

Empires and the Making of the
Modern World, 1650–2000



Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World



Edited by Liam Matthew Brockey

PORTUGUESE COLONIAL CITIES IN THE
EARLY MODERN WORLD

Empires and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–2000

Series Editors:

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This new monograph series seeks to explore the complexities of the relationships among empires, modernity and global history. In so doing, it wishes to challenge the orthodoxy that the experience of modernity was located exclusively in the west, and that the non-western world was brought into the modern age through conquest, mimicry and association. To the contrary, modernity had its origins in the interaction between the two worlds. In this sense the imperial experience was not an adjunct to western modernization, but was constitutive of it. Thus the origins of the defining features of modernity – the bureaucratic state, market economy, governance, and so on – have to be sought in the imperial encounter, as do the categories such as race, sexuality and citizenship which constitute the modern individual.

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Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World

Edited by

LIAM MATTHEW BROCKEY

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Princeton, New Jersey

15 October 2007

Liam Matthew Brockey

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Editors' Foreword

As Liam Brockey mentions in his fine Introduction it was the maverick figure of Charles Boxer who, some years ahead of his time, pointed to the need to survey the making of the Portuguese empire not from the royal palace of Lisbon but from the somewhat less grand civic halls built and maintained in the far-flung administrative centers of its colonies and other cities where the Portuguese could be found. This was a radical intervention, so much so that even now investigations into the nuanced operation of colonial localities, particularly in comparative perspective, are relatively thin on the ground. This is one of the many reasons why this collection is so welcome. Displaying considerable skills in excavating rare archive materials, the contributors to this volume provide refined insights into precisely how the Portuguese went about the quotidian process of establishing and consolidating their authority in the early modern period across urban sites notable for their extraordinary variety. Thus we learn of the distinctive formative moments in the histories of such diverse cities as Luanda, Macau, Nagasaki, Goa and Salvador, while remaining sensitive to the commonalities brought by the urban cultural heritage of Portugal.

The diversity of location provides us with a clue to another vital dimension of the collection. The Portuguese empire was, arguably, the first global empire, spanning as it did the Americas, Africa and Asia. Thus the cities 'colonized' were not only 'nodes of empire' but among the first global cities. They were integrated into extensive trading and cultural networks, were cosmopolitan, possessed entrenched elites and institutions with disciplinary powers, were organized spatially in distinctive ways, and were crucial to the building of the empire. Not that the making of such metropolises was performed through the exercise of naked and violent imperial power, or the ready inscription onto a *tabula rasa*. All these cities exhibited a range of tensions created by the implantation of alien traditions into extant cultural landscapes and economic relationships, and indeed those Portuguese communities at the 'centre' and 'periphery', which had to seek resolution through the process of negotiation. This was a lesson passed later onto other imperial superpowers, most notably the British. Nor was it the case that imperial intervention was a guarantee of future success. Mozambique Island, for example, derived its early success from the military strength secured by Portugal; when this was withdrawn its

disadvantageous geographical location and inadequacy as a seaport led to terminal decline.

Even seasoned travelers may not have visited many of the sites discussed here. Nonetheless, we should be aware of their historical significance, and mindful of the past and possibly contemporary presence of Portugal in their languages, buildings, streets and traditions.

Philippa Levine and John Marriott

INTRODUCTION

Nodes of Empire

Liam Matthew Brockey

On 16 January 1651, two Portuguese adventurers disembarked at Malacca from a ship that had carried them from Macau on a secret mission. Their sea passage had taken them from the relative security of the colonial settlement on the China coast into enemy territory—the former Portuguese city of Malacca had been besieged and captured by the Dutch a decade previously. It was the task of Pêro de Mesquita and Manuel Henriques to survey the ruins of this once-thriving settlement and to offer succor to the Portuguese who held on under ‘the tyranny of the heretics.’ The two men had adopted a disguise designed to make them blend in with their compatriots, a group of merchants bound for Cochin on the Malabar Coast of India. Embarking ‘with swords at the waist, hair and beards fully grown,’ they were able to pass the rigorous inspection carried out by the Dutch officials intent on blocking the entry of Catholic clergy. So these two undercover Jesuit priests passed unnoticed into Malacca, parting ways and renting living quarters on either end of town. Once they settled down, acknowledged as itinerant merchants, Mesquita and Henriques began to make inquiries among the remaining Catholics—Portuguese, French, Spanish, Italian, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and even Dutch—about the spiritual state of the city.¹

The Jesuits’ disguise, much like the thin covering of Dutch control over Malacca, was held together by sheer willpower but was largely transparent. According to Mesquita, the officials of the United East India Company (V.O.C.) had trouble detecting him and his confrere, but the city’s Catholic residents saw through the masquerade and the priests’ ruse: ‘Those eyes, that certain air of *je ne sais quoi* gave them away; the more they tried to disguise themselves, the more they appeared to be Fathers of the Society rather than

¹ Pêro de Mesquita S.J. to Francisco de Távora S.J., Goa, 25 December 1655, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon [= BA], *Jesuitas na Ásia* 49–IV–52: fol. 8r. The same source is also found in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, *Japonica-Sinica* vol. 64, fols. 316r–49r.

worldly soldiers.² In this climate of dissimulation and mutual recognition, the Jesuits carried out their clandestine mission to minister to Malacca's Catholics for fifteen months, playing a cat-and-mouse game with the city's Calvinist *predikants*, their spies, and those whom Mesquita condemned as 'bad Christians'—all of them intent on jailing the Jesuits and shipping them off to Macau or Goa. The priests' greatest challenge was identifying safe places for saying mass, since both public and private manifestations of Catholic worship had been banned by V.O.C. authorities as soon as the news of the Brazilian insurgency against Dutch rule of 1647–48 reached Malacca. In addition to cloaking themselves in the garb of merchants, the Jesuits decorated their residences to match: In order to throw off his adversaries, Mesquita kept a table in his quarters 'covered with a carpet, with cards and dice and a flask of wine.' But both in his and in Henriques' house, chapels were hidden behind trapdoors ingeniously situated in the buildings' walls. Fittingly, one was dedicated to Our Lady of Remedies, the other to Our Lady of Hope.³

These hidden sanctuaries were a faint shadow of the former magnificence of Catholic worship in Malacca. What had not been reduced to ruins by Dutch bombardments during the eight-month siege of the city in 1641 was dismantled by Malacca's new Calvinist overlords. Before that wave of destruction the city had boasted a considerable collection of Catholic edifices: a cathedral, six parish churches, a number of smaller chapels, and houses belonging to the Dominicans, Recollect Franciscans (*Capuchos*), Augustinians, and Jesuits. So tightly packed with churches was the walled section of the city that over half of the 250 *casados* (married settlers) who comprised Malacca's citizenry lived in outlying areas.⁴ Of course, the religious orders' buildings were more than just churches; they included spacious living quarters and, in the case of the Jesuits, a college. With the advent of Dutch rule, this landscape changed. Not only were the sanctuaries stripped of their ornamentation—Mesquita reported that large works of art were paraded triumphantly through the streets to be smashed before the door of the fortress while the smaller devotional statues were given to children to play with as dolls—but some were converted into Dutch Reformed churches or transformed for secular uses.⁵ Alexandre de Rhodes, the renowned Jesuit of the Vietnam mission, wrote of his sadness during a visit to Malacca in 1646, when he beheld 'all of the signs of the True Religion entirely abolished.' What most touched him was

² Mesquita to Távora, BA *Jesuitas na Ásia* 49–IV–52: fol. 8v.

³ Ibid., fols. 16v–17v.

⁴ António Bocarro, *O Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (1635), ed. Isabel Cid, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1992), vol. 2, p. 251.

⁵ Mesquita to Távora, BA *Jesuitas na Ásia* 49–IV–52: fol. 4v.

hearing the bells of the former Jesuit college toll 'for the detestable uses of the heretics,' summoning the city's inhabitants to hear the *predikants* 'spew forth a thousand blasphemies against the Virgin and the Saints (see Figure I.1).'⁶

When the city was Portuguese, the status of its clergy matched the stature of their buildings. From the creation of his diocese in 1557 until the Dutch capture of the city almost a century later, the bishop of Malacca was one of the most powerful local figures. Behind him stood an ecclesiastical staff on a par with that of the minor bishoprics of continental Portugal, and he could dispose of significant wealth drawn from his involvement in lucrative trading networks that stretched from China to Arabia. The religious orders owed their prestige to other efforts: The Dominicans, for instance, used their Malacca residence for coordinating missions throughout the Indonesian archipelago. And the Jesuits had quickly made their mark on the city after Francis Xavier arrived in the mid-1540s. In addition to earning a reputation as a talented preacher, Xavier performed some of his most famous miracles in Malacca: turning sea water into fresh and prophesying the Portuguese victory over the Achinese. Yet the Catholic clergy constituted only one layer of the large religious edifice that had been built over the thirteen decades of Portuguese rule. While the arrival of the Dutch had greatly transformed the church of Malacca, Pêro de Mesquita and Manuel Henriques had no trouble detecting its vital signs. They calculated that there were three thousand Catholics in the city in 1651, a group that included Europeans, '*mestiços*,' and all manner of people from around the Indian Ocean's shores. To be sure, that figure was less than half of the estimated 7,400 who had dwelt there in the first decades of the seventeenth century.⁷

One should not imagine, however, that a unified Catholic bloc lived in the city under Dutch rule. Malacca had always been cosmopolitan, a home to communities of Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and Jews, as well as Christians. But Asian Christians and European Catholics did not necessarily get along in that environment.⁸ Indeed, social harmony was never one of the city's hallmarks under the Portuguese, especially when it came to the church. Tensions ran

⁶ Alexandre de Rhodes, S.J., *Divers Voyages du P. Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine, & autres Roiaumes de l'Orient* (Paris, 1666), pp. 266–7.

⁷ Mesquita to Távora, BA *Jesuítas na Ásia* 49–IV–52: fol. 5r; and Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *Malaca L'Inde Méridionale et le Cathay* (1613), ed. and trans. L. Janssen (Brussels, 1882), p. 6.

⁸ For an analysis of the different groups in Malacca, both Portuguese and Asian, under Portuguese rule, see Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, *Portugueses e Malaíios: Malaca e os Sultanatos de Johor e Achém, 1575–1619* (Lisbon, 1997), pp. 179–228. Also see Luís Filipe Reis Thomaz, *Early Portuguese Malacca*, trans. Manuel J. Pintado and Maria Pia Silveira

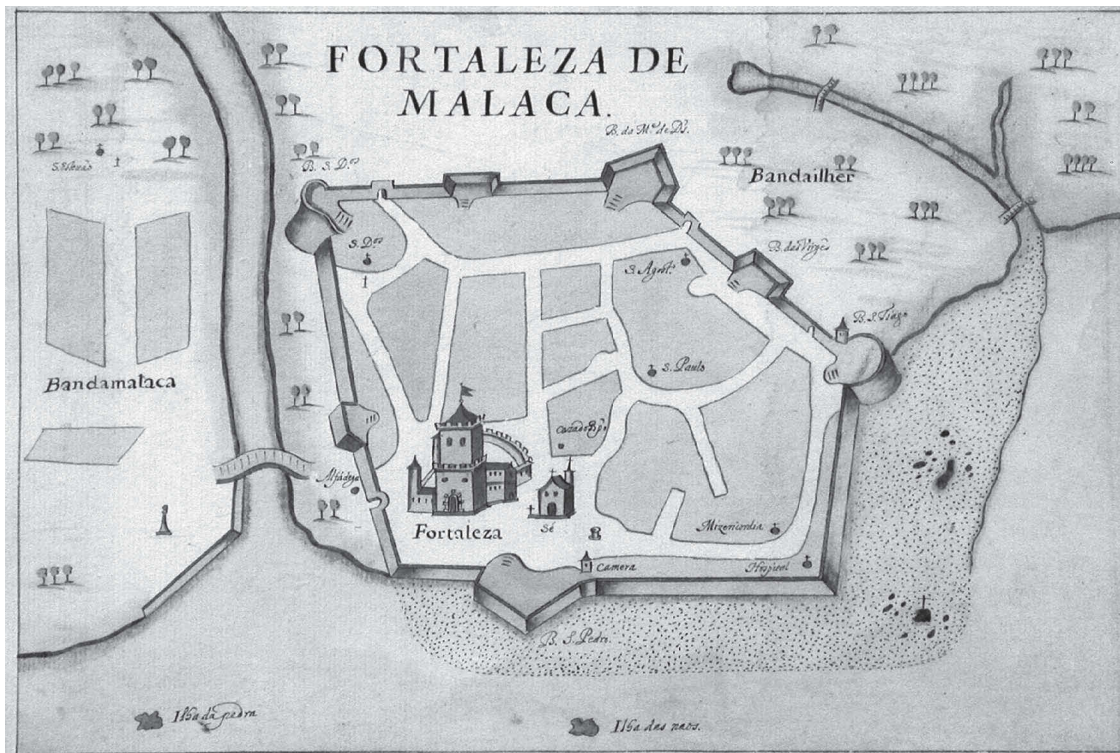


Figure I.1 Plan of Malacca from 'Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas, Cidades, e Povoações do Estado da Índia', *circa* 1650. Image courtesy of the Biblioteca do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa and the Fundação da Casa de Bragança

especially high between the bishop and the captain, most often over questions related to the captain's privileged influence over revenues from long-distance trade.⁹ It became almost commonplace during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries for the bishops of Malacca to issue excommunications against the city's captains. This form of public rebuke was not taken lightly, as was shown by a startling episode in 1616 or 1617, when captain João da Silveira forced his way into Dom Gonçalo da Silva's church with an armed escort of Japanese mercenaries.¹⁰ Even after 1641, conflicts between Catholic institutions persisted. Mesquita and Henriques recorded that the Dominican overseer of the diocese of Malacca warned the two Jesuits against remaining in the city for long, but not out of fear of the *predikants*. Rather, the bishop in exile, Dom Paulo da Costa, harbored a grudge against the Society of Jesus for having expelled him from its ranks and therefore could not brook the presence of Jesuits in his see. Nor did the local lay Catholics demonstrate much of a sense of solidarity with each other under Dutch rule. Mesquita insisted that his pastoral problems were compounded by the fact that the rich Portuguese did not offer their capacious homes for ceremonies to the Catholic community at large 'either out of fear of the Dutch, or because of their own private disputes.'¹¹

The persistence of Catholic Christianity in Malacca after 1641 should come as no surprise. For over a century, segments of the city's population had allied themselves, whether for sentimental, devotional, political, or economic reasons, to church institutions such as the cathedral chapter and the religious orders. Catholicism was as much a social as a religious phenomenon in Portuguese Malacca—a fact demonstrated by the continued existence of a Portuguese creole called Kristang that is still, down to the present, spoken in parts of the modern Malaysian city.¹² Yet religion alone, even when buttressed by a shared language, did not make the city Portuguese. Other civic and political institutions also contributed to marking the city with that particular stamp; some of them survived through the subsequent periods of Dutch and

(Macau, 2000); and Ian Macgregor, 'Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya,' *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 28/2 (1955): pp. 5–47.

⁹ For one bishop's view of the city in 1626, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Commerce and Conflict: Two Views of Portuguese Melaka in the 1620s,' in his *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500–1700* (New Dehli, 1990), pp. 161–87, esp. 175–80.

¹⁰ Pinto, *Portugueses e Malaio*, p. 194.

¹¹ Mesquita to Távora, BA *Jesuitas na Ásia* 49–IV–52: fols. 8v and 16v.

¹² On Kristang, see António da Silva Rêgo, *Dialecto Português de Malaca e Outros Escritos*, intro. Alan Baxter (Lisbon, 1998).

British colonial rule. Prior to the Dutch conquest, Malacca was home to several characteristic Portuguese institutions. The seventeenth-century polymath Manuel Godinho de Erédia, one of the city's most famous sons, noted that the city was home to the captain 'with the garrison of men and artillery necessary for its defense' and the bishop 'with all of his clergy, and a vicar general, with all of the mendicant orders.' Perhaps more importantly, Malacca also had judges and royal treasury officials, a branch of the charitable brotherhood called the *Misericórdia* and a royal hospital, and its people were organized 'as a city.' This last notation meant that the crown had accorded the married Portuguese householders (the *casados*) and the common folk (the *povo*) those same political, economic, and judicial privileges that were proper to the cities of the metropolis, and that the citizens of Malacca could accordingly form a municipal council, or *Senado da Câmara*.¹³

The combination of all the political, economic, and religious institutions enumerated by Godinho distinguished Malacca from other types of Portuguese colonial holdings. This was not a mere fortress (*praça*) like some of the settlements found on the Moroccan, Red Sea, or Indian Ocean coasts. Nor was it one of the chief cities of the Portuguese empire; outside of Lisbon, only Goa and Salvador da Bahia merited the distinction of being called court cities, even if the court was that of a viceroy rather than the king himself. Nevertheless, Malacca was endowed with forms of civic organization that were the defining marks of Portugal's colonial cities. In this respect, Godinho de Erédia's hometown was similar to many of the other Portuguese settlements depicted and described in his *Lyvro de Plantaforma das Fortalezas da Índia*, an illustrated account of the territories found between East Africa and East Asia written circa 1620. Cities such as Macau, Colombo, Baçaim, Ormuz, and Mozambique were presented in this work using the same institutional terminology, albeit with obvious regional variations. No doubt, the same criteria for defining Portuguese cities would have been employed had Godinho, or other contemporary geographers such as António Bocarro, surveyed the *Estado do Brasil* the same way they analyzed the *Estado da Índia* in the 1620s and 1630s.

By the time Pêro de Mesquita and Manuel Henriques arrived at Malacca in 1651, the institutional features of the Portuguese city had been reduced

¹³ Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *Lyvro de Plantaforma das Fortalezas da Índia da Biblioteca da Fortaleza de São Julião da Barra* (c. 1620), ed. Rui Carita (Lisbon, 1999), p. 109. On Erédia (1563–1623), see J.G. Everaert, 'Manuel Godinho de Erédia: Humaniste ou Aventurier', in Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *Suma de Árvores e Plantas da Índia Intra Ganges*, ed. J.G. Everaert, J.E. Mendes Ferrão, and M. Cândida Liberato (Lisbon, 2001), pp. 25–87.

to naught. Although the two Jesuits reported that the Dutch had permitted Portuguese judges to continue in their posts (and receive their salaries) for the first few years after the surrender, eventually the fear of a fifth column proved too great for the V.O.C. Despite the tacit acceptance of Catholic worship in Malacca during that initial phase—when the city’s Catholics even held processions ‘for which the heretics loaned them structures and musical instruments, along with everything else necessary for increasing the feasts’ pageantry’—in time Dutch attitudes shifted.¹⁴ Even so, many of the city’s *casados* stayed on, continuing to amass fortunes from long-distance trade. Yet they were no longer members of a *Câmara* with a stake in the city’s political affairs, and no longer relied upon, as they had been in the past, to rally their slave armies to help defend Malacca from sieges.¹⁵ The local chapter of the principal religious brotherhood, the *Misericórdia*, had been disbanded, but some of the Portuguese and ‘*mestiço*’ Catholics continued to participate in a Confraternity of the Rosary that gathered in a chapel outside the city walls.¹⁶

One indication of the resilience of the religious traditions among Malacca’s Portuguese descendants was that, as late as 1666, Governor Baltasar Bort issued another prohibition of Catholic worship, fully intending to enforce it. Local Catholics nevertheless continued to solicit priests in transit across Maritime Asia, such as the Dominican Frey Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, who traveled from Macau to Madrid in 1669 with a stop at the Malay port, to hear confessions and say clandestine masses in the city.¹⁷ But the time for resident priests such as Mesquita and Henriques, perhaps the last institutional vestiges of the Portuguese presence in Malacca, had passed. In September 1652, the pair were jailed and forced aboard a ship bound for India. Altogether, they spent two years in captivity, including fifteen months in a Ceylonese prison at the former Portuguese city of Negombo, ‘weighed down with irons.’ As they sailed to Goa, where they were to be part of an exchange of prisoners, they watched as other once-Portuguese cities, Galle and Colombo, passed by outside their portholes. These cities had passed under Dutch colonial rule, but they still contained the relics of the once vigorous body of the empire that the Portuguese had stretched across Asia—just like the devotional

¹⁴ Mesquita to Távora, BA *Jesuitas na Ásia* 49–IV–52: fol. 4v.

¹⁵ On the *casados* and their slave soldiers, see Manuel Lobato, *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia: Malaca e as Molucas de 1575–1605* (Lisbon, 1999), pp. 87–8.

¹⁶ W.H.C. Smith identifies this group as the ‘Irmãos da Igreja,’ a brotherhood that survived for decades under Dutch and British rule. See Smith, ‘The Portuguese in Malaca during the Dutch Period,’ *Studia*, no. 7 (Jan. 1961): pp. 87–106, p. 99.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 98 and 100.

books and sacred art that Mesquita and Henriques carried away with them from Malacca.¹⁸

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Indeed, the cities themselves—Malacca and Colombo and many other formerly Portuguese cities across Asia—were relics of empire. They had not ceased to exist with the departure of their sometime masters. Rather they had taken on new forms and adapted to new political and religious configurations. They remained seats of empire even if they had fallen under the control of other European or Asian powers and were no longer Portuguese. Other colonial cities remained Portuguese strongholds despite the advent of rival European powers in Maritime Asia. Goa, Macau, and Mozambique, for example, would stay Portuguese until the second half of the twentieth century, and in the case of Macau, until the end of 1999. Yet other settlements, on either shore of the Southern Atlantic, were Portuguese colonial cities from their foundation until the early nineteenth- or even into the mid-twentieth century. What was, then, the relationship between city and empire? This volume seeks answers to that question in the great overseas expanse traversed by the Portuguese from the sixteenth until the eighteenth centuries.

Colonial cities were nodes of empire. They were at once independent units of social organization and points where manifold imperial activities intersected. In some cases, they were spaces appropriated by force or negotiation to serve as administrative or economic centers, or as the marshalling areas for ventures further afield. Even if they were new cities founded on uninhabited land, colonial cities were always hybrid environments. They were crossroads of cultures, and were strongly marked by the particularities of the areas that surrounded them. Indeed, the fluctuations of fate that affected most colonial cities were determined by the changes in regional political and economic dynamics. But these cities were also settings for institutions imported by the colonizers from Europe. Just as they could not exist independently of their exotic surroundings, so were they strongly marked by their links to metropolitan forms of government and religious organization. These characteristics were especially pronounced in the case of the early European empires of the modern era, since most of their principal institutions were urban in character. From governor to bishop, from municipal council to merchant confraternity, and from adventurer to missionary, all had headquarters within the confines of cities. Although the early modern era did see the development of colonial agriculture and mining, especially in the Americas, these activities were predicated on the existence of colonial exchanges at which their products were traded. As such, cities were the principal points of economic activity

¹⁸ Mesquita to Távora, BA *Jesuitas na Ásia* 49–IV–52: fols. 30v and 31v–2r.

within the vast imperial frameworks. It was in the urban markets of Asia, Africa, and the Americas that the riches of empire were calculated, and the losses of colonial ventures reckoned.

The primary tension in colonial cities was between their local contexts and their imperial roles. The cities discussed in this volume all had clear spatial limits and specific institutions. Oftentimes, regional forces exercised the greatest sway over their trajectories of development, and local solutions arose to remedy local problems. Yet these cities were also influenced by political and economic forces that were borne of imperial policies (or the reactions provoked by those policies). For instance, these cities' links to the wider networks of trade helped determine the contours of their histories. There are few better examples of the 'colonial' element of these cities than the secular authorities who represented the crown, the ecclesiastical dignities who represented the church, and the merchant communities who pursued profits which helped to sustain the imperial enterprise. But it was also in the arena of city life that clashes often arose between the ambitions of these agents of empire and particular local circumstances. The essays in this volume recognize that there were significant variations in the degree to which imperial goals were realized. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of each urban or regional context does not completely overshadow the presence of common institutions across the Portuguese empire.

The fact that certain institutions were found in the cities analyzed in this book does not suffice to label them all 'Portuguese.' How does one gauge the 'Portugueseness' of a given urban environment? Surely not by seeking to detect any traces of Portuguese influence. Alas, the exhaust of empire—that is, the overflow of ideas, institutions, devotions, practices, customs, and individuals from the western edge of the Iberian Peninsula—wafted across the globe and often collected in settings that could hardly be described as 'Portuguese.' While it is sensible to brand the major entrepôts of the *Estado da Índia* as such, and fitting to identify the settlements of Brazil and Angola with a similar term, it would be foolhardy to describe every city where Portuguese institutions took root as Portuguese. Indeed, due to the strong religious component of the imperial thrust, cultural forms that might be labeled 'Portuguese' budded and even flowered far beyond the bounds of empire, and so this question is a complex one. Policies of religious exclusion, as in the case of official attitudes towards Jews in Santa Cruz de Cochim or non-Christian Chinese in Macau, signal that there were precise early modern definitions for a Portuguese city. Yet the fact that unassimilated Indian merchants generated the economic dynamism of Goa, the viceregal capital, suggests that the city's Portuguese (or Luso-Indian) population was insufficient for ensuring its prosperity. And in

the case of Nagasaki, the joker in this pack, one finds precious little that was Portuguese save the Catholic faith and some of its forms of confraternal piety.

The chapters of this volume belong under the broad rubric of social history, but also reflect the past half-century's developments in the fields of political, economic, and religious history. The choice to concentrate on the cities of the Portuguese empire aims to address a little-studied area within the long tradition of imperial history. It was none other than Charles Boxer, the doyen of the Anglo-American school of Portuguese historiography, who first suggested that scholars should devote more attention to the local contexts of empire. Instead of looking out upon the globe from the vantage of the Paço da Ribeira in Lisbon, Boxer presented the view from the empire's far-flung city halls. His 1964 lectures on the subject, published the following year as *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510–1800*, understood these principal units of civic governance as supports for imperial policies produced at court and counterweights to them at the same time. In his analysis of council deliberations, Boxer asserted that *Câmaras* were crucial to the administration of the Portuguese empire. While they were conservative bodies that jealously guarded their privileges in the face of pressure from crown appointees, they nevertheless organized and funded the defense of Portuguese colonial holdings and promoted trade. Local interests and local contexts, Boxer concluded, were in need of serious scrutiny in order to devise a more nuanced view of empire.

This powerful challenge to the received wisdom of imperial governance did not, unfortunately, receive the welcome that it merited in the academic community at large. With a few notable exceptions, especially in the history of colonial Brazil, the trail blazed by Boxer's pioneering study largely went cold over the following decades.¹⁹ In any case, the comparative mode that had made *Portuguese Society in the Tropics* such a unique contribution was not complemented by similar, more probing, analyses of Portuguese colonial cities. To be sure, Boxer's research was avowedly preliminary and in no way exhausted the potential for reconsiderations of urban social history in colonial contexts. While studies of the Portuguese empire continued to appear apace, its cities have rarely been the subject of scholarly monographs. (Even though urbanism in Portuguese colonial cities, understood as the historical study of

¹⁹ The best known of these exceptions are A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa de Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550–1755* (Berkeley, 1968), and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sovereignty and Society: The High Court of Bahia and its Judges, 1609–1751* (Berkeley, 1973).

architecture and physical spaces, is a flourishing field of study.²⁰) It has only been in the past decade that historians have picked up Charles Boxer's line of inquiry and have followed it deeper into the rich repositories in Lisbon, Goa, Bahia, and elsewhere. Work on the archives of colonial Brazil has been particularly fruitful, with a number of recent works analyzing the social history of both major urban centers and smaller, provincial settlements.²¹ Given the proportionally greater mass of documentation for the eighteenth century, it comes as no surprise that this period has been granted the most scholarly attention.

The organization of this volume is the product of a conscious desire to depart from the traditional manner of presenting research on the Portuguese empire. All too often, editors string together scholarly contributions according to geographic criteria: Brazil precedes West Africa, East Africa precedes India, Southeast Asia precedes China and Japan. Such divisions present the reader with a globe divided into the seemingly cohesive units of the Atlantic World and Maritime Asia, imposing a firm division between the Portuguese colonial experiences in the West and in the East. By contrast, the present volume shall consider the Portuguese empire as a unit with a global scale, an entity whose cities can (and should) be considered in parallel, rather than serial, terms.²² The chapters are arranged in a thematic manner that largely reflects the chronological span considered by their authors. The contributions in the three sections deal primarily with three expansive topics: religion, economics, and politics. These can be considered the overarching themes of the chapters in each section, but they should not be taken as absolute divisions. Since the authors, with the exception of one, have focused on historical developments in individual cities, they have perforce addressed multiple themes. For instance, in her chapter on Bahia Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile discusses urban politics in colonial Brazil as much as she examines the religious life of the Salvador Jesuits.

²⁰ The work of Walter Rossa and Helder Carita is particularly important on this topic. See, for instance, Rossa's *A Urbe e o Traço: Uma Década de Estudos sobre o Urbanismo Português* (Coimbra, 2002); Rossa's *Cidades Indo-Portuguesas: Indo-Portuguese Cities, Contribuições para o Estudo do Urbanismo Português no Hindustão Ocidental* (bilingual edition, Lisbon, 1997); and Helder Carita and Renata Araújo (eds), *O Universo Urbanístico Português* (Lisbon, 1998).

²¹ See, for example, Maria Fernanda Bicalho, *A Cidade o Império: O Rio de Janeiro no Século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro, 2003); Renata Araújo, *As Cidades da Amazônia no Século XVIII: Belém, Macapá, e Mazagão* (Porto, 1998); and Nestor Goulart Reis, *Imagens de Vilas e Cidades no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo, 2000).

²² At least one recent work has adopted a similar synoptic view of the Portuguese empire. See Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2007).

And the examination of the Macau *Misericórdia* by Isabel dos Guimarães Sá contains as much analysis of that brotherhood's economic capacities as it does of the group's legal independence from secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

The first section contains three chapters that deal broadly with the intersection of religion and empire in urban settings. The powerful religious dynamism that propelled the creation of missionary efforts across the globe and left such a strong mark on the Portuguese world was clearly present in the different configurations of city life. Yet the force of this religious energy worked both towards inclusionary and exclusionary goals. In his analysis of the different attitudes towards Jews in the first century of Portuguese colonial history, José Alberto Tavim reveals how this specific ethnic group was central to some colonial enterprises while marginal to others. Despite the contributions made by Jews to the survival of the Portuguese holdings in Morocco, the question of religious difference weighed too heavily on the minds of royal and ecclesiastical authorities in India and beyond as the century wore on. While cultural and economic forces attracted Jews to Portuguese settlements, official policies actively sought to expel them, even at the cost of driving them into Ottoman lands. Similar themes of inclusion and exclusion are also discussed by Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile in her chapter on the anti-Jesuit riots in early seventeenth-century Bahia. She shows how the Society of Jesus gradually learned to manipulate the language of urban politics by retreating from its stalwart defense of the Brazilian Indians. The Jesuits staged processions and deployed religious symbols to seal their reconciliation with the city, and thereby demonstrated their willingness to be incorporated (and recognized) as a force in Bahian politics. J.S.A. Elisonas, too, takes up the discussion of religion and its role within the city in the case of Nagasaki. Here the convergence of religious and commercial vectors produced a community where some institutions often described as typically Portuguese took root, but one that was not a Portuguese colonial city. No doubt the most notable of the cultural influences channeled by European missionaries to Nagasaki was a tenacious, early modern form of Catholicism. The city was largely Catholic until its Japanese overlords severed its trade links to the Iberian empires and focused their persecutory zeal on eradicating its foreign religion. To be sure, Portuguese were not the only Catholic missionaries who were active in Nagasaki, and the city's 'Christian Century' fell some three decades short of a hundred years.

Part II of this volume examines a set of colonial cities primarily through an economic lens. Across the Portuguese empire, and especially in Maritime Asia, colonial cities were emporia. Malyn Newitt shows how Mozambique became one such commercial hub, thanks to its strategic location on the Swahili coast. He explains how the port city benefited from its trade connections to its

African hinterlands and to its counterparts elsewhere in the *Estado da Índia*. Yet because the primary importance of Mozambique Island was understood in terms of its role as a way station on the Cape Route, it inevitably suffered with the eventual decline of seaborne trade in Portuguese Asia. By contrast, Glenn Ames's discussion of the cities of the Province of the North shows how Diu, Damão, and Baçaim recovered their economic vitality in the late seventeenth century after a period of decline. In addition to discussing the strategic importance of these Portuguese fortress-settlements, Ames shows how skillful management by colonial governors turned these cities into important revenue-producing poles for Portuguese Asia. As a result of these changes in economic focus, the Portuguese were able to persevere in the Province of the North despite daunting challenges from South Asian and European competitors. Farther to the east, it was the combination of Portuguese and Asian economic know-how that produced one of the more durable financial institutions of the *Estado da Índia*, the *Misericórdia* of Macau. This confraternity, examined here by Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, was not only a focus of secular piety and charity in the early modern period, it was also the city's principal lending institution. The profits from its considerable investments in overseas trade not only helped to maintain the group's standing but also helped it fund hospitals and homes for unwed Eurasian women. As such, the *Misericórdia* served as the social and financial linchpin for an ethnic community that was neither Portuguese nor Chinese, but one particular to Macau.

The third section of this volume contains essays dealing with the political aspects of city life. The colonial city was a stage for enacting the rituals of political authority in the Portuguese empire and for negotiating the limits of outside impositions on local affairs. In political terms, these settlements discussed here bore much resemblance to their contemporary counterparts in Europe, especially with regard to how institutions such as the *Câmaras Municipais* defended their independence. Stuart Schwartz's examination of the King's Processions in Bahia reveals the tensions inherent in the city at times when its divergent layers of authority were represented in public rituals. He shows how the representatives of secular and ecclesiastical power vied for prestige in their symbolic gestures of obedience and loyalty to the crown. The mounting obsession with rank and status over the course of the early modern period in Bahia would also lead to ever sharper racial distinctions, a shift which would ultimately dissolve the traditional configuration of the *Câmara Municipal* as representing the colonial nobility and the city's other inhabitants. Diogo Ramada Curto offers a different view of how colonial officials understood their relationship with the crown in Lisbon. He gives a close reading of a project for the administrative reform of Goa in the early eighteenth century that was commissioned, but eventually rejected, by