Oana Avram (HU), Humanist Agency and Discursive Strategies in Late Sixteenth-Century Anti-Ottoman Crusade Literature

My paper examines the form-content relationship in sixteenth-century humanist texts, with a particular focus on Scipione Ammirato's (1531-1601) series of *Orazioni*. These texts encompass Ammirato's call to action among European rulers to solve inter-statal dissents and unify in the face of a rapid expanding Ottoman Empire. Although the titles may seem indicative, these texts, written between the mid-1580s and the late 1590s, were no mere orations in a classical sense, but rather political analyses in which Ammirato resorted to various discursive strategies, fields of knowledge and topics to construct his arguments. I argue that while he kept some structural elements and employed several rhetorical strategies typical to Renaissance eloquence and of classical orations, the interplay of ideas and discursive strategies he used place these compositions beyond these genres. Looking at these texts as embodiments of types of discourse, such as the humanist advice literature, allows me to widen the analytical perspective since this type of discourse could take multiple textual forms, ranging from letters, manuals of conduct, hagiographies, political commentaries, philosophical treatises. The rhetorical strategies Ammirato used, depended on the addressee of the oration or on the type of argument he was putting forward. For instance, advice on preparing for war was sustained with ideas ranging from historical or religious texts and "mirror of princes" literature to reason of state theories and just war premises, all skillfully merged into a coherent text in which Ammirato used rhetorical strategies such as exhortation, analogy, historical exemplarity, genealogical tracing or natural inclinations. By observing how he employed rhetorical strategies and discursive styles, I examine how he shaped the advice for European rulers, and how in doing so, he framed the depiction of the Ottomans and the Ottoman Empire in his envisioned order of the world.

Konrad Boeschenstein (HU), Petrarch's Refutation of Aristotle's Ethics in *De ignorantia:* Its Anti-Scholasticism, Augustinianism, and Stoicism Reconsidered

Aristotle discussed human will at length in his *Nicomachean Ethics,* however, as the Stoics pointed out, his conception of choice did not account for conflicts of desire. His moral agent is culpable only if their deliberation fails to produce the desire prescribed by reason which signals a failure of habituation in the past. The Stoics criticized Aristotle for locating virtuous actions in knowledge stored by the intellect and instead located virtuous actions in choices faced by the soul. Petrarch makes the same argument against Aristotle in *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* and credits Augustine as his main source, which is remarkable given the scarcity of Augustine's access to Aristotle. Augustine did know Stoicism well, even through non-extant sources such as Varro's *De philosophia* and Cicero's *De fato*, which accounts for the indirect transmission of anti-Aristotelian Stoic ideas in *De ignorantia.* I argue that the standard historiographical reading of *De ignorantia* as the paradigmatic early case of Humanism rejecting Scholasticism is oversimplified and assumes that Petrarch's *scolastici* represent Scholasticism as modern scholars understand it. *De ignorantia*'s main argument evokes Augustine's brand of Stoic voluntarism to reject Aristotle but accords with the Christian limitations imposed on Aristotle by Scholastic commentators.

Briana Brightly (HU), Drawing the Lines of the Body: Iconometry and Anatomy in Early-Modern Tibet

In 1687, the painter Lhodrak Tenzin Norbu went where no Tibetan artist had ever gone before: the surgeon's dissection table. Here, Norbu studied the liver, spleen, heart, and other viscera of a recently dissected corpse. These observations later served as the basis for a set of anatomical paintings (figure 1, figure 2) illustrating the *Four Tantras*, the root text of traditional Tibetan medicine. Sponsored by the Fifth Dalai Lama's government, these paintings were unprecedented in the history of Tibet in both their comprehensiveness and mode of manufacture. Indeed, modern historians have praised Norbu as "Tibet's first realist painter." In their eagerness to celebrate the pioneering empiricism of the illustrations, however, scholars have overlooked one key feature of these works: namely, their indebtedness to the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition of iconometry. Iconometry is a theory of divine proportion that posits ratios between particular parts of the Buddha's body and the body as a whole. In order to visualize the human body, Norbu not only drew upon his own observations but also a highly codified system of measurement that was foundational to religious painting during this period. How did he reconcile these two points of view? And what can Tenzin Norbu's creative process tell us about the intersection of religion, art, and medicine in early-modern Tibet?

The third chapter of my dissertation, titled "Drawing the Lines of the Body: Iconometry and Anatomy in Early-Modern Tibet," examines the epistemic process behind Norbu's groundbreaking illustrations. Two questions guide my study. First, in what ways did Tenzin Norbu's anatomical illustrations at once draw upon and break with the Indo-Tibetan traditions of iconometry? Second, my study asks: How did the religio-artistic character of Tenzin Norbu's paintings shape Tibetan medical knowledge and practice during the early-modern period? By focusing on the production of images–rather than their consumption–I show the history of anatomy to embedded within the history of religious art.

Jordan Cannon (HU), Investigating Arson in Early Modern Istanbul

This paper, which focuses on incendiary fires in Istanbul from roughly the mid-sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries, is part of my broader dissertation project on how fires transformed early modern Istanbul's social, political, and architectural fabric (1509-1826). Highlighting future avenues of research throughout, I demonstrate that arson evades uniform labeling in Ottoman Turkish chronicles, court records, decrees, and dictionaries from the late seventeenth century onward, and propose a set of strategies for circumventing this elusiveness. This methodological intervention allows me to identify patterns in the backgrounds, motivations, and fates of alleged arsonists which, I argue, are linked to the systematic displacement and marginalization of certain populations, as well as political legitimacy and resistance, in early modern Istanbul.

Mark Yu-Shan Chen (HU), Coding and Computing with the Soroban Abacus in Edo-period Japan

Along with the rise of a thriving commercial economy and a thriving popular culture, computational numeracy became commonplace in early modern Japan after the publication of the best-selling *Jinkōki* (*Permanent Mathematics*; 1627) that popularized the abacus. From hundred-day boot camps on arithmetic to private studies on calculational optimization for tax calculations and unit conversions, the Japanese abacus became coded machines that crafted a dynamic network of computational knowledge involving both professional mathematicians and Confucian intellectuals and village accountants, peddlers, and craftspeople. Users of the abacus

physically adapted the apparatus to fit different systems of measurements and conversions as well as self-devised techniques, leaving a wealth of computational manuals that reflected a culture of computing *avant la lettre*. Some even rendered complex computational and geometric problems into algorithms on the abacus, participating in a purportedly esoteric academic tradition largely thought to exclude everyday users of mathematics.

In this paper, I argue that the abacus was not simply an enduring analog for reckoning convenience but a powerful system that revolutionized mathematical thought in early modern Japan. Using examples of Edo-period abaci, both self-devised and published guides and cultural references in literature, I showcase how the construction of a technical system surrounding the early modern Japanese abacus fostered the emergence of a diverse computational community that spanned a wide cross-section of its users.

Jin-Woo Choi (PU), Cloudy, with a Chance of Invasion: The Meteorological Meditations of Hermann IV von Hessen-Rotenburg
This presentation surveys the life and astrometeorological career of Hermann IV, Landgraf of Hessen-Rotenburg (1607-1658), drawing on his published treatises and manuscripts found in the archives of Kassel and Erlangen. One of the most diligent weather observers of the early modern period, Hermann took meticulous notes of changes in the daily weather regularly for almost three decades (ca.1621-1650), even during the most turbulent years of the Thirty Years' War when imperial armies laid waste to his dominion. While the recovery of his printed observations in the mid 20th century had scientists at the German Meteorological Office excited about the potential uses of this near-uninterrupted 'data set' for reconstructing the early 17th-century climate of Hessen, the motives behind Hermann's painstaking endeavour and its cultural contexts remain largely unexplored. Examining traces of his meteorological prognostication, observation and retrospection, and how his emphasis on these practices changed throughout his life from adolescence to his later years, I show how Hermann's constant attention to the vicissitudes of weather served as a form of meditation for staying the soul amidst troubling times.

Ashley Gonik (HU), Taking account: an epilogue
Tables are the focus of my dissertation, and they have taken center stage in all four of my previous HUPU presentations. In this paper—an adapted version of the epilogue to my dissertation—I will tackle two questions that deviate from the central corpus of the project in order to, paradoxically, tie it back together in the end. First, how do accounting ledgers fit into the early modern tabular spectrum? Just as with tabulations, genealogical trees, and Ramist branching diagrams, I maintain that accounting ledgers are too solution-oriented and spatially flexible to satisfy my working definition of the table. Yet, it would be absurd to neglect the clear visual and conceptual resonances between accounting ledgers and proper tables. Second, in the case of tabular accounting, to what extent does comparison between the present and the early modern period benefit historical analysis of data visualizations? Analogies across space and time inevitably invite the critique of anachronism, but that doesn't mean they should be entirely abandoned. Perhaps they simply need to be balanced—like credits and debits—in the domain of historical understanding.

Kentigwern Jaouen (HU), From admiralty to the Navy of the Ponant: the evolution in the French maritime administration under Francis I

In 1515, the new king inherited a kingdom with no proper maritime administration as the French admiralty, inherited from the Middle Ages, was not efficient. The admiral was too far out of the king's charge, and the existence of local admiralties sparked debates regarding hierarchy. There was also a pressing need for a strong navy in order to protect the coast and for the Italian wars. The investment in naval forces was tremendous and linked to his projects of conquest, but an administration was also needed for running long constructions and providing expensive armaments. This led to the development of two administrative areas, the Levant (Mediterranean Sea) and the Ponant (western part, Atlantic). These two sections were part of the newly developed maritime administration, but Francis I also retained the ancient Admiralties in parallel to this newly established Navy. In this presentation I propose to study the way in which the new navy organization was created and implemented under Francis I, from the different acts and state papers of his reign as well as from the administration archives. We will observe how the medieval admiralty was used as the starting point for the new administration.

Kacper Kolęda (HU), Landscapes of Disaster: Visual Culture and Geological Knowledge in the Age of the Revolutions
My paper analyses the inundation of 18th-century European visual culture with the images of natural disaster, such as floods, earthquakes, fires, volcano eruptions, and storms. The explosion of disaster imagery happened when natural historians such as Comte de Buffon (1707-1788) conceptualized the so-called "deep time" by realizing that Earth's geological timescale exceeds imaginable human temporality. It was not only the point when human fragility within the geological timescale became widely felt, but also when global extractive efforts accelerated. Since these concerns occurred in the world shaken by the major political upheavals of the American, French, and Haitian revolutions, my paper will raise the question as to why the emergence of the motif of natural disaster converged with the beginning of geological and ecological consciousness. To answer this question, I will explore not only how the discourses of natural history informed the understanding of the environment in arts, but also how visual media, understood both in their popular and elite registers, created, altered and imagined other kinds of knowledge, working as active agents in this transformation. On this basis I propose that these artworks serve as indices of rapidly developing geological knowledge, its role in changing definitions of the environment, and the anxieties surrounding it.

Stephanie Leitzel (HU), Alum: The Anatomy of Monopoly before Modernity
Historians have long understood the economic significance of Italian control over alum – the mineral that kept dyes from running and being washed out of cloth. Not only was alum a non-negotiable input of textile production, itself the engine of urban and commercial growth in Italy and the Low Countries, but it fulfilled all the prerequisites of the perfect monopoly: there was a limited and concentrated supply of it, inelastic demand, and a lack of adequate substitutes for alum. Alum was a fulcrum of early monopoly formation, from the intense market control of Genoese merchants over the alum of Chios and Anatolia, to the 15th and 16th centuries, when Europe's growing textile industries found themselves predominantly tethered to one major source of alum in the hills of Tolfa, near Rome, which Florentine and Genoese merchant banks operated as a cartel with the Papacy. While most of the prominent economic historians of the Mediterranean in the 20th recognized the pivotal role of alum in Italian mercantile activities, studies have focused predominantly on the late Middle Ages and have rarely ventured into the sixteenth century. This is despite the fact that it was in this century that alum monopolization and

the output of Europe's Tolfa alum mines were at their peak – In the 16th century, alum was structurally part of the rise of "financialization" and the influence of Italian merchant-bankers in European markets and state financing. Nor have studies adequately considered papal alum accounts together with the records of dyers or the merchant-banks that distributed alum. As such, the actual coordination and business strategies that Italian merchant-bankers used to forge one of the most important premodern monopolies remains poorly understood. After fleshing out the deeper background of alum's relationship to Italian commerce, this talk will explore the international structure of component sub-contracts, farms, and import monopolies that made up the Tolfa alum monopoly in the twilight of Italian merchant power. I will discuss my research in the archives of 16th-century Florentine and Genoese alum monopolists, in particular the Pallavicini and Sauli (in Genoa's *Palazzo Durazzo*) and the Corsini bank, the most important Florentine firm in Elizabethan London, and the last major foreign controllers of alum trade beyond Mediterranean.

Sergio Leos (HU), Iberian Arrieros and the Circulation of Silver from the Spanish Indies
        In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries great amounts of silver were taken from the Americas and made part of exchanges throughout the world. Although its impact in important nodes of trade as far apart as Manila, Venice, and Luanda has been well established, the transient presence of this American silver in the hinterlands of the Iberian Peninsula as it was transported between port cities has been overlooked as an example of the implications of the unfolding imperial activity overseas for communities and individuals outside of metropolitan urban spaces.
        This paper explores the experiences of *arrieros*, mule drivers, who undertook the transport of silver from the Spanish Indies arriving on the Portuguese coast and moved to the administrative epicenter of Seville. Examining the *arrieros'* negotiations and observations along the inland routes when transporting these materials reveals how new patterns of movement and information exchange were built upon prexisting practices and responded to the stimulus of American connections.

Sharifa Lookman (PU), An Intermedial Antique: Sculpture in Scale and on Paper
In 1613, Antonio Susini (1558-1624), assistant turned 'master caster,' produced his most impressive work: a copy in bronze after the antique sculpture known as the Farnese Bull. Signed and dated on its base and extant in five copies, this work provides key information about Susini's practices once he left Giambologna's employ in 1600. Comparatively little has been written about Susini's take on the work, nor on his nephew Giovanni Francesco's own interpretation in the years thereafter. Using the reconstruction of the Farnese Bull, in marble and then bronze, as its linchpin, this paper endeavors to properly contextualize the Susinis' reduced interpretations of antique statuary within the realm of reconstruction, drawing and print, and measure. Invoking Leonard Barkan's description of period excavations of antique fragments as an "autopsy," it proposes to think capaciously about the sculptor's workshop and the implications of the fragmented body on fields like surgical reconstruction and the lifesize, an inference that I think breaks open the theoretical potential of the small-scale in bronze.
Proposing increased focus on the now invisible people and processes "in between" idea and artifact, this paper will think critically about the latitude between bronze casting's ephemeral practices and period reconstructions of antique statuary. It also reincorporates into the discussion

an odd, if somewhat experimental sketchbook autographed by Giovanni Francesco and dated to 1618, in which he translated several antique and contemporary sculptures into measured drawings. This notebook reopens questions of "the sketching sculptor," or *disegno* as a necessary conduit to the three-dimensional, and serves to expand our understanding of practitioners of the small-scale as engineers in their own right.

Anastasiia Lystsova (PU), Exploring the Boundary Between Liberties and Absolutism: The Political Language of the Polish-Lithuanian and Russian Intellectuals in the 1760-90s.
This presentation is a part of my thesis research titled *The Tsardom and the Commonwealth: Russian Empire and Polish Aristocracy on the Eighteenth Century.* The historical relationships between Poland and the Russian empire have been complex over the centuries, particularly marked by the Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, 1793 and 1795, orchestrated by the Russian Empire, Austria, and Prussia. In this presentation, I aim to delve into the period preceding the second and the third Partitions, focusing on the intricate political discourse existing within both nations. Central to this discourse are concepts such as absolutism and despotism (however, not limited only by them). I will explore these concepts through the lens of Polish-Lithuanian and Russian intellectuals and courters.
Thus, in my presentation I will brough up such questions as: What defined a despotic or absolutist nation during this time? How did fundamental law shape monarchies? How Polish-Lithuanian political philosophers perceived neighboring European countries to their West and East? I seek to provide insights into these questions, aiming to shed light on the differing perceptions of the political governance between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Empire.

Noga Marmor (HU), Belonging to the King: The Freedom Petition of an Individual Enslaved by the Spanish Crown
The Spanish crown owned enslaved individuals across its American territories throughout the colonial period. Despite their notable presence, few historians have studied their experience. My research focuses on royal slavery in the eighteenth-century Great Caribbean. By looking at royal institutions, the royal officials who managed them, and the royal slaves who labored in them, I examine how the Spanish crown used its ownership of enslaved persons to assert its control over people and territory; make its presence felt in its New World colonies; and implement imperial projects and agendas. No less important, I am interested in the ways in which the enslaved people tasked with the representation of imperial power and the execution of imperial schemes, understood their own positions in relation to the crown. I also ask how others understood those individuals' place within colonial society. Looking at a freedom petition sent in 1806 by Gabriel, an enslaved individual in Spanish New Orleans who was considered crown property ("slave of the king"), I ask what loyalty and sovereignty looked like from the point of view of someone who legally belonged to the king as property but presented himself as the king's loyal servant. The meaning of belonging to the king, and consequently, the meaning of royal imperial rule itself, could be understood very differently by royal officials, royal slaves, and the crown. These various understandings competed with one another on the pages of documents such as the freedom petition submitted by Gabriel, exposing the participation of enslaved individuals in the formulation of political ideas about royal imperial rule.

Kelly McCay (HU), Studying Shorthand in Seventeenth-Century England: Deciphering a Teacher's Manuscript

At last year's Harvard-Princeton Conference, I presented a series of printed and manuscript Bibles written in shorthand, positing that these books were of practical, pedagogical value for people studying the art of shorthand in seventeenth-century England. This year, I would like to speak on the study of shorthand, itself, and the place of printed shorthand manuals in learners' pursuit of stenographical proficiency. In this paper, I will consider how, why, and where a person went about studying the art of shorthand in seventeenth-century England. I will base my presentation primarily on a manuscript written (partly in shorthand) by Thomas Ratcliff, a bookseller who also invented and taught his own system of shorthand in his hometown of Plymouth (and beyond). In this manuscript, Ratcliff details his shorthand, his plans for publishing two manuals, and his pedagogical approach to teaching students both "young and old," "ingenious" and "dull of aprehension." From the cost of tuition to the recommended school supplies, from the default practice texts to specialized vocabularies of individual learners, this manuscript presents a vivid description of how a particular form of writing was studied in early modern England, with a level of detail that goes beyond even what we know of how students acquired basic literacy in longhand. In particular, the manuscript speaks to the important role of shorthand manuals, suggesting that even students who learned shorthand from a tutor would have likely acquired a manual, as well, as both a learning aid and reference text.

Linda Mueller (HU), "Seized from His Pocket:" The Drawing and Trial of Sugarcane Farmer Francisco de Campos da Silva from Rio de Janeiro

Colonial courts in New Spain and the Portuguese Empire, akin to their continental European counterparts, frequently encountered visual evidence—specifically drawings and pictographs—in early modern litigations, criminal trials, and civil or tribunal proceedings. The production and interpretation of these visuals involved a diverse range of Indigenous and European makers, alongside legal professionals trained in both the Americas and Europe, including Latin notaries, as well as Hispanic *escrivães* and *escribanos públicos*, who played a critical role in mediating verbal, visual, and oral traditions.

This paper aims to investigate the micropolitics surrounding a selected group of drawings, namely those involved in legal actions concerning Jews and their descendants, '*cristãos-novos'* and '*conversos*,' and their impact on legal decision-making processes at ecclesiastical courts, particularly at Inquisitorial tribunals. Addressing the use of drawings by both the defense and tribunal members, as well as notarial copy drawings by legal personnel, my talk explores the significance of drawing within the larger material culture and intellectual ecology of the early modern transatlantic legal spheres and emphasizes emerging 'countercultures' that appropriated the employed techniques and material properties of the legal-administrative paper trails.

Aleksander Musiał (PU), Hygiene Incorporated: the imprint of Russian Empire's communal bathhouses at the turn of the 19th century

The paper will examine the ideological implications of shaping Eastern European bodies and identities through representing public bath houses at the turn of the 19th century. An object of unprecedented scholarly, entrepreneurial, and artistic attention, bathhouses in the region would serve both to articulate their patrons' identity-formation and provide an illuminating case study within the changing notions of bodily physiology, on both practical and theoretical levels. By putting in a cross-national dialogue idealizing compositions by Mikhail Kozlovsky and their

further reception with pseudo-ethnographic views of the Finnish sauna, I will re-examine the tension between classicizing imagery evoked by the scenes of socially-permissible collective nakedness and the orientalizing perceptions of bathing practices activated through voyeuristic framing devices. The self-referential use of printing techniques and text/image relationships within the publications would provide both expressions of allegiance to and resistance against the centralizing ideology of the Russian state. In this context the experience of shared embodiment inside the Eastern European bath houses would serve to reorient the regional custom into either a unifying denominator for diverging populations of the newly expanded empire and a space of dissent against such an agenda. By disrupting both the oppositions of ancient vs. modern, and the West vs. the East, the paper will question the agency dynamics within the dominant scholarly narratives on 'inventing Eastern Europe' by drawing attention to the period's emerging primitivising discourse of anti-occidentalism.

Maryam Patton (HU), The Diversity of Time and Religious Space in Early Ottoman Istanbul
The political and economic crises of mid-17th century Ottoman Istanbul led to an urban transformation that erased many of the approximately one-hundred synagogues and churches that previously characterized the religious diversity of the city. Before this Islamization of Istanbul, the diversity of its places of worship was reflected in the pluralism of festivals and celebrations of holy days that oftentimes overlapped between communities. To walk through the different districts of Istanbul–Istanbul proper, Galata, Eyüp and Üsküdar–which each had concentrated communities of Jews, Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and Armenians, not to mention Muslims, would be like traversing different time zones. In this paper, I explore references to the religious, and thus temporal, diversity of 16th-century Istanbul to illustrate the locally and thus spatially embedded views of time.

Constantine Theodoridis (PU), The Problem with Ottoman Ambassadors in Seventeenth-Century Europe
While permanent embassies were gaining ground as the golden standard of Renaissance diplomacy, the Ottomans dispatched only a few ad-hoc envoys to European courts before the eighteenth century. This is often portrayed as a manifestation of Ottoman diplomatic unilateralism. Instead, my presentation explores how in the span of the seventeenth century the rising costs of court ceremonies, issues of translation and gift-giving, and feuds between competing mercantile factions created trans-imperial controversies that made the Ottomans hesitant to dispatch envoys, and Europeans content to not receive them.

Wes Viner (PU), Water Above and Fire Below: Thomas Lydiat's Biblical Cosmos
This presentation considers the tradition of Mosaic natural philosophy in early modern England, looking specifically at the religious and natural philosophical works of Thomas Lydiat. Lydiat wrote at a time when the compatibility between natural philosophy and the biblical text had become a critical issue, and adherents of each competing philosophical tradition claimed that their system was more faithful to the Bible than the rest. The Mosaic philosophers took this argument further, claiming to reject traditional philosophical authorities altogether in favor of a new natural philosophy built upon the Bible. The critical open question in the limited scholarship on Mosaic natural philosophy is whether they put their words into practice. Did the Bible truly

shape their views, or were their appeals to the biblical text little more than post hoc justification for the conclusions they wished to advance? Lydiat's writings suggest the former, at least in his case. For Lydiat, the Bible functioned as far more than a retroactive support for his unorthodox natural philosophy. The Bible—when read through Lydiat's particularly rigid hermeneutics—was the motive force that gave shape to his cosmos.

John White (PU), The World within a Whale
In a chalk, pen, and brush drawing from 1598, Hendrick Goltzius depicts the massive carcass of a sperm whale beached on the coast of the Dutch Republic. The flurry of activities taking place around and on the whale's body are almost too numerous to catalog: people at leisure, setting up tents, climbing the whale, harvesting its blubber, or beginning to assess and disassemble the animal's various parts.

This paper will argue that in the early modern period the whale served as a visual locus for people to come to grips with the inconceivable scale of the ocean and, indeed, of the earth. As the primary case study, I will examine the *Visboek* ("Fish Book"), an extensive illustrated study of fish, (beached) whales, and coastal and marine zones from 1580 by Adriaen Coenen. While many people have described Coenen and his handmade-looking book as unschooled or unskilled, I will treat it as a vital document for understanding early modern artistic preoccupations with the sea. I will situate the *Visboek* alongside roughly contemporaneous images of large fish and whales, including Goltzius' drawing and details from early modern maps, in order to establish that artists' primary concern was emphasizing and exaggerating the creatures' massive scale.

Indeed, this paper will consider the whale on spatial terms, not just visual ones. I will posit that the whale was seen essentially as a world unto itself. A significant number of medieval maps feature the Ka'ba surrounded by a sea in the shape of a whale, which scholars have related to certain Islamic traditions according to which "God created the earth upon a giant fish or whale (*hūt*)."[1] If the whale is understood as the center or beginnings of the earth itself, then the visual preoccupation with the whale and its large scale takes on the significance of a veritable search for origins. In this light, the phenomenon of beached whales is a harbinger of even more epic proportions.

Adriana Zenteno-Hopp (HU), Ritual Exchanges: Memorable Notions of the Divine
My dissertation, "Crafting Time: Memory and the Making of Identities in the Colonial Andes," focuses on native Andean perceptions of the pre-Hispanic past as they took shape during the colonial period. It asks how native people's interactions with other colonial subjects shaped their remembrance of past times, as well as how such interpretations of what had transpired in turn influenced the way native people carved out a space for themselves in colonial society. For this talk, I will be sharing a portion of the second chapter of my dissertation (Ritual Exchanges: Memorable Notions of the Divine) which focuses on the role indigenous and Afro-Andean religious specialists played in creating communal histories that connected native people to their origins in the deep pre-Hispanic past. It argues that religious specialists helped shape native people's interpretation of "Inca times"—that is, the period immediately preceding European invasion of the Americas—by simultaneously preserving certain elements of ancient indigenous

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[1] Simon O'Meara, *The Ka'ba Orientations: Readings in Islam's Ancient House* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 53.

knowledge and creating new knowledge that was legitimized by its ostensible connection to the Inca past.