

Networks of Circulation and Exchange



CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN
FOUNDATION
ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES

Armenian, Portuguese, Jewish and Muslim Communities
from the Mediterranean to the South China Seas:

The use of commodities and paper instruments

15-17 October 2014

Co-Sponsored by University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)
The Richard Hovannisian Chair of Modern Armenian History, and
Universidade Nova de Lisboa Department of History

Convened under the auspices of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (The Armenian Communities Department and the Programme for Portuguese Culture and Language), this international conference explores the role of paper instruments and commodity chains in sustaining the operation of long-distance trade networks and cross-cultural circuits from the Mediterranean to the South China Seas, particularly during the early modern and modern periods. The conference explores the symbiotic and often unexamined relationship between paper instruments, commodities, and long-distance trading networks through the experience of Armenian, Portuguese, Jewish, and Muslim communities across the worlds of East and West. How did merchants and other travellers navigate their way across long-distance trade networks, as early as the medieval period, and how were they able to engage in cashless transactions and transfer large sums of money from one location in a network to another? What role did letters of introduction play in helping these merchants traverse from a material transportation network of camels, caravans, and port city hubs to a more ethereal social network of trust and hospitality? Were networks of credit purely bounded by culture as Fernand Braudel once averred, or were there credit networks built around bills of exchange known as *hundis* and *avaks* that were truly cross-cultural in nature and where Armenians regularly borrowed from and loaned credit to Indian Sarrafs or Jews? What role did the legal arena(s) and informal or formal legal institutions play in undergirding long-distance networks of circulation and exchange and enforcing an economy of reciprocity and obligation created by paper instruments? How did members of the communities mentioned above employ portable knowledge of accounting and trade, in the form of trading manuals, to ensure the successful functioning of their networks? In what way did the choice to specialize in certain commodity chains (South Asian textiles and spices, New World silver, Persian silk, corals and diamond, opium, or gems for instance) structure the operation of long-distance networks? Using Armenian, Portuguese, Jewish, and Muslim networks and their communities or merchants as case studies, scholars will probe the relationship, often assumed but seldom analysed in the scholarship on long-distance trade, between these paper instruments and the successful working of networks of circulation and exchange.



Wednesday **I5** 19h00-21h00
Auditorium 3

Opening Ceremony and Welcoming Remarks

Conference opening

Artur Santos Silva, President of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

Keynote address

Sebouh D. Aslanian, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

“FROM NEW JULFA (ISFAHAN) TO GUANGZHOU AND MANILA: ARMENIAN NETWORKS OF CIRCULATION AND EXCHANGE, 1604-1800”

Chaired by

Rui Vieira Nery and **Razmik Panossian**, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

Reception to follow the lecture



Thursday **I6** 9h30-16h30
Sala 1

Panel 1: Bills of Exchange, Legal Arena(s), and Cross-Cultural Credit Networks in the Early Modern Period

Chair: **Richard G. Hovannisian**, UCLA

Discussant: **Ron Harris**, Tel Aviv University

Sebouh D. Aslanian, UCLA

“CROSS-CULTURAL CREDIT NETWORKS, LEGAL INSTITUTIONS, AND ‘TRUST’: BILLS OF EXCHANGE (*AVAKS* AND *HUNDIS*) BETWEEN JULFAN ARMENIANS AND MARWARI SARRAFS IN EARLY MODERN ISFAHAN AND MUGHAL INDIA”

Edmund Herzig, Oxford University

“NORMS AND PRACTICE WITH JULFA-ARMENIAN BILLS OF EXCHANGE”

Guillaume Calafat, University of Paris 1 (Panthéon-Sorbonne)

“ARMENIAN CREDIT AND FRIENDSHIP NETWORKS IN TUNIS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY”

Panel 2: Bills of Exchange, Credit and Financial Instruments, and Overland and Maritime Circulations

Chair: **Khachig Tölölyan**, Wesleyan University

Discussant: **Edmund Herzig**, Oxford University

George Bryan Souza, University of Texas, San Antonio

“COMMUNAL CAPITAL, CREDIT AND FINANCIAL INVESTMENT IN MARITIME COMMERCE IN QING CHINA IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY”

Fahad Bishara, College of William and Mary

“THE CASE OF MUSABBAH’S *WARAQA*: LAW, OBLIGATIONS, AND PAPER IN THE WESTERN INDIAN OCEAN”

Ghislaine Lydon, UCLA

“INSTRUMENTS OF VIRTUAL FINANCE IN THE TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE: THE ROLE OF THE *SUFTAJA* (BILL OF EXCHANGE) IN NORTHWEST AFRICA”

Susana Münch Miranda, FCSH-UNL

“MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR WAR: TAXES, LOANS, AND INTRA-REGIONAL TRANSFERS IN PORTUGUESE ASIA (17TH CENTURY)”

Panel 3: Networks of Correspondence and Commodity Chains (Silver, Diamonds, Calico Textiles and Gem Stones)

Chair: **Diogo Ramada Curto**, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Discussant: **Anthony Molho**, European University Institute and Brown University

Tijl Vanneste, University of Exeter

“ARMENIAN AND JEWISH MERCHANTS AND THE DIAMOND TRADE WITH MUGHAL INDIA”

Olivier Raveux, Aix-Marseille University

“ARMENIANS AND PRINTED CALICOES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DURING THE LAST THIRD OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY”

Sona Tajiryan, UCLA

“AGHA DI MATUS, 1635-1709: AN ARMENIAN DIAMOND AND GEM MERCHANT IN LIVORNO AND VENICE”

Conference dinner (19h00+)



Friday **I7** 9h30-17h30
Sala 1

Panel 4: Trading Manuals and Epistolary Exchange

Chair: **Gerard Libaridian**, Boston, USA

Discussant: **Raymond Kevorkian**, Paris

Keram Kevonian, EHESC

“COMMERCIAL ACCOUNTING AND JULFAN ARMENIAN MANUALS OF TRADE AND TRAVEL ACROSS THE INDIAN OCEAN?”

Mary Momdjian, UCLA

“FAMILY NETWORKS AND COMMERCIAL CORRESPONDENCE IN ALEPPO IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD: THE CASE OF THE GHANTOUZ KUBBE FAMILY”

Panel 5: Travel and Information Networks

Chair: **Boris Adjemian**, Bibliothèque Nubar

Discussant: **Fahad Bishara**, College of William and Mary

Michael O’Sullivan, UCLA

“ORAL PERFORMANCE, WRITTEN REPORTS, AND NEWS OF NADIR SHAH’S INDIA CAMPAIGN: TANBURI KUCUK ARUTIN’S HISTORY AND THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF 1740S ISTANBUL”

Giancarlo Casale, McGill University

“MEHMED EMIN EFENDI’S *HINDISTAN SEYAHATNAMESI*: AN OTTOMAN GUIDE TO TRAVEL AND COMMERCE IN THE 18TH-CENTURY INDIAN OCEAN”

Mana Kia, Columbia University

“TRAVELING TEXTS AND TEXTS AS ARTIFACTS OF TRAVEL BETWEEN IRAN AND INDIA”

Panel 6: Friendship Networks, Letters of Introduction, and Powers of Attorney

Chair: **Sebouh D. Aslanian**, UCLA

Discussant: **Avrom Udovitch**, Princeton University

Philip Ackerman-Lieberman, Vanderbilt University

“JEWISH LAW, AGENCY DOCUMENTS AND LONG-DISTANCE TRADE”

Miriam Frenkel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

“CIRCLES OF TRADE AND LOVE: FRIENDSHIP LETTERS IN THE MEDIEVAL JEWISH INDIA TRADE”

Roxani Margariti, Emory University

“A WRIT IN THE SCRIPT OF INDIA” (*WARAQA FI KHAṬṬAL-HIND*): SCRIPT, LANGUAGE AND EXPRESSION IN CROSS-CULTURAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE MEDIEVAL INDIA TRADE”

Manuel Lobato, Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical

“ECONOMIC ETHICS OR POLITICAL STRATEGY? CANONICAL LAW AND THE PORTUGUESE-ASIAN TRADE NETWORK UNDER THE JESUIT GUIDANCE (1567-1628)”

Concluding comments

Diogo Ramada Curto, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

BIOGRAPHIES

Philip Ackerman-Lieberman is Assistant Professor of Jewish Studies and Law at Vanderbilt University. He focuses on the economic, social, and legal history of the Jewish community of the medieval Islamic world.

Boris Adjemian is a historian and the Director of the Nubarian Library, Paris.

Sebouh D. Aslanian is Associate Professor of History and Richard Hovannisian Endowed Chair of Modern Armenian History at the department of History at UCLA.

Fahad Bishara is an Assistant Professor of History at the College of William and Mary. He received his Ph.D. in 2012 from Duke University and subsequently held a postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard University.

Guillaume Calafat is Associate Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Paris 1 (Panthéon-Sorbonne). His research focuses on commercial and maritime law in the Mediterranean.

Giancarlo Casale is Associate Professor of History at McGill University in Montreal. He is author of *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford, 2010) and executive editor of the *Journal of Early Modern History*.

Diogo Ramada Curto is a historian with a Ph.D in Historical Sociology. He has lectured at the Social Sciences department of Nova University in Lisbon since 1981.

Miriam Frenkel is senior lecturer at the Department of Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She studies the history of medieval Jewish life under Islam.

Ron Harris is a Professor of Legal History and Dean, Faculty of Law Tel-Aviv University. He earned an LL.B. and B.A. and M.A. in history from TAU and a Ph.D. in history from Columbia University.

Edmund Herzig is Masoumeh and Fereydoon Soudavar Professor of Persian Studies at the University of Oxford. His research interests focus on the history of Iran and surrounding regions in the Safavid and contemporary periods, with a particular interest in the Armenian merchants of New Julfa.

Richard G. Hovannisian is Professor Emeritus of Armenian and Near Eastern History at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Keram Kevonian lectures at l'EHESS, Paris, and is the author of *Armenians in Asian Trade in The Early Modern Era*.

Raymond Kevorkian is Emeritus Director of Research at the French Geopolitical Institute, University Paris 8, Saint-Denis. He is Curator Emeritus of the Nubarian Library and a foreign member of the National Academy of Sciences (Armenia).

Mana Kia is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Middle Eastern, South Asian and African Studies at Columbia University.

Gerard Libaridian is a historian of modern Armenia (University of Michigan, retired) and former Senior Advisor to the first president of independent Armenia.

Manuel Lobato is Titular Researcher at the IICT (Lisbon) and an author and editor of books, chapters and papers on the history of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the Malay Archipelago.

Ghislaine Lydon is an associate professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, whose research focuses on western Africa and the Sahara.

Roxani Margariti teaches at Emory University's Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies and specializes in Middle Eastern and Indian Ocean social and economic history, maritime history, material culture, and urban studies.

Susana Münch Miranda (Ph.D - FCSH/Nova, 2007) is lecturer at FCSH/NOVA. She is one of the authors of *História Económica de Portugal, 1148-2010*.

Anthony (Tony) Molho is Professor Emeritus, European University Institute and David Herlihy University Professor Emeritus, Brown University.

Mary Momdjian is a Ph.D candidate in Ottoman History at UCLA. She works on Levantine merchants in Aleppo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Rui Vieira Nery is the Director of the Programme for Portuguese Culture and Language of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Michael O'Sullivan is a graduate student in UCLA's Department of History. He obtained a Masters in history with distinction from the University of Cambridge.

Razmik Panossian is the Director of the Armenian Communities Department of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Olivier Raveux is a researcher at the CNRS in Aix-en-Provence (UMR TELEMME-Aix-Marseille University). His field of specialization is the circulation of men, technologies and commodities in the Mediterranean during the early modern period.

George Bryan Souza (University of Texas, San Antonio) is a global maritime economic historian and author. Recently, he has been a Fulbright Fellow (China) and Mercator Guest Professor at Tübingen University, Germany.

Sona Tajiryan is a PhD Student at the Endowed Chair in Modern Armenian History at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Khachig Tölölyan is Professor of English and Comparative Literature in the College of Letters at Wesleyan University in Connecticut.

Avrom Udovitch is Khedouri A. Zilkha Emeritus Professor of Jewish Civilization in the Near East and Emeritus Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University.

Tijl Vanneste is a historian with a doctorate from the European University Institute in Florence. He is currently employed by the University of Exeter where he conducts research on early modern sailors in the Mediterranean.

NOTES

Conference Convenors

Razmik Panossian, Director – Armenian Communities Department

Rui Vieira Nery, Director – Portuguese Culture and Language Programme

Academic Organising Committee

Sebouh D. Aslanian, Associate Professor of History and Richard Hovannisian Endowed Chair in Modern Armenian History, UCLA

Diogo Ramada Curto, Professor of History, Department of History, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Venue

All panels take place at the headquarters of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 45-A Avenida de Berna, Lisboa, 1067-001.

Hotels

Hotel Açores Lisboa. The hotel is within walking distance from the Foundation (7 minutes).

Hotel 3K Barcelona. The hotel is within walking distance from the Foundation (5 minutes).

Additional Notes

Lunches and refreshments will be provided on the premises.

The official conference dinner will take place on Thursday evening, 16 October.

On Saturday 18 October an excursion will be organised for Conference participants and invited guests.

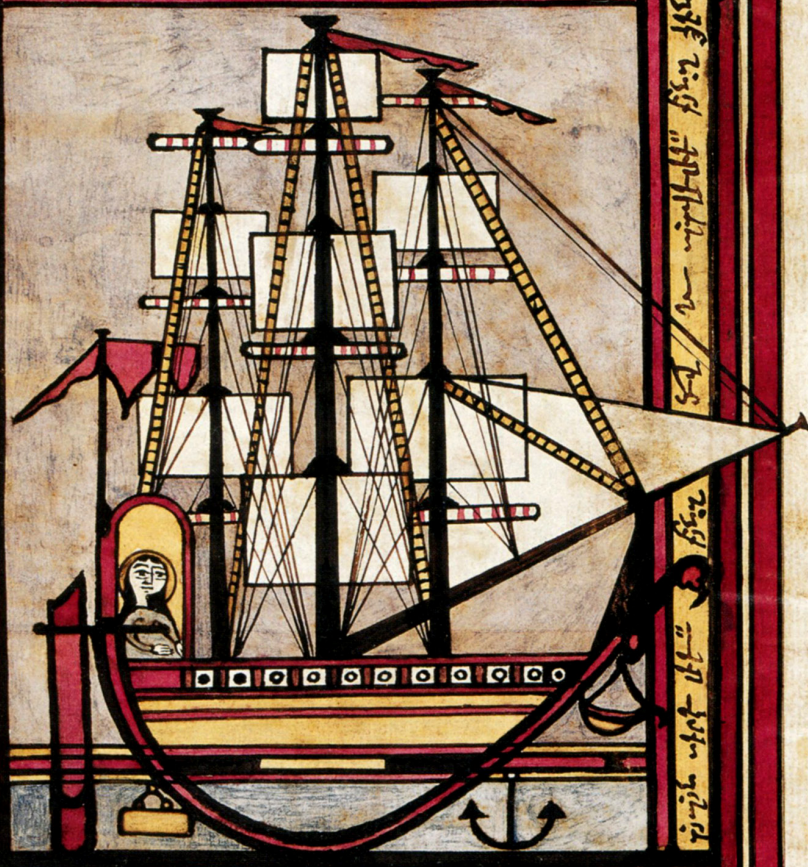
A more detailed schedule of the panels and presentation times will be available at the conference. **Please note that each presenter will have 20 minutes, and each discussant 10 minutes.**

Note that the Conference is taking place within the context of “Armenian Culture Week” at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. There will be a series of concerts, exhibitions and other lectures during the week of 12-19 October.

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