

Introduction

THOMAS W. BARTON

University of California, San Diego

MARIE A. KELLEHER

California State University, Long Beach

ANTONIO M. ZALDÍVAR

California State University, San Marcos

In the opening pages of his own sweeping recent examination of the western Mediterranean within the context of world history, Teofilo Ruiz noted that it is impossible to write about the Mediterranean without recognizing the immense shadow cast by Fernand Braudel.¹ Braudel's ambitious goal was to write a *histoire totale* or «total history» that would complicate traditional political narratives by incorporating insights from

1. Teofilo F. RUIZ, *The Western Mediterranean and the World, 400 CE to the Present*, John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ and Chichester, 2018, p. 5. The bibliography devoted to reflecting on Braudel's legacy is vast. For some recent representative efforts, see Xavier GIL PUJOL, «Recepción de la Escuela de *Annales* en la historia social anglosajona», Fundación Juan March, Madrid, 1983, reprinted in *Tiempo de política. Perspectivas. historiográficas sobre la Europa moderna*, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2007, chap. 1; Jean-Claude ROUANO-BORBALAN, «Une date dans les *Annales: La Méditerranée* de Fernand Braudel», in J.-C. Rouano-Borbalan, ed., *L'histoire aujourd'hui*, Éditions Sciences Humaines, Paris, 1999, pp. 287-291; Peregrine HORDEN, «Mediterranean Excuses: Historical Writing on the Mediterranean since Braudel», *History and Anthropology*, 16 (2005), pp. 25-30; T. F. Ruiz, G. Symox, and G. Piterberg, eds., *Braudel Revisited. The Mediterranean World, 1600-1800*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2010; M. Fusaro, C. Heywood, and M.-S. Omri, eds., *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean. Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, I. B. Tauris, London and New York, 2020.

geography, anthropology, and economics (among other fields), devoting particular attention to the role of the physical environment in shaping a region that was simultaneously connected and divided.

Since the 1949 publication of *Le Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, late medieval and early modern historians have continued both to build upon and challenge Braudel's approach and arguments to expand the scope of our understanding of past Mediterranean societies. Two broad trends stand out within Mediterranean—specifically western Mediterranean—studies during the first two decades of the twenty-first century: an emphasis on the interactions that this inland sea facilitated (including interactions that stretched beyond its boundaries), and a shift from socio-economic to cultural and political (diplomatic) history.² The emergence of increasing numbers of historians with training in non-European languages,

2. For a general view of the vast historiography of the western Mediterranean in the late medieval and early modern period, see Peregrine HORDEN and Nicholas PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, Blackwell, Malden, MA, 2000; D. Abulafia, ed., *The Mediterranean in History*, Thames and Hudson, London, 2003 (translation, Barcelona, 2003); David ABULAFIA et al., *Mediterraneum. L'esplendor de la Mediterrània medieval, segles XIII-XV*, Lunwerg-Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània, Barcelona, 2004; A. Barbero, ed., *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo*, Salerno, Roma, 2006-2015, vols. 8-12; David ABULAFIA, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011 (translation, Barcelona, 2013). For examples of Mediterranean studies inspired by these trends, see Francesca TRIVELATO, *The Familiarity of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2009; Noel MALCOLM, *Agents of empire. Knights, corsairs, Jesuits and spies in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean world*, Allan Lane, London, 2015 (translation, Barcelona, 2016); M. Á. Pérez Samper, ed., *La Mediterrània a l'època moderna. Societat, poders i cultura*, Arpegio, Sant Cugat del Vallès, 2018; J. Dantí, ed., *Relacions mediterrànies a la Catalunya moderna*, Rafael Dalmau, Barcelona, 2018. Some influential scholarship has sought to explore these nexuses through biographical micro-histories: e.g., Mercedes GARCÍA-ARENAL and Gerard WIEGERS, *The Life of Samuel Pallache, a Jew of Fez*, Johns HOPKINS University Press, Baltimore, 2003 (translation, Madrid, 2007); Natalie Z. DAVIS, *Trickster Travels. A Sixteenth-century Muslim between Worlds*, Hill and Wang, New York, 2006 (translation, Valencia, 2008).

for example, has facilitated engagement with formerly less well-integrated zones of the Mediterranean. These scholars have drawn attention to overlooked dynamics and points of contact, and have added a greater focus on human action and diachronic change to the Braudelian emphasis on the historical agency of the physical environment.³ Recent academic gatherings and numerous publications attest to the Iberian Peninsula's central place in continuing debates regarding Mediterranean history. *Pedralbes* itself has served as a venue for new work, notably the dossiers in its last two volumes centering on Catalonia and the Mediterranean world.⁴

3. The nexus that has arguably attracted the most attention in the western Mediterranean is that between Iberia and North Africa. For example, see, Mercedes GARCÍA-ARENAL, Miguel Ángel BUNES IBARRA, and Victoria AGUILAR, *Repertorio bibliográfico de las relaciones entre la península ibérica y el norte de África, siglos XV-XVI: fuentes y bibliografía*, CSIC, Madrid, 1989; Miguel Ángel BUNES IBARRA and Mercedes GARCÍA-ARENAL, *Los españoles y el norte de África, siglos XV-XVIII*, Mapfre, Madrid, 1992; Hussein FANCY, *The Mercenary Mediterranean. Sovereignty, Religion, and Violence in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2016. Growing interest in the dynamics of this relationship has prompted the growth of scholarly collaborations over the past two decades, such as: «The Mediterranean Seminar», coordinated by Brian Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita (see their edited volume, *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2017); «Mediterranean Reconfigurations: Intercultural Trade, Commercial Litigation, and Legal Pluralism (15th-19th centuries)», directed by Wolfgang Kaiser, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne; «Grup d'Estudis d'Història del Mediterrani Occidental (GEHMO): Societat, poder i cultura a l'època moderna», directed by María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, Universitat de Barcelona; «Tripulaciones, armamentos, construcción naval y navegación en el Mediterráneo medieval», directed by Roser Salicrú i Lluçh and Eduardo Aznar, CSIC, Barcelona; «Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction (CORPI): Early Modern Iberia and Beyond», directed by Mercedes García-Arenal, CSIC, Madrid; and the «Spain-North Africa Project» (<http://www.spainnorthafricaproject.org>). These are just a few notable examples of the many projects and seminars that illustrate the widespread renewal in Mediterranean projects on both sides of the Atlantic.

4. «El món marítim mediterrani a l'època moderna, segles XVI-XVIII», *Pedralbes*, 38 (2018); and «Catalunya i el Mediterrani», *Pedralbes*, 39 (2019). The latter issue

The present dossier brings together seven essays that were originally presented at an international conference entitled *Iberia, the Mediterranean, & the World in the Medieval & Early Modern Periods*, organized by the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in October 2018. The essays that appear in the chapters that follow, together with thirteen additional papers from the conference to be published as *Constructing Iberian Identities, 1000-1700* are the product of the conference's stimulating intellectual environment and its participants' sophisticated engagement with these wide-ranging debates concerning the premodern Mediterranean and serve as a testament to the global nature of Mediterranean scholarship today. Although the essays in these two collections originated in this same conference and thus engage in a meaningful dialogue with each other, we have grouped and organized them to emphasize different perspectives and themes. The chapters of *Constructing Iberian Identities* focus on the intersections between identity and various socio-economic, cultural, and political fluctuations within the Iberian Peninsula between 1000-1700. The articles in this dossier, by contrast, are organized into three sections, each centering on specific themes involving links between peninsular societies and wider networks of contact and exchange: the centrality of trade, either in commodities or in ideas and practices; the impact of this interconnectedness on intellectual debates about government and geopolitical boundaries; and finally, the question of how burgeoning bureaucracies, language and historical expertise, and diplomacy contributed to the development of the early modern state.

One of the most enduring subjects of Mediterranean historiography has been the role that exchange, broadly speaking, played in connecting the various parts of the broader Mediterranean region. The traditional form of exchange that Mediterranean scholars have examined is the transfer of commodities, although scholars' questions sur-

gathered together the keynote papers presented at the *VIII Congrès d'Història Moderna de Catalunya*, Universitat de Barcelona, December 2018.

rounding these interactions have changed significantly over the decades, including a growing interest in the role that non-Christian or non-European agents played in Mediterranean commercial exchange.⁵ While the dominant strain of scholarship on the subject of commercial exchange has focused on the role played by port cities, where trade and exchange made those places avatars of a (limited) cosmopolitanism, other scholars have turned their attention to the commerce that flowed inland from these ports and cities, establishing ties far into the interior.⁶ In this latter vein, Elizabeth Comuzzi examines the traders themselves, focusing on the involvement of Italian merchants in the textile trade in the Catalan town of Puigcerdà. Her research builds upon earlier scholarship devoted to the links between the Mediterranean and the Pyrenean interior to offer further information on how networks of merchants penetrated far into the interior in terms not just of the goods traded but also the people involved in the trade itself.⁷ Such mercantile networks went beyond the exchange of goods to encompass

5. The study of the Cairo Geniza that emerged under the aegis of S. D. GOITEIN (e.g., *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols., University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1967-1993) has since blossomed under a new generation of scholars; see Olivia REMIE CONSTABLE, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World. Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003; Jessica GOLDBERG, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean. The Geniza Merchants and Their Business World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012; and Christophe PICARD, *La mer des califes. Une histoire de la Méditerranée musulmane (VIII-XIIIe siècle)*, Paris, Seuil, 2015 (translated into English in Cambridge, MA, 2018).

6. B. Marin and C. Virlovet, eds., *Nourrir les cités de Méditerranée: Antiquité - Temps modernes*, Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme and Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Aix-en-Provence and Madrid, 2003; Henk DRIESSEN, «Mediterranean Port Cities: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered», *History and Anthropology*, 16 (2005), pp. 129-41; Peregrine HORDEN, «Meshwork: Towards a Historical Ecology of Mediterranean Cities», in F. Frediani, ed., *The Mediterranean Cities between Myth and Reality*, Nerbini International, Lugano, 2014, pp. 37-51.

7. Patrice POUJADE, *Le voisin et le migrant. Hommes et circulations dans les Pyrénées modernes, XVIIe-XIXe siècle*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes, 2011.

ideas and practices that governed trade. Hilario Casado Alonso examines sixteenth-century maritime insurance policies and associated debts of the merchants of the city of Burgos to show how common this relatively novel practice had become for Spanish traders. In the process, he illuminates the scope of the personal and financial networks that underpinned the more familiar commercial networks of traders, and shows how these commercial practices fostered the development of entire new economic sectors that would eventually extend into Spain's growing Atlantic trade. In the final essay of the section, Kathryn Renton shows how ideas themselves could be part of Mediterranean exchange by analyzing Greek, Roman, and Arabic equestrian manuals to trace the interconnected development of a pan-Mediterranean horse culture. Although this culture differed in its details over time and place, several common features point to a shared ethos of elite horsemanship that crossed political, ethnic, and linguistic boundaries, thereby linking the separate regions of the Mediterranean basin.

The authors in the second section of this dossier turn their attention to diplomacy and statecraft as a function of Mediterranean cultural exchange, engaging with scholarship on the «cultural brokers» who acted as key mediators between the diverse groups that made up the medieval and early modern Mediterranean.⁸ Claire Gilbert explores the writings of the seventeenth-century Moroccan translator Jorge de Henin to argue for the development of a new type of *hombre de estado* whose expertise was defined by practical experience rather than a courtly *politesse*. The value of the early modern statesman type that Henin advocated for lay in a combination of skills that allowed him to act as an intermediary in the various religious, political, and economic rivalries that existed among the Mediterranean powers in the early modern era. Cultural brokerage also took place in the realm of political symbols: pointing to a «citrus craze» of the late Renaissance that paralleled the manias for tulips and sugar, Fabien Montcher shows how Mediter-

8. E. Natalie ROTHMAN, *Brokering Empire. Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 2014.

ranean diplomats, scholars, and princes used the symbolic meanings attached to citrus to communicate across spaces and cultural divides, conveying ideas from universal sovereignty to rhetorical sweetness in an era of political and religious conflict.

Finally, the authors featured in the last section of this dossier contribute to the scholarship on how European intellectuals processed contact with non-Europeans within the Mediterranean and beyond, most notably for the linkages between Spain and North Africa in the sixteenth century. Andrew Devereux examines Iberians' contacts with non-Abrahamic Gentiles in West Africa, the Canary Islands, and even the Americas, where biblical genealogies, political philosophy, and notions of sovereignty and slavery collided with the realities of encounter. Rounding out the section and the dossier, Yuen-Gen Liang examines early modern Spanish mapping projects' representations of the towns of the North African littoral to consider how mapped geographies were simultaneously scientific/measurable and subjective/cultural, and how «imaginaries of the unknown» could come into play, even in military contexts where precision was essential. Both of these articles demonstrate how the early modern European intellectual landscape was not solely the product of an emergent Western culture; it was also shaped by encounters between Europeans and Africans, and beyond.

Taken together, the essays in the following pages present a detailed panorama of the intricate workings of the premodern Mediterranean as renewed by recent historical studies on the western Mediterranean. In the spirit of the conference that occasioned them, the research questions posed and pursued by the European and North American scholars in these pages both extend and nuance the ongoing conversations among scholars on both sides of the Atlantic regarding the nature of Mediterranean connectivity and the way that Iberian societies shaped and were shaped by those interactions.

Yet there is one scholar whose work is missing—and sorely missed. Although Teofilo Ruiz's advocacy made both the conference and these ensuing publications possible, the work of the late Olivia Remie Constantine (1960-2014), whose path-breaking scholarship on Christian-Muslim social, cultural, and economic interactions forever changed how

scholars understood the Mediterranean, has been an equally potent inspiration for our collective efforts. In recognition of Professor Constable's innumerable contributions to the field throughout her life and the enduring influence of her work in the wake of her premature passing, we and the contributors dedicate this volume, with great affection, to her memory.