Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies

Founded in 1969 to promote research in all aspects and epochs of Iberian history, the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies conducts annual meetings, provides a forum for scholars of Iberian Affairs, and publishes this Bulletin each spring and fall.

Annual Membership Dues
- Students $7.00
- U.S. Members $20.00
- Overseas Members $23.00
- Institutions $25.00

All information concerning membership should be addressed to the Membership Secretary: Andrew H. Lee, 310 First Street, Westfield, NJ 07090 <ANDREW.LEE@NYU.EDU>.

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The SSPHS Bulletin is published two times each year and is distributed to the members of the Society. The editors welcome news about research in progress, recent publications, archival notes, bibliographic essays, short reviews of recent publications, notice of personal honors, and news of academic meetings of interest to Iberian Scholars. Substantial funding for the publication is provided by the University of Central Missouri, Warrensburg, Missouri. All correspondence regarding its content should be addressed to the editors.

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Microfilm and Microfiche of the Bulletin from its inception in 1969 is available. Direct inquiries to the General Secretary.
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Message from the General Secretary

It is my pleasure to announce that the results of the ballot sent to all members in June are as follows:
The total number of ballots returned was 141

Constitutional amendments to Article IV Officers
Amendment to add the position of Vice General Secretary
Yes: 135  
No: 4  
Blank: 2

Amendment to add the title and duties of ‘treasurer’ to those of Membership Secretary
Yes: 136  
No: 3  
Blank: 2

Amendment to add website editor to the Executive Committee
Yes: 138  
No: 1  
Blank: 2

Change of the name of the Society
In favor of Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies: 82 (58%)  
In favor of Society for Iberian Historical Studies: 58 (41%)  
Blank: 1 (1%)

Thus the amendments have been approved almost unanimously. They have been added to the text of the Constitution and included in the current Bulletin for everyone’s information.

The vote on the name change was more split, though those in favor of Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies (ASPHS) constitute an absolute majority. Personally, I am pleased with this result. This change has come as an imposition by the circumstances, not as a desire of the membership. The choice of “Association” and the acronym ASPHS is the closest to our old and appreciated name. Andrew Lee continues making progress to properly recover from the IRS our non-profit status.

Dan Crews, Luis Corteguera, and Marta Vicente are working hard to put together the 2009 Annual Meeting that, among other things, will commemorate the 40th anniversary of the foundation of SSPHS. I encourage you to attend the event in Kansas City, Missouri (April 2-5, 2009).

Following with tradition we are hosting a reception at the 2009 AHA 123rd Annual Meeting in New York, on Saturday January 3, between 5:00 and 7:30 p.m., in Concourse C at the Hilton Hotel. We are also offering two scholarly joint panels with the AHA. I look forward to seeing many of you there.
CONSTITUTION

I. Name
The name of this organization shall be Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Inc.

II. Nature and Purpose
Section 1. The Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Inc. is formed exclusively for literary and educational purposes within the meaning of section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Specifically, the Association shall promote interest in the scholarly study of Spain and Portugal through History and the related disciplines.

Section 2. In order to promote interest in the scholarly study of Spain and Portugal, the Association shall:

a) sponsor an Annual Conference (which shall include the Business Meeting of the membership of the Association) during the month of March or April, with the provision that at any Business Meeting, the membership may authorize the Executive Committee to cancel the Annual Conference and Business Meeting for the following year.

b) publish a Bulletin no less frequently than twice a year; and

c) take such other actions as may be deemed appropriate in order to promote scholarly interest in Spain and Portugal.

III. Membership
Section 1. Membership in the Association shall be granted to all persons who are interested in the scholarly study of Spain and/or Portugal who pay such annual dues as may be established.

Section 2. Membership in the Association confers the following rights and benefits:

a) to attend and vote at the Business Meetings of the Association;

b) to attend all conferences sponsored by the Association, upon payment of any such fees as may be established for attendance;

c) to vote in all elections of the Association;

d) to run for office of the Association for which the member may be qualified; and

e) to receive the Bulletin of the Association, and upon payment of any fees which may be established, to receive any other publication of the Association.

IV. Officers
Section 1. Officers named
The officers of the Association shall be the General Secretary, Vice General Secretary, the Membership Secretary/Treasurer, the Editor of the Bulletin, Web Site Editor, and members of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall name such subordinate officers as it may deem necessary or as the by–laws may require.

Section 2. Term of Office
All officers of the Association shall be elected to a two-year term, and shall serve until their successors are elected and qualify. The Vice General Secretary shall serve a one-year term prior to taking office as General Secretary. Except for the Editor of the Bulletin, officers are scheduled to take office during the Annual Conference, at the conclusion of the Business Meeting or the banquet, whichever is later. The Editor of the
Bulletin takes office on July 1 of odd-numbered years. In the event that the Annual Conference is cancelled (pursuant to Article II, Section 2 (a) of this constitution) officers other than the Editor of the Bulletin shall take office on April 15 of that year.

Section 3. General Secretary and Vice General Secretary:

a) The General Secretary shall assume office in even-numbered years after serving one year as Vice General Secretary. In the event that the Vice General Secretary is unable to assume office as General Secretary, a General Secretary shall be elected by the membership;

b) The General Secretary shall chair the Executive Committee. In addition, he/she shall be charged, in general, with the executive responsibility for conducting the business of the Association, within bounds set by the Executive Committee and the membership. The Vice General Secretary shall have no specific duties but shall preside in the absence of the General Secretary and shall be a member ex officio of the Executive Committee.

c) The Vice General Secretary shall be elected by the membership in odd-numbered years and will assume office as General Secretary in the next even-numbered year following his or her election.

d) The General Secretary shall be an ex officio member of all committees, except the Nominating Committee.

Section 4. Membership Secretary/Treasurer:

a) The Membership Secretary/Treasurer shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

b) The Membership Secretary/Treasurer shall be responsible for receiving dues payments, maintaining the membership records of the Association, and carrying out whatever other activities may be appropriate to the office. This officer, like the General Secretary, shall have signing authority on all bank accounts and may write checks as authorized by the General Secretary. The Membership Secretary/Treasurer shall assist the General Secretary in preparing the annual financial statement and IRS documents and shall supervise the endowment funds for prizes. The Membership Secretary/Treasurer shall be a voting member of the Executive Committee.

Section 5. Editor of the Bulletin:

a) The Editor of the Bulletin shall be appointed by the Executive Committee in odd-numbered years, preferably prior to the Annual Conference;

b) The Editor of the Bulletin shall serve as a voting member of the Executive Committee. In addition, he/she shall be charged, in general, with the executive responsibility for publishing the Bulletin, within bounds set by the Executive Committee and the membership;

Section 6. Web Site Editor:

The Web Site Editor shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and shall be a member ex officio of the Executive Committee.

Section 7. Executive Committee:

a) The Executive Committee is composed of eleven members:

i. The General Secretary

ii. Vice General Secretary

iii. The Membership Secretary/Treasurer

iv. The Editor of the Bulletin

v. The Web Site Editor

vi. One member interested primarily in Portuguese Studies (to be elected separately by the membership in even-numbered years); and

vii. Four members at large, two to be elected each year
viii. One member who is a national of Spain or Portugal and whose principal residence is in either country (to be elected by the membership in even–numbered years).

The quorum for the Executive Committee shall be five members.

b) Within bounds set up by the membership, the Executive Committee shall have supervisory authority over the interests of the Association including the election of officers, the calling of meetings, the program of the Annual Conference, and the publishing of the Bulletin. The Executive Committee shall have the power to establish annual dues and other fees.

c) The Executive Committee shall meet during the Annual Conference, prior to the Business Meeting of the membership. Additional meetings may be called by the General Secretary on his/her own authority, and must be called by the written request of the majority of the members of the Executive Committee or the membership.

d) The Executive Committee shall issue annually a complete financial report at the annual Business Meeting of the Association. This report shall also be published in its entirety in the Bulletin. In the event of the cancellation of the Annual Conference, the annual report shall be published in the first issue of the Bulletin after April 1 of that year.

e) The Executive Committee shall make such other reports and recommendations to the Association as it may deem appropriate.

SSection 8. Removal of Officers

The Association may incorporate into the by–laws a mechanism for the removal of officers before the expiration of their terms.

V. Authority within the Association

Except for those matters for which a mail ballot of the entire membership is required by the constitution or the by–laws, the annual Business Meeting, acting in accord with the constitution and by–laws of this Association, is the supreme authority within the Association.

A minimum of twenty (20) members shall constitute a quorum at the annual Business Meeting.

VI. Dissolution of the Association

Section 1. The Association shall be dissolved by the General Secretary only after the receipt of authorizations signed by the absolute majority of the members of the Association.

Section 2. In case of the dissolution of the Association, half of its assets shall go to the Library of Congress, and half the assets shall go to the Hispanic Society of America, if that organization is tax–exempt under Section 501 (c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Service Code at the time of the dissolution of this Association. If the Hispanic Society of America is no longer tax–exempt, then all assets shall go to the Library of Congress.

VII. Parliamentary Authority

Meetings of the membership and of the Executive Committee shall be conducted in accord with the latest revision of Robert’s Rules of Order, unless those rules conflict with this Constitution or with the by–laws of the Association.

VIII. By–Laws

The Association may adopt by–laws which are not in conflict with this Constitution. Initial adoption and amendment of the By–Laws shall require both (1) approval by a majority vote of those present and voting at a Business Meeting of the Association; (2) and approval by a majority of the votes cast in a mail ballot of the membership of the Association.
IX. Adoption and Amendment of this Constitution
Section 1. This constitution shall be considered as an amendment to the totality of the previous Constitutions of the Association. As such, it shall be adopted under the rules specified in that Constitution for amending that document.

Section 2. Executive Committee:
   a) Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by majority vote of the Executive Committee or of a Business Meeting of the membership of the Association or by petition of ten percent of the membership of the Association.
   b) The text of an amendment so proposed shall be published in the Bulletin at least three months prior to the Annual Business Meeting at which the amendment is to be discussed and voted upon.
   c) Adoption of a proposed amendment to the Constitution shall require both (1) approval, by vote of 2/3 of the members present and voting, of a Business Meeting of the membership of the Association; and (2) approval, by vote of a majority of the votes cast in a mail ballot of the membership of the Association. The ballot shall be conducted by the Executive Committee.

BY–LAWS
I. Vacancies
   In event of a vacancy in the office of General Secretary, the Executive Committee shall select a replacement, preferably from among its own members, who shall assume office immediately and shall serve for the remainder of the term.

   In event of a vacancy or vacancies among the members of the Executive Committee or in the office of Editor of the Bulletin, the Executive Committee shall select a replacement or replacements that shall assume office immediately and shall serve for the remainder of the term. In such a case, the majority of the remaining members of the Executive Committee, notwithstanding the lack of a normal quorum, may act to fill the vacancy or vacancies. In event of a vacancy in any other office created by the by–laws or by the constitution, the General Secretary shall appoint a replacement who shall assume office immediately and shall serve for the remainder of the term.

II. Minutes
   The General Secretary shall appoint a Recording Secretary to take minutes of all meetings of the Executive Committee and of the membership. The minutes shall be printed.

III. Location of Meetings
   In principle, the Executive Committee shall endeavor to recommend one or more locations for the Annual Conference to the membership two years in advance of the conference. In principle, the date of the Annual Conference should be announced to the annual Business Meeting one year in advance. In case of necessity, the Executive Committee is authorized to set or to change the date or location of the Annual Conference.

IV. Nominating Committee
   A Nominating Committee is established, to be composed of three members elected by the membership for staggered terms of three years each. One member shall
be elected each year. The committee shall elect its own chair. The committee is charged with securing, through a self-nomination process (open to all members of the Association) and through its own initiative, at least two candidates (wherever possible) for each elective office in the Association. The committee is also charged with conducting the election. Ballots shall be mailed out no later than January 31st of each year to all members of the Association.

V. Program Committee
A Program Committee shall be appointed to plan the programs for each annual conference. The General Secretary who is scheduled to be in office for the annual conference in question shall be charged with appointing the committee no later than May 1st of the preceding year.

VI. Ad–Hoc Committee
The General Secretary shall have the power to appoint ad–hoc committees which may be deemed necessary. The Executive Committee may instruct the General Secretary to appoint such committees.

Pirates of the Caribbean:
Early Modern Spain and Latin America as Part of the Atlantic World

“Piracy, n. Commerce without its folly-swaddles, just as God made it.”
Ambrose Bierce, The Unabridged Devil’s Dictionary, 1908

“You are a sneaking Puppy, and so are all those who will submit
to be governed by Laws which rich Men have made for their own Security...”
Attributed to the pirate Captain Bellamy, 1717

Early modern empire and piracy go hand in hand. Rich imperialists will always battle men like Bellamy who denounce laws as the folly swaddles that clothe ill gotten gains. Maritime empires offer the latter type of man a greater latitude of opportunity. In his recent Empires of the Atlantic World, Sir John Elliott repeats the words of an Englishman contemplating the Spanish crown’s fortunes in 1670 in this light: “As the weakness of Spain is such at home, so it is the more in his Indies, from where his Wealth and Riches flow...” Students of early modern Spanish history recognize that there is some truth to this quotation and know full well that profiting from this “weakness” was every pirate’s dream.1 Elliott’s gloss on the quotation, however, underscores the complexity of maritime predation’s relationship to early modern Spanish expansion: “Trade and piracy were liable to be synonymous in this lawless Caribbean world of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and buccaneers, merchants and planters became fickle accomplices in the enterprise of stripping the Spanish empire of its assets.”2 But there is a farther complication that astute students of Spain’s world will divine: although Elliott is here speaking of non-Spanish pirates or businessmen, one could just as readily argue there were plenty of Spanish subjects willing to strip the crown of its assets, including thieving shipowners, corrupt governors, and ethically ambivalent viceroys. Piracy is, after all, nothing but robbery on the high seas—and it need not be that high: coastal predation was the most typical form of buccaneering practised on the Spanish Main’s beaches between 1630 and 1720, precisely at a time of great economic and political strain during which the crown was haemorrhaging plenty of wealth further inland into the hands of Spaniards.3 Robbing from Spain was not an exclusively non-Spaniard activity.

Fabio López Lázaro,
University of Santa Clara
From a pedagogical perspective, the way entrepreneurial commerce, imperialist sovereignty, and high-risks individualism combined in early modern piracy is as irresistible to our students as it is fascinating to those of us engaged in archival research on the subject. It is easy to seduce students into taking such courses as the “Pirates of the Mediterranean, Pirates of the Caribbean” class I have taught since 2002 at Santa Clara University. Ever since Robert Louis Stevenson published Treasure Island in 1881-82, pirates have fascinated the public and recruiting undergraduates to study them is not a problem. The romantic “Jack Sparrow” character in the Pirates of the Caribbean film series (magisterially performed by Johnny Depp) does most of the job of enlisting them into the course: the combination of greed, escapism and rebelliousness is, after all, a heady potion. Once in the classroom, however, one needs to encourage students to think like scholars about serious historical questions and not just daydream like buccaneers about exciting short cuts to wealth.4 But how does one discipline the study of indiscipline?

The following exploration of several key ingredients for a successful and, one hopes, insightful scholarly potion, enables a serious study of the early modern Spanish monarchy through the prism of maritime predation. It privileges piracy’s principal victims, the New World and Atlantic subjects of the crown, those “poor vassals” exposed to attacks from the sea mentioned in government correspondence.5 A pedagogic concern for piracy serves multiple purposes, however, since students explore the relationship between social, political, and economic history. The specific pieces of research chosen for this discussion are readily available and fairly accessible to the average reader, such as the collected articles edited by C.R. Pennell, Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader (New York: New York University Press, 2001), the best “reader” for a beginner at the undergraduate junior/senior or graduate level.

One must note, however, that a study conducted in English of maritime predation from the Spanish perspective is hampered by the lack of well-edited primary sources and well-researched secondary ones. There is nothing in English to compare, for example, to Juan Juárez’s incredible study of the devastating, combined buccaneer-French sack of Vera Cruz in 1683 Corsarios y piratas en Veracruz y Campeche (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972). Plenty of studies are out there, some better than others, but the better ones are often harder to find and use than the poorer ones.6

In order to introduce the Spanish perspective, then, it is necessary to present some of the less frequently cited evidence (especially the legal evidence) to which many students of early modern Spanish history will not have been exposed. I will do so by drawing our attention to the late seventeenth century context—a critical moment of transition in international law—as the pedagogic focal point.

Predation as Career?

One’s identity as a pirate—or not—was set by how the law judged one’s actions (leaving aside ethical concerns for the moment). One man’s pirate is another man’s military hero: the pirates Laurens de Graff (Lorencillo) and Grammont who viciously sacked Veracruz in 1683 were commissioned five years later as a general and a sargeant major by Louis XIV.7 Drake famously remains an English icon. Historically competing jurisdictions claimed authority over people, goods, and territories in the trans-Atlantic environment. Any pirate class is a course on the history of the development of the European modern state and its extension into Alfred Crosby’s “Neo-Europes.” Before students can throw themselves into studying buccaneers and pirates, they must first confront the complex issue of how legal institutions constructed experience; the historical record sometimes reveals people’s deep-seated motives and values, but if these are the objects of study they must usually be teased out of legal documents suffused
with authoritative and normative assumptions about the correct ordering of society. Buccaneers did not really “become” pirates by choice but rather when a tribunal convicted them of piracy.

There is no better place to begin understanding this than Gonçal López Nadal’s discussion of Mediterranean Christian and Muslim “corsairing.” Most students will have heard of the Barbary Corsairs, but the common image of bloodthirsty Christian-kidnapping North African corsairs (Cervantes’ tale of the captive is pedagogically useful in this context) is demolished by López Nadal’s convincing thesis of “synergetic alternation.” To begin with, his subjects are Christian corsairs, not Muslim ones. Second, his piece demonstrates that the same “violent” people who attacked shipping in the Western Mediterranean when economic times were tough settled down into peaceful fishing and trade when markets improved. Criminal and legal work thus alternated synergetically. This approach has the added benefit of occasioning an analysis of cross-cultural and cross-religious politics, Habsburgs versus Ottomans and Christendom versus Dār al-Islām. However, readings on the sixteenth-century Ottoman-French alliance, as mediated by the Algerian Barbarellas, should be used to avoid a simplistic “clash-of-civilizations” dichotomy.

Combining that discussion with David Starkey’s history of British privateering allows readers to become aware of the contextual difference between ship captains commissioned to prey on enemies by states during time of war, known as “privateers” or “corsairs,” and ship captains without such written “letters of marque” (“patente de armar en corso,” “de apresador” or “de corsista” in Castilian statutes). It was not the nature of one’s actions but rather the commissions one held when committing them that made one either a navy captain, a privateer (i.e. a civilian operating in conjunction with navy strategy), or—in their absence—an outright pirate. Needless to say, economic dynamics impinged on official worlds and a black market of blank letters-of-marque arose. Ship captains carried multiple commissions to cover predatory opportunities as they arose. Governors of disputed territories, like French Tortuga or English Jamaica and the Bahamas, essentially sold them to the highest bidder. This allowed unscrupulous entrepreneurs to launder stolen goods and ships (even individual crewmembers, depending on the circumstances) as legitimate “prizes”—in Tortuga and Jamaica, of course. Thus political rivals recruited common seamen as legally commissioned predators (“privateers” or “corsairs”) during time of war, men who, when “peace broke out” might revert under economic hardship to theft on the high seas.

Castile’s Imperial Sovereignty

On paper it may seem Spanish law against buccaneers was harsh (though just), particularly given its discursive habit of commanding navy captains to “clean” the seas of them. Certainly, in principle the law dealt with pirates summarily, sentencing them to death ([Recolección de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias Libro 9, título 53 [Philip II, 1597, reissued Philip III, 1605 and 1608, Philip IV 1644, and Charles II, 1681]]). But in reality officials punished pirates much less harshly than the law stipulated, especially by the late 1600s, depending on judicial and diplomatic circumstances. The legal fictions of Spanish administration, following Roman law, understood the distinction between a “just” or legal war and an unjust or illegal one quite clearly by the 1650s. This meant that the violent actions of men not serving sovereigns, that is, “pirates” or “buccaneers” (almost interchangeable terms, along with “freebooter” and “filibuster”) amounted to nothing but crime. Moreover, since Castile claimed sovereignty over the Americas (exclusively over almost all of it until past the mid-seventeenth century), anyone there without the crown’s acknowledgment was suspected of criminal activity. Its laws governing the presence of unlicensed, unregistered civilians and uncommissioned soldiers reflected a complicated mesh of obligations and sanctions. This is why Spanish documents did not distinguish clearly between “foreigners,” “corsairs,”
“pirates” and “enemies.” At a particularly tense moment in 1688, Spanish sovereign title to the Americas and these fine legal distinctions clashed with maritime realities. Madrid’s anti-French initiatives at that point required a potential collaboration with the Protestant William III, who had just usurped the English throne, but counsellors advised Carlos II not to be misled by English promises not to aid and abet pirates in the colonies: “privateers” with English governors’ “letters of marque” were precisely the pirates “who infest Your Majesty’s coasts.”

We can understand these issues better by examining the theories wielded by a man who knew buccaneers well, Don Juan Francisco de Montemayor y Córdoba de Cuenca. Montemayor, Governor of Santo Domingo in the 1650s, judged pirates in court as well as serving as president of the Supreme Tribunal (Audiencia), and wrote a voluminous justification for his anti-piracy policies, his Discurso...del derecho y repartimiento de presas. Montemayor used European common law (ius commune, as opposed to English common law, a completely different legal system) to prove that the English attack on his island in 1655 was unjust because there was no “correspondence” but rather “dis-simulation” between Cromwell’s fleet acting in a hostile manner in the Caribbean and his representatives acting in Madrid “with all amity and benevolence.” Twenty years later Spanish officials would use the same logic to condemn Morgan’s destruction of Panama. Beyond being “illegal immigrants” into Spain’s Americas in Spanish law, Cromwell’s Englishmen were criminals or pirates, not soldiers, in common law. In coming to this conclusion, Montemayor spoke for all Spanish officials in conformity with an overwhelming consensus of European jurisprudence. He cited thirty legal authorities including—remarkably—the anti-monopolist and anti-Spanish Dutch lawyer, Grotius. But unlike Grotius, who thought “private wars” were legitimate when judicial recourse for wrongs suffered was not forthcoming, Montemayor denounced wars not declared by sovereigns as unjust, including those not conducted without due attention to laws governing war (“rules of engagement,” in modern military parlance); this type of aggression was not war at all but mere criminal assault with intent to rob. Montemayor’s legal argument, an accepted convention before the 1648 peace treaties of Westphalia, though not one obeyed at all times (as one can see in Grotius’s case), became after that date the diplomatic sine-qua-non condition for membership in the European-style “civilized” world of sovereign states.

But the niceties of diplomatic declarations of war between sovereign states became systematic practice only after 1655, and even then, not altogether smoothly. Furthermore, there was always the question of whether European laws applied “beyond the line,” an imaginary diplomatic boundary separating European waters from American ones. Colonial officials for the European powers became adept at using such jurisdictional complications to obstruct each other’s exercise of power. Profit often trumped legal formalities. In 1688, for example, Carolina officials allowed Yguala and Yamas Indians, officially Spanish subjects who had been kidnapped by English and Indian raiders in Spain’s Florida province, to be sold in St. George as slaves for “the windward Islands.” The official English response that the raiders were “Pirates” for which England could not be held responsible angered Spain’s government, who requested such “frivolous pretences” were “contrary to the Treaties of peace.” Arguments over the case resurfaced thousands of miles away five years later when Spanish officials in Madrid searched the English ambassador’s coaches accusing him of contraband (illegal importation of goods into the capital); the ambassador was frustrated to find that his complaints about this infraction of his diplomatic immunity were ignored by Spanish officials who brought up “an old story of injuries done to the Spaniards by the English
and Maritime Thieves

Thus it would be a gross simplification to take the evolving fortunes of Spanish legal fictions as a historic reality by presenting the history of maritime predation in the Spanish colonies either before or after 1648 as a black-and-white struggle between Spanish victims of the criminality of non-Spanish predators, precisely because Spain’s sovereign title to the Americas remained in dispute at least until the 1670s. Functionally, piracy can be periodized into three broadly defined types: before the 1620s, predation by pirates based in Europe; 1620-1680: predation by “buccaneers” based on and issuing from marginalized Caribbean communities, such as those created by escaped slaves (cimarrones) and ex-indentured servants (“buccaneers”) on Haiti and Tortuga;20 and post-1680, when effective Anglo-Spanish suppression of piracy took place as a result of diplomatic collaboration which began in 1670 and culminated in the 1689 Spanish-English-Dutch alliance against Louis XIV. The key chronological point to appreciate is that Spain recognized English, French and Dutch title to Caribbean islands and American plantations only piecemeal, begrudgingly, always maintaining, its logical right to supervise and license individuals wanting to trade with or settle in its extensive and lucrative possessions.21 Post-1670s collaboration between Spanish and English officials can best be covered (at least in terms of Whitehall’s perspective) by reading Robert Ritchie’s excellent study, Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates.22 Violent men acting on their own or under English, French or Dutch government instructions remained both “enemies” and “pirates” in Spanish eyes until such time as the issues arising from European jurisdictional disputes over the New World were settled through diplomatic recognition of non-Spanish territories. The nature of the actions perpetrated—killing and plundering—could not effectively distinguish soldiers from pirates. Nationality and paperwork mattered. Moreover, local conditions and the reactions of both officials and common people to actual acts of violence by “foreigners” affected how legal fictions of sovereignty and just war were applied by men like Montemayor to each case. The complex way European commercial and political expansion intersected with these legal matters can be explored through Kenneth Andrew’s depiction of the career of John Hawkins, the famed sixteenth-century English “pirate” who taught his cousin Drake how to “singe the king of Spain’s beard.” Hawkins evolved smoothly from minor contraband in the Canary Islands and Santo Domingo (with the help of the Spanish businessmen, Pedro de Ponte, in the Canary Islands and with connivance of local Caribbean governors) to large-scale, violent extortion of wealth from Spanish settlers held captive under gunpoint.23 It was a short step thereafter to the typical seventeenth-century buccaneer modus operandi of rounding up entire populations of coastal villages and torturing them until they gave up as much booty as possible.

The enforcement of laws punishing violent aggressors was difficult in any case. For example, when the homicidal maniac François L’Ollonais raided Cuban fisherman mercilessly in the mid seventeenth century, the Spanish governor of the island, “swore death to every buccaneer who should fall into his hands,” according to the buccaneer (see note 26) Exquemelin, writing in the late 1670s. However, “the inhabitants of Cuba all begged him to do no such thing” because it would merely create a spiral of pirate revenge against them: “the rovers could capture a hundred of them for every buccaneer the Spaniards might take.” Unlike government officials, the fisherman implied, “they had to put to sea every day to seek their livelihood.” The fact was that the usual punishment for maritime predation in Spanish courts seems to have been fairly lenient, at least for crews. “When the Spaniards capture any buccaneers, they usually keep them three or four years” in labor camps “carrying lime or stones.”24 After serving time, they were shipped back to Europe. Exceptionally, pirate leaders were hanged to teach others a lesson, such as John Oxenham and his ship’s master in 1580, “the first pirate to injure the Spaniards in the great South Sea.”25 Pierre François, an early
Tortuga buccaneer, was known locally for having negotiated the release of his men and himself from any such convict labor punishment on one occasion for the return of “an immense prize,” which included pearls worth over 100,000 pieces of eight.26 Such “negotiated fines” or “composiciones” were in fact typical of Spanish statute sanctions against illegal, unlicensed merchants. Judges exercised a wide discretionary berth in applying sentences of exile, hard labor, or fines to other criminals, such as pirate crew members.27 When “the sixty- or seventy-odd buccaneers” garrisoning Santa Catalina island surrendered to victorious Spanish forces under Captain José Sánchez Jiménez in 1666, they expected to be allowed to return to Port Royal, Jamaica, in exchange for giving up the fort. Their actual punishment, transportation “to dungeons and hard labor in Panama,” however typical, nevertheless seems hardly suitable for violent criminals who were despised by Spanish authorities as decadent “enemies” of all that was right and just in a civilized world.28 Furthermore, in the Santa Catalina case, the convicts were eventually freed and transported back to Europe; some even returned to participate in Henry Morgan’s attack on the very towns in the Audiencia of Panama whose defenses they had worked on.

The anecdotal evidence of eyewitness accounts is backed up by the evolution of Spanish legal practice, which alternated between military harshness and judicial leniency. According to Roman-inspired European common law, civilians engaging in predation were enemies of the human species (hostis humani generis), and therefore common criminals.29 Spanish statute or “royal” law against piracy was rooted in Roman and Canon Law as well as the evolving concept of the sovereign state and the just war theory of jurists. Montemayor explained that violence, in order to be considered “war” in law, had to be sanctioned by sovereigns or “the People,” rationally and publicly justified, and conducted for the specific purposes of redress in order to be just. All other aggressors were criminals “to whom, like those who begin civil wars and seditions,” the “rules” of just war did not apply. People taken by such “thieving, seditious pirates” lost none of their liberty nor title to the goods taken away from them by “public robbers [ladrones públicos]” who committed simple theft (“hurto”).30 Indeed, as outlaws “favored by no rights or laws,” any public official or private individual could legitimately capture or kill them.31

Summary sentencing of “pirates” to death was a common practice among hard-line officials, such as the famous sixteenth-century admiral, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, hero of many naval expeditions.32 Royal commands throughout our period insisted on war without quarter against pirates followed by quick justice.33 And yet Exquemelin’s narrative indicated quite clearly to contemporaries that the risks (for most) in buccaneering, apart from combat itself, were relatively mild. Captured pirates rarely faced execution. In fact, piracy seems to have incurred similar punishment to contraband.34 Most American officials, especially hard-liners like Montemayor, considered non-Spaniards present in the Americas without license both illegal immigrants and “enemies” under law, for both of which the word “pirate” was used synonymously.35 However, courts increasingly used more lenient punishments such as confiscation of goods, hard labor, and expulsion from the Indies for pirate crew members, all sanctions that mirrored the general early modern Ius commune move away from corporal punishment. Since these same punishments were meted out to illegal immigrants and contrabandists, the distinction between them and pirates was blurred, an effect compounded in the case of many non-Spaniards by animosity towards Protestants.36 In the 1670s, for instance, an Englishman who was caught engaging in contraband in Buenos Aires was imprisoned and then sold into indentured servitude by the governor, finally being transported back to Europe (where, incidentally he filed a successful law suit against his captors).37 Exquemelin’s mates would have recognized these as typical punishments for buccaneers. Excepting the possibility of death in combat, such
equal treatment of contrabandists and buccaneers after their capture did not effectively differentiate between piracy as a property crime aggravated by assault committed by illegal immigrants and simple property crime against Spanish laws of commerce (Amazingly enough, like modern laws punishing employers of illegal immigrant workers, a sentence of death for any Spaniard caught trading with non-licensed non-Spaniards remained in the books). Reports of such lenient measures must have encouraged desperate men of all nations to join crews “on the account.”

But how much truth was there behind the gossip that Spanish colonial officials did not deter pirates with sufficiently harsh punishments? Did buccaneers thrive in Spanish waters partly because of the lack of rigorous Spanish enforcement of statutes which specifically addressed pirates as criminals? Certainly king Charles II, who reigned during the “heyday of piracy” from 1650 to 1700, believed his American subjects had grown soft. They were failing in their own as well as the crown’s interests by not sufficiently “resisting” the “pirates’ robberies and plundering of towns.” He rebuked both officials and inhabitants point blank for this as a result of the investigation of the shocking buccaneer sacking of Vera Cruz, one of Spain’s two principal American ports, in 1683. In 1692 Chilean officials were sanctioned for misapplying articles in the 1670 Anglo-Spanish Maritime Treaty on providing succour to ships in distress intended for the North Seas (Atlantic) to an English ship out privateering and salvaging Spanish wrecks in the South Seas. They were reminded all foreign vessels there were to be treated “with utmost hostility;” eight Englishmen who had been arrested by the Viceroy of Peru “were to be kept in custody, preventing them from returning or writing to Europe” for fear of valuable navigational information leaking. So Exquemelin may not have been exaggerating the way the timidity of colonial governors and subjects encouraged piracy. Our examination of Spanish law, however, will allow students to comprehend how the straightforward economic motives of real-life pirates, which narratives like Exquemelin’s depict clearly, were complicated by the implementation of statutes.

Spain’s claim to monopolize the Americas as a jurisdictional space led to the confusion between laws that applied to illegal immigrants, unlicensed merchants (contrabandists), and pirates in the law. Montemayor cited statutes that condemned “corsairs...and foreigners who travel with them” to death. However, he knew full well that battles were usually followed by negotiated surrenders (when Spain’s navy was victorious), which brought in judicial officials who would look more leniently on each individual case. Although RI 4, 4, 4 (Philip III, 1608 in León Pinelo) equated foreigners convicted of illegal immigration to the Indies with corsairs and pirates, thus requiring a death sentence, it also allowed judges to punish “Portuguese and Italians” who were caught doing the same criminal actions as “northerners” (specified as Dutch, German, English and French) with minor sanctions. Spanish generals and naval commanders could invoke RI 9, 15, 53 (Philip II, 1597) to justify attacks against pirates as well as ships carrying unlicensed “foreigners,” killing them in battle and confiscating all their goods, but judges could use the same statute to postpone sentencing these “pirates” or to sentence them to non-corporal punishments: “if they prefer not to sentence anyone to death, then they should send them as prisoners...to the President and Judges of the Casa de Contratación, who shall notify Us so that We may resolve their cases accordingly” (a step not considered an appeal). This was almost exactly the same treatment that RI 9, 26, 3 (Philip IV, 1647) stipulated for illegal immigrants to the Americas. The fact that kings from 1550 to 1700 were forced to re-issue these laws repeatedly (Philip III republished Philip II’s 1597 law in 1605 and again in 1608, followed by Philip IV in 1644 and Charles II in 1681) and to stress that governors, supreme court judges and viceroys were not to grant dispensations or remit punishments is ample evidence that they were doing precisely that. Royal statutes or cédulas issued on July 23, 1605, October
18, 1607 and September 13, 1608 and sent to Caribbean governors stipulated that pirates and contrabandists were to be tried equally as criminals but the reality of enforcement varied and allowed for the discretionary use of less severe punishments.

Montemayor himself faced the dilemmas of the hard-liners. He absolutely agreed with the harsh indiscriminate and summary treatment of “pirates, corsairs and whatever foreigners [who are] found with their ships upon these our coasts” but he noted in his treatise that the death penalty was not always applied rigorously. One of his subordinates, he related, dealt with French and Dutch Tortuga pirates he captured in 1654, who had been under the command of Hotman de Fontany, by executing several (“hizo justicia de unos”) and “sending others prisoners to Spain.” Montemayor’s voluminous treatise, a self-justification for upholding his subordinate’s summary execution of the pirates and confiscation of their pirate goods, duly considered the implications of judicial discretion for the systematic development of a law against piracy. He did not waver from accepting it as legal practice but he also argued against European jurists’ lack of understanding of American realities.45 One can sense his frustration at how the soft-line party undermined what he believed was the only effective way to ensure the enforcement of Spanish jurisdiction in the Indies. The public outcry against Montemayor as governor in Santo Domingo, headed by his arch rivals, who besmirched his name (he was eventually exonerated in 1657), confused the legitimate execution of pirates, he said, with “cold-blooded” killing: “as if,” Montemayor wrote, “the carrying out of justice on these lying pirates should have necessarily been carried out in hot blood,” that is, in the heat of battle. “Such are the vagaries of Public Opinion! Such the annuities paid out to us by this miserable life!”46

The harsh punishment of contraband, illegal immigration, and piracy with death sentences, though rare, was indicative of judicial discretionary power. It also symbolized the official conflation of the three charges. Take, for instance, the 1607 royal decision specifically involving eight English contrabandists who sold salt cod in the Canary Islands, Venezuela and Guadeloupe Island. Four were executed and four minors were granted a “lenient” sentence of galley service until such time as the King pardoned them.47 But this court practice became increasingly a logistical nightmare for colonial-metropolitan relations as the costs of transporting suspects or convicts to Europe mounted. Late seventeenth-century commands repeatedly instructed colonial officials to try suspects fully in situ. Where appropriate, convicts could be sent to Spain but only if they paid their own transportation costs. Although this may be taken as a sign that many were in reality already being sent at the king’s expense to Europe, to get them out of the Indies, it may conversely indicate a metropolitan two-pronged attempt to keep impoverished convicts in the Indies (in penal labor camps) and save the crown some money.48 The tug of war between European and American officials can be seen in the awkward reiteration of Queen Regent Mariana’s 1672 instructions by Charles II’s Madrid Council in 1681 and in colonial officials’ prevarication. They found legal loopholes and to continued shipping troublemakers out of their jurisdictions.49 In the meantime, each case of arrest and detainment of pirates, privateers, contrabandists, or “enemies” caused a diplomatic crisis, typically with England, awkwardly Spain’s principal ally against the expansionist Louis XIV.50

Perhaps it was a compromise when on March 6, 1685, the king’s commands recognized the difficulties of colonial realities and came up with a mutually agreeable solution: “recognizing that pirates are not systematically punished in the Indies and since not all can be executed, although it is nevertheless necessary to cleanse the seas and coasts of these people, I have resolved in consultation with my Junta of War in the Indies...that pirate corporals and captains found guilty should be executed over there [i.e. in the Americas] through hanging or military execution [“ad modum belli”].” This negotiated settlement recognized a distinction that judges had made earlier by
sentencing ringleaders to death but placing their crews in labor camps or transporting them (as in Oxenham’s 1580 trial). But this important 1685 law also simplified due process for the immediate sentencing of pirates by requiring only the verbal testimony of witnesses, corroborated by those present at the time a pirate ship was captured, for convictions. “The rest of the corsair prisoners are to be sent to Spain as soon as possible, sentenced to galley service \textit{ad modum belli}.”51 The Madrid government’s 1685 law clearly made colonial officials responsible for the sentencing and executing of pirate captains but it assumed the budgetary burden of paying to remove convicted crew members from the Indies. A fine of one thousand pesos and the possibility of further criminal and civil litigation against reluctant officials was instituted on September 26, 1686 to encourage conformity.52 These aspects of anti-pirate law were still being tinkered with in 1690 but the central move away from discretionary powers and exile as a form of punishment had been accomplished.53

In contrast to Spanish practice, English law in this same period (as presented by Robert Ritchie) hanged convicted crew and officers equally. This point can be brought home particularly well to students by having them compare Spanish judicial practice circa 1700 (as discussed here) with an English case dating to 1718 which is readily available. The transcript of “a Tryal of Pirates” conducted at Providence, Bahamas, by Governor Woodes Rogers, himself a pardoned pirate, demonstrates the ruthless way membership in a pirate crew was enough to sentence one to death in English courts. Nevertheless, as in the reformed Spanish law, judges no longer had to send the accused to England to be tried.54

This excursion into the evolution of Spanish legal practice complements what historians of piracy tell students about the perspective of pirates themselves, who were overwhelmingly non-Spaniards and have attracted greater scholarly interest. But it is necessary to put the work of scholars such as Rediker, Linebaugh, and Ritchie into an Iberian context. Otherwise, the tendency to focus our attention on the men (and women) who preyed on Spanish ships and coastal communities is one-sided and fails to account for the way such “liberating” rebellion from the social and economic constraints of metropolitan society was predicated on the misery and fear of thousands of the King of Spain’s subjects worldwide.

Students of early modern Spain can profitably read the daring accounts of buccaneers in Captain Johnson’s \textit{General History of the Pyrates} (1724) as stirring declarations of how intrepid sailors (most pirates began as sailors) mutinied when they became fed up with navy flogging or merchant marine exploitation. Shipboard life for pirates included some of the world’s first workmen’s compensation, social welfare and retirement schemes; full democratic rights; and a “levelling” in which only pragmatic hierarchies were accepted; captured crews who joined pirates were given the opportunity of trying and punishing their former commanding officers in what was known as “The Distribution of Justice.”55 Seen in this light, their rebellion constitutes a social movement of liberation for the marginalized and the powerless, for common laborers, mistreated women, African slaves and scorned homosexuals (the subject matter for studies by J.S. Bromley, Kenneth Kinkor, and B.R. Burg).56 The generic pirate thus begins to fit into Eric Hobsbawm’s definition of the “social bandit:” he becomes a criminal whose actions are legitimate in the eyes of the lower classes, a man engaged in an economic re-distribution of wealth à-la-Robin-Hood.57

But does this image capture the full experience of those who suffered Captain Morgan’s “exploits” in sacking Portobello and Panama in 1668-71? Students are too apt to side with rebellion in the early modern period. They need to be reminded that the Spanish naval officers, the local militias, and the common villagers and fishermen who fought buccaneers did so with good reason. Buccaneer democracy and anti-estab-
lishment rebellion must be balanced with due attention to buccaneer criminality and self-gratification. It is useful pedagogically, in this regard, to compare early modern piracy to our contemporary “terrorism.” If the former can be somewhat accurately depicted as individuals using violence to re-distribute wealth (the “social bandit” thesis), then the latter can be equally imagined as civilians using violence to re-distribute sovereignty since terrorists’ aims are usually political, not economic. This makes neither action ethical, merely contextually complicated: more immediately, however, thinking about things this way debunks romanticisms by illustrating the historical oddity of pirates’ evolving image, from criminals to heroes and from terrorists of the high seas to adventurers in children’s literature. Only half-tongue in cheek, then, I often finish lecturing by positing some actor in the distant future playing Osama Bin Laden à-la-Johnny-Depp in a feature film. This brings home the criminality that was at the heart of early modern piracy and deepens our concern over the popularity of ahistoric visions, no matter how compellingly entertaining they may be.

Notes

1. Decades of scholarship have revised or even denied the general “decline of Spain” thesis: the latest installment is Christopher Storrs’ The Resilience of the Spanish Monarchy 1665-1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).


3. An one occasion, to Spanish pirates on the high seas as well. The English-born Dominican Thomas Gage related in the 1640s how a Havana “mulatto” escaped from Spanish authorities on Cuba after they had “most injuriously and wrongfully abused him.” He became an important pirate captain among the “Hollanders”; in Spanish eyes, not unexpectedly, he was also a “renegado” (renegade and apostate), a term which highlights another well studied aspect of early modern piracy—at least before the 1700s—the struggle between Protestants and Catholics, The English American: A New Survey of the West Indies, 1648 (London: Routledge, 1946), 350-53.


5. Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Consulta, July 3, 1688.


7. AGS, Estado 3963, Consulta, March 16, 1688.


12. Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias (1681, hereafter cited as RI), Libro 9, título 27, ley 36; Novísima Recopilación de las Leyes de España (1807, hereafter cited as NR), Libro 6, título 8, leyes 1-8.

13. On one occasion in 1692, an English ship and cargo were restored to their owners by a Spanish Prize Court but “nine Mores and a Dutch Renegato” found onboard were kept as “Lawfull prize,” Public Records Office (National Archives, London, hereafter cited as PRO), SP 94/73, Letter Alexander Stanhope, Madrid, to Lord Nottingham, Secretary of State, December 24 (O.S. 14), 1692. Spanish corsairs operated in Mediterranean and European Atlantic waters from the medieval period onwards, but the crown was reluctant to issue letters of marque for American operations because councils felt they would result in the legitimation of non-registered commerce, allowing seaborne commerce to circumvent the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, RI Libro 9, título 2, ley 36 (Philip IV, 1651). Exceptions to this did occur; I discuss several late seventeenth-century examples in my upcoming monograph on the Spanish Crown’s relationship with piracy, The Spanish Empire Strikes Back: Seventeenth-Century Piracy and the Misfortunes of Alonso Ramírez.

14. Gage recounted traveling with English prisoners aboard a Spanish ship in 1637. They had been sentenced to exile in Europe for belonging to the pirate colony on Santa Catalina Island in the Caribbean, The English American, 371-77.

15. AGS, Estado 3963, Consulta November 16, 1689.

16. It was Philip II’s enforcement of Portuguese monopoly over trade round Cape Hope to India which prompted Grotius to write De Jure Praedae Comentarius in 1604: “the Portuguese, though they assume the guise of merchants, are not very different from pirates” since they “blockade the seas and impede the progress of international trade,” Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty, ed. by Martine Julia van Ittersum (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2006), 449.

17. Juan Francisco de Montemayor y Córdoba de Cuenca, Discurso político, histórico, jurídico del derecho y repartimiento de presas y despojos apprehendidos en justa guerra, premios y castigos de los soldados (Mexico: Juan Ruiz, 1658; facsimile edition with preliminary study by Oscar Cruz Barney, Instituto Nacional de Arqueología e Historia, Internacional de Contenedores Asociados de Veracruz, 2001; hereafter cited as Montemayor, Discurso político), f. 18-20. Montemayor extended the Roman principle of clarigatio (the legitimate demand of redress and the formalized declaration of war) to the proper conduct of warfare in general, in order to demonstrate the difference between “soldiers” sacking a town legitimately after winning a just war and those who failed to follow conventions, which legal failing made them criminals.

18. The distinction between maritime legalities in the Old World and those “beyond the line”

19. PRO, SP 94/73, Letters Alexander Stanhope, Madrid, to Lord Nottingham, Secretary of State, September 4 and September 9 (O.S. August 25 and 30), 1693.

20. Although “buccaneer” originally referred to outlaws hunting cattle on Santo Domingo to make beef jerky (“boucan”) and export leather goods, French Caribbean rivalry with Spain had recruited those who turned to maritime predation as valuable “privateers.” Like escaped slaves, buccaneers began as men searching for “un espace de liberté,” Réal Ouellet and Patrick Villiers, introduction to Exquemelin, *Histoire des aventuriers flibustiers*, 10.

21 Even as late as 1689 councillors of the Indies and State Committees still advised King Charles II that his legal dominion to the Americas, based on the 1494 Tordesillas Concord, Alexander VI’s Bull, rights of discovery, conversion, and settlement required no other polity’s legal “help:” it was “exclusive [privativo].” Consequently English, Dutch or French territorial claims were only legitimate if and when Spain formally recognized them, AGS Estado 3963, Consultas, June 3, 1687 and November 16, 1689. The 1670 recognition of English title to the American lands they dominated, including the island of Jamaica, scandalized Jamaican Spaniards, who continued to fight a rear-guard guerrilla war against the occupiers. The noble family of Don Pedro de Colón de Portugal y Castro who claimed proprietorial rights in it complained as well, noting the English had attacked in 1655 during a time of peace “feigning friendliness..against all the laws of nations,” *The Columbus Petition Document* (Kingston: The Mill Press and San Francisco: Custom & Limited Editions, 1992).


24. Ironically, as in the case of eight Englishmen from Port Royal imprisoned between 1689 and 1693, on work sites connected to the construction of fortifications (a Honduras “castle”), *Centre for Kentish Studies*, Stanhope Papers (Chevening), U1590/88, “Petition to the Right Honorable English Consul of Seville,” May 5, 1693. The Englishmen complained of the “infestive false hearted Spaniards” who had arrested them even though they had shipped out of Jamaica “in an honest and harmless way of trade...which ratifies the truth in a vulgar proverb commonly used in these parts of America, saying that though it is our peace, it is their war...for as they are upheld in their tyranny, being confirmed by their government, they the more boast of their wickedness as of Royal Service, which makes them so infestive and cruel as they are.” Some of these Englishmen received sentences of galley service, one for ten years and two more for fifteen. The rest were destined to be sent back to Europe as soon as a suitable vessel stopped off in Honduras.


26. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America* (Mineola, New York: Dover, 1969), 77 and 94. All English translations of Exquemelin’s work must now be compared to the definitive French translation edited by Réal Ouellet and Patrick Villiers, *Histoire des aventuriers flibustiers* (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), which also includes conclusive Dutch evidence proving Exquemelin’s identity as a Low Countries subject of Spain who ended up working for the Dutch (he was from Valenciennes according to a 1674 declaration signed by Exquemelin himself; Louis XIV did not conquer Valenciennes until three years later and the
Treaty of Nimegue only recognized French title to the city in 1678). Re-reading Exquemelin’s text in light of Ouellet and Villiers’ proof of his identity as a Spanish subject who turned to their Dutch enemies for work perhaps explains his ambiguous treatment of pirates: on the one hand they are criminals who attack the innocent; on the other, they are remarkable individualists in pursuit of wealth against the axiomatically intransigent monopolist “Empire” of the time.

27. E.g RI Libro 9, título 27, ley 11-22.


29. The Latin phrase was used in ancient times, in and out of legal discourse, some attributing its formulation to Cicero, *De Officis* III, 29, though Cicero’s text can only in truth be said to be paraphrased. Emily Sohmer Tai correctly pointed out in 2003 that the phrase’s trajectory is convoluted. Bartolus da Sassoferrato (1313-1357) used it in glossing *Digest*, Book 49, citing James of Arena (fl. 1261-1296), *Lucernae iuris, omnia quae extant, opera* (Venice, 1590-1692), vol. 6, *Commentaria, Digesti novi partem* (Venice, 1596), 215, “tit. De captivis et posthumino reversis et redemptis ab hostibus...,” discussed in “Marking Water: Piracy and Property in the Pre-Modern West,” footnote 9, in *Seascapes, Littoral Cultures, and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges; Conference Proceedings, February 12 through 15, 2003, Library of Congress, Washington*. “Hostis humani generis” strictly speaking was certainly used by the fourth-century historian Eutropius, *Breviarium historiae romanae*, VIII, 15, to characterize the decadent and depraved Emperor Commodus: “Obiit...tanta exsecratione omnium ut hostis humani generis etiam mortuis iudicaretur.”

30. Montemayor interestingly allowed for popular sovereignty, perhaps an admission of the legitimacy of Grotius’s justification of private war: “Con pública autoridad del Pueblo o Príncipe soberano,” *Discurso político*, f. 24 (he cited Libro 2, título 23, ley 3 and título 19, ley 1, but he must have been thinking of Partida 2, título 23, ley 2 and título 19, ley 1). Alfonso X’s *Partidas* stipulated these distinctions in the thirteenth century as did Gregorio López, *Glosas a las Siete Partidas*, s.v. *iniusta*, and Melchor de Valencia, *Tractatus* 2, Capítulo 5, n. 18, in the sixteenth century, and Pedro González de Salcedo, *Tratado jurídico-político del contrabando*, Capítulo 11, vers. “Colígese,” in the seventeenth. Canon law excommunicated pirates: *In coena Domini*, an important Bull governing just war against heretics and infidels, was also interpreted as condemning pirates as *hostis humani generis*.


33. RI Libro 3, título 13, ley 2 (Philip III, 1605, 1608 and Charles II, 1681), León Pinelo, *RI Libro 4*, título 14, ley 5.

34. The reasons for this are complex. Early modern Spanish judges applied what were known as “extraordinary punishments [poena extraordinaria or arbitrarial],” that is non-statutory sanctions less severe than corporal punishment (typically, fines, confiscation of goods, and exile) for myriad offences (both civil and criminal), Fabio López Lázaro, *Crime in Early Bourbon Madrid (1700-1808): An Analysis of the Royal Judicial Court’s Casebook* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), Chapters 1 and 2.

35. See Antonio León Pinelo, *Recopilación de las Indias* (México: Escuela Libre de Derecho, 1992, cited hereafter as León Pinelo, RI), Libro 4, título 14, 7 (Philip II, 1558), discussing “corsarios o enemigos” (cf. *RI Libro 3*, título 13, ley 5) and ley 4 (Philip III, 1608): “hagan justicia de todos los corsarios y piratas y otras cualesquiera personas de naciones extranjeras de estos nuestros reinos como son de las islas de Holanda y Zelanda, franceses, alemanes e ingleses y los demás septentrionales que se hallaren y tomaren de las islas de Canaria adelante, yendo o viniendo de las Indias sin licencia nuestra;” cf. *RI Libro 9*, título 26, ley 1-10 and título 27, ley 1-37.

36. RI Libro 8, título 17, passim, and *Libros Reales*, Libro 8, título 8, ley 18, f. 44.

37. Letter King to Governor of Buenos Aires, May 21, 1683, transcribed in Antonio Muro Orejón, *Cedulario americano del siglo XVIII* (México: Escuela Libre de Derecho, 1992, cited hereafter as León Pinelo, RI), Libro 4, título 14, 7 (Philip II, 1558), discussing “corsarios o enemigos” (cf. *RI Libro 3*, título 13, ley 5) and ley 4 (Philip III, 1608): “hagan justicia de todos los corsarios y piratas y otras cualesquiera personas de naciones extranjeras de estos nuestros reinos como son de las islas de Holanda y Zelanda, franceses, alemanes e ingleses y los demás septentrionales que se hallaren y tomaren de las islas de Canaria adelante, yendo o viniendo de las Indias sin licencia nuestra;” cf. *RI Libro 9*, título 26, ley 1-10 and título 27, ley 1-37.

38. RI Libro 3, título 13, ley 8 (Philip II, 1556 and 1557, Philip III, 1603, 1606, and 1610) and *Libro 9*, título 27, ley 7 (Philip III, 1614); León Pinelo, RI, *Libro 4*, título 14, ley 11.
40. AGS Estado 3967, Consulta, October 7, 1692.
41. Recopilación de Indias. L. 6, t. 14, l. 3, Montemayor, Discurso político, f. 25.
42. León Pinelo, RI Libro 4, título 4, ley 4.
43. RI, Libro 9, título 15, ley 53; “Italians,” however, were to be treated differently, at least in 1597, unless convicted of piracy.
44. RI, Libro 9, título 26, ley 3.
45. Montemayor, Discurso político, xxx.
46. “Raras son las veleidades del vulgo, pensiones de esta miserable vida,” (punctuation modified), Montemayor, Discurso político, f. 26.
47. Montemayor, Discurso político, f. 42-43.
48. E.g., RI Libro 9, título 27, ley 9 (Philip III, 1602).
49. The most important allowed them to send “foreigners” to Spain for trial “when you have grounds for believing some serious condition justifies transportation,” Letter King to Havana Governor, July 31, 1683; see Muro Orejón, Cedulario americano, vol. 1, 196 and 129-30. Mariana’s commands had to be re-issued on September 27, 1673 and July 1, 1683, with stipulations that no suspect–only appeal files–were to be sent to Spain. All of this fits the image of negotiated, decentralized early modern empires proposed by Jack Greene, John Jay TePaske and Ida Altman, amongst others; see, for example, their essays in Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820 (London: Routledge, 2002).
50. E.g. AGS Estado 3963, complaint by ambassador Lansdowne to King, March 17, 1688, regarding the detention of twenty-seven months of four English merchants and their ship in Buenos Aires, allegedly forced to land there by a storm. According to Lansdowne, the Buenos Aires governor had applied the June 27, 1672 and June 27, 1673 laws governing the detention of suspicious people and goods incorrectly.
52. Ibid., 1: 268-69.
53. Ibid., 1: 433-34.
55. Nevertheless, one should avoid the inaccuracies of “Libertaria,” the imaginary egalitarian world of a pre-modern pirate democracy on Madagascar island described by some contemporaries. It never existed outside of the world conjured up by eighteenth-century sensationalist journalism. Doctors, who were naturally absolutely critical to all ships, were not normally given the option of not joining pirate crews when captured, as in the case of Avery’s 1694 piratical mutiny, William III, The Trial of Joseph Dawson and others, in Thomas B. Howell, A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason (London: T. C. Hansard, 1816), vol. 13, 465.
At the editor’s request, I will report on my recently funded multi-national, multi-disciplinary research project. I am proud of the proposal, of the response of peer reviewers who wrote that it is a world-class project that will be the model for future projects of its type, and of the funding we received despite the heavy odds against us. However, I also want to offer this report as an example of the type of research that historians can do to invigorate our discipline, which appears increasingly weakened by any period of general economic difficulty or institutional crisis. I will offer a brief explanation of the project and close with some suggestions for a changing approach to research based on what I have learned recently.

My part of the project is funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF), which granted me $394,000 for three years beginning 1 October 2007 (award no. SES-0740345). As a result, my little, formerly neglected History department has become an administrative favorite, I get to participate in my dream project, and one NSF representative has already told me that the agency wanted to give me more money because everyone familiar with the project was so impressed by what I had proposed. She even explained how to get the increased funding, and I am currently working on the follow-up proposal. We already fund four graduate research assistantships and several undergraduate interns, and we have in the pipeline proposals that will provide us with six more graduate stipends. Moreover, the “indirect costs” from my grant have arrived at a time when faculty travel and other resources have been cut sharply in all department budgets. An amount equal to approximately 25% of my salary and benefits and those of my graduate research assistants enters the department budget every month, and we have decided to use this relative wealth for travel and other faculty activities we believe will lead to the production of other successful funding proposals. History even obtained a new position while other departments experienced position cuts and hiring freezes.

About ten years ago, because of my assistance to a major European research project, I was added to some European research databases and have received ever since the calls for research proposals (CFPs) and other announcements in a number of fields. Unlike the U.S. case, these European CFPs are frequently extended essays, and because I have fairly broad intellectual interest, I often enjoy reading them. In mid April 2006, one of these messages arrived. While I did not delete it, I saved it unopened because I was never eligible for funding and was swamped with work and personal matters. During the academic year 2005-2006, I was a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and I had just returned after an absence of over a month. It was not until the last day of April that I finally opened the message and the attached CFP.

The European Science Foundation (ESF) announced a new research program of its EUROCORES (European Collaborative Research) Scheme entitled “The Evolution of Cooperation and Trading” (TECT). The program title immediately attracted my attention. Since 2000, I had been doing research on sixteenth-century smuggling networks, and I had noticed an unexpectedly high degree of seemingly un-coerced cooperation among the merchants and others involved and realized that all long-distance trading networks in the period were based on much more cooperation among participants, many of whom looked as though they should have been competitors, than one would have expected on the basis of current economic wisdom. When I got to the end of the CFP document, I discovered that the U.S., through NSF, was supporting TECT, which made me an eligible applicant for the first time, and I had just lost two weeks of proposal preparation time.

However, the TECT program had nothing to say about history, and several senior European historians warned me that no proposal submitted by an historian would
receive serious consideration. TECT was the creation of evolutionary biologists and economists, who confront a similar problem: the theoretical basis of their disciplines is “competition” but “cooperation” is everywhere in the biological world and human communities. How is such cooperation possible? Aside from such theoretical concerns, the subject is of vital importance because local, regional, and international cooperation is badly needed for resource allocation and environmental sustainability, and cooperation across the boundaries of countries and firms is rapidly becoming the norm of the global economy. While respecting the warning, the CFP offered me perhaps my only opportunity to realize a dream, and I felt I could address the subject in a novel way.

At this point, I should say something about ESF’s EUROCORES Scheme. Potential EUROCORES programs are created by a diverse group of scientists who then propose their program ideas to ESF in a competitive process. Because the programs must be multi-national and multi-disciplinary, each group will try to amass a long list of co-proposers from a wide variety of countries and disciplines. Even so, as TECT’s intellectual father, the Dutch primate biologist Ronald Noë, recently admitted to me, at no point did anyone involved think to include any sort of historian in the list. Once ESF accepts a program, the EUROCORES director approaches all possible national and other funding agencies to get their agreement to fund projects with researchers from their countries. If your country does not support a particular EUROCORES program, you cannot be a PI (principal investigator) in any proposed project. Like the program proposals, a TECT research proposal had to be multi-national, involving PIs from at least three supporting countries, and multi-disciplinary.¹

For several reasons, the TECT opportunity appeared to be something I had dreamed about for over a decade. In the summer of 1995, I participated in a world history summer institute at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and while there I was reorganizing my advanced course, now called “Global Hispanic Monarchy,” to present world history from the perspective of the domains of Iberian monarchies and the ways they were connected among themselves and to other places. I had recently read several books and papers that stressed in somewhat different ways the idea that the history of no geographic place, however large, could be understood without comprehending how the place had been connected to other places.² I wanted to incorporate this connected approach in my course, and I decided that to do research on world history I should pull together a collaborative group of historians who dealt with different environmental, economic, political, social, and cultural aspects of Iberian domains from 1350 to 1825. The problem, of course, was that historians, unlike other scholars who deal with spatially large entities, such as atmospheric scientists and oceanographers, are not socialized for collaboration and do not understand how to share information and publish results jointly. Moreover, I had no idea how to get funding for such a scheme. As I read the TECT CFP, I realized that I finally had an opportunity to bring together a group of historians whose work touched in some way on Iberian domains, and I could include as a product (a “deliverable”) of my project a protocol stating the norms of data sharing and joint publication, which we would then introduce to major national and international historical associations for addition to their professional standards.³ Eventually, our data will be disseminated through public digital archives⁴ to other researchers who agree to abide by the norms listed in the protocol.

A few years later, in 1998, I discovered GIS (geographic information systems) a means to integrate, manage, and analyze heterogeneous economic, institutional, and cultural information about geographic places and the connections among the places within an ultimately global space.⁵ In a GIS, each type of data is treated as a layer, and the layers can be organized and aggregated on the computer screen in order to visualize the relationships among them. GIS also offers an effective way to manage multiple stories and multiple perspectives, and it provides a platform for research
collaboration and data sharing. Fortunately, my university had opened in January 1998 a GIS research and training center, which was independent of any department and offered free workshops for faculty members. After one or two workshops, I was convinced that I had found a powerful tool for information management, analysis, and presentation, which is also relatively user-friendly and aesthetically pleasing. Moreover, the cartographic representations of information are not only pretty, visualizations are an effective tool for the reduction of the cognitive weight when the alternatives are numerous and surpass the capabilities of human reason, which often happens to us when we try to comprehend world history during even short chronological periods. Let me be clear. I did not try to become a GIS expert; I only wanted to understand the technology so that I could do simple tasks and collaborate with the real experts when I needed help. As I pushed my own research increasingly in the direction of GIS, I established contacts and collaborations with scholars in the emerging field of geographic information science (GIScience), and these researchers would provide me with a second disciplinary field for my TECT proposal.

The GIS connection also provided me with another important element for the TECT proposal under the heading of “broader impacts.” NSF evaluations of funding proposals hinge on two mandatory sections: “intellectual merit” and “broader impacts.” I was excited about the possibilities of GIS for historians and created in November 2002, with my colleague Laura Woodworth-Ney, a GIS-based graduate program in geographically-integrated history. With noted environmental historian Kevin Marsh, whom we hired the following year, we pushed this innovative program through a series of tough administrative barriers. By the time I read the TECT CFP, I knew that we would have to deliver some results in order to get the resources to start the program because ISU had moved into a period of administrative instability and financial difficulties. Therefore, I built my participation in the TECT proposal around the existence of the graduate program so that I could tell my administrators that either a new position line was created for the history department or the chance to get a big NSF grant in the midst of a university funding crisis would disappear. In placing such importance on the development of a transformative graduate program, I also provided myself with the basis for an extremely effective “broader impacts” section in my proposal.

But to nail the proposal, I wanted to add a third discipline - mathematics. I realized that I would be competing for funding against collaborative teams that included researchers who were on the list of those who had originally proposed TECT to ESF and that the international review committee would include almost entirely representatives from the same disciplines who knew some of those in the competing groups. Faced with this prospect, I thought that it would weaken the proposal only to add a few social scientists to a project heavily populated by historians. Moreover, my dream had another component by then, and if this were to be my only chance to realize my dream, I was going to insert all of the parts. I wanted mathematicians who modeled temporal phenomena.

Current GIS software has a flaw from a historian’s perspective. GIS software is static, and history is about change over time. Although you can aggregate information from different time periods and see that something has changed, the software does little to help you understand why the change might have taken place. The creation of a true spatiotemporal GIS requires that appropriate mathematical models be expressed within the software package. Fans of the hit CBS television drama *Numb3rs* know that mathematics can model domain knowledge from research disciplines. Therefore, I wanted my project to combine the work of mathematical modelers in economics and geography with research in GIScience to create a temporal GIS adequate for the needs of historians.

However, to do such work, the mathematicians must know what sort of system they are modeling. In his book *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (1998), Andre...
Gunder Frank went beyond his argument for a connected world history. He also stated that all geographic places are connected to a common system all of the time and that the history of this world system has constantly shaped the histories of those places. Although such a system would be hard to grasp, I considered the idea plausible. As the book neared completion, and especially after its publication, when critics focused attention on his failure to explain adequately the shift between 1750 and 1850 from a world economy with its most dynamic centers in Asia to one centered on northwestern Europe, Frank insistently bugged me with the question, “Jack, what kind of system is it?” He was writing a sequel about the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and realized that he had to grasp clearly the nature of the system whose existence he postulated if he were going to be able to respond effectively to his critics. Between a book manuscript, my smuggling research, and my GIS exploration, I had too much on my plate to think clearly about a response, and Frank’s health began deteriorating to the point where it was difficult for him to argue with me. However, for my TECT funding proposal, I needed to come up with one more big idea and answer Frank’s question.

My answer is that the first global age, 1400-1800, was an open, complex, dynamic, non-linear system. This article is not the place to discuss the concept and its implications, especially its implications for historical research. The simple explanation is that weather is such a system. Within the system, much changes, often suddenly and violently, and only limited prediction is possible. Although I would not want to argue this in the case of the weather, such systems can enter periods of instability or “chaos” when they undergo a “phase transformation” to a new system when new forms “emerge” (the segregated terms are characteristic of the literature on such systems). If the period 1750-1850 constituted such a systemic transition, research on cooperation in commercial activities during the first global age could be tremendously valuable. It was not just that such cooperation appears to have been more prominent in commercial relationships than in the centuries since. People before the transition had values and cultural perspectives quite different from those who lived in the later period, which would make it very difficult for the latter to understand the former. The empirical generalizations and theories the latter employed to make sense of information about the former (rise of the State; rise of Capitalism; rise of Individualism, etc.) are likely to be badly flawed. In other words, in response to those who would argue that to understand cooperation in human communities, it is sufficient to study those that exist now, I could respond that cooperation in the first global age was likely different in important ways. At the very least, such a conjecture was worth examining, it provided me with a basis for attracting mathematical modelers, and it allowed me to frame for non-historians the importance of historical research.

The trouble was that on 30 April 2006, when I first read the TECT CFP and realized that NSF had made me an eligible candidate, I only had until the 8 June outline (before the World Cup tournament began in Germany) to submit a preliminary proposal, which would include all of the historians, geographic information scientists, and mathematicians from different countries who would serve as the PIs and associated partners (APs, who receive funding directly from EUROCORES for some of our activities). Somehow, I managed to pull together all of the threads to create a coherent proposal, which after preparing all of the mandatory parts turned out to be a 38-page single-spaced document. When after the final World Cup match, we received the response of the TECT international review committee, we were overjoyed to find ourselves in the small pool of groups who were invited to submit a full proposal, which was due on 26 September. Over half of the proposals had been rejected, leaving only about a dozen candidates.

Of course, I knew nothing about the other proposals and only received the complex instructions for the next round at this point. Realizing that I had no experience with this type of process, one European colleague pointed out that I was taking on teams...
that were backed by research institutes and universities with well-funded departments whose personnel would do much of the real work of drafting the proposals and preparing the budgets. She asked if I had similar support. I did not. ISU’s under-staffed office of sponsored programs had never heard of the European Science Foundation, and even though the U.S. NSF was supporting TECT, at this stage what my ISU colleagues knew about NSF would not be much help. By the time I had clarified as much as I could about the procedure, it was August and many European colleagues were away on holiday and would spend much of September attending conferences and workshops. This added to the time I had to spend on communications. Worse yet, I started full-time teaching at the beginning of the third week of August, offering two new upper-division and graduate courses and a lower-division Latin American history course in which I was employing a new, time-consuming pedagogical technique. Happily, it all worked out, and I submitted the 136-page full proposal on time.

In addition to preparing the proposal itself, I had done three things that turned out to be important. In May, I quickly learned that the eight-hour time difference between Pocatello and Strasbourg, the home of EUROCORES, made rapid communication difficult. Therefore, I convinced one of my colleagues, Ana Crespo Solana of CSIC’s Institute of History in Madrid, to replace me as the designated Project Leader, who was supposed to be the only person to contact the EUROCORES office (a rule that is always waived in my case). She has done a splendid job in this role and in coordinating the activities of the Spanish members of the team, who form the most numerous group.

Second, like most historians I know, I enjoy creating catchy titles. However, because I realized that the review committee was likely to react negatively to a proposal created by an historian, I opted instead for a long title that expressed all of the key ideas of the proposal and emphasized the cooperation, trading, and evolution (with the concept of self-organizing networks): “Dynamic Complexity of Cooperation-Based Self-Organizing Commercial Networks in the First Global Age”. Because I also had to create an acronym, I picked one that put cooperation in the center: DynCoopNet. Although I often cannot remember the exact title of my project and the acronym is a multi-syllable mouthful, I have been told that both had the impact I sought.

I did not realize the potential impact of the third wise move because I knew nothing about the other proposals. Because it was what I wanted to do and because the instructions appeared to demand collaborative research projects, I created DynCoopNet as a truly collaborative research community, whose integrated research would focus on a single ambitious goal: understanding cooperation within the developing long-distance trading networks of the complex, dynamic, non-linear system of the first global age. As it turned out, all of the other successful projects consist of nothing more than relatively loosely connected subprojects with only limited interaction among the researchers. Moreover, DynCoopNet is about double the size of the next largest TECT project, mostly because of the need for so many historians to provide information about different geographic areas and time periods. Apparently, organizational ambition struck reviewers as yet another of the bold ideas in the proposal.

In terms of dealing with local problems, I cannot say enough about the campus leadership of ISU’s new president Arthur Vailas, former head of research at the University of Houston, who started work in July 2006 with a stated primary goal of moving the university to a higher level of research performance. Although research is done by faculty members, it helps a lot to have motivating and appreciative administrators. You will have to wait for my memoirs to discover some of the things I did to get the new position we needed to start our graduate program in geographically-integrated history while other departments were suffering position cuts and hiring freezes. Suffice it to say here that if after submitting the final DynCoopNet proposal, I had not been able to get permission to start a job search, my whole research edifice, with nineteen named researchers as PIs and APs (in nine countries) and another 20 or so in the wings who
would be unfunded cooperating partners (CPs), would have come crashing down, wasting five months of hard work and killing my dream.

With subsequent cuts in our final budget, DynCoopNet was left without the money for annual “assemblies” I felt were necessary to coordinate the activities of such a large group. At the TECT “launch conference” in Budapest in July 2007, we learned about the other successful projects and some interesting research proposed by projects that were highly rated but disqualified when the country of a PI backed out of its commitment to fund the program. The EUROCORES director invented a new rule in order to put me on the Scientific Committee that would run the TECT program, and he explained to me how I could get several hundred thousand dollars more for DynCoopNet. The secret was to find ways to collaborate with those evolutionary biologists, economists, game theorists, ecologists, and cognitive and social psychologists in the other projects because EUROCORES would pay all of the expenses of participants in any joint-project activity. The drafting strategy for these additional funding proposals was obviously similar to what I had done to propose DynCoopNet: concentrate on themes rather than on the historian’s need to fill in some gap in our knowledge about some place during a particular period of time; propose bold research and organizational ideas that promise to transform disciplines. So far, DynCoopNet has received an additional amount, perhaps close to $10,000, in 2007 for trips to research workshops and over $150,000 in 2008 for such trips and to put on two imaginative TECT workshops in Porto in March and Madrid in September. These workshops have allowed us to involve a number of the CPs. This amount does not include what will be spent on me as an instructor in the TECT summer school at the beginning of September 2008, at which I will try to develop other joint-project proposals to bring in more money in 2009. Moreover, I have used the project to help get fellowships and jobs for some DynCoopNet members, and I expect that I will be able to provide more of this help.

In conclusion, what have I learned since April 2006 that I can recommend to you to enhance your careers and your research and teaching about Portugal and Spain?

1) Escape a major limitation of our educations and learn how to collaborate with others in research and publication.

2) Extend your network of collaborators to those in other disciplines.

3) Conceptualize your research primarily on the basis of themes rather than on place and time period.

4) As you identify themes in your research, search for the work done by other disciplines about those themes. In doing this, you will not be trying to become an expert in these areas. You are looking for points of fruitful collaboration, and you should contact the authors of papers you find especially interesting.

5) Develop the ability to talk about your research in the conceptual language used in these other disciplines and in terms of their debates. Try to get on the programs of their meetings to present your work. Get them interested in what historians can add to the ongoing debates, and remain open to the possibility of joint publication with them.

6) Search constantly for funding opportunities that can provide lots of money. Often, to apply for such grants, you will need to collaborate with researchers in other fields and at other institutions in your country or in others. Attend all possible workshops about locating funding resources and writing proposals.

7) Use any successful funding proposal as the take-off point for other proposals. You are marketing your ideas, and you will improve through practice. Because the odds will always be against you, no stigma attaches itself to failure.

If you follow this road, your life will be full, hectic, and ever so much more fun,
professionally, than what you are doing now. Instead of trying to learn more and more about less and less, which is the sign of an overly specialized discipline, try learning more and more about more and more. You will likely feel more vulnerable at times, but also much happier. You will be much more likely to avoid the frustration and burn-out that causes the vast majority of history Ph.D.s to cease productive research. Finally, you will make a significant personal contribution to supporting your department colleagues and enhancing the discipline of history within the academy.

1 Because the EUROCORES process raises the probability that funding programs will generate more transformative research ideas than programs created by bureaucrats might, U.S. agencies have become interested and may try something similar. Historians in the U.S. should be alert to the possibilities this would offer for establishing new funding sources.


3 I had already drafted such a document at the end of 1999, which I unsuccessfully tried to get the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI) to adopt at its meeting early the following year.

4 For example, the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, ICPSR (www.icpsr.umich.edu/).


6 In some quarters, we became known as the “Gang of Three,” in clear reference to the Chinese “Cultural Revolution”. We have since hired the historical geographer Sarah E. Hinman, making us a “Gang of Four.” The graduate program is explained, with a photograph of the “Gang of Three,” in “Idaho State University Creates Innovative Program in History and GIS,” ArcNews 27, 3 (Fall 2005): 45. URL: http://www.esri.com/news/arcnews/fall05articles/idaho-state-univ.html. ArcNews now has a print subscription of 600,000 worldwide, and the online version. Thus, this article provided ISU with a level of visibility that was attractive to the university’s administration. On the program’s design, see J. B. Owens L. Woodworth-Ney, “Envisioning a master’s degree program in geographically-integrated history,” Journal of the Association for History and Computing 8,2 (September, 2005): http://mccl.pacificu.edu/jahc/2005/issue2/articles/owenswoodworth.php, accessed on 6 January 2008.
I was correct; all of the other highly rated proposals came from groups that included members of the group that proposed TECT in January, 2005.

I discuss this problem in the first two articles listed in note 6.


Review Article: Publications on the Portuguese Earthquake of 1755

The recent commemorations in Portugal of the great earthquake of 1755 had a significant impact on the publication of books about the subject. We will give on this occasion a short notice of some relevant titles.

The natural catastrophe of 1755 destroyed most of the city of Lisbon. But the great earthquake had equally devastating consequences for the whole central region of Portugal, in the towns surrounding the capital and along the Tagus valley, as well as in the south of the country, especially in the Algarve. Nevertheless, by the early nineteenth century Lisbon was again a lively and thriving city.

There are no recent histories of Lisbon before 1755 that combine a necessary survey of events with a detailed profile of the disappeared city. Practically all the publications, in fact, concentrate their attention on the event of the catastrophe itself and its aftermath.

In this small but lovely book published in association with a Portuguese and a French editor, the director of the National Tile Museum ("Museu Nacional do Azulejo") makes available the reproduction of one of the most significant pieces of his collection: a precious urban view of the city of Lisbon before the great earthquake. The book contains the full reproduction of the 1,376 blue and white tiles that compose this set of panels, originally made to decorate the main hall of an aristocratic palace located at the mouth of the Tagus river, the Palace of the Counts of Miranda. The tiles were manufactured in Lisbon, either between 1700 and 1725, as stated in this book, or around 1734, as claimed by other authors. These tile panels compose a panorama about 76 feet long of the city of Lisbon as it appeared to a viewer moving upriver on a boat, in the direction of its easternmost rural outskirts. The necessary optical composition of the different viewpoints of the unknown artist(s) is resolved in this uninterrupted panorama in a successful, flowing harmony. This large vista of Lisbon is, therefore, of great artistic value. But it is mostly for the precious visual documentation of the city that disappeared with the earthquake that this book is of interest to historians and art historians alike, since the iconography of pre-1755 Lisbon is extremely rare. The location and depiction of most convents, churches, and secular monumental buildings of Lisbon are rendered in exquisite detail in the view, together with a vast array of everyday activities that took place on the banks of the Tagus river (fishing, river transportation, and industrial and commercial activities such as the use of tide windmills, or the fabrication of ceramics). One of the rare representations of the "black neighborhood" of Lisbon, the "Mocambo," is also included in the panorama.
An extremely useful identification of the buildings and the different areas of the city is proposed in the book, following the first complete reproduction of this work of art in 12 full page photographs. Each section of the panorama is then separately presented in two sets of facing images, the full tile panel on one side and on the other a choice of detailed views of the main buildings, duly labeled. This allows for an easy and convenient use of the visual data contained in this exceptional historical source. The book also includes the following choice of textual sources that describe Lisbon before 1755, translated into English: Jerome Münzer’s travel account (1492), the description of Damião de Góis (1554), an anonymous Italian report about the city (1578-1580), the description of the famous French prisoner of the Inquisition Charles Dellon (1687), and the travel account of a French friar (1699). Putting together these different texts, while useful in itself, would nevertheless require more careful scholarly annotation, even in a book aimed at the general reader. Previous English versions of these sources, for instance, the text of Damião de Góis, are not mentioned. The bibliography is also too sparse, consisting of only 20 titles, mostly specialized texts about the history of Portuguese tiles. The design and layout of the volume, however, are excellent, and the book serves its purpose well.

Two of the most important satellite towns included today in the Lisbon metropolitan area also suffered greatly from the earthquake: Oeiras and Cascais. Both town councils published useful anthologies of historical sources about the event, including archival sources, letters, descriptions, poetry and visual sources. In the case of Oeiras, the book titled *The memory of the Words* makes available in a first chapter numerous reports and descriptions resulting from direct observations of the event, essentially included in letters and other private sources. These letters were written between December 1755 and 1758 by both Portuguese and foreign observers, with views as diverse as those of a Genoese merchant, the English consul, the queen of Portugal, and a contemporary friar. The attempt to interpret and explain the earthquake also originated numerous texts published in the years immediately following the disaster (1756 and 1757) and written by important authors such as Ribeiro Sanches or Miguel Tibério Pedegache, also reprinted in this anthology. In its last section, the book includes a selection of poetry about the earthquake where the texts of Paulino António Cabral de Vasconcelos (the famous Abbot of Jazente) stand out, an important reminder that, in the culture of eighteenth century Portugal, poetry was a major channel of communication in the public sphere. In another volume resulting from a public exhibition under the title *The Earth trembled, the Sea overflow*, an important trove of historical data is made available for Oeiras, most notably in a selection of unpublished cartography kept in the Portuguese archives, and of visual representations, some of them from the first half of the 1700s. Numerous *quintas* or aristocratic rural properties of this period are identified, and the book includes recent pictures of remaining building structures, as well as a study of their influence in the current place-names of the region. The book also shows how Pombal, the powerful royal minister who was behind the great reconstruction of Lisbon after the disaster, concentrated in his hands most of the land in this region after the disaster (he was made “Count of Oeiras” by the king in 1759), thus decisively influencing its economic recovery and the transformation of the landscape, with the collaboration of famous architects and engineers.

The volume published by the municipality of Cascais, in turn, collects unpublished sources about the town and its region, some of them available in the local funds (such as the collections of the local confraternity - *Misericórdia*), and others in the central national archives. Among the latter are the results of a famous enquiry sent to all the parishes of the kingdom of Portugal, and known as *Memórias Paroquiais*. The village of Cascais in the period between 1755 and 1758 is described in detail in some of these sources. These are reproduced in excellent photographs facing the modern transcription.
A general introduction provides an overview of the effects of the earthquake and the ensuing tsunami in Cascais, as well as the difficult reconstruction of both the village and its hinterland in their economic activities and social tissue. An early map dating from 1800 shows how the village was rebuilt without significant changes in terms of road structure and general layout. The volume contains a useful bibliography.

These publications are important contributions to the study of the consequences of the disaster of 1755 beyond the city of Lisbon itself, which corresponds today to the core of the metropolitan area but did not include in the eighteenth century these satellite localities. After the earthquake, the royal family of Portugal avoided the downtown area in reconstruction, preferring peripheral areas such as, for instance, Ajuda, where a new royal residence would be built in the last decade of the century. These surrounding areas were also going to witness some transformations, as the capital itself profoundly changed after the great disaster. Any history of Lisbon and its reconstruction will need to integrate such changes into a more complete explanation of the urban transformation after 1755.

These two titles represent well the major scholarly contributions to the study of the great earthquake published in Portugal. The first book allows for an excellent overview of the different approaches taken by cultural and literary historians in an interpretation of the great earthquake as a major moment in the history and the historical memory of the Portuguese. Twenty-nine different collaborators explore in their essays, included in this volume, how a natural disaster of great dimension can become a cultural phenomenon, and how it persists and fashions the collective memory of a whole country and the imaginary portrait of an era. The essays are grouped in three major sections, with an excellent introduction by Buescu. In the first section, some unusual associations are explored, with essays about the myth and the symbolism of extraordinary natural phenomena in Greco-Roman antiquity contrasting with a geological explanation of the dynamic of the tectonic plates that eventually originated the earthquake and related tsunami in 1755, together with a brief imaginary walk taken in the medieval city and the bustling harbor of the gold and pepper Atlantic trade that leads the reader to a perception and discussion of the underlying options for the process of reconstruction and urban renewal after the disaster. The second section of the book proposes a close look at the first sources conveying the impressions of the survivors and visitors of the destroyed city, and follows the discursive threads that transported some striking images and narratives into the present of Portuguese and European cultural memory. The variety of textual sources used (private sources, sermons, theater plays alongside the more usual travel narratives, scientific and philosophical works) allows the authors of this volume to follow the echoes of the disaster and of the reconstruction in later periods: in literary works from the nineteenth century, with their visions of a city in growth and transformation, and all the way to living authors such as Agustina Bessa Luis in her portrait of Pombal, or Maria Velho da Costa in her prodigious novel *Casas Pardas*. In the third and last section of the book, a general reflection on natural and man-made disasters compares arguments and cultural attitudes of the present, from 9/11 to the Asian tsunami of 2004, with those of the past. Several essays explain the cultural appropriation of the 1755 earthquake by the rest of Europe (in the known debate involving the best spirits of the Enlightenment such as Voltaire, Kant and Rousseau), and their counterpart in historical theories of change related to cataclysmic and singular events. This is the section of the book that deals with a universal or cross-cultural dimension of the disaster of 1755. The local memories, so it seems, are not clearly connected with this global level in a cogent and detectable way, adding another layer of interesting interrogations to the reader’s perplexities. The
book contains an impressive amount of bibliography, most of it consisting of primary sources of interest to historians, and each chapter opens with striking images, taken mostly from the collections of the museum of the city of Lisbon, the foundation of the City of Lisbon and the National Museum of Art (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga).

In the second book edited by Araújo and her colleagues, a team of historians proposes a counterpoint to the previous approach, by exploring the historical impact of the earthquake in the political, social, and economic situation of the kingdom of Portugal, in the second half of the eighteenth century and beyond. As Vanda Anastácio remarks in her essay, the use of the earthquake as a “period mark” that neatly divides the century is still a prevailing paradigm, even in literary history, for the disaster was seen as a defining moment which inaugurated the so-called “period of Pombal” with all of its paradoxical choices of governance explained in a classic book by Kenneth Maxwell. The paradigm is also discussed in the introductory essay by José-Augusto França. As is to be expected, historians show in this volume different ways of dealing with the event, and concentrate their attention often on long-term trends and contextual explanations, rather than in the afterlife of memories and images of the earthquake per se. The book is divided into four sections, composed of roughly ten essays each. It starts with contributions devoted to the historical interpretation of the contemporary perceptions of the event, and of its narratives as they circulated in Iberia and Europe. The following ten essays explore the economic, social, and political consequences of the catastrophe and the ensuing governmental reforms, with synthesis provided by José Luis Cardoso, José Subtil and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa, and case-studies meticulously researched such as the development of one of the trade companies of the period by Tiago Reis Miranda and an analysis of the project of reconstruction and reform of the Algarve by Horta Correia. A third section is taken by the inevitable discussion of the scientific and philosophical explanations of the causes and meaning of the disaster, putting side by side the well-known texts and the polemical literature. The book closes with an important section on urban reforms and urban models during the post-earthquake period which includes, as occurs in general throughout the whole volume, a discussion of the Brazilian dimension of many of the historical processes analysed.

A contrast between the two books shows, among other things, that historians are unanimously attuned to the Luso-Brazilian connections and interdependences during this period of Portuguese history, while literary and cultural historians often seem interested in inserting the Portuguese cultural production in an European context and locate the earthquake at the centre of the European intellectual debates of this period.

BOOK REVIEWS

The last fifteen years have seen an explosion of literature on memory, with literally thousands of titles coming out of not only social and cultural history, but also sociology, psychology, history of medicine, neuroscience, and various other disciplines. Memoria, culto y monarquía hispánica entre los siglos X y XII is Amancio Isla’s recent contribution to this exciting subfield, combining his well-known expertise on the early centuries of astur-leonese royal families, with the theoretical foundations of historical memory studies provided by Chris Wickham, Patrick Geary, Matthew Innes, and especially Rosamond McKitterick, the pioneer of such studies.

The book consists of an introduction (prólogo) and eight rather independent chapters, brought together by their exploration of memory production rather than a common thesis. The first chapter covers commemoration of monarchs, while the second treats royal donations to churches and monasteries. The next two chapters cover, respectively, renovación and innovación of the Church and monarchy (specifically, the

reign of Alfonso VI), where the theme of memory is mostly indirect. These are followed by three chapters examining the production of chronicles (including the histories of Sampiro and Pseudo-Pedro, the Cronicón iriense, and the inaccurately named Historia silence). Their methodology is similar to that of McKitterick’s work on Carolingian chronicle production, while their exploration of regional and national identity is a longstanding theme of Spanish historiography, prominently seen in the works of Ramón Menéndez Pidal and José Maravall. The book concludes with a sort of mini-chapter on the extension of Cluniac influence into the Iberian Peninsula, tying together the themes of royal commemoration, donations, and the production of chronicles.

The most provocative and innovative are the first two chapters. In the first of these, Isla shows how the “ideólogos de la corte” devised a two-part strategy to commemorate monarchs (p. 33). On one hand, they shaped perceptions and perpetuated crafted memories through the creation of genealogies, exalting chronicles, and associations between a monarch and specific saints, such as Saint James and Saint Isidore. On the other hand, they provided the rhetorical underpinnings and imagery needed to create a “panteón regio,” or cult of personality, that was manifested in the form of newly created architectural centers of royal burial and the rituals of commemoration performed in them (p. 33).

The second of these chapters examines the familiar theme of royal donations to religious communities in exchange for masses, prayers, and alms distribution meant to secure spiritual benefits and divine favor, including military victory. The latter is especially interesting, since it sought divine intervention contra inimicos, in the Spanish context, against Muslims. That these maledictions were increasingly militant after the middle of the eleventh century is surely related to the increasing influence within the Iberian Peninsula of the monastery of Cluny.

The author achieved his aim of introducing the field of memory studies into Spanish historiography, although it would have strengthened the book had he developed some of his ideas further, especially those regarding change over time. For instance, the author makes it very clear that monarchs had any number of modes of commemoration available to them, from chronicles to architectural programs. This raises the issue of choice, and further invites the question of what influenced these choices over time. In addition, Isla observes that there were changes in the notions of royal sanctity (fama sanctitatis), that is, on what grounds kings were remembered (p. 63). The author mentions briefly that Alfonso II was remembered primarily for his chastity, Vermudo II for his suffering, Fernando I for his humilitas, and Alfonso VI for his role as defensor of the Church, but does not explore the implications. It would seem, however, that such an examination of the attributes by which kings were remembered would be one of the most fruitful approaches for memory studies, especially since it would highlight memory as fluid and socially constructed. But a book can only be so long, and if the reader is left pondering the many research possibilities available, it is to the credit of the author for having written such a thought-provoking work.

This publication is the result of a one-day conference on the arts of medieval Spain organized by the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University in April 2006. In accordance with the general aims of the Index, the speakers were asked to focus on iconography. While the eight papers cover a variety of media, including sculpture, panel painting and manuscript illustration, sculptural architectural decoration gets the most attention. In the essays, the authors adopt an interdisciplinary approach as they bring new methodology to bear on medieval Spain’s rich legacy of artworks and monuments. The Cathedral of Santiago is a reference point for many of the authors but it is not the primary focus of any essay. The time frame runs from the Romanesque through the late Gothic.
In his introduction, Hourihane reminds us that the cultural and artistic imprint left on the country by the blending of the three great religions, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish, cannot be underestimated. One of the differences between these essays and older scholarship, which tended to dichotomize, pitting Christian against Muslim and Jew, is the recognition that relations between the cultures were in a constant state of flux. Pam Patton, for example, zooms in on a curious detail in a capital in the cloister of Santa María la Mayor de Tudela. The Islamic envelope-flap book binding in a carving of (Jewish) Pharisees and priests conspiring against Christ documents a phase when Christians were trying to define themselves in opposition to Muslims and Jews. The envelope-flap is a familiar sign of difference that served to unite Christians against heresy in all of its manifestations. Jerrilynn Dodds interprets the mixture of Christian and Islamic architecture and frescos in Toledo’s San Román church in terms of Archbishop Jiménez de Rada and his Reconquest ideology. In this architectural project the apocalyptic themes and pseudo-Arabic calligraphy in the nave create a “stage set” for an experiential apocalypse in which Toledo’s Mozarabs participated by virtue of being Christians in Toledo in the age of Reconquest. San Román “mirrored Toledo, clearly, in its messy plurality,” and, by extension, Jiménez de Rada’s pragmatic sensitivity to that plurality. Elizabeth Valdéz del Alamo likewise considers the problem of integrating Christians in pluralist Spain within the larger framework of the Church. Two Romanesque reliefs on the northwest pier of the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos, Christ on the Road to Emmaus and The Doubting Thomas, because they draw upon both the Old Hispanic rite as well as the newly introduced Roman liturgy for their imagery, have both been interpreted as indicators of resistance to change. Through comparisons to Silos’s missals and antiphonaries, Valdéz del Alamo makes her case that the mix reflects instead “habits of thought and usages not excluded by Rome and while the shape of the liturgy was altered, its theological content was not.”

The remaining essays direct attention to northern Spain and the influences entering Spain from the rest of Europe through the pilgrimage routes. In the lead essay James D’Emilio examines the inscriptions that proliferated in churches in Galicia. In the past the utility of the inscriptions was limited to establishing dates and stylistic affiliations and little attention was given to the mark making. D’Emilio is able to distinguish between inscriptions designed by prelates and patrons and the self-referential inscriptions provided by artists. The focus on the mark making is significant since it goes against the established belief in this anonymity of the medieval craftsmen working outside of Italy. Manuel Castiñeiras addresses the stylistic relationships of Catalan altar frontals and French art in the same period. As curator of Romanesque art at the National Museum of Catalan art, which possesses twenty-nine frontals, he is able to rely on the findings of an in-house technical analysis published with his essay. Rose Walker examines the Cistercian abbey at Las Huelgas, a transitional site that bridges the Romanesque and the Gothic in Iberia. She interprets the paradisal nature of the cloister and the influence of the Cistercian abbot, Martin Finojosa, on the development of the iconography. Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras reevaluates the hierarchical theophany of the Sarmental portal of Burgos Cathedral in terms of the Church reform imposed by Bishop Mauricio. She reconstructs the architectural complex that included the Episcopal palace in order to show the Sarmental portal was used primarily if not exclusively by the bishop and his canons moving between the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral. The highly hierarchical theophany shows the impact of Church reform and Bishop Mauricio’s personal goal to mirror on earth the perfect order in heaven by imposing uniformity on his canons.

The book is an eye-opener for those of us on the margins of the field of medieval Spanish studies. Truly, it is become an exciting arena for art historical investigation rife with opportunities for beginning scholars.
In this biography of Afonso Henriques (1109-1185), the eminent Portuguese medievalist José Mattoso offers a rich exploration of the life and times of Portugal’s first king, as well as numerous thoughtful examinations of Portuguese historiography from the medieval era to the present. Mattoso, frequently referring to “nosso primeiro rei,” is interested in how the son of count Enrique of Burgundy, and Teresa, a natural daughter of Alfonso VI of León, not only claimed, but created kingship in the formerly Leonese county of Portugal. Key to this creation were the following: Afonso’s ability to trace his lineage back to his grandfather Alfonso VI; his relationship with various Portuguese religious orders, institutions and individuals (especially the canons of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, and his right-hand-man, the powerful archbishop of Braga João Peculiar); his marriage to Matilda of Savoy; and above all, his ability to lead men against his Christian and Almohad neighbors, resulting in the expansion of his dominion through conquests and negotiation. Mattoso thoroughly treats the wider European context for Afonso’s career, showing how interconnected the newly-formed kingdom of Portugal was with the pressing politics of the wider medieval world: crusades, church reform, marriage politics, and expressions of public and private power.

The book is long and detailed and could be mined for a wealth of information, for example, regarding the Portuguese church, the nobility, or the crusades. However, this review must be brief, and perforce idiosyncratic, and therefore will focus on Mattoso’s equally important contribution on the nature of kingship. What made Afonso Henriques a king? When can a historian confidently rely on the use of the term in Portuguese, Spanish, or Papal documentation? What, in other words, is in a name? The problem is significant, having real implications for the study of medieval rulership beyond Portugal, as well as for understanding Afonso Henriques. Afonso did not hesitate to wrest power from his mother, the self-proclaimed queen Teresa, but he was hesitant to adopt the title of king. Mattoso seems uncertain about Teresa; he cites her as queen in quotation marks always “rainha” Teresa), suggesting thereby that her queenship was false. It certainly was weak: although she called herself queen and was so recognized by others, her rule was contended and unstable. Yet, Mattoso makes much of the designation “rei” for Afonso Henriques, and grapples thoroughly with the import of the title for Afonso’s rulership. Mattoso does not reject the possible veracity of the legendary acclamation of Afonso Henriques by his troops before the battle of Ourique in 1139, even though his chancery did not use the designation “king” before 1140, and clerical authors continued to hesitate over royal status when no liturgical ceremony was performed. As Mattoso rightly points out, these differences demonstrate that medieval people themselves had different ideas about the nature and function of “king” and “kingdom” (p. 172).

If 1139 or 1140 is a valid date for claiming kingship, then why does Mattoso indicate that Afonso Henriques’s reign spanned 1143 to 1185? In 1143, Afonso performed homage to the Holy See as a “miles sancti Petri,” in hoped-for exchange of papal defense of “land and dignity” (p. 213) and more practically to assert his independence from all secular lords, primarily his cousin Alfonso VII. The reform-minded pope remained reluctant to recognize Afonso’s status, referring to him as “dux” but nonetheless accepting the homage and the promised annual census of gold. By 1143, Afonso was recognized as king by his subjects, the local clergy, and Alfonso VII himself. Only after this date did Afonso Henriques marry Matilda of Savoy; Mattoso effectively dismantles medieval historiography suggesting that Matilda’s non-royal status reflected her husband’s uncertain political position. In fact, Matilda was closely related to the French king Louis VII and her marriage to Afonso can be understood in the context of the call for the Second Crusade, linking Portugal to the wider European ambit.
Mattoso’s work draws upon his profound knowledge of Portuguese archives and historiography, and generally cites published documents and sources, included in a thorough, up-to-date bibliography. Beautiful color plates depict a variety of relevant images but, disappointingly, no map. The appendices include a chart showing the parallel chronologies of Portugal, Spain, the Islamic world, and Christendom, usefully reiterating the importance of Afonso Enriques and Portugal to the wider medieval context. Also included is a list of court officials and a series of genealogies. Mattoso’s study completes the series Reis de Portugal, scholarly biographies of each of Portugal’s thirty-two kings and two queens. With twenty-six chapters, the book is well-written and organized, and could be a potential candidate for translation into English.

This readily available edition republishes Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodríguez’s fine translation of Teresa of Avila’s Libro de la vida, which first appeared in The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila, I (Washington D.C.: Institute of Carmelite Studies Publications, 1980). The original Spanish is not presented. The translation is preceded by Jodi Bilinkoff’s new concise scholarly introduction to this central Teresian text. Bilinkoff divides her introduction into six sections. The first five trace stages of Teresa’s life as presented in her own account: her girlhood (corresponding to chapters 1-3 of the Life, and covering the years 1515-35); her life in the convent of the Incarnation in Avila, including crucial illnesses and conversion (chapters 4-9, 1535-54); her role as guide to the spiritual life, summarizing her methods of prayer and contemplative practice (chapters 10-22, not chronologically based); Teresa’s anxiety and eventual overcoming of doubts about the origin of her extraordinary spiritual experiences, with a description of the nature of her states of recollection and ecstasy (chapters 23-29, 1554-60); and her “delightful restlessness” that inspired a missionary impulse eventually resolving into her role as leader of Discalced Carmelite reform (chapters 30-40, 1560-62, where the narrative Life ends). A final section on “Teresa as Founder and Writer” reviews the importance of the Life beyond Teresa’s finishing of the manuscript, considers the book’s importance in launching her career as writer, summarizes her achievements as convent founder, and briefly recounts her remaining years until death in 1588.

This monolingual edition thus valuably synthesizes a scholarly English rendering of Teresa’s text with the introduction’s incorporation of newer historical and literary perspectives on how Teresa navigated a fraught Counter-Reform theological context —both in her life and in her Life, that is, in her spiritual practice, her guidance of other nuns, and her writings. In addition, Bilinkoff uses her own historical work and other changing views in scholarship of the last twenty-five years to present Teresa’s role in the Carmelite reform and her impact on subsequent generations of convent writers. For example, earlier views of Teresa as writer frequently cast her as a reluctant or naive “scribe” either to the mandates of her confessors or dictates of the Holy Spirit. Here, Bilinkoff contrasts such assessments with more recent insights into Teresa’s “genuine vocation as a writer” as evidenced by her massive literary output as well as “the importance she attached to helping souls through the written word” (xxiv). As another example of updated perspective, it is refreshing and accurate here to find the younger John of the Cross (1542-91), who met the nun in 1567, described as Teresa’s “collaborator and spiritual guide … [b]ut first, he was her student” (xxiii). This is supported by a quotation from Teresa’s Book of Her Foundations in which she remarked on the “opportunity to teach Father Fray John of the Cross about our way of life” (xxiii). The fact that Teresa was initially his teacher is often anachronistically
constructed otherwise, probably with a gender bias that assumes his seniority over her when the reverse is the case. Her initial tutelage of him eventually gave way to a fruitful co-tutelage and collaboration in both spiritual and practical dimensions. Such “gender-and-hierarchy-bending” aspects of the spirit of the early Carmelite reform are obscured or lost when subsequent interpretations inaccurately superimpose a framework of male leadership and female obedience. In addition, Bilinkoff’s notes to the introduction, plus her list of suggested further readings, bring readers up to date with key scholarship.

Kavanaugh and Rodríguez’s Notes to the Translation, which appear at the end of the volume, are useful in identifying closely the many people named and their role in Teresa’s Life. These notes also delineate the specific types and stages of supernatural experience in the terms in which Teresa understood them. This material reflects the translators’ scholarly knowledge of traditions of affective Catholic spirituality, recollection, and mental prayer. Teresa was at pains to describe these technical and doctrinal points, such as types of visions and locutions, probably so as to obtain assurance as to the genuine nature of her experiences, and certainly to guide her readers’ spiritual development and also deflect potentially hostile theological scrutiny away from herself.

Every translation of necessity offers a selective interpretation. It is regrettable that Hackett Publishers elected not to include Kavanaugh and Rodríguez’s note on the translation itself, which gives their criteria as “above all fidelity to Teresa’s thought; in addition . . . to capture something of her style, while at the same time rendering her in the language we use today” (1980 ed., p. 49). This rendering transmits their knowledge of mystical terminology, the Carmelite world, and the early modern Spanish context. Choosing to parallel closely the Spanish syntactic constructions, this Englishing does not always capture the lively quality of Teresa’s Spanish prose, compared for instance to E. Allison Peers’s expansive (now sometimes quaint style) in The Complete Works of St. Teresa of Jesus, I (1946) or J.M. Cohen’s fluently literary version, The Life of Saint Teresa of Avila by Herself (1957). For a fuller access to her qualities as a stylist, English-language readers will do well to consult those versions in addition to this one. In sum, both Bilinkoff’s essay and this translation offer a rich resource either for teaching Teresa’s Life in English in a literary, religious or women’s studies, or historical context. It can also serve as pedagogical support to teaching in Spanish, aiding students’ comprehension of this challenging text. An additional value of this edition will be its usefulness to Hispanist scholars seeking a concise review of the scholarly literature on this major work.
In recent years a number of studies have delivered a substantial amount of information about the origins and evolution of the eighteenth-century Catalan cotton industry and trade. Thanks to this scholarship we have a better knowledge of the history of what was the first modern industry in Spain and one of the earliest industrializing processes in Europe. In large part these studies concentrate on economic and industrial aspects as well as the interaction between government policies, manufacturers, and traders. The themes of these works evolve around four major aspects of the creation and expansion of the cotton industry after the 1720s: the sources of capital, the organization of production, the introduction of Catalan textiles to the markets, and the evaluation of governmental, industrial, and commercial policies. While these studies provide a fair picture of the major trends in the history of the Catalan calico industry, a few areas still remain hazy. We need to know more about forms of management, the role of demand, the impact of prices, and the dynamics of distribution, especially in the colonial markets. These historiographical shortcomings can be explained by the fact that economic historians have dominated research on the Catalan cotton industry, while the histories of some components such as management and consumption require approaches from social and cultural history. Marta Vicente’s book, written from the perspectives of family, gender, and cultural history, provides a valuable contribution to fill the gap.

Clothing the Spanish Empire is above all a study of the role of kinship and paisanaje relations in the making of the Catalan calico industry and trade during the eighteenth century. Its main argument is that the success of this industry cannot be explained without taking into account the role of the family in the organization of production and trade. While most histories have connected the calico industry to the exceptional work of individual manufacturers and merchants and the institutions they created, Marta Vicente brings to the scene the function of emotions, sentiments, and personal affinities as essential components of business operation. By doing so, the author provides a painstaking analysis of the main forms of factory and trade management adopted by the protagonists of what she describes as “the most innovative of all industries in eighteenth-century Spain” (p. 4).

Family was at the very foundation of the Catalan factory. The casa comercial (commercial house) was organized following the structure of the traditional patriarchal family: the patriarch being the owner and the partners being first line kin –brothers, brothers-in-law, nephews, etc. The compañía (Company), as the main institutional instrument for the commercialization of production, tended to be constituted by relatives. Kin and close friends were the main source of reliable and efficient social capital for the management of industrial and trade enterprises. In that scheme women (mothers, daughters, and sisters) played an indispensable role running the day-to-day business behind the scenes while men (husbands, sons, brothers-in-laws, and nephews) traveled to different parts of the Spanish Empire to deal with mercantile connections. Family was even a central piece in the production process. The author provides vivid descriptions of the characteristics of Barcelona calico factories. The majority was small or mid size workshops operated by a family work force within family dwellings. Even large factories were organized following family schemes, with an internal structure of separate rooms where groups of workers belonging to a family unit worked together, and in many cases these familial groups lived in the commercial house. In an economy where the intervention of professional intermediary agents was still insufficient, family
was the only institution capable of providing the kind of reliability necessary to succeed. Kin granted trust, loyalty, and the commitment to sacrifice needed in difficult times. The only human resource that could substitute family was *paisanejo*—a relation based on the cultural affinities among people from the same region. Marta Vicente illustrates with numerous examples the creation of Catalan networks of kin and *paisanos* serving as the base for the production and commercialization of textiles within the Spanish imperial space.

Another notable contribution of this book is the attention it pays to the role played by demand in the initiation and consolidation of Catalan early industrialization, and the importance of this factor in the expansion of calico trade to the Atlantic market. Marta Vicente reveals the rise of a new demand for calico fabrics among Spanish women beginning in the first third of the eighteenth century, and correctly links this process to economic as well as cultural changes. The availability of affordable imported cotton fabrics brought about a process of democratization of fashion; more women and men than ever wanted to follow fashion by wearing calico fabrics, causing a spectacular growth of demand. At the same time Ilustrado writers, following their counterparts in other parts of the West, embraced modern doctrines that espoused the utility of beneficial luxury. In their writings they encouraged new attitudes toward luxury, fashion, and consumption as factors for economic growth. Marta Vicente states that in Spain and the Spanish colonies, like in other parts of the Western world, these economic and cultural developments brought about a “calico craze.” The demand generated by this new collective mind set was a central factor in the expansion of Catalan cotton manufacture. Vicente argues that in the 1780s that demand expanded to the Spanish American colonies where women wanted to imitate courtly Spanish fashion. This book sheds new light gleaned from archival sources on the role of Catalan manufacturers and merchants in the making of the Atlantic market.

Notwithstanding the solid virtues of Marta Vicente’s book (straightforward research and innovative approach) it is not free of some flaws, the main one being repetition. In many passages of the book there is a recurring insistence on the crucial function of family in the management of calico industry and trade, making its reading tedious at times. But this is a relatively minor flaw in an otherwise superior scholarly contribution and intelligent analysis.
Oliva Sabuco de Nantes Barrera (1562-c. 1629), born in Alcaraz, Spain, published *New Philosophy of Human Nature: Neither Known to nor Attained by the Great Ancient Philosophers, Which Will Improve Human Life and Health* in Madrid, 1587. It is now edited and translated into English by Mary Ellen Waithe, Maria Colomer Vintró, and C. Angel Zorita (all at Cleveland State University). It consists of seven separate treatises. The first three treatises “sketch the theoretical outlines and empirical foundation for the next three treatises” (p. 1). The last treatise summarizes her metaphysical ideas (p. 1). This particular edition not only offers a translation of Sabuco’s treatises (five of them written in Spanish and two in Latin) but also a critical study in the form of an introduction by the editors.

The editors first deal with the matter of the authorship of this book. In 1588, Sabuco’s father, Miguel Sabuco, claimed in his testament that he was the author of the *New Philosophy* (see appendix 2, p. 323ff). This testament was located in 1903 and since then Miguel Sabuco has been considered the author of the *New Philosophy*. The editors of this edition, however, after extensive work, concluded that Oliva Sabuco was indeed the author of *New Philosophy* (p. 40).

Waithe, Vintró, and Angel Zorita edited Sabuco’s work in important ways. First of all, they did not translate the literal sense of Sabuco’s expressions. For example, Sabuco uses the expression “esperanza del bien” throughout her book. The literal meaning is “hope for the good.” The editors suggest that the expression meant, “an optimistic outlook related to survival,” and thus translated “esperanza del bien” as “optimism” (p. 5). Second, the editors edited Sabuco’s sentences, sometimes “as long as 167 words in the original Castilian,” into shorter English sentences. In the process, the editors had to rewrite the subject-verb-object of the sentences, “placing interpolations into square brackets” (p. 9).

The editors provide the reader with some very suggestive ideas about Sabuco. They argue that Sabuco offered a new explanation for the “mind-body problem”: “a new chemical explanation of cerebrospinal fluid as a vehicle of mind-body interaction and an explanation of the role of the emotions in physical health” (p. 10). The editors state that Sabuco “never mentions the name of Christ other than in a causal exclamation. She does not cite church dogma and only refers (in a rather offhand way to the Old Testament)” (p. 11). The editors suggest that Sabuco “appears to be a follower of the Paracelsian movement” (but do not provide any evidence to support this claim); that she was “a dissenter of the Counter-Reformation” because she does not use the edicts of the Council of Trent, does not discuss the immortal soul, and does not discuss the theological virtues (p. 15, and note 41). These are all very interesting suggestions about Sabuco and they need further research.

The editors provide a careful reading of Sabuco’s notion of the soul (p, 19f), moral philosophy (p. 27f), social and political thought (p. 28f), physical medicine (p. 31ff), pharmacopeia (p. 34), and her cosmology (p. 34).

Sabuco’s work deals with the problem of body-soul and emotions in a novel way. She proposes a reconfiguration of the body-soul in biological terms. Her book is about human health, that is, the causes of illness and premature death (p. 47). According to Sabuco, the “discord between soul and body” causes illness and, sometimes, premature death (p. 58, passim). This discord is basically a decrease in “brain fluid” that produces illness, and, in some cases the “decrement” “is severe enough to kill” (p. 73). This was Sabuco’s new idea: health and illness are a matter of accretion or decrement respectively of the brain fluid, with emotions playing an important role in these changes. Sabuco calls this fluid *chilo*, which is common to the human body (brain fluid and reproductive fluid) (p. 237) as well as to the natural world—in the natural world it assumes the form of rarified air and water (p. 295), which comes from the moon (p. 282).
Sabuco’s work is yet another critique of classical tradition, and especially to Aristotelian notions common in the period. For example, Sabuco proposes that health is produced by increment of chilo, which in the human body is the brain fluid and in nature is water or the moon’s milk. The creation of this bodily and universal chilo is the result of both the moon’s milk (water and rarified air) and the sun’s heat (p. 286-287). This is the true philosophy, claims Sabuco, and comments that “Aristotle must have been hallucinating when he said that the Sun and a man generate humans,” and thus Aristotle helped to create the “false philosophy of the ancients” (p. 287). Her critique to Aristotle and the ancients runs throughout her book—and the Spanish censors approved it.

This new edition of Sabuco’s work is a great contribution to our study of medical debates and gender history in sixteenth-century Spain—and Europe. The editors did a great job with this translation and their suggestions of several possible lines of investigation in the case of Sabuco de Nantes Barrera (Full disclosure: I am not related to the author.)

The eleven chapters of this book are the published papers from a conference held at Stratford-upon-Avon in Spring 2003 that dealt with one of the most notable political incidents of the early seventeenth century: the unannounced visit of Prince Charles of England to the court of Philip IV in Madrid from March to September 1623, and the ensuing negotiations to win the hand of the Infanta María. The so-called Spanish match ended in failure and yet, as this book makes evident, it had great ramifications in the culture and politics of England and Spain. In his introduction, Alexander Samson establishes the book’s aim of offering an interdisciplinary inquiry into a single historical moment, whose significance has been largely missed owing to artificial boundaries between academic disciplines. Thus, the book includes the work of historians, art historians, and literary scholars. Samson’s fine editing allows for the protracted analysis of the events of 1623 with remarkably little repetition and consistently strong writing.

The Spanish Match begins with two chapters addressing the impact of Spain on Charles’s taste in art and clothing. Jerry Brotton opens with a revisionist essay on Charles’s aesthetic sensibilities before and after his visit to Madrid. Brotton argues that Charles arrived in Spain with much more grounding as a connoisseur than formerly acknowledged, thereby suggesting that his taste for art was something that expanded rather than being born in Madrid. Lesley Ellis Miller’s “Dress to Impress: Prince Charles Plays Madrid, March—September 1623” argues the significance of the “culture of appearances” in seventeenth-century court culture. The author’s subtle analysis is based on careful attention to documents, including sewing treatises and inventories, but also on a consideration of portraiture to make a strong case about the reception of fashion by English and Spanish audiences in Madrid. As the title of Miller’s essay suggests, Charles was on stage to be seen, admired, and ultimately judged.

The third chapter on royal entries in Madrid by David Sánchez Cano is a disappointing contribution, especially since it is the only chapter to focus on the topic of ritual and ceremony. His claim that festivals in Madrid were presented during the English visit with an eye toward their reception by outsiders is an interesting one. However, Sánchez offers no evidence to support the thesis. Likewise, his comments on the political nature of festivals lack the appropriate bibliography to make his words any more than an observation.

The remaining eight chapters of this book consider the literary responses to the Spanish match by Spanish, English, and French writers. In Chapter 4, Henry Ettinghausen offers a fascinating account of the Spanish chronicler and journalist An-
drés de Almansa y Mendoza’s coverage of Prince Charles’s visit. Ettinghausen reads Almansa’s published reports (relaciones) with great care in order to illustrate the talents of his protagonist. Peppered with details of events and settings, Almansa’s relaciones offer a first-hand account that Ettinghausen calls a “scoop.” In the next chapter, “1623 and the Politics of Translation,” Alexander Samson presents very solid evidence of what he terms “hispanophilia” in English printing houses. Grammar books, dictionaries, and cultural goods from Spain were printed in larger numbers in 1623. Samson concludes that this spike in activity was owed to a high level of attention paid to the Spanish match, but also, and more significantly, to what he calls the weighty “influence of the Hispanic world on English Renaissance culture” (106). In Chapter 6, Jeremy Robbins surveys poetry written in Spain about the match and suggests that much of it is repetitive and based on journalistic sources like Almansa’s relaciones. Turning to an exceptional work, Robbins analyzes a 1629 play by Francisco de Quevedo which was written six years after the visit and, via the use of allegory, offers a critique of the match. Robbins argues that Quevedo’s play highlights the Count-Duke of Olivares’s resolute stance against the match not in an anti-British way, but rather as a defense of Catholicism.

As a further consideration of the aftermath of the events of 1623, three chapters consider Charles’s eventual marriage to a French princess. In “A Fairy-tale Marriage: Charles and Henrietta Maria’s Romance,” Karen Britland writes a compelling study of theater, poetry, and politics in which the author explores the power of fiction — in this case, Charles’s supposed early love of Henrietta Maria whom he first saw in Paris en route to Madrid — to advance contemporary political agendas. Britland explores poems by Edmund Waller and a romance by Abraham Rémy who retell the story of Charles’s love and rewrite the history of the Spanish match. For Britland, the poems she explicates imply a need for England to enter into current political affairs involving the Elector-Palatine. England, interestingly, remains paralyzed and apolitical. Britland’s fine essay is followed by a weak chapter by Marie-Claude Canova-Green on Rémy’s La Galatée. The suggestion that the play was aimed at a female audience is interesting but not substantiated by the author.

Chapter 9 by Claire Jowitt is an outstanding contextualization of two plays by the English dramatist Philip Massinger written in the immediate aftermath of Charles’s return to London. Both plays are shown by Jowitt to examine English anxiety over the marriage of their king to a Catholic bride, and the shifting political alliances behind the marital arrangements. In a revisionist turn, Jowitt convincingly argues for a 1624-25 date for the second play she considers, Massginer’s The Unnatural Combat. The date proves wholly significant as Jowitt unravels the complex plot of political and moral corruption to argue that Massinger’s work is an allegory of the dangers at the end of James I’s reign in England.

Trudi Darby’s study of Thomas Middleton’s A Game at Chess (1624), Chapter 10, posits the play in the context of festival books written in conjunction with royal entries. The author successfully captures the ambivalence of Charles’s failed trip to Madrid by arguing that the play’s supposedly anti-Spanish stance ultimately makes the Spanish anti-hero triumphant. Thus, the play is interpreted as further evidence of doubt about the wisdom of James’s policies in Europe. In Chapter 11, Clare Wikeley examines a lowly figure — the fool — and a supposedly lowly genre of writing — a mock encomium by John Taylor published as a pamphlet — and argues that one has to reconsider established hierarchies of literature in order to take the pulse of a cultural event as significant as Charles’s visit to Madrid. Wikeley’s study of Taylor’s writing exposes its intricacies and contradictions and considers his work to be a sensitive reflection of popular oral culture in contemporary London.

Taken as a whole, the essays in this volume offer a commendable examination of cultural politics in both elite and popular early-seventeenth-century settings. As if
to illustrate the riches at hand further, the book ends with an appendix by Roberta
Anderson, who gathers data on the Spanish Habsburg diplomatic representatives who
were resident in England between 1603 and 1625. The appendix provides a documentary
foundation for future work that might continue to explore the ambiguous relationship
between Spain and England in the early modern period.

Famed as the instigator of the Spanish Inquisition, founder of the modern
Spanish nation, expeller of Jews, conquerer of Granada, and patron of Columbus,
Isabel of Castile casts a long shadow over Spanish history and literature. María Caba
works with portrayals of Isabel in seventeenth-century Spanish drama to show how
playwrights engaged the problem of representing someone who played such a crucial
role in shaping Spanish history at the same time that she defied traditional gender
roles. Using an approach similar to that of Barbara Weissberger’s Isabel Rules (2003),
which examined the creation of Isabel’s literary image in the fifteenth century, Caba
enthusiastically embraces a New Historicist approach, taking Golden Age dramatic
production as a site of both subversion and containment of political authority and
gender expectations. Representations of Isabel in these plays are not so much about
the queen as a historical figure as they are about the authors’ discomfort with the role
of powerful women, and each playwright uses this tension as a way of commenting
on the political situation of the court in his own time.

This is not, therefore, meant to be an exhaustive study of Isabelline
representations. Caba focuses on depth rather than breadth, discussing only nine
plays from three dramatists (Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina and Luis Vélez de
Guevara). Here lies both the strength and weakness of the book: while the selection of
plays is narrow (and Caba acknowledges that plays about Isabel were not numerous
in the Golden Age canon) she deftly analyzes every nuance of these portrayals of
Isabel, what they reveal about gender anxieties, and their possible connections to the
seventeenth-century context.

Of the three playwrights, Lope presents the most unquestioningly positive
view of Isabel, at least in terms of seventeenth-century gender ideals. The queen who
figures in El mejor mozo de España and El niño inocente de La Guardia is a talented
and capable woman, but one who recognizes and accepts her proper subordinate
position as wife and mother. To explain the moments when Isabel is required to step
outside the bounds of traditional submissive female behavior, Lope invokes the trope
of dreams, suggesting that her most active initiatives were really guided by the hand
of Providence. Caba then turns the tables to wonder whether such a gender-idealized
portrayal might come to work against itself. By skimming over the least feminine
qualities of Isabel, does Lope not subtly draw the audience’s attention to those
lacunae? Caba ultimately emphasizes Lope’s ambiguity, which reflects his struggle
to celebrate Isabel as an important historical symbol while trying to keep her within
the limits of feminine propriety.

The Isabel featured in Tirso de Molina’s plays reflects this author’s taste for
more independent female characters as she takes an active role in government, leaving
her husband Ferdinand virtually in the shadows. With plays such as Antona García,
Doña Beatriz de Silva, and El amor médico, Caba argues that Tirso was not as interested
in exploring Isabel’s character or femininity as he was in criticizing the court of Philip
IV. The playwright does not shrink from emphasizing Isabel’s religious ideology or
her role in directing armies, but his purpose is precisely to suggest that women can
do such things only in the absence of strong male leadership. Caba suggests that
the representations of Isabel of Castile and Isabel of Portugal in Tirso’s plays point to Philip IV’s wife Isabel de Borbón, in a possible effort to persuade her to limit the influence of Olivares over her husband. While the arguments at times seem stretched thin – Tirso’s purported message about Olivares only makes sense if one considers together indirect references from three different plays – Caba’s close reading of each play and its allusions does reveal the possible meanings these could have had to an attentive audience.

In Vélez de Guevara’s case, as in Tirso’s, Caba sees the references to Isabel as a way for the playwright to comment on the contemporary political environment. In *La luna de la sierra* and *La serrana de la Vera*, Isabel’s flaws as a ruler are directly tied to her gender; Vélez seems to suggest that even the best woman cannot be a good monarch. With Vélez’s last work, *La corte del demonio*, again Caba’s argument seems to push the Isabelline connections rather far: this play is about the Assyrian queen Semíramis, which means it must really be about the court of Philip IV, and thus in turn it is, “a su modo, una representación de Isabel, por ser ella considerada, junto con Fernando, la responsable del génésis del dicho imperio” (166). However, Caba does go on to draw plausible connections to Philip’s court and both Isabellas, whom in this case Vélez wants to target as sources of trouble, both to Olivares and the *converso* population.

Caba does not explicitly justify her choice of authors, though it would have been interesting for her to extend her study slightly farther into the seventeenth century to see whether dramatists used such Isabelline parallels in relation to Mariana of Austria, the first reigning queen in Spain since Isabel. Overall, this book complements rather than challenges what we know about Golden Age drama and society: the fact that these playwrights gave us ambiguous portrayals of Isabel should not be surprising, given that one can find them engaging in the same problematization of political authority, social structure, and nearly every other issue of concern to seventeenth-century Spaniards.

In the second chapter, the author takes on the historiographical confusion over how to define a local elite and provides some clarity that should orient subsequent research. Molina Puche makes clear that groups of the type he discusses were not clearly delineated by any institution, such as the municipal council. Once he has defined how his subject should be defined, the third chapter discusses the economic foundations of seventeenth-century social preeminence. A fourth chapter discusses the means by which families sought to conserve their social position through inheritance strategies.
involving entailed estates, endowments, dowries, and the celibacy of some family members. This terrain is familiar to historians, but the author does a particularly good job of organizing this material for his readers.

Molina Puche poses two models of behavior that aimed at perpetuating the family—the lineage model and the one characterized by more extensive interactions with other families, and he explains the characteristics of each model. Essentially, he differentiates these models by (1) the degree of wealth that was available for social promotion, and (2) the degree of consolidation of elite groups. Of course, these are ideal types that one would not expect to find perfectly reflected in the competing examples he gives: the city of Murcia and the corregimiento of Chinchilla-Villena. In terms of the latter, he is careful to show that some members of elite families did seek membership in Military Orders, lordships, and titles, activities that were characteristic of the lineage model.

Cooperation or collaboration among these families of the corregimiento of Chinchilla-Villena was necessary to realize their collective goal of perpetuating their families and their resource base, and the social norms for such cooperation established a constraint on individual plans and opportunism. He does not discuss this need for collaboration and the problems of opportunism. From my experience, these families needed to collaborate to sustain the group in the face of entities that would erode its degree of autonomy in controlling a disproportionate share of resources. To the degree that the elite group had consolidated its position, attempts at social promotion would not be seen as opportunism that was damaging to such cooperation/collaboration.

The interactions among members of these families were an important dynamic element within a complex system encompassing the Hispanic Monarchy and the world economy. In bringing this dynamic to the attention of his readers, Molina Puche goes beyond the structuralist roots of his approach (for example, in the work of Pierre Bourdieu) to indicate directions for fruitful future research. He fails to explain adequately, however, the ways that the social networks established by these families cemented their long-term control over the economic and political resources of this Castilian frontier region. In fairness, such a study would require a quite different type of book.

One of the elements of the dynamism of the first global age (roughly 1400-1800) was the fragmentation and consolidation of privileged groups in a context of increasingly greater complexity. As they consolidated themselves, such groups constituted an emerging property of this complex system, and in Castile they bore a direct relationship to the success or failure of the exercise of Crown authority, to the emergence of revolutionary movements, to the prominence of certain forms of education, to the nature of devotional practices and religious reform, to Inquisition activities, and to the remarkable success of clandestine economic activities. Reading the book permits reflection on what needs to be done in the future to understand better this important aspect of the first global age.

La serie Avisos de Flandes, que vienen publicándose en Lovaina desde 1992, se compone de monografías, actas de congresos temáticos y tomos colectivos. El libro que nos ocupa se encuadra en el segundo grupo, originándose en un coloquio celebrado en Lovaina con el título de “Les objects naturels monstrueux et merveilleux”. Reúne los trabajos en varios idiomas de historiadores de la cultura europeos y americanos strictu sense, esto es, no incluye perspectivas etnográficas, antropológicas, folklóricas, ni literarias. Ello no va en detrimento de la compilación sino que, al contrario, intenta configurar un marco donde la investigación siga líneas precisas, tratando de estalecerse con pie firme en ese gran tema que aborda.

Naturalia, mirabilia & monstrosa en los imperios ibéricos está dividido en las tres amplias categorías que anuncia su título, englobando once artículos la primera sección,
tres la segunda y cinco la tercera, si bien las dos últimas colaboraciones podrían, por su breve extensión, incluirse en el género de “notas”. A pesar de que el enfoque de los artículos es rigurosamente histórico, los tres grandes temas sirven como excusa divisoria, ya que a veces se solapan; como sabemos, lo natural, maravilloso y monstruoso son categorías intercambiables y hasta equivalentes en determinados períodos. No ayuda a la unidad del libro el hecho de que los estudios abarquen desde la baja Edad Media hasta la Revolución Industrial (algunos de ellos, lógicamente, se apoyan tanto en fuentes griegas clásicas como temprano-medievales), ni que incluyan casi toda la geografía del mundo (a los imperios portugués y español hay que sumarle los intercambios con las Indias orientales, Persia y partes del África negra).

La aportación principal de este libro no reside, por tanto, en el desarrollo profundo de algún aspecto de lo natural, maravilloso o monstruoso -no podía ser de otra manera en un tomo colectivo, por naturaleza desigual-, sino en un esfuerzo por completar el panorama alrededor de ejes sincrónicos independientes. Si bien los cimientos del tema se mantienen intactos, la profusión de asuntos a su alrededor es atractiva. Especialmente interesante es la investigación sobre el principio del tiempo en relación con la antigüedad del Nuevo Mundo a partir del cruce de “evidencias” geológicas y bíblicas (Iris Kantor); el estudio sobre las nubes, plataformas, cortinas y cuerdas simbólicas en la cultura novohispana (Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo); y el análisis de los esfuerzos de humanistas como André Thevet por romper los lazos con la antigüedad clásica, trazando nuevas correspondencias longitudinales y latitudinales para establecer nuevos orígenes y derivaciones de la naturaleza (Júnia Ferreira Furtado).

Algunos temas profusamente estudiados anteriormente -la percepción de los monstruos por los cronistas de Indias y los eclipses contemplados desde la cosmografía, la astrología y la astronomía-, se intercalan con otros más inusuales entre los que cabe contar el origen de olas gigantes que se tragan ciudades; el establecimiento del papagayo como ícono cultural en Europa; la construcción de leyendas sobre animales exóticos, fantásticos e híbridos monstruosos (hombres-elefante u hombres-leopardo); o la redefinición de enfermedades a partir de remedios como la piedra bezoar. La miríada de enfoques y asuntos se complementa con ilustraciones poco o nada conocidas (algunas en color), lo que demuestra que el trabajo de archivo sigue ofreciendo recompensas a quienes lo abordan pacientemente, imágenes necesarias tratándose de un tema que depende mucho de la imagen como lenguaje de construcción y difusión.

Algunas, escasísimas, erratas afean la esmerada labor de edición de Naturalia, mirabilia & monstrosa en los imperios ibéricos: sin buscarlas, hemos encontrado una referencia a “Francisco de Támara” por su toponímico palentino “Francisco de Támara” (p. 85), y un “22 o 24 centímetros” por el correcto “22 ó 24 centímetros” (p. 248). Algo más graves son los errores de que adolecen algunos ensayos, como el que generaliza en “simbolismo propio del misticismo barroco” (p. 104) la imagen de un esqueleto, nada místico sino más bien perteneciente al género del memento mori, del rey Felipe IV (fig. 5). En otro artículo se olvidan los esfuerzos que muchos hemos hecho por definir las categorías en su contexto, confundiendo “teratología” con “ciencia de los monstruos” (p. 235), y afirmando que “los señales [sic] admirables o insólitas son señales teratológicas” (p. 239). No tiene en cuenta la autora que, por una parte, los teratos son seres humanos con deformidades físicas, no monstruos fantásticos y, por otra, que las señales se denominan “portentos” o “prodigios”, según la fuente que se maneje, por su función indicativa, no por su apariencia, de manera que un teratos puede ser, o no, prodigioso.

Una bibliografía conjunta y un índice onomástico y topográfico son las dos útiles herramientas que ponen el broche de oro a Naturalia, mirabilia & monstrosa en los imperios ibéricos y a la carrera docente del profesor Eddy Stols, a quien va cariñosamente dedicado el tomo y esta reseña.
In the long catalog of real and fictional Spanish strong women, from Queen Isabel the Catholic to Carmen, from St. Teresa of Ávila to Pedro Almodóvar’s characters, María de Guevara, countess of Escalante and Tahalá (d. 1683), deserves a prominent place. Soldiers said that the countess “vale por dos hombres” and her sense of humor could make a queen and her retinue laugh. That strength and humor relied on her quick wit, fully displayed in her two surviving works edited and translated into English by Nieves Romero Díaz. Guevara is one of the few Spaniards in Chicago University Press’ series The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe, dedicated to women authors, although a list of future projects includes four more authors in Spanish, among them the formidable María de Zayas. In the meantime, the first modern edition of Guevara in both Spanish and English will draw attention to an unjustly neglected author with a phenomenal personality.

The book’s title, *Warnings to the Kings and Advice on Restoring Spain* (Tratado de las advertencias hechas por una mujer celosa del bien de su Rey, 1663), is the first of Guevara’s works presented here, followed by the longer *Desengaños de la corte, y mujeres valerosas* (1664). In her introduction, Romero Díaz places the little *Tratado* (six pages long) in the context of early modern Spanish political writings. Like so many self-appointed royal counselors and arbitristas, Guevara thought it was her duty to advise the aging Philip IV, who would die two years later, on how to fix the monarchy’s many troubles. Her recipes for a good government are not original: the king should appoint experienced and wise counselors not afraid to tell the truth to the king, reward the service of loyal subjects with mercedes, and above all, take personal charge of government. Yet what Romero Díaz describes as Guevara’s “gendered perspective” has no equal in Spanish political writing. The treatise begins by asking Philip: “Dirá Vuestra Majestad: ¿quién mete a una mujer en esto? A que respondo que harta lástima es que lo lleguemos a entender las mujeres tan bien como los hombres y a sentirlo mejor.” Women know better than anyone the suffering of Spanish subjects after decades of wars dating back to the 1620s, which brought death to Guevara’s three husbands and losses to her properties along the border with newly-independent Portugal. She denounces unscrupulous paymasters who cheated poor soldiers and royal counselors with no military experience deciding the fates of soldiers whose sacrifices received no reward or recognition. Guevara is not surprised Spanish noblemen did not want to go to war, although she refused to shirk her responsibilities as a loyal subject: “Bien sabe Vuestra Majestad que sé yo hacer libros y memoriales, y así me atrevo a hacer este, celosa del servicio de Vuestra Majestad, y harta de oír decir que nadie se atreve a decir lo que siente, porque no los traguen los dragones....” If noblemen do not want to fight, the king should send monks along with squadrons of women to fight the Portuguese rebels. If the king did not send women to the battlefield, then “serviremos en las fortificaciones de peones, y yo la primera...; vengamos este agravio como lo hicieron las vizcaínas en Fuenterabía y las de Castilla y doña Blanca de Guevara, la Barbuda.” Guevara offers herself as an Amazon ready to restore the king’s honor and that of Spain.

The central theme in *Desengaños* is that of *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* (1539), the work of María’s great-great uncle fray Antonio de Guevara, who condemned the court as a den of vices and hailed life in the country as the cure for society’s evils. But María juxtaposes the vanity of court with the ignorance of male rulers, which she contrasts to the wisdom of strong women rulers from Rebecca to “la Reina de los Ángeles” and to a long line of Castilian queens. Women are smarter than men, but men have made the law to tie women down to the “arms” of the spindle and the distaff, afraid they might otherwise turn into Amazons. During the Reconquista, women donned hats and used the harquebus to fight los Moros. Now the mujer varonil has become a laughingstock, even though the advice of brave women in councils and
juntas would be as good as that of the keenest councilor. Since the court teems with deceitful courtiers and ministers, kings should move to the country to become good landlords. Thus they would know their people, the riches of their lands, and administers them well. Meanwhile, kings should learn from the great women of history the virtues expected of a Christian prince.

What Díaz Romero describes as María de Guevara’s rhetorical fencing game enlivens her conservative opinions and gives these two texts considerable appeal to scholars and students. The countess’ sharp words recall Laurencia’s tirade against cowardly men in Fuenteovejuna or Antonio de Guevara’s dramatic speech by the Danubian peasant before the Roman senate. Compared to the aristocratic and rational Cristine de Pisan, Guevara has the biting humor of the protagonist in Erasmus’ Praise of Folly. There is no reason why Guevara and other Spanish women writers should not move from the sidelines into the spotlight of the history of women. No one would enjoy the spotlight more than María de Guevara.

We owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Nelson Orringer for bringing to light Treatise on Love of God, a little gem of an essay by Miguel de Unamuno, major Spanish writer of the turn of the twentieth century. The treatise languished in Unamuno’s archive for some 100 years, abandoned by the author, who incorporated key ideas and portions of the text into his best-known and much longer The Tragic Sense of Life in Men and Nations. Treatise, aside from its abbreviated length and less academically rigorous intent, is more personal and accessible than The Tragic Sense. Its first-person voice and direct, emotional style are very appealing.

As Orringer details in his magnificent introduction, Unamuno wrote Treatise between 1905 and 1908, a crucial juncture in his career as a philosopher-essayist and creative writer. His prodigious reading in nineteenth-century philosophy, theology, and the sciences, along with personal circumstances, such as a son’s serious illness and his relationship with the much younger José Ortega y Gasset, came together in the first decade of the twentieth century to occasion his thinking about religion. Brought up a devout Catholic, he fell away from the Church during his university years, but after his son’s illness in 1897 he suffered a spiritual crisis that curtailed his interest in positivist ideas and grand Hegelian-style philosophical systems that had engaged him in the 1880s and 1890s. He became obsessed with death and sought to recover the faith in eternal life he had experienced as a child.

Orringer’s introduction situates Unamuno’s thinking post-1900 within the European Modernist movement that included the arts, philosophy, and theology, especially modern Protestant thought. The introduction and rich, meticulous notes summarize Orringer’s seminal findings on Unamuno’s Protestant sources (Albrecht Ritschl and Carl Gustav Adolf von Harnack, among others) in his Unamuno y los protestantes liberales: Sobre las fuentes de Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. 1912 and add numerous other allusions to Spanish and world literature. While Unamuno gained important insights from his Protestant readings, he “balks where Ritschlians strike out against popular Catholic piety for what they see as its excessive irrationalism, otherworldliness, and mysticism” (xix). The clash between Unamuno’s appreciation for his Protestant sources and his gut reaction against attempts to stifle human passion is partly what drives Treatise and makes it such a compelling work. In a successful fusion of personal diary and philosophical treatise, Treatise dramatically chronicles Unamuno’s struggle to achieve his version of religious faith, a dynamic faith in which creativity plays a central role.

The manuscript form of Treatise, which is all that existed until Orringer edited it for publication, first in Spanish and now in English translation, consists of ninety-two
handwritten pages and some additional passages that Unamuno indicated should be inserted into the manuscript at precise locations. Orringer has discovered in Unamuno’s correspondence with Ortega, studying in Germany at the time, that this carefully prepared manuscript was intended to be read by Ortega, although Unamuno probably never sent it after receiving mocking remarks about his religious interests from the younger philosopher. The topics of the nine chapters—emotion versus reason, love, faith, truth, mortality, charity, life in God, religion, and Christianity—follow a kind of logic of their own, not unlike that of Saint Augustine’s *Confessions*, as Orringer points out.

Many of the ideas put forth in *Treatise* are central to Unamuno’s later writings (the novels, poetry, and plays, in addition to *Del sentimiento trágico*). In his work in the second and third decades, emotion always trumps reason. Thus it is no surprise to find in *Treatise* that when Unamuno was faced with the choice between intelligence and emotion in his search for the most efficacious route to God, he opted for the heart over the head. Love for Unamuno is the desire to perpetuate oneself; one wishes “to be someone else and at the same time oneself, to receive another’s consciousness into one’s own” (10-11). Unamuno defines faith as “the flower of will” whose business it is to create: “Faith creates its object. And faith in God consists of creating God, and since it is God Who gives us faith in Him, it is God Who is creating Himself continuously in us” (15). And he upends Descartes’s “I think therefore I am” in his assertion that “to exist is to act and that all that acts exists. And since God acts, God exists” (18).

For Unamuno suffering and life are synonymous. “[Pain] is the substance of life” (47); we are only alive when suffering. Therefore, he does not seek to quell the tension between reason and emotion, his head and his heart. Charity is the urge to free everything, including God, from pain. Chapter seven addresses the central Christian concept of life after death, which Unamuno desperately wishes to embrace. His terror at annihilation is palpable. He clearly favors Christianity as the religion of a concrete human being who “was born, lived, suffered, loved and died, not of the idea of the human being” (68).

Orringer’s translation is fluid, accurate, and eminently readable; his meaty notes are a book unto themselves. You can read the text without referring to the notes, but with them, one savors the fullness of Unamuno’s powerful mind and hungry spirit.

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**Abstracts from the 2008 SSPHS Conference in Fort Worth**

Canon D. Lázaro Leitão Aranha (1678-1767), a deputy of Portugal’s Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, officially took his post in 1718. Shortly thereafter, he undertook a project of organizing all the materials in the archives of the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens and categorizing them. As part of this project he gathered together the *consultas* of the Mesa regarding the results of the required background investigations for all those awarded knighthoods in the three Portuguese military orders of Christ, Santiago and Avis, beginning in the early seventeenth century to 1731. He organized them by “impediments”: underage, overage, illegitimate, non-noble backgrounds, lack of required information (*falta de noticia*) regarding the backgrounds of parents and both sets of grandparents, New Christian, Muslim and Heathen parentage and grandparentage, Black and Mulato backgrounds, requests for having the background investigation at Court “*como patria comua*,” etc. Under the category of “Mulato,” D. Lázaro Leitão Aranha listed more than two dozen men—and for most of them gave their names—who had been awarded knighthoods, but where witnesses in their back-
ground investigation had testified that parents or grandparents had been described as "mulatos" and/or descended from African slaves. Using this list for clues, this paper examines the actual background investigations and the deliberations of deputies of the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens and their recommendations to the King (who was head of all three military orders) on whether dispensations should be granted for the impediment of being "mulato." Almost all the cases involved people who were living in Portugal. There were two exceptions. One was Brazilian-born and another was Angolan-born. The issue of “purity of blood” was only raised once, because no others on the list had “New Christian” or Muslim background. More than sixty-five percent received dispensations for being “mulato” and became members of the Order of Christ (14) or the Order of Santiago (3).

Arthur Byne (1884-1935) an American architect, author and art collector moved to Spain in 1914, where he studied Spanish architecture and design, ultimately publishing 12 co-authored books with his wife on Spanish architecture, interiors, furniture, and design, as well as numerous articles in scholarly journals. In 1931, Byne purchased a mansion in Madrid that he renovated and furnished for both his home and salon for showing antiques and artifacts to wealthy American collectors. During the early years of the 1900s, Byne supplied vast amounts of Spanish antique furnishings and architectural artifacts including complete buildings to American collectors, with most shipments going to Julia Morgan for William Randolph Hurst’s construction of San Simeon in California. Byne’s literary contributions of unique Spanish design published in the early 1900s are excellent historical resources, but they are all out of print and considered collectors' items. Very few university libraries have copies for circulation. This presentation will illustrate examples from several of his books and examine specific art forms from Spain that are unique in the world. The question remains: was Arthur Byne an author or entrepreneur?

The recurrent epidemics of bubonic plague that swept Western Europe from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries are generally credited with a legacy of fear, distrust, and economic disruption. The standard public health program, developed in Italy, relied upon separation of sick and healthy, further emphasizing categories of difference. By the fifteenth century, wealthy citizens routinely fled from infected areas, leaving behind residents without resources. Thus, in many areas plague became associated with poverty and plague legislation has been interpreted as a means of social control.

This paper offers a re-examination of the relationship between plague and poverty, utilizing records from sixteenth-century epidemics in Andalusian cities. By the seventeenth century in Andalucía, the connections between plague and poverty remained intact, but in a more benign form. Both conditions—plague as a disease and poverty as a social condition—had undergone changes between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, leading officials to view each in more lenient terms. While both civil and medical officials blamed poverty, specifically poor diet, as a cause of plague, their response was one of concern for and obligation to the poor, rather than ostracism and blame. Municipal officials, working as health commissioners, use strikingly compassionate language to describe the situation of the poor, both sick and healthy, whom they encounter. Rather than isolating or removing the sick poor, they instead worked diligently to provide for their needs while still attempting to preserve public health.
"Fighting for the Soul of Spain: Convent Schools and the 2nd Republic, 1931-36," Kathy Schneider, University of California, Irvine

"The religious question" shaped the contentious relationship between the Spanish state and the Catholic Church in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Liberals held that Church control of education and influence on culture kept Spain woefully behind other nations. The Church believed that liberalism and modernization corrupted morals. In 1931, Spain became a republic and a new chapter in the contentious relationship between Church and State commenced. The government passed legislation designed to remove religious orders from education, yet most convent schools remained opened. Using two convent schools of the Sisters of the Company of Mary, I show how religious orders resisted state encroachment through the use of front organizations. I argue they were successful due to innovative strategies, a lack of viable educational alternatives, and significant help from the laity. I demonstrate that underlying the conflict over pedagogy and control of the schools was a conflict over distinct concepts of national identity and citizenship. The government believed that wresting control of education from the Church was imperative to building a democratic society. In contrast, many Catholics viewed such actions as an attack on the private sphere of the family, an abrogation of the rights of parents, and an assault on the Spanish character.

"Iconoclasm in the Spanish Civil War," Jeffrey Schrader, University of Colorado Denver

Religious art from the medieval and early modern periods faced remarkable challenges in the Spanish Civil War. Iconoclasm roiled much of the country and displaced even some of the most revered holy images from their shrines. This assault on part of the country's artistic patrimony, undertaken largely by pro-government or anti-fascist forces, prompted strong responses from the ecclesiastical hierarchy and Francisco Franco. The rebels, claiming to preserve the integrity of Spanish Catholicism, then identified their cause with that of sacred imagery.

Marian images stood at the center of these competing agendas. From the earliest days of the conflict to the victors' post-war celebrations, statues and paintings of the Virgin were objects of destruction or preservation. These events grew from a strong awareness of the roles that this imagery had played in Spanish history. Wartime press and propaganda also drew upon historical models when characterizing these developments. Ultimately, the iconoclastic goals went unrealized, since the rebels triumphed and sought to restore the images to their civic prominence.

"Independencia de la Metrópoli: Negotiating Empire and Identity during the Trienio," Scott Eastman Creighton University

The Spanish Constitution of 1812 ostensibly erased the boundaries of colony and metropoli, uniting Spaniards from both hemispheres as one nation under an enlightened monarchy. Allegories rendered a torpid Spanish lion revived by the union of Spain and the Indies under the bulwark of the liberal constitution, and the Atlantic no longer existed in the imagination of Spanish nationalists. This notion contrasted greatly with the language of Mexican nationalists by the 1820s after a decade of civil war in the Americas. Sermons, newspapers and pamphlets honored Agustín Iturbide as the liberator of the Mexican nation, while focusing on the violence and upheaval of the initial conquest. Mexican nationalists portrayed three hundred years of history as a Biblical tale of enslavement, with the nation ultimately freed from captivity by the heroism and martyrdom of Hidalgo.

Yet political debates in the Spanish Cortes during the Trienio raged over the issue of representation and the meaning of the nation. American pressure for equal representation allowed peninsular deputies to question their loyalty as Spaniards and as members of the nation. This paper will explore the discursive representations of the transatlantic Spanish monarchy as Americans increasingly emphasized the divisions between kingdoms separated by nature—the vast expanses of the Atlantic Ocean—and by national identity.
In the summer of 2006, I collaborated with a colleague in the Mathematics department on an undergraduate research project. During my research on early modern Spanish diplomacy, I have found many documents in code. My colleague was interested in cryptology, and between us we decided it would be interesting to use my documents as the basis for an introductory course on cryptological methods. We wrote up the results of this experimental course, in an article to appear soon in the journal Cryptologia.

The documents we used were letters between Charles V and Philip II and their ambassadors in Italy. I gave the students some background information about the ambassadors and the political context of the letters. My colleague then discussed the basic theory and practice for cracking codes and ciphers. We then turned the students loose on the codes themselves—cifra general, or codes for general use throughout Europe, and cifra particular, or codes used by individual ambassadors.

The most interesting result of this project is how easy it was for the students to crack the codes, once they got used to the system. Philip II changed many of the codes used by his father, and supposedly made them more complex, but our students thought some of the codes were absurdly simple. We also found that students were enthusiastic about breaking actual historical codes. It was a very satisfying experience.

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related proves to be as equally authoritative as that presented in more traditional “natural histories,” and suggests the presence of a “scientific” mentality long before the so-called Scientific Revolution that took place almost a century later in the non-Iberian parts of Europe.

In my paper I explore the patriotic tradition of textual iconic mapping in New Spain by focusing on the eighteenth-century compendium of Marian images, the *Zodiaco mariano*. The initial author of this work was the Floridian Jesuit Francisco de Florencia (1620-1695). During the 1680s and the 1690s he took an emerging textual cartographic tradition of novohispano images to a new level by historicising all of the major Marian shrines in New Spain. Decades later Juan Antonio de Oviedo, S. J., (1670-1757) took Florencia’s manuscript of the *Zodiaco mariano*, made some revisions, amplified the text by adding accounts of newer devotions, and then published the work in 1755. The final text is a series of short accounts of one hundred and six novohispano Marian images. Through the *Zodiaco mariano* we are able to follow the development of a Creole consciousness in New Spain that moved beyond the traditional emphasis in Mexican historiography on the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe. This compendium also allows us to analyse the ways men in Spanish America used images of the Virgin Mary to territorially map, in a textual fashion, the geographical limits of their homeland.

**Research Reports**

**Presentations**
2007 – “Late Arrivals: Seventeenth-Century Alternative Narratives of the “Spiritual Conquest” of New Spain” at the Third International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Colonial Studies in the Americas (Quito, Ecuador, June 5-8)

**Awards/Scholarships**
2007 – University of Toronto Fellowship, University of Toronto
2007 – School of Graduate Studies Travel Grant, University of Toronto
2007 – Patricia and Alan Marchment Travel Award, University of Toronto
2006 – University of Toronto Fellowship, University of Toronto
2006 – History Department Traveling Fellowship, University of Toronto
2004 – Mary H. Beatty Scholarship, University of Toronto
2004-2007 – Canadian Graduate Scholarship, University of Toronto
2002 – Distinguished Graduating Student Award (History), Brock University
2002 – Distinguished Graduating Student Award (Philosophy), Brock University
2001 – Dean’s Honour List, Brock University

**Scholarly Interests**
My current research for my master’s thesis looks at how gender factored into the creation of a new national identity during the transition to and first years of democracy in Spain, and how women remember changes in gender roles and gendered identities. More generally, I am interested in how authoritarian and totalitarian regimes manipulate gender and sexuality, and I am also an oral history neophyte.

**Published**
# 2008 SSPHS Financial Report

Checking Account $3,820.19

Interest bearing $5,603.98

Bishko Fund $13,645.94

General Fund $32,020.67 Includes Oliveira Marques fund

Total $55,090.78

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