From Here to Diversity: Globalization and Intercultural Dialogues sees interculturalism as movement, transit, travel, and the dynamics between cultures. Contemporary intercultural travel is a global journey, a circumnavigation at the speed of light that underwrites all the comings and goings, the departures and arrivals, the transmissions and receptions that are implicit in this title. Hence, From Here to Diversity examines the motivations, characteristics and implications of cultural interactions in their perpetual movement, devoid of spatial or temporal borders, in a dangerous but stimulating indefinition of limits.

In the contemporary intercultural dialogue, new voices are making themselves heard, as valuable sources of study: the voices of women; non-occidentals; the non-powerful; forgotten narratives of a past that was as intercultural as the present (after all, what is colonialism other than a perverse form of interculturality?); global entertainment; tourism; oral literature; diaries; mythical narratives; the cinema; ethnography; and new teachings, among so many others.

Because this project is also intercultural at its source and subject, From Here to Diversity: Globalization and Intercultural Dialogues adds to the coherence of the project by including contributions from the most wide-ranging backgrounds and nationalities, without fear of the alterity that, after all, we propose to study.

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CHAPTER TWENTY
PORTUGUESE EXPANSION
AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF GLOBALIZATION

MARIA DE DEUS MANSO

It is not our goal to work out the definition or even the full understanding of the term Globalization. We want, however, to stress that we consider it to be an evolutionary process whose understanding requires a journey back in time.

The beginning of a "global movement" dates back to the most distant voyages: the silk routes through Eurasia or the project of a world-wide empire by Genghis Khan (1167-1227), and later, the dynamics of maritime explorations started by Portugal in the 15th century, with the creation of a global network. It was with the Portuguese voyages that the "international commerce" began to be, effectively, global. The commercial revolution joined the scientific revolution and the cultural and biological crossings, turning this into a unique and identifying moment. This dynamic, when compared to what had happened in the past, might be considered as a *talassocracy*, based on a naval domination, or a "network" inside a vast and discontinuous empire. Independently from these definitions, we know that the impact of the discoveries was so great and long lasting that it led Immanuel Wallstein, for example, to write that "the world economy in which we live today derives from the modifications brought by the discoveries".

In the light of the aforementioned, what value does the Portuguese contribution, at the end of the 15th century, has for the long-term trajectory that, centuries later, led to the current globalization?

One must bear in mind that the Portuguese of the Middle Ages succeeded in invading the communications between the Asian markets, and in controlling strategic points through their naval superiority which, from Malacca toOrmuz, would monitor intra-Asian maritime routes previously dominated by Arabic commerce. By organizing a network of enclaves in fortified ports, commercial establishments (*feitorias*), and
cities, such as Goa or Macao, the Portuguese offered the Asian trade routes more speed, security and the efficiency of specialized ships, supported by a naval artillery that was almost invincible in the 16th century Indian Ocean. The maritime connections offered by this system competed, with advantages, with the old, time-consuming silk routes connecting China to Turkey, and with other maritime competitors, both Islamic and locals, through a security system of maritime vigilance combined with violence, i.e., through customs and piracy. This system intended to dissolve the commercial competition at nodal distribution points of precious metals, textiles, silks and a variety of spices. The so-called “oriental empire” was the strategic heart of Portuguese distribution at a global scale. When the empire moves to Brazil (moving from economic exploration to agrarian colonization; from the construction of a colonial State to social and religious acculturation), the Portuguese political-mercantile stand in Asia had irreversibly contracted due to the eruption of a new competitor, the dynamic and powerful Dutch East India Company. The famous VOC had been inaugurated in Amsterdam in 1602 by a group of rich, private stockholders, and was constantly pressured by Dutch cities to earn considerable annual profits.

In the 16th century, Portugal had a population of about 1.5 to 2 million inhabitants. The lack of natural and industrial resources, as well as a continuous need for silver, set the basis for the commerce with Asian countries. By the middle of the century, Portuguese enclaves in Asia accounted for about 50 ports. However, it had not been possible to move into there more than 25,000 to 30,000 European Portuguese, in order to secure political, military and commercial activities. Macao was a fundamental solution for such problem. Negotiated—as in many other Asian locations—with local territorial authorities, the long lasting Portuguese presence in the Peninsula of Macao endured because it was useful for the Imperial Chinese society and economy. Silver and luxury items such as amber and sandalwood from Timor, circulated through the annual fairs in Canton, since 1557, and secured, until 1639, the import of Japanese silver. This fact allowed Eurasian and Portuguese merchants, that had settled in this enclave, to sustain the monetary and weight systems organized in the Ming period, based on silver bars. When the Portuguese were expelled from Japan, the Chinese economic system continued to absorb a great portion of the world’s production of silver, mainly coming from the Spanish Empire in America, through regular connections between Acapulco and Manila, with links to the enclave of the Pearl River delta. The oceanic ventures of treaties and conquests of the Middle-Ages allowed many Portuguese merchants, soldiers, and adventurers to settle in the heart of a wealthy Asia, that had been practically lost in the 17th and 18th centuries, due to the competition of other European powers, such as Holland, Great-Britain and France. This was also the period when the true “discovery” of Brazil took place, as a productive and potentially commercial territory. Brazil became, until the independence in 1822, the first large continental area that caught a glimpse of colonization, and of a clear colonialist doctrine. Let us just bear in mind the so-called “Treaty of Madrid”, signed by the Portuguese and the Spanish Crowns in 1750, granting the archipelago of the Philippines to Spain, in exchange for Brazil’s southern boarders.

By the end of the 17th century (Portugal had established peace with Spain in 1668), the Spanish-Portuguese colonial rivalry in southern Brazil increases significantly, due to the dispute over the control of navigation in the Rio de la Plata. Affected by the drastic decrease in the production of silver in South America, and by the worldwide fall in the price of sugar, the colonial economy of Brazil was looking for a solution through the revitalization of patinage commerce. By this time, some plans were made for the conquest of Buenos Aires, but Lisbon’s colonial policy decided to invest only in the construction of some forts on the northern banks of the Rio de la Plata, culminating in the organization of the colony of Sacramento, in 1680. This situation interfered directly with the colonial, economic and missionary presence of Spain in the region, creating various armed conflicts that forced multiple and difficult diplomatic negotiations between the two Iberian powers.

While conducting complicated negotiations with the Spanish Crown since 1747, Alexandre de Gusmão found a decisive element in the diplomatic field in favour of Portuguese colonial interests in the South of Brazil: Spain had disregarded the ancient Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) and the Accord of Zaragoza (1529), and occupied the Philippines, that belonged, according to those treaties, to the king of Portugal. If Spain wanted to claim the colony of Sacramento and the estuary of the Rio de la Plata, they would have to abandon the Philippines or include them in diplomatic negotiations with Portugal, in exchange for a territory of the same dimension. This would be the diplomatic principle that Gusmão shrewdly imposed on the negotiations with Spain, which led to the signing of the Treaty of Madrid (1750), when, in exchange for the Philippines, the Portuguese borders of Southern Brazil were recognized.

Even more important, the Treaty of Madrid was the first European diplomatic accord where new legal principles were determined and became the basis for the colonial doctrine of the 19th century. In effect, the main principle of right agreed by the Iberian powers was based on the Uti-
Possidetis, the nation that possessed the territory had the right to its control. This principle was also immediately applied to maritime and fluvial circulation, thus allowing the exclusive Spanish navigation of the Rio de la Plata and, in the oceanic routes of the Pacific, connecting Mexico to the Philippines. At the same time, the Portuguese exclusivity was recognized in the route to India, connecting Lisbon to Goa, and including the main ports in Mozambique, Brazil, and the Atlantic Islands.

The Portuguese-Spanish diplomatic accord, even though it was outdated and strongly opposed by the competition of other European colonial powers, permitted to support a strong “autonomous” development of the Brazilian economy, which began to include, in its external commerce, regular communications with Asian markets, which transformed the city of Bahia into a great international port. Actually, the great port of Bahia was able to add to its traditional exports of gold and silver an enormous development in the commerce of tobacco, sent in leaf-form to be exchanged for slaves. At the same time, processed tobacco was being exported, lucratively, to Asian markets, mainly to China, through direct contact with Goa and Macao. As it was, the Treaty of Madrid is an introductory lesson to the doctrine of “rights”, and introduces the European colonialism of the 19th century, more than the infamous Treaty of Berlin. This Treaty reunited fourteen European countries between 1884 and 1885, by invitation of the powerful chancellor Bismarck, and divided the African continent by ruler and square, on behalf of a colonial doctrine that sustained the superiority of European ‘civilization’ over the rest of the world that had not been constructed by Western principles and values. By then, Portuguese colonialism was more and more on the defensive, disturbed by the changes in politics and the social struggles of the end of the 19th century. As it is well known, the progressively active urban republican movements would find in the protection and development of a modern Portuguese colonialism one of the main weapons in favor of the construction of a new Republican Nation. Between rose-colored maps, ultimatums and much political-economical competition, the republicanism would know how to find in the commemorations of the discovery of India and of Camões, areas of political agitation, to weaken an already debilitated monarchy, accused of not being able to defend Portuguese colonial interests, considered as part of the Nation. Actually, a great part of the colonization of the overseas territories, their development and the increase in emigration from Portugal, is due to the First Republic.

The pacification of East Timor occurs between 1912-1913, during the wars of Manufahi; the reorganization of the administration of Macao and its extension to the islands of Taipa and Coloane occurs between 1918 and 1920. At the same time, the first organized attempts at the agricultural and industrial colonization of the African colonies began to mobilize capitals, people and equipment with governmental support and planning. From here on, colonialism and colonies not only became part of the national memory, but also of the construction of the Republican Nation. The Portuguese colonies now circulated in the great worldwide colonial exhibitions. In 1934, the Palácio de Cristal (“Crystal Palace”), in Oporto, welcomed the “First Great Colonial Exhibition”, debuting the ideological road that definitively integrated the Portuguese “colonial world” in the restored order of the Estado Novo. This order would finally create an extraordinary historical, sociological, and cultural justification of Portuguese colonialism that, under the elegant title of “Iuso-tropicalism”, persists as one of the main global explanations of Portuguese colonial history.

As stated before, the history of Portuguese colonialism is constituted by a series of processes. It was a long movement in time and space, constructed under both the aegis of authorities, which represented the Crown, and private interests. Agreements, economies, and cultural encounters became more global, as well as the most varied transactions, from the globalization of plants and diseases to the alteration of social and ecological systems. The relationship between Europe and the “other worlds” was the outline of the new transcontinental maritime routes, of the attempt at a new imperial model and of a modern talassocracy. Meanwhile, a great part of the so-called history of the Portuguese expansion was made from “here to there”, observing non-European Portuguese colonies as mirrors or fragments illustrating the Portuguese method of giving “new worlds to the world”. This was an error as tragic as the one of the little studied stories of shipwrecks, failures and defeats in different “overseas possessions”. An ad contrario investigation is required, starting from the areas of Portuguese colonial circulation, in order to understand the alterity, diversity, and specificity of that movement, as one of the substrata of globalization.

Notes

In the last few years we have been working on the hypothesis of “culture as translation”. In other words, a theory of culture as a continuous translatable process (Seixas et al., 2009) and the idea that, in this concept, East-Timor is a paradigmatic case, in which this theory can be analysed in all its complexity (Seixas, 2007; Seixas, 2009). It could even be proposed that translation in East-Timor could apply to become listed as part of UNESCO’s Human Cultural Heritage (Seixas, 2009).

In this text we do not intend to clarify the epistemological, political, theoretical and methodological presuppositions of such an enterprise. It can be said that “culture as translation” is based on the contributions of three different traditions (Anthropology, Cultural Studies and Translations Studies), and, more specifically, in a fourth line of analysis that goes from Schlegel and Schleiermacher, to Benjamin, to Derrida, Steiner, Bhabha, Pratt, Wolf and Duarte, which makes possible an understanding of “culture as translation” in a direct manner. Having in mind this theoretical framework, our text avails itself of the specific concept of “topologies of culture” presented by Steiner (1998), applying it, in an exploratory way, to the culture(s) of East-Timor. This is only one of the approaches to the conception of “culture as translation”, the one that centres itself in topics, archetypes, motives, and genders that repeat themselves in space and time, and, for that reason, become metaphors and models of “cultural translation”, in the culture(s) at stake. In order to be as precise as possible, we will reproduce Steiner’s formulation:

By that I mean something quite simple. Topology is the branch of mathematics which deals with those relations between points and those fundamental properties of a figure which remain invariant when the figure is bent out of shape (when the rubber sheet on which we have traced the