began breeding "guard dogs" to protect the flocks.

In Greco-Roman antiquity this liminal positioning of the wolf, outside but ever present within proximity of humans, originated both pulls towards identification and pushes to otherness that are deemed "good to think with".

The overlapping of physical and intellectual territories led to the metaphorization that took human and wolf interchangeably either as tenor or vehicle. *Aesopica* wolves are human-like as much as warriors in the *Iliad* are wolf-like in their ferocity against the enemy.

But wolfishness was also constructed as the opposite of civilized order. Actaeon's hunting dogs, when afflicted by *lyssa*, a "wolfish madness", revert to dangerous wildness and kill the human turned stag that they no longer recognize as their "master" (Ov. *Met.* 3.138-252).

The permeability of the wolf-human ontological border allowed for imaginings of humans becoming wolves either by pretense like *Rhesus'* Dolon and Dorcon in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (1.20) or by metamorphosis as in the myth of Lycaon or the tale of the werewolf in Petronius' *Satyricon* (61-2).

This paper explores the borders between humans and wolves in the Greco-Roman world by drawing on ancient texts and non-textual sources alongside the contemporary ethology to spotlight the wolf-human relationship as a case-study to allow for new understandings of broad human responsibility in interspecies relations.

Beyond identity: Spirit possession and knowledge as social boundaries in Early Christianity

Pedro Luís De Toledo Piza (University of São Paulo (USP))

Debates around identity boundaries have been very fruitful for a better understanding of Early Christianity as a diverse socioreligious phenomenon. Departing from the analysis of newly discovered documents from outside modern Christian canons, scholarship in general tends now to see social interactions between Christ-followers of the first centuries CE as something more complex than a mere classification of groups as "orthodox" and "heretic". Building up over these valuable contributions, Early Christian studies can now search for another social boundaries that may help us in the comprehension of social relations between Christians, especially between those considered as antagonists by a great number of the Fathers. In this way, even if Irenaeus of Lyon and most bishops of Asia Minor could agree in some key theological points, they would most probably be on different sides when it comes to the function of Spirit inspired people in daily Christian rituals and

reunions. The same bishop could also have different views about the possession of a special kind of Christian knowledge and its transmission by some people inside the group (away from the episcopal authority) when compared with Clement of Alexandria, for example. In this way, this paper seeks to explore the social function of prophecy and knowledge as social markers and boundaries in the constitution of Early Christian groups and the tensions involved in the exercise of their authority with a much less definable kind of leadership: the bishops.

«And to the ends of the earth» (Act 1:6). The expansion and the boundaries of the Christianity according to the Acts of the Apostles

Carlos Pereira (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa)

The book of the Acts of the Apostles begins his narrative with the Jesus' raising in Jerusalem, an event that was witness by the apostles. Jesus asked to his apostles to preach and to present the Christian message not only in Jerusalem, Samaria, but also to the ends of the earth (Act 1:6). The main goal is to expand the Christianity and take it all over the world. At an early stage, the apostolic mission remains in this geographical horizon. However, as suggested Daniel Marguerat, the Christianity starts a new stage with the Stephen's Martyrdom (Act 7:54-60). Then this episode, the text of Acts says that began a terrible persecution to the members of the Jerusalem Church (Act 8:1). This event is very important because appears the figure of Saul, after knew like Paul of Tarsus. In our opinion, Peter loses importance in the narrative of the Acts, being replaced by Paul, the apostle of the nations. In addition of this changing, Jerusalem is slowly replaced by Rome as the centre of the Christianity. With the missionary journeys, Paul arrives to the not christian world and to all parts of the Roman Empire. Paul universalize the Christianity, edify communities and start the contact with the gentiles. To be successful in his purposes, Luke build an apologetic history (*apologia pro imperio*) and Paul is the main character. With Paul, the Christianity becomes a religion of the Urbe and progressively for all Empire, considering that it was not in a corner that everything happened (Act 26:26). This work has like main goal the discussion of the globalization of the Christianity, the borders and the boundaries of the religion of Jesus of Nazaré, from Jerusalem to Rome, in order to the literary and the geographical setting of the Acts of the Apostles.

Cultural human boundaries: representing disability in Portuguese museums

Patrícia Roque Martins (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto)

This communication aims to contribute to the development of new perspectives on disability that can lead to the construction of more positive identities, generating transformative and inclusive social practices. It will start from the idea that the representations of disability in art history were developed through negative cultural stereotypes, having significant impacts on the creation of discriminatory social practices over time around disabled people.

In this sense, this communication is based on the results of the post-doctoral research project "Representations of Disability in Museums Collections of the Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage (DGPC)", developed at the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, with the objective of discussing the discourses and the narratives present in a set of objects representing disability. It will explore how disability has been represented through artistic heritage and its impact on cultural meanings developed around disabled people in different societies and chronological periods. In particular, it will deepen the relationship of these objects with the contemporary concepts of disability - such as otherness, identity and social exclusion - questioning oppressive and misunderstanding values produced about this social group. Also, this communication will analyze the way in which Portuguese national museums communicate, reproduce and publicly present the issue of disability, proposing innovative insights to explore disability related museum objects.

Decoding the urban evolution of Fuzeta through the eighteen century legislation

Mafalda Pacheco (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

This paper aims to study the importance of the urban regulation created by central power to the urban evolution of Fuzeta, a fishing village in the eastern Algarve with a privileged location within the salt marsh region of Ria Formosa, in front of the *Barra da Fuzeta*, the only maritime waterway to the high seas between Olhão and Tavira.

Dating from the 16th century, the first fishermen seasonal settlements in huts became permanent due to the enhanced security provided by the construction of the battery. According to preparatory drawings for cartographic representations of the region produced by military engineers, the dwellings were displayed in parallel rows facing the sea, creating a proto-orthogonal grid enclosed by the outer streets.

The 18th century legislation contributed to the regularity of the Fuzeta's urbanism. Particularly, the law of 1776 related to the calculation of rent in county lands recommended the standardization of the size of the allotments and the prevalence of regular streets. This condition is visible in the regularity of the lots' fronts of 19th century allotments' campaigns, contemporary of the construction of the majority of the buildings of the historical centre.

This research uses a cross-checking method by combining military cartographic sources from the *Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo*, *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* and *Arquivo Histórico Militar*, with written governance and legal sources kept at *Arquivo Municipal de Tavira*, namely the "Reforma dos Tomos desta Camera" (1733), "Foros que há nos redores desta Cidade" (1747), "Ley de Sua Majestade sobre os foros e bens dos concelhos" (1766) and later by an "Alvará" (1773) testimony of the restructuring will of the *Reino do Algarve* territory by Pombal reforms (1773-74). This research aims to frame out the urbanism of Fuzeta in the tradition of the history of Portuguese urbanism and law.

Federalism in 20th-century China: a conceptual translation and its political failure.

Federico Brusadelli (University of Naples L'Orientale)

In the late imperial decades, a growing number of Chinese activists and intellectuals embraced the ideal of local self-government (*difang zizhi*) as a response to the paralysis of the Qing imperial Court and to its inability to face external threats, and at the same time as the keystone for a federal (*lianbang*) "new China". Contrasting the traditional concept of "local government" as an administrative level hierarchically inferior (rhetorically, when not formally) to the centre, they advocated a different model in which legitimacy would flow from the bottom to the top.

Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th federalism thus constituted a major trend in Chinese political thought, being conceptually entangled to articulations of "democracy", "autonomy" and even "republicanism", and to the circulation of non-Chinese political models and concepts.

The present paper intends to use the methodology of conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) to look at the development of Chinese federalism, shedding light on its translations (linguistic, philosophical, institutional) and investigating the causes of its political defeat in the 1920s, when both the nationalists and the communists opted – both in terms of intellectual platform and of political action - for a centralist model.

Surveying the production of major figures as Huang Zunxian, Sun Zhongshan or Chen Jiongmeng – but also including provincial magazines, pamphlet, dictionaries and historiographical works describing federal experiences in the West – I will address the following questions: Why did the “translation” of federalism fail in Republican China? What role did traditional Chinese political thought play in the reception and articulation of federalism? And finally, what legacy does the “federal failure” still play after one century in the (contested) definition of the relationship between centre and peripheries in the People’s Republic of China?

The Challenge of Border Management in Postcolonial Africa: Nigeria, Cameroon and the Bakassi Crisis

Geoffrey I. Nwaka (Abia State Univesity)

The paper discusses the protracted border conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon over the ownership of the Bakassi Peninsula, in the light of the ongoing debates about border management, and the impact of the inherited colonial boundaries on contemporary African politics and development. After many years of dispute, the International Court of Justice ruled in 2002 that, on the basis of the colonial agreements which created these boundaries, the Bakassi peninsula, inhabited mainly by hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, belongs to Cameroon. The withdrawal of Nigeria from the area, following the Greentree Accord, has, sadly, created a large scale humanitarian crisis of resettling and rehabilitating the displaced returnees in the 'New Bakassi Local Government Area' created for them in Nigeria. We argue that African countries can avoid needless conflict over these 'imported' colonial boundaries if they remove unnecessary border restrictions, and begin to see the borders more as links and bridges for the cooperation and integration of African states and peoples, rather than as barriers and static lines of demarcation on the map.

P15 IBERIAN FRONTIERS IN COLONIAL AMAZONIA: CIRCULATIONS, CONNECTIONS AND CONFLICTS

ORGANISER Pablo Ibáñez-Bonillo (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Wednesday 21 July, 14:45

Throughout the colonial period, Iberian frontiers in South America were poorly explored and largely undetected. Official delimitations and demarcations had been attempted during the second half of the 18th century, but litigations over frontiers were to linger long after the independence of the former colonies. For centuries, thus, these borderland regions were little-known both to the Portuguese and the Spanish crowns and to their representatives at the colonial capitals. This peripheral situation was especially severe in the Amazonian frontiers, and their remoteness has led to mistaken assumptions of perennial isolation. However, research conducted in the last decades has demonstrated connections between such regions to the colonial cores and the existence of multiple patterns of sociability; including religious missions, villages, military quarters, free native societies and maroon communities. All of these social unities interacted at each side of the imperial frontiers, but also across the theoretical political borders. Therefore, Amazonian frontiers are seen today as spaces of transnational interactions and interethnic dialogues, where cultural mediators played a central role in the management of social relations. The circulation of peoples and products, the competition for natural resources and the defense of imperial aspirations are also themes of the newest studies of these frontiers. This panel aims to discuss these multiple dimensions of the Iberian frontiers in Colonial Amazonia by exploring issues such as trade, race, ethnohistory, demography, pandemics and missions.

• • •

“On the banks of the Great Marañón River”: Naturalist Notes, Ethnographic Observations and Rational Cartography by Father Juan Magnin S.I. in 1740.

Juan Sebastian Gomez (Universidad de Antioquia)

Joannes Magnin, a Jesuit of Swiss origin, was one of the fathers with the most extraordinary knowledge of the Amazon basin in the 18th century. His cartographic production was significant, mostly because of his links with the famous map published by the French naturalist Charles-Marie de La Condamine in 1745. According to his life experience as a missionary in this borderland territory, Magnin's observations and naturalistic and humanistic interpretations of the tropical jungle reality were also of great interest to the Amazon River basin's knowledge, one of the partially unknown borderland regions of the Iberian empires. This presentation seeks to show why Father Magnin's work, mainly the research text that accompanies his map, constitutes a fascinating approach to understanding different rationalized knowledge aspects of this South American environment in an age of many issues: scientific explorations, international wars, imperial struggles, and Enlightenment.

Negotiating with the Marabitenas – Native Policies across the Colonial Frontier (1759-1770)

Pablo Ibáñez-Bonillo (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

With the signature of the Treaty of Madrid (1750), Portugal and Spain had agreed to mutually explore and demarcate their frontiers in South America through special commissions that were sent from Europe. To the north of the Equator, Spanish and Portuguese commissaries were to meet at the Rio Negro to determine the frontier line. However, the Spanish commission led by José de Iturriaga did not arrive there until 1759, after a slow advance through the Orinoco river. When both parties finally met at the upper section of the Rio Negro, they established a tense frontier situation between garrisons which had been established at the posts of San Carlos and São José dos Marabitenas. Soldiers from both crowns relied on the help of native products, work, and knowledge, so they engaged in a competition for the attraction of native support. This typical frontier situation allowed the natives to play the Europeans against each other and to negotiate their loyalties. This talk aims to explore in some detail this frontier scenario, focusing on the agency of Iberian officers and of the multiple local chiefs, who followed complex strategies (including alliances and rebellions) to consolidate their positions and to guarantee the survival of their group. Through the exhaustive analysis of archival sources produced at both sides of the frontier, the political landscape of that frontier will be reconstructed. The role of women as chiefs and cultural mediators will be also explored. Finally, attention will be paid to the circulation of information and rumors across native networks, and the influence of such processes on the demarcation of the Iberian frontier.

Tobacco on the routes of the Andean-Amazonian smuggling: State of Grão-Pará e Rio Negro and Audiencia of Quito, c.1770-c.1790.

Carlos Augusto Bastos (UFPA)

In the second half of the 18th century, legal and illegal commercial relations executed by Portuguese, Spanish and indigenous peoples on the Amazonian borders involved different products. Among the items exchanged, we can mention the tobacco produced in the State of Grão-Pará and Rio Negro, which was illegally shipped across rivers to the Audience of Quito. This illegal trade was object of attention from Spanish authorities, worried about the necessity of controlling the commercial flow especially during the demarcations of boundaries determined by the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1777). Furthermore, protests against Portuguese-Spanish smuggling on the Amazonian borders indicated the role played by the local authorities on this activity, which represented losses to the tax policies of the Spanish Crown in the area. From evidences present in Portuguese and Spanish primary sources, this communication will examine the presence of tobacco in smuggling networks involving the Amazon and Andean areas and the discussions about combating illicit trade at the border.

Maps for Empires, Land of Mocambos: Maroon Territoriality in the Cartography of Amazonian Borderlands (1777-1800)

Manoel Rendeiro Neto (University of California Davis)

In 1798, the Portuguese empire put into motion a project known as *o grande deserto* (the great desert) project in the Lands of North Cape. Targeting the neotropical thicket of the northeastern Amazon basin, the plan signaled the culmination of an imperial politics of erasure. Portuguese governor Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho advocated for the transformation of the North Cape landscape into an eighty mile-long stretch of empty land. However, this land never was—and never became—a desert. Instead, myriad runaways maintained their own communities throughout the North Cape, opting for autarky as they transformed imperial presence into a fragile formality. Located on the Atlantic coast of the Amazon's northernmost reaches, the North Cape was a remote region in halfway between the French colonial outpost of Cayenne and the Portuguese port city of Belém. In between these imperial jurisdictions, Indigenous groups and maroon communities flourished with independent productivity and mobility, demonstrating the limits of empires' oversight. The North Cape's maroons primarily sought survival and continuity of their communities, which could be read as autarkies, since self-sufficiency and economic independence enabled their development. In other words, the defiance of imperial sovereignties was a consequence of the maroons' commitment to the collective strengthening of mocambos as the construction of autarkic refuges. To counter runaways' advantages, Portuguese sovereignty was contingent on captured runaways' knowledge that, later on, would be transformed into an imperial cartography, as Braun's map or the extraction of knowledge from Miguel's interrogation. Runaways gathered an exquisite amount of geographical knowledge that granted them control and mobility over an unfamiliar environment to Portuguese men. However, the Portuguese administration acquired information about the North Cape through the coercion and capture of runaways, Indigenous people, and maroons.

P16 THINKING COASTLINES AS FLUID FRONTIERS

ORGANISER Joana Gaspar de Freitas (Center of History, School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon)

Wednesday 21 July, 11:50 / Thursday 22 July, 14:45

Once, humans drew a line in the sand and called it a coastline. This imaginary border sets the divide between the daring ocean and people's domain. But, as human pressure increases on global shores and sea mean-level rises holding the line is becoming unsustainable. Long-term views and multi-trans-disciplinary approaches are needed to support critical thinking and knowledge-based solutions to address coasts as fluid frontiers and set new ways of living with them.

Sea and land, the two elements are frequently presented as opposite counterbalancing realities, as if they didn't touch. But, in the middle, there is a fringe of loose sand, pebbles or rocks, foam, watery, but still solid ground, whose limits are yet to define. Coasts are ecotones, transition and tension areas, dynamic flowing boundaries between two distinct ecosystems, with different biological and physicochemical features. Terrestrial-to-aquatic ecotones, coasts are highly complex frontier systems defined by their rich diversity and large productivity, privileged spaces of exchange of resources and energy and phenomena transfer. Human have been benefiting from these environments for millennia, to the point that coastal societies also have ecotone characteristics: the contacts, exchanges, resources and flows; the social, political, economic and cultural diversity; even the tensions and conflicts. Over time, all these phenomena have become so profoundly entangled, they are almost indistinguishable on today's hybrid coasts.

This panel aims to explore the ambiguity/hybridity of the borderline geographies, environments, species, people, activities and ideas that are common to coasts. The fact that this is an untidy messy natural-human world make it the perfect melting-pot to less familiar research and views, encouraging methodological, thematic and topical experimentation. Creating the right stage for open-minded scholars and practitioners, with different origins, experiences and purposes, to meet and come together, to discuss the past, present and future of local and global coasts.

...

Coasts and Dunes as Territories for Extractivism. Narratives from the Mediterranean Sea. 1950-1990

Antonio Ortega Santos (University of Granada, Department of Contemporary History)

Study Area: With this proposal a study is proposed on the historical processes of historical transformation of the coastal and dune landscape in the Mediterranean of Andalusia, with special attention to the area of the Cabo de Gata Natural Park (Almería, Andalusia, Spain).

Methodology: For the development of this proposal, Environmental History tools are used that, as regards the historical narrative of the processes of modification of the coastal territory (extension of agricultural area, reduction and elimination of dunes, underwater extraction of sand, etc.) that from the The 60s of the 20th century have meant a modification of the coastline. The objective of this modification of the coastal landscape is the result of two forces of anthropic pressure: the extension of intensive agriculture under plastic that required more land and the contribution of sand for the design of greenhouses and the expansion of the tourism model, all of this Within the perimeter of the Cabo de Gata National and Natural Park (Almería), together with this, a proposal for a methodology to quantify the impact of these activities on material and energy flows is proposed using the methodology of Social Metabolism (Toledo et al, 2014) and its relationship with the continuity of biocultural forms of land management.

Study Periodization Proposal

Phase 1. 1956-1956. Dune Sand Extraction for Agricultural Use. Militarization of the Extractive Process.

Phase 2. 1956-1973: Extraction Process with Machines. Local and National regulatory processes

1973-1980: Aridos Deposits and Creation of the Maritime-Terrestrial Zone

1980-1988: The Business of the Arena. Extractive Companies and Alternative Markets

1988-1996: Alternative Deposits of Sand and Closure of the Coast. Tourism as New Extractivism

Sources: AHPAL Provincial Historical Archive of Almería. AGA General Administration Archive. Environment Ministry-Coastal Service (Photographic Archive). The Voice of Almería newspaper archives

Traditional fishing in São Tome and Príncipe: a coastal ecosystem of struggle

Joana Baço & Gonçalo Lopes (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

This work originated during a field mission in February 2020 as part of the CONCHA project in São Tomé and Príncipe. With the objectives of reconnoitering archaeological sites, maritime cultural landscapes and traditional shipbuilding as well as

fisheries and hunted species. This study is composed of historical data collected between Lisbon and the City of São Tomé (in its historical archives). This information is then crossed with our own experience, established relationships, conversations, observations, and photographic collection on both islands.

Fishing is a major activity on the islands, either for income or just for family consumption. Besides recording the techniques, the ways and the changes, we also discovered several realities that intersect and overlap on the coastal edges of these two islands. It is there on this border between sea and land that several other borders are formed and changed: the taking of the coast by tourism, the displacement of fishing communities to new areas, the seasonal migration for fishing certain species, the attempts to introduce technology and the moving of the tree line inland (making wooden construction less accessible), are just some of the borders that on the coast of the islands are changing.

We intend to analyse the coastlines of both islands as a whole: a stage where humans, animals, forest and ocean each play their part, merging into an ecosystem of constant taking and leaving; where progress, slowly clashes with tradition.

The Shifting Sands know no borders: studying dunes as a global phenomenon

Joana Gaspar De Freitas (Center for History, School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon)

Coastal sand dunes can be used to critically think about human relation with the seashore in the Anthropocene. From barren land that local communities used for grazing cattle, to object of land reclamation projects that national and local authorities implemented to improve nature, to protected environments under international laws and institutions, dunes have been perceived and used in many different ways in the last centuries.

The shifting sands know no borders. Dunes have a worldwide distribution and cover almost every latitude. The problems caused by dune migration extended with empires as they colonized new territories. Knowledge to prevent sand drifting also went along the imperial networks, shaping new coastal environments. Dunes can be an example of the traditional declension narratives of exploitation and destruction of resources and landscapes, but they can also be the inspirational source of sci-fi stories, literary writings and collective efforts for their rehabilitation and protection. Dunes can tell much about the arrogant aim of fixing the world or seeing it as an ecosystem services provider, but also help feeling the planet and the more-than-human as a perpetual going together cycle to assure the continuity of life. Dunes as a research topic can bridge scientific knowledge and the humanities approach, combining what we know about the natural dynamic of these systems to the need of promoting a fluid thinking, an open attitude, regarding coastal sustainability worldwide.

This presentation is based in some of the main results of DUNES Project. Using the case-studies being developed in the last two years, we will reflect on how dunes can be brought to present environmental discussions as a showcase of the human ways of being at the coast and what we can draw from that for the future.

Coastlines Shift Inland and Risks Creep Upriver

Craig E. Colten (Louisiana State University)

Coastal Louisiana is experiencing the most rapid relative sea-level rise in the U.S. due to a combination of a subsiding delta and rising coastal waters. Consequently, the influences of extreme coastal weather are reaching farther inland and impacting places where environmental policy, organized at the parish (county) level, is unable to address this changing scale of environmental conditions. This situation is most prominent in the metro Baton Rouge region with the largest city situated upstream from two small, but rapidly growing parishes. These inland parishes have shaped their administrative apparatus to deal with riparian flood risk reduction along the Amite River at the local level and none has any explicit climate change adaptation plans in place. The principal river system drains into a sea-level lake that will rise in coming years and contribute to backwater flooding along the lower course of the river. Following a massive flood in 2016, the upstream parishes revised policies to accelerate the flow of water toward downstream neighbors and foster redevelopment in the floodplain. The lower parish has expressed concerns with the anticipated increases in discharge to be sent its way. There is no basin-wide flood mitigation authority. The state has launched an effort to implement basin-wide planning, but it remains in the early stages of planning and seeks local primacy in terms of flood mitigation and offers no reconciliation between risk reduction and climate change adaptations. Downstream residents have no voice in upstream policy making and the absence of a basin-wide authority, with representation from all political units, creates an environmental injustice. As climate change drives coastal conditions inland, the misalignment between traditional locally based governance and regional environmental realities will become more pronounced and exacerbate social injustices.

Beaches as Arguments: Reading Coastal Encounters from Early Modern Africa to Twenty-First Century America

Steve Mentz (St. John's University)

The dynamic “unrest” that characterizes what Rachel Carson calls the “dual nature” of the shoreline challenges critical interpretations of this space. “In the sea,” Carson writes, “nothing lives to itself.” Connecting Carson’s biophysical thinking to the human history of cultural encounters on beaches enables the physical intermixing of water and land to help define an interpretive method that treats beaches as conceptual and physical meeting places. Using Carson’s *Edge of the Sea* (1955) as a structural inspiration, this talk explores three encounters on three beaches to provide a template for the beach-argument between land and sea, and the relationship between humans and the natural world. The first beach-argument occurs in a fictional North Africa, when Virgil’s epic hero Aeneas confronts his disguised mother, the goddess Venus, after he has been shipwrecked. The hero’s belated understanding that the young woman he sees on the beach is in fact his divine mother provides a structural pattern for the partial understanding humans have of the natural processes at work in the encounter between land and sea. The second beach encounter takes place on the southeastern edge of the African continent, where the Portuguese Great Galleon *João* wrecked in 1522 on its way back from India to Europe. The story of the captain Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda, his wife D. Leonor, and their fellow survivors does not feature a classical deity, but their misreading of both the coast and its people parallels Aeneas’s failure to interpret his own shipwreck. Finally, I will discuss my own encounters, and those of my students, with Dead Horse Beach, a former refuse dump in coastal New York City, which can serve to represent how the industrial age has reframed but perhaps not substantially corrected the human understanding of the land-sea encounter.

Sea and Space – the “final frontiers” in the Azorean archipelago as an urban question

Inês Vieira Rodrigues (CEAU-FAUP)

The Azores, an archipelago located almost in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, has been subject to some enthusiastic news regarding technological advances, such as the goal to allocate part of the territory for mini satellites launching operations. Furthermore, it should be noted that, at a time when Portugal is awaiting the result of the submission of its request for the extension of Portuguese Continental Shelf, the analysis of tensions and debates on governance in the Autonomous Region of the Azores is of clear importance for the very redefinition of sovereignty, either as a process or as a concept. These announcements relate to contingent future events which generate, most of the times, a positive and optimistic reaction within the population and, specially, within the Regional Government. Similar to other territories around the world, in the Azorean context, the outer space and the ocean are often designated as “the final frontiers”, a designation which therefore orients political, economic, cultural and technological power toward resource discovery and enclosure. As Julie Michelle Klinger (2019) argues, “naming a place a frontier sets it up as a problem to be solved: territories to be conquered or resources to be claimed”. I claim that these “last frontiers” need to be analysed within the architecture and urbanism field, since they constitute urban frontiers which engage a process of inclusion or segregation within archipelagic territories. I defend that a serious analysis of this matter, ineluctably interdisciplinary, will lead to territorial public regulations and policy questions within the field of architecture, urbanism and territorial practices.

Lower Mesopotamian religious imagery and the Gulf’s coastal regions (4th- 3rd millennia BCE)

Jaime Silva (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa); Isabel Gomes De Almeida (CHAM and Departamento de História, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa) & Cristina Brito (CHAM and Departamento de História, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

The structural importance of the Tigris and Euphrates for delimitating ancient Mesopotamia (modern day Iraq and Syria) is well expressed in its old Greek designation: “the land between the rivers”. Yet, for its inhabitants, the sense of borders was quite different. In a wider sense, Mesopotamia was understood as encompassed between rivers, mountains, and deserts, but also between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabo-Persian Gulf, “Upper and Lower seas”, as they were referred to in literary compositions.

As southern city-states rose to power, from the middle of the 4th and throughout the 3rd millennia BCE, the interactions with the coastal regions of the “Lower sea” increased. Step by step, not only the goods acquired from these regions started to integrate Lower Mesopotamian religious imagery, but also the regions themselves became subject of mythical elaborations. The Indus valley (Meluha), Oman (Magan) and the island of Bahrein (Dilmun) were therefore not only commercial partners but also sources of inspiration for religious discourses.

With this paper we propose to revisit the significances of the roles, functions and actions attributed to Lower Mesopotamian aquatic deities, which were deeply connected with these coastal areas; as well as to analyze the symbolism some external animals gained when introduced and transposed to the Lower Mesopotamian mythical sphere, such as the Indian peacock.

Having in mind the interdisciplinary approach we have been developing together, by intertwining History of Religions with Environmental History, we aim to further contribute to the discussion on the fluidity between land and sea, focusing on the impact the interactions between Lower Mesopotamia and the Arabo-Persian coastal regions had on the religious imagery of the former.

Fluid frontiers – Passages to war

André Kirouac (Canada)

July 1, 1909, on Canada Day explorer Joseph-Elzéar Bernier unveiled a plaque on Melville Island north of the Arctic Circle and took possession of the Arctic lands and coasts on behalf of Canada. The proclaimed coastal borders included a coveted shipping route for centuries, the Northwest Passage connecting the Atlantic to the Pacific. This Nordic passage has been the dream of sailors looking for a route to India for centuries. Today, a shorter, ice-free route between the Pacific and the Atlantic is still a dream for the economies of many countries.

This communication will address, from a Canadian perspective, a universal issue arising from the effects of climate change, rising sea levels and melting arctic ice cover. The *True North* is coveted, Canada is claiming possession, the United States wants to make it an international route, and in 2007 Russia planted its flag on the seabed of the North Pole after discovering that the Lomonosov Ridge joined its territory, proving according to them the Russian ownership of the Pole and its resources. These coastal borders, solid for millennia, are more and more fluid. The passages, once covered with ice, now become waterways. Territories rich in resources, unique in nature, populated by people proud of their roots, appear as objects of lust and, where there is lust, there are potential wars. The risks of conflict reach into these fragile lands as Canada builds six heavily armed Arctic patrol vessels for the Royal Canadian Navy. Yet, seen from the sky, the Arctic borders are neither solid nor fluid, they simply do not exist.

P17 EMERGING BOUNDARIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, CONVIVIALITY, AND SOCIAL SCIENCES OF GLOBALIZATIONS: CRITIQUES IN SEARCH OF NEW DYNAMICS

ORGANISERS Luca Bussotti (Federal University of Pernambuco); Laura António Nhaualeque (Open University of Lisbon) & Marc Jacquinet (Open University of Lisbon)

Thursday 22 July, 09:45

The panel deals with three interrelated issues – even if their commonness does not seem that obvious – of the current transformations of global societies and social sciences across very diverse geographical areas around the globe: human rights, conviviality (Caillé) and the issue of the “global” in social sciences. Each subject is contested. Each has reached a “frontier” and the debate turns around the question of regress or new ways of expansion. So, the question is what are the dynamics of new phenomena that try to cross the frontier.

Accordingly, from the late 1990s, there is a clear questioning of human rights as a “political” movement as being progressive or not (Cohen 2007; Yamin 2005). Is the frontier of human rights still at the social rights front or is it moving in other directions? What are the central and emerging challenges at present? What connections with the current pandemic and its aftermath or the question of justice and social rights and protections?

The second contested frontier is related to the Convivialist Manifestos (*Manifeste convivialiste* and *Second Manifeste convivialiste* – 2013 and 2020; Caillé 2013, 2014 and Caillé et al. 2020) and its lack of diversity, especially from the global south. What are the contested frontiers of the convivialist Manifesto, considered from the South and other marginal observers? What are the difficulties of a convivialist emergence in capitalist economies in the North and in the South? Is the convivialist movement a way to cross the frontier of human rights?

Finally, what are the current problem facing social sciences in the current phase of globalization and what new challenges are emerging? What connections are being made between human rights issues and studies and social sciences? Interestingly, the proponents of the Convivialist manifesto are also proposing new frontiers for the global sciences. What are the implications in this respect? There is a thread between the different topics – human rights, convivialism and globalization – and it has to do with social and labor rights as well as the transformation of work and employment. The issue of (forced) migrations is central to the question of human rights, conviviality, and globalization. A regression in terms of openness present in the globalization and internationalization of social interaction is a serious concern for human rights activism and compliance. Is *mondialité* (Glissant) a way to expand the boundaries of globalization in new directions, to transform it, and to promote human rights and a more open and convivial society?

This panel is open to other approaches within the combinations of the three dimensions – human rights, convivialism and globalization - highlighted above. All three topics question the boundaries of human nature and “milieu”.

• • •

Humanitarianism, racialization, and the production of a surplus humanity. Towards a postcolonial inquiry of the humanitarian government.

Francesco Marchi (University of Naples L'Orientale)

Over the last two decades, humanitarianism has been at the centre of in depth academic scrutiny. As the 90's signalled the resurgence of humanitarian interventions on a global scale, the literature on the topic addressed the operational logic of the humanitarian apparatus from different angles, as well as its political and ethical inconsistencies. While the growing literature on the topic has contributed to a coherent and critical understanding of the humanitarian government, only a few studies focused on the role played by humanitarianism in the production of precarious and exploitable subjects, claiming the need to further investigate *how* and *why* the humanitarian is complicit to the global political economy. By referring to my ongoing quantitative and qualitative research on the exploitation of asylum seekers and refugees in the Italian agriculture sector, this paper intends to offer a preliminary answer to these *how* and *why* through a postcolonial inquiry of the humanitarian government. As such, it aims to outline a non-Eurocentric understanding of humanitarianism by focusing on the racial and colonial frontier which structures the modern humanitarian and human rights regime and on the constitutive entanglement between colonization and humanitarian government(ality). Who is the human/ity of humanitarianism? What does the racialized human tell us about the operational logic of (contemporary) humanitarianism? Is it possible to conceive humanitarianism as a peculiar form of racialization? Is humanitarianism only a form of biopolitics, or should we instead consider it also as a necropolitical technology? In acknowledging and unveiling the raciality and coloniality at the core of humanitarianism, this contribution intends to suggest that the *humanitarian exploitation* risks to be disguised as an exceptional or contingent phenomenon unless we bring back into our inquiry the founding yet overlooked racial and colonial frontier inscribed within the humanitarian government and dimension tout court.

Drawing Jerusalem boundaries with the help of MDA's EMT-volunteers: Jerusalem's mindscapes of MDA's EMT-volunteers

Avi Kotsere-Burg (University of Haifa, Israel)

Jerusalem with its religious national symbolic importance stands in the core of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and both national narratives. Almost 40% of the city's inhabitants are Palestinians from "East"-Jerusalem (a politically defined area including the Eastern, Northern, Southern parts of the city, as well as some villages annexed to it) who have a special status of residents of Israel without citizenship; this is in addition to the "urban-ethnocratic" (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003) rule system of Israel in "mixed cities". Their hybrid identity is divided between the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the Israeli State and therefore they perceive these boundaries differently.

A unique group of them work and volunteer together with Jews as Emergency Medical Technicians (EMT) in Jerusalem's branch of Magen David Adom (MDA)[1], Israel's national rescue organization. Their mindscape for the present and future Jerusalem's boundaries is different since it is part of their daily practice: they move freely from one side to the other, overcome obstacles such as the check-points and deal continuously with the other side of the conflict. They participate in ambulances-shifts, Corona-drive-in etc. and are aware of MDA's contingency-plans of mega mass-casualty-incident such as earthquake. Thus, they gain insight into the MDA's system and carry its symbols. Their work shapes consciousness of freedom of equal treatment and thus of movement. In Jerusalem's complex reality of "spatial heteronomy" (Monterescu, 2015) their agency seems to play a key role of getting over barriers of prejudices, and hence the city's boundaries seem to disappear.

[1] <https://www.mdais.org/en/about>

Cabo Verde - Locanationalizing the global in education. Are Human Rights a possible anchor?

Fernanda Marques (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

This work is one of the components of the project "Cabo Verde - Escola e Futuro(s)" that aims to build an alternative curriculum that promotes the effective sustainable development. Here we analyze the history of the post-independence Cape Verdean educational system in its relationship with transnational policies. Defending the need for locanationalize the educational system by revolutionizing the relations between the national academy and local practices in the contemporary global framework of public aid for education development.

In a time of profound change in the world, accelerated by the COVID 19 pandemic, it will be urgent to revolutionize learnings and "bringing the future to the present" turning difficulties into opportunities for the school system in Cabo Verde, a small archipelagic and Sahelian state with about 520,500 inhabitant's half of which are in the 0-24 age group.

Based on a documentary analysis for the period 1975-2015, of the educational statistic flows, the ideologies underlying public development aid, and a thirty-year personal experience dedicated to the Cape Verdean education system, I am looking for ways they can take the construction of a new paradigm of teaching and learning in public schools.

After the archipelago's independence in 1975, the Cape Verdean educational system adopted the general structural model of the former colonizer mixed with the different contributions and orientations of public aid for education development. The investment made since the independence of human resources particularly in teacher training, infrastructures, programs, study plans, curricula and manuals translate into "comfortable" indicators.

Can human rights be an anchor in the curriculum revolution? Leaving the "drip" conceptual on the curricula for a centering from which the areas of artistic, scientific, and linguistic knowledge are organized?

Environmental Migrations and lack of protectiveness: new frontiers between Human Rights and Sustainability

Ana Rodrigues (Universidade Aberta)

It is, nowadays, unarguable, amongst the scientific community, that the anthropic actions over the environment are exacerbating climate change. It is, equally, acknowledged that most of the events which stem from them increasingly prompt new human motions.

In spite of the enticement of responding to the plight with Human Rights International Law mechanisms, they have revealed themselves as inadequate for that purpose, eventually due to the force of their foundationalist boundaries, as the anthropocentrism, citizenship affiliation (Arendt) or metaphysical nature (Burke).

The correlation between environmental decay and fundamental rights deprivation is, nevertheless, notorious, whether we assume the right to the salubrious environment as a condition to the utter benefits of rights, such as life, health, water and food access, or we perceive it as a third generation independent right.

To this drama, accretes the aggravating factor of the Anthropocene's climate effects, which are felt with stronger impact, and before a far lesser reaction capability, over vulnerable countries, and communities. We risk, therefore, in case nothing is done in the sense of altering the current socio-economic patterns, to live, in the near future, a new apartheid, with a climatic dimension (Alston), in which the world will be divided into two groups: citizens and "environmental outcasts" (Sassen).

In this presentation, we will briefly handle the analysis on the factual status of the Environmental Migrations and the condition of legal art over the matter, in order to conclude that the right to settle in a livable environment is the minimum threshold for growth which is required, nowadays, to the human rights frontiers.

Lastly, we question ourselves whether the idealistic response for the problem might be within an ethics for sustainability, funded on a planetary sense of belonging, not anthropocentric, pragmatic, and driven towards a worldwide citizenship with globally claimable rights and duties.

From the field of Environmental History, a panel is proposed oriented to the study of the study of historical processes of extractivism at the land-sea interface in the Global South. This panel proposal is oriented in the methodological field from the perspective of decolonial studies, proposing a meeting on the forms of territorial coloniality, of knowledge and beings in the Global South that in the framework of the Capitalocene supposes the expansion of asymmetric appropriation or natural resources, promoting capitalization of nature that implement level of environmental injustice on a global scale, supporting with the quantitative methodology of Social Metabolism and Material Energy Flow Accounts to establish a baseline for the extraction of marine resources. The second element of the panel is the sharing of emerging research in the field of commodity extractivism in America, Africa and Asia within the process of territorial colonialism led by Maritime Empires. These are many goods subjected to the resource extraction process (Nacre, Salt, Guano, Plaster, Shark, Turtle, Industrial-versus-Artisanal fishing Aquaculture, Modification and contamination of seawater, Underwater mining, etc.) that suppose an asymmetric relationship between human societies and nature, pushing towards an overexploitation or resources. From this perspective of sharing experiences, it is proposed to meet researchers who are developing tools from the field of digital humanities to analyze the impact of extractivism in land and sea areas (crowsourcing, data mining, interactive maps, etc.). This tool is widely developed by Project that STAND has collaborated with (environmental justice atlas www.ejatlases.org, toxic bios www.toxicbios.eu, etc) with which to make visible the forms of socioenvironmental conflicts, struggles for the defense of the territory that guide towards processes of global territorial sustainability.

• • •

Struggling against extractivism. Mapping indigenous civil resistance processes in the Andean region

María Francesca Rodríguez Vargas (University of Granada) & Diego Checa Hidalgo (University of Granada)

This paper aims to analyse nonviolent indigenous resistance processes to extractivist projects in Latin America in the context of global capitalist development. Indigenous people have a long tradition of mobilization to oppose commodity extractivism and dispossession in Global South. Their struggles to defend people, territories, and nature materialized into socio-environmental conflicts revealing conceptions of progress and wealth that differ from Eurocentric understandings. This paper focus on socio-environmental conflicts located in the South of the Andean region where local communities face extractive endeavours and engage in nonviolent struggles against them. It identifies major trends in these struggles in order to discuss some of the main key issues in civil resistance theory.

Socio-environmental movements, decoloniality and environmental history in the Patagonian conflicts in Argentina (1980-2003)

Ayelen Dichdji (STAND (UGR, Spain); CONICET/CEAR-UNQ)

The present investigation proposes to analyze the emergence of controversies around the emergence of the first socio-environmental conflicts, which caught the attention of public opinion in Argentina between 1980 and 2003, taking into account two emblematic cases: Gastre and Esquel, both located in Patagonia Argentina. We intend to establish a historical-environmental journey with a comprehensive theoretical-methodological matrix consisting of: environmental history, decolonial studies and risk communication. As sources of analysis we will use national newspapers such as Clarín and La Nación.

Problemas recurrentes en la evaluación de impactos ambientales en Perú

Carlos Antonio Martín Soria Dall'orso (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina) & Graciela M. Mercedes Lu (ELAW)

Las evaluaciones ambientales de varios tipos presentan problemas recurrentes tanto en el contenido como en los procesos para evaluación que requieren ser corregidos. Un primer paso en esa dirección es su identificación y revisión. Esta ponencia busca realizar esa caracterización.

Algunos problemas identificados son 1) La calificación del potencial impacto y la profundidad de la evaluación no se corresponden; 2) La definición del área de influencia directa y de la población afectada es incompleta; 3) No se cuenta con información y estudios complementarios indispensables; 4) No hay determinación de impactos en los derechos colectivos de los pueblos indígenas, ni tampoco hay línea de base sobre salud; 4) Las metodologías para análisis y valoración no son explicitadas; 5) Las preguntas más relevantes para el caso específico no se abordan; 6) Se corta y pega secciones de otros estudios, de otras actividades y de otros países; 7) Se presenta datos erróneos, inexactos o que inducen a error; 8) El

derecho de acceso a la información se cumple en el borde de la legalidad; 9) Los planes de manejo ambiental no definen responsables y medios de verificación; 10) Los parámetros para monitoreo y el número y distribución espacial de las estaciones de monitoreo se prestan a manipulación.

Superar estas dificultades requiere un abordaje desde la sociedad civil y múltiples actores estatales, estableciendo alianzas para avanzar las agendas de reformas propuestas por el movimiento ambiental e indígena (Scurrah 1995). Si bien los estudios ambientales defectuosos legitiman el impacto ambiental negativo de los proyectos de desarrollo, también proveen evidencia en la forma de documentos públicos que contiene información relevante para su mejora.

Esta ponencia presenta la evidencia peruana a fin de contribuir a una lectura gradual y acumulativa de un fenómeno de dimensiones regionales en América Latina.

Where Have all the Flowers Gone. Approaching a Decolonial Methodology for Environmental Latin American History

Antonio Ortega Santos (University of Granada, Spain, Research Group STAND)

With this paper that is part of the Panel proposed by myself, it is intended to address two axes of reflection as a conceptual framework:

1. How has the Latin American Environmental History been narrated? Has it been a narrative constructed from the Eurocentric Research Methodologies? Is a historical process of material and ontological extraction of beings and territories from the Global South justified or legitimized?
2. Is it possible, within the framework of a process of decolonization of knowledge, to bet on the design of a new research agenda in the field of Latin American Environmental History?

For this, a methodological approach is proposed that allows progress in this process with 4 lines of work.

Axis 1. The Struggles for Life. The study on socio-environmental conflicts has been considered as a readaptation of the processes of unequal North-South ecological exchange. In a context of decolonial research, it pushes us to carry out participatory research with Civil Society groups to put in the first place that they are struggles for life, for Good Living.

Axis 2. Decolonization of Knowledge. The location of territorial knowledge is urgent, many of them linked to peasant worlds, on the basis of parity and equality with scientific knowledge. This commitment also requires the reconsideration of the biocultural heritage of native peoples as a reservoir of resilience.

Axis 3. Other Ontologies. After the processes of slavery and violent flows of labor, we must proceed to a review of these processes, narrated from a matrix with a low level of political commitment. A new ontology of bodies is necessary as a tool to better interpret violence with territories and the various processes of material and ontological extractivism at the beginning of the 20th century.

P19 FLUID INFRASTRUCTURAL TIME(S): TEMPORALITIES, SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE (UN)MAKING OF BORDERS

ORGANISERS Caio Simoes De Araujo (Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research) & Pedro Pombo (Goa University)

Wednesday 21 July, 11:50

Infrastructure has been an important device in the making of modern state borders, as well as in the governing of human and non-human movement across them. Indeed, fences, border posts, railways, highways, bridges, airports, harbours, cables, pipes, and the like, have all been historically implicated in the ways in which space is built and occupied; inhabited by some and bordered from others. In doing so, infrastructure not only transforms the built and natural environments, but also the social, cultural and affective maps of people living in, through and around them. At the same time, infrastructure carries with it a temporal imagination, as it builds on memories of a past and projects hopes and expectations onto a future. In the current moment of regionalization and globalization, infrastructure is often linked to the promise of modernity, development, mobility, circulation, and transborder contact. Here infrastructure is also conceived as networks of trade and circulation that become supranational and reframe the limits of national borders, as shipping trade corridors, fishing reserves or international maritime economic agreements.

This panel invites papers dealing with two aspects of infrastructure's temporality. Firstly, the idea we are currently living in "infrastructural times", a moment marked by a renewed investment in infrastructural development, particularly in the Global South. In this perspective, we are interested in papers investigating how current infrastructural projects are unfolding on the ground, prompting spatial transformations and environmental change, and engaging discourses of modernity, futurity and mobile living. Secondly, we are interested in exploring "infrastructural time", that is, the temporality of infrastructure itself. Infrastructure is made to last, and yet it corrodes, decays, pollutes, gets ruined. Here, we invite papers investigating the temporality of infrastructure amidst processes of construction, renovation, upkeep, decay, and ruination.

• • •

Joburg's Pools in a Time of South African Infrastructure

Pamila Gupta (WiSER, University of the Witwatersrand)

What follows in this paper is a series of contemplations or rather watery reflections on Johannesburg's swimming pools which, for some residents (including myself) are the closest thing to an ocean we have in this dry landlocked urban metropolis. We also don't consider their design; more often than not, they are round, in a figure 8 or consistently popular are kidney shaped ones. Here I want to think about Joburg's pools as voluptuous, as inciting a range of emotions, from wondrous to increasingly endangered (Elias 2019), as capturing an affect of sea and sky in one, and a corporeal and submerged sensorial feeling of wetness, something I have written about elsewhere in relation to the monsoons (Gupta 2021). In other words, I want to reflect on them as a form of infrastructural affect, as both a 'form of landscape' (Abbas 2010) that can be mapped in Johannesburg and its surrounds (Northern suburbs, Southern suburbs, and townships) in relation to its apartheid past, and as a spatial and temporal imaginary that speaks to the city's dryness, one which constantly catches in one's throat, eyes, skin, and hair and is inescapable. Jumping into a pool on a hot lazy Joburg day reminds us of what it feels like to cool down one's body temperature, and be surrounded by the colour blue (Meloy 2002, Solnit 2005, Taussig 2009) even if it is fleeting, brief, and temporary. Swimming pools provide water oases in Global South cities such as Johannesburg, yet they are as evil as they are gentle and tranquil, and portend our dry futures in an era of the Anthropocene and pending water crises, in which eerily empty, hollowed out, rusted, repurposed and abandoned (with the non-human taking over) swimming pools are increasingly a sign of 'infrastructural time (s).'

Knowing the Boundless Sea: Global Knowledge Infrastructures and the Changing Nature of Borders

Jessica Lehman (Durham University)

This paper analyzes the relationship between global knowledge infrastructures and the changing nature of borders and boundaries. The purpose of global knowledge infrastructures, comprised of elements such as networks of sensors, data-sharing protocols, remote-sensing technologies, and digital archives, is to produce knowledge that is borderless, comprehensive, and friction-free on a global or even planetary scale. The allure of global knowledge, and thus a drive toward global knowledge infrastructures, is a defining feature of knowledge production today. The production of global knowledge is compelling to not just the natural sciences but frequently the social sciences and humanities as well. Yet, this paper shows that global knowledge infrastructures are not simply subject to borders and boundaries, but they can also be read alternatively to indicate new notions of these phenomena, which both shape and respond to a changing world. Taken together, the quotidian practices, planetary ambitions, and moments of failure for global knowledge infrastructures indicate

changing relationships between sovereignty and borders, shifting emphases between the national, the transnational, and the planetary, and the friction that persists in planetary knowledge and governance. Drawing on examples from marine knowledge, production I show that global knowledge infrastructures in fact raise important questions about the changing nature of borders and boundaries as both geopolitical phenomena and cultural imaginaries.

Petro-infrastructures and Socialist Legacies in the South Atlantic

Claudia Gastrow (University of Johannesburg)

On the 27 May 2020, international news outlets announced that Sonangol, Angola's state oil company, had been awarded a license to prospect for onshore oil in Cuba. Given longstanding diplomatic, military, and civil assistance collaborations between these two countries, the awarding of the contract was unsurprising, it spoke to a long history of socialist and post-socialist solidarity that had linked them through civil war, US political interventions, and socialist solidarities. This paper takes this collaboration between Angola and Cuba as the starting point of an exploration into the intermingled histories of two framings of the southern Atlantic – one through the lens of petroleum and the other through the lens of socialist cooperation. Tracing some of the material and immaterial infrastructures that constitute these framings, the paper explores how contemporary petroleum infrastructures, reiterate and reshape older histories of socialism, producing a specific post-socialist transnational experience defined by the oceanic linkages and energy infrastructures.

Galvanizing a Nation: Zambian Border Insecurity and the Sabotage of the Luangwa Bridge

Michael Panzer (Marist College)

Around 5:00am on Sunday 9, June 1968, two men were on guard duty at the Luangwa Bridge construction site along Zambia's Great East Road. The old Luangwa bridge was still in operation while a new Luangwa Bridge was being constructed to replace the aging span. Located approximately three miles from the Mozambican border and roughly 40 miles from Southern Rhodesia, the Luangwa Bridge was the most critical piece of infrastructure along Zambia's Great East Road. The bridge traversed the Luangwa River and linked Lusaka via the Great East Road to points east, including Malawi and Mozambique. The old bridge was an easy target for saboteurs in the remote Luangwa River Valley, located in close proximity to the Mozambican border. When an unknown number of saboteurs struck, two bombs denoted destroying a nearly 200' section of the old bridge rendering it impassable and effectively crippling traffic, the export of copper, and the arrival of tanker trucks full of diesel fuel *en route* to Lusaka. It was a devastating, short-term blow to the Zambian economy, local commerce, and Zambian pride. Both guardsmen were also killed. The destruction of the old Luangwa Bridge was clearly meant to point out how vulnerable Zambia was to the intrigues of its hostile neighbors. This paper explores how the sabotage of the Luangwa bridge informed national and regional concerns about the Zambian economy and national security in a volatile and remote frontier location. Zambia's support for the liberation struggle in neighboring Mozambique rendered this critical piece of infrastructure vulnerable to subterfuge.

The transformations of landscapes as memory devices: socioenvironmental heritage in Argentina and Brazil

Ana Marcela França (CONICET/ Universidad Nacional de Quilmes)

Most landscapes are loaded with human labor, where the processes of occupation and use of the territory are printed. At the same time, along with the transformation of biophysical spaces is the construction of imagined landscapes. The imagined landscapes are those that envision a project, that looks towards the future; they are also those that are kept in the memories (individual and collective), composing different ways of understanding and experiencing the environment. Landscapes transformed by the advancement of borders and the entry of new technologies also imply social changes and perceptions based on the desired future. The present work proposes to analyze two cases, one in Argentina and another in Brazil. These are structures related to the renovation of its buildings and ruins, reinventing their use, and which are currently related to socio-environmental memory. Both cases are also related to land use in the mid-XIX and early twentieth century, in which the entry of new technologies, such as the railway system, and agricultural exploration promoted the "modernization" of these spaces. In Argentina, the case of the ex-railway station of Veronica (Buenos Aires), a symbol of the advance of the agricultural frontier and expansion of the Argentine National State and the current museum of the city with the same name, will be analyzed. In Brazil, the case of the ruins of São Joao Marcos will be commented on, an ancient icon city of coffee production, and which is currently the base of the São João Marcos Archaeological and Environmental Park (Rio de Janeiro). Finally, it will be seen that these two locations preserve their heritage as symbols of a "glorious" past while being used as devices for the preservation of their historical and environmental memory.

I learn therefore I am: reflections on feminist pedagogies in migration studies

Asia Della Rosa (Linköping University)

The work presented here intends to reflect on an academic context in which different forms of oppression - which are both the subject of discussion and analysis but also embodied by the subjects themselves - can be understood as borders that are waiting to be demolished. The interest in studying the university as a privileged place in the production of knowledge needs to be found in the particularly interesting gaze this place offers to observe and identify which boundaries coloniality is still contributing to construct in our everyday lives (Maldonado-Torres 2007). In the paper presented here I theoretically reflect on different kinds of pedagogies used in academia. My main interest is to combine decolonial pedagogies (Lugones 2003; Freire 1996), a postcolonial feminist perspective (bell hooks 1994) and an intersectional approach (Crenshaw 1989). The research questions stem therefore from the need to reflect on the production of knowledge and its theorisations: how can transgressive teaching practices be combined without neglecting the influence that race, gender and class (as well as other forms of oppression) have on modes of learning? I argue there is the need to rethink on a combined approach, in producing and reproducing knowledge within academia. The margin of the borders is here considered as a space in which to reflect - and not only as a place of transit waiting to reach the centre (bell hooks 1990). It thus becomes a space for creating, sharing and elaborating collective strategies, useful for re-evaluating the ways in which we produce and reproduce knowledge in the academic field. As a white, female student from a Western context, already partly inserted in the academic world, the margin is also a space of questioning, uncomfortable and not pleasant, where it is necessary to stay in order to rethink new creative forms of knowledge production.

Gender identities, cultural memory, and fluid boundaries in Ana Luísa Amaral's play Próspero Morreu

Anabela Galhardo Couto (Universidade Aberta de Lisboa) & Chatarina Edfeldt (Dalarna University)

In her one act play *Próspero Morreu: Poema em Acto* [Prospero is dead] (2011), Ana Luísa Amaral uses 'multiple voices' from different classical discursive settings to explore gender identities, cultural and literary tradition, the theme of love and the power of the *word*. In line with other works from Ana Luísa Amaral's poetic universe, the setting of *Próspero Morreu* is that of ancient myth, as well as Western classical literary and *cultural memory*.

This essay will perform a reading of how *Próspero Morreu* revisits, rethinks and ironically merges key pieces of Western cultural tradition, in particular how it comments on the fabric of love, *agency*, and the discursive silencing of women and subaltern voices. As such, our reading will highlight how the play intermixes and reinterprets the symbolic paradigms of *cultural memory*, as well as recuperates female and subaltern genealogies.

We will argue that the exercise of the *word* in *Próspero Morreu* no longer divides, hierarchises or sets limits.

Through the process of claiming another *logos*, the *word* connects, dissolves boundaries.

In this drama, as in other poetic texts by Amaral, the inscription of the female universe and the visibility of the matrilineal tradition take on a central role, which will also be emphasised in this paper.

Border States: Living in the Wake of the Border in Sara Uribe's Antígona González

Alessandro Moghrabi (Brown University, Comparative Literature)

In this paper, I explore how borders can extend their reach deep into distant territories, completely restructuring and mangling geographies in their wake even if they act spectrally, nowhere to be seen or experienced directly. With this objective in mind, I read "Antígona González", a poem written by Sara Uribe on the aftermath of the San Fernando Massacres of 2010 and 2011, when hundreds of migrants were summarily murdered by Los Zetas; set in Tampico, in the so-called Mexican border state of Tamaulipas, "Antígona González" focuses its narrative on the trauma of becoming the subject of border violence from afar. How is it possible that this massive state, is a borderland? Most European capitals and major cities are closer to a border than Tampico; and yet, these cities have never been defined as border towns or borderlands. These contrasts serve to highlight the immense geographical pull that the border can have, such that it can extend deeply through space into countries and communities, violently reorienting geographies. I also mention these distances to justify the relevance of Uribe's text towards thinking of borders: in addition to their centrality in defining and exercising sovereign power, borders can exercise an immense fallout on the surrounding regions, making it imperative for us to grapple with how borders overreach even without directly making themselves visible.

Modern « Senzalas ». Domestic work and segregation in brazilian contemporary cities.

Giulia De Sena Manera (Université de Guyane)

According to data collected in the São Paulo metropolitan region in 2018 by DIEESE, women represent 96.6% of domestic workers. Statistics paint a portrait of the average *empregada* in large Brazilian cities: she is poorly educated, black in the majority of cases (56%), over 40 years old. National studies confirm this picture and reveal that Brazil has the largest population of domestic workers in the world. Data fail to shed light on the daily life and experience of this silent army of women, ignored and voiceless in public space.

The anthology *Eu, Empregada Doméstica*, published by Preta Rara in 2019, and the comic *Confinada* by Leandro Assis and Triscila Oliveira (2020-2021) allow to expose the private space, recognized as inviolable by law, which subordinates the fundamental rights of the domestic worker to privacy's protection. These works thus draw a precise and unmistakable domestic cartography of contemporary Brazil, bringing out the boundaries of gender, race and class that structure private and public space. A space that remains structured by rigid segregation, exacerbated by the pandemic.

Are you a real Korean? Dissecting the curated definition of the Korean Nationalism to challenge the notion of nationality and us-ness of South Korea

Jiyun Sung (Loughborough University)

The research proposes to address the baffling notion of Nationalism in South Korea and challenge the government's curation of the Grand National Narrative that manipulates the identity of every Korean. The Korean peninsula has been divided across the 38th Latitude from a series of devastating events such as the Japanese Colonisation and the Korean War, the two Koreas had treated their metaphorical borders as fortress walls that separate 'us' from the 'enemies' - to protect their sovereignty from being stolen again. This conservative belief was used by the authoritarian government, who carefully curated the National Narrative to be simplistic, static and inarguable. A true Korean had to have a ethnically and culturally pure bloodline that originated from the land, away from Japan, China, and the West.

When South Korea opened up to globalisation, seemingly welcoming international immigrants to diversify its society - calling for diasporas to come to the 'motherland' - it revealed the twisted obstinateness of Korean Nationalism. The frontiers of South Korea had not been the promised open door, but a filter to leave out anyone who does not meet the 'standard' of a proper Korean. Because of this, various Korean diasporas such as Koryo-in, Lai Dai Han, Korean Americans and North Koreans were exposed to both subtle and explicit forms of prejudice, injustice and hostility.

By analysing media outlets, interviews and court hearings of Korean diasporas, the article seeks, the paper aims to address Korea's Grand National Narrative. The research hopes to articulate the main issue of Korean Nationalism. The investigation of the Grand National Narrative - what it means to be 'us' - and setting a different standard on who is included in the National Narrative may be a step towards a more inclusive and tolerant Korea for all.

Reimagining the Sri Lankan Muslim Identity

Amjad Mohamed Saleem (Independent Researcher)

The Muslim identity in Sri Lanka has emerged from a constructivist perspective, constructing an ethnic identity for political reasons but also instrumentalising religion for the same reason to achieve that political end. In this sense they are unique in that they have become an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) with an 'imagined geography' (Said 2000).

In this sense, the formation of the Sri Lankan Muslim identity is one of perception – a perceived link to history, time and space; to define oneself against the 'other'. This imagined geography for the processes of cultural intervention of the Sri Lankan Muslim narrative has been shaped by a long tradition of efforts to forge effective political formations in times of global crisis, in other words, efforts with transnational ambitions that have profoundly shaped the history of the 20th century— including, in particular, the legacies of anti-colonial movements and other internationalist thought.

This paper will argue that in doing this, the Muslim community led by the political elites, institutionalised their identity founded on an imagined assumption. This imagination has led to a blurring of certainty and identities and has become a flash point for insecurities. Whilst there was a conflict in Sri Lanka, this blurring of identities were not a major issue vis-à-vis the majority community, however with the conflict coming to an end, there are new pressures put on minority communities in terms of identity expression. In order to address these challenges, the paper will argue that the minorities need to subsequently evolve to face those circumstances. This evolution has to involve a reimagination of boundaries and communities in the understanding of identity and institutionalisation. The paper will offer some ideas for how this reimagination can take place.

What explains – against all odds – the continued dominance of a national identity of *Paraguayidad* among the stratifying landscape of *mestizaje* in contemporary Paraguay?

James S. M. Woodley (University of Oxford)

This paper aims to investigate the relationship between the dominance of a national identity of *Paraguayidad* and the increasingly stratifying landscape of *mestizaje* in contemporary Paraguay. This paper will explore how the lived experience of Paraguayan national identity manifests itself across ethnic groups within the nation's *mestizaje*: how do those belonging to more advantaged ethnic strata indulge in *Paraguayidad* in comparison to those from more discriminated ethnic strata? Do we observe patriotism in contemporary Paraguay to reflect 'rhetorical power' and an ethnically 'exclusionary nature', creating 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' of citizens?

This paper aims to locate and contextualise demographically Paraguay's 'national identity' using sociodemographic data, such as Gender, Age, Toponymy, Work, Education.

Do any patterns emerge? An *urban* identity and a *rural* identity? A *commercial* identity and a *family* identity?

In order to draw parallels, I intend to unpack **unifying** notions of *Paraguayidad* (*cálidez*, *orgullo*, sense of belonging, notions of romanticism, and attachment to Paraguayan values), as well as indicators of **divisive** forces among intrasocietal, *mestizo* ethnic groupings (class, income, and education).

Assumption: "An increase in ethnic diversity will lead to an accelerating decline in trust overall, an increase in anti-immigrant sentiment, and declining support for welfare state." (Heath)

- How, therefore, is *Paraguayidad* still so prominent?

- Does *Paraguayidad* occur cohesively across intrasocietal, *mestizo* ethnic groupings?

To understand further the contemporary Paraguayan psyche, I also will delve into:

- Relationship of Paraguay with *Guaraní* language.

- Discourse of *romanticism* and how this emerges from the Myth of *Mestizaje*.

- Why are the Myth of *Mestizaje* and *Paraguayidad* both ethnically 'exclusive'? (Paraguayan 'identity trap'.)

Lastly, I will supplement data with nationally-representative probability sample surveys and contextualise findings with cross-ethnic, cross-national programmes such as barometers and continental values surveys.

Eile Project: Border-Fictioning as anti-colonial resistance to the UK border in Ireland

Sam Vardy (Sheffield Hallam University, UK)

Since 2016 Dr Paula McCloskey and Dr Sam Vardy (co-founders of the art and spatial research practice a place of their own) have developed Eile, a transdisciplinary investigation of the border in Ireland which centres around site-responsive performances and audio-visual films; in a process and praxis that we call border-fictioning (McCloskey and Vardy, 2020; McCloskey and Vardy, 2021, forthcoming). Through this practice we ask how the border might be differently understood, experienced, critiqued and altered through affective encounters in the artworks produced between bodies, the earth and sovereign power. The method involves a series of experiments along the border, each incorporating elements of site-responsive performance and installation, mapping, walking, and the production of images and audio-visual artworks. The site-responsive performances are experimental, working to create encounters with a fictional character, 'Eile' (meaning 'other' in Irish), who touches, walks, lies, makes structures, sings or keeps vigil at the border sites; the performances are recorded and edited into short films. Through this practice we explore (somewhat experimentally) the notion of border-fictioning, drawing-on a specific concept of geopower, and a specific diffractive method (Barad, 2007). Geopower, or the forces of the earth itself (Grosz, 2008, 1999, 2011; 2017), allows us to comprehend and conceptualise the geo (earthly, material, affect, power) and the human (bio, anthropic, biopolitics, body, power) together in specific ways. A 'diffractive' methodology (Barad, 2007; Haraway, 1992; Trinh, 1986) sees the production of knowledge and meaning as inextricably connected to (entangled with) the social and material practices of the world.

P22 WOMEN AT BORDERLANDS: FEMALE AGENCY AND POLITICAL NEGOTIATION AT THE EDGES OF EUROPEAN EMPIRES S, XVI-XVIII

ORGANISER Diana Roselly Pérez-Gerardo (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Wednesday 21 July, 14:45

Regarding the traditional construction of the frontier concept as a space marked by violence, arbitrariness, risk, illegality and impunity and helplessness, the image of the colonial borderlands has been conceived as a predominantly male universe or, as Silvia Ratto said, "the realm of caudillos, of strong men who dominate their retinue of men". This perspective has clouded the role of Mestizas, Criollas, Indigenous and European women in the Empires Borderlands. However, women have been studied as war booty, both in captivity and in other operations of violence that sought to dismantle the enemy by attacking female bodies. On the other hand, the projection of borderlands as a refuge for practices and subjects outside the norm opened the horizon to make the social accepted models of the feminine more flexible.

This panel invites to present contributions that address female agency in the multiple frontiers of European Empires among the 16th and 18th Centuries. The aim of this panel is to exchange different experiences of women in militarized frontiers which have been "naturally" associated to male agency. Nevertheless, it is possible to reclaim the roles that women played in this environment, such as peace negotiations, their roles in political alliances, marriages and kinship, life in missions, sexuality, transgressions and female networks of collaboration. We also invite to present theoretical and methodology inputs on the matter. A gender-based perspective is necessary to subvert a male centered history of colonial borderlands.

• • •

Women and "citizens" at border cities: Ciudad Real de Chiapa, 16th century

Martha Atzin Bahena Perez (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

From the social history approach, this paper elucidates women's role in the configuration of frontier cities during the 16th century. The case of Ciudad Real de Chiapa contributes to the issue, since its proximity to insubordinate peoples to the Spanish crown, giving it the characteristic of border territory. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, Genoese, Neapolitans, Venetians, and Pisans arrived who, thanks to marriage with citizens' daughters, took root in the province. The study emphasizes the practices of indigenous, "mestizas", and Spanish women that shaped these populations. In the first place, it raises the problem of sources, since, after a detailed analysis of the judicial and notarial sources of Spanish and American archives, we find the women's centrality. Secondly, it presents a chronology of the female actions: during the conquest and expansion of the royal jurisdiction, during the Iberian crowns' consolidation and conservation. Based on the study of relational systems, the paper presents the transversality of women's mediation in citizenship configuration, as it is the tie between family alliances. Besides, she weighs the limits and scope of her agency and the social differences between women.

The Yndia who gave birth to a dog. Female Representations on the Upper California Borderland, 18th century

Diana Roselly Pérez-Gerardo (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

After the formal inquiries made by several officials, on May 24th of 1799, the Governor of California, Diego de Borica, sent a letter to Miguel José de Azanza, Duque of Santa Fe and viceroy of New Spain, to let him know, that a Neophyte Indian woman, of San Juan Capistrano Mission, gave birth to a dog (AGN-M, Californias, t.. Even if there is no registered documentation of the consequences of this episode, the authorities assumed and certified as a fact that an Indian could give birth to a dog.

This paper aims to analyze the representations of the Upper California Indian Women made by civil authorities, Franciscan friars, and some voyagers in the 18th Century. Previous studies have pointed the influence of myths and stereotypes of medieval literature in the Conquest of California in the 16th Century, however the Enlightened account emphasized some other aspects of the construction of gender such as the productive role of women and the violence executed by missionaries and administrators toward women. Both visions can be contrasted with some other roles that Indian women played in the Colonization of the Upper California, such as their roles in intercultural marriages, in resistance and transgression, as well as in the interaction with other women.

From a gender-based perspective, the main objective of this work is to sum up the historical dehumanization, racialization, and other gendered operations of violence that led civil authorities of California to affirm, in the late 18th Century, that an Indian can give birth to a dog.

Catherine Braganza's Mediation as England Queen

Mercedes Llorente (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

In this paper will explore Queen Catherine Braganza's form of mediation as Queen of England to analyze the limits of the her diplomacy and her different forms of political and cultural mediation with her family in Lisbon. This paper will focus on aspects related to the mediation of Catherine of Braganza to consolidate the Braganza dynasty in Portugal, through the image and the portraits that we think are made and sent to different European countries to pursue their political objectives. The Braganza family had an important relation with England after Catherine and King Charles II married. This project will focus on aspects related to the mediation of Catherine of Braganza to consolidate the Braganza dynasty in Portugal, through the images and the portraits that we think are made and sent to different European countries to pursue their political objectives. I follow the definition of "mediation" given by E. Natalie Rothman: "as something that actually happens *between* actors, using various techniques, rather than just something that certain people in certain positions do".[1] Material culture of diplomacy includes all practices in foreign communication, it is supposed to be constitutive for creating an intended effect in terms of diplomatic objectives. [2]

[1] E. Natalie Rothman, "Intermediaries, Mediation, and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in the Early Modern Mediterranean", *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol19, nº 2-3, (2015), pp. 245-259.

[2] Harriet Rudolph, "Entangled Objects and Hybrid Practices? Material Culture as a New Approach to the History of Diplomacy" in *Material Culture in Modern Diplomacy from the 15th to the 20th Century*, Ed. by Rudolph, Harriet / Metzsig, Gregor M, Walter de Gruyter GmbH&Co KG, 2016.

Emotions and Sociability in Seventeenth Century Pandemics in Naples 1656- 1658

Adriana Luna-Fabritius (University of Helsinki)

Covid-19 pandemics dramatically collapsed existing forms of human sociability. Isolated from their customary forms of sociability people have been suffering enormously and the multilayered costs of pandemic's isolation are still to be understood in their complexity. In order to alleviate this current problem, researchers are opening new lines of inquiry. Amongst the various proposals, we propose to turn to past experiences to cope with fears and emotions, and more importantly, the feeling of human fragility. In this context, I propose a study of some Neapolitan cultural forms to cope with costs of the devastating pandemics from (1656-1658) that decimated fifty percent of the population of the capital of the kingdom. This paper will study Neapolitan cultural production that people produced and resorted during the pandemics to go through the difficult process of isolation. More specifically, using correspondence and chronicles from the time, this essay will confront the creation of religious and secular myths about the dissemination of the disease, the effects of pandemics self-isolation, which were shaped within the confines of their medical knowledge. In this manner, I will grasp the process of viralisation of fears during that led to the self-isolation and the Neapolitans solutions to it.

P23 A BORDER IS A BORDER IS A BORDER? DISCUSSING BOUNDARIES IN ANTIQUITY.

ORGANISER Catarina Miranda (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

Thursday 22 July, 14:45 / Thursday 22 July, 16:50 / Friday 23 July, 14:45

Borders, whether geographical, political, military, cultural or intellectual, were constantly created and recreated by the different communities they served throughout time. In doing so, borders helped construct identities and alterities, and, therefore, points of contact, divergence or even conflict, some of which with long-lasting effects. Understanding the nature and role of diverse types of borders in the communities of Antiquity - both the meanings they stood for and the practices they originated – is crucial to understand the concept itself, its diversity, evolution and variance in time and space. Given so, this panel, invites studies on borders set in this vast chronology: studies on the idea, constitution, contestation, representation, experience or implications of borders in a chronology “foreign” to the modern concept, but a chronology that could, nevertheless, contribute to the current critique of the subject, by bringing new perspectives and case studies to the discussion.

• • •

Border Zones as a Liminal Mosaic: The Mediating Cultural-Brokers of Beth-Shean

Krystal Pierce (Brigham Young University)

The Late Bronze and Iron Age (13th-12th centuries BCE) site of Beth-Shean in the Levant featured a spread of domestic, religious, administrative, and industrial architecture, along with large amounts of ceramic vessels, jewelry, inscribed stelae, and other locally-produced and imported objects. During this period of Egyptian hegemony in Canaan, Beth-Shean is identified in texts as a major administrative and military base for expatriate Egyptian personnel, who played an authoritative role in the region. While investigating the architecture and material culture of the site, the excavators observed that there were certain areas of the city with more Egyptian material, while other areas displayed more of a Canaanite cultural affinity. However, there were also sectors of Beth-Shean with a broad-based multinational or hybridized character, where both Egyptian and Canaanite material culture amalgamated together.

The border zones between the Egyptian and Canaanite districts of the city were the devices by which the two groups defined and delineated spheres of continuity or disjuncture. These interstitial boundaries, whether real or imagined, created spaces where various intersections of differences between the two cultures met and played out materially, and were therefore affected by diffusion and osmosis. In this study, the architecture and material culture of the border zones between the Egyptian and Canaanite precincts of Beth Shean will be analyzed and compared to the shared social and cultural areas of the city, in order to discover the individuals who would have mediated between the expatriate Egyptian administration and the local Canaanite population. These cultural-brokers were the dualistic intermediaries who guarded the junctures of relationships between the indigenous system and the larger whole, revealing that the borders and contact zones were arenas of encounter and collision, thereby replacing the linearity of boundaries with the image of a liminal mosaic.

A border on the sea? Constructing identities and alterities: Egyptian and Aegeans in the second millennium B.C.

Inmaculada Vivas (UNED, National Distance Education University, Madrid)

This study focuses on the existence of a border on the sea, which was the ‘meeting point’ between Egyptian and Aegeans during the New Kingdom. The Eighteenth Dynasty was a period of intense contact and the sources of information have increased in the past years.

Within this context, two case studies will be explored. On one hand, the representations of Aegean emissaries who crossed a border on the sea, attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty private Theban tombs, as an example of the visual construction of alterity. Despite being a popular topic (cf. Wachsmann 1987), no study has previously tried to explore the role of the artists who painted these scenes and their sources of inspiration. The people from *Keftiu* and the “Islands of the Great Green” bringing gifts to the king probably reflect ceremonies in the sphere of the court (*prokynesis*). But how did the artists had access to those foreign people? These scenes could be connected to diplomatic contacts in the Egyptian palace. If we accept that the depiction of foreign embassies belongs to real events, related to important ceremonies, we may be willing to consider that on such occasions a few Egyptians artists could have been present during those celebrations. This would be a working hypothesis to explain the detailed and accurate representations of Aegean people, which could be reasonably explained by a direct source of inspiration: *autopsia*.

On the other hand, the Minoan wall-paintings from the palaces at Tell el Dab’a depicting Minoans (acrobats, bull-leapers, porters, hunters, women...) will be another case study to explore the visual ‘self-construction’ of identity, with accurate depictions of Aegeans. Nevertheless, these frescoes come from a different historical and social context, as they were painted by Minoan artists crossing a border on the sea and arriving at the city of Avaris.

Crossing the great divide: rethinking the use of artistic boundaries in Ptolemaic statuary

Catarina Miranda (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

“Rose is a rose is a rose is a rose.” has been a controversial verse, provoking antithetical interpretations. One of the most frequent critiques to the phrase has been that it fails to communicate. Rather differently, others have appreciated how such a dizzying repetition serves in fact to underline the multitude of significations conveyed in a single word. Instead of meaningless, the verse could be as meaningful as the concept “rose”.

Borders can easily be Stein’s roses: the term invokes a number of realities, but at the same time, it fails to inform about each situation. The use of the word weights on it, to the point of affecting its purpose to identify. This paper will discuss the underlying presence of the concept in Ptolemaic Egypt studies, namely the artistic boundaries present in – or forced on? – statuary produced during this chronology. It will consider Greek and Egyptian art traditions specifically, seeking to understand what has made them opposite traditions. The paper will further discuss the effects of such a compartmentalization, by analysing the communities – ancient and/ or modern – whom they have served. In this way, it is hoped that it may be possible to challenge both the need and viability of such “borders”.

The "Reserve Heads" of Ancient Egypt and how they deconstructed the borders of social hierarchy

Raquel Novais (NOVA FCSH)

The "Reserve Heads" are a funerary sculptural *corpus* from Ancient Egypt that dates from the Old Kingdom (4th – 6th Dynasties) and that was found mostly in the necropolis of Giza. Their enigmatic meaning and purpose confounded both the excavators and scholars leading to numerous theories since the 19th century. This paper presents my results of the re-examination of this topic, namely regarding the counting of the models and their interpretation.

The length of the *corpus* of "Reserve Heads" has been updated since 1919 when William Smith in *HESPOK* cataloged 31. In 1991 Roland Tefnin in *Art et Magie* established the "final" counting of 34 models (35 if we include a doubtful model). However, after a thorough analysis of the archaeological records, I believe there is evidence of 40 "Reserve Heads". Tefnin already identified ears (15-12-34 [G 4510]; 14-3-18 [G 4710]). Furthermore, I verified the existence of 4 more ears that have not been studied yet (MFA 13.445 and MFA 13.446 [G 5190 = G 2300]; C482 NS [G 2041]; 15-1-23 [G 5030]). Both these evidences indicate the presence of five more "Reserve Heads" that were not preserved.

From this updated counting of the "Reserve Heads" I can present a new interpretive theory. Over three dynasties the "Reserve Heads" were an essential tool in recreating the borders of the social hierarchy of the Old Kingdom. Therefore, they are essential to understand its evolution and variance. Through the analysis of the titles of the owners of the "Reserve Heads" I aim to unveil the formal and informal family and professional interactions between the royal and non-royal elite and the pharaoh. This is, I am to expose how "Reserve Heads" reflect their points of contact, divergence, or even conflict by "portraying" the individual emancipation of some members of the elite.

The house beyond its walls. Revisiting the Amarna Workmen’s Village

Thais Rocha Da Silva (Universidade de São Paulo/University of Oxford)

The investigation of houses in Egyptology privileged typologies and the division of internal spaces. Artefact distribution and architectural features were the main source of information to address questions about gender, kinship and economic activities in the domestic sphere. Egyptologists privileged the house unity and framed domestic life in a 19th century Victorian fashion, ignoring other elements of the archaeological context. This attitude projected notions of domestic life from a Western and European experience, reinforcing the house as the realm of comfort, privacy and family. In that regard, the investigation of workmen’s villages may offer a different perspective on the study of the domestic environment. In this paper I question previous studies by providing a new framework for the Workmen’s Village of Amarna, a special-purpose settlement from the New Kingdom (1550-1069 BCE). This perspective integrates a large dataset from houses (artefacts, architectural features), facilities located outside the enclosure wall (piggens, the quarry, chapels), and official buildings spatially distributed around the settlement. This presentation highlights a holistic approach that benefits from new developments from Household Archaeology, Material Culture and Sensory Archaeology. I explore new models to understand houses through material culture that offer an updated perception about the domestic boundaries in Ancient Egypt.

Roman Omens and Symbolic Frontiers

Rúben De Castro (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

When reading the works of ancient authors, the modern reader will be confronted, throughout their narratives, by a widespread presence of omens regarding Rome's future, both for the Republic and for the Principate. Like many other forms of divination throughout Roman history, this phenomenon is necessarily a by-product of how Romans saw their world, "a world full of gods", as Hopkins calls it, but also full of dangers.

Thus, the omens recorded by ancient authors are a powerful expression of the Roman cosmovision. A vision in which the world is inhabited by supernatural forces capable of shaping and interfering with the human individual and collective daily life. A world where symbolic frontiers were ever present in the minds of Romans: the frontiers between the sacred and the profane spaces, between public and private areas, between day and night, between areas deemed to be under divine protection and areas of the savage world, a chaotic domain that was a source of extreme danger to the community.

Our presentation will attempt to provide a brief analysis and explanation of how liminality and symbolic frontiers of that roman worldview are present in many of the omens recorded in ancient literary sources. By doing so, we can effort a better understanding of what was the ancient Roman cosmovision on religious and symbolic frontiers, and how it was integrated in a larger belief and divinatory system focused on verifying the status of the relationship between gods and men, the ever important *pax deorum* of the Romans.

Phenomenology of black dogs from Anubis and Cerberus to the Christian representation of the damned

Giuseppe Delia (Durham University)

The "black dog syndrome" is a psychological aversion to black dogs that seems to affect the adoption of pet dogs uniquely on the colour of their fur. Statistically, it appears that dark dogs tend to be perceived as more aggressive, ill-tempered and, in general, more dangerous than light-coloured dogs. The paper aims to analyse where and when this diffused mistrust towards black dogs might come from. Gathering and collecting Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Christian images and texts can shed light on our ancestors' relationship with black dogs, and blackness on a wider scale.

A symbol of the syndrome can be the natural threat posed by the wolf in the wilderness lurking outside human settlements from the dawn of civilisation, representing the death of humans and livestock alike. The archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the archetypal fear of the unknown and darkness could also be the reason behind the unconscious dread towards everything (and everyone) that has been described as 'black'. The aforementioned cultures, although their audience had changed over time, have maintained alive this prejudice since it has been purposely used to depict the foreigner, the enemy, the 'infidel', the inhabitant of far lands and/or the 'uncivilised'.

The socio-political implications of the fear for the stranger, or xenophobia, have been an extremely powerful weapon to concentrate people's frustrations towards outsiders and it still affects languages, literature, and visual culture. Comprehending its origin may encourage the development of a healthier society that challenges obscure stereotypes and dogmas.

Walled Sovereignty: Architectural Borders in the Ancient Egyptian World

Oren Siegel (Independent Scholar)

Terms like "sovereignty" or "territoriality" are justifiably crucial to how scholars and politicians interpret modern borders, but such words are the products of very particular cultural-historical processes and rarely have precise analogs in the ancient world. This paper will interrogate a particular kind of ancient border-making that still possesses a degree of relevance today—monumental wall construction—through the lenses of sovereignty and territoriality, beginning by briefly discussing how the absence of precise, abstracted notions of sovereignty or territoriality in emic Egyptian terminology does not preclude us from identifying how recognizable aspects of these terms can be identified, albeit with extreme care, in certain ancient cultural, architectural, or intellectual practices.

Drawing primarily on examples from Pharaonic Egypt, I will argue that constructing and maintaining walls inherently demands what I believe are two complementary, constitutive elements of political sovereignty: 1) at their foundation, walls require the capability to arbitrarily and violently reimagine, remake, and reorder the existing social landscape, and 2) while walls remain in use, they require the ongoing capacity to enforce such a vision, whether through coercive, violent measures or less frequently, persuasive enticements. Walls also territorialized power in the Pharaonic world. They often literally defined the horizons of ancient Egyptian civic and urban life: where people could go, where material was stored, and the spatial boundaries of various administrative, religious or mortuary institutions. I conclude by arguing that this combination of instrumental utility and visible monumentality has allowed walls to serve as powerful and durable symbols for the state or its ruling elites in geographically and chronologically diverse places.

Pseudo-limes? Before Venice there was a border

Myriam Pilutti Namer (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

The border area between the Italian peninsula and the Balkans in Roman antiquity has always been an area of crossroads. Different cultures have coexisted between conflicts and interactions resulting in a particular mix of elements that contributed to create the Venetian civilization. When Constantine transferred the capital from Rome to Constantinople in 330, that specific area of present-day Europe gained great strategic importance. In the 4th and 5th centuries a defensive system was built, called *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, that ran from the Alps to the heart of the Balkans. This line of defense was composed of forts, emplacements, and walkways, and it ran along a route that today includes Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. This itinerary has recently been the subject of scientific and touristic promotion thanks to European funds. The material culture has been the subject of several studies and, even if we don't know exactly who or when erected it, this barrier/border should probably be interpreted as part of the defense strategies against the Huns' incursions. Unlike a proper *limes*, the *CAI* is not a real border, but an impediment that contributes however to define a "over there" and "over here". It is not the only border in this area: the sea was also a refuge/barrier where the Roman populations living on the mainland gradually moved in small groups when the Venetia et Histria was no longer safe because of the repeated incursions of the Huns. The result still visible today, the creation of the insular settlement of Venice, includes two borders hidden from view, and is located between them. My talk aims to reflect on the theme of the natural/artificial border in the 4th and 5th century AD in the upper Adriatic area and to question the awareness of the role of natural elements as borders in ancient societies.

Thyreatis as a Spartan-Argive Borderland

Gabriel Bernardo (University of São Paulo)

The modern plain of Ástros, in the east coast of Peloponnesus, covers the greater part of the region known in Antiquity as "Thyreatis" or "Thyrea". This comparatively small tract of land, cutted off by the Spartans from the Argive territory in mid-sixth century BC, became a borderland much disputed between both *poleis* until the second century AD. It is not impressive, then, that the reasons behind the respective claims to Thyreatis was of great interest for many scholars. However, modern studies on this subject tend to highlight mythical and symbolic traditions associated with the quarrel, while downplaying other factual and archaeological reports on the region's history. In this sense, this presentation intends to discuss the two main suggestions on the more practical reasons why Spartans and Argives disputed the control of Thyreatis during the Greek Classical Period. Namely, a) the idea that Thyreatis provided Spartans a much-valued access to the territory of a rival *polis* and b) that it served as a "buffer" zone between the spheres of influence of two hostile neighbouring *poleis*. With this goal in mind, the discussion will take into account archaeological and historical data on Thyreatis usually undervalued by scholars. This intends to show not only that Thyreatis did not fulfilled any of the strategic roles mentioned above, but also that a *Spartan* borderland seems to have been more synched with what we know about *Argive* history. Therefore, is much probable that Thyreatis' inhabitants were much closer to their immediate Argives neighbours than to a distant Sparta. If this is correct, then even if Spartans initially conquered the region to serve as a border (weather as a more closed or more accessible one), that was not what happened at Thyreatis during the Classic Period.

How Greek Novel represents the Borders of the Hellenistic World

Leonor Santa-Bárbara (CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

The novel is a literary genre that developed in Greece by the end of the Hellenistic age. With a simple structure, these works describe the adventures of a young couple trying to stay together. They are usually from an Ionian city, but a series of circumstances make them leave their town and take them apart. Travelling by the sea, they face different kinds of dangers, including harassment, arriving at several places in the Eastern Mediterranean, until they meet again.

This genre illustrates both the cultural unity of the Hellenistic Kingdoms and the difference between Classical and Hellenistic Greece.

This paper intends to analyse some of these novels, focusing in the way the arrival at different places is described and whether these places are presented as different countries, with clear borders.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Almeida, Isabel Gomes De - P16
Amadori, Arrigo - P08
Amorim, Maria Adelina - P10
Apolinário, Juciene Ricarte - P10
Aristondo, Miguel Ibáñez - P08
Azkarate, Agustin - P10
Baço, Joana - P10, P16
Barriera, Darío G. - P11
Bastos, Carlos Augusto - P15
Bernardo, Gabriel - P23
Bloch, David - P05
Bouroutis, Andreas - P05
Bracht, Fabiano - P12
Bragagnolo, Manuela - P03
Brusadelli, Federico - P14
Busquets, Anna - P08
Bussotti, Luca - P17
Cabral, Diogo De Carvalho - P06
Calderón, Maria Teresa - P11
Carvalho, Patrícia - P10
Castellanos, Antonio Ruiz - P08
Castro, Maria João - P02
Castro, Rúben De - P23
Cavi, Sabina De - P08
Changeux, Thomas - P10
Claro, Ana - P02
Colby, Jason M. - P04
Colten, Craig E. - P16
Conceição, Gisele C. - P12
Concepcion, Grace Liza - P08
Couto, Anabela Galhardo - P20
Cristina Brito - P06, P10, P16
Croguennec, Soizic - P08
Dagkas, Alexandros - P05
Dall'orso, Carlos Antonio Martín Soria - P18
Delia, Giuseppe - P23
Dichdji, Ayelen - P18
Echegaray, Esther Pascua - P09
Edfledt, Chatarina - P20
Elipe, Jaime - P08
Escribano-Ruiz, Sergio - P10
Faget, Daniel - P10
Ferreira, Teresa - P02
França, Ana Marcela - P19
Freitas, Joana Gaspar de - P16
Goetzke, Louka Maju - P06
Gamito-Marques, Daniel - P12
Garcia, Ana Catarina - P10
García, Idalia - P03
Gastrow, Claudia - P19
Godicheau, François - P11
Gomez, Juan Sebastian - P15
Grasberger, Brooke - P04
Gupta, Pamila - P19
Hadar, Gila - P05
Heé, Nadin - P04
Hidalgo, Diego Checa - P18
Ibáñez-Bonillo, Pablo - P15
Iglesias, Samuel - P10
Iturralde, Jaime - P02
Jacquinet, Marc - P17
Jacquinet, Maria - P09
Jones, Ryan Tucker - P04
Kang, Soo - P06
Khosravi, Shahram - Keynote 3
Kirouac, André - P16
Kotsere-Burg, Avi - P17
Langfur, Hal - Keynote 2
Lehman, Jessica - P19
Lema, Fabrício Ferreira De - P08
León, Pablo Sánchez - P09, P11
Llorente, Mercedes - P22
Lopes, Gonçalo - P16
Lu, Graciela M. Mercedes - P18
Lugo, Gibran Bautista Y - P08
Luna-Fabritius, Adriana - P22
Manera, Giulia De Sena - P20
Mantini, Silvia - P08
Marchi, Francesco - P17
Mariño, María Patricia - P02, P09
Marques, Fernanda - P17
Martins, Patrícia Roque - P14
Mata, Elíshabá - P09
Matos, João Pereira De - P06
Mauro, Ida - P08
Mayorga, Marcelo - P10
McCloskey, Paula - P06
Mentz, Steve - P16
Miranda, Catarina - P23
Moghrabi, Alessandro - P20
Namer, Myriam Pilutti - P23
Neto, Manoel Rendeiro - P15
Nhaualeque, Laura António - P17
Novais, Raquel - P23
Nunes, Margarida - P02
Nwaka, Geoffrey I. - P12, P14
Ochôa, Paula - P02
Pacheco, Mafalda - P14
Palomo, Federico - P03
Panzer, Michael - P19
Perales, Alejandra Izquierdo - P13
Pereira, Carlos - P13
Pérez, Álvaro Casillas - P08
Perez, Martha Atzin Bahena - P08, P22
Pérez-Gerardo, Diana Roselly - P22
Pernet, Guillermo Pupo - P08
Pierce, Krystal - P23
Pinto, Carla Alferes - P02
Piza, Pedro Luís De Toledo - P13
Pombo, Pedro - P19
Prats, Arturo - P09
Quiroz, Daniel - P10
Respass, Amanda - P12

Rex, David - P03
Richard, Thomas - P10
Riquelme, José Araneda - P08
Rodrigues, Ana - P17
Rodrigues, Inês Vieira - P16
Rosa, Asia Della - P20
Sá, Inês De - P08
Saleem, Amjad Mohamed - P21
Santa Bárbara, Leonor - P23
Santos, Antonio Ortega - P16, P18
Serratos, Brayan - P08
Shellard, Alexia - P12
Siegel, Oren - P23
Silva Jr., Airton Ribeiro Da - P03
Silva, Jaime - P16
Silva, Luisa Stella De Oliveira Coutinho - P03
Silva, Thais Rocha Da - P23
Simoes De Araujo, Caio - P19
Sola, Diego - P08
Soulier, Eliette - P08
Srougo, Shai - P05
Sung, Jiyun - P21
Sy, Nicholas Michael - P08
Tribot, Anne-Sophie - P10
Trimállez, Marina Torres - P08
Tudini, Flavia - P08
Vardy, Sam - P21
Vargas, María Francesca Rodríguez - P18
Vaz, Pedro Albuquerque - P13
Viceconte, Milena - P08
Vieira, Nina - P10
Vital, André Vasques - P06
Vivas, Inmaculada - P23
Gilmore, Ruth W. - Keynote 1
Woodley, James S. M. - P21



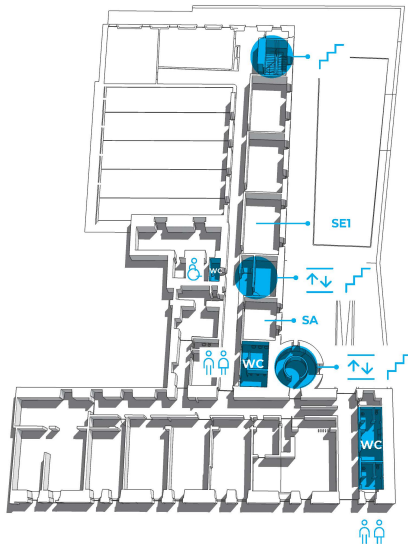
CONFERENCE TIMETABLE

	WEDNESDAY 21 JULY		THURSDAY 22 JULY		FRIDAY 23 JULY
08:45-09:15	REGISTRATION	09:15-09:45	SIDE EVENT Association APASSIFFERRATI	09:15-9:45	SIDE EVENT <i>Peoples, Nature and Environments: The launching of a book and a special issue.</i>
09:15-09:45	OPENING SESSION				
09:45-11:30	P02 P05 P21	09:45-11:30	P10 (I) P11 P17	09:45-11:30	P06 (II) P08 (II) P14
11:30-11:50	Break / REGISTRATION	11:30-11:50	Break	11:30-11:50	Break
11:50-13:35	P13 P16 (I) P19	11:50-13:35	P06 (I) P08 (III) P09 (II)	11:50-13:35	P10 (II) P12 P20
13:35-14:45	LUNCH / REGISTRATION	13:35-14:45	LUNCH	13:35-14:45	LUNCH
14:45-16:30	P09 P15 P22	14:45-16:30	P16 (II) P23 (I)	14:45-16:30	P08 (IV) P23 (III)
16:30-16:50	Break	16:30-16:50	Break	16:30-16:50	Break
16:50-18:35	P03 P08 (I) P18	16:50-18:35	P04 P08 (V) P23 (II)	16:50-17:50	KEYNOTE LECTURE Prof. Shahram Khosravi
18:35-18:45	Break	18:35-18:45	Break	17:50-18:20	CLOSING SESSION
18:45-19:45	KEYNOTE LECTURE Prof. Ruth Wilson Gilmore	18:45-19:45	KEYNOTE LECTURE Prof. Hal Langfur		

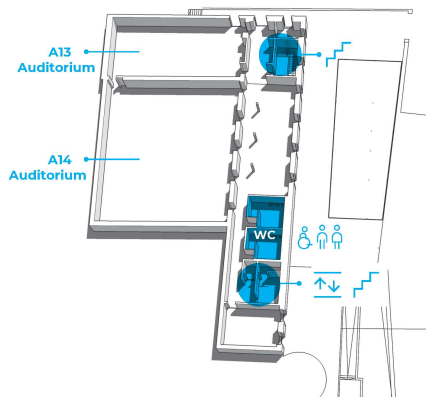
NOVAFCSH

Get to know the different areas of the 'Colégio Almada Negreiros'

Ground Floor



Level -1



Directions



Colégio Almada Negreiros, Campus de Campolide 1099-085 Lisboa

phone: (+351) 21 790 83 00
email: naac@fcsch.unl.pt

Entrance Rectorate
Rua da Mesquita

Entrance NOVA Direito
Rua Estevão Pinto



Carris

701, 702, 758



Metro

São Sebastião Station (Red line)
Praça de Espanha Station (Blue line)



CP

Sete Rios

Nearest station with direct connection to the blue Metro line: Praça de Espanha Station

Campolide

Connection to Carris: Bus 701, 702, 758



GIRA.

GIRA Park

Bicycle parking on campus

Connect to
NOVAFCSH



fb.com/fcschunl



@nova_fsch



@nova_fsch



fcsch.unl.pt

Safety Guidelines

1



The use of a mask is **mandatory** inside the campus.

2



Keep a safe distance while moving between floors and common areas.

3



Do not get to your classroom before the starting time of your class.

4



Do not remain in classroom's lobbies.

5



Avoid gatherings.

6



Wash or sanitize your hands before and after entering a classroom.

7



Sanitize all school equipment, before and after using it.

8



Avoid sharing personal objects.

9



Always keep the same seat in the same classroom.

10



Follow the rules and advices from NOVA FCSH and DGS.

11



And do not forget to reach our **support line** in case you notice any symptoms.

i

covid19@fcsch.unl.pt
910 379 586



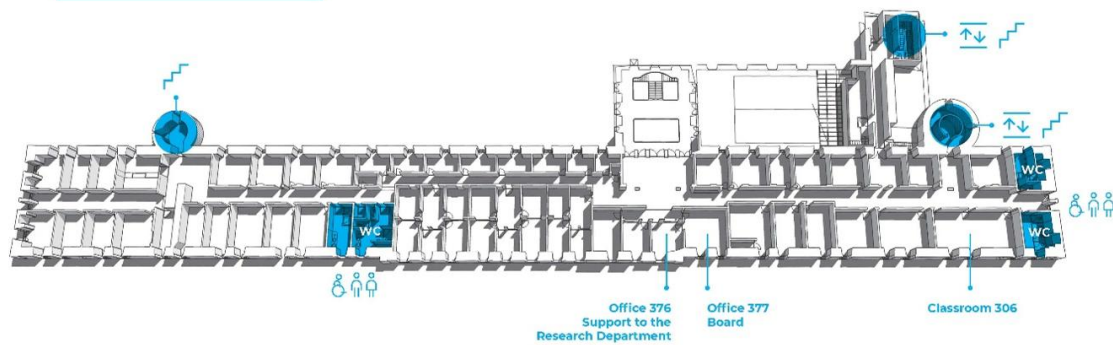
**OLHA PARA TI!
SE NÃO TE VÊS, CONCENTRA-TE, PROCURA-TE!**
ALMADA NEGREIROS

Map Legend

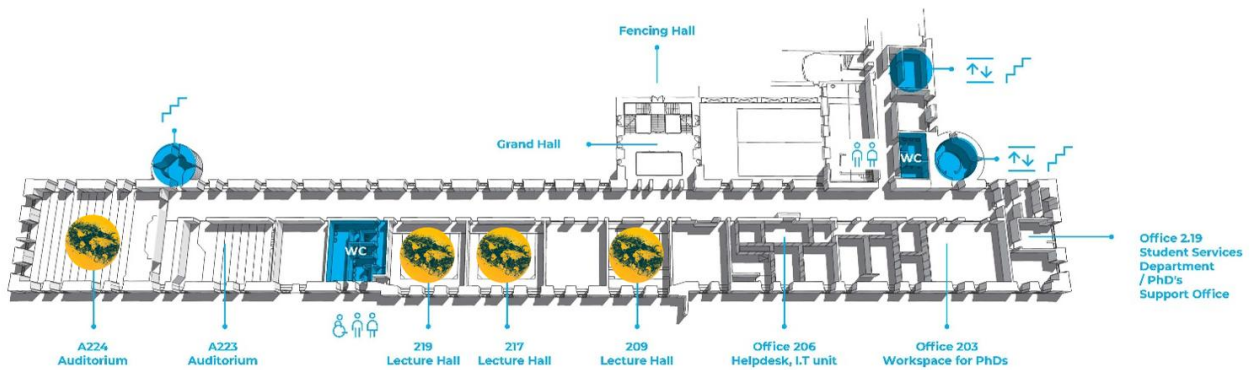


3rd Floor

RESEARCH LEVEL



2nd Floor



1st Floor

