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Peninsularity: Iberian Studies and the Mediterranean Turn¹

Andrew W. Devereux

In *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Fernand Braudel analyzes the environmental features of the Mediterranean's numerous islands, as well as its mountains, coastlines, and peninsulas. Concerning the latter, Braudel writes, "The peninsulas are independent landmasses: the Iberian peninsula, Italy, the Balkan peninsula, Asia Minor, North Africa, the last apparently attached to the African continent, but in fact separated from it by the width of the Sahara."² Braudel's vision of the peninsulas as "independent landmasses" derives from their geographical features: "The high barriers closing off the peninsulas have made each of them a marginal world with its own characteristics, flavours, and accents."³ Such wording emphasizes the particularity of peninsulas, painting them as distinct and separate from the adjacent lands. It is no surprise that this discussion of peninsulas is embedded within Braudel's longer meditation on the Mediterranean's islands, a section in which the author notes the ways in which islands could be either insular (in the sense of isolation) or connective, as crucial nodes in networks spanning the breadth of the inner sea. Which of these poles a particular island favored could depend on the size of the island and the confluence of historical circumstances. Braudel's interpretation of Mediterranean islands as potentially vital players in the establishment of links to other parts of the sea basin can be extended to his view on the historical role played by the peninsulas: "For if the peninsulas have been partly cut off from the continental mainlands of Europe, Asia, and Africa, they have made up for it by their accessibility from the seaward side."⁴

It is this seaward side of the Iberian Peninsula, particularly that facing the Mediterranean, to which I now turn. In the past forty-odd years the study of medieval and early modern Iberia has undergone radical shifts, thanks to discoveries yielded through archival research, and to the emergence of a generation of scholars with the linguistic training to be able to read documents in Latin/Romance, Arabic, and/or Hebrew. To this, we might add that the field has

¹ I would like to acknowledge my debt to James Amelang, as an interlocutor on topics related to Mediterranean history, and for his generosity in sharing his meticulously compiled bibliographies on early modern history and cultural studies.

² Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. I, translated by Siân Reynolds (Berkeley & L.A.: University of California Press, 1995), 162 (first French edition, 1949).

³ Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, vol. I, 164.

⁴ Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, vol. I, 165.

been dramatically transformed through the application of new approaches and methodologies to venerable topics. Among these new approaches is the work of many historians of late medieval and early modern Iberia that has formed a constitutive part in the rise of the field of Mediterranean Studies. This article considers many of the recent developments and directions in scholarship on late medieval and early modern Iberia vis-à-vis the peninsula's relationship to the Mediterranean. My aim is to focus particular attention on work that examines Iberian historical processes against the geography and environment of the broader Mediterranean, as well as on work that addresses the mobility, connectivity, and exchange that Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, David Abulafia, and others have highlighted as being defining features of the premodern Mediterranean.⁵ These processes of mobility and connectivity are variously related to trade, human migration, or religious displacement and diaspora, but regardless, they are aspects that are in some way conditioned by the Mediterranean and its environmental, religious, and cultural diversity. In particular, this survey engages with recent work that looks at the Mediterranean as a zone of imperial interest for early modern Spain, as well as work that offers interventions in the fields of religious history, conversion, displacement/diaspora, and captivity. In doing so, I highlight the contributions historians of Iberia have made to the wider field of Mediterranean Studies, and I note possible new directions in the field that we might see in the years ahead. In keeping with the theme of peninsularity, it is worth remembering that the Mediterranean coastline is but one of Iberia's maritime interfaces. While focused on scholarship treating Iberia and the Mediterranean, this survey will also consider the relationship between Mediterranean Studies and the field of Atlantic history, pointing to areas in which the two fields have informed one another as well as ways in which they might stimulate new directions in complementary ways in the future.

Unity in Diversity?

In 2000, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell injected new dynamism into the field of Mediterranean Studies with the publication of their tome, *The Corrupting Sea*, followed in 2006 by their contribution to the forum in the *American Historical Review* on Oceans of History, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology'."⁶ Horden and Purcell's conceptual approach represents a novel way to think about the premodern Mediterranean, one that recognizes a particularly Mediterranean form of unity that is generated through the diversity

⁵ See, in particular, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); and David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

⁶ Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*; and *ibid.*, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology'," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 722-740.

imposed by the region's varied micro-ecologies, as well as through the development of a risk-management regime that stimulated contact and exchange with other parts of the Sea.⁷ In this respect, Horden and Purcell's model represents a revision of Braudel's "ecologizing" vision of the Mediterranean, in favor of an "interactionist" dynamic.⁸

Horden and Purcell's impact on Mediterranean Studies can be discerned in the wealth of scholarship produced over the past two decades that employs, engages with, or contests some of their ideas. Many of the scholars who have adopted a Mediterranean framework have done so because they have found that the phenomena of connectivity described by Horden and Purcell serve as a compelling model for their own subject, or because using the regional framework of a maritime system is an effective counter to the anachronistic barriers imposed by writing within the categories established by historiographies developed within the parameters of the modern nation-state. *The Corrupting Sea* stood at the precipice of a wave of innovative scholarship that has appeared in the past two decades that treats the Mediterranean and its islands, coasts, and hinterlands in creative, novel, stimulating, and productive ways.⁹ In broad terms, this new approach tends to de-center the nation-state as a category of analysis, and seeks to illuminate the full complexity of interfaith relations in the premodern Mediterranean world. This new wave of scholarship interprets the premodern Mediterranean as a zone that was connected through mobility, and recent work tends to eschew utilizing essentializing categories concerning religious identity or geographical boundaries, including those that have been used in the past to draw essentializing distinctions between Europe and North Africa, or between Europe and Asia.

Instead, new scholarship generally views boundaries (geographic, national, religious, and other) as permeable or porous. Evidence of those developments in the field can be seen in the 2017-edited collection, *Can We Talk Mediterranean?*¹⁰ The volume includes contributions by five scholars reflecting on ways in which the "Mediterranean turn" has informed their scholarship, or has

⁷ Horden and Purcell argue that, in the premodern era, a degree of precariousness and risk characterized life in most Mediterranean locales. The management of that risk through various strategies, including regular contact and exchange with other parts of the Mediterranean, was a defining feature of premodern Mediterranean societies. See Horden and Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology,'" 732-733.

⁸ For this distinction, see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 10-13.

⁹ See, for example, Abulafia, *The Great Sea*; see also the following collection of essays: Gabriel Piterberg, Teófilo Ruiz, Geoffrey Symcox, eds., *Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World, 1600-1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

¹⁰ Brian Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita, eds., *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

shifted the discussions in their field. Beginning from the position that employing a Mediterraneanist approach can assist in destabilizing essentialist categories, the contributors, including specialists in Art History, Literature, Religious Studies, and History, present an assessment of the benefits as well as the limitations of employing a Mediterranean framework as a heuristic device. The contributions to *Can We Talk Mediterranean?* embody the trans-disciplinary approach of the new Mediterranean Studies, and point to the range of scholarly potentials opened up by a move away from traditional, “national” approaches to historical questions.

These seismic shifts in Mediterranean studies have pushed the fields of Iberian and Mediterranean Studies in productive new directions, while simultaneously suggesting ways to reconsider the relationship between the Iberian Peninsula and the broader Mediterranean zone. One example of these transformations can be seen in the volume of essays edited by Núria Silleras-Fernández and Michelle Hamilton in 2015, *In and Of the Mediterranean: Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies*.¹¹ Drawing on Horden and Purcell’s distinction between studies “in” and “of” the Mediterranean, many of the essays adopt an approach that engages with processes conditioned by Mediterranean dynamics in order to achieve a fuller, more nuanced vision of the relationship between Iberia and the Mediterranean in matters as varied as interfaith relations, intellectual history, literary history, and mobility.¹²

1492: Rupture, and Continuity

In “1492 and the Cleaving of Hispanism,” Barbara Fuchs notes that the confluence in that year of the Castilian acquisition of Granada and Columbus’ first trans-Atlantic crossing render “1492” a seductive date at which to locate the beginning of the Spanish Empire.¹³ The Atlantic (and Castilian) character of this imperial course is implicit, with the result being that studies of Spain’s early modern empire have historically tended to focus relatively little attention on the Mediterranean or on the monarchy’s Pacific interests in the Philippines.

¹¹ Michelle M. Hamilton and Nuria Silleras-Fernández, eds., *In and Of the Mediterranean: Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies (Hispanic Issues)* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015).

¹² For the distinction between “in” and “of” the Mediterranean, see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 9. As they articulate elsewhere, a study that is “history in” the Mediterranean is “only contingently or indirectly Mediterranean.” See Horden and Purcell, “The Mediterranean and ‘the New Thalassology,’” 730. For Horden and Purcell, any study that is “history of” the Mediterranean must engage in some way with the geography and environment of the Mediterranean. In studies “of” the Mediterranean, the Sea is not incidental. Rather, it is crucial, fundamental to the processes under examination.

¹³ Barbara Fuchs, “1492 and the Cleaving of Hispanism,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 493-510; see especially 495-96.

By default, the Mediterranean (and Aragonese) angle of Iberian expansion and engagement became associated with the medieval era, while the Atlantic World, and the rise of Castilian interests to the forefront, became emblematic of the early modern, of “Golden Age” Spain. In other words, this tendency to segregate the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, the Aragonese and the Castilian, was both geographic and chronological, and it was a function of periodization.¹⁴ The “annus mirabilis” of 1492 became reified as the demarcator between two eras. What is more, the emphasis on 1492 as a watershed privileges Castilian history over that of the other peninsular kingdoms of Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre.

To follow this periodization, however, serves to reify the teleological perspective of more traditional studies that depicted the conquest of Granada as the culmination of the “Reconquista,” or that portrayed Columbus’ Atlantic sailings as an immediate outgrowth of the militant energies honed during Spain’s centuries of warfare against an Islamic foe, but a process that now produced the first modern overseas empire. Such an approach is ahistorical, and it clouds our perception of the actual processes that produced these events of 1492 and our understanding of the years that followed. By moving away from this reification of sharp periodization between medieval and early modern, between crusade and imperial conquest, we can better interpret moments of expansionism that do not fit this periodization so neatly.

Among these oft-overlooked processes, we should consider the conquest of the Canary Islands, begun in the 1340s with the first incursions there by Italian, Catalan, and Portuguese adventurers, but not completed until the mid-1490s by Castile. Shifting to North Africa and the Mediterranean, it would be productive to think about the Castilian conquest of Granada in a broader context that takes into consideration not only Spanish conquests in the Maghrib, begun in 1497, but also the Portuguese expansion into Morocco, begun in 1415. Arguably it was the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in that year, followed by the conquest over subsequent decades of a string of other cities and fortresses stretching south along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, that launched Portugal on a path to imperial expansion.¹⁵ This process, which brought Portuguese caravels to the Gulf of Guinea by the 1440s, was in part an attempt to circumvent the trans-Saharan traders and to attain direct access to the West African sources of gold and slaves, a

¹⁴ Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003); Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los Reyes Católicos: La Corona y la unidad de España* (Valencia?: Asociación Francisco López de Gómara, 1989).

¹⁵ For an overview of Portuguese expansion and the rise of the Lusophone empire, see: A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993).

trade network that historically had reached Mediterranean entrepôts along the Maghribi coast via Saharan ports such as Sijilmasa.

Of course, Portugal's Atlantic situation renders it exceptional among Iberian polities, in that it has no Mediterranean coastline (it should be noted, though, that prior to the Granada War, 1482-1492, Castile's Mediterranean coastline was limited to a short strip along Murcia and another short stretch running northeast from Tarifa to just beyond Gibraltar). Indeed, whether the history of Portugal should be approached from the vantage point of the Mediterranean has been the subject of at least one conference panel.¹⁶ To use the criterion of possessing a seafront on the Mediterranean as determining whether a polity is examined in conjunction with other Mediterranean territories would obscure aspects of Portuguese history that might be best understood as products of broader Mediterranean dynamics of interfaith relations, commercial linkages, and the like. What is more, it hides the deep entanglement of the Mediterranean and Atlantic shores of southern Iberia, not to mention the Mediterranean and Atlantic littorals of the Maghrib.

Recent scholarship now integrates these processes of expansionism, Portuguese as well as Castilian and Aragonese, into broader Mediterranean, Atlantic, and even global, frames. Such an approach allows us to consider early modern Iberian expansion into the Mediterranean in a new light. The reason for the traditional segmentation of Spanish North Africa as separate from Spain's colonial interests in the Americas seems fairly obvious: Spanish North Africa did not resemble Spanish America. A variety of factors, including disparities in susceptibility to disease, domesticated animals such as the horse, among other causes, determined that Spain's early modern empire in the Americas became a territorial empire in a way that its North African *presidios* never did. The result has been that Spain's early modern North African borderlands were long neglected as a topic of interest for scholars, nor were they understood as a true sphere of imperial aspiration.¹⁷

Shifting the geographical and chronological perspective, however, offers productive new ways of interpreting the Iberian presence in North Africa and in the wider Mediterranean. In considering fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iberian expansion into North Africa, recent scholarship has begun to analyze this more in conjunction with the establishment of Castilian colonial outposts in the Caribbean and the general trajectory of the history of the early modern Iberian overseas

¹⁶ "Was Medieval Portugal Mediterranean?": session co-organized by Brian Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita for the 42nd meeting of the *Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, Lisbon, Portugal (1 July 2011).

¹⁷ This scholarly neglect is reflected in the fact that Andrew Hess labeled the western Mediterranean between southern Iberia and the Maghrib the "forgotten frontier." See Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: a history of the sixteenth-century Ibero-African frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978)

empires. While Portugal was precocious in conquering strategic spots along the Moroccan coast, by the late fifteenth century Castile and Aragon were engaged in a similar process: beginning in 1497, with the acquisition of Melilla, and up to the incorporation of Tripoli into the Crown of Aragon (1510), the Spanish monarchy maintained an imperial presence along the coast of North Africa for centuries (Orán was ruled from Spain until 1792, while Melilla and Ceuta remain under Spanish rule today). In the early phases of overseas expansion, Spanish conquests in the Americas and eastward into the Mediterranean were conducted simultaneously, and yet these phenomena have only recently been examined in conjunction with one another. Can examining these ventures in an integrated fashion reveal anything about relative priorities of the Crown, or about broader imperial ideologies? Revealingly, during the first decades after 1492, Castile and Aragon devoted more soldiers and resources to Mediterranean engagements than American.¹⁸ What does this fact suggest about relative geo-political priorities, or, on a more basic level, about early modern Iberians' cosmographical incorporation of the Americas into their worldview? The costs of maintaining the *presidios* of the Maghrib, in manpower and provisions, were exorbitant.¹⁹ In light of those expenses, how should we think about early modern Spain's North African commitments? What were the strategic, commercial, geo-political, and religious reasons underpinning Spain's maintenance of these sites for so long? Can this early modern moment of Spain's imperial aspirations in the Mediterranean be better understood by examining it in the context of the Catalan-Aragonese dynastic and commercial interests that spanned the entire breadth of the inner sea from the thirteenth century on?²⁰ The very fact of the medieval Crown of

¹⁸ On the relative numbers of ships and soldiers committed to Mediterranean and Caribbean ventures in the first two decades of expansion in both spheres, see Andrew W. Devereux, *The Other Side of Empire: Just War in the Mediterranean and the Rise of Early Modern Spain* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2020), 9-10.

¹⁹ Maintaining a sizeable enough Christian population to hold the *presidios* was a problem from the earliest years of conquest. On this, see correspondence from the Viceroy of Sicily, Hugué de Moncada, to King Ferdinand of Aragon, from October 1511, printed in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. 24 (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Calero, 1854; facsimile edition: Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1966), 117-118. For a study of the conditions of life in the *presidios*, see: Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "La vida en los presidios del Norte de África," in *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Magreb (siglos XIII-XVI)*, edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and María J. Viguera (Madrid: CSIC, 1988). On the problems of supplying enough food, see: Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, "Contribución al estudio de los presidios españoles del Norte de África: las dificultades de la plaza de Ceuta para abastecerse de trigo, 1640-68," *Hispania* 35, no. 130 (1975): 321-342.

²⁰ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire 1229-1327*, *The English Historical Review*, supplement 8 (London: Longman, 1975). This article is reprinted, along with fifteen others, in the following collection: J.N. Hillgarth, *Spain and the Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages: Studies in Political and Intellectual History*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2003).

Aragon's trans-Mediterranean commitments has determined that scholars working in that field have long adopted approaches that integrate the study of the constituent kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon into a Mediterranean perspective. A recent example of this tendency is Flocel Sabaté's edited collection, *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire*.²¹ Many of the contributors to this volume analyze aspects of the late medieval Crown of Aragon (artistic and literary production, religious history, trade, administrative history and the control of Mediterranean space, etc.) within a broadly Mediterranean framework. Taken as a whole, in this volume the scope of this Mediterranean lens stretches from Occitania, to the islands of the central Mediterranean, eastward to Greece.

Shifting forward to the sixteenth century and beyond, how did this medieval precedent inform early modern Iberian policies vis-à-vis the Mediterranean? What was the relationship between early modern Spain's North African and Italian territories and the monarchy's relations with the Ottoman Empire? How does adopting a more Mediterranean approach help bring these matters into clearer focus?

Taking up Fuchs' call, in recent years a generation of scholars of Iberian studies has produced work that writes across the barrier imposed by 1492, noting continuities as well as transformations, but engaging with scholarship on both sides of the temporal boundary to achieve a fuller understanding of historical phenomena in fields as varied as religious history, legal history, literature, and diasporic studies.²² For example, scholars today now consider early modern Spanish expansionism in the Mediterranean as informed by the deeper historical precedents of medieval Arago-Catalan Mediterranean interests. David Abulafia has noted the traditionally Aragonese origins of Ferdinand the Catholic's Mediterranean policies and priorities, pointing in particular to his Italian

²¹ Flocel Sabaté, ed., *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

²² The argument for detecting continuities spanning the 1492-watershed is not intended to diminish the fact that, for millions of the earth's inhabitants, the events set in motion by European intervention in the Americas brought momentous change in the form of displacement, exile, and death through the combined forces of war, enslavement, forced labor, and disease. Seen from the perspective of the indigenous populations of the Americas, one would be hard-pressed not to see the year "1492" and those immediately following as a moment of profound rupture. See: Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (30th Anniversary edition) (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2003). Similar arguments could be made regarding Iberia's Sephardic Jewish population, for whom 1492 (in Castile and Aragon) and 1496-1497 (in Portugal) represented the end of a millennium-and-a-half of Jewish history on Iberian soil. For the Nasrid rulers of the emirate of Granada, the year signaled the defeat of the last Islamic polity in the peninsula.

commitments, but to his designs on North Africa and the Duchy of Athens as well.²³

In 2011, Barbara Fuchs and Yuen-Gen Liang co-edited a special issue of the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, titled *A Forgotten Empire: The Spanish-North African Borderlands*, that suggested approaching Spain's early modern Mediterranean interests not as distinct from the Spanish Empire of the Americas, but as one component of what was fast becoming a global empire, one that assumed different forms of settlement and interaction in places as far afield as North Africa, Italy, New Spain, or the Philippines. Since then, several monographs have shed light on the Mediterranean in early modern Spanish political thought, on mechanisms of conquest, and the administration of empire in a variety of Mediterranean settings.

Yuen-Gen Liang's *Family and Empire: The Fernández de Córdoba and the Spanish Realm* (2011) presents a granular analysis of one Andaluz family across several generations, tracing the Fernández de Córdoba from their ancestral holdings along the late medieval frontier with Nasrid Granada up through their roles in administering newly-conquered zones in Algeria and in the Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre.²⁴ Liang's contributions here are manifold: he presents us with an innovative understanding of the mechanisms of power and governance in early modern monarchies, suggesting that power was not disseminated or exercised solely in a top-down form, but that it could radiate along more horizontal axes as well (represented here by individuals who played key roles in administrative positions). Another of the book's contributions lies in Liang's close analysis of the ways in which a family could develop skills and then pass those skills down from generation to generation, rendering the family nearly indispensable to the Crown as the monarchy sought to maintain control of far-flung realms abutting potential enemy territories. Finally, Liang situates his book as a study of early modern empire in the Mediterranean, but one that also embodies the features Horden and Purcell associate with histories "of" the Mediterranean. In this regard, Liang is attentive to the local contingencies and geographies of sites such as North Africa, Andalucía, or Navarre, but he clearly demonstrates the networks of connectivity (familial, martial, commercial, etc.) that bound these different zones together under the early modern Habsburg monarchy.

²³David Abulafia, "Ferdinand the Catholic: King and Consort," in *Man Behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History*, ed. Charles Beem and Miles Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 33-53. See also Abulafia's contribution to the following collection: Flocel Sabaté, ed., *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

²⁴ Yuen-Gen Liang, *Family and Empire: The Fernández de Córdoba and the Spanish Realm* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

In a similar vein, in 2020 José Miguel Escribano-Páez published *Juan Rena and the Frontiers of Spanish Empire, 1500-1540*.²⁵ Like Liang's *Family and Empire*, Escribano-Páez's study of the Venetian Juan Rena posits a view of imperial structures that is far less top-down than older scholarship used to portray. In this book, Juan Rena emerges as a dynamic, resourceful figure who possessed the personal connections and financial and military knowledge and wherewithal to make himself invaluable to the Spanish Crown in its attempts to shore up territories in North Africa and the Pyrenees. This is a bottom-up history of empire, one that presents us with a vivid picture of the variety of liminal spaces that existed along the borders of Spanish-controlled territory in the Old World, especially the frontier zones of Spain's North African possessions and Navarre. What is more, in chapter 4 of his study, Escribano-Páez looks at Rena's role in the Spanish construction of a maritime frontier designed to forestall Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean. Here the dynamics of the early modern imperial rivalries, centered on the inner sea, are central.

The imperial rivalry between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire that Escribano-Páez explores in the setting of the central Mediterranean is but one of several of the imperial rivalries that shaped the geo-political scene of the early modern Mediterranean. These rivalries are the subject of a collection of essays, edited by Barbara Fuchs and Emily Weissbourd, that span a variety of disciplinary approaches to studying empire in the early modern Mediterranean.²⁶ Drawing on cartographic representations, drama, literature, and diplomatic rhetoric, the contributors to this collection demonstrate the ways in which imperial rivalries among the Spanish, Ottomans, French and others were negotiated, and the ways in which difference in the form of religious or racial alterity was articulated and constructed in this fraught context.

In my own work, I have argued for incorporating Spain's early modern Mediterranean interests into an understanding of Spanish political thought on conquest, just war, and empire.²⁷ My view here is that assessing the Mediterranean background to many of the questions that scholars have addressed in the context of the Americas helps us to recognize continuities as well as ruptures between the Spanish empire in the Old World and the New. It is known, for instance, that arguments over the criteria for "just war" were paramount in debates over the Spanish conquests in the Americas.²⁸ But examining these

²⁵ José M. Escribano-Páez, *Juan Rena and the Frontiers of Spanish Empire, 1500-1540* (London & New York: Routledge, 2020).

²⁶ Barbara Fuchs and Emily Weissbourd, eds., *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

²⁷ Devereux, *The Other Side of Empire*.

²⁸ Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949); Anthony Pagden, "Dispossessing the barbarian: the language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians," in

debates from the perspective of Spain's global interests, a perspective that includes legal arguments over the justice of conquests in Islamic North Africa and in Catholic Navarre, brings into relief the degree to which Mediterranean precedents informed American arguments and, simultaneously, broke down as a result of the incongruity of circumstances.

The works highlighted here all situate early modern Spanish interests in the Mediterranean within the framework of studies of empire, some in a specifically Mediterranean context, others with an eye to more global implications. Scholarly findings in this area have ramifications for the way we think about Spanish commitments in settings both within and beyond the Mediterranean: how did individuals' skill sets, honed in a Mediterranean setting (and sometimes developed over generations in a particular family), contribute to the administration and governance of conquered territories? What implications do the findings on administrators' family networks hold for studies of empire in the Americas or in Asia? Working across the medieval-early modern divide imposed by 1492, can we detect ways in which the medieval Catalan experience of Mediterranean expansion served as a template for the policies Ferdinand "the Catholic" pursued from 1497 on, and particularly after Queen Isabella's death in 1504, when he turned his attention more fully to pursuing an Aragonese Mediterranean agenda modeled on that of his forbears? What is revealed through an examination of the persistence of crusading policies and ideology, not just beyond 1492, but well into the seventeenth century?²⁹ Examining the thirteenth-through fifteenth-century precedents, however, reveals discontinuities as well: where the medieval Crown of Aragon had established consuls in North African cities that remained under the sovereignty of the Hafṣids or the Zayyānids (both of which dynasties allowed enclaves of Christian merchant communities in their coastal cities), Ferdinand pursued a more aggressive tack, establishing points of Spanish sovereignty along the North African littoral, a protocol followed by his successor Charles V in his conquest of Tunis (1535).

What is more, it has become a given that Spanish designs on the Maghrib were limited to the coastal enclaves, in other words that they adhered to a very different pattern of territorial control than did their conquests in the Americas. Yet, in instructions that Ferdinand wrote to his naval commander Pedro Navarro, the king raised the possibility of a territorial conquest in the hinterland of Tunis, tentatively planned for the summer of 1511, one that would reach deep into the

The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79-99.

²⁹ Consider, for instance, Lope de Vega's 1609-poem, *Jerusalén Conquistada*, or the exhortation to crusade preached by Franciscus Quaresmius in 1626: *Jerusalem Afflicted: Quaresmius, Spain, and the Idea of a Seventeenth-Century Crusade*, ed. Chad Leahy and Ken Tully (London & New York: Routledge, 2019).

interior.³⁰ This assault never occurred, but the correspondence between the monarch and Pedro Navarro raises the question about models of expansion, and the degree to which Iberian experiences in different parts of the globe operated as templates for other ventures. The two models of expansion discussed here, one based on the limited sovereignty established through controlling strategic points such as *presidios* and islets, the other considering the possibility of territorial acquisition, raise the question of the degree to which Spanish policies were informed by Portuguese practice in West Africa, where the Portuguese pursued a policy based on *feitorias* which, like a *presidio*, were limited in their territorial expanse.³¹ Correspondence from the 1490s and early 1500s shows the intensity of engagement between Castile and Portugal, sometimes exploding into open rivalry, and at other times cooperative, as illustrated through marriage alliances and plans for joint crusading ventures. While Portuguese and Castilian spheres of expansion were formally delimited by treaties and papally-sanctioned agreements, we know that subjects of each crown moved in and out of one another's zones, sometimes with severe consequences, although the frequency with which these incidents appear in the archival record suggests that such transgressions more often went unpunished. Therefore, the possibility that Portuguese experience in North and West Africa might have informed Castilian and Aragonese practices of colonization in North Africa is entirely plausible. Indeed, viewing these two Iberian empires in less dichotomous terms, and interpreting their early modern expansionary strategies as less divergent is precisely the point Sanjay Subrahmanyam articulates in an article published in 2007.³² Another question worth considering is the extent to which Castile's early decades in the Americas in turn informed Spanish objectives or models of empire in the Mediterranean. In terms of imperial ideologies, what was the relationship between doctrines of just war against Muslim or Catholic foes in the Mediterranean and claims of evangelical conquest as played out in the Americas? These are questions, many of which beg for deeper inquiry, that are most productively approached by integrating Mediterranean imperial expansion into a more global framework, and

³⁰ Devereux, *The Other Side of Empire*, 111-112.

³¹ On Portuguese overseas expansion, see Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move*; on the legal and moral questions raised by this expansionary process, see Giuseppe Marcocci, *A Consciência de um Império: Portugal e o seu Mundo, Sécs. XV-XVII* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2012).

³² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (December 2007): 1359-1385. Here, particularly on p. 1383, Subrahmanyam suggests that, rather than seeing the early modern era in terms of divergent imperial practices in the Spanish and Portuguese worlds, with Spain developing a terrestrial, tribute-based empire, while Portugal was maritime and trade-based, it makes better sense to see differences between the two empires as diverging along the lines of Asian interests and Atlantic interests, with differing tactics employed based on the existing fiscal and state structures the two empires encountered in the eastern and western hemispheres.

that would benefit from more comparative work examining Portuguese and Spanish history in a more integrated fashion.

The shifts we have seen over the past decade have brought to the fore a number of questions surrounding Spain's early modern extra-Iberian possessions in and around the Mediterranean, including in Italy, Navarre, and North Africa. For specialists in the field, this arena no longer qualifies as a "forgotten empire." This new scholarship represents Spain's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mediterranean commitments less as an afterthought, something eclipsed with the events of 1492, even if the territorial form and the pretext of evangelical conquest were less a factor in Spain's North African territories than in their American counterparts. Rather, recent work points to Spain's Mediterranean imperial commitments as a set of long-standing and significant interests in their own right that persisted even after specie began flowing in from the silver mines of New Spain and Peru. Indeed, scholars now recognize that Spain's Italian possessions (gleaned through a combination of dynastic unions and military conquest) along with their North African *presidios* (acquired through conquest, but at great cost and maintained only through the garrisoning and constant provisioning of soldiers in these spots) together formed complementary components in a Mediterranean geo-political and ideological strategy designed to contain or perhaps, with luck, defeat Spain's principal rivals for empire in the Old World, the Ottoman Empire and France.³³

Borderlands and Boundary-Crossers

In traditional scholarship, the Iberian Peninsula (particularly during the medieval era) was treated as exceptional, unique, or peripheral to the European "core."³⁴ Recent scholarship has adopted a different approach, recognizing that there were circumstances of interfaith and demographic relations that persisted in Iberia far longer than anywhere else on the European continent, but positioning the analysis of these relationships against a broader Mediterranean backdrop and invoking comparisons with zones such as Sicily, Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, and the Balkans – territories that were likewise home to religiously pluralistic societies at various points during the premodern era. In the words of Suzanne Conklin Akbari,

³³ Fuchs and Weissbourd, eds., *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean*; and Devereux, *The Other Side of Empire*.

³⁴ This exceptionalism extended to studies of the Islamic era of Iberian history. In these, al-Andalus, along with its neighbor, the Maghrib, was often portrayed as exceptional, and peripheral to the heartlands of the Islamic World. See: Abigail Krasner Balbale, Andrew W. Devereux, Camilo Gómez-Rivas, and Yuen-Gen Liang, *Spanning the Strait: Studies in Unity in the Western Mediterranean*, a special issue of the journal *Medieval Encounters* 19 (2013): 1-40, especially at 7-10.

medieval Iberia was “a Mediterranean in microcosm, a polity and a history unimaginable without the broader backdrop of Mediterranean history.”³⁵

In addition to being defined by the complexities of interfaith relations among members of the three major Abrahamic religious traditions, the medieval Iberian Peninsula has long been understood as a frontier society, and significant contributions have been made in recent years in re-conceptualizing the dynamics of Iberian frontier spaces.³⁶ Perhaps one way to trace continuities across 1492 would be to think of certain dynamics of medieval Iberian society being transposed, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, onto a broader Mediterranean stage. We might think of practices of captive-taking in the sixteenth-century Sea of Alborán as an outgrowth of an economy of captive-taking and ransoming that had deep roots in Iberia proper. Or, while a *status quo* of religious pluralism in Iberia underwent dramatic shifts during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Spanish *presidios* and Ottoman regencies of North Africa continued to be sites of religious pluralism where the borderlands dynamic allowed for mobility and for somewhat porous boundaries between the different faiths.

The human mobility inherent in this borderlands paradigm is discernible in Iberia’s interactions with other zones of the Mediterranean as well. With the Aragonese conquest and incorporation of the Kingdom of Naples (1504), and the Habsburg acquisition of the Duchy of Milan (1535), the ties linking Iberia to Italy were thickened, thereby drawing increasingly large numbers of Italians into the networks spanning the western Mediterranean and extending into Atlantic waters.³⁷ The relationship between the two peninsulas allowed for the relative ease of movement of Italians, particularly Genoese, into the Iberian realms of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal. For over six decades now, scholars have recognized the vital role the Genoese played, not just in the late medieval Mediterranean, but in the early modern era as well, and indeed in the dramatic processes of Portuguese and Castilian overseas expansion. The field-defining

³⁵ Suzanne Conklin Akbari, “Introduction: The Persistence of Philology,” in *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 3–24, here at 10.

³⁶ See the following: *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI-XIV)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2001); and: María J. Feliciano and Leyla Rouhi, eds., *Interrogating Iberian Frontiers*, special issue of *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3 (2006).

³⁷ Carlos José Hernando-Sánchez, *El Reino de Nápoles en el Imperio de Carlos V: La consolidación de la conquista* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001). Thomas Dandeleť’s *Spanish Rome*, published in 2001, examines what might be termed Spain’s “soft empire,” a form of power that the Crown exerted in the eternal city through artistic, religious, and cultural patronage, as well as via the numerous Spanish diplomats stationed there. In Dandeleť’s study, the role of the Spanish churches in Rome proved critical in the weight of influence Spain was able to wield there. See: Thomas Dandeleť, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

work in English in this area was Ruth Pike's *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World*, published in 1966.³⁸ Since that date, however, many scholars have examined the role played by Genoese merchants and bankers, not just in the Portuguese colonization of Madeira or the Castilian incorporation of the Canary Islands, but also in Portugal's expansion southward down the Atlantic coast of Africa and in the commercial and financial systems of Iberian cities themselves, particularly sixteenth-century Seville.³⁹ Indeed, the Genoese worked closely within the structures of Spain's Mediterranean territorial possessions, often playing important commercial and financial roles in Italy. Céline Dauverd's study, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Genoese Merchants and the Spanish Crown*, brings to the fore the symbiotic relationship that developed between the Spanish Crown and Genoese merchant bankers in Italy, particularly in the Kingdom of Naples. Dauverd's analysis centers the *mezzogiorno* kingdom in a broader canvas spanning the entirety of the Mediterranean and beyond, tracing the ways in which the Habsburgs and the Genoese formed common cause in the face of fears of Ottoman westward expansion. Through economic, political, and even spiritual alliance, the Spanish Crown and the Genoese worked together in a mutually reinforcing relationship.⁴⁰ In addition to the role they played in Spanish-ruled parts of Italy, the Genoese likewise held key positions in Spanish territories in North Africa.⁴¹

In considering the dynamics of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mediterranean as in some ways reflecting continuities with late medieval Iberian precedents, we ought to keep in mind the role of religious difference in the forging of diasporic communities and the part played by those diasporic exiles in contributing to Mediterranean connectivity. The traditional division between medieval and early modern history has focused on 1492 as a defining moment between medieval *convivencia* and a religious uniformity and dogmatism that characterized life in inquisitorial Iberia. In fact, the shifts from forms of interfaith relations in early fourteenth-century Iberia and what came to characterize Iberia in

³⁸ Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1966).

³⁹ Federigo Melis, *Mercaderes italianos en España, S. XIV-XVI. Investigaciones sobre su correspondencia y su contabilidad* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1976); *Presencia italiana en Andalucía, siglos XIV-XVII. Actas del III Coloquio hispano-italiano* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1989); Enrique Otte, "Il ruolo dei genovesi nella Spagna del XV e XVI secoli," in *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra 15 e 17 secoli*, eds. A. de Maddalena and H. Kellenbenz (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986), 17-56.

⁴⁰ Céline Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Genoese Merchants and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁴¹ For the role of the Genoese in Spanish Orán, see the following: José E. López de Coca Castañer, "Orán y el comercio genovés en la transición a los tiempos modernos," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 24 (1994): 279-284.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries happened unevenly and intermittently. These affected Jews and Muslims differently at different times, and religious minorities in different parts of the Iberian Peninsula experienced these transformations in sometimes dramatically different ways.⁴² Moving away from seeing 1492 as a sharp boundary assists us in drawing out these nuances.

An earlier generation of scholars used to describe the interfaith dynamics in medieval Iberia as *convivencia*, an element that was read as contributing to Iberia's exceptionalism.⁴³ In recent years, scholars have developed new ways of interpreting medieval Iberian interfaith relations. One suggestion is Brian Catlos' *conveniencia*, wherein Catlos posits that interfaith relations, when peaceful or even fruitful, often were so as a matter of convenience or pragmatism, rather than being due to any ideological commitment.⁴⁴ By examining Iberian interfaith dynamics against broader Mediterranean circumstances of interfaith competition and cooperation, Catlos has developed a tiered model of social interaction to explain the ways in which religious content and rhetoric permeated interfaith interactions in different ways depending on the religious content of that engagement.⁴⁵ At the micro-level, in an exchange devoid of religious meaning or content, religious language or rhetoric was unlikely to surface, and religious difference might be superfluous. This sort of engagement resembles the positive, *convivencia* sort. At the meso-level, when members of corporate entities, such as formal collectives or institutions, interacted, the religious content was likely to matter somewhat more, and religious difference might therefore play some role, if not a dominant one, in the interaction. At the macro-level, wherein representatives of religious bodies representing their community of coreligionists interacted (say, a priest and a rabbi or an imam), then the categories of religious difference were likely to be clearly and sharply demarcated and presented as impermeable

⁴² Mark Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

⁴³ Alex Novikoff, "Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma," *Medieval Encounters* 11, no. 1-2 (2005): 7-36; for comparisons between the case of medieval Iberia and the status of Jews in other medieval European realms, see: Maya Soifer Irish, "Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 2009): 19-35. See also: Ryan Szpiech, "The Convivencia Wars: Decoding Historiography's Polemic with Philology," in *A Sea of Languages*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette, 135-161.

⁴⁴ Catlos first propounded this alternative model in the following piece: Brian Catlos, "Cristians, Musulmans i Jueus a la Corona d'Aragó medieval: Un cas de «Conveniència»," *L'Avenç* 236 (2001): 8-16. Fuller articulations of the same model can be found here: Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 508-535. See also: Catlos, "Accursed, Superior Men: Ethno-Religious Minorities and Politics in the Medieval Mediterranean," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56, no. 4 (2014): 844-869, at 867.

⁴⁵ For what follows, see Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 508-535.

barriers.⁴⁶ Catlos' model thus presents us with a more nuanced, variegated way to think about the different forms of interfaith interaction that might occur simultaneously in the same locale.

Employing this significantly more complicated understanding of the role of religion in premodern Iberian societies, Catlos, in his study *Kingdoms of Faith*, presents us with a revised understanding of the interplay between politics and religion across a millennium of Iberian history.⁴⁷ In this work, Catlos teases out the complexity of the different societies that developed over the course of centuries in Muslim al-Andalus, as well as the Christian successor states that were the heirs to this religious pluralism up into the seventeenth century. Catlos is attentive to interfaith relations, noting the ways in which Muslims, Christians, and Jews often expressed conflict in vocabularies of religious difference, and yet Catlos simultaneously draws out the ways in which the root causes of these conflicts were often not purely religious in nature.

Indeed, a great deal of recent scholarship on religious pluralism in late medieval Iberia demonstrates the extraordinary complexity of the topic. The language scholars have long used to define our subjects has proven insufficient to this task. The categories of confessional identity that we are eager to apply to premodern people could be porous, or they might have operated differently than we tend to assume.⁴⁸ Still, this is not to suggest that religious difference did not matter except to those whose work it was to define and regulate the boundaries of religious identity. Religion mattered enormously, for a person's confessional identity determined their legal status – whom they could marry, what sort of court they might appear in to adjudicate a dispute, whether or not they could own a slave and, if so, what religious identity that slave could be. It also determined whether a person could be enslaved. In a pan-Mediterranean perspective, religion mattered in so far as it was a driving force behind pilgrimage to sites such as Jerusalem, Mecca, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela. This is not even to touch on all the local sites of pilgrimage that Muslims, Jews, and Christians visited to seek relief from episodes of drought or to bring about an end to a visitation of plague.

Indeed, religion did matter, but the interactions among members of the Abrahamic faiths in the Mediterranean allowed for a sharing of ideas and

⁴⁶ Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 525-526.

⁴⁷ Brian Catlos, *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain* (New York: Basic Books, 2018).

⁴⁸ Brian Catlos, *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors: Faith, Power, and Violence in the Age of Crusade and Jihad* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014). This is a point that Jean Dangler also makes. See her *Edging Toward Iberia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), where she argues that the categories of religious identity that we are quick to apply to premodern Mediterranean people are modern constructs that sometimes do not adequately address the premodern context.

concepts that belies the notion that these religious communities might be understood as essentialized categories. Recent advances in our understanding of these dynamics have been achieved by scholars who have the linguistic training to be able to read and analyze documents in Latin and Romance languages, in Arabic, and in Hebrew, as well as by people approaching venerable questions through the new frameworks afforded by Mediterranean studies.

Hussein Fancy, in *The Mercenary Mediterranean*, uses the case of the *jenets*, a group of Muslim mercenaries who were employed for some time by the Crown of Aragon, to examine the question of religious warfare, jihad, and the role of religion itself in medieval Mediterranean society.⁴⁹ Fancy looks at the late medieval Aragonese kings' employment of *jenets* in their fighting forces (in a gradually increasingly systematic way). He does so, however, by situating the Crown of Aragon as one piece in a Mediterranean network of communication and exchange that encompassed eastern Iberia, Sicily, and North Africa. It is by examining practices of warfare and ideologies of sovereignty in this Mediterranean perspective that Fancy is able to make a truly compelling argument. Fancy's contribution here lies not only in our understanding of the ways in which religious identity operated in relation to political and military interests in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon, but in how we think about religion, warfare, and sovereignty in a more Mediterranean sense, across Christian- and Muslim-ruled polities. Fancy's conclusion suggests that, for the *jenets*, religious identity *did* matter, and this explains their ultimate decision to withdraw from service to the Crown of Aragon, when the latter turned its martial attentions toward Nasrid Granada. What is more, though, *The Mercenary Mediterranean* demonstrates that even in cases where confessional identity did matter, where it operated as a boundary, nevertheless the late medieval western Mediterranean was permeated by shared ideas of sovereignty that circulated among Islamic and Christian polities in North Africa, Sicily, and Iberia.⁵⁰

Fancy's *The Mercenary Mediterranean* is but one piece of scholarship in a broader wave that has brought increased complexity to the fore in the way we think about and understand interfaith relations in Iberia and beyond during the premodern era. This very complexity, as it turns out, is crucial for better understanding the century that ran from 1391 (the series of anti-Jewish pogroms that swept Castile and Aragon) to 1492 (the expulsion of Spain's

⁴⁹ Hussein Fancy, *The Mercenary Mediterranean: Sovereignty, Religion, and Violence in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

⁵⁰ Along related lines, Maribel Fierro notes the ways in which the political ideology at the court of Alfonso X "El Sabio" of Castile was infused with notions of rulership and sovereignty bound up with those of the Almohads, particularly what she terms the "sapientialist" notion of the caliph in the Almohad setting, and the role played by the Almohad caliphs in the Aristotelian project of Ibn Rushd (Averroës). See: Maribel Fierro, "Alfonso X "The Wise": The Last Almohad Caliph," *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009): 175-198.

openly-practicing Jews), as well as the long century spanning from the 1492-conquest of Granada up to the expulsions of the Moriscos (1609-1614).

As with invocations of the date “1492” as a point of origin for early modern Spanish imperialism, a similar emphasis on that date in the realm of Iberian religious history has had the unfortunate effect of obscuring key aspects of the peninsula’s religious history and of eliding Portuguese history with that of its neighbors to the east. To be sure, dramatic ruptures did occur in 1492, for the Sephardim and for the subjects of Nasrid Granada, but we must think about these religious transformations as shifts that developed from deeper forces that changed gradually over generations. Negotiation of religious difference, or alterity, played out in complicated ways, with local variation and variability across time and place.⁵¹ Iberian religious pluralism did not end in 1492 (or 1497, 1502 or 1526, for that matter). The situation remained fluid and variegated, even if, with the conversion of massive numbers of Jews and Muslims, articulations of difference in the sixteenth century became increasingly tied to blood and inheritability, increasingly “racialized.”⁵²

The case of Portugal, for instance, stands in sharp distinction to that of Aragon and Castile. Violent anti-Jewish pogroms swept across numerous cities of Castile and Aragon during the summer and fall of 1391, triggering the first wave of mass conversions of Jews to Christianity. Portugal, however, did not experience these violent episodes. The reasons behind this discrepancy are not entirely clear. Perhaps the Crown in Portugal was stronger, in more of a position of authority, than were the monarchs of Castile or Aragon at the time? Whatever the explanatory factor, the difference is significant, as it determined that Castile and Aragon both witnessed the emergence of sizeable *Converso* populations during the 1390s and early 1400s. In Portugal, by contrast, the transformation in religious pluralism occurred differently. There, the kingdom’s Jewish and Muslim subjects were given the choice of conversion or exile over a few months in 1496 and 1497. So Portugal’s *Converso* population, rather than developing gradually through successive waves of conversion over several decades, was essentially created overnight.

⁵¹ By way of illustrating the importance of local context, and the tremendously variegated experience of Iberian Jews in the century leading up to 1492, see the following two works: Teófilo Ruiz and Scarlett Freund, “Jews, *Conversos*, and the Inquisition in Spain, 1391-1492,” in *Jewish-Christian Encounters Over the Centuries: Symbiosis, Prejudice, Holocaust, Dialogue*, ed. Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer (New York: P. Lang, 1994), 169-193; and Mark D. Meyerson, “The Jewish Community in Murviedro (1391-1492),” in *The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492*, ed. Moshe Lazar and Stephen Haliczer (Lancaster, CA: Labyrinthos, 1997), 129-146.

⁵² See Erin Kathleen Rowe’s contribution on race in this issue of the *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*.

Moreover, while Nasrid Granada fell to Castile in January 1492, this moment by no means closes off the Islamic history of the Peninsula. In Castile, the Crown's new subjects, the conquered Muslims of formerly Nasrid Granada, were initially allowed the practice of their ancestral faith. It was not until the aftermath of the revolt of the Albaicín (1499-1500) and the promulgation of the edict demanding conversion or exile (issued in 1502) that Castile ended up with a sizeable population of new converts from Islam, the *Moriscos*. In the Crown of Aragon, a similar edict was not promulgated until 1526, during the reign of Charles V (r. 1516-1556). Thus, the experience of living among a community defined by the dominant society as distinct due to the faith of their ancestors unfolded for the *Moriscos* at a later date than it did for the *Conversos*.⁵³

The “*Morisco* century” (1502-1614) has proven one of the richest areas of scholarly developments in recent years. Although they were a subjugated and, in many ways, marginalized population, sixteenth-century Spain's *Moriscos* maintained ties of communication beyond the peninsula and participated in diplomacy with other Mediterranean actors. In a revealing study of prophetic traditions that circulated within sixteenth-century Iberia's *Morisco* communities, Mayte Green-Mercado demonstrates the *Moriscos*' deep engagement in wider Mediterranean networks of knowledge production and communication.⁵⁴ The prophecies that serve as Green-Mercado's point of entry developed through borrowings from North African as well as Christian chiliastic traditions, and Green-Mercado argues that the language of prophecy operated within the *Morisco* community, not as something ethereal, focused on the world beyond this one, but as a concrete political language intended to stimulate action and effect change in the here and now. What is more, Green-Mercado shows that the *Moriscos* engaged in quintessentially Mediterranean networks of communication, with ties to Muslims in Ottoman-ruled lands as well as to Huguenots in France, each of whom some *Moriscos* courted as potential allies against the Spanish crown.

Spanish royal policy in 1492, followed by a Portuguese echo in 1496-1497, triggered the Sephardic Diaspora, in which Iberian Jewish communities were scattered far and wide, establishing new communities from Morocco to Italy to Ottoman-ruled Greece and Anatolia. Within decades, the Sephardic Diaspora had taken on a global dimension, as Portuguese Jews and

⁵³ On numerous aspects of the *converso* and *morisco* experience, both in Iberia and in other parts of the Mediterranean, see the following superb 4-volume collection of essays: Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, 4 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2009-2021). See also: James S. Amelang, *Historias Paralelas: Judeoconversos y moriscos en la España moderna* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, S.A., 2012); English edition: James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

⁵⁴ Mayte Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance: Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2020).

New Christians participated in Portuguese colonial settlements in Cape Verde and West Africa, as they sought new beginnings in Antwerp and Amsterdam, and as they established the earliest openly-practicing Jewish communities of the Americas in Dutch Brazil.⁵⁵ Through a series of royal edicts issued by Philip III of Spain (r. 1598-1621), the *Moriscos* were expelled between 1609-1614, inaugurating a diaspora that spread primarily across North Africa, but that occasionally reached as far south as Timbuktu or westward to the Spanish Americas.⁵⁶ The expulsions of the Sephardim and the *Moriscos* mark moments of diaspora, and each created upheavals and the forced migration of tens of thousands or, in the case of the *Moriscos*, hundreds of thousands of individuals. These moments of rupture, however, also fit into longer-term processes of Iberian and Mediterranean displacement and human mobility. In the decades following the Christian victory at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) and the consolidation of Christian control over southern regions of al-Andalus, thousands of Muslims emigrated to Granada or to the Maghrib.⁵⁷ These flows of people were not stanching by the events of 1492. Jocelyn Hendrickson, in *Leaving Iberia*, examines Islamic legal scholarship on obligations to emigrate to lands under Muslim rule, but in doing so, she shifts the focus of traditional scholarly treatments of this topic from the Iberian Peninsula to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Maghrib. By examining locales that came under Portuguese or Spanish rule in Morocco, Hendrickson's study articulates the case for considering the frontier zone of the Maghrib as constituting in many ways a continuation of the earlier Iberian frontier.⁵⁸ Indeed, Andalusī emigration from Iberia towards the

⁵⁵ Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1992); Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453-1566* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430-1950* (New York: Random House, 2004); Miriam Bodian, "Men of the Nation," *Past & Present*, 143 (1994): 48-76; Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Sephardic Communities on Senegal's Petite Côte," *History in Africa*, vol. 31 (2004): 231-256; Peter Mark & José Silva Horta, *The Forgotten Diaspora: Jewish Communities in West Africa and the Making of the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Bruno Feitler, "Jews and New Christians in Dutch Brazil, 1630-1654," in *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800*, ed. Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 123-151.

⁵⁶ Karoline P. Cook, *Forbidden Passages: Muslims and Moriscos in Colonial Spanish America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁵⁷ Camilo Gómez-Rivas "The ransom industry and the expectation of refuge on the Western Mediterranean Muslim-Christian Frontier, 1085-1350," in *The Articulation of Power in Medieval Iberia and the Maghrib*, ed. Amira K. Bennison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 217-232. The following article, also by Gómez-Rivas, might be read as a companion to the book chapter just cited: "Exile, Encounter, and the Articulation of Andalusī Identity in the Maghrib," *Medieval Encounters* 20 (2014): 340-351.

⁵⁸ Jocelyn Hendrickson, *Leaving Iberia: Islamic Law and Christian Conquest in Northwest Africa* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021).

Maghrib was a phenomenon that spanned the late medieval and early modern centuries.⁵⁹

Spain's ties to the Mediterranean world beyond Iberia proved pivotal when Ferdinand and Isabella issued the decree expelling the Jews from their realms. Many fled initially from Castile to neighboring Portugal, but numerous others sought refuge in Morocco, in parts of Italy, and in the Ottoman-ruled Balkans. Sardinia and Sicily were included in the version of Ferdinand's edict that applied to the Crown of Aragon. It seems that some Sephardim, however, were actually welcomed into the Kingdom of Naples by the ruler, Ferdinand and Isabella's cousin Ferrante I (r. 1458-1494). Even after Naples came firmly under Spanish rule after 1504, the policy regarding conversion or exile appears to have been haphazardly applied there. There were openly-practicing Jews in sixteenth-century Naples, many of whom apparently descended from Iberian Sephardim who had fled there in 1492.⁶⁰ Over the course of the sixteenth century, many more Sephardim found refuge in Italian cities and republics further north, including Rome, Venice, Ferrara, Ancona and, from 1593, Livorno.⁶¹

Of course, one of the classics of Spanish Golden Age literature, *La Lozana Andaluza*, has a protagonist who is a quintessentially Mediterranean character. Her religious identity is ambiguous, and she embodies mobility in every sense of the word, transgressing religious boundaries, cultural mores, and moving with apparent ease between Seville, Rome, and points in between. *La Lozana* is the literary embodiment of the close ties that existed between Italy and Spain in the sixteenth century, ties that had been forged over several centuries.⁶²

⁵⁹ José E. López de Coca Castañer, "Granada y el Magreb: la emigración andalusí," in *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Magreb*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and María J. Viguera, 409-451.

⁶⁰ Guido d'Agostino, *La Capitale Ambigua: Napoli dal 1458 al 1580* (Napoli: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979), 265.

⁶¹ Benjamin Ravid, "A Tale of Three Cities and their Raison d'Etat: Ancona, Venice, Livorno, and the Competition for Jewish Merchants in the Sixteenth Century," in *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean World After 1492*, ed. Alisa Meyuhis Ginio (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1992), 138-162. See also the following works, all of which address aspects of the Sephardic diaspora across the Mediterranean: Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire*; Moshe Lazar and Stephen Haliczer, eds., *The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492* (Lancaster, Ca.: Labyrinthos, 1997); Benjamin Ravid, "An Introduction to the Economic History of the Iberian Diaspora in the Mediterranean," *Judaism* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 268-285; Jacqueline Genot-Bismuth, "Le mythe de l'Orient dans l'eschatologie des Juifs d'Espagne à l'époque des conversions forcées et de l'expulsion," *Annales* 45 (1990): 819-838. It is worth noting, too, that many more Sephardim made their home in the Ottoman-ruled Balkan Peninsula. See: Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th-20th Centuries* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).

⁶² Francisco Delicado, *La lozana andaluza*, ed. Bruno M. Damiani (Madrid: Castalia, 1969 [orig. ed. 1528]). For modern, scholarly discussions of the colorful, mobile, and marginal world through which *La lozana* moves, see: Marta Albalá-Pelegrín, "La Lozana Andaluza: migración y

As a work of fiction, *La Lozana* captures something of the way in which mobility between Iberia, Italy, and the wider Mediterranean offered the prospect of shifting identities. Although closely connected through politics and trade, nevertheless movement from one space to the other presented the potential for erasing or obscuring a portion of one's identity, or even of adopting a new one. Inquisitorial records attest to the fact that at least a few individuals found it possible to move between Iberia and Italy (as well as other parts of the Mediterranean), shifting religious identities depending on location. The case of Luis de la Ysla, a figure whose inquisitorial trial is translated into English and accessible to a wide audience in the edition presented by Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer, represents precisely these features of malleable confessional identity made possible through Mediterranean geographic mobility.⁶³

The experience of Luis de la Ysla finds a parallel in the experience of Jews who emigrated to North Africa. Here, in cities such as Fez, strong communities of Sephardic Jews developed in the wake of 1492, and many of these exiled families maintained Ladino (or Judeo-Spanish) as a language of the home. In future generations, these Sephardim's descendants thus had a mastery of Arabic and Ladino, which made them valuable in conducting diplomacy between Saadian Morocco, Spain, and states further north. Samuel Pallache, merchant, diplomatic envoy, and pirate, is the embodiment of these characteristics, and while he himself might have been exceptional, the circumstances of his life determined that there were many others like him who led equally mobile, if less dramatic, lives.⁶⁴ Pallache's case demonstrates the ways doing history according to categories of the nation or of confessional identity fall apart when looking at what could be the very messy reality of life in the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Iberian world.

A life like Pallache's was not the experience only of exiled Sephardim: the case of numerous Muslim North African scions of noble dynasties, examined by Beatriz Alonso Acero, demonstrates the ways these figures fled instability in the Maghrib and sought refuge at the royal court in early modern Spain. Alonso Acero's study notes that this occurred numerous times through the sixteenth and

pluralismo religioso en el Mediterráneo," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 41, no. 1 (2016): 215-242. For depictions of Rome in *La Lozana*, see: Angus MacKay, "The Whores of Babylon," in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. Marjorie E. Reeves (Oxford-London: The Warburg Institute-Clarendon Press, 1992), 223-232.

⁶³ See the inquisitorial case of Luis de la Ysla, in Richard L. Kagan & Abigail Dyer, eds., *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 21-35.

⁶⁴ Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wieggers, *Entre el islam y el Occidente: Vida de Samuel Pallache, judío de Fez* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1999); English translation: Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wieggers, *A Man of Three Worlds, Samuel Pallache: A Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

seventeenth centuries. Some of these exiled former Maghribi rulers converted to Catholicism, reminding us that these processes of conversion and exile operated in multiple directions.⁶⁵ In addition to these “exiled sultans,” the early modern Mediterranean was home to thousands of other “border crossers”: the stories of Christian renegades who converted to Islam and established themselves in the Maghrib have fascinated modern readers for many of the same reasons.⁶⁶

In recent years there has been a spate of new scholarship that analyzes the *Morisco* Diaspora, where they sought refuge, the degree to which they integrated into their new homes, and the roles they played in the societies of the early modern Maghrib.⁶⁷ Modern edited and printed editions of primary sources now allow us to deduce broader patterns of *Morisco* mobility across the Mediterranean.⁶⁸ Taken collectively, these studies demonstrate the insufficiency of applying essentializing categories to these subjects. This is a point that scholars of medieval and early modern Iberia have been making in recent decades, and it has become a hallmark of Mediterranean Studies as well. In the history of religion and the church, recent scholarship has brought significantly more nuance to these subjects – moving away from a reification of these entities, or away from treating

⁶⁵ Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la cristiandad: Exilio musulmán, conversión y asimilación en la monarquía hispánica [siglos XVI y XVII]* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2006).

⁶⁶ Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucile Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah: l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 1989). Spanish translation: Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucile Bennassar, *Los cristianos de Alá. La fascinante aventura de los renegados*, trans. José Luis Gil Aristu (Madrid, 1989); José E. López de Coca Castañer, “Converso, hidalgo, fraile y renegado: don Juan de Granada Abencomixa,” *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 39 (2012): 129-151. Natividad Planas, “Diplomacy from Below or Cross-Confessional Loyalty? The “Christians of Algiers” between the Lord of Kuko and the King of Spain in the Early 1600s in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no. 2-3 (2015): 153-173. Anita González, “La Inquisición en las fronteras del Mediterráneo. Historia de los renegados, 1540-1694,” *Areas* 9 (1988): 51-74.

⁶⁷ Mercedes García-Arenal, *La diáspora de los andalusíes* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2003); Mercedes García-Arenal & Gerard A. Wieggers, eds., *Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora. Una perspectiva internacional* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2013); English translation: Mercedes García-Arenal & Gerard A. Wieggers, eds., *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, trans. Consuelo López-Morillas & Martin Beagle (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes y el norte de Africa en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1989). M. de Epalza and R. Petit, eds., *Études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid-Tunis: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1973). See also the following study of the “mouriscos” in early modern Portugal: Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond Braga, *Mouriscos e cristãos no Portugal Quinhentista* (Lisbon: Hugin, 1999).

⁶⁸ *Entre las orillas de dos mundos. El itinerario del jerife morisco Mūḥamed Ibn ‘Abd Al-Raḥī’: de Murcia a Túnez*, ed. Aïssa Lotfi, Mouhamed Aouini, and Housseem Eddine Chachia (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2017).

them as monoliths, and instead recovering the motives, ambitions, and agendas of the individuals who populated their ranks. Religious groups all too often lumped together under a single noun (*Conversos*, *Moriscos*) are now studied in ways that illuminate the full social range of early modern Spaniards of Jewish or Muslim ancestry, whose interests and allegiances did not always cohere, and whose station in life, or social status, could at times matter more (in their eyes and in the eyes of their fellow Spanish subjects) than did their ancestry.

The North African Borderlands

Earlier I suggested that some of the continuities between the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries might be better understood if we think of the late medieval Iberian frontier zone as being transposed onto a broader (and in many locations, aqueous) territory. This approach seems particularly apt in thinking about the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century relations between Iberia and the Maghrib. In numerous ways these echoed the medieval Iberian borderlands, as a liminal space, caught between the interests of the larger polities of Habsburg Spain, the Ottoman Empire, Portugal, and Saadian Morocco. In this contested zone the coastal enclaves of Portuguese- and Spanish-controlled *presidios* and towns had to conduct business with the surrounding Muslim-ruled areas according to exigencies that often departed from professions of religious dogmatism or strict ideologies. As a result of the displacement and exile of Jews and *Moriscos*, North Africa became a site of tremendous religious diversity, even within the *presidios* that were under Christian rule. Indeed, North Africa remained a site of religious pluralism for centuries and came to embody many of the dynamics of religious pluralism that are commonly associated with medieval Iberia.⁶⁹ Spanish-ruled Orán had a small, openly-practicing Jewish population up

⁶⁹ Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Les Juifs du roi d'Espagne* (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 1999); Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540-1740)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), Chapter 5 ("The Jews of Spanish North Africa, 1580-1669"), 151-184; Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639: una sociedad española en la frontera de Berbería* (Madrid: CSIC, 2000); *Orán: Historia de la corte chica*, edited by Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero (Madrid: Polifemo, 2011); Beatriz Alonso Acero, "Judíos y musulmanes en la España de Felipe II: los presidios norteafricanos, paradigma de la sociedad de frontera," in *Felipe II (1527-1598): Europa y la monarquía católica*, vol. 2, ed. José Martínez Millán, 11-28 (Madrid: Parteluz, 1998); Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "Oran, un prototype de société de frontière dans l'Espagne moderne," *Insaniyat* 23-24 (2004): 167-178; Beatriz Alonso Acero, "Judíos en un mundo de frontera. Los recelos cristianos hacia la presencia judía en Orán," in *Entre el Islam y Occidente. Los judíos magrebies en la edad moderna*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2003), 224-243; Michael Abitol, "Juifs d'Afrique du nord et expulsés d'Espagne après 1492," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 210, no. 1 (1993): 49-90; Beatriz Alonso Acero, "Las capitales mediterráneas de la Monarquía: Orán, cabeza de reino del lejano sur," in *Madrid, Felipe II y las ciudades de la monarquía*, ed. Enrique Martínez Ruiz (Madrid: Actas, 2000), 185-195.

until the expulsion of 1669 and yet the city was also under the jurisdiction of the Inquisitorial tribunal of Murcia. The dynamics of religious pluralism and accommodation evident in such a setting are reflective of Catlos' model of *conveniencia* rather than anything we might label as tolerance or toleration. This was, indeed, the very essence of a borderlands society that spanned the aqueous and terrestrial zone bounded by the narrow strip of the Maghrib coast and the Sea of Alborán.⁷⁰ From the sixteenth century on, this was a contested zone with no clear hegemon, but it was the territory where two great Mediterranean imperial rivals, Habsburg Spain and the Ottoman Empire, faced each other across a terrestrial frontier.⁷¹ Mercedes García-Arenal, whose research has focused extensively on religious pluralism and relations between the Maghrib and Iberia, detects a number of continuities in these interactions that connect the region across the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries.⁷² In terms of commerce, although the early modern *presidios* operated as nodes of Christian sovereignty, marking a shift from the ways in which Catalan merchants had done business in Maghribi ports during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, Catalan merchants continued to frequent North African entrepôts and to trade with “enemies of the faith.”⁷³

Another aspect of the continuation of certain dynamics from the late medieval into the early modern era can be seen in the practice of captive-taking and the ransom industry that developed around it. During the Middle Ages captive-taking came to have real economic significance along the Iberian frontiers between Christian and Muslim-ruled zones, and it spawned the emergence of numerous mechanisms developed for the ransoming of captives, including the redemptive orders.⁷⁴ Jarbel Rodríguez's study, *Captives and their Saviors in the*

⁷⁰ Mercedes García Arenal and Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el norte de Africa, S. XV-XVIII* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre, 1992).

⁷¹ Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, “Orán, primera frontera Hispano-Turca del Mediterráneo,” in *Las Campanas de Orán, 1509-2009*, ed. Ismet Terki Hassane, José E. Sola Castaño, and Alejandro R. Díez Torre (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012), 55-66.

⁷² *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Magreb*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and María J. Viguera. For a different interpretation, one that argues for a sharp contrast once Spain had established its sovereignty over parts of the Maghrib (in particular following Charles V's conquest of Tunis in 1535), see: Philippe Gourdin, “Pour une réévaluation des phénomènes de colonisation en Méditerranée occidentale et au Maghreb pendant le Moyen Âge et le début des Temps Modernes,” in *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, vol. I, ed. Damien Coulon, et al., (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), 411-423.

⁷³ Eloy Martín Corrales, *Comercio de Cataluña con el Mediterráneo musulmán, siglos XVI-XVIII. El comercio con los “enemigos de la fe”* (Barcelona: Editions Bellaterra, 2001); Esteban Sarasa and Eliseo Serrano, eds., *La Corona de Aragón y el Mediterráneo, siglos XV-XVI* (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico”, 1997).

⁷⁴ Along with a system of captive-taking and ransoming, systems of slavery were tied to these practices: in both Christian and Islamic territories one could licitly enslave an “enemy of the faith”

Medieval Crown of Aragon, offers an insightful analysis of the processes of captive-taking along the southern border of the Crown of Aragon during the later Middle Ages, including the networks structured for ransoming those taken and held in Muslim-ruled lands such as Nasrid Granada.⁷⁵ Rodríguez's work complements the work of James Brodman on captive-taking in medieval Iberia, wherein Brodman focuses on the work of the Order of the Merced in navigating the redemption of Christian captives along the thirteenth-century Islamic-Christian frontier of southern Iberia.⁷⁶ This type of captive-taking and human-trafficking was not limited to the terrestrial zone of the Islamic-Christian Iberian frontier, but was a wider Mediterranean phenomenon.⁷⁷

These practices of raiding (of humans, of course, but also of livestock and other moveable goods), which Rodríguez and Brodman detail for the later medieval period, continued in slightly different form even after the Castilian conquest of Nasrid Granada. David Coleman notes the ways in which, during a period of weak state control over the waters of the Sea of Alborán, parallel modes of corsairing and raiding activity developed and were practiced by entrepreneurial figures on the northern and southern shores of the Sea.⁷⁸ In Coleman's study, we can detect a continuity with earlier practices, even if the border was now aqueous rather than terrestrial.

Examining a later time period, Daniel Hershenzon traces the development of what he terms the "political economy" of the ransom industry during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁷⁹ After the Habsburg and Ottoman empires had reached an informal truce (1581) and had both directed their attentions elsewhere, the captive-taking industry flourished across the Mediterranean, particularly in the three North-South corridors linking

taken in war. This is one of the types of slavery described in the *Siete Partidas*. See: *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, 5 Vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

⁷⁵ Jarbel Rodríguez, *Captives and their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

⁷⁶ James William Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of the Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); see also: Gómez-Rivas "The ransom industry and the expectation of refuge on the Western Mediterranean Muslim-Christian Frontier," 217-232.

⁷⁷ Roser Salicrú i Lluch, "Luck and Contingency? Piracy, Human Booty, and Human Trafficking in the Late Medieval Western Mediterranean," in *Seeraub im Mittelmeerraum: Piraterie, Korsarentum und maritime Gewalt von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert & Sebastian Kolditz (Herstellung: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013), 349-362.

⁷⁸ David Coleman, "Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades: Forms and Functions of Coastal Raiding on Both Sides of the Far Western Mediterranean, 1490-1540," in *Spanning the Strait: Studies in Unity in the Western Mediterranean*, ed. Yuen-Gen Liang, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 173-176.

⁷⁹ Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce and Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

Tunisia-Sicily-Italy, Algeria-Majorca-Iberia, and Morocco-Andalucía. Hershenzon's work demonstrates certain continuities with medieval practices, while simultaneously noting the novelty of the seventeenth-century processes he examines. Among the developments that distinguish the early modern processes Hershenzon focuses on in his study is the dramatically transformed geopolitical scene, with the Ottoman Empire representing a major rival to Habsburg Spain in the Mediterranean. The imperial rivalries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thus changed the ways in which diplomacy and negotiations over the ransoming of captives played out, often rendering processes of "retributive justice" that captors or states exercised more pan-Mediterranean in scope. Nevertheless, the role played by the redemptive orders and assertions of religious difference as grounds for the seizure of persons represented continuities in practice with earlier centuries.

The experience of Mediterranean captivity has long attracted attention, perhaps in part because of Cervantes's own experience of having been held captive and his subsequent literary account of captivity included in his frame tale, "The Captive's Tale," embedded within *Don Quixote*. Ellen Friedman's 1983-book looked at Spanish captives who were held in North Africa, and Robert C. Davis' *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters* offered a quantification of the sheer numbers of Christians seized and enslaved in the Mediterranean during the early modern era.⁸⁰ In more recent years, work such as that by Hershenzon and J.A. Martínez-Torres has moved away from the quantification-based approach in order to focus more on other aspects revealed by a study of the captive and ransoming industry, including the lived experiences of the captives. In addition to this emphasis on the lived experience of captives, recent work has emphasized the fully Mediterranean dynamics of the captive-taking and ransoming industries, presenting new arguments for what they reveal about Mediterranean connectivity. Writing against the argument that the captive-industry is evidence of a deepening chasm between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean during the early modern era, Hershenzon draws on letters produced by captives, correspondence sent by members of the redemptive orders, and diplomatic letters between sovereign powers, to demonstrate that in certain counter-intuitive ways, the captive industry in fact thickened ties between the northern and southern shores of the western Mediterranean during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, deepening contacts and relations, and causing each shore to become more, not less, aware about events and developments occurring on the opposite

⁸⁰ Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); see also the older study: George Camamis, *Estudios sobre la cautividad en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977).

shore.⁸¹ This represents a revision of Andrew Hess's argument that posited the sixteenth-century western Mediterranean as a zone of increasing fissure between Christian Iberia and Muslim North Africa.⁸²

Within the complex dynamics outlined here, of displacement and exile, captivity, negotiations for ransom, and the construction of new identities in new homelands, it is clear that creative strategies of communication must have developed. The earlier discussion of the worlds through which Samuel Pallache migrated hints at the strategies of communication someone might employ in moving through a diasporic space, and Hershenzon's examination of the processes of negotiating ransoms for captives likewise hinges on actors' agreeing on methods of communication and interpretation in a Mediterranean space defined by mobility and multiple languages. Indeed, language was the constant tool of diplomacy in its many forms.⁸³ Claire Gilbert, in her recent study *In Good Faith*, looks at the role of translators in diplomatic encounters between Spain and North Africa during the early modern era.⁸⁴ Gilbert demonstrates that the position of translator was highly sought, even as it carried with it tremendous risk. At precisely the moment early modern Spain enacted legislation to ban Arabic as a language spoken by its *Morisco* population, the ability to translate between Arabic and Spanish became an increasingly important skill to possess if one desired a position near the sinews of power and Mediterranean diplomacy. Chapter 2 of Gilbert's monograph looks at the Spanish *presidios* of North Africa, shedding light on the ways Spanish enmeshment in more broadly Mediterranean affairs stimulated the need for Arabic translators. In this chapter, Gilbert argues that individual translators developed personal networks of communication and information that made them indispensable to the Crown, a phenomenon also evident in chapter 3, wherein Gilbert looks at Spain, Morocco, and what she terms

⁸¹ Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*; see also the following works: José E. López de Coca Castañer, "Andalucía y el Norte de África: la redención de cautivos a fines de la Edad Media," in *Andalucía Medieval: Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*, vol. 5 (Córdoba: Cajasur, 2003), 251-292; J.A. Martínez Torres, *Prisioneros de los infieles. Vida y rescate de los cautivos cristianos en el Mediterráneo musulmán [siglos XVI-XVII]* (Barcelona: Editions Bellaterra, 2004).

⁸² Andrew Hess presented an image of the sixteenth-century western Mediterranean that diverged sharply from what Braudel had portrayed. Where Braudel saw "identical problems and general trends," Hess posited that the sixteenth century was an era of increasingly sharp divisions in the western Mediterranean, one characterized by deeper technological, religious, and cultural distinctions between the northern and southern shores. See: Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, particularly 11-12.

⁸³ Maartje Van Gelder and Tijana Krstic, "Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean." *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no. 2-3 (2015): 93-105; Anthony Pym, *Negotiating the Frontier: Translators and Intercultures in Spanish History* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2000).

⁸⁴ Claire Gilbert, *In Good Faith: Arabic Translation and Translators in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

the “Atlantic Mediterranean.” These personal networks of communication are reminiscent of the connections Juan Rena drew on in his service to the Spanish Crown during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁸⁵ Gilbert’s approach throughout, recognizing the critical roles played by these translators, offers a less top-down perspective by analyzing the administration of empire on the frontiers of the Ottoman regencies of North Africa in a similar light to that we see in Liang (*Family and Empire*) and Escribano-Páez (*Juan Rena and the Frontiers of Spanish Empire*). What is more, Gilbert’s book is in extremely close dialogue with Hershenson’s *The Captive Sea*, as both put forth the argument that enmity, and the institutional tools developed to negotiate and manage that enmity, in fact *increased* knowledge and awareness between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Beyond the realm of diplomacy, language was a necessary, practical tool that facilitated all sorts of exchange, commercial and otherwise. In the context of the medieval and early modern Mediterranean, a *lingua franca* developed that allowed for communication among port-frequenting people of many religious and linguistic backgrounds. A *lingua franca* could thus allow for communication across cultural and linguistic divides.⁸⁶ Recent studies that focus on communication in both Iberian and broader Mediterranean (and Atlantic) contexts demonstrate the multivalent aspects of language. Particularly in the work of Claire Gilbert, we can detect the ways in which language, even when used in moments of tense diplomatic negotiation, could act to increase knowledge and to thicken ties between ostensible enemies. Language thus served as one of the many forces that contributed to connectivity among diverse parts of the western Mediterranean, increasing ties between the region’s shores.

Like the captives, exiles, and displaced peoples who moved along the arteries linking Iberia to the wider Mediterranean world, the transport of foodstuffs also illustrates particularly Mediterranean aspects of connectivity. The transport of food to provide sustenance to soldiers stationed in a *presidio*, or to feed the population of an island, or to move from one region (Sicily, for instance) to another that was in the throes of a drought, illustrates Horden and Purcell’s definition of the Mediterranean management of the risk regime.⁸⁷ In the early 1330s, during a period of famine, the city of Barcelona acquired grain from Sardinia and Sicily, islands that

⁸⁵ Escribano-Páez, *Juan Rena and the Frontiers of Spanish Empire*

⁸⁶ Karla Mallette, “Lingua Franca,” in *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, ed. Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 330-344. Jocelyn Dakhlia, *Lingua franca. Histoire d’une langue métisse en Méditerranée* (Arles: Actes du Sud, 2008); see also Eric C. Dursteler, “Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Past & Present* 217 (2012): 47-77.

⁸⁷ Horden and Purcell, “The Mediterranean and ‘the New Thalassology’,” 732-733.

were also part of the federated Crown of Aragon.⁸⁸ Accessing grain from an “irregular” source, even if the Italian islands formed part of the same monarchy, demonstrates the ways in which Mediterranean channels of mobility and connectivity were accessed for the basic purpose of survival in a time of famine. In subsequent centuries, the same problems of provisioning beset a variety of locations under Spanish rule, and for their supply and provisioning, the Crown and municipalities relied on extensive networks of exchange that joined together the western Mediterranean.⁸⁹ This is precisely the logic of production Horden and Purcell spell out in “The Mediterranean and ‘The New Thalassology’,” and that they characterize as one of the defining features of the premodern Mediterranean.⁹⁰

Food, of course, nourishes more than the body. Food is intimately wrapped up in matters of religious identity, thus implicating culinary practices and traditions in processes of marking out difference and of constructing boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Thus, since Late Antiquity food and dietary regulations have played fundamental roles in delimiting boundaries among the three Abrahamic faiths.⁹¹ In the context of the Abrahamic Mediterranean, certain forms of alimentation took on particular religious significance, either for their role in religious ritual (as with wine in taking communion) or with pork as a forbidden food in both Judaism and Islam.⁹² In the post-1391 era, once portions of Iberia had substantial populations of *Conversos*, some of whom maintained Jewish practices in secret, food, the preparation of food, and the consumption of food with one’s coreligionists, became one of the pillars around which *Conversos* were able to maintain a sense of Jewish identity.⁹³ Thus, food, dietary laws, and culinary

⁸⁸ Sebastià Riera Viader, “El proveïment de cereals a la ciutat de Barcelona durant ‘el mal any primer’ (1333): la intervenció del Consell de Cent i de la Corona,” in *Història urbana del Pla de Barcelona: actes del II Congrés d’història del Pla de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1989), 1:315-26.

⁸⁹ Natividad Planas, “L’approvisionnement de Ciutat de Mallorca au XVIIe siècle” in *Nourrir les cités de Méditerranée: Antiquité-Temps Modernes*, ed. Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlouvet (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose; Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme; Ecole française de Rome; UNED, 2003), 349-366. Along related lines, but for the case of Seville rather than Palma, see: Antonio Collantes de Terán, “La red de mercados de abasto de Sevilla: permanencias y transformaciones, siglos XV y XVI” in *Tolède et l’expansion urbaine en Espagne, 1450-1650* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1991), 225-236.

⁹⁰ Horden & Purcell, “The Mediterranean and ‘The New Thalassology’,” 733.

⁹¹ David M. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their Food: Constructing Otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Law* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014).

⁹² Eric Dursteler, “The ‘Abominable Pig’ and the ‘Mother of All Vices’: Pork, Wine and the Culinary Clash of Civilizations in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” in *Insatiable Appetite: Food as a Cultural Signifier*, ed. Julia Hauser, Kirill Dmitriev, and Bilal Orfali (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 214-241.

⁹³ David M. Gitlitz and Linda Kay Davidson, *A Drizzle of Honey: The Lives and Recipes of Spain’s Secret Jews* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999).

traditions played a constituent part in the relations among the three Abrahamic faiths in the Mediterranean throughout the premodern era.

The study of food, of the technologies or practices required to produce food and to distribute it, thus reveal numerous aspects of Iberia's relationship to the Mediterranean basin. Studies of food and the transmission of new crops, agricultural techniques, and irrigation technologies can serve to illustrate the linkages between different regions. These connections were forged through the mobility of people, who carried with them their cultural practices and ideas. Thomas F. Glick, for example, has elucidated the ways religious minorities expelled from Iberia who ended up in North Africa went on to be instrumental in the transmission of flora and of technology between the Spanish American world and the western Mediterranean.⁹⁴ Examining agricultural practices, food production and distribution, and the religious and cultural valences of cuisine thus illustrates forms of contact and connections that bound together the disparate shores of the inner sea.

Globalizing Iberia and the Mediterranean

This survey so far has focused almost exclusively on scholarship treating Iberia's relationship with the Mediterranean. Traditionally, there has been a chasm between scholarship treating Iberia's Mediterranean ties and that addressing the Peninsula's Atlantic engagements. For instance, Spain's early modern engagement with the Atlantic was historically treated under the aegis of Colonial Latin American history. In the past couple of decades, however, new scholarship has begun to treat Iberia and the Mediterranean in a more global perspective. Recent work has begun to look at an "Iberian world" in a manner that integrates Iberian, Mediterranean, and Atlantic history. In certain disciplines, such as environmental history, the canvas has become truly global in scope. A few areas where the integration of the Mediterranean into a more global perspective is discernible, and where there is promise of stimulating work in the future, include the study of slavery, of systems of captivity, of piracy, and of frontier and borderlands zones. A final area where recent work points to stimulating new ways to think about some of these issues lies in models of "directionality" and the precedent not only of experiences in the Old World on the New, but vice versa as well.

In 1995 Ernest Belenguer published an essay in which he portrayed Ferdinand of Aragon as a monarch trapped between two seas, two worlds, and two centuries.⁹⁵ Belenguer's title implies the geographic and temporal schism

⁹⁴ Thomas F. Glick, "Moriscos and Marranos as Agents of Technological Diffusion," *History of Technology* 17 (1995): 113-125.

⁹⁵ Ernest Belenguer, "Entre dos mares, dos mundos, dos siglos: Fernando el Católico y la Corona de Aragon," in *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su época*, Congreso Internacional de Historia, vol. I (Madrid: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1995), 91-112.

between older Mediterranean interests and the dawning age of the Atlantic World. To be sure, during the sixteenth century, there was a gradual reorientation of the Iberian kingdoms' focus of attention, a westward shift that occurred as a result of numerous factors, but chief of which was the overseas expansion of Castile into and across the Atlantic, and of Portugal into the Atlantic and Indian oceans. That said, Portugal remained enmeshed in Moroccan affairs for decades, and Spain never abandoned its Mediterranean interests and objectives. Much new work now recognizes that in certain areas, the study of Iberia in the Mediterranean and Atlantic should be revised to see Mediterranean and Atlantic engagements as in certain ways playing complementary roles.

Thoughtfully innovative ways that Atlantic Studies and Mediterranean Studies enter into dialogue are evident in work that addresses slavery. To use one example, Daniel Hershenzon's *The Captive Sea* is a study of the political economy of the ransom industry in the western Mediterranean zone, yet the study includes tremendous details about the lives of enslaved Mediterranean people. Readers attuned to comparative studies of institutions of slavery will find much here that they can draw on to compare Mediterranean slavery to its Atlantic counterpart. Indeed, Hershenzon is at times explicit in drawing this comparison himself, and the evidence he marshals suggests that Mediterranean captives and slaves suffered horribly, and did experience various stages of "social death," but that this sundering from family, home, and community were rarely as final as they were for West Africans who were deracinated from their homelands without the prospect of ongoing correspondence or communication with their native land.⁹⁶ David Wheat has brought attention to the phenomenon of the Spanish employment of Muslim galley slaves on fleets they used in the Caribbean during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁹⁷ More comparative work in this regard would highlight differences and continuities between various forms of slavery as practiced in different Mediterranean or Atlantic locales, perhaps helping to develop a clearer sense of the degree to which slavery was based on religious difference or on ethnic or racial identity, and shifts that occurred in this regard over the early modern period.⁹⁸ Here, more comparative studies of slavery

⁹⁶ Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, particularly chapter 1.

⁹⁷ David Wheat, "Mediterranean Slavery, New World Transformations: Galley Slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, 1578-1635," *Slavery and Abolition* 31, no. 3 (2010): 327-344.

⁹⁸ A brief but representative list of works that could serve as a point of entry into such comparative work would include: Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI. Género, raza y religión*, prologue B. Bennassar (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2000); Antonio de Almeida Mendes, "Escravidão e raça em Portugal: uma experiência de longa duração," in *Escravidão e Subjectividades no Atlântico luso-brasileiro e francês (Séculos xvii-xx)*, ed. Myriam Cottias and Hebe Mattos (OpenEdition Press, 2016): <http://books.openedition.org/oep/778>; A. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

in the eastern Atlantic archipelagos (Madeira, the Canary Islands, and Cape Verde), or studies that integrate those island societies' slave systems into a wider Mediterranean-to-Atlantic spectrum, might be particularly illuminating. Bringing recent scholarship on the early modern Portuguese empire into this conversation would be enormously productive, a fact evident in the expansive and stimulating study on Portuguese imperial ideologies and legal culture by Giuseppe Marcocci.⁹⁹

The study of practices of captivity is another area where more holistic treatments of Mediterranean and Atlantic captivity might yield significant results. Lisa Voigt's *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic* is an example of the fruit that such an approach might bear. While the title clearly indicates the book's Atlantic orientation, Voigt's treatment of the Iberian imperial world includes Mediterranean captivity to very good effect.¹⁰⁰

Piracy, too, is another area where more integration of the Mediterranean with wider oceanic systems would be helpful. Sebastian Prange's study of medieval piracy in the Indian Ocean, and effects of the Portuguese irruption into the zone in the early sixteenth century suggests that this event was less a moment of sharp rupture than scholars used to argue, and that the Portuguese brought with them into the Indian Ocean practices that were somewhat commensurate with forms of piracy and exchange already practiced there.¹⁰¹ If this was, indeed, the case, what else might we learn from studies that integrate Mediterranean phenomena into broader frames of analysis?¹⁰²

Scholars have recently produced a number of compelling studies that examine frontiers in comparative settings and that employ trans-Atlantic perspectives.¹⁰³ Drawing on the methodologies initially developed by historians of medieval Iberia, of the southwestern American borderlands, and of broader studies of frontiers and borderlands in a variety of settings, recent studies now

⁹⁹ Marcocci, *A Consciência de um Império*.

¹⁰⁰ Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

¹⁰¹ Sebastian Prange, "A Trade of No Dishonor: Piracy, Commerce, and Community in the Western Indian Ocean, Twelfth to Sixteenth Century," *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (2011): 1269-1293.

¹⁰² In a sort of parallel to this model of commensurability in the world of piracy, Sanjay Subrahmanyam detects shared vocabularies of millenarian prophetic worldviews among the Portuguese and their interlocutors in sixteenth-century India: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Du Tage au Gange au XVIe siècle: une conjuncture millénariste à l'échelle eurasiatique," *Annales* 56 (2001): 51-84.

¹⁰³ For comparative work in this area, see the following collection of essays: Michel Bertrand and Natividad Planas, *Les sociétés de frontière. De la Méditerranée à l'Atlantique (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011).

situate early modern Iberian frontiers into broadly comparative frameworks.¹⁰⁴ In Tamar Herzog's monograph *Frontiers of Possession*, the author looks at the ways in which subjects negotiate frontier spaces, using the legal tools at their disposal to construct legal boundaries, to establish frontiers of belonging or exclusion.¹⁰⁵ In her study, Herzog looks at frontier spaces that were contested zones of Spanish and Portuguese claims, rather than spaces where religious difference formed the dominant paradigm of the frontier as a space of difference, as a boundary. Herzog thereby demonstrates the fruitful ways in which the approaches of frontier studies continue to illuminate patterns of human behavior in a variety of settings, in this case by analyzing Iberia and Iberian overseas possessions in conjunction with one another. Herzog's integrated study of Portuguese and Spanish legal practices is exceptional in so far as so little work takes a comparative or integrative approach to early modern Portuguese and Spanish questions.

Finally, I believe that there is a great deal to be gained in reconsidering traditional assumptions about directionality and influence in the early encounters in the Americas. It has long been maintained that certain continuities linked Iberian processes of expansion and conquest in the Mediterranean to the earliest decades of Iberian colonial enterprises in the Americas. When these continuities were initially posited, they tended to be unidirectional, east to west. Alan Ryder, for instance, noted that the challenges the Aragonese monarchs faced in governing their far-flung Mediterranean territories led to their devising the offices of *lugarteniente* and viceroy to assist with the administration of peninsular realms, of the island kingdom of Majorca, or of Sicily, during royal absences.¹⁰⁶ Ryder argued that these developments were then adopted by Castile in the early sixteenth century in the administration of its overseas empire in the Americas. The office of Viceroy of Sicily thus served as a blueprint for the office of Viceroy of New Spain or Peru.

Beyond these administrative influences and continuities, other continuities were posited too. It has been a truism of traditional treatments of the early modern Spanish empire that with the conquest of Granada the "Reconquista" stood complete, and the ideology of holy war and conquest was therefore carried across the Atlantic, where Spanish conquistadors continued the fight against "infidels."

¹⁰⁴ *Fronteras e Historia. Balance y perspectivas de futuro*, ed. Miguel A. Melón (Badajoz: Gehsomp, 2014); Bertrand and Planas, *Les sociétés de frontière. De la Méditerranée à l'Atlantique*

¹⁰⁵ Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

¹⁰⁶ Alan Ryder, "The evolution of imperial government in Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous," in *Europe in the late Middle Ages*, ed. J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield, B. Smalley (Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1965), 332-57. Ryder develops this analysis more extensively in his *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975). See also: Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: king of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396-1458* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

There are abundant reasons scholars have arrived at this interpretation. Sixteenth-century writings by Spanish conquistadors provide plentiful evidence for such readings of their *mentalités*. For instance, in his letters to Charles V, Hernán Cortés famously described some of the Aztec temples as “mosques.” Particularly in his second letter to Charles V, in Cortés’ descriptions of Cholula and Tenochtitlán, he labels local temples “mosques,” while simultaneously describing the idols they contained, an element that would appear to render these spaces decidedly *not* Islamic.¹⁰⁷ There are numerous interpretations for why Cortés employed this terminology. One reason was clearly to render intelligible to a Spanish readership the culture and society he was describing.¹⁰⁸ Another interpretation is that by portraying the Aztec Gentiles as in some way akin to Muslims, this served to legitimate the brutal actions the conquistador undertook. This elision of non-Abrahamic Amerindians with Muslims has been explored in a variety of contexts, including in methods of evangelization and in the emergence of festivals in Mexico modeled after the *Moros y Cristianos* festivals of early modern Iberia.¹⁰⁹ The Americas, with its indigenous population of Gentile peoples who had no prior exposure to any of the Abrahamic faiths, posed a different set of concerns to Spanish colonial authorities. But recent work, in particular that by Karoline P. Cook and Stuart Schwartz, demonstrates the ways in which the Mediterranean concerns surrounding the baptized-yet-still-marginal members of Spanish society were exported to the Americas and played decisive roles in the formulation of social boundaries in colonial Latin American society.¹¹⁰

What happens, however, if we consider the possibility of a different directional flow? For example, following two lengthy stays in the Americas, Cortés then returned to Spain and proceeded to participate in Charles V’s assault

¹⁰⁷ Hernán Cortés, *Letters From Mexico*, trans. and ed. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), Second Letter, 47-159.

¹⁰⁸ On this descriptive approach, see Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word*, where he analyzes ways Europeans used Mediterranean reference points to describe New Spain, demonstrating the ways Old World peoples employed Old World features in their attempts to comprehend the New. Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ Mercedes García-Arenal, “Moriscos e indios. Para un estudio comparado de métodos de conquista y evangelización,” *Chronica Nova* 20 (1992): 153-176; on the trope of Christian crusade against a Muslim foe as deployed in the Americas, see: Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); for an examination of the influence of European “just war” doctrines as redeployed in the dramatically different context of New Spain, see Karoline P. Cook, “Muslims and *Chichimeca* in New Spain: The Debates over Just War and Slavery,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 70, no. 1 (Jan-June, 2013): 15-38.

¹¹⁰ Cook, *Forbidden Passages*; Stuart Schwartz, *Blood and Boundaries: The Limits of Religious and Racial Exclusion in Early Modern Latin America* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2020).

on the Ottoman regency of Algiers in 1541. In this action Cortés did not play the decisive role he had in the conquest of Tenochtitlán. Yet one still wonders to what extent the conquistador's worldview had, at this point, been conditioned by his experience in Mexico and Honduras. Cortés was not alone in his return to Mediterranean theatres of war following acts of conquest in the Americas. Numerous other soldiers returned to Spain and subsequently participated in military engagements in North Africa and the Mediterranean. Given the attention that has been devoted to the ways that Old World experiences and worldviews might have conditioned how conquistadors understood the American continent and its inhabitants, it would be valuable to know more about the degree to which these figures' perspectives might have been re-shaped by their experiences in the Americas and how this might be reflected upon their return to Iberia and the Mediterranean.

Along these lines, a number of scholars are reminding us that we must consider the multi-directionality of influence at play in the early modern global Iberian world, that precedent did not flow solely from east to west across the Atlantic. Earlier in this survey, I noted Thomas Glick's work that highlights the *Moriscos* and *Marranos* as agents of the transmission of flora and technology between the Spanish American world and the western Mediterranean.¹¹¹ What if we consider other arenas in which such west-to-east flows took place? In an article on sixteenth-century Mediterranean geo-politics, Seth Kimmel presents what he terms an inversion of the "usual lines of precedent" in examining how Muslim writers employed accounts of Spanish brutality in the conquest of the Americas to impugn the legitimacy of Spanish rule in Iberia and North Africa.¹¹² Looking at the relationship between the New World and the Old in a similarly productive way, Claire Gilbert has explored the relationship between the Spanish experience during the first two decades of colonization in the Caribbean and the spate of legislation passed in 1511-1513 restricting *Morisco* clothing, dances, and other cultural practices in Castile.¹¹³ Addressing the "performance" of royal sovereignty, particularly in public spaces such as municipal plazas, Alejandra B. Osorio proposes a process of bi-directional influence between Spain and its American colonies, a model that moves sharply away from that of metropole and

¹¹¹ Glick, "Moriscos and Marranos as Agents of Technological Diffusion," 113-125.

¹¹² Seth Kimmel, "Fashioning Precedent: The Imperial Politics of New Christian Assimilation," in Forum: "Empire and Exceptionalism," ed. Andrew Devereux, *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 5, no. 3, Feb. 2018 (<https://arcade.stanford.edu/rofl/fashioning-precedent-imperial-politics-new-christian-assimilation>) [accessed July 16, 2021].

¹¹³ Claire Gilbert, "The Contracts of Conquest: Treaties of Conversion in *Mudéjar* and *Morisco* Granada," paper presented at *Empire and Exceptionalism: The Requerimiento at Five-Hundred*, conference held at UCLA Clark Memorial Library, March 6, 2015.

periphery.¹¹⁴ In a similar vein, Byron Ellsworth Hamann, posits an influence of the American experience on attempts to regulate religious boundaries in Iberia proper.¹¹⁵ And in her article “Muslims and *Chichimeca*,” Karoline P. Cook shows how the war against the Chichimeca and debates over their enslaveability informed the decision to make *Moriscos* captured during the second Alpujarras War (1568-1570) licitly enslaveable.¹¹⁶ While seemingly quite obvious, the recent moves toward a scholarly consideration of the bi-directionality of precedent has yielded stimulating results and promises more to come.

Among possible new directions in the field that remain less fully developed, one that stands out is the study of the environmental and climate history of early modern Iberia and the western Mediterranean. The early development of the field of Spanish environmental history among Spanish scholars grew out of the study of land use and agrarian policies, along with the appeal in Andalucía of radical leftist politics.¹¹⁷ That early development of the field, however, did not address some of the pressing questions driving modern environmental history, such as climate variability in the past and societies’ responses to it. Nor did that early work situate Iberia in a broader Mediterranean framework. Indeed, aside from J.R. McNeill’s study, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World*, which examines mountainous regions of the entire Mediterranean basin, including Spain, there are relatively few studies of early modern Iberian environmental history.¹¹⁸ This is beginning to change. The Hispanist and military historian Geoffrey Parker has moved into the field of climate history in recent years. His work in this area has dramatically expanded our understanding of the seventeenth-century Global Crisis.¹¹⁹ While his background and expertise are in the Habsburg monarchy, Parker’s studies in this area are global rather than being limited to Iberia or even the Mediterranean. John T. Wing’s *Roots of Empire: Forests and State Power in Early Modern Spain*

¹¹⁴ Alejandra B. Osorio, “Of National Boundaries and Imperial Geographies: A New Radical History of the Spanish Habsburg Empire,” *Radical History Review* 130, no. 1 (2018): 100-130. On p. 106, Osorio proposes a paradigm of coeval development between Spain and the Americas, a process of mutual influence on a global scale.

¹¹⁵ Byron Ellsworth Hamann, *Bad Christians, New Spains: Muslims, Catholics, and Native Americans in a Mediterranean World* (London: Routledge, 2020).

¹¹⁶ Cook, “Muslims and *Chichimeca* in New Spain: The Debates over Just War and Slavery,” 29-30.

¹¹⁷ J.R. McNeill, “Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History,” *History and Theory* 42 (2003): 5-43, particularly at 20.

¹¹⁸ J.R. McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹¹⁹ Geoffrey Parker, “Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered,” *American Historical Review* 113, no. 4 (2008): 1053-1079; Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

examines Spanish practices of forest management in the global context of the entirety of the Spanish Empire, looking at tensions between conceptions of timbered areas as the commons and the demands of the state to maintain a global naval force.¹²⁰ Wing here is inspired by Carla Rahn Phillips' work on early modern shipbuilding, but his study is also informed by recent developments in the field of environmental history.¹²¹ Much more local, rather than global, in her approach, Abigail Agresta's monograph, *The Keys to Bread and Wine*, is illustrative of the fruitful new directions the field of environmental history in the context of premodern Iberia is opening up.¹²² In this study, Agresta argues for understanding fourteenth-century municipal measures for managing irrigation, drought, and other elements related to the city's sustenance, as part of a programmatic policy focused on managing (or perhaps "improving") the land. Agresta thus detects these practices in an era long predating the modern era, the period more commonly associated with such infrastructure and improvement plans. In a departure from traditional narratives, though, these policies did not develop in the expected teleological pattern in Valencia. On the contrary, the fifteenth century witnessed a shift toward managing crises and natural disasters centered more on religious practices and on ritualized pleas for divine assistance. In centering her study on Valencia during the early centuries of the Little Ice Age, Agresta draws on the work of numerous scholars who incorporate proxy data in their analyses of premodern climate variability and the ways humans managed their relationship with the world around them.

With Wing's, Parker's, and Agresta's studies, we see the promising new work being done in the fields of environmental history, climate history, and the relationship between these and political and social history in the early modern Iberian world. In the context of Iberia and its relationship with the wider Mediterranean world, environmental and climate history remains a relatively new field. The ability to work across disciplinary boundaries, and to incorporate the findings of climate scientists (thereby melding the human archive with the natural archive) has proven crucial in the development of these new directions. The work of scholars of environmental and climate history, including Sam White and Dagomar DeGroot, demonstrate the possibilities of working in interdisciplinary ways and drawing on proxy data, and reading these proxy data against the textual and archival records, to develop a fuller picture of the relationship between

¹²⁰ John T. Wing, *Roots of Empire: Forests and State Power in Early Modern Spain, c. 1500-c. 1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

¹²¹ Carla Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

¹²² Abigail Agresta, *The Keys to Bread and Wine: Faith, Nature, and Infrastructure in Late Medieval Valencia* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2022).

humans and their environment.¹²³ A new generation of scholars who are honing different skill sets during their training are currently adopting some of these techniques in addressing the environmental history of late medieval and early modern Iberia, the wider Mediterranean, and the whole of the Iberian world.

One final area that presents possibilities for stimulating new work and approaches lies in comparative studies between the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. Both of these histories for decades were dominated by the decline thesis, but in each case the understanding of the panoply of forces at play in the political fortunes of each of these empires is pushing scholars to consider new approaches to understanding the early modern history of these imperial rivals. There are fascinating examples of broadly comparative scholarship that illuminates aspects such as the role of messianic or apocalyptic thought in Spanish and Ottoman contexts, articulating these manifestations as a function of broadly Mediterranean ways of understanding the world, and of processing crisis and upheaval.¹²⁴ Moreover, in the realm of visual culture Gülru Necipoglu demonstrates that there existed shared vocabularies of political authority and legitimacy that spanned the Habsburg, papal, and Ottoman Mediterranean.¹²⁵ Just as Hussein Fancy's work reveals shared conceptions of sovereignty across Islamic and Christian polities of the western Mediterranean, so Necipoglu's work points to broadly shared notions of sovereignty and articulations of political authority centered on conceptions of universal monarchy and claims to be the legitimate heir of imperial Rome. What would more comparative work on political ideologies show? What would a comparative study of the role of ideals of rulership, governance, and sovereignty across the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman empire reveal? What could we learn through a study of the relationship between climate variability and political instability, or about societal responses to plague? The study of disease and epidemiology, particularly the relationship between disease and climate change, and between epidemic disease and social change or revolution, has the potential to advance our understanding of Mediterranean climates during the early modern centuries and to deepen our grasp of how various societies responded to the challenges presented. Such studies would obviously relate to the field of environmental and climate history alluded to

¹²³ Sam White, "The real little ice age," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44:3 (2014): 327-352; Dagomar Degroot, "Testing the Limits of Climate History: The Quest for a Northeast Passage during the Little Ice Age, 1594-1597," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 45, no. 4 (2015): 459-484.

¹²⁴ Cornell Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Speaking the End Times: Early Modern Politics and Religion from Iberia to Central Asia*, ed. Mayte Green-Mercado, special issue of the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61 (2018): 18-90.

¹²⁵ Gülru Necipoglu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representations of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 401-427.

above. As an example, Ruth MacKay's book, *Life in a Time of Pestilence: The Great Castilian Plague of 1596-1601*, offers a superb examination of the social impacts of an epidemic and the ways in which the Crown sought to manage the crisis.¹²⁶ Along related lines, *The Plague Files*, by Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook, examines the municipal government of Seville (as well as numerous ordinary citizens) to analyze how the mechanisms of city government confronted a series of crises, including pestilence, social rebellions, and famine caused by drought.¹²⁷ Reading these works in dialogue with Nükhet Varlık's *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347-1600* is enlightening, but there is likely more comparative work to be done in this area.¹²⁸ Comparative work examining the connections between climate variability and social upheaval would be tremendously helpful. The work of Geoffrey Parker and Sam White provides inspiring models of ways to examine these questions across the breadth of the Mediterranean (for someone with the proper linguistic and disciplinary skill set).¹²⁹ Such a comparative work would bring detail and nuance to Braudel's assertion that the Habsburg and Turkish Mediterranean faced the same challenges, even if the consequences were not identical. What could be gleaned from a comparative study on ideas about the construction of difference, of race, and of slavery in Ottoman and Iberian contexts? What about comparative work on ideas concerning just war in the Habsburg and Ottoman worlds? Such work would demand a broad linguistic skill set as well as access to archival holdings in Iberia, Turkey, and beyond. But the payoff of such comparative studies could be tremendously illuminating for our understanding of the dynamics that characterized the Mediterranean in the early modern era.

Conclusion

In toto, this survey of literature on Iberia and the Mediterranean elucidates recent scholarly trends that demonstrate that, although the premodern Mediterranean was the scene of exclusionary religious claims, expulsions and diasporas, professions of holy war, and a captive industry predicated on the articulation of religious difference, yet the boundaries expressed in these claims proved porous and permeable. Bonds of connectivity were robust enough, and contact - even with one's enemies - regular enough, that shared vocabularies

¹²⁶ Ruth MacKay, *Life in a Time of Pestilence: The Great Castilian Plague of 1596-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

¹²⁷ Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook, *The Plague Files: Crisis Management in Sixteenth-Century Seville* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012).

¹²⁸ Nükhet Varlık, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

¹²⁹ Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

existed for expressing ideas about politics, rulership, the divine, and so on. Mayte Green-Mercado, in her study of the role of prophecy as a diplomatic language that Spain's early modern *Moriscos* employed in correspondence and communication with potential allies in other regions of the Mediterranean, paints a picture of a region defined by commensurability. In Green-Mercado's Mediterranean, religious difference did not necessarily trump shared cultural, intellectual, or political traditions and objectives. Other scholarship highlighted here similarly presents ways to think about the Mediterranean as a conceptual space. In *The Captive Sea*, for instance, Daniel Hershenzon focuses on the processes of captive-taking and redemption, but he situates this study within bigger discussions about ways to think about the Mediterranean as a unit, and the ways in which connections are created and regional linkages formed. Claire Gilbert's *In Good Faith* elaborates on the role of the translator as a catalyst in exchanges of information across religious boundaries in the early modern Mediterranean, pointing to ways diplomacy was conducted in spite of ostensible religious enmity. While these studies recognize the centrality of religious difference, indeed enmity, they simultaneously note the commensurability that seems to have characterized relations across the Muslim-Christian divide in the setting of the Mediterranean.

In very general terms, the shifts we have seen in scholarly approaches to Iberia and the Mediterranean over the past several decades have forced us to move away from a reified understanding of the vocabulary, categories, and terms scholars traditionally applied to many of these topics – terms such as “Jew,” “Muslim,” or “Christian,” and even terms ostensibly as concrete as “Spain” or “Africa.” In their introduction to a collection of essays on the history of Muslims in Europe, Jocelyne Dakhliya and Wolfgang Kaiser posit a continuum of cultural and religious scope, rather than looking at “intermediaries” who move between cultural spheres. Their reason for suggesting instead the model of a continuum is that the idea of intermediaries implicitly reifies those normative categories.¹³⁰ In the case of recent scholarship on late medieval and early modern Iberian history, while the field continues to grapple with questions stemming from the relations among members of the three Abrahamic faiths, many scholars have contributed to these conversations in ways that use these categories with an understanding of their very permeability and porosity in a general shift away from seeing them as reified or essentialized categories. If recent scholarship has emphasized the degree to which these categories are not stable, the extent to which the boundaries they imply were in fact blurry and permeable, then perhaps one of the lessons here is the insufficiency of our modern vocabulary in addressing and describing the problems, questions, and complexities of pre-modern Iberia and the

¹³⁰ Jocelyne Dakhliya and Wolfgang Kaiser, “Introduction: une Méditerranée entre deux mondes, ou des mondes continus,” in *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. II: Passages et contacts en Méditerranée*, ed. Jocelyne Dakhliya and Wolfgang Kaiser (Paris: Albin Michel, 2013).

Mediterranean. Future generations of scholars will need to work in more inter-disciplinary ways, drawing more on the work of anthropologists to develop the tools and skills necessary to analyze the full complexity and diversity of the premodern Iberian world and its Mediterranean and Atlantic offshoots. Happily, the “Mediterranean turn” is now having an impact on the study of the premodern world at the undergraduate level: a new textbook and source reader, authored by Thomas Burman, Brian Catlos, and Mark Meyerson, centers the Mediterranean in its presentation of medieval and early modern history, while also writing across conventional periodization in presenting a narrative that runs from 650-1650 C.E.¹³¹

Drawing on the examples presented by much exciting recent work in the field of late medieval and early modern Iberian history, the present survey has focused attention on the salutary shift in our view of early modern Iberian history in geographical and chronological terms, highlighting recent scholarship that views the Mediterranean as less divorced from the Atlantic World than it was depicted in an earlier generation of scholarship, and that writes across the 1492-periodization boundary that has tended to demarcate the separate fields of medieval and early modern history. These shifts in the field of the history of premodern Iberia have occurred through the deep engagement of many scholars of Iberian history (particularly Aragonese and Castilian history) with conversations taking place in the dynamic field of Mediterranean studies. In many respects, scholars of late medieval and early modern Iberia have pushed the field of Mediterranean studies in productive new directions, through interdisciplinary initiatives and collaborative ventures. Two examples are the Mediterranean Seminar, which began as a University of California Multi-Campus Research Project, and that also held a series of NEH Summer institutes in Barcelona between 2008 and 2015, and the Spain-North Africa Project, which began as a collective enterprise that grew out of the 2010 iteration of the NEH Summer Institute in Barcelona. Both the Mediterranean Seminar and the Spain-North Africa Project encourage interdisciplinary collaboration and structure workshops, conferences, and essay collections that are explicitly designed to bring scholars into closer dialogue with one another who might otherwise not have interacted due to traditional field divisions, as well as chronological and geographical boundaries.¹³²

In part as an outgrowth of such interdisciplinary, collaborative ventures, the field of premodern Iberian and Mediterranean studies has benefited with the

¹³¹ Thomas Burman, Brian Catlos, & Mark Meyerson, *The Sea in the Middle: The Mediterranean World, 650-1650* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2022). The companion source book, edited by the same three scholars, is titled *Texts from the Middle*.

¹³² The Mediterranean Seminar: <http://www.mediterraneanseminar.org/>. The Spain-North Africa Project: <http://www.spainnorthafricaproject.org/>.

advent of novel approaches to numerous historical questions. This survey has attempted to chart but a few of these scholarly developments, in areas including displacement and exile, captivity, slavery, and communication. The works covered here furnish us with concrete examples with which to think about the wider Mediterranean Sea as a space riven by conflict in a variety of guises, yet united in a web of connections produced by necessity, amity, and even enmity. In this regard, Iberia's peninsular nature resulted in regular and prolonged imbrication with its two nearest neighboring "peninsulas," Italy and the Maghrib, not to mention the archipelagos of the eastern Atlantic. Indeed, the imprint - ecological, cultural, and political - left by Portuguese and Spanish colonization of these archipelagos prompted Fernand Braudel to describe this zone as the "Mediterranean Atlantic," a term used by modern scholars, including David Abulafia, to describe the region bounded by the Azores, Madeira, and the Canary Islands.¹³³ The ways in which recent scholarship has approached Iberia through various frameworks positioning the peninsula within broader geographical units of analysis illustrates the very importance of the peninsula's seaward side (Mediterranean as well as Atlantic). It was the Mediterranean peninsulas' accessibility from this seaward side that Braudel viewed as so fundamental in the vital role they played in establishing connections across the inner sea. Scholars who have produced innovative work on late medieval and early modern Iberia in recent years have given us a far more nuanced picture of the dynamics of contact, exchange, and interaction that characterized the Mediterranean, as well as the Mediterranean's off-shoots, during those centuries.

¹³³ David Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," in William V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2005), 64–93, at 66 and 81. See also: Abulafia, Introduction, *The Mediterranean in History*, ed. David Abulafia (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), 11-32.