

CROSSING SEAS
MARES
MARES

RISING ISLANDS
ISLAS
ILHAS

CONNECTING PEOPLE
PERSONAS
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Beatriz of Portugal, Ruler of the Atlantic (1470-1484)

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The Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira, Azores and Cape Verde were the first spaces to be colonized by the Portuguese in the 15th century. These became spaces of experimentation of a model for administrative, territorial organization and economic exploitation that would subsequently be applied to other areas of the Portuguese Empire.

As from 1470 to mid 1480's these new territories were administered by a woman, infanta Beatriz of Portugal. For the first time in Portuguese History, an overseas area concerned the purview of a woman. Her actions in the insular space revealed to be extremely important, both for the settlement of the archipelagos of Azores and Cape Verde, as well as the economic growth of Madeira.

This communication will analyze Beatriz's actions in the archipelagos and how she adapted to the various existing realities. I will do so by approaching issues such as how she exercised her power in the Atlantic; how the settlement and distribution of land was made during that period and how power was organized. I will also reflect about her condition as a female ruler and how that was regarded by her peers and by the men under her authority, as well as how she used the administration of these territories to uphold her power.

Perceiving otherness and defining Identity in Castilian Atlantic Border during the Late Middle Ages: the 'guanches' and the beginning of the conquest of the Canary Islands

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Maritime borders manifest themselves as particularly open and fluid spaces of exchange – both pacific and violent – between individuals, collectives, political powers, civilisations etc. During Late Middle Ages, European expansion towards their Atlantic borders became the Middle Atlantic area, from the Iberian Peninsula's south coast to Guinea, into a preferred location for continuing contact among different indigenous population and mostly Hispanic (Portuguese and Castilian) seafarers, merchants and combatants. Dynamics of conflict as well as collaboration and solidarity were developed around activities of trade, linguistic and other cultural exchange but also through both regulated and illicit violence (military naval expeditions, piracy, captivity, etc.). Social interaction and Iberian efforts in order to dominate maritime routes and trade flows as well as to colonise some strategic islands and coastal enclaves finally contributed to define new perceptions of identity and othering.

In this paper we will focus on an analysis of different manifestations of otherness displayed by Europeans thanks to their early contact with Canarian natives, the 'guanches', during the first phase of exploration and Castilian conquest of the Canary Islands along late 14th century-early 15th century. We propose a comparative approach to these first contacts between Europeans and 'guanches' in contemporary literary testimonies written in the 1st half of the 15th century such as travel accounts, particular narratives and official royal chronicles (*Le Canarien*, *Chronica de Guiné* by Zurara, *Navigazioni* by Cadamosto, and Castilian chronicles of king Henry III, by Pero López de Ayala, and John II, compiled by Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal). Geographic, physical and cultural description of the islands and their inhabitants varied considerably on each account. They also show us different versions about the contrast between friendly cooperation and aggressive resistance that natives offered to the presence of European traders, slave raiders, conquerors and pioneers. Thus, we shall discuss how the vision of the native other in the Canary Islands depicted by Europeans started to be build up on direct experiences of contact but also in accordance with the motivations of legitimising their right to exploit their natural and economic resources and even to dominate the archipelago and its population. Furthermore, we may ask how far a medieval perspective of otherness based on religious and authority patterns contributed to defining the territorial, social, and institutional Canarian identity under the Castilian role as a main part of the Iberian colonial expansion from the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the Early Modern Era.

Canarias entre el siglo XV y XVI: la construcción de una nueva sociedad

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Entre el siglo XIV y finales del siglo XV las islas Canarias fueron descubiertas y conquistadas por las sociedades europeas, en tres fases sucesivas. En esos dos siglos la economía europea en las islas se basó principalmente en el robo de esclavos y otros bienes indígenas. Pero también, después de la conquista y colonización, ya en el siglo XVI, las islas más importantes comenzaron a tener un nuevo sistema productivo basado en la agricultura capitalista, cultivando azúcar para vender en los mercados europeos, por ejemplo Sevilla o Flandes, lo que a su vez activó importantes redes a través del Atlántico en un proceso de retroalimentación del proceso expansivo europeo.

Esta colonización implicó a su vez el desarrollo de un entramado urbano de nueva creación, ajeno a la realidad aborigen preexistente. Estas nuevas realidades urbanas y las prácticas económicas basadas en la agricultura capitalista modificaron sustancialmente el entorno insular, generando cambios radicales en el medio natural de las islas.

Todos estos cambios muestran el papel de la frontera europea del Atlántico Sur en la Era del Descubrimiento como escenario de intensos procesos de gestación de complejos sistemas socioeconómicos, condicionados por su realidad geográfica específica y por un entorno natural en continuo cambio precisamente como fruto de la retroalimentación de ese propio proceso.

**Building the Early Modern Atlantic World:
Islands, architecture and urban planning in the Macaronesia space**

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Islands and oceans have long-attracted those interested in understanding space and place building, namely architects, historians and geographers. Imaginary worlds and reports from the antiquity proposing an undiscovered world, were revealed by the voyages of Portuguese and Spanish. The Atlantic islands' and coastland colonization constitute a relevant object of analysis from the European urban planning history perspective, and thus Iberian and Portuguese. On one hand, the relatively recent and simple humanization process of the archipelagos of the Macaronesia (Canárias, Madeira, Azores and Cape Verd), on the other, the better apprehensible scale of its territories, make them historic sample of processes which took place in vaster areas, more distant from the metropolis. That becomes even more evident in the case of the archipelagos of Portuguese colonization, whether because they were discovered still uninhabited, or as being distinct examples of Portuguese town foundation over a vast time period. In fact, only three towns were founded at the Continent after the strong cycles of D. Afonso III and D. Dinis' kingdoms (Vila Nova de Portimão 1463, Vila Nova de Mil Fontes 1486, and Caldas da Rainha 1488) – to which one must certainly add a great number of renewals and extensions of already consolidated towns – proving that it was in the Atlantic islands and coastlands that the medieval urban planning practices were renewed, before being used in the building of the Empire.

It's from this path that this proposal arises, intending - by comparative analysis of the historical-morphological evolution of territories and town founded overseas in the 15th and 16th centuries- to deepen the knowledge on the building and planning management of a paradoxically diversified and unified space as is that of the Early Modern Atlantic World.

Choosing ports from the ocean.

First settlements in newfound Atlantic Islands, from Iceland to Cape Vert

João Paulo Oliveira e Costa

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

The first issue that the early modern discovery of islands arose was the choice of a place to land and, then, to settle. From Iceland to the tropical islands the process repeated itself and most of the cases first choices ended up by being abandoned. In this talk I will address the case-studies of Iceland, São Miguel, Terceira, Faial, São Jorge, Madeira, Santiago and Fogo islands, as they were seen from the sea and how this first perception demanded, or not, re adaptations of the initial choices.

As Misericórdias e a comunicação entre as duas margens do Atlântico:

O caso de Guimarães e Baía (Século XVI – XVIII)

João Miguel Fernandes

Universidade do Minho

O presente trabalho pretende contribuir para o estudo das relações entre as Misericórdias nos espaços de presença portuguesa, salientando a forma como comunicavam entre si, bem como os principais assuntos abordados na correspondência que mantinham entre si.

Como é sabido, as Misericórdias assumiram grande protagonismo na transferência de heranças provenientes do império para a metrópole. Há alguns aspetos que o podem explicar. Em primeiro lugar, era reconhecida grande fiabilidade a estas confrarias, que usufruíam da confiança das populações. Por outro lado, convém recordar que os legados testamentários constituíam uma receita significativa para estas instituições, já que quando não eram herdeiras universais, recebiam uma parte da herança pelo seu trabalho.

As Santas Casas, com o intuito de fazerem cumprir os legados que lhe eram atribuídos, instituíram um sistema funcional complexo, onde a cooperação entre as misericórdias assume particular relevância. Estas confrarias, apesar de serem autónomas entre si, juntavam-se num objetivo comum, criando uma rede que interligava as diferentes partes do Império português, conectando-as com a metrópole.

A partir da documentação existente nos arquivos da Misericórdia de Guimarães, normalmente conhecida como “Cartas da Índia” tentaremos dar nota de como este serviço era organizado no mundo atlântico, nomeadamente a articulação entre a Misericórdia de Guimarães e a de Salvador da Bahia, bem como a importância que assumiram na comunicação entre os diferentes territórios que compunham os dois reinos.

Salvador is a new Goa: the role of the portuguese capital in Brazil and in India to the Jesuit campaign during the XVI century

Mariana Boscariol

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

The Jesuit campaign outside Europe started in 1541 with the departure of Francis Xavier from Lisbon to Goa. In less than one decade they had founded a mission in Brazil and in Japan, both in the year 1549, territories that became the geographical limits of the Portuguese Patronage activity. Facing this dimension, the Order was dealing with many difficulties to administrate all the missions exclusively from Portugal in Rome. The transportation and the communication with the many regions were unequal and dissonant, what impelled distinct struggles and demands. This situation forced that the Portuguese Crown and the Society of Jesus would delegate part of the administration of some regions to certain territories. Thus, promptly Goa became the major Portuguese centre in the Orient and Salvador in the American lands. As Dauril Alden wrote (1996, p.71), Salvador “[...] would become for the crown and the Society the Brazilian equivalent of Goa [...]”, at the same time that Goa came to be seen as the equivalent of Lisbon to Asia. Taking this in consideration, we aim to analyse the role of Salvador and Goa on the Jesuit campaign under the Portuguese Patronage. As it could be verify in an recent research, a major presence of a Portuguese community and also of administrative entities of both the Portuguese Crown and the Catholic Church made emerge different concerns and expectations in these territories, what inevitably affected the evangelization to be promoted in loco, as well as the relationship to be maintained with the native people. With this, I seek to contribute to a more diverse and connected perspective on the Jesuit activity during the XVI century campaign.

Património subaquático em Cabo Verde o presente e o futuro

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Instituto do Património Cultural – IPC, Cabo Verde

É de extrema importância que todos estejam consciencializados e engajados na preservação e salvaguarda do legado patrimonial, aquilo que representa a identidade do povo cabo-verdiano e nos distingue de outras culturas. Uma das formas de preservar este legado é através das pesquisas arqueológicas.

Os trabalhos de arqueologia em Cabo Verde não são uma atividade recente, o investimento no conhecimento arqueológico em Cabo Verde tem conhecido diferentes fases. A década de 80 marca o início das escavações arqueológicas terrestres em Cabo Verde, com escavações na Cidade Velha. Na década de 90 deu-se continuidade aos trabalhos, com escavações arqueológicas na Fortaleza Real de S. Filipe, no âmbito dos trabalhos de reabilitação e restauro do monumento. O ano 2000 marca claramente as escavações arqueológicas terrestres no sítio histórico da Cidade Velha, sendo estes enquadrados no projeto de Reabilitação do Património Construído, financiado pela Cooperação Espanhola. Exemplo disto foi a continuidade dos trabalhos realizados na Fortaleza Real de S. Filipe e o no Convento de S. Francisco.

De 2004 a esta parte, uma equipa de arqueólogos da Universidade de Cambridge vem colaborando com o IPC, nomeadamente nas prospeções e escavações arqueológicas, o que tem contribuindo para incorporação de novos dados no domínio do património arqueológico terrestre de Cabo Verde.

O património arqueológico subaquático de Cabo Verde representa um enorme potencial, mas ainda, pouco explorado. De frisar que esse legado seria de grande importância no que concerne a pesquisas científicas, na educação patrimonial e no desenvolvimento sustentável, com especial enfoque no turismo cultural.

A arqueologia subaquática em Cabo Verde é relativamente recente, tendo sido sempre realizada através da parceria com entidades internacionais.

Tendo em conta a vulnerabilidade de Cabo Verde, país com poucos recursos, de natureza insular, tem contribuído para que as águas territoriais sejam muitas vezes frequentadas por caçadores de tesouro que, sabendo de antemão dos consideráveis vestígios de naufrágios e da incapacidade do país em patrulhar o mar, retiram rastros arqueológicos subaquáticos que seriam de grande importância para Cabo Verde e empobrecendo assim o património arqueológico subaquático.

Em matéria de proteção legal, Cabo Verde aprovou a Lei n.º 102/III/90 de 29 de Dezembro, que tem como objetivo a preservação, a defesa e a valorização do património cultural cabo-verdiano. A secção VI da presente lei, no artigo 52º faz referência aos achados arqueológicos subaquáticos de forma muito superficial, revelando insuficiente na matéria de proteção e salvaguarda desse legado.

Presentemente, está em curso a atualização da Lei de Base do Património Cultural, e a sua regulamentação, de forma a torná-la mais forte e robusta, capaz de dar respostas aos novos desafios da preservação e valorização do património cultural, e consequentemente do património arqueológico subaquático.

O património cultural subaquático representa um capital de desenvolvimento, que o Governo Cabo-verdiano quer valorizar e potencializar em termos turísticos. Exemplo disto são os vários projetos a serem implementados nos próximos anos em colaboração com universidades e entidades internacionais.

An Artery of Empire. Panamá Viejo's Interdisciplinary research

Juan G. Martín¹, Bethany Aram², Iosvany Hernández² & Javier Rivera-Sandoval¹

¹Universidad del Norte, ²Universidad Pablo de Olavide

Since 2017 the archaeological excavations of this project have been carried out, financed by the European Research Council (ERC CoG 648535). It is the first interdisciplinary approach to evaluate the early globalization in an artery of imperial expansion, challenging the Eurocentric and hispanophobic interpretations around the processes of American conquest and colonization. The convergence of four continents in Panamá Viejo, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, generated archival and archaeological evidence that invites us to ask ourselves about the impact of the various agents involved in cultural and commercial exchange.

The human bone remains and artifacts recovered in the field seasons of 2017 and 2018, begin to provide us with new data to understand the biological and cultural impact of the first globalization, as well as unknown aspects of the urban development of the ancient city of Panamá. The interdisciplinary work allows to know the strategies of survival and integration of the different human groups, including the possible changes of the diet and the cultural syncretism of a society under construction.

A Arqueologia Subaquática em Cabo Verde: das Investigações à Musealização.

Dúnia Alice Moreira Pereira

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Não subsistem dúvidas de que, pelo Arquipélago de Cabo Verde passaram muitos navios, no contexto da história da expansão, a partir do séc. XV, mas também navegadores tanto portugueses como de outras potências europeias, que através das suas Companhias das Índias Orientais (ingleses, holandeses, franceses e outros) iniciaram o comércio com a Índia e o Extremo Oriente, durante o séc. XVII.

Pelos nossos mares passaram embarcações como: Urania, Princess Louisa, Lady Burgess, Hartwell, Leijmudien, Dromadaire, Santo André, Guadalupe IV, Yorktown, Greve Ernest Sheimmelman, e muitos outros anónimos, identificados pela zona onde naufragaram, no caso concreto temos o Ancoradouro da Cidade Velha, S. Francisco e Varandinha.

Mas o certo é que essas embarcações, de diferentes proveniências, acabariam por deixar um importante legado histórico ao país.

Contudo o País não dispunha de capacidade financeira, e técnica para desenvolver pesquisa arqueológica subaquática, para dar a conhecer esse património Cultural, e por essa razão, a partir dos anos noventa o Governo de CV optou por assinar acordos com empresas privadas de arqueologia, com o intuito de desenvolverem pesquisas e recolha do nosso espólio submerso, e com isso recuperar parte da nossa história. Foram elas a Afrimar e a Arqueonautas.

Apesar das consideráveis perdas, conseguiu-se recuperar e preservar um valioso espólio proveniente dessas pesquisas subaquáticas, tendo o país incorporado parte desse acervo, que posteriormente foi afeto primeiramente ao Núcleo Museológico da Praia, inaugurado em 2005, e em 2008 transformada e inaugurada como, Museu de Arqueologia.

Em suma o Museu de Arqueologia, na Cidade da Praia, é resultado visível e visitável dessas pesquisas subaquáticas realizadas em Cabo Verde.

El Atlántico, sus costas e islas, como espacio de conflicto, y las armadas como instrumentos de dominación y control. 1500-1825.

Juan Marchena Fernandez

Universidad Pablo de Olavide

El espacio Atlántico, en cuanto espacio común de encuentro e intercambio, constituyó, a través de los puertos, un tupido tejido e anudado, capaz de articular tres continentes: fue el espacio no solo de la producción sino también, y especialmente, de la circulación. Circulación sujeta al juego de los intercambios de productos manufacturados en Europa, por metales americanos y por esclavizados africanos, la masiva y necesaria mano de obra para la producción americana con miras a su exportación a los mercados europeos. Este espacio de la circulación fue, por tanto, y tratándose de un área geográfica fundamentalmente marítima, un espacio de la navegación. Decenas de miles de buques y embarcaciones de todo tipo, tamaño y condiciones, fueron los vehículos que permitieron establecer estos intercambios, teniendo por tanto a los puertos como lugares focales de entrada y salidas de personas, equipos y mercancías, ciñéndonos tan solo al aspecto material de las operaciones.

Y en este espacio marítimo sucedieron enseguida graves confrontaciones entre numerosos y variados vectores de competencia: comercial, pero también política y enseguida militar. Las Armadas y flotas de combate de las principales potencias europeas, en especial las Ibéricas, tuvieron así al Atlántico como escenario de estas confrontaciones, perfeccionando con el tiempo las habilidades, pericias y destrezas de cada una de estas máquinas de guerra que componían las flotas, para mejor cumplir sus cometidos, tanto ofensivos como defensivos o de disuasión.

El análisis de los navíos y armadas en la modernidad, su estructura, composición, número, características, etc., que compitieron en el Atlántico durante los siglos XVI hasta comienzos del XIX, así como las características de los puertos donde se ubicaron sus bases, sus astilleros, arsenales, cuarteles, almacenes... exige una investigación profunda.

Y comparada, para entender mejor la existencia de un modelo atlántico de organización de los espacios marítimos de cara a afrontar con mayor precisión los problemas producidos en el juego de los intercambios y en la defensa de los intereses de las potencias europeas inmersas en este complicado y turbulento escenario de los mares en conflicto. Además existió una muy interesante literatura al respecto (desde derroteros de viajes, diarios de navegación, memorias de marinos... que deben ser estudiadas y divulgadas, por su extraordinario interés literario, técnico, geográfico, etnográfico y cultural).

O Porto Grande do Mindelo na Prosa de Jorge Barbosa

Hilarino da Luz

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

O Porto Grande do Mindelo é uma temática recorrente na obra de Jorge Barbosa. Esse porto com os seus estabelecimentos de combustíveis e com a instalação dos depósitos de carvão marcou os momentos altos e baixos da economia cabo-verdiana.

Dado o peso que tinha na economia nacional, o autor em apreço, assim como outros escritores do arquipélago de Cabo Verde reivindicaram soluções para o porto. Assim, numa crónica intitulada *O Porto Grande - Velho Tema*, Jorge Barbosa chama a atenção para o facto de ter ouvido falar da importância do Porto Grande para a economia da província e reclama a execução das obras projetadas.

A sua esperança e a dos cabo-verdianos mudou quando, em 1953, cinco funcionários da Shell, inclusive o seu gerente em Lisboa, visitaram o arquipélago, embora não tenham revelado o que pretendia à companhia local.

Desse modo, Jorge Barbosa, com base no plano de fomento, dirige-se aos cabo-verdianos e informa-os de que o início das obras nesse porto estaria para breve.

The Republic of Salé: The rise of a new maritime power in South Atlantic.

Jorge Afonso

Centro de História da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa

This communication aims to inform a reflexion about the rise of the Republic of Salé as a new power in South Atlantic and its influence in the commercial and maritime traffic that took place in the area at the end of 1600s and the beginning of 1700s.

The Republic of Salé was founded in sixteenth century by the *hornacheros* a group of *mouriscos* that came from *Hornachos*, a small city in the Spanish *Estremadura*, as a consequence of Reconquista and the promulgation of the expulsion law between 22nd September 1609 and 18th January 1610.

Its geographical position, not far away from the strait of Gibraltar, allowed the intervention in the maritime and commercial traffic between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean Sea.

Acting in a maritime zone delimited by the Cape Tarifa, the Cape Saint-Vincent and the Cape Saint Mary, the Salé privateers ambushed the ships involved in the Mediterranean traffic. They also covered a large area near the Portuguese coast and sometimes they entered in Tagus estuary in order to make attacks and depredations near the city of Lisbon.

This communication also pretends to establish how Morocco's incursions in the South Atlantic waters changed European powers ways of conducting their maritime traffic, defend their most important ports and dealing with the Salé privateers.

How the Portuguese commercial traffic with Brazil and the Atlantic Islands was affected? How did the increase of Portuguese captive population in Moroccan *matmores* represented an important loss to the kingdom Treasure? How the fishermen communities deal with the *razias* of Salé's privateers? These are the questions this presentation intends to answer.

The establishment of religious houses in the Portuguese Atlantic port cities: the cases of Angra do Heroísmo and Ponta Delgada.

Catarina Almeida Marado

CES - Universidade de Coimbra

Religious orders played an important role in the Portuguese expansion. They were present in all the Portuguese overseas territories. In the Atlantic Islands, the Franciscans were the first order to establish in the 15th century, followed by the Jesuits and the Augustinians, who arrived in the late 16th century. Over the centuries, these orders founded several monastic buildings in the islands, but only a small number of cities, such as Angra do Heroísmo and Ponta Delgada, had houses of these three religious communities.

This paper aims to analyse the role that religious houses played in the urban development of these two port cities. First, it will analyse the installation process of the religious orders in the Portuguese Atlantic Islands, framed by a global vision of these institutions presence in the Portuguese overseas territories, and secondly, it will focus on the analysis of the cities of Angra do Heroísmo and Ponta Delgada, trying to understand the means by which the monastic buildings shaped the urban landscape between the 15th and the 17th centuries.

High Tide – Low Tide. Bruges’ late-medieval harbour-system as a maritime cultural community and landscape

Wim De Clercq, Jan Trachet & Maxime Poulain

Ghent University

Bruges’ role as late-medieval harbour and “maritime cultural landscape” is inextricably associated with the dynamic interaction between man and nature via the Zwin tidal inlet. After its medieval heyday, Bruges’ economy collapsed and was sidelined in the international trade. The land- and seascape that functioned as the gateway towards the city fell in disuse, and the vast network of extra-muros harbour facilities was deserted. Ironically, from a scientific point of view, the economic recession of the following centuries now proves to be the biggest asset of Bruges and its surrounding area. Just as the city of Bruges is considered as an untouched jewel of medieval European urban architecture, its connected outer-harbour infrastructure is a uniquely preserved time capsule of medieval marine connectivity, concealed under a thin layer of ‘polder’ clay and mostly untouched by younger construction activities.

This paper will present the interdisciplinary harbour-research at Ghent University. First we will summarize the results of a recently completed 5-year-research project that focused on the detection of deserted harbour sites in the Zwin area. Next, we will present the objectives and perspectives of a new research project, focusing on the connectivity within the local and with the global trade networks, the transactions in commodities as well as the impact of residing foreigners on material culture. Because interdisciplinarity is of key importance in this harbour-related research at Ghent University, this new project will combine the transnational study of documentary evidence, material culture and palaeoecological and geological data.

Coincidences?

Christer Westerdahl

Norwegian University of Science and Technology

In my keynote I choose to find my point of departure in the late 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries. As I see it, it could be as inspiring to the study of technical matters in connection with navigation to take part of what is happening simultaneous to the grand Portuguese *descobrimentos* in our (i.e. Scandinavian) rather peripherious world. A big snowball was indeed rolling to include us all in different ways. But of course I follow the path of the cognitive landscape, which is my own hobby-horse. Not to unveil too much the discrete traits of archaeology, maritime place names and a few other items will play an important role in my presentation.

An island of water: the Aveiro Lagoon Maritime cultural landscape: a first approach

Patrícia Carvalho

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

The Ria de Aveiro lagoon influenced the human occupation of central Portugal resulting in communities strongly related to maritime activities. Its natural features resulted in a diverse underwater archaeological record, of nearly a dozen archaeological sites, and the formation of a landscape with several elements related to marine activities, mainly port activities. Searching the cultural integration of these underwater sites, we intended to approach the evolution of the lagoon between the XV to XIX, considering economic aspects related to the settlement and the use of natural resources. We will also try to characterize the natural and cultural changes in the lagoon, analyzing its impact on the landscape. Therefore this study will approach the maritime cultural landscape in the lagoon, using also written and iconographic sources.

Archaeology and history of a battle. Considerations and some conclusions about the English attack on Cartagena de Indias in 1741.

José Manuel Espinosa Fernández

Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla

The failed invasion of Cartagena de Indias in 1741 is one of the key milestones in the cycle of colonial wars that took place in America during the 18th century. We have a wide literature about it, approximations have been made from history and also from archaeology. However, that does not mean that it is an episode that we already have completely clear. That includes the nature of the evidence, documentary sources and material remains, and the use of them have not helped too much.

For thus reason a group of researchers decided to develop a multidisciplinary research project, combining archaeological fieldwork and searching in historical archives, while the previous literature was reviewed in a thorough and critical way. From the historical perspective, the main problem is that at the same moment in which the facts occurred, the information transmitted was mediated by different interests and now we have a series of silences and half-truths that hinder the work of the historians. The approaches made from the archaeology have not been successful either. The physiognomy of the city's defences changed considerably after the attack and most of the bastions involved were destroyed and disappeared or were rebuilt later. A fundamental element in the battle was undoubtedly the navy and in the internal bay as well as in its entrance there are several shipwreck located and we know that there are others to be found but the water conditions and the contextual alterations have not helped its conservation and research. However, the main problem in many archaeological studies about the battle is that they don't have an adequate historical contextualization and contain serious historical errors due to misuse of the documentary sources.

With this presentation we want to highlight the problems we have to face in order to study this episode, the most serious mistakes that have been made in the previous investigations, as well as some of the most relevant conclusions and findings made during our investigation.

Las ciudades del Caribe en el espacio Atlántico. De factorías a complejos fortificados.

Nayibe Gutierrez Montoya

Universidad Pablo de Olavide

A pesar de la aparente homogeneidad del Caribe (islas y franjas costeras continentales) dado su papel de primer articulador del mundo atlántico con el continente americano, y el continuado cometido de vínculo de enlace y nudo de intercambios con Europa y enseguida con África, de personas, bienes, mercancías, tradiciones culturales, ideas, lenguas, literaturas orales y escritas... a pesar de esta homogeneidad aparente, las diferencias y desemejanzas han sido y son también más que relevantes, tanto en el escenario insular como en el continental.

Uno de estos ítems donde pueden medirse con precisión y rigor las continuidades pero también las rupturas, las respuestas colectivas a determinados problemas pero también las singularidades, es el modo de habitar, poblar, morar, organizarse espacialmente, de estas sociedades, en espacios tanto públicos como privados que van desde la morada, el caserío, la villa, el pueblo, la ciudad... y el carácter, composición, estructura, de los espacios construidos y edificios colectivos privados o públicos administrativos-gubernativos, en cada uno de estos paisajes poblados caribeños que estudiamos.

Uno de estos espacios construidos, elevados por imperativo de los estados asentados sobre el Caribe desde el arranque del tiempo de la modernidad fueron los edificios de carácter militar y defensivo. Desde el primer establecimiento europeo en el Caribe, el fuerte de la Natividad, hasta los grandes complejos militares de fines del S. XVIII (españoles como los complejos de La Habana, Puerto Rico o Santo Domingo, también Cartagena, Portobelo, la Guaira, Omoa, etc... pero también franceses como Fort Dauphin o Saint Louis, y también ingleses, como los de Jamaica o Fort Diamond, o incluso haitianos como la Citadelle la Ferriere) todos estas construcciones reflejaron un modo de pensar el espacio y su defensa, la geografía del mar y las costas, y aplicar estas ideas al modo más operativo de guardarlas, mediante cambios continuos de estrategias arquitectónicas, de técnicas de construcción y de diseño en permanente evolución, muchos de ellos transmitidos a través de textos y manuales de poliorcética de obligado empleo por parte de los ingenieros. El estudio y análisis de todas estas variables se torna así fundamental para entender este periodo de la primera modernidad y el impacto que tendrá sobre el posterior desarrollo de la región y del Atlántico en general.

New contacts, new landscapes, new sea: a comparative approach about the rise of harbors in the *New World*.

Ana Catarina Garcia

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

Early Modern Maritime Empires had, as main key points, port cities working to the statement of those overseas empires. With a multidisciplinary framework supported on maritime and underwater archaeology, history, geomorphology and cartography it will be compared Portuguese and British empires, based on harbors systems, formed after the colonization of America and Atlantic islands. Focus on landscapes and how they looked to the European powers, in the early 16th and 17th centuries, it is important to understand how they were elected and transformed in harbors and port cities. The central question is how and why explorers, supported by European political powers choose a place to work as a harbor and why some places instead of another? The main goal is to understand how, after trial and error process by exploring natural features, the new ports assume their importance in the context of European maritime expansion. To achieve this objective, it will be analyzed some case studies such as the ports of Angra in the Azores, Funchal in Madeira, Cidade Velha and Praia in Cape Verde, Port Royal in Jamaica, Bridgetown in Barbados, Bahia in Brazil and Charleston in EUA. This case studies, erected in different context and times will give a more accurate framework about harbors and early modern maritime empires.

**When the river sounds. Archaeology in a fishermen settlement in the historic center
of Barranquilla, Colombia (13th to 16th centuries)**

Javier Rivera-Sandoval

Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla (Colombia)

The strategic position of the *Rio Grande de la Magdalena*, turns it the main fluvial axis of the Colombian Caribbean coast throughout history. At the beginning of the 16th century, the European conquistadors took advantage of the river to establish the strategies of territorial appropriation and control, using the routes and exchange networks that had previously established the *Malibu* indigenous groups along the lower Magdalena. This allowed the founding of important Spanish settlements on the river as Mompox, Tamalameque and Tenerife, and on the coast as Cartagena de Indias, whose indigenous occupation is also associated with the *Malibu* peoples. In this context, there is also the origin of Barranquilla city, which during the colonial period was a spontaneous settlement that grew thanks to the activities of the Hacienda of *San Nicolás de Tolentino* and, mainly, the smuggling from the ports of Cartagena and Santa Marta. However, from the 13th to the early 16th century there is evidence of the occupation of a fishermen group who took advantage of the resources offered by the river, the marsh system and the coast.

The presentation seeks from archaeology to contribute new data on these indigenous peoples who had a particular relationship with the landscape that today occupies Barranquilla, very different from what will be given in later centuries with the installation of the European lifestyle, but at the same time, It shows the continuity of indigenous cultural practices that are maintained until the nineteenth century. This information will be put into discussion about two ways of perceiving and appropriating the riparian landscape and the relationships established with the coastal spaces in one of the main river ports of the Magdalena River.

Pathways across the North Atlantic, c 1400-1750

Poul Holm

Trinity College Dublin

The North Atlantic of medieval to modern times provided pathways of European / African / Indian cultures. While the Southern pathway was focused on ports and cities, the Northern pathway hinged on havens / bays / islands. While the southern was decidedly urban in character, the northern tended to be marine-rural and subsistence-based. While the southern was driven by gold, silver, and later cash-crops like cotton and tobacco and fuelled by slave labour, the northern was driven by walrus ivory, fur, fish, and later wool. Both were immensely lucrative undertakings.

My talk will address questions relating to Wealth (the absolute and relative economic importance of these pathways through time is unknown but knowable); Power (both pathways attracted considerable political interest and access and domination were fought over by all the major European states); Settlement (precarious undertakings at first and some flourished and failed through time); Resilience (ecology and climate changed living conditions and pathways through the Little Ice Age).

Standing Islands and Moving Whales: Early modern movements and migrations of peoples and marine mammals in the Eastern Atlantic

Cristina Brito

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

In the medieval Western shores of Europe, some individuals and peoples lived facing the open sea. Even though encompassing the unknown, the sea - sometimes calm, others rough - was a highway to an all-new set of possibilities. It held numerous opportunities for enriching the spirits, minds and pockets of pilgrims, warriors, traders or explorers. These, supported by their faith or by their kings, allowed for new lands and oceans to become known in Europe during late medieval and early modern times. When first leaving their homelands in the shorelines of Northern and Southern West Europe, voyagers usually stranded in or arrived at masses of land isolated and surrounded by the sea – islands. Humans have an urge to travel and migrate, driven mostly by the lack of resources but also driven by sheer curiosity or the need for power and conquest, knowledge and experience. As humans do, other animals also show individual or group movements and migrations. Birds do it, land mammals do it, fish do it and, of course, several species of marine mammals also do it. Dolphins and whales move and migrate in coastal and offshore waters, and their lives are closely intertwined with humans as they have been historically an important resource for people. As so, some question arises. Do humans and cetaceans' migrations coincided at some moment in time? Do they influence one another? Does the presence and activities of human populations affect the presence of large whales? Do whales have agency? The main objective is to address the interactions between humans and marine mammals in the early modern Atlantic. To draw upon these hypothesis, I will focus my attention in examples for some Eastern Atlantic Islands and the history of their early discovery and settlements by Europeans.

El tiempo de los bosques inacabables: deterioro medioambiental y aprovechamientos forestales en las Islas Canarias en la Edad Moderna.

Juan Ramón Núñez Pestano, Judit Gutiérrez de Armas, Francisco Báez Hernández &

Domingo Antonio García Mesa

Universidad de La Laguna

La historiografía de las islas de la Macaronesia ha tratado con reiteración el impacto de los cambios en el medio ambiente provocados por el proceso de colonización. La puesta en cultivo de las tierras supuso la progresiva eliminación de pisos de vegetación completos, que fueron sustituidos por campos cultivados. Este proceso de transformación de los antiguos paisajes naturales (o de los pastizales aborígenes en el caso de Canarias) en terrenos de cultivo fue necesariamente lento, pues en el contexto histórico de los siglos XV a XVII no se disponía de los factores de producción suficiente como para llevar a cabo una ocupación simultánea de todas las tierras potencialmente disponibles.

No obstante, la investigación histórica ha avanzado mucho menos en el análisis de las formas de aprovechamiento de otros recursos como los bosques o los terrenos de pastoreo, pues sólo en la última década se han publicado algunos trabajos a este respecto. En esta comunicación pretendemos analizar el modelo “depredatorio” de aprovechamiento de los bosques que se implantó en las islas tras la Conquista, un modelo que utilizaba intensamente los recursos forestales para la extracción de madera, la fabricación de brea o como combustible para el refinado de la producción azucarera en los ingenios.

El proceso de destrucción de los antiguos bosques fue tan acelerado que hacia fines del siglo XVII las autoridades de las islas (impulsadas por las nuevas relaciones entre bosque y gran propiedad, derivadas de las necesidades de madera para el cultivo vitícola) comenzaron a plantearse la necesidad de implantar medidas proteccionistas más eficaces, al tiempo que anularon parte de los antiguos usos forestales que venían practicándose desde fines del siglo XV.

Natural Atlantic commodities in 15th-century Europe.

Import and knowledge production.

Catarina Simões

MUHNAC, University of Lisbon

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In the 15th and 16th centuries, the exploration of the African coast and the discovery of direct sea routes from Europe to Asia and the Americas introduced new products into European markets. Contacts with different cultures and natural contexts became more frequent and widespread. This led to an unprecedented consumption and display of non-European products, animals and articles of various sorts, some of which were exclusive to the elites, while others were more easily afforded. This presentation aims at analyzing some of the fifteenth-century descriptions of Atlantic spaces (namely the archipelagos and the West coast of the African continent), written by European navigators, especially regarding references to products of animal and plant origin which were imported to Europe. We will also address how these animals and plants were perceived and described by the authors of these sources, and how, in this context of early European expansionism, consumption and knowledge production went hand in hand.

Commodities as windows onto the nature of people and places

Molly Warsh

University of Pittsburgh

This talk will use pearls as a case study to explore how global commodity trades provided an opportunity for early modern travelers to reflect on the character of distant locales and populations.

The Historian and the Ocean -

Can there be a real thalassology of the Atlantic written by historians?

Ingo Heidbrink

Old Dominion University

The CONCHA project aims to produce an Atlantic history of seaports in which the ocean – its ecosystems and species – is included as a dynamic player. Historians have discussed the idea of a ‘new thalassology’ for various oceans, but way too often the oceans themselves were not considered as active players, but simply as a spatial reference for the analysis.

What does it mean if historians now, try to integrate the ocean as an active player into their research?

Is it enough to think about oceanography, meteorology, marine-biology, ... as additional analytical categories for historical research? Is it really true that historical developments were determined by oceanscapes? Is connecting the history of human activities on the one side of an ocean with the history of the activities on the other side already a history of the ocean in between?

Maybe we need to think about the human as a land-based mammal and the historian as a land-focused scholar.

Our very own nature as humans makes the oceans an unknown and hostile territory for us, our traditions as historians makes the oceans either an obstacle to overcome or a source of raw materials. Rarely we are interested in the oceans themselves, but in how to get across or how to get most out of it.

A thalassology of the Atlantic that is neither just natural history of the oceans nor just a history of human activities on the shores of the ocean needs to bring the Atlantic into Atlantic history and understanding why the Atlantic itself was often left out in Atlantic history might be the key to understand how to bring it in.