



THIRD COSMOPOLIS CONFERENCE

21 - 23 June 2016

NHCP Building, Manila, Philippines



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

PHILIPPINE CROSSINGS: ENTANGLED VOICES BETWEEN OCEANS, C. 1500-1800

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME



Universiteit
Leiden



Third Cosmopolis Conference

Philippine Crossings: Entangled Voices between Oceans, c. 1500-1800

National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP), Manila, Republic of the Philippines,
21-23 June 2016

V060616

Tuesday, 21 June

Location: NHCP building

09.00 – 09.30 *Registration and coffee/tea*

09.30 – 10.15 Welcome – Maris Diokno
Introduction – Jos Gommans

A. COSMOPOLITANISM IN TIME

Panel 1: Crossings at Early Modernity

Chair: Leonard Blussé

10.15 – 11.00 Jorge Flores
Accidental Crossings, World Orders and the “Iberian Archive” in the Seventeenth-Century China Sea

David Irving
Filipino Church Musicians at Home and Abroad in the Early Modern Period

11.00 – 11.15 *Coffee/tea*

11.15 – 12.30 Teresa Canepa
The Multi-ethnic Societies of the Spanish Colonies in the Philippines and the New World, and Their Trade and Consumption of Asian Manufactured Goods in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries

Neilabh Sinha
The Chinese Illustrations of the Boxer Codex

12.30 – 14.00 *Lunch*

Panel 2a: Cosmopolitanism at 1600

Chair: Maris Diokno

14.00 – 15.30 Ryan Crewe
Ethno-Religious Exclusion and Convivencia in Manila’s Commissariat of the Inquisition, 1590-1650

Birgit Tremml-Werner
The Global and the Local in Early Modern Manila's Spaces of Communication

Darwin Absari
Sulu Before 17th Century: Revisiting the Past

15.30 – 16.00 *Coffee/tea*

Panel 2b: Cosmopolitanism at 1600: Chinese Networks

Chair: Sri Margana

16.00 – 17.30 Anna Busquets Alemany
Economic and Social Interactions between the Spaniards and the Sangleyes of Manila in the 17th Century.

XU Guanmian (Victor)
Strange Monopoly, Elusive Arbitrage: The Making of Dutch-Chinese Collaboration in the Spice Islands, 1614-1622

Marina Torres Trimállez
Mission, interactions, charity: Franciscan labor on rescuing abandoned Chinese children in Early Modern Manila

19.00 Conference Dinner at The Aristocrat Restaurant

Wednesday, 22 June

Location: NHCP building

09.00 – 09.15 *Coffee/tea*

Panel 3a: Cosmopolitanism at 1750

Chair: Esther Zwinkels

09.15 – 10.45 Kristie Flannery
Policing Foreigners in Colonial Manila: The Case of Don César Falliet

Ander Permanyer-Ugartemendia
Local and Metropolitan Agencies During the Bourbon Reforms in the Philippines

Regalado Trota José
The Reception of Rococo Art in the Philippines: Mid 18th-Early 19th Centuries

10.45 – 11.00 *Coffee/tea*

Panel 3b: Cosmopolitanism at 1750

Chair: Filomeno Jr. V. Aguilar

11.00 – 12.00

Ruth de Llobet,

Co-opting Empire: A Transpacific Vision of the Chinese Mestizo Community in Manila, 1770-1820

Dale Luis Menezes

'Civility and Corruption' in Early Modern Travel-Accounts in the Indian Ocean, Eighteenth-Century

12.00 – 13.30

Lunch

Panel 4: Religious Cosmopolitanism

Chair: Jos Gommans

13.30 – 15.30

Mahmood Kooria

In Between Many Worlds of One Law: Arab, Malay and Filipino Legal Intermixtures of Shāfi'ism in the Maguindanao Luwaran

Fides A. del Castillo and Clarence Darro del Castillo

Christ and Culture in the Philippines, East Timor and Indonesia: A Religious Exploration

Reza Said Huseini

From Mediterranean to Philippines: the Idea of Jihad and the Local Identity

Ariel Lopez

Religious Conversion, Cosmopolitanism and the State in Early Modern Southeast Asia

15.30 – 16.00

Coffee/tea

B. BEYOND COSMOPOLITANISM

Panel 5: Subaltern Voices

Chair: Francis A. Gealogo

16.00 – 17.30

Mucha-Shim L. Quiling

Spanning Seas and Crossing Currents: Reconstructing Sama Dilaut of Bangsa Suluk Historiography in SEA Narratives of War, Trade and God

Kristyl Obispado, represented by John Lee Candelaria

Lucas de Araujo: A Life of an Indio Chino

Marya Svetlana T. Camacho

Binukot and Recogimiento: Enduring and Changing Meanings of the Seclusion of Women

19.00

Conference Dinner at Bistro Remedios

Thursday, 23 June

Location: NHCP

08.30 – 09.00 coffee/tea

Panel 6: War and Conflict

Chair: Maria Abrera

09.00 – 10.30

Eberhard Crailsheim

Polarized Enemies – Christian-Muslim Dichotomy in the Early Modern Philippines

Simon C. Kemper

Up the Makassar Strait: Early Modern Warfare around the Celebes Sea

Tristan Mostert

The Scramble for the Spices: European and Asian Competition in the Eastern Archipelago and the Position of Makasar, c. 1600-1637

10.30– 10.45 Coffee /tea

10.45 – 11.45 Sri Margana
[TBA]

Tatiana Seijas

The Moro Wars (1580-1640): Slavery, Imperial Competition, and Spanish Colonization in the Philippine Islands

11.45 – 13.00 Discussion

13.00 Lunch to go

Afternoon excursion to Manila Intramuros

Friday, 24 June

Excursion Tagaytay and Taal Lake

7.45 Bus leaves from Manila Pavilion Hotel

We expect to be back at the hotel around 18.00

Saturday, 25 June

Departures to airport

Abstracts

Sulu Before 17th Century: Revisiting the Past

Darwin J. Absari, Institute of Islamic Studies, University of the Philippines, Diliman

Sulu today is famous as the kidnapping and bombing capital of the Philippines. Because of this, the Tausugs (people of Sulu) have become the center of controversies and hated by many Filipinos who have known them only through the television and printed newspapers. But without the knowledge of many Filipinos, the Tausugs have at once reached the pinnacle of a highly civilized life. Some of the country's celebrated culture like dance is the Pangalay of the Tausugs.

Dr. Najeeb Saleeby (a Christian Lebanese physician) writing about the History of Sulu in 1908, states that, "while Manila and Cebu were still small and insignificant settlements, Sulu had reached the proportion of a city and was without exception, the richest and foremost settlement in the Philippine Islands. With the exception of Brunei, Sulu had no rival in northeast Malaysia prior to the 17th century." This rich civilization was however systematically written out in history.

This paper is an attempt to examine the making of Sulu civilization and highlight its living spiritual legacies in the lives of the Tausugs in particular and the entire country in general. It is hoped that it will contribute to the search for answer in understanding the long Mindanao conflict and to learn to engage the Tausugs as peace agents instead of peace headaches.

Economic and social interactions between the Spaniards and the Sangleyes of Manila in the 17th century.

Anna Busquets Alemany, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Spanish relations with China were not only with the mainland but also with the Chinese Diaspora in Manila. The few Chinese that the Spaniards encountered in the Philippines in 1564, raised dramatically in numbers by the end of the 16th century. During the first years, the Chinese lived among the Spaniards and Philippines' natives but, in 1581, Gonzalo de Ronquillo, the Spanish Governor in Manila, created a specific place to allot them, which was called, parian. From then on, the parian became the economic centre of the Spanish colony because the sangleyes – Philippines' Chinese- were engaged in all kinds of commercial activities and trades. Manila depended entirely upon them, both for their work and for their connections: some of them were members of the richest merchant families of China's southern provinces. In this context the relation between the Spaniards and the sangleyes became ambiguous. The Spanish colony needed economically the sangleyes both for the commercial activities that they controlled and also for the amounts that collected from them by way of various taxes, one of them being the one imposed over the Chinese games, one of the typical activities of the Chinese people. In Spanish archives, there are a lot of 17th century documents about the relationship between the Spaniards and the sangleyes in Manila, the images that the Spaniards had about these sangleyes and also about the convenience, or not, of the existence of a Chinese parian in Manila. The shaky relationship between the Spaniards and sangleyes led to several uprisings throughout the seventeenth century, in

1603, 1639, 1662 and 1686. This paper wants to explore the relations between the Spaniards of Manila and the sangleyes living there, and the economic and social effects that these interactions had both on the Spanish government and on the Spaniards and Chinese living in Manila, taking as main example the case of the Spanish tax imposed over Chinese gambling, and the problems that this tax and its recollection entailed.

Binukot and Recogimiento: Enduring and Changing Meanings of the Seclusion of Women

Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, University of Asia and the Pacific, Manila, Philippines

In the mid-eighteenth century, colonial officials recommended the conservation of several recogimientos, called alternatively beaterios, in Manila and the nearby pueblo of Pasig. In their eyes, the combination of religious and educational aims justified the existence of those institutions which were open to indias. The life of piety and practical womanly arts taught in those houses were thought adequate to prepare them for their key roles in the family and education of children who would be future subjects. The value of recogimiento characterized by modesty and domesticity would gain acceptance as central to the feminine ethos in colonial society. The figure of the beata as a Catholic cloistered woman with a quasi-religious status and mode of life paradoxically constituted a marked public presence of the spiritual. The recogimientos as enclosed spaces acquired institutional presence recognized readily in the urban landscape.

The notion and practice of claustration of women existed in pre-colonial societies in the Philippines. The term binukot, a woman kept in confinement and usually considered as high-born, may be found in lexicons of various Philippine languages from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, suggesting the continuance of the practice. The Spanish missionaries who authored those linguistic works easily associated the binukot with the Catholic cloistered nun. The secluded maiden, usually renowned for her beauty and special skills in womanly arts and knowledge of the community's lore, was prepared to be a prize bride for a husband equally of high status. The binukot's special location both physical and spiritual was also identified with access to the supernatural realm.

This paper explores the connections between binukot and recogimiento, and attempts to establish transition points between them. The binukot's similarity to some practices in island Southeast Asia will be introduced as an indication of further cross-cultural connections.

The multi-ethnic societies of the Spanish colonies in the Philippines and the New World, and their trade and consumption of Asian manufactured goods in the late 16th and early 17th centuries

Teresa Canepa, Independent Scholar

The multi-ethnic societies of the Spanish colonies in the Philippines and across the Pacific Ocean of the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru in the New World were involved in a highly profitable trade of Asian manufactured goods in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The founding of Manila on the Philippine Island of Luzon in 1571, only four years after a Ming maritime trade ban had been lifted, gave the Spanish the

ability to acquire valuable goods from Chinese and other Asian merchants that came there to trade. The so-called Manila galleon – known in Spanish as Nao de China or Nao de Acapulco – that traversed annually from the port of Cavite in Manila to Acapulco on the west coast of New Spain was the economic foundation of the colony in the Philippines. New Spain, situated at the crossroads of both Spanish trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes, not only facilitated the circulation of large quantities of Chinese silk and porcelain, as well as of Japanese lacquer imported via Manila within the two viceroalties, but also their re-export to the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and the motherland, Spain. This paper will examine textual and material sources that illustrate the different ways in which these imported Asian manufactured goods were traded, appreciated and used within the respective multi-ethnic colonial societies. These sources will show the widespread and lasting impact that these Asian goods had in New Spain and Peru, where they came to be integrated into the everyday life and households of a clientele of nearly all social classes and had a distinct function as markers of wealth and social status.

Christ and Culture in the Maritime Southeast Asia: A Religious Exploration

Fides del Castillo & Clarence Darro del Castillo, De La Salle University Manila, Philippines

The Western European entry in Asia sparked early in the 15th century in search for trade routes and missionary activities in the region. From the 15th to 18th century, Portugal, Spain, Netherlands and England pursued economic hegemony and engaged in trade expeditions to countries located in maritime Southeast Asia. Their endeavours shaped and influenced the socio-economic, politics and government, and the religious-cultural beliefs of the indigenous people of the Philippines, Brunei, East Malaysia, East Timor, and Indonesia.

Focusing on the religious missionary efforts of Portugal, Spain, Netherlands and England in the Christianization of the people of the maritime Southeast Asian region and using the Christ and Culture typology of H. Richard Niebuhr as an eye-lens, the paper shows how Christianity took root, spread, and flourished in the Philippines and East Timor. From the gospel-culture relationship typology, the paper draws the fundamental congruencies between the traditional religions of the indigenous people of the Philippines and East Timor and Catholic religion which contributed to the domestication of Christianity.

The same typology is used to situate and describe the interactions between Christianity and the indigenous religious culture of the people of Brunei, East Malaysia, and Indonesia. Analysis of the gospel-culture relationship reveals that various incongruencies between the traditional religions of the indigenous people of Brunei, East Malaysia, and Indonesia and Catholic Christianity hindered the growth and pre-eminence of the Catholic religion in the aforementioned countries.

Polarized Enemies – Christian-Muslim Dichotomy in the Early Modern Philippines

Eberhard Craillsheim, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales - Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, Spain

When the Spaniards arrived on the Philippines at the end of the 16th century, they were full of predefined conceptions of what they would find there. One of the strongest ideas was that of the “Moro enemies”, which they would encounter there. Since early on, the Spanish attempt to dominate the region has clashed with the claims of the sultanates on a commercial, religious as well as commercial level. The Spaniards arriving in Manila knew of these problems and associated the concept of Muslim enemies with what they knew from their European experiences and narratives. Only in the Philippines itself, these conceptions met with the reality and revealed the differences between Moriscos, Ottomans and Philippines Moros.

In any case, the struggle of Christian Manila against Muslim Mindanao, Jolo, Brunei or Ternate was a constant factor in the Spanish history on the Philippines from the 16th to the 19th century. This paper takes a closer look at where these conceptions were based, how they changed and which continuities exist. Moreover, it intends partially to understand the other side of the conflict by tracing the Muslim perceptions of the Other. Finally, it takes a look at the Christian natives and asks how they sided with the Spaniards and why this happened. As a conclusion the paper asks if the “Moro threat” even had the potential to foster the Spanish-native relations, contributing to a peculiar Christian identity of the Philippine population

Policing the Hispano-Asian Cosmopolis: Ethno-Religious Exclusion and Convivencia in Manila’s Commissariat of the Inquisition, 1590-1650

Ryan Crewe, University of Colorado, Denver, United States

In the historiography of early modern global interactions, seventeenth-century Manila has come to figure prominently for its economic significance as a vital commercial entrepôt. Yet the very same trade routes that converged in Manila were also conduits of more overlooked processes of migration, mestizaje (intermixing of peoples), and colonialism. Contrary to its peripheral position in Latin American and Asian historiographies, Manila was in many ways the center – the cosmopolis – of an emerging Hispano-Asian Pacific World that was forged by people circulating between Spanish America, the Philippine Islands, and maritime Asia. Manila was, at once, both a multicultural emporium and a city intended to proclaim Spanish imperial and evangelical ambitions in Asia. Manila’s convivencia – the often tense living-together of cultures that was both a by-product and condition of its commerce – clashed with the ethno-religious exclusivism that was central to Spanish colonial power relations and imperial designs. This study explores these tensions between pluralism and ethno-religious exclusivism by examining the efforts of the Commissariat of the Inquisition (comisaría) in Manila. As the local branch of the distant Mexican Inquisition, the Commissariat was itself a frontier between the colonizing world of Spanish America and the networks of maritime Asia. Trial and administrative records reveal the inquisitors’ mostly frustrated attempts to police creed and caste on the porous maritime frontiers of Manila and the Philippines. Ultimately, the Commissariat’s ineffectiveness as an institution, as well as its accommodations to local society, is a testament to the limits of Spanish religious exclusivism in this cosmopolitan port. In effect, the very institution intended to delineate and guard ethno-religious boundaries in Manila is itself evidence of a pervasive convivencia that, though volatile, was vital to Manila’s commercial power.

Holy War, Race, and Citizenship in the early modern Catholic Republic of the Philippines

Kristie Flannery, the University of Texas at Austin, United States

In the mid eighteenth century Manila's multi-ethnic population responded to the calls to support the Catholic colony's reinvigorated war against the slave-raiding moro (Muslim) pirates based in the Southern Philippines archipelago, or the region James Warren described as the 'Sulu Zone'. Spaniards, Mexicans, Indigenous Filipinos, Chinese, Indians, and Armenians living in this Asian metropolis donated silver, weapons, and ships to the armadas preparing to attack the enemy. They joined the solemn religious processions that passed through Manila's streets begging the Virgin Mary to aid and protect the soldiers and sailors heading into battle. Whether they were sincere or strategic, these public performances of Hispanic patriotism affirmed loyalty to their 'two majesties'; King of Spain and the Catholic Church.

Using maps, manuscripts, and rare books collected in archives in Asia, the Americas, and Spain, this paper analyses the complex formation of inter-Asian linkages through a religious lens. It considers how the rhetoric and practice of Holy War defined the mid-eighteenth century 'Catholic Republic' of the Philippines as part of the transoceanic Hispanic monarchy while fortifying the real and imagined borders between the Philippines and its neighbouring Islamic states. Significantly, it also explores the ways in which Holy War created opportunities for diverse individuals and groups to be incorporated into colonial Manila society as Catholic vassals of the Spanish monarch, which we might consider an early modern mode of citizenship. The Moro Wars became the foundation of the colonial bargain between the colonial government and the many Asian vassals of the King of Spain.

Trained as a historian of the global Spanish Empire, my approach is strongly influenced by currents in the historiography of colonial Latin America, including ideas about indio conquistadors, go-betweens, vassalage, and polycentric monarchies. I consider how these concepts apply to, and help us understand, colonial society in the Philippines at the crossroads of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Accidental Crossings, World Orders and the "Iberian Archive" in the Seventeenth-Century China Sea

Jorge Flores, Professor of Early Modern Global History, Department of History and Civilization, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

The present paper covers most of the seventeenth century and moves from Manila to Taiwan to Nagasaki, with the Portuguese-Chinese city of Macau always at the backdrop. The work deals with a set of shipwrecks and accidental journeys in the China Sea, episodes that are not totally unknown but were never considered together or approached from the perspective we seek to explore. We will connect the dots between the unexpected arrival of three Chinese officials to Manila in 1603 (on the eve of the first Sangley massacre), the captive life of a Macanese castaway called Salvador Dias between the Pescadores and Taiwan in 1622-26, and the undesired Portuguese visit to Nagasaki in 1685 following the shipwreck of a Japanese ship in Macau.

The study of possible commonalities between these three cases will lead us to address problems of translation and communication, intelligence-gathering and ethnography across the China Sea. This paper will also shed light on the tensions between the different world orders at stake (Iberian, Chinese, Japanese) and ultimately intends to reflect on the construction of a Macau-Manila archive concerning the two main East Asian political formations; a “floating data-base” comprising texts and images on bureaucratic and juridical practices, as well as political rituals and protocol

From Mediterranean to Philippines: the Idea of Jihad and the local identity

Reza Said Huseini, Leiden University, the Netherlands

When Sahykh Zaynuddin was writing his narration of the battle of Chaliyam (1571) in his Tufat al-Mujahidin, he felt the presence of the Portuguese as a major threat. Not far from his homeland, the Aceh Sultans were already in war against the Portuguese forces and had the Ottoman’s generous supports. Simultaneously to the Chaliyam battle, the Spanish monarch Philip II with the help of Venetian and papal galleys defeated the Ottoman navy at Lepanto off the coast of Greece. Some Muslim veterans of this battle sailed to Philippines to fight the Spanish. These veterans had to pass both Kerala and Aceh coasts to reach Philippines. In other words, Philippines became a ground for physical clash between the forces and an intellectual clash explained in texts. For the Spanish, Philippines has viewed by the council of Mania as a great opportunity for Spanish to invade China and for the spiritual expansion conducted by the Jesuits.

For the Muslim fighters it was a place to stop this expansion. This paper will attempt to understand what motivated the Muslim veterans to chose Philippines in the first place and did their religious and political ideology influenced the locals? Was this a response to an appeal for struggle against the colonial force in the Indian Ocean manifested in Zaynuddin’s work? And what was the locals’ response to this appeal and did they find themselves being part of that larger world?

Filipino Church Musicians at Home and Abroad in the Early Modern Period

David Irving, Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, The University of Melbourne, Australia

From the start of systematic Spanish colonization of the Philippines in 1565, European music theory and practice were introduced to local populations. As was the case in Latin America, music pedagogy appears to have produced relatively rapid results, with archival evidence attesting to indigenous musicians’ performance of European plainchant and polyphony, and their playing of European instruments, within the first few decades of Spanish colonial presence in the archipelago. The hispanization of Filipino music, and the attendant processes of transculturation that underpinned what José Maceda called the transformation of “the musical thinking of a people into a Latin expression,” can be seen in even higher relief when it becomes apparent that Filipino musicians themselves

sometimes became agents for the dissemination of certain kinds of Hispanic music in neighbouring territories, including Japan, China, the Marianas, and – more distantly – Mexico. A small but significant number of Filipino church musicians accompanied missionaries in their evangelistic endeavours throughout the region, and this raises questions about the social status and liminality of ecclesiastical musicians, the agency of these individual musicians, and the ways in which cross-cultural communication was inflected when European music was mediated through Filipino musicians to other non-European populations. This paper first explores the Filipino absorption and appropriation of Western music, the pedagogy of which was perpetuated within Filipino society without direct European intervention; it then examines case studies of Filipino musicians who performed Western music outside the Philippines, reflecting on issues including transculturation and mobility.

The Reception of Rococo art in the Philippines: mid-18th-early 19th Centuries

Regalado Trota José, Archives of the University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines

Rococo as an art style became prevalent in Europe from the early decades of the 18th century to about the 1770s. Its roots were in France, but it flourished in Central Europe. It found favor in Spain and Portugal, but it was especially popular in Latin America, surviving in places like Brazil up to the early 1800s. It was very decorative, with a bias for asymmetry and irregular forms enclosed in delicate, if fragile, lines. It was a lightening up of baroque energy, so to speak, often eschewing the previous style's twisted columns but nonetheless radiating a sense of nervous electricity. Dated examples of rococo art in the Philippines range from the 1750s to the early 1800s. The earliest manifestations of rococo art in the Philippines are in engraved illustrations and decorations in books printed in Manila beginning in the 1750s. Eventually, rococo motifs spread to church facades and smaller pieces of movable art. This paper will seek to examine how rococo art forms, nurtured in Europe and Latin America, were accepted and interpreted in the Philippines two oceans away from the original source. Can influences from other cultures, such as the Chinese, be found in these rococo interpretations? How prevalent was rococo, and how did it develop through the latter part of the 18th century? Who were its major artists: were they Spaniards, or Filipinos? Who were the clients of rococo artists? Did rococo art “die” in the Philippines?

Up the Makassar Strait: The Role of South Sulawesi in the Warfare and Islamic Brotherhoods of Ternate and Maguindanao

Simon Carlos Kemper, Leiden University, the Netherlands

The island of Sulawesi divides the Malay archipelago into its Southwestern and Northeastern waters. It is a frontier between the main Islamic Sultanates of the Java Sea (Banjarmasin, Banten and Mataram) and those of the Celebes and Molucca Sea (Maguindanao, Sulu and Ternate). The Makassar strait connects the two and the city

after which it is named, Makassar, was an important bridgehead between them. While Makassar protrudes the Java Sea, its Makassarese and neighbouring Bugi inhabitants circumnavigated Sulawesi and explored the Northeastern waters too. This Northeastern mobility, however, has hardly been given attention. Whereas the Bugi and Makassarese traders, religious scholars and warriors moving in the vast span between Johor and Sumbawa are gradually entering the academic limelight, those going Northeastwards are still unheard of. We only gain clues of them from Bugis crossing the Celebes sea, Boné Qur'ans reaching Ternate and Maguindanao and the escaped Makassarese and Bugi slaves used by Maguindanao in peace and war.

Diplomatic letters, religious genealogies (silsilah), chronicles, oral histories and VOC reports can tell us more about the South Sulawesi diaspora in the Northeastern waters. During my talk, I will explore these sources in the light of my research interests in warfare and Sufi brotherhoods. Earlier I already demonstrated how the Makassarese were partly excluded from a Sufi network that ranged between Banjarmasin, Banten and Mataram and centred on the holy shrine of Giri. This exclusion dramatically affected the martial alliances of the diaspora. Interestingly, Giri's Sufi network reached all the way to Ternate and even Maguindanao whose chronologies stress how Islam was received from Giri or mention how proselytization came from that direction. I will discuss how Giri Sufism affected the Bugi and Makassarese role in Ternate and Maguindanao, especially concerning military matters. While secondary literature is limited, I do have access to enough primary material for comparing the Southwestern and Northeastern seas. The efforts of the Corts Foundation resulted in a selection of relevant diplomatic letters, authors like Shinzo Hayase extensively collected genealogies in the region and my planned field work on Ambon and Ternate after next week's conference in Makassar will immediately allow me to do conduct interviews in Ternate. In other words, the door is open to explore the South Sulawesi migration beyond the Southwestern seas into the North Molukkas and the contemporary Southern Philippines.

In Between Many Worlds of One Law. Arab, Malay and Filipino Legal Intermixtures of Shāfiʿism in the Luwaran

Mahmood Kooria, Leiden University, the Netherlands

Following the arrival of Jesuit missionaries in Solo and conversion of its sultan Muhammad 'Azīm al-Dīn I (r.1735—73) into Christianity, the kingdom witnessed a series of wars led by Bantilan who claimed to “die for the law of Muhammad”. In the same period, the neighboring sultanate at Maguindanao also was going through a duress of civil wars, which ended by the rise of Pakir Maulana Kamsa as “amīr al-mu'minīn” claiming a more through Islamic identity. These developments in the mid-eighteenth century in southern Philippines contrasted drastically with an earlier image of Filipino Muslims as completely ignorant of Islam, and who “will tell you that they do not know Muhammad, not even his name, nor do they know what and how his commandments were”, as an anonymous sixteenth-century Spanish author put it. Instead, they explicated to stand in lines with what Mechlor de Avalos, a leader of the conservative party in sixteenth-century Manila, described them as being part of a larger dangerous network that closely connected the Muslims of Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, Sumatra and Brunei. By the 1750s, Bantilan in Solo and Pakir Kamsa in Maguindanao constructed stronger realm of

Islam either with indirect supports of the Ottomans or direct encounters with the Spaniards. A visible outcome of this Islamic reformulation was the codification of their laws (eventually known as the Luwaran or the laws of Magindanao) with explicit dominance of Shari'at laws. The code, as available today, tells us its various sources including Minhāj and Mir'āt al-tullāb written by Arab and Malay Islamic scholars. In this paper, I investigate the extents of the Shāfi'īte textual impacts on the early modern and modern Filipino Islamic legal constructions. I would analyze how each Middle Eastern/Arab (Minhāj) and Southeast Asian/Malay (Mir'āt) text contributed to the making of a Shāfi'īte legal discourse in and around the Sulu Sea in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Co-opting Empire: A Transpacific Vision of the Chinese mestizo community in Manila, 1770- 1820.

Ruth de Llobet, GRIMSE, University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain

Recent transpacific studies highlight intra-colonial relations within the Spanish empire, painting a nuanced picture, but even these regard the Philippines as an appendix of America, linked and defined by the galleon. On the other hand, most Philippine-based studies do not regard the archipelago's transpacific history as integral to Philippine history, considering it instead an external element associated with the Spanish colonizing enterprise, and not with the islands and the ethnically and "nationally" diverse peoples that inhabited them, with transpacific exchanges reduced to an economic dimension. Both perspectives fail to consider the indivisibility of the social, cultural and historical processes that shaped Philippine society, and the global/transnational processes in which the archipelago was inserted, not only as a Spanish colony, but also as an open space dynamically integrated in transpacific affairs. Through the Chinese mestizo community of Manila at the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries, this paper explores how transpacific networks and processes were redefined in the archipelago, fueling a creative internal historical force that was transformed repeatedly during the remainder of the Spanish colonial period. Chinese mestizos used their economic power to encourage a set of sociopolitical changes that would bolster their social and political position by the last quarter of the 18th century, co-opting, so to speak, the empire. Among such changes, the paper addresses how the community worked to create a militia; their attempts to found a convent for mestizo women; and the marital alliances with white and non-white groups alike. Furthermore Chinese mestizos embodied the geographic complexity of Philippine history and society during the colonial period, for they not only internalized the Hispanic transpacific experience, but also the Austronesian and Chinese cultural exchanges and integration. Thus, this community is a gate to understand how the Hispanic legacy was redefined within the archipelago, creating a new sociopolitical reality.

Religious Conversion, Cosmopolitanism and the State in Early Modern Southeast Asia
Ariel Lopez, Leiden University, the Netherlands

One seemingly influential view on Protestant, Catholic and Islamic conversions in early modern insular Southeast Asia is that the lure of cosmopolitanism is one of the crucial

reasons for gaining converts. In *A History of Southeast Asia: Critical Crossroads* (2015), Anthony Reid argues that ‘the impetus that drove Southeast Asians to adopt such [scriptural] religions was similar—a commercial, cosmopolitan, competitive environment that shook the foundations of older local beliefs’ (p. 96). While the arrival of these ‘world religions’ certainly enriched the cultural repertoire in Southeast Asian coastal polities, it is highly doubtful whether mass conversions could be explained by cosmopolitanism alone. This paper draws examples from Sulawesi, Mindanao and elsewhere in the Philippines to argue for the primacy of the often coercive apparatus of the state. In particular, it examines the fiscal regimes that often accompanied and indeed underpinned most of these conversions.

Title TBA

Sri Margana, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Civility and Corruption in early modern travel-accounts in the India ocean, eighteenth century

Dale Menezes, Leiden University, the Netherlands

Early modern travel-accounts of the Indian Ocean are wide in their scope of description. They seek to describe (mainly) coastal societies, customs, manners, political organization, and peoples from Africa, Arabia, Persia, India, Southeast-Asia, and China and Japan. Thus, in their scope they tend to emphasize on viewing the world as a whole. This paper attempts to discuss the discourse that the early modern travel-accounts produced and link them to intellectual genealogies of the Classical and Middle Ages. ‘Civility and Corruption’ refers to a hierarchizing discourse of ethnography and ethnology that organizes peoples and societies on a graded scale based on European and Christian notions of behavior and being. There will also be an attempt to discuss the manner in which this discourse was employed to understand and organize the immense amount of new data that the European travelers encountered in the Indian Ocean. While the focus will be on the Indian Ocean, the theoretical basis of what constitutes ‘Civility and Corruption’ will be based on partly on the experience of the Dutch in India and Africa (from the work of Ernst van den Boogaart) and the Spanish experience in Latin America (from the work of Anthony Pagden). This theoretical basis will be used to analyze the experience of the Portuguese empire in the Indian Ocean. There will be an emphasis on the travel-account of Friar Domingo Navarrete, who traveled from Spain to Latin America and from there onwards to the Philippines and India, to suggest that there was a common pool of ideas from which writers then drew from, thereby dwelling on the common linkages within the Indian Ocean.

The scramble for the spices: European and Asian competition in the Eastern Archipelago and the position of Makasar, c. 1600-1637.

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The early 17th century saw the attempts of the various European powers in Asia to expand or retain their position in the spices from the Moluccas. The English and Dutch rivalled over the Banda Islands, the Portuguese and Spanish, unified under one crown, attempted to retain their position on Ternate, Tidore and the Ambon islands, using the Spanish Philippines as a base of operations, and the Danes sent their fleets to participate in the trade. Local leaders continuously resisted these European attempts at increased control.

Meanwhile the state of Makasar, based on South Sulawesi, was also on the rise as a regional power. Its interests and involvement in the Moluccas predated those of the VOC, and in the course of the 17th century it became a harbour where European and Asian traders alike would come to buy their spices and trade other high-value goods. While Makasar was on the one hand a proud bandar, or free harbour, it also had to participate in the political and military scramble in the Moluccas, in order to preserve its continued access to these spices. The increasing Dutch success at monopolizing the spice trade in the course of this period inevitably brought Makasar and the VOC into conflict – a conflict that was not only economic, but also political and territorial, and that had a scope well beyond South-Sulawesi. In this paper, I will explore the scramble for the spices that took place in the early 17th century within the wider context of the global spice trade, with specific attention to the evolving role of Makasar.

Lucas de Araujo: a life of an Indio Chino

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In 1645, Lucas, a 10 year old slave of Francisco de Araujo in the City of Manila, Philippines, was sold to a pilot of the galleon under General Don Pedro de Sarabia. He was then brought to Nueva España to be sold as a slave to Sancho de Hoyos, a cacahuate vendor. Seventeen years after, he was tried for blasphemy and put into prison.

Lucas and his parents who hailed from the City of Manila were all slaves. Although slavery was forbidden in the Philippines, and although Nueva España prohibited the entry of slaves from Manila towards the end of 16th century, it was never stopped because of the profit that Manila slave traders gained at Acapulco.

Through the life story of Lucas de Araujo, this paper aims to examine the transformation of an indio filipino into an indio chino; their profile, origin, and identity; the role of the galleon in their transformation; and the social, spiritual, and legal factors that shaped their identity in Nueva España.

Local and metropolitan agencies during the Bourbon reforms in the Philippines

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During the 18th Century, several reform processes were undertaken in the Spanish Empire aimed at the economic, commercial and fiscal spheres, in what is often labeled as the “Bourbon reforms”. All European empires at the time engaged in similar processes in order to strengthen governmental control in the economic and political life of the colonies. As regards the Philippines, these reforms did not take place until the last third

of the Century, as a result of the British invasion of the archipelago in 1762–64 during the Seven Years' War. Reforms gave way, in the medium and long term, to a higher degree of regional and global economic integration of the islands. This smoothed the transition from the old Galleon trade to the plantation export model during the first decades of the 19th Century. A major metropolitan presence and control were a result of these reforms. However, this did not hinder an increase of interactions with local realities in the colony, both through collaboration or conflict, between Spanish subjects – creoles and peninsulares, or metropolitan, besides natives – and other human groups, both European – mainly British – and Asian. This paper will put forward a varied approach of the economic integration of the Philippines during the reforms, pointing to diversity in the interactions between groups. It will also provide examples going beyond the Galleon – and through it, showing networks surrounding it –, rejecting approaches of the Spanish possession as an isolated colony. It will thus display active entanglements and various groups' agencies, both local and metropolitan, not always so-evident distinctions.

Durant el darrer terç del segle XVIII, van tenir lloc diversos processos reformistes al conjunt de l'imperi espanyol a les esferes econòmica, comercial i fiscal, en el que sovint es refereix amb l'etiqueta genèrica de «reformisme borbònic». En general, aquestes busquen enfortir el control del govern sobre la vida econòmica del país. En el cas concret de Filipines, el paquet de mesures implementat va suposar, a més, una resposta immediata a la invasió britànica de 1762-64 –al mateix temps que havia tingut lloc la de l'Havana– durant la Guerra dels Set Anys. Les reformes van donar lloc, a mitjà i llarg termini, a una major integració econòmica de Filipines a la regió i a l'economia global, que va fer que la transició entre la fi del Galió i el model basat en les exportacions de plantacions no fos sobtada, sinó efectuada amb anterioritat de manera gradual, consolidada durant les primeres dècades del segle XIX. Mentre que les reformes suposaven, al conjunt de l'imperi, una tendència a una major presència i control metropolitans, això no va evitar un increment de les interaccions, ja fos mitjançant la col·laboració o el conflicte, entre els subjectes de la corona espanyola –criolls i peninsulars, a més dels nadius filipins– i d'altres grups humans, tant europeus –especialment britànics– com asiàtics. D'aquesta manera, aquesta presentació mirarà d'aportar una visió variada del procés d'integració de Filipines, mostrant la diversitat d'interaccions que s'estableixen entre els grups, facilitant exemples que vagin més enllà del Galió –i també a través d'aquest, tot mostrant-ne les xarxes que es conformaven al seu voltant–, rebutant les visions de la possessió espanyola com a colònia aïllada i per contra, mostrant-ne els actius entrelaçaments i l'agència dels diversos grups implicats, ja fossin locals com metropolitans, distincions no sempre evidents.

I think a paper assessing the increase of the Spanish presence in the East Asia seas from the 1760s onwards perhaps would fit in, showing the Spaniards' interaction with other groups, as a part of a process of wider metropolitan involvement in the colonial arena.

«On the one hand, studies have continually shown the commercial centrality of this seemingly peripheral colony. On the other hand, others have emphasized the indefatigable agency of local societies in reshaping—if not subverting—foreign rule. Can these various perspectives be interwoven?»

«As the conveners of the conference, we seek contributions that (a) focus on the Philippines as a connected cultural zone, (b) suggest comparisons with or (c) connections to the wider Pacific region (including other parts of East, Southeast Asia, Americas), or (d) provide new insights into some wider cultural developments (in literature, mission) which affected the early-modern Philippine scene.»

Tractar de rebatre, mitjançant l'anàlisi de les maniobres del govern metropolità per incrementar el procés d'integració de l'economia filipina a la regió i al món –les anomenades Reformes Borbòniques–, les visions que presenten Filipines com una colònia aïllada, més enllà del simple Galeón. Es tractarà més d'hipòtesis més que no pas de certeses, en un treball que encara és molt incipient. S'apuntaran cap a aquells elements d'interacció dels espanyols, sigui tant per la col·laboració com per la confrontació, que mantindran amb d'altres europeus, sobre tot britànics –però no pas únicament–. En això, Filipines es va integrant cada cop més a la regió i a l'economia mundial, procés que no es pot dir que es consolidi, però, fins a principis del segle XIX.

Spanning Seas and Crossing Currents: Reconstructing Sama Dilaut of Bangsa Suluk Historiography in SEA Narratives of War, Trade and God

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The Bangsa Suluk historical connectivity to the Southeast Asian region may be figured as a religious Intellectual movement sailing through trade, war and god in the classic maritime domain of Sri Vijayan Nusantara of the 1500 century. Nusantara was a flourishing political-economy that now only exists in the realm of myth but hardly captures popular imagination that is suffused by knowledge based on western scientificism and documentary evidences. Its remnants in collective memory is contained in oral tradition and primary source narratives that are seldom ever listened to. Contemporary political developments and geopolitical realignments arising and riding on the surging tide of globalization have seen it reconfiguring into the aggrupation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), that exists not only in social memory but very much monumentalized in documentary and legal instruments and bureaucratic polity. However, there is yet another unexplored dimension of the conglomeration of Southeast Asian societies, with religion and spirituality as the organizing elements, albeit little known and less ventured by researchers. The Sulu archipelago remains to be a living hub of such maritime economy and politics imbued with traditional religiosity and

spirituality. Known as Ahlus Suluk or People of the Path, the people of Sulu archipelago can best represent the microcosm of that SEA societies angled from the vantage of the spiritual and religious.

Remembrances of processes in history-making and identity-formation are borne in language and meaning that society, as it grapples with modernity and tradition, keeps as collective and social memories. Such remembrances are periodically rehearsed and rehashed as stories of a journey physically and metaphorically embarked by a people -- sea borne and maritime-based – Sama Dilaut as part of the bigger nomenclature of the Bangsa Suluk or Ahlus Sulus – as path-seekers of faith and searchers of religious knowledge.

This anthology of memoirs and journals on (re)settlement, trade and migration among sea-nomadic and indigenous Sama Dilaut (Philippine Badjao) were texts held to contain significant traces of voices and values on their Ways of Knowing about themselves (i.e. identity) and about their primordial connection to ancestral past as listened to, retold and written in oral and performative texts. Tools of knowledge and the power deployed for its utilization were seen as significant aspects in the indigenous society's process of knowing about their selfhood and their origin. So that more than as objects of knowledge or asking "What do they know", the inquiry was interested in the ways and procedures of knowledge production and was inclined to the question of "How do they know".

As indigenous and minority community, the Sama Dilaut, like other minority sectors such as women are presumed to be voiceless and marginal whose intellectual competence and capacity for knowledge production have been largely undervalued. This study attempted to fabricate tools to analyze how marginal communities such as the Sama Dilaut might perceive their identity and history from the ambits of truth, knowledge and authority. This looks from the insider's perspectives of knowers predisposition to knowledge and process of knowing from the perspectives of silence or 'not knowing anything', from knowing as subjectivity in how the 'voice within' spoke and was listened to; and from knowing as a procedure of interconnectedness as borne by their natural orientation and belongingness to the sea and maritime environment.

The Moro Wars (1580-1640): Slavery, Imperial Competition, and Spanish Colonization in the Philippine Islands

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The article examines cross-cultural interactions between Iberians and Muslims during the period of Iberian Union (1580-1640), when one king held sway over two world empires. Spanish colonists expressed grave concern upon finding that many inhabitants of the Philippines were Muslims (called Moros). A Muslim chief ruled the southwestern part of Luzon Island – where the colonial capital Manila was established – and the nearby

islands of Mindanao and Jolo were firmly part of the Islamic world. The layout of this religious and cultural landscape prompted centuries of open conflict, with the Moro Wars (1565-1663) chief among them. The scholarship has not previously contextualized this warring period within the broader history of Early Modern warfare and imperial competition. Nor have historians fully explained Spain's ultimate failure to establish settlements in Muslim strongholds. This study employs archival sources, such as the correspondence of governors and religious figures, in order to map out the ongoing Spanish-Muslim conflict and to explore its connection to varied economic and diplomatic matters. Among the primary topics to be discussed are: slavery; Portuguese contraband; Dutch Protestant threat; regional armaments race. To what extent did the Spanish government perceive this fight as a continuation of the Reconquista? What drove them to expend valuable resources in this seemingly futile fight? Answers to these questions shed light on the ways Muslim soldiers thwarted Spain's colonial project and raised contemporary concerns about the over-reach of empire.

The Chinese Illustrations of the Boxer Codex

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The Boxer Codex is a late 16th-century manuscript named after Charles Boxer who, in 1947, purchased it at an auction, now held by the Lilly Library in Indiana. As a text, its value lies in the fact that it contains a large amount of ethnographic information concerning the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. It is believed to have been commissioned in the last decade of the 16th century and given that it is supposed to have been present in Madrid in 1610, it was probably the most complete source on the inhabitants of the Philippines at the time. As such, it has been used quite widely as a source in scholarship on the pre-colonial and 16th century ethnography of the Philippines.

The focus of interest here, however, is the illustrations accompanying the text. Scholars have concluded that a Chinese artist is responsible for their execution, a conclusion which is easy to fathom given the substantial Chinese population that inhabited the islands, as well as the recognition by the Spanish of Chinese skill in the arts. The Boxer Codex therefore represents a very interesting composite cultural artefact: with its epistemological and textual roots in Europe, artistic style drawn from China and subject focus on the Philippines, it embodies the Philippines as a cultural crossroads in the early modern period. This paper is interested in placing the Boxer Codex in a European tradition of illustrated ethnographic texts, while focusing on the use of illustrations in a Chinese style to understand how the confluence of the two was possible. Thus, the paper attempts to understand how the traditions of European ethnography and the style of Chinese illustration were commensurable.

Mission, interactions, charity: Franciscan labor on rescuing abandoned Chinese children in Early Modern Manila.

Marina Torres Trimállez, University of Cantabria, Spain

This research deals with the analysis of Early Modern Franciscan missions of charity to rescue abandoned Chinese children in Manila. This city became a key point in all types of exchanges between Europeans and Asians. Funds to sustain this charitable aims came from this enclave and many of those children were sent to Philippine Christian institutions to get them raised. In the light of this trend, I explain connected histories that reflect pluralistic and complex realities in which that filial piety described and admired by the missionaries was at the same time called into question because a pressing reality in the Dragon Empire. Furthermore, religious pious work was also marked by deeper interests. This paper explores the information provided by the study of manuscripts of the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental in order to analyze the nature of this phenomenon, its cost, the number of children, age, gender and destiny of those who ended up living not only between oceans but among cultures. In the end, the reconstruction of the mission versions of charity will shape some forms of charity that the religious order translate from the European and Christian roots to the native societies and cultures.

The global and the local in early modern Manila's spaces of communication

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In my book on early modern Chinese, Japanese and Iberian relations in the Philippines I discuss the impact of inter-group dynamics on Manila's development as a port city. Combining the global and the local in macro-regional comparison and connections of economic and political trends, I argue that Manila was the place of actual decision-making rather than just a so-called 'way station' between Acapulco and Fujian. While the latter has long been repeated in influential historical studies, recent stimulating publications on trans-Pacific cross-cultural exchange have contributed significant material for a more nuanced picture. Yet while scholars nowadays agree that in the first half of the 17th century Manila determined various exchange processes in the China Seas and beyond, we still know little about how it happened. Comprehensive studies on trans-cultural communication processes on the spot are still scarce. What is more, our knowledge about urban interaction in Manila is astonishingly limited. This paper aims to focus on the actual actors who made trans-cultural administration and communication possible and provide answers to the question how multi-ethnic exchange shaped the lives on Manila's streets, waterways, public and semi-private spaces including intramuros, the Audiencia, the parians or Cavite. Court records, marginal notes of official reports and observations of chroniclers shall help to overcome data scarcity. A global micro history approach will help to access the local voices and indigenous elements of multi-

dimensional communication, administration and bargaining processes in the urban and extra-urban space of Manila.

Strange Monopoly, Elusive Arbitrage: The Making of Dutch-Chinese Collaboration in the Spice Islands, 1614-1622

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What made the collaboration between the Chinese and the Europeans in the early colonial Maluku Islands different from the well-known cases in Manila and in Batavia? I think the answer lies in the nature of Dutch policy in Maluku, monopoly, and the character of Chinese trade in Maluku, arbitrage, as well as their special relationship: strange monopoly vis-à-vis elusive arbitrage.

Whereas the meaning of monopoly needs no explanation to most colonial historians, the term, arbitrage, deserves justification. With the inspiration of Prof. Michael Szonyi's speech, I borrow it from today's financial and commodity market to the studies of early modern Southeast Asia. There are two types of arbitrage relevant to this research: "arbitrage" and "regulatory arbitrage". In this study, the plain meaning of "arbitrage" is transactions to obtain profits with no risk by taking advantage of differences in commodity prices between one market and another, and "regulatory arbitrage" means transactions to avoid the impacts of monopoly regulation.

By reading both Dutch and Chinese sources, I argue that, before Coen became the Governor-General of the VOC in 1618, Chinese traders, like many other Asian traders, made arbitrage between different counterparties in the world of Maluku, such as the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the local rulers, because their rivalry distorted commodities prices in local and global markets. After Coen became the Governor-General, he initially tried to expel all of Asian traders from the Maluku Islands, but, as this policy turned out to be impractical, he chose to leave the Chinese as "regulated arbitrageurs" to replace other "unregulated arbitrageurs" in order to maintain his strange monopoly policy.

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Economic and Social History of the Orient and currently is a member of the editorial boards of *Itinerario* and *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin*. He contributes regularly to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and just recently to the *Cambridge World History*. As (co-)director of the NWO-Horizon project on Eurasian Empires (<http://hum.leiden.edu/history/eurasia>) and the Cosmopolis-programme (<http://hum.leiden.edu/history/cosmopolisprojects>) his current work takes an ever more global and connective turn by exploring various early-modern manifestations of Eurasian Cosmopolitanism. In 2014 he was elected member of *Academia Europaea*.

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Over the past thirty years, **Regalado Trota José** has advocated for the study and protection of the cultural heritage of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. His studies at the University of the Philippines (A.B. Anthropology, 1978; M.A. Philippine Studies, 1991) were augmented by extensive travels around the country and the world (both through research grants and as a member of the University of the Philippines Madrigal

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Simon C. Kemper is a doctoral candidate at the Leiden University Institute for History and Gadjah Mada University. He researches the late seventeenth century warfare destroying the Central Javanese sawahs and South Sulawesian coasts and devastating their population. But instead of describing bloodshed, he write about the charisma of warlords, the diversity among their followers and the itineraries they took. Mobility and fraternity stand central, as does the religious glue sticking troops together. The administration of the Dutch East India Company, the oral histories of shrines and the Javanese and Sulawesian court manuscripts reveal these aspects and unravel a military labour market involving European, Javanese, Sulawesian, Malay, Balinese, Madurese and Moluccan warriors shifting allegiances. Overlords, warlords and Batavia all tried to recruit them, but their demand required adaptation to numerous war cults and small warbands travelling around and across the Java Sea. Most of these cults turn out to centre on shrines spread over the Javanese and Sulawesian landscape. Complemented with a geographical and quantitative analysis of troop movements, deciphering these cults will explain how and why armies came to be. Understanding this makes it easier to fathom the waves of destruction flowing over the Java Sea as well as the quiet water in between in which warriors turned back to farmers but war cults still lasted.

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Ruth de Llobet studied her B.A. on Roman archaeology at the University of Barcelona and her MA degree on Spanish colonial history at the University Pompeu Fabra, in Barcelona, Spain. She obtained her doctoral degree on Southeast Asian History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, under the advice of Alfred W. McCoy with a dissertation entitled, "Orphans of Empire: Bourbon Reforms, Constitutional Impasse and the Rise of Filipino -Creole Consciousness in an Age of Revolution". She was a postdoctoral fellow at KITLV, at Leiden, the Netherlands, and she was recently a FASS postdoctoral fellow at the National University of Singapore. She is currently a visiting researcher within the Research Group on Empires Metropolis and Extra-European Societies (GRIMSE) research team at the University Pompeu Fabra of Barcelona, Spain.

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Awards

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Research stays

- February-June 2015 – Department of History, University of Chicago (Chicago, IL)
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My research is aimed at the Spanish presence in the Western trade in China and by extension, in East Asia, between 1760 and 1840. My interest focuses in defining Spanish activities in a regional and global context, thereby determining the Spaniards' interplay with other Western and Asian traders. In a more specific fashion, I research into the Spanish involvement in the opium trade, as well as the activities of the Spanish Royal Philippine Company, which was a chartered company created by the Spanish monarchy

in the end of the 18th Century, aimed at promoting economic development in the rearguard of the Spanish empire.

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Mucha-Shim Lahaman Quiling Ibno is a native of Sulu and considers herself the traditional Bangsa Suluk for she is a hybrid of the Sama and Tausug. She is a daughter of the clan of Panglima Saipuddin from Laminusa island, Siasi, Sulu. Her maternal grandfather is a Tausug of Silangkan, while her paternal ancestors are from Luuk, Sulu. Mucha is married to Adzhar Salahuddin Ibno, a native of Lamitan, Basilan and Parang, Sulu. She has two children by her first marriage, daughter Mycha Ramada (26) and son Muhammad Ysa (20).

On finishing her Masters in Communications in 1996 from the Ateneo de Manila University and currently a candidate for Doctor of Philosophy in Inter-religious Studies at the Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies at the Universitas Gadjadara in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

In 1998, she founded the Lumah Ma Dilaut Center for Living Traditions, a nongovernment not-for-profit peoples' organization that provided culture-integrated and values-based education for the Sama Dilaut in Rio Hondo and Mariki in Zamboanga City and in Tampalan, Malamawi island, Isabela City in Basilan. She also initiated to set up an educational program in Jolo Sulu that integrated Islamic traditional knowledge in Highschool values education program QALAM or Qur'an-based Alternative Learning Module, that were piloted in three public highschools in Jolo Sulu in 2002-2007.

In 2009 she embarked on a journey from her home-seas in Sulu to trace the historical migration route of the sea-faring ancestors that brought her to the backdoors of Nusantara in Indonesian Borneo of eastern Kalimantan in Kota Tarakan and Sulawesi, Indonesia. It was also an opportunity for her to work on her doctorate degree in Interreligious Studies at the ICRS program in three consortia institutions of Universitas Gadjadara, Universitas Islam Negara and Universitas Kristen Dita Wachana in Yogyakarta Indonesia. Presently awaiting to defend her Dissertation in the Close Examinations (Ujian Tertutup), she hopes to be awarded the Ph.D. in Interreligious Studies before June, 2016.

In 2011-2012 she was awarded the Asian Public Intellectuals (API) Fellowship by the Nippon Foundation to further her research on the lost language and vanishing voices of the Sama diaspora. She is the Vice Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of a professional think-tank of Sulu intellectuals called the Sulu Current Research Institute (SCRI). Currently on study leave, Mucha is consultant to the Mindanao State University-Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography (MSU-TCTO) of the Office of the Chancellor on Sama Studies [May,2016].

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Marina Torres is developing her PhD from University of Cantabria (Spain) under supervision of Dr. Tomás Mantecón (University of Cantabria) and Dr. Anna Busquets (Open University of Catalonia). She graduated in History in 2013 and a year later received a Master's degree in Advanced Studies in Early Modern History specifically focus on Hispanic Monarchy from Autonomous University of Madrid and University of Cantabria. Her research interests are in Early Modern Spain, Chinese History, and Christianity in China. Her research and studies have funded by several grants including the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of Spain, the University of Cantabria in Spain and the Ministry of Science and Technology of Taiwan (MOST).

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Birgit Tremml-Werner graduated from the University of Vienna (Major: History, Minor: Japanese Studies) in 2007 and received her PhD from the same university in 2012 (Title of her dissertation: When Political Economies Meet: Spain, China and Japan in Manila, 1571-1644), where she also taught various courses on global history. As Postdoctoral Research Fellow of the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) at the Institute for Advances Studies on Asia (The University of Tokyo) she worked on a project entitled "Intercultural Communication and Foreign Relations in East and Southeast Asian Port Cities". Her research interests include colonial history, early modern intercultural diplomacy, as well as the social history of port cities.

Major Publications:

Monograph:

Spain, China and Japan in Manila, 1571-1644: Local Comparisons and Global Connections (Amsterdam University Press, 2015)

Journal Articles and Book contributions

Friends or Foes? Intercultural Diplomacy between Momoyama Japan and the Spanish Philippines in the 1590s, in Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang, eds., *Sea Rovers, Silver and*

Samurai. Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700 Conference Volume (University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 65-85.

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The Global and the Local: Problematic Dynamics of the Triangular Trade in Early Modern Manila, *Journal of World History* 23, no. 3 (Sept. 2012), 555-586.

Editorship

Audienzen und Allianzen. Interkulturelle Diplomatie in Asien und Europa vom 8. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2014). Together with Eberhard Crailsheim.

Schrecken der Händler und Herrscher. Piratengemeinschaften in der Geschichte (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2012). Together with Andreas Obenaus und Eugen Pfister.

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He is interested in socio-economic history and institutional history. He prefers to study the economic phenomena from social and institutional perspectives. His research focuses on the commodity networks interwoven by states, local societies and companies between early modern China and tropical Asia, which he refers to as the part of Asia, where tropical commodities can be harvested.

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