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The Making of the Luso-Asian World

Nalanda-Sriwijaya Series

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PORTUGUESE AND LUSO-ASIAN LEGACIES
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1511-2011
VOLUME 1

The Making of the Luso-Asian World

Intricacies *of* Engagement

EDITED BY
LAURA JARNAGIN

LSEAS

INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
Singapore

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Cover photo: Close-up of a green parrot's feathers. The green parrot, or *papagaio verde*, is an enduring, centuries-old folk motif found throughout the Lusophone world. Photo © Audrey R. Smith, 2011.

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A TRIBUTE TO GLENN JOSEPH AMES

Timothy D. Walker

Professor Glenn Ames of the University of Toledo had planned to attend the “Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011” conference in Singapore and Malacca in late September 2010. Many of us, his long-time colleagues, were looking forward to seeing him again, and to hearing his scheduled contribution, a paper entitled “A Tale of Two Cities: The Creation and Role of ‘Creole’ Power Groups in Goa and Malacca, *circa* 1510–1683”. Because Glenn had not burdened us with the knowledge, we were unaware that he was ill; so, it was puzzling — and very unlike Glenn — when he simply did not appear. Two weeks later, his friends were shocked to learn the true reason behind his absence: Glenn Ames passed away on 14 October 2010, after struggling for months against a relapse of melanoma cancer. He was fifty-five years old.

In his relatively brief career, Glenn Ames distinguished himself as a leading scholar of the Lusophone world and European expansion in Asia. It is therefore particularly fitting that the conference participants and organizers have decided to dedicate this publication to his memory as an historian and friend.

Glenn earned his Ph.D. in history from the University of Minnesota in 1987; his concentration fields were early modern Europe, French history and the history of European expansion. He spent a postdoctoral year at the University of Bristol (United Kingdom) as a Leverhulme Fellow. For twenty-two years, he was a member of the history faculty at the University of Toledo (USA). Glenn accumulated many academic awards and honours over the years, including a Fulbright grant and fellowships from the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Portuguese Ministry of Education and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation of Lisbon. In 2002, he was a Union Pacific Visiting Professor at the Center for Early Modern Europe at the University of Minnesota.

A keen and assiduous archival researcher, Glenn had worked on documentary collections in France, England, the Netherlands, Portugal and India, often for very extended periods of time. He was also a prolific author, with some six books to his credit, numerous journal articles and book chapters in edited volumes. Most recently, he was the progenitor and general editor of the European Expansion and Indigenous Response Series (Brill Academic Publishers, the Netherlands), which published a number of important new works of scholarship (including a primary source journal of Vasco da Gama's 1497–99 voyage, which Glenn himself translated and edited).

Glenn was a generous colleague and mentor; he gave liberally of his time and expertise to his many students, and he typically answered colleagues' queries with uncommon attention and detail. Those of us who had the privilege to know him will miss the stimulating conversation that we enjoyed with him at conferences and in far-flung archives, or visiting him at his home in Toledo, Ohio. Glenn's nimble wit and passion for the events he studied emerged in his engaging lecture style, making him exceptionally popular with undergraduate students, who frequently described Glenn as their all-time favourite history teacher. Similarly, his graduate advisees appreciated his broad knowledge and dedication to their progress, recognizing their good fortune in receiving his enthusiastic support — and, if necessary, firm direction — as they worked through their theses and dissertations.

My best personal memories of Glenn come from winter 2005, when I crossed paths with him and his family in western India. We spent several days visiting historic sites together in Goa, including climbing up to the seventeenth-century Portuguese Chapora Fortress in northern Bardez province. One day, after working alongside him in the Historical Archive of Goa, we were drinking a beer on the terrace of the Panjim Inn. Glenn began to recount, with obvious relish and respect, stories of his conversations with Professor Charles Boxer in the UK while Glenn was a young postdoc. Clearly, these encounters had made an enormous impression on Glenn as a scholar, and he was good enough to share some anecdotes highlighting the celebrated Boxer mystique with me, so I could enjoy them vicariously.

Despite his rigorous work commitments, Glenn took enormous and obvious pleasure in spending time with his children, Miranda and Ethan. During summer term courses, Glenn occasionally brought his son and daughter to sit in on lectures — and he sometimes called on them to answer questions that his students could not. (This was a bit of lighthearted classroom theatre; Glenn liked a joke, so he supplied his kids with the answers in advance!) He delighted in taking them along with him on research trips to Portugal and India, too, sharing with them in ways few parents can some of the extraordinary places he had come to know through his studies.

Glenn Ames's remarkable scholarly output has influenced a generation of researchers and students of European expansion, and will continue to do so. His books include *The Globe Encompassed: The Age of European Discovery, 1500–1700* (2007); *Vasco da Gama: Renaissance Crusader* (2005); *Distant Lands and Diverse Cultures: The French Experience in Asia, 1600–1700* (co-edited with Ronald S. Love, 2003); *Renascent Empire? The House of Braganza and the Quest for Stability in Portuguese Monsoon Asia, ca. 1640–1683* (2000); and *Colbert, Mercantilism and the French Quest for Asian Trade* (1996).

We are far richer for Glenn Ames's scholarship and friendship. He will be deeply missed.

Timothy Walker
Lisbon, Portugal
15 January 2011

PREFACE

This book, the first of two volumes, is the outgrowth of an international, interdisciplinary conference entitled “Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011” that was held in Singapore and Malacca on 28–30 September 2010, co-sponsored by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore and the Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Bandaraya Campus, Malacca, Malaysia. Major financial support for the conference came from ISEAS as well as from the *Comemorações Portugal/Asia* programme of the Government of Portugal, for which we extend our sincerest appreciation.

This event was the brainchild of Ambassador K. Kesavapany, director of ISEAS, who has an abiding commitment to promoting deeper historical and contemporary understandings across societies everywhere, and particularly those that comprise the dense and complex cultural cum geographical nexus that is today’s Southeast Asia. The coming of the Portuguese by sea into Southeast Asia half a millennium ago marked the opening of a major shift in relations between Asians and Europeans, one that would have a profound impact not only on this region and its peoples, but also on the course of world history. I am especially indebted to Ambassador Kesavapany for bestowing this challenging and rewarding project on me, and for the confidence he has placed in this Brazilianist to make enough of an intellectual transition from the Lusophone Atlantic world to that of the Luso-*present* Indian and Pacific oceans in order to do justice to this undertaking.

Special thanks for the many and varied contributions to this conference are hereby extended to Ambassador Jaime Leitão, head of the diplomatic mission to Singapore, Embassy of Portugal in Singapore, for his unwavering enthusiasm, dedication and assistance; to Ambassador Dato Dr Mohd Yusof Ahmad, director of the Institute of ASEAN Studies and Global Affairs (INSPAG), Faculty of Administrative Science and Policy Studies (FSPPP),

Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Shah Alam Campus, Malaysia, who orchestrated the Malacca portion of the event with his customary unruffled aplomb and attentiveness; to Dr Mizan Hitam, dean of the UiTM, Malacca Campus, for committing his university's resources to this event; to Dr Roaimah Omar, Faculty of Business Administration, UiTM, Malacca Campus, who coordinated the Malacca portion of the conference; to Dr Peter Borschberg, Department of History, National University of Singapore, for his intellectual guidance, wisdom and wit at many critical junctures; to Dr Tansen Sen, head of the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at ISEAS for helping to define the scope of the conference; to Dr Geoffrey Wade, also of the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre, for serving on the panel selection committee and as a session chair, and for his expansive knowledge of this region and his unvarnished candor in all matters; to Dr Ivo Carneiro, vice-rector of the University of Saint Joseph in Macao, who served as our keynote speaker and proffered many valuable observations about the importance of the contributions made by the scholars whose works appear herein; in Macao, to Father Luís Manuel Fernandes Sequeira, SJ, vice-rector of the Macao Ricci Institute, and to Manuel Carvalho, consul general of Portugal to Macao and Hong Kong, both of whom employed their good offices in the furtherance of this event in the fine tradition of Portuguese finessing; to Mr William Jansen, president of the Eurasian Association of Singapore, along with his gracious staff and many associates who hosted a memorable dinner in the unique and special surroundings of the Eurasian Community House; to Mrs Y. L. Lee, head of administration at ISEAS, along with Ms May Wong and Mr Loh Joo Yong of her staff, all of whom bring an exceptional and devoted level of professionalism to project planning and execution; to two Singaporean scholars who chaired panel sessions, Dr Goh Beng Lan (associate professor and head of the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, National University of Singapore) and Dr Sim Yong Huei (lecturer in Humanities and Social Studies Education at Nanyang Technological University); to Drs Christopher Larkosh, Ricardo Roque and Timothy Walker, all contributors to this volume, for special insights and advice that went into putting this volume together; and to Dr Eul-Soo Pang, visiting professorial fellow at ISEAS, my husband, and my colleague, whose counsel, expertise and assistance are always invaluable.

Above all, I would like to express my gratefulness to the conference participants, who hail from a dozen different nationalities, for making this event an exceptional success. Most of them travelled from great distances to attend, and all of them cheerfully endured three long days of intense activity. Their enthusiasm for the interdisciplinary nature of the conference was palpable and infectious, and their individual commitment to making it a success with

their contributions was uncharacteristically high, as academic conferences go. It was especially rewarding to know that many individuals were able to meet some of their intellectual counterparts and scholars whom they admire for the first time (in one instance, capping a thirty-year correspondence). Along with the warm afterglow of this conference, however, we will always carry a deep sense of loss. Dr Glenn Ames, who was the first to submit a proposal, was unexpectedly unable to attend and passed away a few days after our meeting. Befittingly, we open this work with a tribute to him and the lasting contributions he made to the history of the Portuguese and their legatees in Asia; heartfelt thanks go to Dr Timothy Walker for authoring this remembrance.

Finally, a brief word is in order regarding Portuguese orthography, quotations and translations used throughout this work. For the reader's convenience, most proper names and proper nouns have been converted to the current orthography in the text (for instance, "Afonso de Albuquerque", not the original "Affonso d'Albuquerque"), with a few "judgement call" exceptions. Inevitably, though, given the distinct creole communities and languages that evolved from the Portuguese presence in Asia, it would not be appropriate to modernize the spellings of the names of individuals associated with these groups, although it is not always obvious to know where to "draw the line". Thus, for instance, "Frank Correa" of mid-twentieth-century Macao appears as such in the text, and not as "Frank Correia". In a similar vein, cities and other geographic entities that have current, commonly used English variations are spelled as such; hence, "Lisbon" instead of "Lisboa", "Macao" instead of "Macau", and so forth. However, original spellings of all words in all languages have been retained in quotations and citations. Translations into English of all passages originally in another language have been done by the individual authors themselves, unless stated otherwise.

*Laura Jarnagin
The Editor*

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Ujjayan Bhattacharya is a Calcutta-based historian who teaches at Vidyasagar University, Midnapore, where he teaches Indian and European history of the early modern period. He obtained his Ph.D. from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, in 1985. In 1991, he joined Goa University, Panjim, where he taught for twelve years. While in Goa, his interest in Portuguese studies matured, intensified and subsequently translated into an investigation of the Portuguese presence in Bengal. His research interests include the social and economic history of Eastern India.

John Byrne is a Singapore-born Eurasian whose background reflects the diversity of the European expansion into Asia. He traces his lineage, on his mother's maternal side, to some of the early Portuguese Eurasian families in Malacca, Malaysia. His mother's paternal side is Luso-Indian, originally

from Goa. His father's ancestry is also Eurasian, with several generations of British-Asian and Dutch-Asian heritages. Having left Singapore for New Zealand in 1967, John was part of the Eurasian exodus to the West, which he describes as the "second dispersion" in his chapter. He is a graduate of the University of Auckland with a degree in anthropology and sociology and is passionate about Luso-Asian history and the Luso-Asian people. He has been doing research over many years and is currently writing a book on the Eurasian communities. John is an independent researcher and a practising financial planner in Auckland.

Anthony Disney, who specializes in the history of the Portuguese in maritime Asia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, is a scholar emeritus at La Trobe University in Melbourne. His main published works are *Twilight of the Pepper Empire* (originally published in 1978; a slightly revised second edition was published in 2010), *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: From Beginnings to 1807* (two volumes, 2009) and *The Portuguese in India and Other Studies, 1500–1700* (2009). He is now working on a biography of Dom Miguel de Noronha, fourth Conde de Linhares and viceroy at Goa in 1629–36. Dr Disney has an MA from Oxford and a Ph.D. from Harvard.

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Paulo Teodoro de Matos holds a master's degree in history from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and a doctorate in historical demography from the Universidade do Minho. He has taught Portuguese history at the Instituto

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Felicia Yap is a fellow in international history at the London School of Economics and an affiliated lecturer at the University of Cambridge. Her research work centres on the Japanese occupation of East and Southeast Asia during the Second World War. She has written widely for a number of publications and institutions, such as *The Economist*, the U.K. Parliament, *Asia!*, *Asian Geographic* and the *Business Times*.

GLOSSARY

Definitions of the words and terms in this glossary are followed either by the language of origin or a location where the word or term is or was used with reference to the subject matter covered in this book. Most nouns are given in both their singular and plural spellings, as is relevant to their usage in this work. Plurals formed by the simple addition of an *s* are indicated parenthetically at the end of the singular, such as *casa(s)*; more complex spellings of plurals are shown separately, as in *balão*; pl. *balões*.

<i>agente de negócios</i> <i>águas</i>	Business agent. (Portuguese) Literally, “waters”; in the context of this work, waters that have healing properties. (Portuguese)
<i>alfândega</i> <i>alferes</i>	Custom house. (Portuguese) An ensign; in the context of this work, second in command. (Portuguese)
<i>aloes</i> <i>altea</i>	<i>Aloe</i> (botanical name). (Portuguese) <i>Althea</i> (botanical name). (Portuguese)
<i>alvadar</i> <i>Angélica</i>	A local Mughal governor. (India) <i>Angelica</i> , a genus of about sixty species of plants in the Apiaceae family. (Botany)
<i>arzees</i> <i>ashrafi</i>	A petition. (India) A gold or silver coin minted in Goa and other western parts of maritime Asia worth 300 <i>reis</i> , or standard money of account to the same value, in the context of this work. Also known in Portuguese as <i>xerafim</i> (pl. <i>xerafins</i>). (Persian)
<i>azebre</i>	<i>Aloe</i> (botanical name). (Portuguese)

<i>azulejos</i>	Decorative tile panels. (Portuguese)
<i>balão</i> ; pl. <i>balões</i>	Richly decorated ceremonial Siamese barges. (Portuguese)
balon; pl. balons	Richly decorated ceremonial Siamese barges. (Spanish; also an anglicized version of <i>balão</i>)
<i>bangue</i>	<i>Cannabis</i> (botanical name). (Portuguese)
<i>banian</i>	A Hindu merchant or shopkeeper. The corrupt term <i>banyan</i> or <i>banian</i> was used in Bengal to designate the native who managed the money concerns of a European, and sometimes served him as an interpreter. Same as <i>dubash</i> of Madras. (derived from Sanskrit)
<i>bantim</i> ; pl. <i>bantins</i>	Banteen(s), a type of small Malay sailing vessel. (Portuguese)
<i>batcar</i>	A landowner. (India)
<i>bebinca</i>	A traditional Luso-Asian layer cake made with flour, sugar, ghee and coconut milk. Variants of this dessert are found not only in Goa, but also in Macao and Timor. (Portuguese)
<i>bhang</i>	<i>Cannabis</i> (botanical name). (Several Indian languages)
<i>bigha(s)</i>	A land measure equal to about one-third of an acre, but varying in different Indian provinces. (India)
<i>bodki</i>	A Hindu widow. (India)
<i>bom rei</i>	Good king; obsolete orthography: <i>bom rey</i> . (Portuguese)
<i>botica</i>	Pharmacy. (Portuguese)
<i>branhô</i>	A kind of party in which men, women and children take part and compete with each other in singing folk stanzas; common on wedding days, birthdays and the like throughout Luso-Asian communities. (Portuguese)
<i>broas</i>	A sweet made with eggs, rice and bread of maize. (Portuguese)
<i>butua</i>	A vine; also known as <i>pareira brava</i> or <i>pereira brava</i> . (Portuguese, as <i>pereira brava</i> ; apparently a corrupted form of Portuguese otherwise)
<i>câmara</i>	A local governing council. (Portuguese)
<i>campo</i>	Literally, a field or grounds; also, in the context of this work, a compound. (Portuguese)

<i>canarim</i> ; pl. <i>canarins</i>	Native(s) (meaning non-white) Christian(s). (Portuguese)
<i>cancioneiro(s)</i>	Songbook(s). (Portuguese)
<i>cantiga</i>	A popular seven-syllable quatrain or verse. (Portuguese)
<i>capitão-môr</i>	A local commander appointed by the crown. (Portuguese)
<i>cardamomo</i>	Cardamom. (Portuguese)
<i>carta de crença</i>	A letter or charter of credence or credibility. (Portuguese)
<i>cartaz</i> ; pl. <i>cartazes</i>	A maritime passport issued by the Portuguese authorities. (Portuguese)
<i>casa</i>	A house. (Portuguese)
<i>casaco(s)</i>	Coat(s). (Portuguese)
<i>casado(s)</i>	Married Portuguese man/men. (Portuguese)
<i>castiços</i>	Broadly, those born in Asia of Portuguese parentage. More specifically, Portuguese immigrants and Eurasians born in Malacca or elsewhere in maritime Asia, such as India, who had effectively become permanent settlers and Lusitanized Asians. (Portuguese)
<i>chikotie</i>	A fast dance style among Portuguese Burghers. (Sri Lanka)
<i>chowkie(s)</i>	The station(s) of a guard or watchman. Place(s) where an officer is stationed to receive tolls and customs. (India)
<i>chunam</i>	Lime. (India)
<i>cirurgião-môr</i>	Chief surgeon. (Portuguese)
<i>concentimento</i>	Consent or permission. (Portuguese)
<i>condrin(s)</i>	Candareen(s). A traditional measurement of weight in East Asia, approximately 378 milligrams. (Malay: <i>kandūri</i>)
<i>cowle</i>	A written lease or grant. (India)
<i>cristão(s)</i>	Christian(s); obsolete orthography: <i>christão(s)</i> . (Portuguese)
<i>cruzado(s)</i>	A Portuguese monetary unit. (Portuguese)
<i>curumbin(s)</i>	Member(s) of a Christian caste of rural workers. (India)
<i>cutcherry</i>	The public office where rents are paid and other revenue collection-related business is transacted; also a court of justice. (India)

<i>descendentes</i>	Literally, “descendants”. In particular, a term used in Goa to designate those inhabitants of Goa directly descended from Portuguese colonists. (Portuguese)
<i>divan</i>	A council. (India)
<i>donzelas sem pergaminhos</i>	Damsels without pedigrees. (Portuguese)
<i>droga</i>	A drug. (Portuguese)
<i>dusun</i>	A small rural property on the fringes of the forests. (Malaya)
<i>especiaria(s)</i>	Spice(s). (Portuguese)
<i>farmān</i>	An order or mandate; a royal decree or charter. In Portuguese, <i>formão</i> ; in English, <i>firman</i> . (originally Persian; used in India)
<i>faujdar</i>	Under the Mughal government, a magistrate of the police with control over a large district who took cognizance of all criminal matters within his jurisdiction and sometimes was employed as receiver-general of the revenues. (India)
<i>feni</i>	Cashew wine. (Konkani [Goa])
<i>feringhee(s)</i>	Foreigner(s); also spelt <i>firinghee(s)</i> . (India)
<i>fidalgo(s)</i>	Individual(s) with a Portuguese nobility title. (Portuguese)
<i>filho atrás da porta</i>	Literally, “son behind the door”, a euphemism for an illegitimate son. (Portuguese)
<i>firinghee(s)</i>	See <i>feringhee(s)</i> .
<i>físico d’el Rei</i>	A physician named by the king. (Portuguese)
<i>físico-môr</i>	A chief physician. (Portuguese)
<i>galeota(s)</i>	Small, fast sailing vessel(s) propelled by oars and sails; originally used in the Mediterranean world. (Portuguese)
<i>ganvti vokot</i>	Medicine of the land. (India)
<i>gãocares</i>	Community leaders. (India)
<i>genro-comensal;</i> <i>pl. genros-comensais</i>	Son(s)-in-law who is/are the head of a family in which there are only female siblings. (Portuguese)
<i>gente Kristang</i>	Christian people. (Portuguese/Kristang)
<i>geragok</i>	A type of local small shrimp. (Malacca)
<i>geragok(s)</i>	A somewhat derogatory term meaning “shrimp-eater(s)” for Malaccans descended from Portuguese. (Malacca)

<i>geragok</i> -people	The first Portuguese Eurasians from Malacca. (Macao)
<i>gingebre</i>	Ginger. (Portuguese)
<i>gomastas</i>	Generally, a commissioned factor or agent; derived from the Persian word <i>gumastan</i> , meaning to send forth upon any particular matter of business. (India)
<i>grago</i>	Traditional Malaccan Portuguese-descended shrimp fishermen; also <i>gragoh</i> . (Kristang)
<i>horta(s)</i>	Vegetable garden(s). (Portuguese)
<i>jagir</i>	A grant of territory to an individual for a temporary period of time (from three years to a lifetime), originally in recognition of military service. The <i>jagirdar</i> , or holder of the grant, effectively ruled that region and realized income from the taxes it produced. Although such grants reverted to the ruler upon the grantee's death, they could and usually were re-granted to heirs and successors. Also <i>jakeer</i> , a corruption of <i>jagir</i> . (India)
<i>jagirdar</i>	One who holds a <i>jagir</i> . (India)
<i>jaina</i>	A follower of Jainism; concerning the Indic religion of Jainism. (India)
<i>jakeer</i>	See <i>jagir</i> .
<i>jália</i>	A small galley-type of ship common in Southeast Asian waters and the Bay of Bengal. (Indian Ocean, Straits of Malacca and elsewhere in Southeast Asian waters)
<i>juíz dos órfãos</i>	Judge for orphans. (Portuguese)
<i>khalsa</i>	An office of government in which the business of the revenue department is transacted; the exchequer. (India)
<i>kruisvaarders</i>	Crusaders. (Dutch)
<i>limey(s)</i>	A derogatory term for a British person. (English)
<i>logie</i>	The Dutch trading factory. (Dutch)
<i>lorcha(s)</i>	A hybrid type of sailing vessel common in Macao. (Portuguese)
<i>Luso-descendente(s)</i>	Individual(s) of partial Portuguese ancestry. (Portuguese)

<i>mahal(s)</i>	Place(s) or source(s) that yield(s) revenue, particularly of a territorial nature; lands. (India)
<i>mahāmaṇḍaleśvara</i> <i>mahattaran</i>	A provincial governor. (India) Lands given to “respectable”, non-Brahmin people; also <i>motran</i> . (India)
<i>mapa(s)</i>	Statistical table(s); in this work, census or population charts.
<i>materia medica</i>	The body of collected knowledge about the therapeutic properties of any substance used for healing. (Latin)
<i>médico(s)</i> <i>mestiço(s)</i>	Physician(s). Individual(s) of mixed race; in this work, those born of mixed Portuguese and Asian parentage; more properly, <i>Luso-descendentes</i> . (Portuguese)
<i>morador</i> ; pl. <i>moradores</i> <i>mordexi</i> <i>motran</i> <i>mui-tsai</i>	Resident(s). A variety of cobra wood. (Portuguese) A corruption of the word <i>mahattaran</i> . (India) Literally, “little younger sister”. In this case, a system whereby girls were sold to perform household or other work, or to be a prostitute, often for many years or even decades. The system lasted until the twentieth century in South China, mainly in Macao and Hong Kong. (Cantonese).
<i>namban</i>	Literally, “southern barbarian”. In this case, a Japanese screen depicting the arrival of the Portuguese. Such screens were produced in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan. (Japanese)
<i>navio(s)</i> <i>nawāb</i> <i>nhonha(s)</i>	Ship(s). (Portuguese) A governor. (India) Married woman/women. (Macao and elsewhere in the Luso-Asian world)
<i>nirguna</i>	A term used in Hindu philosophy to discuss whether the Supreme Being, Brahman, should be conceptualized as either having attributes (<i>saguna</i> , “with qualities”) or, in this case, not (<i>nirguna</i> , “no qualities”). In essence, a deity that is formless. (Sanskrit)

<i>nona(s)</i>	Daughter(s) of a European man and a Chinese woman. (Macao and elsewhere in the Luso-Asian world)
<i>opperhoofd</i>	Head of the Dutch trading factory or <i>logie</i> . (Dutch)
<i>ouvidor</i>	A judge. (Portuguese)
<i>paclé</i>	The Portuguese. (India)
<i>palmos</i>	Literally, “palms”, in the sense of a unit of measure equivalent to a hand span. (Portuguese)
<i>papagaio(s)</i>	Parrot(s).
<i>papagaio berde</i>	A green parrot, wherein <i>berde</i> is a creolization of the Portuguese <i>verde</i> , meaning “green”. (Portuguese creole)
<i>papagaio verde</i>	A green parrot. (Portuguese)
<i>pardo(s)</i>	The offspring of Portuguese and black Africans. (Portuguese)
<i>pargana(s)</i>	Small district(s) consisting of several villages, being a subdivision of a larger district. (India)
<i>parvāna</i>	See <i>parwana</i> .
<i>parwana</i>	A decree; a written warrant issued by an authority to summon or arrest. (India)
<i>passarinho</i>	A small bird. (Portuguese)
<i>patta</i>	A lease granted to the cultivators on the part of the government, either written on paper or engraved with a style on a leaf. (India)
<i>pau cobra</i>	Cobra wood. (Portuguese)
<i>pau de cobra</i>	The same as <i>pau cobra</i> .
<i>pareira brava</i>	A type of vine; apparently a spelling corruption over time of the Portuguese <i>pereira brava</i> .
<i>pereira brava</i>	A type of vine. (Portuguese)
<i>pinheiro</i>	A pine tree. (Portuguese)
<i>pom(s)</i>	A derogatory term for a British person(s), especially recent immigrants to Australia or New Zealand. (English)
<i>pooneah</i>	Rent day. (India)
<i>portista</i>	A supporter of the Portuguese soccer (<i>futebol</i>) team FC Porto (Futebol Clube de Porto), based in the city of Porto. FC Porto’s team colours are blue and white, and its mascot is the dragon. (Portuguese)

<i>pragana(s)</i>	District(s). (India)
<i>praja</i>	See <i>ryot(s)</i> .
<i>quinta(s)</i>	Farm(s). (Portuguese)
<i>quintal</i>	A plant nursery. (Portuguese)
<i>raiz de cobra</i>	Snake root. (Portuguese)
<i>regimento</i>	Governing by-laws. (Portuguese)
<i>reino(s)</i>	Kingdom(s).
<i>reinol</i> ; pl. <i>reinóis</i>	Individual(s) born in Portugal.
<i>real</i> ; pl. <i>réis</i>	A former Portuguese monetary unit, also used elsewhere in the Lusophone world. (Portuguese)
<i>rooinek(s)</i>	A derogatory term for a British person. (Afrikaans)
<i>ryot(s)</i>	A peasant cultivator of land or tenant of a house; synonymous with <i>praja</i> . (India)
<i>sagoate</i>	Gifts or presents; also <i>segoate</i> and <i>seguate</i> . (Siam)
<i>saguna</i>	A term used in Hindu philosophy to discuss whether the Supreme Being, Brahman, should be conceptualized as either having attributes, as in this case (<i>saguna</i> : “with qualities”), or not (<i>nirguna</i> : “no qualities”). In essence, a deity possessing an identifiable form. (Sanskrit)
<i>śaivite</i>	A temple of the Śaivism branch of Hinduism; in honour of the god Śiva. (Sanskrit/English)
<i>sanad</i>	An official term used in Mughal administration expressing the authority, original or delegated, to confer a privilege, make a grant, give a diploma and issue a charter or a patent; a state-recognized document granting an individual or institution titles, offices or privileges. (India)
<i>sangrador</i> ; pl. <i>sangradores</i>	Phlebotomist(s). (Portuguese)
<i>sarkar mutsuddie</i>	An accountant or clerk in a public office. (India)
<i>sarkas</i>	Literally, a head of affairs of the state or government; also a large division of a province. (India)
<i>sarsaparilha</i>	Sarsaparilla. (Portuguese)
<i>shāhbandar</i>	A harbourmaster, tax collector and arbitrator; also <i>xabandar</i> . (India)

<i>sida</i>	<i>Sida</i> (botanical name), a genus of the Mallow family; a marsh mallow. (Portuguese)
<i>soldado(s)</i>	Soldier(s). (Portuguese)
<i>solteirona(s)</i>	Spinster(s). (Portuguese)
<i>tamarindo</i>	Tamarind. (Portuguese)
<i>tanga(s)</i>	A Portuguese Indian silver coin struck at Goa and originally worth sixty <i>réis</i> . (Portuguese)
<i>tefolán(s)</i>	The João Lopes pine tree(s) (Konkani, the language of Goa)
<i>terço</i>	The equivalent of an infantry regiment. (Portuguese)
<i>tonelada(s)</i>	Tonne(s); originally the equivalent of fifty-four <i>arrobas</i> , or roughly 1,800 pounds. (Portuguese)
<i>topass</i> ; pl. <i>topasses</i>	Also <i>topaze(s)</i> . Various: (a) a Portuguese Timorese <i>mestiço</i> group; from volume 1 of this work; (b) the offspring of Portuguese men and South Asian women; (c) the descendants of Portuguese mestizos who married native Sinhalese and Tamil women of Sri Lanka (Ceylon); and (d) possibly, an interpreter, in a Tamil derivation. <i>Topasses</i> were also referred to as “black Christians”, and the men often became professional soldiers, leading to the additional meaning of a “hat-wearing mercenary soldier”. (Southeast Asia; South Asia)
<i>topaze(s)</i>	See <i>topass/topasses</i> .
<i>trikalām</i>	Literally, three times, in reference to the past, the present and the future. (India)
<i>tumenggung</i>	An official responsible for law and order. (Malacca, possibly of Javanese origin)
<i>tumengó(s)</i>	Ancient title(s), possibly of Javanese origin, based on the term <i>tumenggung</i> .
<i>vaidya(s)</i>	Indigenous Goan healer(s). (India)
<i>vaiṣṇavite</i>	A temple of the Vishnu branch of Hinduism; in honour of the god Viṣṇu. (Sanskrit/English)
<i>vinho de caju</i>	Cashew wine. (Portuguese)
<i>visitador</i>	An external or outside official appointed to conduct a review. (Portuguese)
<i>xerafim</i> ; pl. <i>xerafins</i>	A gold or silver coin minted in Goa and other western parts of maritime Asia worth 300 <i>réis</i> . See also <i>ashrafi</i> . (Portuguese)

- zamindar* Landholder or land-keeper in Muslim government who was charged with the superintendence of the lands of a district. The appointment was generally continuous as long as the *zamindar* conducted himself to the satisfaction of the ruling power, and even continued to his heirs. (India)
- zamindarry* The office or jurisdiction of a *zamindar*. (India)
- zedoária* *Curcuma zedoaria* (botanical name).

INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS CLARITY THROUGH COMPLEXITY

Laura Jarnagin

At the opening of the twenty-first century, statistical evidence indicates that European dominance of shipping and maritime traffic in Southeast Asia is now — slowly, glacially — coming to an end.¹ This means that, for the first time in history, Westerners no longer account for majority ownership of the global maritime trade in and out of the region, a global seaborne commerce whose origins are five centuries old. The initiation of oceanic trade between the western extremities of the Eurasian landmass and its southeastern and eastern extremities (including insular and archipelagic appendages) dates to the early sixteenth century, and was first undertaken by the modest but scientifically advanced Western European state of Portugal and underwritten by capital from the Italian city-state of Genoa. On a grander scale, accessing Asia by sea in combination with the concurrent (re)discovery of the Western Hemisphere on the part of the Europeans changed the dynamic of humankind's interactions for all time and set in motion the makings of the globalized world we now know. Today, the Straits of Malacca, where the Portuguese arrived in 1511, continue to be the “shipping superhighway between the Indian and Pacific Oceans”.²

From the very late fifteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century, the Portuguese installed themselves in strategic interstices throughout maritime Asia, especially at locations in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, where an active seaborne trade linking southern Chinese, Southeast Asian and South Asian ports already existed. At the nexus of these two bodies of water, mingled in narrow straits, was the cosmopolitan emporium of Malacca, where Gujarati, Arab, Chinese and European merchants, among others, traded at this commercial hub. As one of Portugal's explorers in Asia, Tomé Pires, observed, “whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice”,

Genoa's principal rival in the incipient capitalist economy then emerging in Western Europe.

In 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque established a commanding Portuguese presence at Malacca and thus "pierced the archipelago's chief commercial ganglion", leaving this trading zone fragmented into more specialized components.³ Over time, the Portuguese "empire" or "network" (depending on whose nuanced academic terminology one prefers) became overextended and largely supplanted by other European interlopers in Asia: the Dutch, the French (to a lesser degree) and the English.⁴ Yet, the relatively fractured, tenuous and diasporic Portuguese presence in the region, in both formal and informal senses, remains discernible today in a variety of manifestations. It is upon the occasion of the quincentenary of the Portuguese seaborne arrival in Southeast Asia that the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, in conjunction with the Universiti Teknologi MARA in Malacca chose to reflect on Portuguese, Luso-Asian and Asian actions, reactions and interactions over the past five centuries at a conference held in September 2010, and to ask what the legacies of those dynamics have been and continue to be.

Two issues merit comment at this juncture: the choice of an anniversary date around which to organize a conference, and the use of the term "legacy".

First, in purely objective terms, there is nothing inherently special about reflecting upon a watershed occurrence in an anniversary year with a nice round number attached to it relative to any other date, other than it conjures a kind of comforting numerical orderliness in an otherwise busy and usually disorderly world. It is also convenient mnemonically. More importantly, however, such dates serve as a reminder that it behoves us to stop and reflect on the impact of the past in terms of how it has shaped our present and how it is likely to affect our future. In turn, a better understanding of that past as well as of the present contributes to making more informed decisions and choices — political, economic, social, cultural. Further, when addressing as sensitive an issue as this one — the forceful assumption of one polity's power by another and the attendant centuries-long era of colonization it ushered in — we do not seek to "commemorate", we do not seek to "celebrate", and we do not seek to attach value judgements to what has transpired.

Instead, we seek to reflect, reassess and reconsider afresh when we acknowledge such anniversary dates. Since the late 1980s, as the many quincentenaries in the pantheon of initial explorations in Portugal's global oceanic expansion have approached, we have witnessed an attendant, broad range of revisionist thinking on this subject in the academic world. Notably receding from the discourse are works whose rhetorical overlay either

gratuitously glorifies or vilifies the past and its legacies.⁵ The themes that are the grist of current scholarly enquiry into the Portuguese and Luso-Asian experience across many disciplines include hybridity, transformation, accommodation, reciprocity, conflict, collaboration and integration — all of which have variously engaged the contributors in the two volumes that comprise this work. Collectively, their work adds to our knowledge of a half-millennium-long process that has wrought the long-term transfer, adaptation and fusion of cultures from a geographically broad and culturally diverse spectrum of perspectives.

Second, the choice of the term “legacy” as an overriding theme of the conference deserves comment and clarification. In its legal sense, of course, a legacy is a grant of personal property or money made in a will and bequeathed to another — that is, something consciously set aside by one person to be a gift to another after the former’s demise. Clearly, this definition is not what our use of the word seeks to convey. Rather, we opt for a more open and inclusive sense of “legacy” as something that has been left, in this case, by an abstract predecessor — the Portuguese and subsequently Luso-Asian peoples in Asia — and that continued for some time or still continues to survive, to be observable and influential at some level of being, well beyond the lifetime of its original agent, albeit with modifications along the way. Or, perhaps more broadly still, we refer to something that remains perceptible and active that has its roots in the past and can be traced along some common pathway, even though the evolutionary process itself has been and continues to be a stochastic one — that is, one in which there is a degree of indeterminacy in the path an evolutionary process will take, although some paths are more likely than others.

That there is something still to be transmitted over the *longue durée* is far more the result of informal processes and structures than formal ones. The five-centuries perspective delivered in this work allows the reader to accompany what some would term a “self-standing hybrid” culture that has emerged over time, through accommodation and insertion into larger Asian communities, although individuals belonging to these groups often struggle with their own identities. The chapters in this work address different facets of this culture creation — insertion, survival and, in some cases, even dissipation.

Given the aim of the conference, to explore as broad a theme as Portuguese and Luso-Asian legacies, it was obvious that no single academic discipline would be able to capture the many facets of the phenomenon that would be relevant to the discussion; hence, the interdisciplinary composition of the content, with papers variously based in history, anthropology, linguistics, ethnomusicology, literature, culture studies and architecture. The conference

also benefited from a mix of professional levels of expertise, ranging from senior scholars in the field to rising stars, doctoral candidates and even a few independent researchers. This *mélange* of disciplines and talent created a thought-provoking environment that prompted a cross-fertilization of ideas and stimulated participants to consider other ways of looking at information and issues — an experience that we trust will find expression in future scholarly endeavours. Similarly, we encourage readers of this work to venture off their usual disciplinary paths and travel along the others contained herein as a way of expanding their own thinking and perspectives.

By virtue of the interdisciplinary nature of this undertaking and the five-centuries-long time frame, no attempt was made to advance the discussion of any one theory or concept, nor was the conference designed to focus on the current polemics within any one discipline. However, one theme does surface in many of the works presented herein, namely, that of the *complexity* of the phenomena under investigation. In recent times, academia in general has been moving away from a long tradition of viewing subject matter in predominantly dichotomous or dualistic terms and towards acknowledging, seeking, conceptualizing, theorizing and analysing complexity, whether in the natural world or in the human condition and what humankind has wrought. In this regard, it is not surprising that one of the main themes of postcolonial discourse, hybridity (itself originally a term describing the results of combining two organic things), is found by some to be a useful and apropos concept for their work, while others find it wanting — perhaps as yet too underdeveloped to adequately account for what they observe, or perhaps simply inappropriate as an all-embracing conceptual tool for dealing with certain manifestations of complexity.⁶ The works comprising these two volumes contribute to our store of empirical knowledge of this phenomenon and as such move us further along a continuum to greater clarity in our understanding of it.

The chapters contained in this work look at various dimensions of Portuguese and Luso-Asian legacies through microscopic lenses for the most part, but with macroscopic implications. Volume 1 treats the making of the Luso-Asian world, exploring how significantly different cultures, polities and societies interacted with one another within the South, Southeast and East Asian theatres. Although this work privileges the date of the Portuguese arrival in Southeast Asia — 1511 — as its organizing principle, it would have made little sense to limit the scope of enquiry to this subregion alone: the Portuguese and Luso-Asian communities of Asia were inextricably interconnected with one another, both formally and informally in political, economic, social, cultural and religious terms, in part reinforced by frequent migrations and dispersions of these peoples across time and space throughout the East.

Volume 1, “The Making of the Luso-Asian World: Intricacies of Engagement”, is organized into three thematic parts: “Adaptations and Transitions in the South and Southeast Asian Theatres, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries”; “Dispersion, Mobility and Demography from the Sixteenth into the Twenty-first Centuries”; and “Mixed Legacies: The Portuguese and Luso-Asians in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries”. Within each of these parts, chapters are arranged in roughly chronological order, and although there is some temporal overlap from one part to the next, the volume’s overall trajectory is also a chronological one. Although the volume obviously makes no attempt to cover these themes along a seamless continuum of 500 years, the reader will at least be aware that an adumbration of the evolutionary flow of trends and processes can be discerned if one reads the material in this order.

Volume 2, “Culture and Identity in the Luso-Asian World: Tenacities and Plasticities”, is a collection of case studies that allow the reader to delve into what might best be termed the “living spirit” of a broad spectrum of Portuguese and Luso-Asian communities in South, Southeast and East Asia at various points in time across half a millennium of existence. It is organized around three themes: “Crafting Identity in the Luso-Asian World”, “Cultural Components: Language, Architecture and Music”, and “Adversity and Accommodation”.

Part One of this volume, “Adaptations and Transitions in the South and Southeast Asian Theatres, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries”, examines aspects of the evolution of the Portuguese and Luso-Asian presence through the lens of a variety of “ground-level” settings: a royal medicinal garden in Goa; a viceroy’s frustrated attempts to secure Malacca; a Coromandel community’s stubborn retention of its Portuguese identity; the Macanese senate’s bid to square its relationship with regime change in Siam; and the effects of British rule on the life of a Luso-Indian community.

In Chapter 1, Timothy Walker’s “Supplying Simples for the Royal Hospital: An Indo-Portuguese Medicinal Garden in Goa (1520–1830)” gives us a view of three centuries’ worth of both adaptation and transition in a rather prosaic but highly specialized sphere of endeavour. The Royal Military Hospital at Goa was the largest facility of its kind in Portuguese Asia, attending not only to locals, but also collecting plants with medicinal properties from throughout the colonial Lusophone world for cultivation in its garden. It also was tasked with developing knowledge of and producing drugs for dissemination throughout that same world (in itself, a kind of *feitoria* or factory, the quintessential expression of Portuguese colonialism). In this unique physical and cultural space, concepts about healing from Europe, Africa, South

America and China were blended with a strong dose of the highly regarded Indian cosmology of pharmacological and medical knowledge.

As Goa's attractiveness as a destination for migrating Portuguese physicians waned in step with the declining fortunes of the *Estado da Índia* as a whole,⁷ the staffing of the facility segued increasingly and eventually exclusively to the Christian Indo-Portuguese. Run by Jesuits for most of its existence until their expulsion in the later eighteenth century, the garden languished thereafter, albeit with a brief attempt at revitalization in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At several turns, Walker's study, based in extensive archival material, especially from Goa, makes it clear that the undertakings in the medicinal garden were of a pragmatic and syncretistic nature. Whereas Europeans defined the form, function and purpose of the space and effectively commercialized its produce on a global scale, South Asians executed the plan and dominated the intellectual healing cosmology with "resilient subaltern sensibility".

Walker finds the term "hybridized" an appropriate one for capturing the essence of this "exceptional multicultural space", whether in reference to its specific parts (the mix of the plants cultivated, the personnel, its organizational principles and, perhaps most importantly, the applied scientific and botanical knowledge it generated) or to the totality thereof. His work also provides us with an all-too-rare glimpse at how one geographic corner of the Portuguese colonial system was actively engaged, to varying degrees, with other parts of its far-flung dominion. This aspect of his work suggests that we could arrive at a deeper understanding of how a sense of "Portugueseness" may have been transmitted and either enhanced, maintained or diminished by examining some of the more pedestrian features of empire that nevertheless lent themselves to global thinking and administration.

From a three-century time frame to a much tighter one of only a few years, Chapter 2, "Malacca in the Era of Viceroy Linhares (1629–35)" by Anthony Disney, examines a critical period of transition for the *Estado da Índia*, marked most visibly and sharply by the loss of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641. Ahead of that pivotal event, however, slippage in Malacca's military and commercial integrity was already occurring. The *Estado da Índia* would soon relinquish its offensive stance in Asia as "a widespread maritime entity controlling and managing commercial networks" in favour of a defensive one as "a small, more coherent landed empire". By examining the administration of the fourth Conde de Linhares, an intelligent and dedicated viceroy, over a five-year period in the decade preceding the loss of Malacca, Disney demonstrates that other factors were already in play that ultimately undermined the city's viability in terms of Portuguese administration and control, notwithstanding capable leadership.

Although Linhares's term began on a high note (when the sultan of Aceh's effort to capture Malacca was successfully thwarted by the Portuguese in collaboration with the sultan of Johor), two exceptionally adept military commanders died during the viceroy's term. Meanwhile, unrest elsewhere (mostly notably in Ceylon, but also at Mombasa and Hugli) resulted in diversions of resources to those flashpoints, a significant portion of which Linhares had initially earmarked for bolstering the Portuguese presence at Malacca, in light of increasing Dutch activity in the region. Despite the growing intensity of this maritime commercial competition, the ultimately short-lived Portuguese India Company in Lisbon proposed a new China-Goa trade initiative in which Malacca would play a key role. An apparently better informed treasury council nixed the plan, however, perhaps in light of the declining customs revenues accruing to the Portuguese crown from Malacca, even before Linhares assumed his post — a trend that accelerated precipitously throughout his term and beyond.

In addition to this cascade of imperial misfortunes, Malacca's own liabilities came to stand out in even greater relief from the end of Linhares's term to the Dutch takeover. Its hinterland offered virtually no prospects for expansion. Its food came mainly from elsewhere on the peninsula as well as from Java and Siam. It had no shipyard and produced no military or naval supplies. Already in Linhares's time, private Portuguese traders were leaving in growing numbers for more promising locales, notably Makassar. In short, ahead of the final capitulation of the city to the Dutch, Malacca was already irretrievably compromised. Nevertheless, to this day, Malacca remains the site of one of the few identifiable concentrations, albeit small, of Luso-Asians in the whole of Asia, despite numerous outward migrations and dispersions over the centuries. Several chapters in this volume and the next examine this phenomenon and the persistence of this legacy from a variety of angles.

In Chapter 3, "From Meliapor to Mylapore, 1662–1749: The Portuguese Presence in São Tomé between the Quṭb Shāhī Conquest and Its Incorporation into British Madras" by Paolo Aranha, our focus shifts to the Coromandel coast in the period after Portugal's posture in Asia had become more defensive. One of many small outposts along the Indian subcontinent's eastern edge, what became the autonomous community of São Tomé de Meliapor was of paramount interest to the Christian Portuguese, given that it was believed to be the burial site of Saint Thomas. This chapter presents the initial results of a research project investigating the "strategies of resilience" that translated into São Tomé's persistent identification with "being Portuguese". Indeed, the inextricable connection between this sacred site and "being Portuguese" may go a long way towards explaining the endurance of this feisty town, often embroiled in its own internal conflicts, through a time of major political

transformation on the Indian subcontinent. This modest outpost of the “shadow empire” was variously conquered by Muslim Golconda (1662), the French (1672–74), Golconda again with assistance from the Dutch (1674), the Mughal Empire — at the behest of the Portuguese viceroy, as conveyed by an Augustinian friar (1687) — and eventually the British (1749).

After conquest by Golconda, much of the Portuguese community left for nearby British Madras, which had been siphoning off local talent (both Portuguese and the much larger Christianized Indian population) anyway — a scenario not unlike the times preceding and following the fall of Malacca, when significant numbers of Portuguese relocated to Makassar. Over subsequent years, both internal and external tensions characterized life in São Tomé: confiscated properties were not returned as promised; Portuguese wanting to return to the town in calmer times were rebuffed by those who had stayed; for decades, no support was forthcoming from the Catholic Church; local inhabitants were often seriously at odds with the viceroys; and poorly devised diplomatic strategies for improving relations with the Mughal empire failed.

In 1749, São Tomé was incorporated into British Madras in order to keep it out of French hands. Protestations by Portugal were brushed aside with the observation that no revenue from the port had accrued to its king over the preceding fifty years. Yet, as Aranha concludes, São Tomé continued to see itself as “Portuguese”, albeit “more in terms of desire and imagination than in concrete ways”. Based in archival research in Goa, Lisbon and Rome, Aranha’s findings reveal a town’s complex history that “shows the inadequacy of a simple dichotomy between absolute hegemony and a fate of stagnation and decline”, and hence fertile ground for ongoing enquiry and analysis.

In Chapter 4, “Eighteenth-Century Diplomatic Relations between Portuguese Macao and Ayutthaya: The 1721 Debt Repayment Embassy from Macao”, Stefan Halikowski Smith examines relations between Siam and Macao during an era in which some scholars see the former as a “hermit kingdom”, following its transitional “National Revolution” of 1688 that ousted French influence and forces. Other historians counter this characterization by pointing to Siam’s active engagement with various regional polities. Smith’s study adds weight to the latter reading of the times and is accompanied by an appendix of four primary Portuguese documents that appear in English translation for the first time herein.

The debt to Siam dated from 1667, when the then king granted the Macanese a large loan. Relations between Portugal and Siam extended back to the early sixteenth century and were built upon Ayutthaya’s sovereignty over Malacca and other Malay areas from the fifteenth century onwards.

The ensuing political stability created a propitious environment for trade, which first attracted Chinese merchants and later the Portuguese. In time, the international commerce conducted in Ayutthaya “was almost all in the hands of successfully established shipowners from Macao”, a state of affairs underscored by a Siamese concession of commercial privileges to the Portuguese in 1616, even though that trade was generally on a modest scale. By the later 1600s, however, the “Portuguese” community in Siam mostly comprised Luso-Asians who had suffered “repeated displacements” from elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Most held no allegiance to Portugal and thus have been described as a “rootless ‘tribe’ of individuals”.

The Macanese were disposed to secure their commercial footing with the new regime in Siam, but were financially incapable of doing so until 1721. Decades of political and economic uncertainty in Macao were finally reversed, however — a 1717 Chinese ban on international trade (except with Japan) launched a cosy commercial relationship between Macao and Canton, and a new, skilled governor of Macao was installed in 1718. With prosperity restored, the Noble Senate of Macao was able to complete the loan repayment.

The 1721 Macanese embassy generally went well, but its presentation at court in Ayutthaya was lacklustre, owing to a perceived deficiency in the accompanying gifts to the king. Meanwhile, a concurrent and more robust representation by the Spanish from Manila netted them a choice commercial treaty, but that ultimately foundered due to changing political fortunes in the Philippines. However, the Siamese king indicated his willingness to extend yet another loan to Macao, if it so desired, and in the long run, “Macao remained considerably more important to Siam than the Philippines”. Ultimately, this event demonstrates how two regional polities found ways to rekindle reciprocal long-standing commercial ties that transcended changing political realities.

Chapter 5, “Continuities in Bengal’s Contact with the Portuguese and Its Legacy: A Community’s Future Entangled with the Past”, completes the case studies of adaptation and transition involving Portuguese and Portuguese-derived communities during the first two centuries of Portugal’s presence in South, Southeast and East Asian waters. In it, Ujjayan Bhattacharya puts forth the hypothesis that vibrant and vigorous interactions *across* cultures and even transcultural syntheses were possible while Portugal was still a dynamic maritime colonial power in Asia, but that interactions *within* cultures found greater intensity as that formal power diminished. His chapter, based in extensive archival research in West Bengal, engages these communities midstream in an evolutionary process in which the survival of Portuguese identity eventually translated into acute cultural insecurity by the early twentieth century. Bhattacharya characterizes this process as “the parochialisation of an

erstwhile imperial culture". The underlying mechanics of that process are the focus of this work and have been gleaned from the records of such entities as the Board of Customs, the Board of Revenue, the Governor-General in Council and the Calcutta Provincial Council of Revenue and involve such commonplace transactions as sales and acquisitions of property.

By the eighteenth century, British control of Madras (today's Tamil Nadu state) and Calcutta (Kolkata) created demand for a host of "settled professions": registrars in custom houses; linguists; functionaries in revenue departments and courts; skilled workers; and various occupations associated with internal trade and trading networks throughout the Indian Ocean. As a consequence, there was a general trend towards the dispersal of the Portuguese, Luso-Indians and other Luso-Asians from Hugli and Bandel towards nearby Calcutta. Within this internal migratory trend, Bhattacharya also documents the case of two elite Indo-Portuguese merchants, Joseph Barretto and Luís da Costa — among the last of their breed — and their commercial collaboration with British counterparts.

In the nineteenth century, class differences began to emerge within the Luso-Indian communities. Those elites who had realized significant success in Calcutta increasingly lived apart from the others. Despite their social standing, however, the Luso-Indian elites of Calcutta had to reconcile their Portuguese lineage with their status as British subjects. The Portuguese-derived communities of West Bengal had, over time, first been part of one hegemonic colonial power, then adapted many traits of the indigenous dominant culture while retaining a separate identity. They later found it difficult to define and reconcile their identities as subjects of another hegemonic European colonial power.

Part Two of this volume, "Dispersion, Mobility, and Demography from the Sixteenth into the Twenty-first Centuries", examines aspects of population dynamics and interconnectedness, ranging from an overview of the main Luso-Asian communities and various waves of dispersion across five hundred years, to a demographic profile of the Estado da Índia from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, and an enduring folkloric motif that provided a common cultural denominator to diffused pockets of Portuguese and Luso-descendant populations.

In Chapter 6, "The Luso-Asians and Other Eurasians: Their Domestic and Diasporic Identities", John Byrne provides a succinct, sweeping review of these communities in terms of their founding and flux over 500 years. As such, he provides the reader with a convenient source of basic information that complements the many references to these groups found throughout this volume and the next. Byrne's special contribution, however, lies in the

statistical data he has compiled from several national censuses that track the global dispersions of these various communities from the post-World War II era and into the early twenty-first century.

The chapter summarizes the many Luso-Asian communities founded between 1510 and 1558 throughout Asia: the Luso-Indians; the Portuguese burghers of Sri Lanka; the Kristang of Malacca; the Macanese of Macao; the Larantuqueiros of the Nusa Tenggara province of Indonesia; and the Mestizos of East Timor. It also identifies other communities that were subsequently incorporated into larger ethnicities: the Bayingyis of Myanmar; the Luso-Siamese of Thailand; the mestizos of the Spice Islands, the Batavian Portuguese, and the *Mardijkers*, all of Indonesia. The “non-Luso” ethnicities of these groups included Goans, Bengalis, North Indians, Dravidian Indians, Sinhalese, Tamil Sri Lankans, Malays, Indonesians, Papuan Timorese, Chinese, Japanese and Africans.

Perhaps the most dramatic changes in the nature of the Luso-descendant communities in Asia came with their dispersion throughout the nineteenth-century British colonial world. Luso-Asians filled intermediary colonial administration roles in such British Asian and African locales as Calcutta (see Chapter 5), Bombay, Karachi, Pune, Ceylon, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar. As a consequence, class differences began to emerge, along with a trend towards the Anglicization of identities. A second wave of dispersion occurred between the early 1950s and the early 1970s in the aftermath of World War II and the ensuing decolonization of much of Asia and Africa. In this migration, language appears to have been a major factor in the choice of destination. Luso-Asians who had acquired English-language skills or for whom it was now a mother tongue favoured English-speaking countries: the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada. Migrating Luso-Asians who spoke a Portuguese-derived patois, on the other hand, usually chose other parts of the Portuguese-speaking world for their new homes.

Today, as Byrne demonstrates, it is increasingly difficult to trace the geographic whereabouts of what he estimates to be some 463,000 Luso-Asians and other Eurasians (see Chapter 6 for an important explanation of how this latter term is used) living outside of Asia, due to different census categories from one country to the next, as well as the various ways that individuals are allowed to identify themselves in these population counts. Nevertheless, his research provides a statistical platform for continuing to follow these legatees of a Portuguese colonial past.

In Chapter 7, “The Population of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, 1750–1820: Sources and Demographic Trends”, Paulo Matos deepens our

demographic knowledge about the scope and composition of the Estado's population. The time frame extends from when Portugal first employed the principles of "political arithmetic" (which European states used to try to quantify social and economic realities and potentials) to the introduction of a new methodology for gathering demographic statistics that coincided with the rise of liberalism.

Between these chronological bookends, "an impressive corpus of population *mapas*", or statistical tables, can be found in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon and the Historical Archives of Goa in Panaji, in addition to Brazil's Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, all of which form the basis of this study. Goa, Daman, Diu, Macao and Timor are covered by these *mapas*, although the data for Timor and Macao are comparatively scarce, sometimes contradictory and "fragile". Nine analytical tables and charts are included in the chapter, and an accompanying appendix lists population maps dating from 1720 to 1820.

Matos first discusses these little-known sources in terms of their normative schemes, information typologies and relative reliability. During this time frame, categories changed. From 1776 to 1796, religion formed the sole criterion for classification: one was either a Christian or a "gentile", that is, a Hindu or a Muslim. These categories then furcated in the period from 1797 to 1825, splitting the population into "white Christians", "natural Christians" (meaning non-white), "negros" (meaning slaves), "pardos" (meaning someone of African and non-African descent but not necessarily a slave) and "gentiles and Muslims" (whereas before "gentiles" had included both Hindus *and* Muslims).

The second part of the chapter presents a comparative analysis of the demographic structures of various territories, especially between the predominantly Christian "Old Conquests" of Goa and Daman and the insubstantially Christian "New Conquests" of Diu and Macao. Matos's more salient findings include strong asymmetries in social and religious composition from one locale to another; a concentration of the white population in Goa, whose numbers were becoming "vanishingly low"; a small slave population in constant flux; a shrinkage of urban centres in and outmigration from Goa; evidence of epidemics and food crises; and proportionately greater growth in the Hindu population in all Indian locales. During this time, "Portuguese Asia" posted an overall moderate population growth but represented only 10 per cent of the Portuguese overseas population, the vast majority by then residing in Brazil. Even so, as Matos observes, "the Estado da Índia stood out as the area with the most complexity and the greatest disparity in social terms".

In Chapter 8, K. David Jackson traces one gene in the cultural DNA of the Luso-Asians that has transmitted an element of Portuguese culture

across vast extents of time and space but also mutated to adapt to changing local environments along the way. He follows the mythical flight path of the *papagaio verde* — the green parrot — as it has taken wing throughout the Lusophone world for centuries with a mobility that rivals that of the humans it entertains.

The green parrot's intelligence, wit and proclivity to tell the truth, however inconvenient, are conveyed through seven-syllable quatrains or *cantigas*. Jackson's chapter includes some sixty examples of these *cantigas*, collected by linguists, folklorists and ethnologists from locations throughout Portugal and South, Southeast and East Asia, written variously in Portuguese and several Portuguese creoles.

Examples from India (Mangalore, Cochin, Daman, Diu and other northern enclaves) and Sri Lanka demonstrate a shared legacy of traditional melodies and lyrics that "functioned as essential components of social life, festivities, ceremonies, and rituals". Courtship and marriage, private desires and social concerns are voiced in these examples. In Malacca, *cantigas* "function as a mirror of the popular culture of Portuguese descendants", often focusing on female love laments, satire and personal insults. In a community noted for its metaphor-laden modes of expression, Malacca's *passarinho berde* is integrated into local popular beliefs and superstitions. In Macao, the parrot identifies Macanese by calling out their Portuguese nicknames, challenging one hypothesis that these sobriquets originated in the language of Chinese nursemaids.

"Papagaio Verde" is one of the oldest songs of maritime Portugal, transmitting a cultural legacy in Asia that has coursed through five centuries and continues to be a part of popular culture in Luso-Asian communities. The fact that the green parrot is always understood to be mobile, not local, has enhanced the motif's ability to make communities feel connected across oceans and across time. In short, as a purveyor of shared popular culture, the green parrot has been a catalyst for the informal, intergenerational and social transmission of culture throughout the Luso-Asian world.

Part Three, "Mixed Legacies: The Portuguese and Luso-Asians in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries", reveals the many complex dimensions of identity that emerged with changing political, economic and social realities, especially as a result of twentieth-century conflicts. The four chapters comprising this section reveal the little-known history of these communities in Southeast and East Asia during the Japanese occupation of World War II; the search for identity as transmitted through the medium of literature by authors from Goa, Macao and Singapore; and a critical assessment of the literary and artistic shortcomings that suggest we have yet to grasp the full scope of Luso-Asian identities.

In Chapter 9, “Portuguese Communities in Southeast and East Asia during the Japanese Occupation”, Felicia Yap examines the experience of Portuguese-derived communities during the understudied period of the Japanese occupation of British Asia during World War II. In particular, she focuses on Hong Kong and Macao and, to a lesser extent, Malaya and Singapore. The Portuguese colony of Macao remained unoccupied by the Japanese, given Portugal’s officially neutral position during the conflict. As discussed in Chapter 6, the post-war era saw significant outmigration by Luso-Asians to other countries, especially English-speaking ones. This study, which makes extensive use of primary material in London’s Imperial War Museum, transcripts of interviews from the Hong Kong Heritage Project, and the Hong Kong Public Records Office, among other archival sources, augments our understanding of this watershed event that left these communities “irretrievably altered”.

The wartime experiences of these communities were “vastly different” from those of other European civilians: most Europeans were sent to internment camps, while civilians of Portuguese background were categorized as “third nationals”, given Portugal’s (tenuously) neutral stance. (In Singapore and Malaya, the same designation was often disregarded by Japanese officials, resulting in many deaths.) Despite their officially privileged standing, though, hundreds of “Hong Kong Portuguese” felt uneasy enough to flee to Macao.

For about a century before the war, these individuals, whose ancestors came mostly from Macao, had been working for the British colonial office and for British banks, trading companies and other firms as clerks, bookkeepers and interpreters (many then could speak Cantonese), similar to the Luso-Indian communities discussed in Chapter 5. Over time, they came to hold loyalties to Hong Kong and “formed a distinct and recognisable community of their own with clearly defined social, religious, and cultural institutions”. By the 1920s, English was their primary language, admixed with some Macanese Patuá, but by then they were “completely illiterate in Chinese”.

During the war, a number assisted with organized Allied resistance movements in both Hong Kong and Macao (where the British maintained a consulate). In particular, they facilitated escape conduits through which Allied workers, refugees and recruits were dispatched from Macao to China. They were also vitally instrumental in keeping clandestine banking operations going (especially for the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation), which proved invaluable when the British retook Hong Kong in 1945.

Several Hong Kong Portuguese played key roles in post-war reconstruction, and some rose to prominent positions. But many chose to leave, especially

for the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Brazil. Some racially motivated disturbances against them, in addition to the Communist takeover of China, prompted further outmigration. Once again, in the long history of the Portuguese and Luso-Asians, conflict proved to be a powerful catalyst for relocation, especially to countries beyond Asia.

In Chapter 10, “Indo-Portuguese Literature and the Goa of Its Writers”, Everton V. Machado delves into literary representations of Goan culture in his search for a satisfying characterization of this unique culture. However, he finds that these authors — natives of what was once the epicentre of the Portuguese colonial presence in Asia — have been unable to reconcile their own confused identities, and thus have yet to accurately depict Goa’s “cultural specificity”. Machado examines this complex legacy of confused identity that has precipitated out over the centuries, from a Christian European environment on the one hand and the Indian caste system *cum* Hindu ancestral universe on the other.

Machado examines the works of Goa’s most prominent writers from the late nineteenth century to the present, including Orlando da Costa, Vimala Devi, Francisco Luís Gomes, Leopoldo da Rocha and Gip, all native Goans raised in a “Catholic and Portuguese-like environment”. Within this medium, however, the caste system was maintained as a result of the conversion of large segments of the Hindu population (see the demographic data presented in Chapter 7), “albeit with important differences relative to the original system, whether in their constitution or in their social implications”. It is this “rupture” or “divide”, underscored by socio-economic as well as religious differences, that appears to be unbridgeable for these authors, especially those writing since Goa’s independence in 1961 and its subsequent incorporation into India.

Late nineteenth-century writers portrayed Goa variously as “a repository of noble Christian and Portuguese ideas”, especially when contrasted with the British colonial presence in India (Gomes), or as a society dominated by Portuguese Catholic Goans who were superficial, lacking purpose in life and highly subservient to European culture (Gip). In the 1930s, Rocha lamented “the Christianization of Goans as a ‘confusion’ in the life of the natives, but specifically in terms of sexual matters” (“sinful” versus the Hindu view of sex as the “natural way”). By the 1960s, Devi — perhaps the most qualified author to write authoritatively about both the Portuguese and Hindu worlds — characterized Goa as “a communion of monasteries and pagodas”, but nonetheless of two different worlds. In the 1980s, Costa’s Christian protagonist has a Hindu friend who is like a twin brother, but his awareness of the barrier between them induces existential doubts.

Machado concludes that Goa's authors may have created their own "imagined community", in Benedict Anderson's definition of the term, but have been unable to "constitute in fact a nation apart from either India or Portugal, as many have wished". Instead, they have been hobbled by the "depth of the historical inequalities and exploitation of the colonial legacy", so that the uniqueness and essence of Goa's culture still elude literary capture.

Other Luso-Asian authors who have created "imagined communities" are treated in Chapter 11, "Binding Ties of Miscegenation and Identity: The Narratives of Henrique Senna Fernandes (Macao) and Rex Shelley (Singapore)" by Isabel Maria da Costa Morais. Whereas Machado found that Indo-Portuguese Goan writers had yet to accurately express the uniqueness of Goan culture, Morais reveals that these two prominent contemporary authors invoke a nuanced Lusotropicalism in the style of Brazil's Gilberto Freyre that projects a "peculiar miscegenated tropical identity" as a way of defining the distinctness of the Luso-Asian or "Luso-Eurasian" communities they chronicle.

Morais's analysis discloses overlooked interconnectivities and commonalities employed by both authors. She demonstrates that their novels "contain unexpected and similar references to Portuguese culture and history, myths, cuisine, linguistic hybridity, and shared Portuguese heritage legacies associated with the old and emblematic cities of Macao and Malacca". Shelley and Senna Fernandes were the first Eurasian authors to have written about "a sense of belonging to a wilfully self-contained and distinctive community", especially with reference to the "realities and dilemmas faced by their Eurasian female subjects".

Rex Anthony Shelley (1930–2009) wrote novels that occur mostly from the World War II Japanese occupation of the Malay Peninsula through the postcolonial era (Malaysia was founded in 1957; subsequently, Singapore became a separate republic in 1965). The recipient of several major Singaporean book awards (*The Shrimp People*, 1991; *The People of the Pear Tree*, 1993; and *Island in the Centre*, 1995), Shelley's works treat such ideological and political issues as nationalism, independence, racial discrimination, clandestine armed struggle and espionage.

Also the winner of literary awards, Henrique Senna Fernandes (1923–2010) is regarded as the premier author of Lusophone Macanese literature. His works focus on exposing the cultural and social contradictions and ambivalence in Macanese society primarily from the time of World War II to when Macao reverted to China in 1999. Such works as *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (*Love and Little Toes*, 1986) and *Trança Feiticeira* (*The Bewitching Braid*, 1992) also explore the reasons behind Macanese outmigration and above all

disclose “the values of a patriarchal society on the verge of disintegration due to rapid sociopolitical changes”.

Both Shelley and Senna Fernandes construct and reconstruct “Luso-Eurasianness” by depicting communities that retain distinct creolized identities relative to “others”, whether Chinese, Portuguese, Europeans in general or indigenous Asian populations. The resulting collective identity is one of Eurasian minority communities that have forged and maintain separate identities by devising complex responses to the challenges posed by changing political, social and cultural realities in their “beloved countries of birth”, into which societies they have sought to integrate without disappearing. Part of that composite identity, however, continues to reside in a pride associated with a distant and mythical Portuguese past characterized by a capacity for miscegenation and adaptation.

Part Three’s review of the mixed legacies of the Portuguese and Luso-Asians in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is brought to a conclusion with Chapter 12, “Portuguese Past, Still Imperfect: Revisiting Asia in Luso-diasporic Writing”, Christopher Larkosh’s essay on the ways that Asian and Lusophone or Luso-diasporic cultures interact today, but not solely in the sense of interactions between the Portuguese metropolis and its former colonies. Larkosh examines the works of two contemporary authors, José Eduardo Agualusa (variously of Luanda, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon) and Frank X. Gaspar, a “bi-coastal” Portuguese-American (with roots in New England and residence in California). Although neither is from Asia, both have experienced and written about it.

Agualusa travelled to Goa in 1998 on a Fundação Oriente/Cotovia creative-writing travel grant and subsequently published *Um Estranho em Goa (A Stranger in Goa)* in 2000, which offers “a more complex vision of contemporary Goa than one might expect”. While many characters in this novel long for the “good old days” of Portuguese colonial rule, other aspects of the narrative, “however unwittingly”, undermine the nostalgia and “even provide alternatives or exit strategies from this all-too-recurrent cultural perspective”. While some critics view the work as a “halfway point between different cultures”, Larkosh is not so inclined and instead sees it as being entrenched in the symbols of the Portuguese world, that is, a unidirectional cultural flow. In particular, he argues that Eastern religious traditions are not as deeply understood by the novel’s narrator as one would like.

Gaspar’s introduction to Asia came with his service in the Vietnam War and travel to locales that were also part of the Portuguese presence in Asia: Hong Kong, Malaysia and Japan (near Nagasaki). Following these experiences, Gaspar began to read deeply in classical texts from a variety of Eastern religions

and cultural traditions. In Gaspar's *Field Guide to the Heavens* (1999) and *Night of a Thousand Blossoms* (2004), Larkosh discerns a "divergent model for remapping a cultural dialogue between East and West, one in which Portuguese-American culture, for example, is as irreversibly shaped by other points in the universe, whether in Asia or somewhere in the rest of the cosmos, as by Portugal, the U.S., or the Western tradition".

In essence, Larkosh would like to see "an expanded cultural politics for literary and artistic interaction" that "relies as much on translation between multilingual spaces as it does on *multidirectional* cultural exchange". While a "critical mass" of multilingual, intercultural scholars would be necessary to bring about such a new era in our understanding of the Luso-Asian world, for the time being, even though we close out this volume with his chapter, we should recognize that we "conclude" nothing. The complex legacies as well as historical and contemporary processes wrought by the Portuguese presence in Asia to this point in time are but part of an ongoing, imperfect evolutionary process.

When considered as a whole, the chapters in this volume and the next illustrate the value of academic perspectives packaged together in a way that departs from the usual focus of edited scholarly works, not in the sense of being better, but of provoking fresh takes on the subject at hand. In this case, our objective was achieved by combining a long time frame with perspectives from multiple disciplines and, perhaps most importantly, an international mix of individuals who were otherwise unlikely to cross paths. The work they have produced reveals complexities on a wide variety of levels: local, global, individual, community, formal, informal. Taken together, these "venues" have all contributed in one form or another to the making of a culture that had not previously existed, that of the Luso-Asian world. While in no sense homogeneous unto itself, it nevertheless exhibits commonalities from one setting to another, and does so across time and space. Whether we characterize this culture as an admixture, an amalgam, a fusion or a hybrid, its complexities continue to challenge our intellectual and analytical skills. As we persist in charting a path for understanding these kinds of mixed cultural models, it is our hope that with our findings will also come greater clarity in interpreting the phenomenon itself. We already know that this meeting served as a catalyst for fostering communication among a group of scholars that might not otherwise have occurred — a kind of hybridity in its own right. For our readers, we hope that these studies — and the perspectives they may engender and inform — will leave a bit of a legacy of their own.

Notes

- ¹ Robert D. Kaplan, “CNAS – RSIS [Center for a New American Security – S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies] Panel Discussion on ‘The United States and Asia: Prospects and Challenges in 2010’” (remarks, Four Seasons Hotel, Singapore, 20 January 2010).
- ² Robert D. Kaplan, “Obama Takes Asia by Sea”, *New York Times*, 11 November 2010 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/12/opinion/12kaplan.html?pagewanted=all>> (accessed 23 March 2011).
- ³ Victor Liberman, “Local Integration and Eurasian Analogies: Structuring Southeast Asian History, c. 1350–c. 1830”, *Modern Asian Studies* 27, no. 3 (1993): 547.
- ⁴ For an exposé about the debate sparked in Western Europe by the early Portuguese and Spanish presence in Asian waters, which ultimately provided a rationale for the Dutch to venture into the same territory by virtue of a philosophical argument for “freedom of the seas”, see Peter Borschberg, *Hugo Grotius, the Portuguese and Free Trade in the East Indies* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011).
- ⁵ See, for example, Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, eds., *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- ⁶ See, for example, Ricardo Roque, *Headhunting and Colonialism: Anthropology and the Circulation of Human Skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870–1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Sten Pultz Moslund, *Migration Literature and Hybridity: The Different Speeds of Transcultural Change* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2010); and Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes, *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- ⁷ The Estado da Índia should be understood in a formal sense as having comprised the aggregate of Portugal’s colonial holdings along the rim of East Africa and the Indian Ocean, that is, a set of forts and ports plus some minor territorial dependencies, all governed by the viceroy and his council in Goa. The status of each of these dependencies ranged from a contractually secured possession to an outright colony over which Portugal claimed sovereign rights, although the latter were few in number. Informally, the Estado was also about interconnected networks — personal, kinship and business. Over time, with the diminution or removal of formal structures of the Estado, these informal networks were often able to continue.