

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.

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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**

Ida Altman,
University of Florida

Having nearly completed my term in office, I want to express my deep gratitude to the members of the Society who have stepped forward to offer advice and service, especially during my first year. My thanks go to David Ringrose for his assistance in the transition and for sage counsel about the Society's affairs; to Constance Mathers, who last spring stepped down as Membership Secretary after many years of service—Connie's expertise and knowledge about the SSPHS have been invaluable; and Mary Halavais, who as editor of the *Bulletin* helped to shepherd this vital publication through its transition to electronic publication. Many thanks are owed as well to Ruth MacKay for the outstanding work she did as book review editor of the *Bulletin*. Aurora Morcillo did a splendid job of organizing the annual conference held in Miami in April 2007. I'm sure all who attended were most appreciative of her efforts. Thanks also are owed to Felipe Fernández-Armesto for his lively and stimulating keynote address.

I have been deeply impressed by the willingness of members to volunteer their time and experience. Andrew Lee is our new Membership Secretary. Dan Crews has taken over the editorship of the *Bulletin* this spring and is joined by a fine editorial group that includes Marta Vicente, Rita Gomes, Connie Mathers, and Holly Davenport. Those of you who have been part of the Society for some time will remember the excellent job that Dan did as editor in the past. We are grateful to the University of Central Missouri for its vital support of the *Bulletin*. Jodi Campbell and Juan Carlos Sola-Carbacho are organizing the upcoming conference in Fort Worth, Texas in April 2008 which is sure to be another great success. Dan Crews and Luis Corteguera are already at work organizing the 2009 meeting to be held in Kansas City.

The extent of service from members and the professionalism and enthusiasm with which it is performed attest to the strength and vitality of the Society and of Spanish and Portuguese historical studies more generally. I have been particularly encouraged by the participation of graduate students and younger scholars in our annual conferences and sessions at the American Historical Association conference and by the increasing presence of Portuguese scholars. Recently the Society's status as the premier organization for scholarship on Spain and Portugal was further enhanced by the establishment of the A. H. de Oliveira Marques Memorial Prize for the best article on the history of Portugal and its empire, funded by a generous donation from Harold Johnson.

There are many reasons to feel positive about both the present and future of the SSPHS and of our field. I look forward to seeing old friends and having the opportunity to meet newer members of the Society during our annual meeting in Fort Worth. I am open to your ideas and suggestions, and volunteers for any aspect of our activities are always welcome!

Proposed Amendments to Article IV of the Constitution.

Amendment to add Vice General Secretary

The Executive Committee has endorsed the following proposed amendment to the Constitution. According to the Article IX of the Constitution, an amendment proposed by majority vote of the Executive Committee must be published in the *Bulletin* at least three months prior to the annual Business Meeting. Adoption of the proposed amendment requires a two-thirds vote of the members present at the Business Meeting and then approval 'by vote of a majority of the votes cast in a mail ballot of the membership of the Society.' The text of the amendment is as follows:

The membership shall elect a Vice General Secretary in odd-numbered years. The person elected to this office will succeed to the office of General Secretary at the conclusion of the Business Meeting held at the Annual Conference during even-numbered years. The Vice General Secretary will serve ex officio on the Executive Committee and preside in the absence of the

General Secretary but otherwise will have no specific duties until he or she assumes the office of General Secretary.

If this amendment is approved, the wording of the following Sections of **Article IV. Officers** would change as follows (all changes and additions appear in italics):

Article IV. Officers

Section 1. Officers named.

The officers of the Society shall be the General Secretary, *Vice General Secretary*, the Membership Secretary, the Editor of the *Bulletin*, and Members of the Executive Committee.....

Section 2. Term of Office

All officers 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*

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 will be elected by the membership.*

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

Purpose: to add the position of treasurer and institutionalize the supervision of the Prize endowments. The following would be changed

Article IV. Officers Section 1: Officers named. The Officers of the Society shall be the General Secretary, the Editor of the *Bulletin*, the *Membership Secretary/Treasurer*, and Members of the Executive Committee.

Section 2: Term of Office Add the following:*The Membership Secretary/Treasurer will be appointed by the Executive Committee.*

Section 6. *Membership Secretary/Treasurer a. The membership secretary/treasurer shall be responsible for receiving dues payments, maintaining the membership records of the Society, and carrying out whatever other activities may be appropriate to the office. This officer, like the General Secretary, will have signing authority on all bank accounts and may write checks as authorized by the General Secretary. The membership secretary/treasurer will assist the General Secretary in preparing the annual financial statement and IRS documents and will supervise the endowment funds for prizes. The membership secretary/treasurer will be a voting member of the Executive Committee.*

Section 7. *Web site editor: The web site editor will be appointed by the Executive Committee and will be a member ex officio of the Executive Committee.* Former Section 6 (Removal of Officers) will become Section 8.

Amendment to add the title and duties of 'treasurer' to those of membership secretary

Amendment to add web site editor to the Executive Committee

The Early Enrique Otte

Introduction

In this essay James Lockhart, renowned scholar of early Spanish America, reflects on the work of the historian Enrique Otte, with whom he enjoyed a long friendship. Born in Madrid in 1923, Otte grew up in Berlin but took refuge in Spain in the 1940s and became a Spanish citizen. After spending a few years in England and Germany, he returned to Spain in 1949 and studied law at the University of Seville. In 1953 he began his doctoral studies with Ramón Carande, earning his doctorate from the University of Madrid in 1961. In 1966 he started teaching at the Free University of Berlin, retiring in 1984. He died in September 2006.

Enrique Otte was a prolific scholar; a selected bibliography of his work follows Lockhart's essay. Interested readers will find a more complete bibliography in a special issue of the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv: Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaften und Geschichte* 20, nos. 3–4 (1994), edited by Günter Vollmer and entitled "Comerciantes, esclavos, indios tributarios, curas y otra gente sin o con importancia que hicieron o soportaron historia en la Nueva España. Ocho ensayos dedicados a Enrique Otte."

In its most recent newsletter the Centro de Estudios Andaluces in Seville announced the dedication of its new Sala Enrique Otte (in its headquarters at c/Bailén, 50) in September 2007. The *sala* will house a collection of more than 1,500 books, letters and transcriptions donated by Professor Otte, reflecting his years of work in the Archive of the Indies, Protocolos Notariales de Seville, and the Real Chancillería de Granada.

The Early Enrique Otte: A Personal View, James Lockhart

Though born in Madrid, Enrique Otte grew up in Germany, then impelled by worldwide events went back to Spain, where he did his advanced studies. After the doctorate he existed in a sort of limbo in and around Seville's Archive of the Indies for quite a few years, until he acquired a permanent academic position in Berlin and spent the rest of his life there. It was an unusual path; from it one could hardly predict the emergence of an outstanding social-economic historian of the first generations of Spanish activity in the Indies (and simultaneously of Spain itself at that time). Trying to explain Enrique, even partially, is no easy task. Had I not converged with him for a time, I would never make the attempt, but after his peaceful death in Berlin while looking at records of the Genoese with whom he had begun, I am impelled to chronicle our interaction and reflect on it a bit.

In the spring of 1965 I came to Seville to spend a few months completing my dissertation research, which led to my *Spanish Peru* and *The Men of Cajamarca*. In 1964, in Peruvian notarial records, I had detected the presence in Peru during the conquest period of a strongly developed network of Spanish merchants, fully professional and to all appearances entirely economically rational, with a whole gamut of well oiled procedures and structures. And in addition to that I saw bustling commercial and entrepreneurial activity among the whole local Spanish population. Everyone seemed to be acting as a free agent in a fluid situation, virtually unaffected by regulation. I intuited that all this was not new except for its location and adaptation to local conditions. But in those days, where could one go better than to Clarence Haring's *Spain in America* for such matters, reading on the one hand of rigid monopolies and on the other of Spaniards who had not yet developed the commercial/entrepreneurial type?

A reluctant visitor in Spain, I had had to be torn from the archives of Peru, so rich in local material on ordinary people. But two things made my Spanish sojourn worthwhile. First, what I had gathered in Peru made comprehensible the more skeletal and remote references to be found in Seville, so that the two interlocked and supplemented each other. And second, I met Enrique Otte.

It did not happen immediately. Neither of us had ever heard of the other. I was a doctoral student, and Enrique's publications were still esoteric, with the larger ones yet to come. Then and for long after, his jewels lay scattered about, often as commentary on a document, or several, that he was publishing, in little-known journals and occasional volumes in various countries, and a good many of them appeared not only in Germany but in German, which in our day, alas, closes off much of the world. But fortunately Exhibit A in my intellectual portfolio was the ability to read German, the result of a chance assignment to the German section of the Army language school in Monterrey, California, with a time thereafter spent in Germany.

By another chance we were staying close to each other; the rented apartment where I pored over my notes and organized them was in the same complex of buildings where Enrique had lived for years. He was a permanent denizen of the archive, and so we went in the same direction for lunch, sometimes riding the same bus, or more often sighting each other walking through the great park that stretched between the archive and our abodes. Once we happened to come so close in the park that we spoke. Having gathered some notion of Enrique's background, I boldly launched into German, which went very well at first, but it had been most of a decade since I had had occasion to speak the language. After a while I stalled, and we went over to Spanish, but with the German so present to my mind, that faltered too, and since I didn't want to go all the way back to English, which Enrique could have handled very well, the conversation ended in some confusion.

After that, though, Enrique began giving me offprints of his publications, and I was in for a great and pleasant surprise. Not only did some of the Spanish and Caribbean antecedents of my Peruvian commercial/entrepreneurial phenomena materialize before my eyes, fully formed in those earlier contexts much as I had imagined, but I discovered a kindred spirit. I had become an advanced skeptic about the positive powers of institutions in the context of the Indies, about the truth value of any official report, about the likelihood of any law being carried out, and I was attempting to reconstruct social reality and principles of organization by tracing lives of ordinary individuals on a large scale. At much the same time David Brading and Peter Bakewell were beginning to use a similar technique. But I had not yet heard of them. Enrique's work was the first sign I had that I was not alone.

From years of experience ferreting out the details of what happened on the ground, in country, Enrique took it for granted that the crown was incapable of governing the Indies. On mentioning that a law went unfulfilled he would add something like "as always," and though he mined decrees for relevant facts (he well understood the distinction between *de officio* and *de parte*), he concentrated on the lives of individuals as seen in sources closer to the people and action.¹ He was acutely aware of the unreliability and irrelevance of purely official sources and legal procedures and treated them as dross, looking among them for bits of less mediated data: notarial records, private letters, testimony given close to the scene by people well acquainted with it. With this outlook, and exploring little-used archival collections, Enrique had gone a long way toward giving the phenomena I had found in Peru a broader context and antecedents.

In a moment I will go on to tell more about the works in which Enrique did this. First I want to consider how it was that he came to do the sort of thing he was doing in the first place, how it was that he and I coincided so well. This type of research

1 It is a bit ironic that Enrique put a great deal of effort into a multivolume study of early Venezuela. It helped him some with his Cubagua research, but primarily it satisfied Venezuelan patriots who initiated the enterprise, and brought in a bit of income for someone who very much needed it.

was surely not a Spanish predilection, but not especially German either. It was then developing quickly in the English-speaking world (though I didn't yet know it), but it surely wasn't in the air in Spain, then or later. The kind of thing that I and others were beginning to do, which I only later hit upon calling career pattern history and which has become a large component of research on early Latin America, not only did not exist in Spain then but has had little impact or influence there up to this day. The dominant institutionalism and Hispanocentrism have been modified only by French influences including work on statistical series, the study of "mentalités," and the succeeding vagaries.

Part of the reason is the existence in Spain of the vast Archivo General de Indias, in which the institutional and the Hispanocentric entirely dominate, or appear to. My old theory of the conservation of the energy of historians apparently needs supplementation. It has seemed to me that not until a given source, chosen for its easiness and ready availability, is essentially exhausted, does a field move on to another, more difficult source (though the easiest of those left) as its daily fare, and this proposition works well in reference to early Latin American history as practiced in the English-speaking world. But apparently there needs to be a spatial corollary, that a source is slower to be considered exhausted the closer it is and the farther away other sources are. In Spain the AGI is on the doorstep, and Spanish America is far, far away.

At any rate, Enrique from an early time diverged sharply from the approach prevalent in Spain. Perhaps it was partly because the Spanish academic world in the Franco era held him at arm's length, and he had no investment in it. But after all, he had a Spanish mentor. That mentor, it turns out, was a key factor: the renowned economic historian Ramón Carande. It is not Carande's work directly that comes into play so much as some formal instructions he gave Enrique when he first accepted him as a doctoral student destined to do a dissertation. He actually dictated a statement, which Enrique wrote down then and there, heeded, long preserved, and eventually even published.²

The topic Carande was then envisioning was greatly modified, even transformed, but Carande himself had expected as much. The remarkable thing was that the advice included elements that look for all the world like what a career-pattern historian of later decades would have said. Find out who the people were and how they made their living, Carande told Enrique. Search in the most remote corners of the archives, not just where everyone else has gone. Don't take it that laws and decrees were carried out as pronounced, but find sources where you can detect what actually happened and make a comparison. Don't expect that the ideas you currently have will be borne out, but be sensitive to anything in the documents that contradicts them or goes beyond them, and draw the conclusions. Don't be interested just in your chosen theme, which may or may not pan out, but in anything that strikes you as new and meaningful. Note down such material in great detail, for later with more context and full concentration on it, in the goodness of time you will understand it better.

Applying these dicta to the area of Spanish commercial activity related to the Indies in the Caribbean phase seems virtually to predict what Enrique did. Yet as one who has considerable experience as a mentor, I know that the mentor's pronouncements are never alone decisive; they must fall on fertile ground, they must be comprehended and then evolve independently in the student's mind, and the student must have gifts. As Carande said later, also in reference to Enrique,³ you get the best results as well as the greatest happiness when you do what you are good at. Enrique

2 In Otte, "El Archivo: Confesiones de un autodidacta," *Archivo Hispalense*, Num. 207 & 208 (1985), pp. 167-80.

3 In his prologue to Otte, *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540-1616* (Seville, Junta de Andalucía, 1988), pp. 7-8.

Otte was superbly good at primary research, real primary research among the least synthesized and most fragmentary documents of types so remote and new that no source of guidance existed (and that is exactly where people like us want to be, just as an explorer wants a new continent, a climber a new mountain, an astronomer a view closer to the big bang). The AGI in those days abounded in paleographers who on assignment and for a fee could copy virtually anything with considerable accuracy. But they didn't know how to pick out the new, meaningful, transcendent, and that is precisely what Enrique knew as if by instinct. He knew what so few know to this day, that in the exact configuration of minute phenomena you discover things that change the view of the universe, in history as well as in nuclear physics and astronomy.

Carande later generously attributed a large influence to the German Richard Konetzke, a refugee present in Seville during some of Enrique's time there.⁴ Konetzke in fact was moving in the direction of social history. But he stayed at the level of laws and decrees about society, the most unrealistic side of the whole Hispanic legalistic panoply;⁵ his was the diametric opposite of Enrique's endeavor. After Enrique and I became acquainted, we felt each other out about existing scholarship in the field; we were awful, and little met with our approval. Partly out of politeness, recognizing the German connection, I asked Enrique about Konetzke. He replied with a smile and a shake of his head that there wasn't much there, and we never mentioned him again.

The AGI, and the fact that Enrique's path left him spending untold hours in it, are themselves an important determinant. With an explorer's mentality and Carande's advice, Enrique didn't want to restrict himself to the big well trodden Audiencia sections, full of official correspondence, first destination of every neophyte and institutional historian. The greatest challenge and unknown was the section Justicia, containing litigation that is very hard to make much of unless you read almost every page, and nowhere do you find the crucial matter nicely summarized. Enrique felt pride in being virtually the first to open up the section, and at the same time, hidden here and there among the pages of legal posturing, it held the bits of fresh locally and individually produced materials that he sought. The domain was the Caribbean in the first fifty years or so of the Spanish presence, and the finds were all the more precious because the kind of locally preserved documentation that I could use for the early years in Peru had long since disappeared.⁶

In studies appearing in several countries, Enrique was gradually filling out a grand and for once comprehensible vision of Spanish economic activity in the New World, entirely compatible with what I was finding in Peru, and providing its background. Here is a brief statement he made on the topic:⁷

The bearers of the economic opening up of Latin America were the men and women, belonging to all callings and strata of the European and in part also Indian and black populations, who took part in entrepreneurial activity in the New World.

4 In the same prologue.

5 Spanish laws were more serious the more they concerned liquid assets that could be readily taxed, as Enrique realized fully; tax-related serial records were among his standard sources.

6 Enrique played a similar role and felt similarly in respect to the sections Contaduría and Contratación, but they were not quite such terra incognita and, because of the serial nature of much of the material, are not so hard to use.

7 Otte, "Träger und Formen der wirtschaftlichen Erschließung Lateinamerikas im 16. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 4 (1967): 226–66 (quote p. 257, translated by myself).

The principal organizational form, for the trade with Latin America as well as for exploiting the mineral deposits and natural products of the New World, was the *compañía*. It was developed in the commercial practice of the Italian economic centers, introduced into Spain by Italian merchants, adopted by the merchants and other entrepreneurs of Seville and Lisbon for trade and other economic activities, transferred to Latin America, and there adapted to the new demands. In the New World the *compañía* had a general application and significance that it probably nowhere else achieved.

Not a word of the crown here, nothing about monopolies, nothing about the economically-handicapped Spaniard. Enrique did not openly belabor, but took for granted and proved by his facts and analysis the proposition that the Spaniards were as commercial and entrepreneurial as any other Europeans. He saw the Italians, primarily the Genoese, bringing the *compañía* or partnership form to Spain as part of long-distance trade, but not as something that required any mental revolution for the Spaniards to adopt. They began using it the moment they found it useful for changed conditions, had already integrated it before the time of the American ventures, and continued to modify and expand it for their own purposes in new situations.

As it happens, the above quote is from the abstract of an article on the economic opening up of Latin America (see n. 7) that Enrique published in 1968, the same year as my *Spanish Peru*, but it had not reached me yet. *Spanish Peru* has only some crumbs from Otte in the bibliography, and I was not fully cognizant of the antecedents. Nor did Enrique then know my book. Nevertheless, the two works interlock and confirm each other as if by plan, and in a way little was lost. Anyone who reads both will see the connection.

The meshing at times is breathtaking. In studying merchants in Peru I had found only a stray Italian or two, most Italians being mariners and petty retailers; in the first years some Basque merchants were very prominent, but they soon faded out in favor of people from old Castile proper ("Burgos"), and they in turn to Andalusian, in a sense Sevillian merchants, who attained a more lasting dominance. In Enrique's article I found the same succession occurring in Seville itself, clearly the origin of the phenomenon. The eclipse of the Genoese from a position of dominance in the Indies trade had already taken place before Peru became a major theater of operations. I had also noticed that some of the most important "Sevillian" merchants connected with Peru seemed to have roots in the Andalusian hinterland. Enrique confirmed it and put it in the light of a migration that had been going on for quite a while, had even been an antecedent of Spanish migration to the Indies in general. I had detected in Peru a pattern whereby principal representatives of large Seville combines were promoted back home after a stint, to be replaced by junior relatives. Enrique not only confirmed the phenomenon for other venues, but gave full examples of the splendid position occupied by those who returned to bask in success at home.

From the beginning many of Enrique's publications consisted of a document or documents with commentary. It sounds innocuous, and even a bit like the hoary tradition of great volumes of *documentos inéditos*. But Enrique was a harsh critic of those monuments; he once commented on how badly a particular letter in one of them was transcribed, "like everything else in those collections."⁸ The *documentos inéditos* were primarily official correspondence; Enrique soon homed in on private correspondence. The basic fare was letters of merchants found in litigation dossiers, at a level of frankness, authenticity and detail unmatched in official sources. In the commentary Enrique would put together whole lives, mercantile combines, and commercial trends, bit by bit adding an entire new dimension to Spanish and Spanish American history.

The fruitfulness of such correspondence led to Enrique's interest in settlers' letters in general, of which large numbers are preserved in the section of the AGI containing emigration permissions. Going beyond the quantitative approach of Peter Boyd-Bowman and others, Enrique began transcribing and commenting on some of the letters in the files. Here Enrique and I converged again, for though I did not work with these concentrated sources, in my research I did occasionally chance on a private letter from a settler and saw the potential for both human interest and social history research. My most spectacular such find was a letter written by a young man at the actual site of Cajamarca, showing this "conqueror" very much like any other immigrant to the New World over the next five hundred years. Hardly believing that no one had seen the text before, I was intensely possessive about it, keeping it even from Enrique at the time. But I got stuck with the reading at one point, failing to decipher just two essential letters, and there was no one to ask but Enrique. To my shame more or less shielding the rest of the page from view, I showed him the letters, and without hesitation he recognized them as "v m" for "vuesa merced," one of the most common things in the whole corpus.⁹

Enrique's work with settlers' letters soon eventuated in a large article with documentary examples on migrants to Puebla, many of them textile experts from Brihuega ("Cartas privadas de Puebla del siglo XVI," 1966).¹⁰ This publication actually preceded the one on general commercial/economic trends and did reach me before *Spanish Peru* came out, but at that moment Mexico was far from my mind. As I regained my perspective, I saw what a contribution Enrique had made. From the letters he had recovered a whole immigrant mentality and myth that had many, many points in common with the equivalent for the United States of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and doubtless many other times and places as well). It was virtually gold on the streets and the promised land, but only for those who would work for it, while the homeland was viewed as a constricted and miserable place, and those who stayed there as unenterprising and without vision. I had had a few glimpses of this side of things, but here it was fully developed and documented.

From that time forward a plan began to form in my mind, the result of which was the only actual formal collaboration that ever took place between Enrique and me. We would take several of Enrique's precious letters, plus a few found by me, plus a few from prominent people in older collections, and put together a set representing a cross-section of social types and functions, with commentary containing two emphases, the settler pitch and outlook as in Enrique's work, and the structure of lives on the local scene as in *Spanish Peru*. In a too patronizing vein I tended to look at it as, among other things, getting something of Enrique's into a book as opposed to infinite obscure articles, and thus have him reach a wider audience. I of course never mentioned such a thing, and indeed, it would have been lost on Enrique. He did not share our worship of the book as the primary vehicle. He was unconcerned about divulgation and self-promotion (far more than me, and I myself am known for my indifference to it), and he would never have done anything active to advertise himself or his work. He did have one of those little quirks of internal scorekeeping or achievement-measuring that none of us lacks in some form or other. He kept track of how many items he had published, and the number in order of each one, no matter the size or nature, no matter

9 The letter was published in Spanish and English in my *The Men of Cajamarca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), and again in English only in *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Lockhart and Otte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976) as the first item, pp. 2-6.

10 *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 3 (1966): 10-87.

the venue. To him a book would be just No. 41.

Letters and People of the Spanish Indies, 1976 (see n. 9), was the result of our collaboration. It was in the first instance popularization and a teaching tool, and after all, the letters themselves were in translation. But it was also a very serious effort, reconstruction and evocation as well as analysis; we were and remained happy with it.¹¹

The following year, 1977, saw the appearance of the magnum opus at least of Enrique's early period if not of his whole career, *Perlas del Caribe: Nueva Cádiz de Cubagua*. Here was a book indeed, over 600 pp. and incredibly comprehensive. Our *Letters and People* actually brings to a close the epoch of which I am speaking here, but *Perlas del Caribe* was not the work of a moment; it belongs also to the many preceding years during which it had been in gestation. I had come to know a great deal about it well before its publication, had even referred to it in 1972 as a perfect demonstration of what the Spaniards would do on a desert island: create a city and develop the most profitable local export industry.¹² It represents an exhaustive, many-faceted portrait of the merchants who developed the pearl industry and dominated the city's cabildo—covering in the process all others present in Cubagua, including even the teams of African and indigenous divers and some Spanish women, complete with their sexual behavior—all put together using a thousand scraps mainly from Justicia. But that is only half of the book, the other half (and the two halves are beautifully integrated) being a macroeconomic treatment of the trajectory of the very profitable but ephemeral industry and trade, based above all on tax and lading records. The work can be set beside better-known studies of the great silver mining sites of Zacatecas and Guanajuato at later times, and also beside various studies of merchants in mainland Spanish America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Above all, like much of Enrique's other work, it shows that few indeed were the commercial and economic phenomena of succeeding centuries that were not fully anticipated in the Caribbean in the first half of the sixteenth, in many if not most cases going back to antecedents in Spain itself.

The connection, however, has rarely been made. For the sixteenth century, Ida Altman picked up threads in the work of both Enrique and myself and produced two important, innovating works carrying the integration of the hemispheres even further and broadening the themes.¹³ For later times, I know of little use of Enrique's oeuvre in this way other than an article of mine putting the whole pertinent body of scholarship in a single context at least as far as it concerns merchants.¹⁴ The relevance

11 Carande read it and was pleased. I chose the "No. 41" above at hazard as an illustration. When a little later I looked at the bibliography of a Festschrift for Enrique, ultimately going back to him and his records though formally prepared by Günter Vollmer (*Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv: Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaften und Geschichte*, 20 [nos. 3–4, 1994]: 446–50), I saw that not only was it organized by number from first to last, but *Letters and People* was No. 41!

12 Originally in an article published in the *Latin American Research Review* in 1972, the remark and the piece (updated) are most readily available in Lockhart, *Of Things of the Indies* (Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 27–80 (the reference to Enrique on pp. 58–59).

13 Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), and *Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire: Brihuega, Spain & Puebla, Mexico, 1560–1620* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000).

14 "The Merchants of Early Spanish America: Continuity and Change," originally in Enrique's Festschrift (see n. 11), pp. 223–46, now most readily available in Lockhart, *Of Things of the Indies*, pp. 158–82.

remains.

Beyond this I will not proceed. In later decades I disappeared into the philological ethnohistory of Mexico, leading to long silences on my part and puzzlement on the part of Enrique (he once cornered a visiting mutual acquaintance and asked why in the world I had gone into that stuff), though once he had me invited to Berlin precisely to speak about my strange hobby. I have not given the attention they deserve to Enrique's later publications, which include most of his larger ones, and I should not presume to speak of them. His 1988 collection of private letters (see n. 3) is a major monument and resource. His book on merchants in Seville in the fifteenth century carries many of the commercial patterns seen in the Indies yet farther back in time.¹⁵ But this whole succeeding phase deserves a discussion as long as the present one, and by someone who knows the later work as intimately as I do the earlier.

15 *Sevilla y sus mercaderes a fines de la Edad Media* (Seville: El Monte, 1996).

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Amerigo Vespucci

I am terribly pleased to be here. I can't tell you how grateful I am to Ida and everybody in the society, and to Aurora and David and everybody at Florida International. To be with all of you, to learn from the wonderful papers that I've heard at the conference, to connect with old friends and to make new ones, all of those things make me feel tremendously pleased as well as privileged to be in this slot, where so many scholars whom I greatly admire have been before me. But I have to tell you that this sense of pleasure and privilege is enormously enhanced by relief. At last I have found an audience that is interested in this subject – in spite of the fact that this is the Spanish and Portuguese historians' society, and Amerigo Vespucci was neither Spanish nor Portuguese.

This is the quincentenary year of the naming of America; yet there is little interest in commemorating the fact. Next Tuesday will be literally the 500th anniversary, because it was on that day, 500 years ago, that printers finished typesetting the book in which, for the first time, Amerigo Vespucci was proposed as the namesake for this part of the world. In consequence, this hemisphere is unique in being named after a living individual; that is a remarkable fact, worthy of investigation in itself. And that the individual so honored should be Vespucci, who was morally shabby, intellectually feeble and probably in no respect deserving of the dignity, makes the name even more curious and challenging. There is an interesting problem here; yet almost nobody in America at the moment is interested in it. Few people know about it and even fewer seem to care. To my knowledge there are only four organizations that have done anything about it. One is a library, one is a bank, one is a bunch of madmen who think that the Knights Templars discovered America, and we are the fourth.

The world seems to be transfixed by other centennials this year. The British abolition of the slave trade was of course a great event and worthy of commemoration, but it happened a mere two centuries ago. I write about millennia; so a mere two centuries seem to me to constitute a relatively feeble pretext for celebration. In any case, the British abolition of the slave trade followed the example of Denmark but as far as I'm aware that fact has been un-commemorated anywhere outside of Denmark.

The other great event which seems to have displaced the naming of America from exhibition halls, conference venues, media jamborees, and political platforms is the foundation of Jamestown, which happened 400 years ago this year. Because this

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Felipe Fernández-Armesto,
Oxford and Tufts University

is a society of Iberianists, I can put my hand on my heart and say that I think that Jamestown is unworthy of the fuss that is being made of it. Let me put it like this: last year my university had a vacancy for a colonial historian of what is now the United States. Obviously, we had the cream of young historians of the subject as candidates for the job. In my innocence, I asked them all the same question. I said, "Since you want to teach the colonial history of what is now the United States, can you tell me what part of the present territory of the United States was the first to undergo a lasting European colonial presence?" Because this is a society of Iberianists, everyone here, I'm sure, knows the correct answer, which is of course Puerto Rico. But almost all our candidates said Jamestown. Jamestown wasn't even the second such colony. Puerto Rico was followed by Florida, where we are, then New Mexico. The founding of Jamestown was a late event in the colonization of what is now the United States. It really bugs me – if you'll allow a foreigner to use an Americanism – that the white, Anglo-Saxon myth of how American History has unfolded is so vibrant, so alive, and living in the hearts and minds of young promising graduate students – and crowding out the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the naming of America.

Neglect of this great quincentenary, I suggest, might have something to do with an almost subconscious anxiety amongst citizens of this country about the appropriateness of the name. We all feel anxiety about the appropriateness of names. We historians are particularly prone to it. We bellyache over whether we should call the Spanish Empire "the Spanish Empire," for example. My wife hates her name. She is called Lesley. To me it's an incomparably beautiful name, but to her it's a continuous source of resentment towards the parents who had her so baptized. She wants to be called something suitably romantic and extravagant instead. Everybody wants a name that they think connotes and evokes the way they are.

In our hearts, I think, we realise that names obviously are not nor should they be descriptive. If they were descriptive, a black woman could never be called Bianca, an ugly person could never be called Linda, or Beau. A tall, fair man could never be called Nigel, because it means small and dark. I'm Felipe, which as you know means lover of horses. I've got nothing against them, but I can tell you when I try to ride them they hate me. Obviously we know that names are merely designatory, but we go on wanting them to suit us, or to have connotations that flatter us.

In the case of America the name is disastrous for this hemisphere and this country, partly because it is named after such a morally equivocal individual, partly because it has terrible, imperial, politically incorrect associations, as a name white colonialists imposed, and partly because of the very unfortunate associations the name has today when the United States of America is so unpopular in the rest of the world for reasons which, mercifully, we don't have to go into tonight. If I were a branding consultant I'd unquestionably recommend that the name be scrapped, and replaced with something value-free, such as the United States of Turtledom.

My first slide shows you some of the hazards of naming. This is the frontispiece of the *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, the first Italian translation of Vespucci's great work, *Mundus Novus* as he himself called it, or, as here, *Nuovo Mondo*. Ironically, the name he gave the hemisphere hadn't really stuck. More ironically still, in this work, which appeared in the very year America got its name, Amerigo's own name is distorted by a misprint. He is called 'Alberico.' Well, if you've got a name like Felipe Fernández-Armesto, believe me you get used to people garbling it.

But I think there's maybe a further and deeper reason why the Vespucci Quincentennial is being largely ignored. The problem isn't that Vespucci had an easily garbled name, or one that has acquired negative associations. The problem really resides in the nature of the sources about him. We know embarrassingly little about Amerigo himself. For someone so important in global history – for someone after

whom this entire hemisphere and this world's only superpower are named – he is virtually an unknown figure.

Despite the ritual assertions of biographers, there is plenty of source material on Vespucci. We know or can learn more about him than any other explorer of his time, except Columbus – and Columbus was by any standards an exceptionally prolific and self-revelatory writer. Essentially, everything ever written about Vespucci has relied on two kinds of sources. First, there is a small group of manuscript letters written by Vespucci. None of those that are about the voyages survives in a version in the author's own hand, but I can assure you that these documents are rationally, unquestionably traceable to Vespucci himself. Alberto Magnaghi proved that beyond reasonable doubt in the 1920s. My next slide shows the one called the "Vaglianti" letter, in which Vespucci describes his encounter with Pedro Cabral off the coast of Africa in 1500. Alongside these manuscript sources, there are two printed works purportedly from Vespucci's hand. The whole history of Vespucci scholarship has foundered on the difficulty of distinguishing what is genuine in these sources from what is fraudulent. As a result, Vespucci historiography, if you will excuse my crude oversimplification, falls into two categories. On the one hand, we have a ridiculous, romanticized, essentially trivial, popular hagiography, which pretty much accepts everything that's purportedly by Vespucci as authentic. On the other hand we find scholarship so inhibited that it has hardly got beyond the discussion of the problem of the authenticity of the sources.

Now I hope you know, ladies and gentlemen, that I am a very modest historian and I never attempt anything ambitious. But I think I have solved this problem by a very simple expedient. I look back at the manuscript sources and I identify what I call Vespucci's intellectual kinks. There aren't enough sources in this category to do a complete imagery analysis, but you can tell, by reading them, what were Vespucci's preoccupations, what were his favorite images, what were his favorite literary allusions. For example, nothing that is not egregiously egotistical could possibly be by Vespucci. Nothing that isn't excessively insistent about the superiority of celestial over practical navigation could possibly be by Vespucci. And authentic Vespucciana are likely to quote Dante or Petrarch. I treat the manuscript sources as templates. I lay the printed sources over them, so to speak, and that enables me to see which passages in the printed works are genuinely by Vespucci and which are interpolations by early editors or forgers.

In addition, I rely on two bodies of source material that have been neglected or ignored by every previous scholar. First, there's a group of letters that were addressed to the young Amerigo when he was in Florence. These letters have been known for two hundred years and they have been in print for a hundred years. But no previous Vespucci scholar has made what seems to me to be the obvious inferences from them. When you read these, you find Vespucci mired in the Florentine demimonde of his youth. You see him consorting with criminals and lowlifes. You see him living metaphorically in the gutter and actually in the alleys. Previous Vespucci scholarship, however, has been too coy or too inhibited to see the truth as these sources reveal it.

The second new source that I bring in is the book of exercises that Vespucci compiled as a young man. It has always remained in manuscript. It wasn't even included in the supposedly comprehensive edition of sources about Vespucci which Iliana Caraci edited a few years ago. Every serious scholar who has confronted the problem of Vespucci has dismissed this exercise book on the grounds that the exercises are formal and therefore tell you nothing about the writer. But of course they tell you an enormous amount about the writer; they tell you how he was educated; they tell you the curriculum that he was brought up in; they tell you the kind of religion in which he was brought up – which turns out to be very surprising. It was characteristic late medieval mendicant religion. It emphasized almost to the exclusion of good works the

grace of God as the only source of salvation. In other words, it was just the kind of religion that would appeal to Savonarola – not surprisingly, because Vespucci's tutor subsequently became one of Savonarola's henchman. And you can even say that it is the kind of religion which would have been instantly intelligible to Luther. It was to a great extent a religion Amerigo rejected. I cannot think of a figure of the time who makes relatively speaking so few references to God.

You also see the values in which the young Vespucci was educated. This work begins with a really profound concern with two terms, fame and honor, which go on reverberating throughout Vespucci's subsequent writings. One could pretty fairly characterize his life as a frustrated search for the fame and honor which his farther enjoined upon him when he was young. The book contains an exercise about Florentines who have left the city and gone into the world in search of fame and honor and Vespucci says we don't know what became of them but we can be sure that somewhere in the world they are continuing the quest for fame and honor. You may accuse me of being fanciful but I cannot resist the suspicion that when Vespucci followed those fellow-Florentines into a world of adventure later in his life, those words, those models were still echoing in his mind.

Religion, values, models of conduct – the exercise book reveals them all. It may also disclose some deeper, subtler revelations. If I were a psycho-historian, I would use this source to explore Amerigo's subconscious. On the flyleaf, for instance, he doodled his elder brother's signature. And there is very good reason for thinking that his older brother was his mother's and father's favorite. Amerigo himself said as much in a letter to a younger brother. So it would be tempting to see Vespucci as a victim of one of the commonest Freudian complexes.

When I read these new sources, the picture that emerges for me is of a Vespucci whom I characterize as what we now call a makeover artist: a figure who reinvents himself over and over again, generally in response to a sequence of terrible failures. I propose to devote most of the rest of my time to giving you a sampling of some of his more spectacular makeovers.

In order to understand the trajectory of his life we need to start with my next slide, in the cramped, crowded, emulous Florence in which he was brought up. Vespucci's family wasn't rich or powerful but it was well connected. The Vespucci were clients of the Medici and in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent's grandfather Medici patronage elevated them to the highest rank of citizenship. I think that when he was young Amerigo was destined for Lorenzo the Magnificent's service, but – if I may be pardoned a colloquialism – he blew it. Shortly after the Pazzi conspiracy, which changed the course of everything in Florence, he accompanied his uncle on an embassy to Louis XI. Conventionally his biographers have speculated about what he might have done there, and whom he might have met there. I can tell you what he did there: he did nothing. I have been through every document in the archives and he is not even mentioned. I guess he was spending his time in Paris, lounging in the corridors of power and frittering away his gilded youth.

It's more or less when he gets back to Florence that one begins to see signs of tension between Lorenzo de Medici and the Vespucci clan. Amerigo remained a member of Lorenzo the Magnificent's household into the 1480s, but very early in that decade – we cannot say exactly when – Lorenzo withdrew his favor from Amerigo's family. The reasons are obscure, but the fact is undeniable because it was mentioned in a letter of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco, Lorenzo the Magnificent's cousin and enemy. The break left Amerigo out in the cold. The family turned their allegiance to the rival branch of the Medici. They became clients of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco. Typically, Vespucci biographers have said that Amerigo must have done something really important for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco – that he must have served as a sort of Wunderkind CEO for

the magnate's business interests. But that is an extrapolation from hindsight and an unwarranted inference from Amerigo's later achievements. I can tell you, ladies and gentlemen, from the evidence of the documents, that he didn't do anything important for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco. At one point he bought some wine, which doesn't suggest to me a position more elevated than that of a butler. He certainly ate at his master's table; he was a member of his affinity, but I honestly don't think that there is any evidence that he was ever on the payroll.

Rather, he lived from hand to mouth from a series of usually rather dubious occupations. I call him the Figaro of Florence – the factotum della città. If you wanted something fixed in Florence in the 1480s, especially if it was something dodgy, you would go to Amerigo. For example, it is very obvious that he was being blackmailed by the warden of the jail; I don't know why, but I cannot think that it was for anything that took him very close to fame or honor. You know, my wife will only read a book if the first sentence is really good. If the first sentence isn't good then the book will get discarded. So I spend a lot of time trying to craft good first sentences in the vain hope that my wife will read them and I'm very proud of the first few words in my book about Vespucci: "Amerigo Vespucci who gave his name to America was a pimp in his youth..." There are three letters that can only rationally be from – as the ads say nowadays – "men seeking women" to their procurer. His big source of income during his time in the Florentine demimonde was as a relatively small-time jewel dealer working on commission and specializing in pearls. And this is really the key to the next great makeover in his life.

Around 1490 Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco asked Amerigo to check out a potential new business associate in Seville, Gianotto Berardi, one of the Florentines who had "gone west, young man" and made it in Seville. Vespucci was poor, socially marginalized, and far from fame and honor. He wanted "out" – especially because I suspect he wanted to be rid of the informal and socially inauspicious sexual alliance he had contracted and the family he had spawned. He took advantage of his contact with Berardi to shake off his Florentine life and move to a new job in Seville. He became an agent of Berardi.

It must have looked like a great opportunity because this was a moment when Seville was booming. And almost in the instant when Amerigo entered the service of Gianotto Berardi, his new employer threw in his lot with Columbus, becoming one of the future admiral's staunchest financial backers. This was the beginning of the relationship between Columbus and Amerigo whose careers remained inextricably intertwined for the rest of Columbus's life. But while it may have looked like a great opportunity, the problem with Columbus was that initially his enterprise was, in commercial terms, a failure. He didn't discover anything exploitable. Over the first couple of voyages Berardi sank more and more money into this enterprise and got nothing back. When he died penniless, he wrote a heart-rending will in which he said that he hoped that when the enterprise of the Indies began to generate profits, the Lord Admiral would take compassion on the orphan daughter the testator left behind.

I don't know what happened to the daughter, but the guy left metaphorically holding the baby was Vespucci. He had gone to Seville in hopes of social ascent, money, fame and honor. Instead he was back to square one. His response to that was to reinvent himself again. The model he followed was Columbus's. Indeed, at almost every stage of his life Vespucci remained besotted with Columbus, and imitated him in almost every respect, right down to his geographical theories, which don't have the originality that tradition ascribes to them. They are pretty much copied from Columbus.

Amerigo emulated the Admiral by heading off to sea as soon as the Catholic Monarchs opened Atlantic navigation to Columbus's would-be competitors. Vespucci

made his own first Atlantic crossing in the company of Columbus's notorious former henchman, Alonso de Ojeda. Historians have always wondered why. How did he get on board? What did he do there?

Vespucci himself claimed to have gone as a captain and a pilot, but that can't be true. He knew nothing about navigation. He had made one voyage we know of in his life so far, which was from Florence to Barcelona when he was on his way to Seville. He can't possibly have been employed as a mariner in any capacity. He knew nothing about the sea, but he did have one relevant area of expertise: pearls are the key to understanding what took Vespucci across the Atlantic. The whole purpose of this expedition was to follow up the pearl fisheries of Margarita, which Columbus had discovered on his third voyage. I think he gives the game away in a subordinate clause in his account of this voyage when he says, more or less (as I quote from memory), "And we gathered a lot of pearls for the queen and took them back to Castile and I kept a thousand ducats' worth." That's what this voyage was really all about and that was Vespucci's working capital for the rest of his life.

But when he returned to Seville, he was back in the business of trying to supply Indies fleets, still trying to make it as a merchant. He failed, but it hardly mattered because in the meantime he reinvented himself again, this time as a great navigator. He projected an image, which is brilliantly demonstrated in my next slide by a later Dutch engraving – representative of what became a tradition of Vespucci iconography – where he's almost like Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. Everybody else is asleep while Vespucci communes with the heavens. Look at the way he's manipulating these astronomical instruments, the quadrant, astrolabe, a pair of dividers in his hands.

Now I don't need to say this, but this is not a realistic image. Vespucci probably had some education in astronomy because his uncle, like other members of the Florentine Academy in the late fifteenth century, like Lorenzo the Magnificent himself, was obsessed with astrology. If you go to the Ognissanti church, the parish church of the Vespucci family in Florence, you can see a painting that his uncle commissioned, which represents the patron in the character of Saint Jerome, with an astrolabe hanging on the wall behind him.

It's one thing to have theoretical training in astronomy; it's another to manipulate instruments. I'm supposed to be a historian of maritime history, but I get seasick in the bath. I'm supposed to be a historian of navigation- if you've been to Mystic Seaport you know they have this challenge: you can use a sextant to determine your latitude. When I used that sextant I demonstrated, conclusively, that Mystic Seaport is at the North Pole. Vespucci was very little better at this kind of stuff than I am. We can now prove that. When he read latitude, Vespucci seems not to have used any instruments. He did what Columbus did. He measured the hours of darkness, subtracted from twenty-four, and read his latitude off the printed tables, which were very readily available, showing latitude against the duration of daylight at different times of the year.

As you know, one of Vespucci's most egregious claims was to have read longitude at sea using the lunar-distance method, something that no one else was able to do for more than 250 years! To do it successfully, you really need a combination of calibrated telescopes, stable platform, and accurate means of chronometry. None of these things was available to Amerigo. The only reading of longitude which he actually used in his writings, was, in the first place, so inaccurate that it might as well have been a guess. It would have placed him out in the Pacific at the time. And in the second place, it tallied marvellously with the reading of longitude that Columbus claimed to have taken on land when he was in Jamaica. So this was probably another case where Vespucci simply copied Columbus.

So he wasn't a great astronomer, or a great navigator. Nor was he a great

geographer. The myth, for instance, that he identified this hemisphere as a new world, distinct from Asia, is simply false. Vespucci accepted, in essence, Columbus's geography. He didn't agree with Columbus about the size of the globe, but he thought that he had gotten much farther west than he really had, and that Asia was just beyond his reach. Indeed, over and over again – right down to almost the end of his life – he petitioned the crown to be allowed to make another voyage, which would go a little bit farther and find Asia. So really, there was nothing credible in his claims to being a cosmographer, or a navigator, or a geographer; but he succeeded in suckering the world.

It happened when Martin Waldseemüller and Matthias Ringmann were working on their longed-for new edition of Ptolemy. They cast Amerigo as the new Ptolemy, the modern equivalent to the greatest cosmographer of antiquity. There was no higher praise in the Renaissance than to be considered equivalent to the ancients. But in order to understand why the scholars of St. Dié cast Amerigo in this role you've got to look at their own agenda. St. Dié was a hick town, of which Pico della Mirandola said that he was surprised that there were any scholars there at all. It was a place few had ever heard of. It had a reputation for having great brick makers and weavers, but it wasn't a great city of scholarship. The scholars who had gathered there around the printing press were looking for something that would distinguish their forthcoming edition of Ptolemy from all the others of the late Middle Ages and early sixteenth century. Everyone finds what he or she is looking for – because if you can't get what you want, you want what you get. Hopes create heroes. Messianism creates martyrs. Expectation clouds judgment. For a while, the humanists of St. Dié thought that they had found what they wanted in the works of Vespucci, which, with their secular language, poetic allusions, and idealization of learning, were so much more calculated to appeal to humanist readers than – say – the rambling, mystical writings of Columbus.

The maps Waldseemüller made were so distinctive, so original, and so popular that they rooted the name of America in the minds of humanists. He later thought better of it. In 1513, when Waldseemüller published another map, he withdrew the ascription of the name of America to our namesake and included the legend shown in my next slide, recording that the hemisphere had really been discovered by Columbus. But in spite of that the name took root, and it was too late for retraction. The diffusion of the name of America was bolstered by the appeal of the sensational contents of writings, some of which were by Vespucci, some of which were by forgers or were publishers' confections, which appealed to a wide readership because of their graphic stories of sexual titillation and cannibalism. The appeal of the sensational aspects of Vespucci's writings never really waned.

I am going to share with you two further possible conclusions. First, in spite of all the pejorative things I've said about him, Vespucci remains a figure of major historical importance because anybody who has worked for twenty years, as I have, on late medieval European Atlantic navigation and colonization knows that one of the really curious things about this process is that for two hundred years before Columbus and Vespucci the story was primarily of Italians. The exploration of the Atlantic began deep inside the Mediterranean, not in Spain and Portugal, which were, in an image I'm fond of, like third-world countries today, desperately drilling for offshore resources with foreign capital and savoir-faire. The technicians and financiers came principally from Italy.

But we know so little about them. It's only with the individuals who were almost the last of the tradition, with Columbus and Vespucci, that we begin to see what made them engage in this extraordinary enterprise. In Vespucci we see a model which we can flip backwards – as it were – to understand the whole of this late medieval phenomenon, of a series of adventurers who, like Vespucci, were escaping into the ocean from worlds

of disappointment and socially restricted opportunity at home. Like Vespucci, they were, typically, escapees from failure, self re-inventers, and makeover artists. That's my first reason for adducing transcendent historical importance to this figure.

My second reason you may find less engaging and less persuasive, but I'm happy to risk that at this time of evening. In a curious way I think Vespucci is a great namesake for America, or if not for America at least for this part of America, for the United States. Because in a strange way, the United States has re-invented itself in the image of the man after whom the country is named. This land has become the land of self-reinvention, the land of makeover, the land of celebrity rehab. It's even ruled by a president who seems to be suckered by his own fictional image of himself. So maybe – if you'll pardon me for suggesting it – Amerigo is not only a suitable name-sake for America but, curiously, an inadvertent model for the way the United States of America is developing today. So, please, let's celebrate the quincentenary.

Private Libraries and Archives on Iberian History: James W. Cortada's Collection

James W. Cortada
Origin of the Collection

I had spent a week with Stanley Payne at the University of Wisconsin in June, 1971 at a conference he and Juan Linz hosted for graduate students and hispanists. He was young, still had his black hair, and he got me interested in the Falange and subsequently in the Spanish civil war of the 1930s, although I was writing a dissertation about Spain and the American Civil War of the 1860s. Months later I was in Madrid, going through the flea market, when I found a table loaded with publications of the Falange Party, all for sale at about 10 pesetas each. A few had been published during the Civil War, some were collections of Franco's speeches, and yet others issued as recently as 1971, such as two marvelous cook books published by the Sección Femenina de F.E.T. y de los J.O.N.S. In short, within 15 minutes I had become the proud owner of several hundred Falangista publications, spurring a lifetime interest in collecting on Spain. Two days later, while at the Archivos de los Asuntos Exteriores, working on my dissertation, I got the idea to visit the public relations office and see what it had. Having learned that I was writing on Spanish diplomatic history and that my father (James N. Cortada) had been the U.S. Consul General in Barcelona (1967-70), a kind official escorted me into a room stacked with various ministry publications: guidebooks for their diplomats, bibliographies, monographs, copies of treaties, and so forth. She invited to help myself to duplicates and said she would mail them to the United States. Another hundred publications! And this time on a subject that I already knew I wanted to collect on and now have done so for some four decades. That dissertation research trip to Spain resulted in my acquiring about 600 to 700 publications, including a complete run of a history journal edited by economist Pedro Volte Bou at the Universidad de Barcelona on local economic history (*Cuadernos de historia económica de Cataluña*).

Until that trip, I only had about 100 books on Spain, largely the result of acquisitions I had made in 1967 while working on an undergraduate thesis dealing with Wolfram and Anglo-Axis economic warfare in Spain during World War II. When I began, I knew nothing about the period, but my father introduced me to the Spanish novelist José María Gironella, best known for his books set during and after the Spanish Civil War, who introduced me to various bookstores in Barcelona and helped me find the key memoirs and monographs by Spanish officials that I needed, such as those written by José M. Doussinague and Ramón Serrano Suñer.

The collection so far consists of just over 10,000 titles, mostly books, a couple hundred offprints and pamphlets (including treaties from the 1600s-2000s), a couple dozen antique maps, and nearly complete runs of some journals, such as *Hispania*, a bound set of the *SSPHS Bulletin*, *Iberian Studies*, and a few Catalan journals. The books are divided among several collections focused on Catalan history (all periods); Spanish Civil War (1930s) and the Franco era; travel guides and essays (1700s to late 1900s); Spanish diplomatic history (all periods); almost all monographs published on Spain in the United States (1800s-present), and the usual miscellanea of history and literature that probably most historians of Spain or Portugal have if they work in North America. An ancillary collection on Latin America comprises about another 1,000 volumes, dealing largely with colonial history of the Caribbean and a nice assortment of South American diplomatic history. Additionally, there is a complete set of Espasa-Calpe's *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, including all annual volumes. This is important because most American academic libraries only have the first 70 to 100 volumes, while a complete set now exceeds 120.

The explanation of the emphasis on Catalan history is that my father began the collection in 1950 while serving for the first time at the U.S. Consulate at Barcelona, acquiring antique histories of Cataluña, while conducting genealogical research on our family, which came originally from the province of Gerona. Some of the high points in that early collecting included many multi-volume histories of the region, such as the 3-volume *Anales de Cataluña* published in 1709 and the multi-volume *Historia crítica de Cataluña* by Antonio de Bofarull of the late 1800s. By the end of the 1990s, the collection included hundreds of monographs on all Catalan provinces, particularly Gerona and Lérida; also histories of the local economy, culture, and politics; and dozens of volumes of conference proceedings, most of which concern the Crown of Aragon and other aspects of the Middle Ages. In the past twenty years I also built a small collection of about two dozen books on the history of Andorra and augmented the Civil War collection with monographs dealing with the role of Cataluña. The result is that the Catalan collection comprises about 2,500 items, including a few 17th and 18th century maps of the region.

The most important part of the library, however, is about diplomatic history, made up of about 3,000 volumes. These include all the key collections of published documents on diplomacy. The documentary portion of the collection included (1) multiple series dealing with Ferdinand and Isabel, (2) numerous collections of diplomatic papers concerning the Vatican, and (3) series of treaties. The collection includes all the key works of reference and archival guides, such as the publications of Julian Paz of the early 1900s on various manuscript collections scattered around Europe, bibliographies and manuscript guides produced by the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, and other reference materials. I have made a serious effort to acquire scholarly monographs and memoirs dealing with Spanish diplomacy for all periods, and can claim to have been quite successful. Thus, for example, the collection includes all the diplomatic monographs by Jerónimo Becker, the dozens of scholarly publications published by the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores over the past four decades, many memoirs published by Spanish, American, and European diplomats, and biographies. About a third of the diplomatic collection focuses on the 20th century, another third on the 18th and 19th centuries, and the remainder on earlier periods. Missing from the collection so far, however, are complete runs of the Ministry's various journals, although I have odd issues. A small set of ephemera in the form of printed treaties from the 17th century forward rounds out the collection. Additions to the diplomatic collection involve essentially acquiring newly published materials as gaps in earlier publications have been filled.

There are about a thousand volumes concerning the Spanish Civil War, ranging from monographs written by historians to polemical ephemera published during the 1930s by the Second Republic, politicians, both sides of the conflict, and by others outside of Spain. To a large extent, this collection mirrors what others interested in the subject would have, except that because my collecting on the Civil War began in the 1970s, I was able to acquire hundreds of items published between the 1930s through the 1940s that increasingly are difficult to find today. Since so much has been published about the Civil War, today a thousand volumes is hardly a significant collection, except that it does include many early publications. My serious interest in the topic began only when I was commissioned by Greenwood Press to edit the *Historical Dictionary of the Spanish Civil War* (1982) to which essentially everyone working in the field at that time contributed. Just about everything published on the diplomacy of the Civil War also is in the collection: memoirs, monographs, official collections of papers, and so forth. But related to the Civil War materials are those dealing with the Franco period. Already mentioned are the Falange publications. In addition, there are several hundred memoirs, histories, and government publications largely devoted to the regime from the late 1930s through the 1970s. That part of the collection devoted to the Franco regime published in the 1980s and 1990s is fewer in number in comparison to those publications that were more contemporaneous to the regime.

The small collection of travel literature, comprising about 700 volumes, grew out of the realization that in the 18th and 19th centuries, wealthy, politically-well connected individuals often traveled to Spain and in their publications often provided short commentaries about Spanish kings, queens, politicians, literary figures and, of course, often highly romanticized or inaccurate views of life in Spain. About 100 of the volumes were published before 1860, another third during the rest of the century, and the rest in the twentieth. All the key American and British works are represented in the collection from Richard Ford's *Handbook for Spain* (1845) to James A. Michener's *Iberia* (1968). The majority are in English, but with a few French items as well. I have made no attempt to acquire travel books written by Spaniards about other countries. It has been my experience that when carefully used in support of research on Spanish history, travel literature can provide local color, some insights, and, of course, occasionally commentary about historically important individuals, particularly for the 18th and 19th centuries. For example, there is Jean-François Bourgoing's 2-volume *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne* (1783). Sadly, many American university libraries have discarded this genre of literature which I discovered as I acquired so many volumes bearing library marks, including the stamp *discarded*.

By the late 1960s I began to notice that librarians in Spain did not routinely acquire U.S. monographs and other publications, yet Americans had been publishing on Spain since the Napoleonic era. So I decided collecting American monographs—largely history, political science, economics, and travel, and less so literature—might be a useful exercise. Beginning in the 1970s I began acquiring monographs published by American academic presses and the trade houses, and filled in materials released in the 1800s. So those of you with a book published in the United States, I have a copy; for those of you with a book about to be published, count on me to acquire a copy. Books were published in every decade, and the volume of material published by academics since the 1960s exceeds in volume everything published in the previous 150 years in the United States. So, I have the Stanley G. Payne book shelf, actually two, more books on navies and ships from Carla Phillips than I thought I would ever own, and nearly a shelf load of books by Paul Preston. I cannot keep up with British publications, but have acquired most of the key ones that appeared over the past sixty to seventy years. In total, the collection of American and British publications adds another thousand to the collection ranging from political and military history, to a considerable number

of sociological studies and from the British numerous monographs on economics. Napoleon and the Iberian Peninsula remains a growth industry for British publishers, while the Americans have produced a substantial volume of material on the Middle Ages and Early Modern period.

There are also smaller groups of books. At the time of the one hundredth anniversary of the Spanish-American War, most American libraries had a great number of U.S. publications, most of which had appeared during the first decade following the war and almost nothing by Spaniards. Throughout the 1990s and later, Spanish historians published nearly 100 monographs and conference proceedings, very few of which were making it into American libraries. So with the help of the staff at Marcel Pons' bookstore and a couple of other dealers in Madrid, we put together a nearly complete set of these publications which I added to my American collection that already comprised about 150 volumes, including all the key monographs published on the subject in the United States.

Then there is the Latin American collection. While an undergraduate history major I had the good fortune of befriending Ambassador Walter Thurston, who had served as ambassador to several countries in Latin America and enjoyed a full career in the Foreign Service that spanned the years between the two world wars and beyond. When he died in 1974 he left to me his collection of Latin American books, most of which had been published between the 1920s and the 1950s, many on diplomatic and national histories. I subsequently became interested in Cuban and Puerto Rican colonial history of the 18th and 19th centuries, as an extension of my long standing interest in U.S.-Spanish relations that led to my acquiring American, Caribbean, and Spanish publications on the region. My father joined me in the hunt for materials, and ultimately we co-wrote a book on the region. So, the combined collections of Caribbean and Latin American books augmented the Iberian collection by over a thousand volumes, most of which were published in the twentieth century.

Perhaps the oddest little collection of materials is the book catalogs. I knew that Spanish book dealers used to collect catalogs, binding their own like year books and reading everyone else's. For nearly 40 years I have read them as fast as they came in and saved the vast majority of them. The collection thus has long runs of catalogs from Rodríguez in Madrid, also those of Sánchez Cuesta, Hesperia's of Zaragoza, and Grant & Cutler in London, and myriad other odd catalogs. It is not clear to me what significance these may have: I have never come across another collector of Spanish book catalogs except for dealers themselves.

The smallest distinct collection comprises books written by 19th century Catalan nationalist and journalist, Juan Cortada, best known to historians for his small publication, *Cataluña y los Catalanes*, that first appeared as a series of essays in the local press in Barcelona of 1859, and then as a pamphlet in 1860. He is an ancestor and for that reason I have acquired almost all of his publications (1830s-1860s). In some instances, I have collected three copies of key works, such as his *Cataluña y los Catalanes* since it was an early statement of the Catalan nationalism that saw such a flowering in the last four decades of the 19th century.

The rest of the collection consists of general histories of Spain; art books and some literature, including several dozen general histories of Spanish literature, music, culture; about 200 books on Catalan Bellas Letras, and a small collection of about 200 albums and CDs of Spanish music. Finally, there is a set of records of the lower house of the Cortes from the 1820s to 1931 in microfiche.

Every library has stories behind it that help us understand how and why materials were collected and why they are significant. For instance, in the early 2000s I was in Charlottesville, Virginia, and was visiting a second-hand bookstore when from

across a very cluttered room I saw stacks of those typically Spanish white paperback monographs. Upon closer examination I saw nearly 100 dealing with the Spanish and Portuguese Middle Ages. The bookstore owner told me the sad story that upon the death of Professor Charles Julian Bishko—a distinguished hispanist and a friend of mine at the University of Virginia—his library went to this university, but parts were sold by the librarians to the bookseller because they were duplicates, or otherwise of no interest to them. These included a nice run of the *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, collections of documents of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella published by the CSIC and royal academies, and offprints of articles autographed by other leading experts of the Middle Ages in Spain working between the 1920s through the 1970s. I bought almost everything to protect them from being scattered.

Then there was the time in Seattle, Washington, while attending a business conference at the Battelle Institute, that I learned of a large second-hand bookstore that specialized in Western American history. I went over, and on the fourth floor saw some 500 books on Spanish history that had belonged to a professor unknown to me who had died years earlier. I came across these early in my career as a collector when I did not have even all the basic literature available at the time. Realizing that the store owner probably had had this material for some time and was more interested in Western American history, I made him an offer of \$500 for everything he had so that he could clear the stuff out for books he really wanted to sell. He immediately accepted my offer and weeks later I opened boxes that had two dozen books on Spain and international relations, many general histories of Spain published in different languages in the middle decades of the 20th century, other books on Spanish literature, and scores of travel books. It nearly doubled my collection overnight.

Book dealers help all serious historians. The legendary Josep Porter in Barcelona still comes up in conversation with book dealers in Spain, even though he died over two decades ago. He sold my father many of the old Catalan books that started our collection and years later he put together for me a collection of dozens of 19th-century volumes I needed for my dissertation. Marcel Pons is more than a bookstore in Madrid: it is a meeting place for historians from around the world. On a good Saturday morning I will run into European, Spanish, and American scholars, while I eye activity in the room at the back to the left hoping that I have already cleaned it out of all the latest diplomatic history. Both Estanislao Rodríguez's and Porter's book stores eventually were taken over by their daughters, as also happened in New York at Argosy Bookstore, still one of the best places on the east coast to find good antiquarian European history.

Institutes will give you publications, friends and academics offprints and sometimes copies of their books. Second-hand or antique furniture stores, and now sellers on the mighty Internet, all join with book dealers to create the collections we have. They give every book a story, like the dealer in Minneapolis, Minnesota, who sold me the 3-volume *Historia de los dos sitios a Zaragoza* (1830) that came out of the library of Canovas del Castillo! Or the restaurant owner in Begur, Gerona, who gave me three books he found in his building signed by my direct ancestors from the 1700s and early 1800s.

The Way Forward

Good collections have purpose and plans, and I hope mine is no exception. I intend to continue filling in everything I can find on Spanish diplomatic history and, of course, to acquire all that American scholars produce and as much of what the British are publishing as I can. The Catalan collection will continue to grow, but more slowly as there is too much appearing. However, there is the need to continue collecting on Gerona because our family has a genealogical project underway, started in 1950, that requires basic research materials on the places in which the Cortadas

have lived. Since I have complete runs of the *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* (and hardly anyone else does outside of Catalunya), the *Catalan Review*, and the *SSPHS Bulletin*, I will continue to collect those, while attempting to fill in the final few issues from the 1950s and early 1960s I need for *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*. Key works that appear on the Spanish Civil War will, of course, make their way into the collection. Every visit to Marcel Pons bookstore results in the acquisition of 50 to 100 books, many recommended by the staff. My collection is growing at the rate of about 100 to 150 volumes each year, and I expect to continue adding materials for years to come. Then we—perhaps the SSPHS, certainly my family, close friends who are hispanists, and I—will have to determine what best to do with the collection.

Because of the fragility of many Spanish publications, primarily those large white paperback monographs that seem to crowd everyone's shelves and the cheap paperbacks published in the early decades of the 20th century in Spain, I have begun to bind them with library bindings to protect them. The initial targets for such treatment are the diplomatic monographs, collections of published documents, and those Catalan publications in the most fragile condition. The collection is housed in Madison, Wisconsin, most of it in a library added to my home.

Although I have published a handful of books on Spain (mainly on diplomatic history), helped organize one of SSPHS's annual meetings in New York, and been a member of this organization since 1970, I feel my big play in the field of history has been this library. Ultimately, it should be of more value to me—and hopefully to colleagues—than anything else I have done with Spanish history. It has been a nearly 60-year special trust in my family that, like all book collectors, I only hold for a short time before it must be passed to others.

James W. Cortada has worked at IBM for over thirty years in various sales, consulting, management and executive positions. He holds a Ph.D. in European history from Florida State University and has published nine books on Spanish history, as well as four dozen on the history and management of computers.

Recollections and Reflections: Stanley G. Payne, Colleague and Mentor

Most readers of this *Bulletin* have heard at least one or two stories about Stanley G. Payne over the years. If all those stories were compiled, they would fill several issues of the *Bulletin*. Here we have gathered a few recollections and reflections from Professor Payne's friends, colleagues, and students. Some are humorous and some are serious, but all shed light on the scholarship, service, and teaching of one of the great historians of our time. In a career that spans nearly 50 years, Professor Payne has been and still is an exemplary scholar (writing and editing more than 25 books and countless articles), member of the academic community (serving on editorial boards and helping to establish the SSPHS), and teacher (lecturing to thousands of undergraduates and directing 16 Ph.D. students in Spanish, Italian, and even Swedish history). The recollections here do not even begin to tell the full story of Stanley G. Payne's extraordinary career, but they confirm one senior Hispanist's concise assessment of our friend, colleague, and mentor: "Stanley's got spunk!"

For almost 40 years, I have turned to Stanley Payne when I needed advice, an introduction, a letter of recommendation, or a dinner companion at a scholarly meeting. We first met in 1971, when he secured funding from the Ford Foundation and the Council for European Studies to organize a workshop for History graduate students preparing

Final Thoughts

Sean Perrone,
Saint Anselm College

Carolyn P. Boyd
University of California, Irvine

to do dissertation research on modern Spain. Around two dozen of us were invited to Madison, where we presented our dissertation proposals and received feedback from the distinguished historians who were also in attendance. For five days, at formal sessions, over meals, and in informal one-on-one conversations, the senior scholars shared their knowledge of archives, bibliography, and methods with us beginners. In my case, Stanley provided guidance on how to focus my somewhat shapeless research project and armed me with a list of invaluable references and contacts that enabled me to negotiate the minefield of politics, bureaucracy and personal idiosyncrasy that made working in 20th century archives, especially military archives, so tricky during the years of the Franco dictatorship. All those fortunate enough to attend the Madison workshop came away with a new set of colleagues, many of whom have remained friends ever since, as well as with profound admiration for the historians who inspired and educated us at that conference.

Stanley's generosity during the Madison workshop was no fluke; on the contrary, since that time he has continued to offer advice and support. He has responded with good will to every request for a letter of recommendation for fellowships, jobs, promotions, and publication and has been a stimulating colleague at conferences and workshops both here and in Spain. I always look forward to the opportunity to share a meal (for he always knows the good restaurants) and to learn the latest about people and events in Spain. Although I was never his student, his influence on my professional development has been tangible and enduring.

James W. Cortada
IBM Institute for
Business Value

In June 1971, Stanley hosted a workshop on Modern Spain at the University of Wisconsin. Along with Juan Linz, he brought together senior scholars in the field, such as Ed Malefakis, Ricardo de la Cierva, and Julio Caro Baroja, among others and almost all the graduate students in the field at the dissertation level. Fifteen professors and twenty-five graduate students gathered for five intense days, sharing insights and discussing each other's projects. Stanley was the perfect host and even invited the group to his home for a party. In addition to creating an environment that led to life-long friendships within this large group, we graduate students got a lot of help on our dissertations. It did not matter that many of us were not his students at Wisconsin, as he forever after became our mentor, a role that has distinguished his career as he has always been willing to help so many young historians over the years. In my case, he personally took it upon himself to help me get papers published in the *Journal of Contemporary History* and in *Iberian Studies* and later critiqued my dissertation. In the process, folks like Nelson Duran and myself considered Stanley one of our most important intellectual comrades-in-arms and personal friend. As all of us moved from dissertation stage to publishing books, he helped again. Additionally as we moved from one publication to another he was there. I think John Coverdale secretly used him as his private literary agent with Princeton University Press! Most important, the conference was the tipping point in creating a community of modern Hispanists in North America that continues to thrive today. One final note: at the time Stanley was young, had "only" published a half dozen books, and his hair was black!

Colin Winston
University of Wisconsin-Madison,
BA 1976; Ph.D. 1982

I first met Stanley Payne when I was a freshman at the University of Wisconsin, after returning from a year at the Complutense in Madrid. I always found him to be a challenging teacher who had time for both lowly freshmen, like me, and his graduate students. He never sugarcoated his messages. At some point in my late sophomore or early junior year I had a heart-to-heart with Stanley about my possible future as a historian. I said that I was giving serious consideration to going to graduate school for my Doctorate in Spanish history. Stanley looked me in the eye, smiled, and said "Are you crazy? Do you want to starve?" I honestly don't remember much more

of the conversation, and, needless to say, I ignored his warnings about the penury awaiting me as an unemployed historian. Of course, after making clear that he would take no responsibility for feeding me if I continued down my chosen path, Stanley did everything in his power to advance my studies and career, both as my undergraduate advisor and later as my dissertation director. His warning about the difficulties facing historians was accurate. I have only practiced my *métier* intermittently since graduate school, having pursued a career as an intelligence analyst, but much of my success in that field I attribute to patterns of study I learned under him.

I first met Stanley Payne in the late spring of 1968. I was a master's candidate in modern European History at the University of Minnesota, and having read his recently published book on the Spanish military, I had written him asking if we could meet to discuss the possibility of my working on a doctorate in modern Spanish history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He very graciously invited me to his home for lunch to discuss this, and I took an early train down from Minneapolis and then a city bus out to his neighborhood. I walked the couple of blocks from the bus stop to his house and rang the front door bell. I will never forget his warm greeting or the fact that he was shoeless and wearing bright orange socks. In the next 39 years, I have never forgotten Stanley's orange socks or the initial impression that his intelligence, wit, industry and practicality made on me as a 23-year-old graduate student. I subsequently had the good fortune of completing my doctorate under his direction. Further, I met my wife, Ann, in his graduate seminar, the result I remember of his very deft and pragmatic observation that I was the only "unattached" male and she the only "unattached" and attractive female in the course: fortunately, I took the hint. I value highly my on-going friendship with Stanley. He continues to be intellectually stimulating, engaging, and very amusing.

I too remember the orange socks. But when my mind goes back, some 20 years now, to our dear mentor, Professor Payne, there is an even more striking memory that appears. Above his sock line, over his pant line, up past the belt and over the chest, it is his throat that continues to resonate in my aural memory. Professor Payne called me to attention above all with his *voice*. It was deep, low and always somehow sonorous in its articulations. His voice projected in the same reverberating manner whether he was in front of a student audience of 200, or in a small seminar of 5. Whether discussing Italian fascism or problematic secretaries – he always commanded his audience with bass notes.

We were all fortunate to learn under the direction of Stanley Payne's awesome editorial skills. His sentences flowed with perfect clarity the moment that they came out of his mouth. The great joke among his graduate students during seminar sessions was that his "informal discussions" with us could have been published the instant that the classroom hour was over. After reading the first ten of his many, many books, we discovered how it was that he could be so prolific: his mind automatically edited his thoughts in a perfectly printable form. No need for computer word-processing for him! He *did* disdain my first use of the machine for my dissertation – saying that a typewriter and a single draft was all that I needed. Since then, I have struggled miserably to live up to that expectation. Some of us must revise. Time and time again.

Professor Payne's voice probably explains why he had such a powerful presence in the classroom, but the thing that I remember most about his lectures was the single note card (occasionally two) that he lectured from. I have never seen another person give a 50-minute presentation from a few notes on a 3x5 card. It is a testimony to Professor Payne's mastery of Iberian and modern European history that he gave such complex and detailed lectures essentially from memory.

Shannon Fleming
University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ph.D. 1974

Maureen Flynn
University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ph.D. 1985
Professor of History, Hobart and William Smith Colleges

Sean T. Perrone
University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ph.D. 1997
Associate Professor of History, Saint Anselm College

My most vivid recollection of a graduate seminar with Professor Payne is from 1993. There were five of us in the seminar, which met in the Humanities Building. One day the fire alarm went off during class, and the five of us closed our books and prepared to evacuate the building at which point Professor Payne bluntly told us that the building was made of cement and was not going to burn down. On realizing that he did not intend to vacate the building, we timidly sat back down to continue our discussion. It was surreal though, as we could only hear one another during the short pauses between the horn blasts of the fire alarm: even Professor Payne was drowned out by the alarm!

Of course, Professor Payne did look out for his students. I am forever grateful to him for securing me a lectureship at UW, because without that initial teaching experience, I would not have been able to obtain a subsequent adjunct position or my present job.

Jordi Getman-Eraso
University of Wisconsin-
Madison, Ph.D. 2001
Assistant Professor of History,
Bronx Community College

Stanley Payne's commitment to his students and his resolute professionalism stand out in my mind. Professor Payne expects hard work and dedication from all his students. I remember when he assigned me my first term paper, he said, "It's your first semester, so don't worry about writing too much. Forty-five or fifty pages will be fine." I was dumbfounded and didn't know how I would write that much. Of course, that was just the tip of the iceberg, and many more pages have followed.

While his students are expected to work hard for him, he works even harder for us. A complaint graduate students typically have about their advisors is the lengthy periods of time their mentors take to comment on their theses or dissertations. Not so with Professor Payne. He returns work to you with lightning speed. While I was finishing my Master's thesis some years ago, we were both attending a conference, and Professor Payne asked me to bring a completed draft so he could start reading it. I handed him the manuscript as we were signing in on the first night. A little over three hours later, I saw him at a cocktail party. He came over, martini in hand, and said, "I think it will do!" He then produced the manuscript, with extensive corrections and comments on the margins from beginning to end! All in three hours! Even now, I find few graduate students willing to believe that story.

Studying with Payne also literally opened doors for me. When I was trying to gain access to a small private archive in Barcelona several years ago, the archivist, an old short man with a toothpick permanently attached to his lower lip, would not accept my letter of introduction from the University of Wisconsin. After fruitlessly pleading with him, I mentioned that I studied under Professor Payne. He froze, his eyes doubled in size, and his mouth fell open, the toothpick falling out. "Stanley Payne? THE Stanley Payne? OH, well then that is different, please come in." To this day, the archivist does not remember my name and simply refers to me as "El chico que trabaja con Stanley Payne."

Florentino Rodao
Faculty of Journalism, Universi-
dad Complutense de Madrid

Yo no he hecho ninguna Tesis Doctoral con Stanley Payne, ni he sido su alumno, pero he aprendido cómo debería ser un catedrático. Le conocí en septiembre de 1998, recién llegado a Madison como profesor Tinker para un semestre y todavía bajo la sorpresa de ocupar un despacho casi junto al suyo. Y precisamente estaba pensando sobre cómo, cuándo y dónde debería presentarme, cuando alguien golpeó la puerta: era EL. Tras esta muestra de lo poco que le importan los rangos, Stanley me dio otras muchas más sorpresas, llevándome a debates, conferencias y charlas de todo tipo. Nunca ha dejado de asombrarme el interés de Stanley por evitar estancarse en su área de conocimiento y le he visto asistir a conferencias sobre temas tan alejados de la Historia de España como la caída de la Unión Soviética, el Estado del bienestar o la política interna en los países árabes. A la vuelta, me acordé de sus asistencias continuas a conferencias

cuando propuse una conferencia en la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología y el vicedecano me avisó "La Universidad no es apropiada para organizar conferencias". Efectivamente, asistió muy poca gente y además sólo alumnos: harían falta más Stanleys en las universidades españolas.

Stanley Payne sí que me escribió el prólogo a mi libro y con ello también he aprendido que detrás del excelente profesor hay una gran persona. Ha sido uno de los muchísimos favores que me ha hecho, como ayudarme a sobrellevar la soledad el día de Navidad (adivinen en qué restaurante de Madison, junto a un lago...), a encontrar trabajo años después y, sobre todo, a publicar mi libro, no sólo visitando editoriales (para rebajar el impacto negativo de sus muchas páginas) sino, al final, imponiendo que publicaran el mío si querían sacar el suyo. En la Universidad, Stanley me ha ayudado como no lo ha hecho nadie y sólo puedo pensar hasta qué punto habrían llegado sus favores si, además, hubiera sido su alumno.

Las recompensas por tratar de devolverle estos favores, además, han sido especialmente gratificantes. En parte porque esos recuerdos con una personalidad tan sugerente son especiales. Nunca olvidaré sus risotadas tan socarrona y ruidosa, tan características suyas, especialmente cuando le pregunté qué pensaba de la dedicatoria de mi libro ("para los aficionados taurinos catalanes y para los culés madrileños"): casi se cae al suelo. Pero si me siento un afortunado es porque gracias a la necesidad de pagar de alguna manera sus favores hemos frecuentado los tablaos flamencos, estando de acuerdo que Dolores "Españita" es la mejor bailaora que hemos visto en Casa Patas. No somos entendidos, pero disfrutamos y sabemos discernir. Ahora que ha vuelto José Tomás, espero poder borrarle el recuerdo de una mala corrida de hace varias décadas; vibrar con una faena suya será un nueva recompensa a esta amistad de casi ya una década -si José Tomás todavía sigue ahí. En definitiva, gracias, Stan, porque no sólo he aprendido mucho de ti, sino porque me has brindado una amistad que me marca un camino en mi vida universitaria.

I contacted Stanley for the first time in 1958 when I read that we had both received SSRC fellowships for research in Spain, and we soon got together. He has been a constant friend and source of ideas ever since.

When in the early sixties Stanley was in Madrid working on his Falange book, I commented on it and probably showed the manuscript to Salvador Sáenz de Heredia (a cousin of the founder of the party on his mother's side) whom I knew from my time at the university. Sáenz de Heredia in turn mentioned it to José Luis Arrese, who had been party secretary under Franco. Arrese was most interested in knowing what Stanley had to say about him. Since Arrese could correct things or give some additional information, I loaned the manuscript to Salvador. Arrese did not know English, and he made an appointment with me so that I would read to him the paragraphs mentioning him. We got together three times, and I made notes on Arrese's comments that I passed on to Stanley.

I constantly turn to Stanley's outstanding, unique books in my own work and look forward to continue benefiting of his knowledge and warm friendship.

I came to know Stanley Payne personally only when he joined the UW history department as a senior specialist in modern European history at the urging of George Mosse. We became good friends. We had shared the not altogether edifying experience of earning our doctorates in history at Columbia University. We shared backgrounds in families that valued religion highly, although the varieties of Protestant Christianity in which the two of us were raised were actually quite different. We shared common interests in politics, although we did not often vote for the same candidates. That meant that we also shared a common interest in the intersections between religion and politics, although in very different times and places. It came as no surprise to me that Stan

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Professor Emeritus of History
& South Asian Studies, University
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John S. Tortorice, Director,
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Sasha D. Pack
Univ. of Wisconsin, Ph.D., 1984
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should have selected “political religions” as the subject for a conference held in his honor at the University of Wisconsin (May 2004). More curiously, we also shared an interest in spectator sports, especially football. This I still have trouble understanding since neither of us had ever wanted to play football. Yet, for about thirty years, we got season tickets for the Wisconsin home football games, and I have many memories of Stanley shouting himself hoarse, week after week, berating incompetent and inept coaches. At one point in our joint career I became nervous. This was when we elected Stan as our chairman (1979-82). I worried whether a man I knew to be conservative could handle a department known throughout the country for its political radicalism. My worries were groundless. He proved to be a superb chairman, and remained a leader afterwards.

Looking back some thirty or more years, since close acquaintance as a departmental colleague deepened into lasting friendship, it is difficult to recollect and reflect upon any single episode out of all others. Yet, there is one feature that seems to underlie them all: Stan’s acute personal alertness and awareness of private, as well as professional, circumstances of so many individuals. Almost like a shepherd looking after a flock, Stan knew of someone’s distress and pain, as well as success and triumph, seemingly before anyone else. Thus, if and when someone suffered a grave injustice due to institutional inquisitions of “political correctness” based on false claims or spurious demands made in the name of so-called “diversity” and “multiculturalism,” he took action and rode to the rescue. In 1996, funds from a substantial grant enabled him to form CAFAR (the Committee for Academic Freedom and Rights). This watchdog group retained an attorney to defend various individuals against oppression at the University of Wisconsin. Space hinders fully describing the many cases of scholars successfully defended over the next decade. Some are detailed in Donald Alexander Downs, *Restoring Free Speech and Liberty on Campus* (Cambridge: CUP; Oakland CA: Independent Institute, 2005). Instincts honed by a distinguished career closely studying totalitarianism, especially fascism and communism, had given Stanley the tools for detecting any spreading miasma of sinister threats to institutional freedom or individual liberty. Such threats, as epitomized in Paul Edward Gottfried’s *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt: Toward a Secular Theocracy* (Columbia MO: 2002), continue to darken campus cultures in North America.

I don’t think Stan has ever viewed his work as a mere “job” or a “career.” Rather, his immersion in history has elicited a higher level of engagement. His perception of the very real privileges and responsibilities of the scholar/teacher is perhaps a bit old-fashioned, but it has resulted in an astonishing level of accomplishment and influence. Stan’s commitment to his work, colleagues, and students along with his productivity, his energy, and his passion for history reflect a profound contribution to his profession. Stan is always engaged, always involved, always aware of the latest books on a vast array of subjects, always responsive to anything that is asked of him. In this, he reflects many of the characteristics of his dear friend and mentor, George Mosse. Although Stan and George often disagreed on political questions, they never allowed this to affect their close friendship and working relationship. Together, they managed to make UW-Madison the center for Fascist studies in the United States, an accomplishment that resonates in Europe where UW-Madison is still viewed as a place where first-rate scholarship on Fascism can be found.

Long before it became fashionable, Stanley Payne began talking about the weather like a historian. Utter a simple “nice day, isn’t it,” just to break the awkward silence of an elevator ride, and you are likely to receive a lesson in climate trends in the contemporary Upper Midwest with several decades of perspective and rigorous observation.

I learned that the brutal winters of the Carter years, when Madison's lakes remained frozen into March, had been replaced by milder winters and earlier, stormier springs. Now I cannot recall the many other similar comparative and *longue-durée* weather commentaries he has made, and in any case I would probably get the details wrong, but those who know him know that they are numerous, precise, and often witty. They are not alarmist, not political, just the detached observations of a man who is keenly aware of his habitat, and of a political historian who nevertheless respects the tenets of the Annales School. For Stanley Payne, graduate teaching made little room for idle chatter. Even "talking about the weather" was rigorous and scientific and contained the potential for a lesson.

Memorial for António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, 1933-200

One of the most influential historians of 20th-century Portugal, António Henrique de Oliveira Marques died in Lisbon in January 2007. He was born in 1933 in Estoril, a seaside village near Lisbon. He liked to point out that he descended from many generations of "*lisboetas*" that he could trace back to, at least, the 16th century. His cosmopolitanism, avid intellectual curiosity, and openness to the world made him, in fact, a good example of the best features of the "*lisboeta*" of his times.

Oliveira Marques's academic career began at the University of Lisbon, where he obtained his first degree (*Licenciatura*) in History in 1956. The dissertation that he presented on this occasion, "*A Sociedade em Portugal nos séculos XII a XIV*" (Society in Portugal from the 12th to the 14th century) later became one of his most successful books, and was published in English under the title *Daily Life in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages*. Oliveira Marques had begun his undergraduate studies planning to major in economics, and he contemplated a career as a diplomat. Under the mentorship of the economic historian Virgínia Rau, however, he soon decided to devote himself to the medieval history of Portugal.

In 1956-57 Oliveira Marques lived in Germany, where he did research for his doctoral dissertation about Portugal and the Hanseatic League, under the supervision of Hermann Kellenbenz. He visited numerous archives and taught briefly at the University of Würzburg (his first teaching job). As he wrote, with characteristic irony, in a recently published essay based on his graduate student diary: "I traveled all over Germany, from Munich to Kiel, from Cologne to Berlin. The archives were abundant and I did my best to visit them. Everywhere I found the best reception and all the facilities, with the exception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Bavaria, who did not grant me access to his precious private manuscript collection...My republican and centralist convictions were strengthened by the episode...."

Between 1957 and 1962, Oliveira Marques's career at the University of Lisbon could be characterized as meteoric. Despite a heavy teaching load, he presented and successfully defended his doctoral thesis (first published in 1959) and wrote his second book aiming at his promotion to full Professor. This work, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal. A Questão Cerealífera durante a Idade Média*, was about the rural economy of medieval Portugal, and thus represented a foray into new territory for the young scholar who had written mostly about social themes, about merchants and medieval trade, and about monetary history.

The resignation of Oliveira Marques in 1964 from the University of Lisbon, which took place in the aftermath of the student strike and protests of 1962, represented the first major setback in his academic career. His book on the history of medieval agriculture, already printed by the University presses, was withdrawn from circulation. He was able to publish a brief section of this text in "*O Tempo e o Modo*" (a journal that

Rita Costa Gomes
Towson University

was associated with the opposition to the dictatorship of Salazar), and in 1968 the entire book was made available to the public in a collection directed by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, another Portuguese historian who was *persona non grata* to the regime.

The asphyxiating atmosphere of academic life in Portugal during the 1960s is difficult to conceive for those who did not experience it. Any trace of nonconformist positions and any faint wish for independence from the rigid university hierarchy were severely repressed. Oliveira Marques left Portugal for the United States in 1965. In the fall he was teaching at Auburn University (Alabama), and the following year he moved to the University of Florida, where he remained until 1969. Out of Portugal, Oliveira Marques worked unencumbered by the obstacles that he had encountered in Lisbon. A hardworking scholar with a sound command of the English language, he lectured at the universities of Columbia, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Chicago and at many non-academic venues, deftly presenting his pioneering work as a medievalist on topics ranging from Islamic Portugal to the history of Portuguese medieval cities (including Lisbon).

It was in the United States that Oliveira Marques's work also began to move in two new directions. One was the history of 19th- and 20th-century Portugal, a field that previously had been almost absent from Portuguese curricula and academic research. The other was the writing and constant updating (in 13 successive editions) of his *History of Portugal* published in 1972 in English by Columbia University Press, and in 1973 in Portuguese.

The impact of the *History of Portugal* of Oliveira Marques has been lasting. It is the first modern survey written for both the undergraduate student and the specialist in search of a sound and balanced review of the history of Portugal – all of it, as the Portuguese title promised, “from the most remote times until the government of Mr Marcelo Caetano,” the man who was in power in 1972. Many characteristics of the book were rare in the Portuguese context: Oliveira Marques's concise and clear prose, the coverage of the most recent periods of history, the abundant cartography, the carefully selected bibliographies, the useful chronologies, and the extensive index.

Oliveira Marques developed his scholarly projects in three major directions since the 1960s. One was the research and publication of monographs and short essays in the two historical fields he cultivated with equal passion: the Middle Ages and the Modern History of Portugal. The second was the writing of annotated bibliographies and research guides sharing his vast knowledge of the archives and experience as a researcher. These publications include the *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, published in three successive updated editions, and the *Guia de História da Primeira República Portuguesa*. Finally, Oliveira Marques produced a series of surveys and reference works that in many ways continue the work he began in his *History of Portugal*. To these three directions he later added the publication of primary sources. During the 1960s Oliveira Marques had contributed more than 80 entries to the influential *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, directed by the historian Joel Serrão. This collaboration continued in the 1980s with the publication of the *Nova História de Portugal* (ten volumes published thus far) and the *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa* (8 volumes published thus far), edited by both historians. Oliveira Marques wrote the entire volume devoted to the Late Middle Ages (*Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*) and many chapters in other volumes, most notably the chapters about Islamic Portugal. In 2003, he and his collaborators produced the excellent and much needed *Atlas Histórico de Portugal e do Ultramar Português*.

Upon his return to Lisbon in 1969, Oliveira Marques faced difficult professional circumstances. Portugal had few research institutions, and the doors of the Portuguese university were only opened to him after the revolution of 1974. Thus began a new and productive cycle of Oliveira Marques's academic career. After a brief experience

in 1975 as director of the National Library of Portugal (Lisbon), he joined the faculty of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, a recently created institution in which new curricula in the humanities and social sciences had been introduced. In 1980, Oliveira Marques was appointed full professor (*Professor Catedrático*) of the university, and it was there that he contributed in a decisive way to the renovation and growth of Portuguese historiography, launching new graduate curricula in areas such as Medieval History and Contemporary History that were later adopted by other universities, and publishing new series of primary sources from the medieval and early modern period. The impact of his work in Portugal can be judged in part by the number of dissertations that he supervised at the Universidade Nova and by the many graduate students from other universities who were drawn to Oliveira Marques by his brilliance and affability.

To his students, Oliveira Marques transmitted above all a sense of excitement and genuine pleasure in historical research. No student's idea was left undiscussed at his seminars, and no "accepted truth" would be left to stand on the way of the committed young researcher. "The student should be on guard," he wrote in one of his guides, "against the false premises often considered as evident truths that are so abundant in Portuguese historical works and should, in fact, be submitted to a rigorous critique." A gifted lecturer, he insisted on teaching beginning undergraduates, often sharing data from his own research in reputed "hands on" sessions that captivated even the least motivated and the least prepared students. Those who, like this writer, were fortunate to have Oliveira Marques as a teacher and supervisor, will always remember the lesson of his committed, creative, and rigorous approach to historical research.

Compiled Bibliographies of A. H. de Oliveira Marques:

Maria Fernanda Andrade, João José Alves Dias, "Bibliografia do Prof. Doutor António Henrique Rodrigo de Oliveira Marques (1951-1982)," *Estudos de História de Portugal I. Homenagem a A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, Lisboa, Estampa, 1982, pages 39-97.

Maria Fernanda Andrade, João José Alves Dias, "Bibliografia do Prof. Doutor António Henrique Rodrigo de Oliveira Marques (continuação – 1982-2003)," *Na Jubilação Universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, ed. Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Coimbra, Minerva, 2003, pages 185-283.

Exposição Bibliográfica. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 1933-2007. 50 Anos de Historiador. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa, 2007.

BULLETIN BOARD

Professor Harold Johnson has made a donation to the SSPHS to establish the A.H. de Oliveira Marques Memorial Prize Fund, which will support an annual prize of \$250 for the best article in Portuguese history. The A.H. de Oliveira Marques Memorial Prize will be awarded at the annual conference of the SSPHS. The awardee will be selected by a committee appointed by the General Secretary of the Society from authors of articles of Portuguese History published during the calendar year previous to the annual meeting.

The A.H. de Oliveira Marques
Memorial Prize.

The LIBRO

The Libro (Library of Iberian Resources Online) Project is now seven years old. Begun with seed money provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, LIBRO has developed an online, full-text library of some sixty titles that are used by scholars, students and interested readers worldwide. During the past year, LIBRO has acquired a new server with funds provided by the American Academy of Research Historians of Medieval Spain, the Provost's Office of the University of Central Arkansas and LIBRO itself. This not only insures the continuation of the project for the immediate future but also provides an immense amount of space for additional materials – as many as 40 to 50,000 books. Currently, the library is expanding, but modestly. The reason is that, as a non-profit enterprise, the project is by its very nature collaborative. The recent titles illustrate this. One is a new edition of Richard Herr's *Historical Essay on Modern Spain*, updated with a new epilogue. Professor Herr offered the title to LIBRO and assisted in proof-reading the final manuscript. Another is Donald Kagay's edition and translation of the *Usatges of Barcelona*, made available after the print edition had sold out. Professor Kagay was able to provide a digital copy of the text and thus eliminated much of the expense of placing a title on LIBRO. A third title is Thomas Izbicki's biography of Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata, LIBRO's first PDF title, made available because its publisher, Catholic University of America Press, was interested in exploring the possibility of online PDF publication. The fourth title, Julius Klein's work on the Mesta, was a serendipitous gift from Rod Hay who decided to scan the title in PDF format in his spare time.

Future growth of the LIBRO collection depends on these types of collaborations. If you have an out-of-print book, suggestions for possible books (monographs, biographies, histories, documents, texts, images, etc.), time and resources for scanning, a willingness to serve on the Editorial Board, etc., please contact me: jimb@uca.edu. We will all benefit. Jim Brodman, Director, The LIBRO Project.

Bishko Prize

Katherine Elliott van Liere's article, "The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator* 37 (2006): 519-43, has been selected by the Awards Committee of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies as the recipient of the Bishko Prize for Best Article in medieval history published in 2006. Professor van Liere (Associate Professor of History, Calvin College) challenges long-held assumptions about the cult of St. James the Apostle and his presumed founding of the Spanish church. Through careful textual examination of the works for medieval Spanish historians and the development of the cult through the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation periods, van Liere convincingly argues that "most of those who believe that James the Apostle had founded the Spanish church, as well as most of those who doubted it, forgot how recently, and by what a crooked path, this tradition had entered the Spanish historical imagination" (543). The Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies awarded the 2006 prize, consisting of a certificate and honorarium of \$100, at its annual meeting in Miami Beach, Florida, April 19-21, 2007.

Professor Harold Johnson has made an additional donation to the Bishko Prize Fund that will allow the Society to increase the annual award for the best article in medieval history to \$250.

EXHIBITION REVIEW

“Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries” held at the Freer Gallery of Art, the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and the National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C., June 24-September 16, 2007. Catalogue: Jay A. Levenson, ed. *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, with contributions by Diogo Ramada Curto and Jack Turner (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery / Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 386 pp, illustrations, maps.

These are heady times for reflections about globalization. Daily doses of journalism keep alert readers abreast of the latest obscure connections and direct impacts between the most remote corners of the globe while a flood tide of scholarly and popular books has offered more substantial analyses of the worldwide currents of political, cultural, intellectual, social, and religious movements. For historians, the search for the origins of these global phenomena and their development over time is perhaps a logical preoccupation. To be sure, the members of the SSPHS need not be reminded of the contributions made by the Spanish and Portuguese in establishing the first global networks of trade and communication. But concern for intercultural communication can also be found among art historians, although scholars have paid much more attention to the development of artistic currents within pre-modern Europe (such as classicism or the baroque) than to the exportation and hybridization of those styles beyond continental boundaries. The exhibition recently held at the Freer and Sackler Galleries (as well as part of the National Museum of African Art) of the Smithsonian Institution, entitled *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, was an impressive attempt to make up for this shortcoming. By displaying the variety of artwork produced during the first two centuries of the Portuguese presence in Africa, Brazil, and southern and eastern Asia, this show gave a comprehensive panorama of the artistic expressions of empire and the responses that they provoked in other cultures. Refreshingly, it did so in a sober, dispassionate manner that, while recognizing the darker sides of empire, such as slave trading, did not seek to impose a particular moral vision on the visitor.

The six sections of *Encompassing the Globe* were organized geographically, with separate spaces dedicated to objects related to Portugal (and more broadly, Europe), Brazil, Africa, Maritime Asia (from the Indian Ocean to Indonesia), China, and Japan. With the exception of the Africa section, each of the exhibition halls opened onto a central space where a *padrão*, or stone column emblazoned with the royal arms of Portugal, commanded the visitor's attention. While the disposition of the galleries did not set off one particular hall as a starting point, the section devoted to Portugal seemed a logical place to begin. One of the most remarkable aspects of this section (and of the exhibition as a whole) was the selection of the objects on display. Without exception, they were among the finest works relating to this period to be found in both public and private collections worldwide. For instance, the cartographic material on display included a colored atlas by Henricus Martellus (early 1490s), the Cantino Planisphere (c. 1502), a Brixen globe (c. 1522), and world map by Pêro Fernandes (c. 1545), in addition to a heart-shaped projection from Venice with Arabic inscriptions (1559-60) and a massive two-part Chinese world map (c. 1674). In addition to being historical documents of undoubted significance, these objects are also beautiful works of art depicting the new worlds encountered by the Portuguese. The objects intended to evoke Portugal, its culture, and its capital are equally impressive. Beyond the presence of one of the illuminated legal codices of the Manueline period and the lively painted depiction of the Lisbon quayside filled with nobles, African slaves, and traders, there was also the massive (1.6 x 3.8 meters) ex-voto cityscape of Lisbon and its harbor from the early seventeenth century which was improbably transported from its high perch at the church of São Luís dos Franceses in the Portuguese capital.

Liam Matthew Brockey,
Department of History,
Princeton University

As should perhaps be expected in a show of this type, there were numerous objects related to the art and craft of navigation, as well as examples of the luxury items brought back to Europe from overseas. Yet the artifacts in *Encompassing the Globe* raised the bar for even baroque luxury—one enormous spice roaster originally made for the Danish court was shaped like a golden mountain with a castle on top. And other examples of sixteenth-century exotica gave new meaning to the expression “gilding the lily”—nautilus shells encrusted with gold statuettes, mother-of-pearl caskets with silver filigree mounts, and even ostrich eggs which served as drinking tankards set into silver holders shaped like the birds themselves. Of course, these luxury objects, already precious prior to their embellishment by continental artisans, were important markers of status that were collected by noblemen and sovereigns alike—as the explanations of the early modern phenomenon of the *Kunstkammer* made clear to the visitor. While the show does not attempt to trace the precise links of every one of these objects to Portugal and its empire, the curators grouped the objects in such a way as to suggest that they would not have arrived in the far-flung corners of Europe if not for comings and goings of the *Carreira do Brasil* and the *Carreira da Índia* at Lisbon.

Taken by itself, the sections of this show devoted to Europe reminded the visitor of the powerful force of attraction exerted by luxury goods from afar on early modern Europeans. Yet at least four of the other sections of *Encompassing the Globe* made it clear that the same forms of magnetism affected members of the elite in Asian and African societies. They, too, prized the rare commodities that the Portuguese brought to them, whether from Europe or other places they visited during their travels and conquests. The section on Maritime Asia, here meaning the area from the Persian Gulf to the Maluku islands (the Moluccas), contained objects produced for local consumption among non-Europeans. For instance, there were numerous Indian miniature paintings produced by Asian artists, many of which depict scenes from the Bible, Europeans, or even exotic fauna (including one vivid Indian rendering of a turkey). Other works, such as the lavishly illuminated Persian translation of the story of the life of Christ which was presented by the Jesuit Jerónimo Xavier to the Mughal emperor Akbar, attested to how European ideas could be made to fit into Asian patterns of luxury. But the story of the Portuguese presence in early modern Asia was not simply one of adaptation, it was also one of transformation. The Europeans who settled in the emporia of the Indian Ocean (and elsewhere) not only created new, ethnically hybrid communities, they also ensured that their religion would strike deep roots. The sheer mass of devotional art produced in Asia, for indigenous, European, or Eurasian Catholics, in this show should therefore not have been surprising. The religious ideas depicted in such works as the ivory madonnas from Sri Lanka or the Good Shepherd statuette from Gujarat (whose base opens to reveal miniature scenes from the Nativity) were thus as much in line with European sensibilities as Asian ones.

Beyond their commodities, it was the image of strength and riches projected by the Portuguese that made perhaps the greatest impression on the non-European peoples that they encountered. While it might be a step too far to call them “the first Americans” in light of the force of their cultural projection, the early modern explorers who served the throne in Lisbon (but more often just themselves) were doubtless aware of their symbolic gravitas. The sections of *Encompassing the Globe* that convey this message most clearly are those related to Africa and Japan. One of the true joys of this show is the rich collection of West African ivory and brass pieces depicting the Portuguese, or at least betraying their influence. Here, Portuguese figures (uniformly male—depictions of women seem restricted to the Virgin Mary or other biblical females and are presented in modest African attire) are shown as formidable warriors with daunting weapons. They wear broad brimmed hats and carry muskets; they sport long beards and grim expressions. Logically, these invocations of the Portuguese were considered fitting

material for decorating the royal palaces of the kings of Benin; the glory of a warrior was easily transmitted across cultural lines. By contrast, the image of the Portuguese found in sixteenth and seventeenth century Japanese artwork is one of pure luxury. The richly colored (and gilt) folding screens and lacquerware depict the exotic foreigners with flowing cloaks, ballooned silk pants, gold chains, and numerous African slaves. These were people who had traveled the world and had become fabulously wealthy. Not only did they travel in style on magnificent black ships, their craft were laden with the richest goods imaginable—the finest silk from China.

As suggested above, one of the principal commodities in which the early modern Portuguese trafficked was knowledge, that is, religious, technological, or scientific learning. While historians have shown that these products did not always find abundant buyers, they were at least marketed with considerable brio. The section devoted to China offered a panorama on precisely these types of intellectual encounters, focusing largely on the Jesuit missionaries who played crucial roles in translating European thought into Chinese. In addition to examples of devotional objects (statues of the Virgin Mary and the saints, as well as printed texts with illustrations) and portraits of the missionaries themselves, *Encompassing the Globe* included astronomical devices used by the Jesuits to instruct the Qing emperors in celestial observation. From their positions as court astronomers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these missionary priests enjoyed an enviable vantage for gathering indigenous knowledge and expounding on Western thought to the highest levels of Chinese administration. The results of this process of interaction could be seen in the miniature copies of the armillary sphere, astrolabe, and sundial, as well as the Chinese-language treatise on astronomy produced by Ferdinand Verbiest in the 1670s to explain his scientific methods to native intellectuals. Although the explanatory texts mention only Flemish, German, and Italian missionaries who worked at the Imperial Astronomical Bureau—perhaps leading the visitor to doubt the “Portugueseness” of this part of the show—it was not for a lack of Portuguese Jesuits who also worked as missionary savants at Beijing. Yet, to its credit, *Encompassing the Globe* properly emphasized the role of Macau in serving as the primary interface between China and the West from the sixteenth until the eighteenth centuries.

One of the few paradoxical elements of the exhibition was the manner in which Portuguese Brazil was presented. Perhaps because of the curatorial challenges involved or the difficulty of transporting objects from Salvador da Bahia, Minas Gerais, or elsewhere in Brazil, the objects on display came primarily from European collections. Moreover, the truly impressive objects—including four full-length portraits of African and Brazilian figures—were actually produced during the brief Dutch interlude in the mid-seventeenth century, by Dutch artists or for Dutch patrons. Curiously, among the relatively few Brazilian objects on display was a fine set of Tupinamba artifacts (including the headdress which adorns the cover of the catalogue) from Danish ethnographic collections. And even the large carved planks depicting the harvest of brazilwood from the sixteenth century, executed at Rouen, reflect French, rather than Portuguese colonial pretensions. To be sure, *Encompassing the Globe* did display a number of examples of Portuguese cartography of Brazil, as well as a small selection of baroque religious sculpture, but these pieces offered too limited a perspective on what was Portugal’s largest and most ambitious pre-modern colony.

For those who were not able to visit the exhibit in Washington, there is still a chance to see a slightly reduced version of it in Brussels through February at the Center for Fine Arts. Moreover, the lead curator Jay Levenson and his team invested a considerable amount of energy in producing a beautiful, extensive catalogue of the objects on display. The editorial staff of the Freer and Sackler Galleries are to be commended for the sheer beauty of this book and the quality of its images; many of the objects are

reproduced by images larger than life size and are accompanied by details as well. There are also three essays in the volume: an overview of the show by Levenson, the director of the International Program at the Museum of Modern Art; an article on Portuguese interpretations of the *Descobrimentos* by Diogo Ramada Curto of the European University Institute; and an essay on the use and symbolism of spices by Jack Turner. The two articles by Curto and Turner provide a nice introduction to the show's broad themes, although Curto's historiographical discussion, while an insightful overview, seems a bit too academic for the uninitiated. It would perhaps have made more sense to include this article in the two forthcoming volumes of essays and illustrations which will also be published by the Freer and Sackler Galleries. As one of the contributors to these forthcoming volumes, I am dismayed that they did not appear during the run of the show, thereby benefiting the thousands of visitors. I was even further disappointed to learn that the Freer and Sackler Gallery staff were not responsible for this delay, but rather that some of the contributors have chosen to ignore—for over a year—the deadlines set by the editors. Yet, as frustrating as this disregard for other scholars may be, it also means that this spectacular exhibition will continue to bear fruit for the coming years.

BOOK REVIEWS

Charlene Villaseñor Black. *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. 259 pp. + 8 plates. Reviewed by Alison Weber, University of Virginia.

In this lavishly illustrated and extensively documented study, Charlene Villaseñor Black argues that after 1,600 years of obscurity, St. Joseph suddenly rose to the top of the saintly hierarchy in the Hispanic world. Although the rise of Joseph's cult after the Council of Trent was a pan-European phenomenon, Black notes that it attained particular intensity in Spain and the Americas. Referring to an impressive array of images from the Iberian peninsula and New Spain (the book includes eighty-four black-and-white figures and eight color plates) and numerous sermons, hagiographies, and inquisitorial guides for painters, Black proposes to show how Josephine imagery was used to inculcate Counter-Reformation doctrine and ideologies of gender.

How does the new, post-Tridentine Joseph differ from earlier representations? Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's *Holy Family with the Little Bird* (before 1650; plate 4) might serve as a paradigmatic example. No longer a feeble old man, the divine foster-father has moved to the foreground and appears as a young, virile husband and tender father. Jesus, depicted as a young child of four or five, leans against Joseph's thigh as he plays with a pet bird and dog. The dark-bearded Joseph rests one hand gently on the child. Mary appears in partial shadow on the extreme left. With spindle in hand and a basket of laundry at her feet, she smiles on the foster father and son at play. Black reads this and other images as a manifestation of the Church's endorsement of a patriarchal nuclear family and as a response to the Protestant challenge to the sacramental nature of marriage. Joseph's elevation to a higher level of dignity and importance in annunciation scenes, nativities, and depictions of the flight into Egypt similarly emphasizes the holiness of matrimony and the husband's authority within it. The creation of the cult was not driven by fears of Protestantism alone. In a period marked by a shortage of eligible men, an increase in child abandonment, and a general decline in population, Church and State were anxious to endorse an institution that appeared to be in crisis.

The propagation of St. Joseph's cult also played a vital role in the colonization and Hispanization of New Spain, according to Black. Colonizers considered indigenous families too matriarchal and sought to impose the European model of the nuclear patriarchal family. However, oversight of religious imagery was less zealous in Mexico than in Spain, and Joseph's cult sometimes reflects indigenous influences and preferences. Representations of the earthly trinity, in which the holy family stands as a visual parallel to the triune Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, remained popular in New Spain despite the Church's disapproval. Black also finds more depictions of an extended, matriarchal holy family in Mexico than in Spain. Whereas St. Anne's cult declined in Europe in the seventeenth century, it continued to flourish in the New World, where grandparents hold a place of honor to this day. Black also speculates that St. Anne had taken on some aspects of Toci, the Aztec goddess of fertility, while Joseph acquired the attributes of Tlaloc, the god of rain.

The cult of Joseph played a complex role in the construction of norms of masculinity. On the one hand, Black proposes that the new image of Joseph was part of the "Catholic church's campaign to increase men's authority over women" (87). On the other hand, she sees the Church as engaged in a campaign to valorize new modes of masculine behavior. For example, numerous images depicting the saint holding, carrying, kissing, or caressing Jesus promote husbands' active involvement in child-rearing. Borrowing from earlier representations of mother and child, seventeenth-century images depict Joseph as the recipient of the intimate "chin chuck" previously reserved for Mary. In other paintings, Joseph assumes a posture reminiscent of the lactating Virgin. In fact, Joseph begins to displace Mary's role as the nurturer of Jesus. Black attributes this shift to interest in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which foregrounded Mary's image as the untouchable unsullied embodiment of purity. As Mary became more distant and pure, Joseph became more accessible and tender. She makes clear that she does not view these images as documentary evidence for a change in men's roles in the domestic sphere. Rather, she sees them as part of an effort to uphold the ideal of fatherhood in the face of perceived social crisis.

Joseph's cult served other needs not directly associated with his role as Jesus's foster father. Citing passages from Francisco Pacheco's *El arte de la pintura* (1638) and contemporary hagiographies, Black argues that Josephine devotion was also deployed in the service of promoting the dignity of manual labor. Depictions of his peaceful death—sometimes in Christ's arms with the Virgin in attendance—were meant to inspire individual Christians to prepare for "good death." She briefly discusses his role as an exemplary convert and special protector of indigenous and African peoples. Finally, she notes that in 1679, Charles II named Joseph the official patron of Spanish realms, making him in effect the symbol of a unified Spanish empire.

The scope of Black's study and the range of images and primary print and manuscript sources she has consulted are truly remarkable. Her assertion that religious iconography and saintly cults can serve as indicators of changing gender ideology is also valid and interesting. However, her study raises certain methodological concerns. The first is chronological. The categories of "crisis" and "Counter-Reformation campaign" are evoked to explain a very long period of history—from the mid-sixteenth to well into the eighteenth century. One might also question whether the post-Tridentine rise in the popularity of Joseph's cult was as dramatic and innovative as she asserts. Several studies indicate that this was not the case. For example, Carolyn C. Wilson has documented a flourishing pre-Tridentine cult of St. Joseph in the Italian Cinquecento. Wilson's book reproduces many early sixteenth-century representations of a vigorous, handsome, nurturing Joseph – hardly a marginal, ineffective figure. Although Black cites Wilson's book (*St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art: New Directions and Interpretations* [Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's Press, 2001]), she does not come to grips

with how this new research might qualify her contention that “worship of the saint by the European populace . . . did not occur until after the Council of Trent” (25).

Also problematic is Black’s heavy reliance on a top-down model of social discipline. Although she does recognize exceptions to her model, she does not question her fundamental premise that the Josephine cult was primarily a coherent disciplinary program devised by a monolithic Counter-Reformation Church and enforced by widespread Inquisitorial censorship. Henry Kamen has demonstrated that Inquisitorial censorship of books was spotty at best, and there is reason to speculate that control over image production would have been equally difficult to enforce. Nor can we assume that the post-Tridentine Church spoke with a single voice.

Black also has difficulty resolving the contradiction between the Church’s “campaign to increase men’s authority over women” and evidence that points to a more egalitarian matrimonial ideal. A more suspicious attitude toward prescriptive literature and received notions of Spanish honor would have been helpful here. There are moments when Black eases up on the social discipline model, conceding, for example, that certain aspects of Mexican iconography reflect the cultural values of the indigenous population. She offers a few intriguing examples of Josephine devotion from the point of view of the devotee, but she does not follow up on indications of how St. Joseph’s cult might have been nourished from below or the middle. Saints are saints for others, as Pierre Deloos astutely observed, and cults are created by convergent constellations of needs. Greater attention to the devotees who commissioned Josephine paintings, prayed for his intercession, and reported his miracles is needed to explain the intensity of Joseph’s cult in the early modern Spanish empire. Nevertheless, Black’s wide-ranging and admirably ambitious study will be of interest to historians of Hispanic art and religious culture and will provide a valuable source for further research.

Chris Ealham and Michael Richards, eds. *The Splintering of Spain. Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 282 pp. Reviewed by Sandie Holguín, University of Oklahoma.

Recently, a spate of new Spanish Civil War histories has appeared, and this collection of essays edited by Chris Ealham and Michael Richards represents some of the best new work out there. By adapting approaches from such fields as anthropology, cultural history, and cultural geography, these authors have made the history of the Spanish Civil War fresh again.

The editors aim to complicate the historiography of the war, which has tended to simplify a tangled web of circumstances, players, politics, and ideologies into convenient binary oppositions. Instead of viewing the war as a series of clashes between fascism and democracy, fascism and communism, proletariat and bourgeoisie, modernity and tradition, war and revolution – pick your poison – they wish to focus our “attention to the cultural sphere” (2) as a way of escaping the prison-house of duality. By using culture as their category of analysis, they demonstrate how Spain “splintered” into numerous pieces instead of cleaving in two.

They adopt Peter Burke’s notion of culture as “a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values and the symbolic forms in which they are expressed” (13). The essays in this volume generally apply their cultural analysis to local events, without ever forgetting the symbiotic relationship between the local and the national. (They do not address the international context of the war.) More important, the majority of the authors successfully illustrate how “these local, often cultural, facets of the landscape of the war . . . gave meaning to the struggle for those entangled in it. This meaning contributed to the shape and course of the war” (2).

Meaning is at the heart of this book. For example, many writers explore the importance of creating and mobilizing people around sacred symbols and myths. Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas demonstrates the malleability of national identity discourses by looking at the case of the 1808 Peninsular War. Nationalists represented

that war as one in which the Spanish nation took up arms against those who imposed the foreign ideology of the French Enlightenment, just as the Nationalists now took up arms against foreign communism and atheism. For the Republicans, however, the “War of Independence” linked together the “nineteenth-century representatives of the Spanish popular classes and the twentieth-century fighters belonging to working-class organizations” (49). Sacred symbols and myths could be redefined, as Rafael Cruz illustrates in his essay about the Carlists’ invention of the Crusade narrative and their appropriation of the red and yellow monarchist flag to represent all of Nationalist Spain. Sacred symbols could also be destroyed, as Mary Vincent graphically portrays in her Bakhtinian analysis of anti-clerical violence at the beginning of the war. Though anti-clerical acts had a long history in Spain, they took a new form, representing “a social, a political and a metaphysical inversion” (89).

The most interesting and successful of the essays engage with the importance of place, both historically and as sites where social groups consciously determined the meaning of the spaces they occupy. Chris Ealham skillfully shows how the Barcelona revolution, while seemingly chaotic to outside observers and to members outside of the working classes, was actually the proletariat’s rational working-out of urban renewal. The working classes transformed the built environment, rallied around new collective symbols that represented proletarian ideals, and physically eliminated those who had held power in the city, namely, the clergy. Pamela Radcliff’s analysis of Gijón provides a nice counterpoint to Ealham’s essay. Gijón had a moderate CNT that, historically, had allied with Republicans. Therefore, when the war broke out, these groups cooperated to reshape the city into a “symbolic language of popular empowerment” (136), a syncretic blend of Enlightenment and revolutionary culture that evoked both groups’ sense of urban modernity. Michael Richards looks to Málaga to explore how the meaning of Semana Santa processions changed in 1931-1939. He compellingly illustrates how various groups physically claimed ownership of the city.

Finally, this book underscores the importance of rallies and other public gatherings for solidifying group identification, shaping collective symbols, and staking out territory. In addition to the analysis of religious public gatherings in Richards’ and Cruz’s aforementioned essays, Eduardo González Calleja studies “the mechanisms of dissemination of symbols employed to justify the use of violence” (27). He argues that, over time, the violent language used at rallies (as well as in newspapers, leaflets, and radio), made the idea of using violence to overthrow one’s enemies seem absolutely necessary to participants and viewers alike.

The strengths of this book outweigh its very minor weaknesses. Although Enric Ucelay Da Cal’s complex essay on Catalan populism is informative in its depiction of changing alliances and ideas among Catalan nationalists and anarchists, his work seems more suited to traditional political history than to cultural history. Also, given excellent urban histories of Barcelona and Gijón here, it seems odd that no one writes about Madrid. This omission may be taking the book’s splintering metaphor too far! On the whole, however, the historians in this work illuminate the numerous ways human beings desire to create meaning out of the chaos of the war.

David J. Weber sets out to answer an unassuming question on an ambitious scale: How did relations with indigenous societies on the Spanish American frontier shape imperial policy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The results are exciting. Deftly, the author explores how ecclesiastics, military officers, bureaucrats, merchants, farmers, migrants, and smugglers implemented, ignored, modified, adapted, and even argued against imperial policies governing trade, settlement, conversion, and diplomatic relations with Araucanians, Apaches, Chiriguano, and other independent

David J. Weber. *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. xviii + 278 pp.+ notes, bibliography, and index. 33 illustrations. 9 maps. Reviewed by Rachel Sarah O’Toole, University of California, Irvine. 43

"Indians" around the Spanish American strongholds in Mesoamerica and the Andes. In the process, Weber rarely simplifies the experience of Spaniards or of the autonomous indigenous communities.

Weber explicitly speaks to an antiquated interpretation that the Spanish were barbaric colonizers in comparison to the enlightened British. Instead, under the Bourbons, the Spanish crown sponsored scientific observers, including Alejandro Malaspina, who recorded environmental behavior to support an assertion of Patagonians' rational adaptations. Spanish administrators attempted to pacify Indians by making them consumers of firearms, alcohol, clothing, and tobacco as well as bestowing gifts of medals and other symbols of generosity. By honoring indigenous sovereignty and maintaining diplomatic reciprocity, the Bourbons worked toward a long-term solution of incorporating Indians into Spanish society. Although the Spanish American republics would resort to extermination policies in the nineteenth century, Weber concludes that under the scientific and administrative influence of the Enlightenment, Spanish bureaucrats and governors crafted "a kinder, gentler Indian policy" and implemented it "with some uniformity throughout its American empire" (xiv).

Further, Weber suggests that indigenous leaders and communities forced Spanish administrators to adapt. Missionaries in some areas reduced indigenous communities into settlements, as in Alta California, while independent "Indians" in Araucanía accessed clerics according to their own necessity. Araucanians and Comanches employed Spanish weaponry and adapted Old World livestock to expand into larger political units and defend their spheres of influence. Military attempts to finally conquer such "savages" resulted in uneasy truces that included skirmishes and smuggling as well as fruitful trade, porous borders, and new settlements. Bilingual and bicultural Spaniards served as guides, traders, translators, and intermediaries between Indians of the pampas and urban centers. Likewise, against crown regulations, the Spanish traded Indian slaves who, when acculturated, served as brokers while indigenous merchants and dignitaries traveled to urban centers as the cultural divide blurred between "savage" Indians and "civilized" Spaniards.

Weber also points to contradictions in Spanish policies. Bourbon scientists continued to reproduce the symbol of the savage Indian. Eighteenth-century policies to secularize the missions resulted in a mixed bag of failed frontier defenses, over-exploitation, and Franciscan hegemony. Offensives against the Apaches, the Cunas, and others with external allies (such as British traders) made conquest impossible. Spanish gift-giving was, in effect, the crown paying tribute to independent Indians rather than the other way around. Even Spanish frontier administrators remained distrustful of independent Indians and alternately emphasized force rather than mandated diplomacy. Thus, Weber offers a coherent narrative without fitting Spanish policies into a neat package of Bourbon success.

Yet he creates a binary construction between the enlightened Bourbons and their Hapsburg predecessors as well as between "sedentary" and "barbarous" Indians that condenses a complicated story of Spanish-indigenous relations. In contrast to the Bourbon "humane treatment of Indians," (4) Weber argues that in the sixteenth century, Spaniards categorically subjected Indians to forced labor (5), judged Indians by their "ethnicity or race" (97), thought trade with Indians was dangerous (180), and only negotiated Indian surrender (207) to military force. Perhaps Weber's intention was to underline how Spanish policies with indigenous populations of the Southern Cone, coastal Central America, and northern Mexico remained unchanged throughout the seventeenth century. However, such strict comparisons leave out the transformative long seventeenth century, when crown officials debated the efficacy of the *mita* and re-assessed tribute obligations in response to indigenous migration and protest,

even while extirpators of idolatry lamented the devilish ways that continued within Andean societies and Spanish authorities crushed urban revolts (such as the 1692 Corn Riot), which they feared would spark Indian revolts throughout New Spain. In short, missionaries, theologians, viceregal officials, and local authorities altered, adapted, and reflected on policies towards “Indians” in the period preceding the Bourbons in response to the “barbarity” they located within colonial societies. “Savages” from the frontiers integrated into “core” societies during the seventeenth century while sedentary peoples conducted multiple forms of resistance against Spanish colonialism.

This book is an exciting way to see the frontier regions as an analytical whole. Weber has drawn a monumental map of eighteenth-century indigenous-Spanish relations that should spark more comparative investigations.

This book advances the argument that Galician women of the early modern era (1500-1800) enjoyed considerable authority and independence in local culture, despite the misogynistic culture of honor promoted by elite literature. This authority “made women central to Galician society, and women recognized the degree to which Galician culture revolved around them.” (21) Poska seeks evidence for women’s authority through an analysis of local marital and sexual norms, inheritance practices, and family structures, grounded in the sources and methods of ethnohistory. The book relies on a multidisciplinary approach, combining detailed reading of court and parish records, exploration of folklore, comparison to studies of early twentieth-century Galicia, and anthropological theories of power and authority. The approach is effective: Poska assembles a compelling body of evidence supporting her argument and suggests that gender norms elsewhere in Europe and Latin America deserve similar reconsideration. The book includes a wealth of detail offering revealing glimpses into an early modern peasant society.

Poska’s introduction establishes her theoretical and methodological ground concisely, offering a strong justification for using theories and methods extending beyond the documentary record on which historians tend to rely. Seven thematically organized chapters address the varied factors that Poska sees as combining to form women’s key position in Galician society: demographics, property, and sexual and marital customs.

The first chapter introduces a core feature of Galician culture: the absence of many Galician men as fisherman, workers in Castile, or migrants to Latin America. The chapter explores economic and cultural causes for male migration and notes the consequences for women; in many areas of Galicia women outnumbered men, leaving many as heads of households and making it difficult for them to marry.

The next four chapters deal with single women, married women, and widows. Chapter 2 examines single women’s access to property. Spanish inheritance law, as practiced in Galicia, stressed partibility and equal inheritance among brothers and sisters alike, giving many Galician women a measure of financial independence. In addition, Poska argues, many families took advantage of legal mechanisms to settle a greater share of the property, often including the family home, on a chosen daughter. Such heiresses (frequently the youngest of the family) were often expected to care for aging parents. The following chapter discusses the sexual norms of Galician society. Contrary to prescriptive literature emphasizing a woman’s chastity as virtue, it was common for unmarried Galician couples to cohabit. Illegitimacy rates were 4.84 to 8.54 per cent, significantly higher than the European average of 2-4 per cent (87-8). Even the Inquisition was reluctant to give harsh penalties to those who cohabited or expressed negative views of marriage. Sexual freedom for unmarried women was clearly accepted as normal.

Allyson M. Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. ix + 271. 2 maps, 1 illustration. Reviewed by Michelle Herder, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Chapter 4 examines attitudes toward marriage, including discussion of dowries, marriage contracts, and bigamy investigations, the latter common due to husbands' migration. Poska explores the evidence for women's decision-making powers within the household, noting that married women were often left at home to farm the family lands. Women also consented to transactions involving their joint property, and Poska encourages us to see these consents as more than mere formalities. She also discusses how couples often lived with the wife's family rather than the husband's, sometimes marginalizing men within households run by their wives and mothers-in-law. Galician widows, described in chapter 5, furnish further examples of Galician women's authority and independence. Widows' control of property gave them stature. Though widows did not take positions on town or parish councils, Poska demonstrates their ability to use their resources to influence their relatives and neighbors.

In chapter 6, Poska explores religious and secular models for women's authority, turning to hagiography and folklore. Galicians exhibited a strong devotion to the Virgin Mary, and Marian stories from Galicia present her as a powerful figure in her own right, often independent of male authority. Stories of virgin martyrs and legendary queens, localized as Galician natives, furnished further examples of powerful women, reflecting a culture in which female authority figures did not seem out of the ordinary.

Finally, Poska compares Galician women to those in Catalonia, Extremadura, and the Basque country. These briefly sketched comparisons examine male migration in those regions, and the norms of property inheritance and sexual activity, finding similarities between Galicians and Basques, while Catalan law and Extremaduran migration patterns contributed to different cultures. Throughout, the author raises wide-ranging questions about the authority and status of women in peasant societies in Europe and Latin America, concluding with a call for closer examination of class and gender together in European culture. Overall, this is a fresh and compelling treatment of gender roles in early modern peasant society.

Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa and Kevin Terraciano, eds., *Mesoamerican Voices. Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan and Guatemala*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Reviewed by Ivonne Del Valle, University of Michigan.

The editors of this volume have collected a number of their own translations of documents of diverse genres (annals, land titles, wills, cabildo and census documents, petitions, texts more traditionally considered "literary"—such as huehuetlahtollis and excerpts from the *Chilam Balam*) originally written in Nahuatl, Mixtec, and Maya. There is also a document from Zapotec and several translations from Spanish; the latter highlights the fact that at a certain point Spanish also became a native language. The volume is part of a series of similar texts that include and build on the work of James Lockhart.

With three areas of Mesoamerica as its scope, the book begins with two chapters that contextualize the themes of literacy (and the disparity between the very size of the three linguistic corpora) and the relations between Spaniards and Mesoamericans. The following chapters, comprising documents grouped by theme—"Conquest," "Political Life," "Household and Land," "Society and Gender," "Crime and Punishment," "Religious Life," and "Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy"—include a brief introduction, along with linguistic commentaries. As the editors note, however, the texts "illustrate multiple themes and patterns" (xiii), and it is possible to read in them topics relevant to the other chapters. (That said, the chapter "Society and Gender" seems somewhat arbitrary: there is not much about gender—though there is elsewhere in the volume—and the chapter seems to focus on the issue of social relations.)

The linguistic and regional variety permits the volume to reflect, indirectly, the similarities and differences in the colonial experience. In addition, placing side by side texts of such distinct genres and unequal accessibility (passages from the *Chilam*

Balam next to an Inquisition document, for example) implies a de-hierarchization and, as a result, a reading that does not privilege the vision of the indigenous elites. For this reason, the final chapter, “Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy,” seems somewhat out of place, not only because it breaks with this pattern, but because, after having read the preceding chapters, it is difficult to reconcile this way of speaking and its themes (the “high language” and the “high morals”) with the colonial panorama presented in the prior documents.

“Excerpts from the Nahuatl Tetzcoco Dialogues, c. 1570’s” (9.3) is an important exception. In the same high language but with very interesting anecdotal reflections that set the dialogues apart from the rest of the documents in this section, the new post-conquest society is reviewed in relationship to an idealized “old” order. A connection can perhaps be traced between this section and Chimalpahin’s expectations about rulers’ obligations in face of natural disasters (6.2) as well as the Tlaxcalan lords’ dismay at the behavior of the commoners due to their recent participation in colonial mercantile networks (6.10).

If at first the reading seems to proceed without direction (at times, the theme linking a group of documents is tenuous), unexpected relationships between the documents begin to emerge. It is very interesting to see, for instance, the (disastrous) fortune of Xochimilco (“betraying” the Mexicas in the *Florentine Codex*, 3.1) subsequent to the first post-conquest accommodation (in a complaint-petition to the king, 4.2). Many of the less well-known texts are also intriguing for their connection to important events in colonial life (e.g. the Jacinto Canek rebellion and the inquisitorial trials of Yanhuitlan and Yucatan), which they illuminate as a kind of brief aftermath.

Some of these documents stand on their own. I will mention just two. In an excerpt from a Nahuatl census from Cuernavaca (5.1.), one can see the unequal process of colonization between the members of what has been called an extensive household. The head of the family, undoubtedly a member of the elite, has various wives and a vast network of dependents, some baptized and married in the church, with distinct attributes and obligations—some of them possibly slaves—distributed over numerous parcels of land and homes that he apparently owns.

A second interesting text is a translation from Maya, an anonymous complaint about four friars (7.7) written in very lewd and graphic language, a rare example that departs from both a formulaic legal format and from the flowery rhetoric and high language of the *huehuehtlahtollis* and the examples of Mesoamerican poetry with which we are more familiar.

Lockhart, who originally translated various texts that the editors revised for this anthology, is also present in the thesis that underlies the compilation: that of a Mesoamerica that survived the conquest virtually unharmed (and, as can be read indirectly, remained alive after the independence movement). This supposed “integrity of the community” (10), barely touched by significant historical changes, is, however, difficult to see in many of the readings. In fact, the chapter “Political Life” presents peoples who were profoundly altered. The brutality of conquest is not a new finding, but each text confirms the severe changes, disruptions, and abuses under Spanish rule. On the other hand, it is equally difficult not to discern how in many instances the indigenous elites were direct competitors with the Spaniards for the work of the commoners (for their “slavery,” as it is called in document 6.1). This lack of romanticization is refreshing, and several documents remind us that the conquest was achieved thanks to Spaniard-Indian alliances.

If the idea of a little-altered community seems unsustainable in many cases, in other documents one can indeed arrive at this conclusion. Reading those texts in which a community makes its own decisions on matters as important as the possession of land (5.12) makes one think that, although these documents exist to a great degree because

of their authors' participation in the Hispanic legal system, they portray conflicts that seem to take place outside of that system. They deal with Indians confronting Indians, attempting to resolve problems among themselves and to continue with their life. In this sense, Chimalpahin's text (6.10) is revealing; for the author it was absolutely clear who the Chalca, the Tlatelolca, and the Tenochca were, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This suggests an astonishing continuity in the very region where the majority of the Spaniards lived. Likewise, a Mixtec will (5.6) that designates each parcel of land by a particular name speaks to the persistence of another way of understanding the relationship to the land.

This unevenness (change in some aspects, continuity in others) resonates with the way the authors characterize the conquest itself, as a complex process that brought about a diversity of Mesoamerican perspectives that do not allow for a single vision. *Mesoamerican Voices* is the title of the work for good reason; the lack of metanarrative (these are stories to which others and still others are added) speaks eloquently of the difficulty in amalgamating realities so different under the same concepts. These texts do not have much in common beyond being indigenous voices in the colonial world, part of a continuum of divergent experiences.

The volume's final document, however, refocuses these disparate experiences within a broader shared meaning and thus reinforces the compilers' thesis. In a prophesy from the *Chilam Balam* (9.4), the Mayans, in the face of the catastrophe of the conquest, prepare to become "tight-lipped," to wait and endure until gathering the strength to fight. This is a choice that perhaps has that intention: to leave us with the determination of Mesoamerican peoples who will await the moment of their resurgence.

Antonio Barrera. *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. Reviewed by Paula De Vos, San Diego State University.

In this monograph, Antonio Barrera has put forth a convincing and important argument about Spain's role in generating what he terms an "early" Scientific Revolution. In crafting his argument, Barrera draws heavily from archival documents, most of which are used in a secondary work for the first time and are a testament to his careful and painstaking research. These documents have led Barrera to make a highly original argument that significantly enhances current understanding of the origins of the Scientific Revolution and of the intentions and methods behind the early conquest and colonization of the New World. As such, his work is indispensable reading for historians of science, Spanish historians, and colonial Latin Americanists.

Barrera's main argument, presented clearly and succinctly throughout the book, is that Spain's discovery and conquest of the New World led to new practices of gathering and testing information. Barrera labels these practices "empirical," for they relied on personal experience rather than on contemporary texts or the writings of classical writers, which had provided the epistemological basis for knowledge in Europe throughout the medieval period. Pliny and Aristotle had not known of avocados or tomatoes, for instance, and had theorized that people in the Antipodes walked upside down. The new types of empirical knowledge gathered by agents in the New World thus forced learned natural philosophers and historians to go beyond these texts and find a new way to describe the order of nature and explain cause and effect.

The new epistemology had an effect on theoretical natural philosophy, but it had its base, according to Barrera, in the practical. Indeed, Barrera takes care to show the interaction between the practical and the theoretical and to establish that much of the new epistemology came from the efforts of private entrepreneurs, merchants, artisans, and sailors involved in the imperial enterprise. These efforts were quickly organized by the Spanish Crown, which had a very practical interest in fostering the discovery of new commodities and technological inventions and in knowing the contours and coastlines of the lands it was trying to control. As Barrera aptly argues,

“An empire was and is, above all, the product of communication and information. Knowledge forms the lifeblood of any empire.” (128) Early on, the Crown codified a set of practices designed to amass and test new knowledge, gathered at first from private individuals and later from reports from colonial administrators, which were then compiled by royal cosmographer-chroniclers into codified histories. These practices were institutionalized in the Casa de la Contratación – what Barrera terms a “Chamber of Knowledge” — after 1503, and in the Council of the Indies after 1524.

Barrera’s work is of great significance. The various manifestations of the empirical method he describes provide a narrative that weaves together and explains events of the early years of conquest and discovery that hitherto have remained outside the narrative or have been treated as anomalies. These include the crafting of a “Royal Map” incorporating all new discoveries, the publication of various works of cosmography and navigation, the expeditions of Jaime Juan and Francisco Hernández, the compilation of the *Relaciones geográficas*, the implementation of new mining technologies, and the publication of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo’s natural history texts, and, later, José de Acosta’s *Natural and Moral History*. The empirical practices of this “early Scientific Revolution” also predated and influenced the practical utilitarianism of Francis Bacon and the empiricism of Galileo, both of whom have been credited as having had decisive influence on the Scientific Revolution. And, as Barrera demonstrates in his conclusion, Spanish publications were translated and printed throughout Europe, and the Crown’s program of imperial control, which supported the pursuit of scientific and technical knowledge and its publication, “became the model, without doubt, for the English and Dutch empires.” (131)

Like other ground-breaking works, Barrera’s argument sparks questions that scholars will no doubt continue to grapple with. Apart from Galileo’s empiricism, for example, are there other specific connections between the empiricism generated in the colonization of the Americas and scientific developments in the seventeenth century? What, in other words, are the connections between the “early” Scientific Revolution and the later one? And are there connections between late medieval cosmography and natural history and this “early” revolution: are there any traces of empiricism, for example, in Arab medical traditions or Mediterranean navigation that might have influenced Spanish conceptions of the New World? And finally, although Barrera deals with the influence of humanism and of the Counter-Reformation on Spanish imperial activities, is there a more specific connection to be made between Spanish empiricism and the development of critical thinking associated with Renaissance philology? These are only some of the questions yet to be answered, but the very fact of their generation attests to the quality and originality of this work.

Jeffrey Schrader undertakes a challenging subject in his book, *La Virgen de Atocha: Los Austrias y las imágenes milagrosas*, namely, the history of a miraculous Spanish sculpture and the church in which it resides. To date, the Virgin of Atocha, a diminutive wooden statue carved by an unknown artist, has escaped serious attention from art historians. Its medieval origins have been obscured by time, and obfuscated by accounts of its miraculous creation. In addition, the sculpture has suffered significant alteration over the centuries. Furthermore, as an *imagen de vestir* (an image to be dressed) taken out in religious processions, this image has acquired the status of folk art, despite centuries of royal patronage. It is precisely the sort of object many art historians overlook. To make the topic even more challenging, the church in which the image is housed, near Madrid’s Atocha train station, has been rebuilt over the centuries. The current church, in fact, was erected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during the reign of regent María Cristina. Nothing of the earlier structure remains. Despite

Jeffrey Schrader. *La Virgen de Atocha: Los Austrias y las imágenes milagrosas*. Trans. Teresa Sans and Fabián Chueca. Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2006. xx+132 pp. 90 color plates. Reviewed by Charlene Villaseñor Black, University of California, Los Angeles.

the difficulties enumerated above, Schrader has produced a factually-rich study that focuses on Habsburg artistic patronage at the site.

While Schrader concedes that the Virgin of Atocha is scarcely known today, and the cult's early history lost, he argues that the image was especially important during the reigns of the Habsburg monarchs of Spain's so-called Golden Age, 1516-1700. In fact, Schrader posits that because of royal patronage, the Virgin of Atocha was regarded as the most powerful Madonna in Spain during the Habsburg era. A significant amount of documentation, including sources newly mined by Schrader such as histories of the Virgin's sanctuary, supports his case. Complementing his textual sources, Schrader expands his investigation by reference to other miraculous virgins in Spain and its empire (including those of Montserrat, Guadalupe, Toledo, and Valencia), and the churches in which they were located.

The book is organized thematically. The first chapter traces the history of Habsburg patronage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrating that the Virgin of Atocha's cult became particularly important after 1561, when Philip II established the court in Madrid. This chapter also offers detailed information about the sanctuary treatise, a literary genre that flourished after the Council of Trent. The second chapter provides art historical information on the sculpture itself, as well as reproductions such as medals and prints. The third chapter attempts to reconstruct the church of the Virgin of Atocha as it stood during the Habsburg years, using texts, documents, and plans, as well as by comparison to other similar sanctuaries in the Spanish Empire. This chapter is especially important because it provides careful documentation of Habsburg patronage at the site from Philip II to Charles II. It also enriches our knowledge of royal architects and painters such as Sebastián Herrera Barnuevo, Juan Gómez de Mora, Francisco Herrera the Younger, Francisco Rizi, Juan Carreño de Miranda, and Luca Giordano. In chapter 4 religious rituals associated with the cult are reviewed. Public processions – organized to ensure the health of the royal family, to commemorate royal births, to celebrate military victories, and to give thanks – seem to have increased in the seventeenth century, especially during the rule of Philip IV. Of particular importance to Schrader's argument is his description of the 1643 ceremony in which the Virgin of Atocha was named patron of the Spanish monarchy. The conclusion demonstrates that the Virgin of Atocha remained a royal favorite in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This book will be useful to historians and art historians interested in the history of the monarchy and royal patronage, as well as the history of the city of Madrid. It contributes new information to the study of religious art and architecture in early modern Spain, a topic still under-studied given the centrality of sacred art at the time. Schrader's other contribution is methodological in nature. In the face of the total destruction of the seventeenth-century church, Schrader creatively attempts a reconstruction based on a review of the documentation, locating under-utilized textual sources, and a comparison to other known structures, thereby providing a model for others faced with similar predicaments.

It is this reviewer's hope that Schrader's book, which is based on his doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Jonathan Brown at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, may inspire additional studies of art and religious devotion. Why did the Virgin of Atocha eventually drop from visibility after its Habsburg heyday? What are the links between royal and popular devotion in Spain? Why do certain artworks become the objects of art historical study and others do not? Further work on such issues, in addition to contributing new factual information, will also move scholarship in new methodological and theoretical directions.

Apart from military entanglements, relations between England and Spain have long been neglected by early modern historians (with the recent exception of Glyn Redworth's admirable study of the seventeenth-century marriage proposal between Prince Charles and the Infanta María). In this collection of essays, John Edwards and Ronald Truman seek to remedy this deficiency by focusing on the spiritual ties between Marian England and Habsburg Spain, primarily through the figure of Friar Bartolomé Carranza, the ill-fated archbishop of Toledo. Although Carranza is best known for his protracted inquisitorial trial, the editors propose that Carranza belongs to a broader Catholic Reformation narrative for having exercised extensive influence over the Marian reforms during his stay in England as an ecclesiastical adviser to Prince Philip (1554-1557).

The majority of the essays focus on the influence of the Spanish from an English perspective. For example, several speak eloquently and persuasively for a re-assessment of the reign of Queen Mary that goes beyond the caricature of "Bloody Mary" to a more nuanced analysis of royal policies, the activities of England's Catholic clergy, and the role played by the Spanish in the attempted restoration of Catholicism. Essays by David Loades, Lucy Wooding, William Wizeman, and John Edwards all illuminate this understudied period in English (and Catholic) history. Loades dismantles the idea that the virulent persecutions of Mary's reign reflected ecclesiastical or Spanish design; instead, he identifies Mary as the driving force behind the persecution while simultaneously pointing out her own reforming and humanist tendencies. Wizeman's article expands the discussion of Mary's devotional (dis)interests (in particular, the cult of the saints) and demonstrates that Marian Catholic clergy de-emphasized aspects of Catholic piety that reformers found disquieting or even repellent. Thomas F. Mayer and Dermot Fenlon raise additional theological issues in essays that compare the reforming ideals of Carranza and his friend Cardinal Pole.

A common refrain of many articles is the fact that the restoration was an English-driven phenomenon, rather than a Spanish one, in spite of contemporary English fears about a Spanish invasion. Wooding, for example, agrees with Loades that Mary herself drove the persecutions of Protestants; her article argues that the queen's religious policies drew from the example of the Henrician reforms, rather than from Spanish ideology. Edwards in his introduction provides a delightful example of contemporary attempts to create continuity between Mary's reign and the English past, as he wryly observes that the welcoming ceremonies for Prince Philip in London were "directed at demonstrating to the English public that their rulers, whom they supposed to be a 'Spanish' King and a 'half-Spanish' (and half-Welsh) Queen were in fact as 'English' as could be, thanks to their common descent from the French-speaking Plantagenet... John 'of Gaunt'" (14).

These essays evolved out of a March 2001 symposium, "An Apostle of Reform: Fray Bartolomé Carranza in the England of Mary Tudor." Despite the title, this collection is less about Carranza than one might imagine. While most essays include discussions of the Dominican friar's time in England, such investigations are not the main focus. Instead, the archbishop acts as a bridge enabling English and Spanish historians to enter into a dialogue about Catholicism and reform in the sixteenth century.

As a result, the essays that focus on Carranza can seem out of place within the broader thematic frame. Nevertheless, they illuminate important aspects of the archbishop's life. For example, José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras outlines some of Carranza's repressive acts in England, while Patrick Preston discusses the Tridentine debate between Carranza and Catharinus over the bishops' obligation of residence, an issue that was key to Carranza's theology and to his subsequent political troubles. In the last essay, Truman evaluates Spanish accounts of Carranza's life written in the early modern

John Edwards and Ronald Truman, eds. *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza*. Burlington, UK: Ashgate, 2005. 235 pp. Reviewed by Erin Kathleen Rowe, University of Oregon .

period and assesses how such accounts were deployed during the nineteenth-century debate over the abolition of the Inquisition.

While reading the collection, one occasionally feels that the interactions – both cooperative and hostile – between Carranza, the Spanish, and the English could be explored more aggressively. We are told, for example, that many Englishmen evinced antagonism to the Spanish marriage and to the idea of foreigners meddling in English affairs, yet there is little information on how Carranza's reform might have been received by English Catholics, especially outside the clergy. Even so, this does not detract from the book's contributions, both to a more sophisticated understanding of Marian theological-royal policy and to transnational historical scholarship of the early modern world.

Jodi Bilinkoff. *Related Lives. Confessors and their Female Penitents, 1450-1750*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. 181 pp. Reviewed by Cristian Berco, Bishop's University.

When examining women and piety in the early modern Catholic world, we tend to think in terms of the old debate about women's opportunities and how or whether measures of control increasingly sought to constrict them. In short, interpretations focus on women within the two poles of agents and objects, both acting on and being shaped by their environment. The striking feature of *Related Lives* is that Jodi Bilinkoff moves beyond these sometimes stifling parameters into a fresh perspective that focuses on women as part of relationships, in this case with their confessors. In doing so, she easily captures the sense of process in these relationships and thus deftly illuminates new aspects of the intersection of gender and religiosity.

Related Lives examines the autobiographies of women and the hagiographies about them written by their confessors, delving into these deeply personal and religious relationships and their wider impact on faith, Catholic identity, and the formation of behavioral models in an age of confessional conflict. Although Spanish writings dominate the sample, Bilinkoff covers a wide geographical range that includes France, Italy, Spanish America, French North America, and Portugal. The chronological range of the sources likewise lends depth to the analysis, while the mix of *beatas* and nuns provides variety in the religious experiences.

In chapter 1, Bilinkoff offers an excellent overview of the changes in penitential culture during this period and how they affected women and their confessors. Riding a wave of increasing Catholic piety, women forged strong personal relationships with confessors, who acted as spiritual advisers. Holy women gained legitimacy in a context of greater institutional control, as well as deeply-sought direction through these interactions. The confessors themselves not only forged often life-long relations with these women but also gained prestige through their support of those who were eventually accepted as holy. These relationships were thus not only fluid and greatly varied but also reciprocal and personally fulfilling.

Chapter 2 further explores the motivations of spiritual advisers when they set out to guide and eventually publicize the exemplary lives of holy women. The desire for eventual canonization, the vocation for writing, and the ultimately educational goal of highlighting important Catholic truths served to push these devout men to seek a spiritual interaction with the women they deeply admired.

After carefully examining the actors in these relationships, Bilinkoff in the next two chapters turns to the writing process itself. In a fascinating analysis of hagiographical accounts, she demonstrates the collaborative nature of the writing process. Unlike scholars who have seen the running commentaries by male authors on the letters and writings of female saints as censorial and controlling, Bilinkoff convincingly argues that this intimate process benefited both parties. In fact, as chapter 4 shows, the intimate spiritual bonding between female saints and their spiritual advisers, so reliant on penitential and Eucharistic practices, often shines through in the texts.

At this point, *Related Lives* turns to the very important issue of readership and the effect these texts had, especially on women. Bilinkoff notes that many of the women surveyed in her monograph drew inspiration in childhood or upon entering regular orders from the written lives of female saints. These hagiographies affected Catholicism by strengthening belief in aspects crucial to Catholic identity such as the intercession of the saints, the importance of confession, and the centrality of Eucharistic practices. At a time when these aspects of Catholic culture marked a line of division and conflict with Protestantism, the contribution of these pious women and their confessors to the preservation of Catholicism was paramount.

This last argument, concerning the overall effect of hagiographies on Catholic culture in the post-Tridentine period, probably could have been fleshed out more. I would have enjoyed reading her impressions of how hagiography as a cultural tool interacted with the equally influential tools of discipline, punishment, and prescription. In any case, it is a testament to the meticulous scholarship, the brilliant insights, and the provocative analysis of *Related Lives* that questions linger. This monograph is indispensable reading, not just because it offers such a nuanced and new perspective on early modern Catholic culture through the interaction of women and their confessors, but primarily because it forces us to ask new questions and consider new approaches to the history of early modern religiosity and gender.

Michael J. Levin's investigation of Spanish ambassadors in the time of Charles V and Philip II explores the fictitious nature of Habsburg hegemony in Italy. Levin begins by posing several questions: Why were the Spanish ambassadors so uneasy? Why did they not believe that they had completely succeeded in dominating Italy? Levin crafts a most impressive array of evidence to demonstrate that the Spaniards never controlled Italy in the manner of "absolute domination" (1) and he takes issue with the arguments of Eric Cochrane, Henry Kamen, and especially Thomas Dandeleit, who all assert that Spanish hegemony over Italy was real and that it went largely unchallenged. While Levin argues that the "pacification of Italy never happened" (2) and "that there was no sudden solidification of Spanish hegemony" (2) he himself subscribes to a more nuanced version of the "hegemony" argument.

It goes something like this: absolute control never materialized but "the quest for hegemony in Italy and beyond" (7) became the overriding concern of Spain's ambassadors. Hence we see their perpetual uneasiness and frustration when they arrived in Italy to find resistance to their policies. Levin focuses on the two states in Italy that were completely independent of Spanish control: Venice and the Papal States. Levin asserts that the "primary responsibility of the resident ambassador was to convince these powers to aid Spain in its quest for hegemony in Italy and beyond" (7) and equates Spanish efforts to control Italy with "attempts to establish world dominance" (12) or a "Habsburg Bid for Mastery" (107).

However, many of the events that Levin investigates don't fit easily into this paradigm. For instance, can we really say that defection of the Venetians from the Holy League was a reaction against Spanish imperialism in Italy? Where Levin sees Venetian resistance to Spanish hegemony, I see a tug of war between two independent states with clearly different strategic priorities. Venice was concerned primarily with defending its mercantile empire in the Eastern Mediterranean, while Spain was concerned with countering Ottoman designs in North Africa. The disintegration of the Holy League was the result of a conflict over these different strategic orientations. It has little to do with any attempt to dominate Italy. The same problems apply to many of the cited examples of conflict with the papacy. Take, for instance, the tension between Pope Clement VIII and Philip II over the absolution of Henry IV, which Levin sees as an at-

Michael J. Levin. *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. vii + 228 pages. Reviewed by Edward Shannon Tenace, Lyon College.

tempt on the part of the papacy to “restore the balance of power in Europe” (126). The decision had nothing to do with any fear of Spanish imperialism. In fact, Levin’s own evidence points to papal concerns over Spanish “weakness” (127). Clement astutely realized from a very early date that Philip’s quixotic quest to install his daughter on the French throne was actually weakening Spanish power, not strengthening it. In addition, as the spiritual leader of Christendom, it behooved him to end the Franco-Spanish conflict in order to refocus attention towards the great Turkish menace. And then there are the religious concerns of the papacy. There was a very real fear that if Clement did not grant absolution to Henry IV, his intransigence might backfire and cause a schism with the French church.

One of the problems here is the usefulness of the “bid for mastery” paradigm. It may apply to the last few decades of Philip II’s reign, but does it really fit the earlier period of Levin’s study? One of the defining episodes that Levin cites was the imperial coronation of Charles V at Bologna in 1530. On the surface, this looks like a powerful statement of Habsburg hegemony, but an analysis of the event itself points to more mundane concerns. Charles V was driven to be crowned as emperor less by the desire to project imperial mastery (despite Gattinara’s rhetoric) than by the fear that the German Protestants would not elect his brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans, an act which depended on him being crowned first as emperor. Moreover, Charles wanted to arrange a quick peace settlement in Italy not as a prelude for the domination of Italy, but rather to deal with other problems outside of Italy. Moreover if Charles was really interested in imperial domination in the modern sense, why would he later offer to give up Milan or the Netherlands in exchange for a French peace?

One of the things that Levin ignores is the dynastic nature of Spanish foreign policy. Even Philip’s strategy in France in the 1590s, which many have seen as the epitome of a “bid for mastery,” looks more like the same old-fashioned dynasticism that was the primary ingredient of wars in the past. Philip sincerely believed that his eldest daughter possessed an incontrovertible right to the French throne based on her maternal descent from the last Valois ruler. Similarly, for both Charles V and Philip II, the pacification of Italy was not an overt attempt to conquer Italy but to defend Spain’s dynastic patrimony there, which meant keeping the French out of Italy and opposing the designs of any Italian princes or popes who upset the status quo. This is not imperialism in the classic modern sense of the term. Moreover, Levin offers little evidence to suggest that either Charles or Philip were out to impose an absolute hegemony over Italy. There is no blueprint for empire. Even the Parma fiasco (1551-1552), which Levin sees as part of a Granvillian-inspired “policy of forcibly integrating the Italian states into the imperial system” (63) must be seen in the context of the Habsburg-Valois wars as well as the Habsburg argument that they were part of the duchy of Milan. This is not to say that there were no attempts by the Spanish to intimidate and browbeat the Italian states or exploit events to their advantage. Levin provides ample data to show that this was indeed the case and that the Spanish ambassadors themselves were in general arrogant, chauvinistic, distrustful, fearful, and brimming with nativistic hubris and superiority. Are they projecting an imperialistic mien? Perhaps. But were they out to assert a conscious policy of world domination and hegemony over Italy? I don’t think so.

More convincing is Levin’s argument for an emerging sense of nationalism by which Italians and Spaniards defined themselves in opposition to each other. He cites numerous references to an “anti-Italian” sentiment among the ambassadors. But how corrosive an effect these attitudes had in undermining the Spanish position is debatable because they can be counterbalanced by many examples of Hispano-Italian cooperation.

Levin’s work will command attention for his research on individual ambas-

sadors and their negotiations in the turbulent political world of Italian politics. The author's penchant for detail in this book, which spans nearly the entire sixteenth century, is truly astonishing, particularly in his description of such episodes as the Ferrara Crisis of 1597-1598. Moreover, his treatment of the often farcical conflict over the order of diplomatic precedence is truly groundbreaking. Special chapters on the role of ambassadors in intelligence and espionage and as transmitters of Renaissance culture and art will also make this book indispensable reading for students of early modern diplomacy and ambassadorial conduct.

In *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* Benjamin Ehlers explores the intersection between the Counter-Reformation and the monarchy's efforts to convert and control the moriscos of Valencia. The book follows the career of one zealous reformer, Juan de Ribera, as archbishop of Valencia (1569-1611). Ehlers is able to reveal many of the obstacles that reformers foreign to an area faced at the local level when they attempted to implement Tridentine measures against the will of municipal oligarchies and insular communities. Both of these groups clung to local religious customs and the status quo. There have been a number of important local studies along these lines in the past two decades – Henry Kamen's *The Phoenix and the Flame* on Catalonia and Allison Poska's work on Galicia come to mind. But what provides Ehlers's study with a fascinating added dimension is the presence of early modern Valencia's large morisco population. Throughout the book the reader is naturally aware of the approaching expulsion of the moriscos in 1609, an event that roughly coincide with Ribera's death. Their story provides Ehlers's book with an inherent narrative flow and climax. The backdrop of morisco persecution and expulsion, then, gives greater weight and meaning to the author's main focus on Juan de Ribera's frustrated attempts to make devout Christians out of Old and New Christians alike.

After covering the general situation of the moriscos in sixteenth-century Valencia and Spain, Ehlers focuses the first half of the book on Ribera's battles with Valencia's Old Christian population. Valencia's municipal oligarchy was one of the many constituencies Ribera fought throughout his career. Ribera began his career as archbishop in the 1570s with a failed attempt to replace key faculty members in the city's university, against the wishes of local families. Ehlers goes on to explain the methods the undaunted archbishop used to build his own realm of patronage and support within Valencia. As examples, Ehlers explores Ribera's patronage of the Colegio de Corpus Christi as well as of a local female mystic. Ribera's agents also hunted down relics of St. Vincent Ferrer and with great celebration the archbishop brought these bones home to reside in Valencia, the city of Ferrer's birth.

In the second half of *Between Christians and Moriscos* Ehlers turns to Ribera's attempts to Christianize the kingdom's morisco population. According to the author, Ribera initially approached the morisco problem with a moderate amount of open-mindedness; he held out the possibility that they could become true Christians with proper instruction. Ehlers demonstrates, though, that Ribera quickly abandoned any such hope. After little more than a decade he had become convinced that the moriscos of his archdiocese would never make a true conversion to Christianity. The resistance Ribera encountered trying to catechize the rural, ethnically separate, morisco population was much more formidable than that of the Old Christians of Valencia. Aside from the unwillingness of moriscos to cooperate with missionaries and priests sent to instruct them, many vested interests protected them as well. The powerful landed nobility, who had long profited from their morisco tenants, forcefully advocated that the moriscos be left unmolested by Ribera and the Inquisition. Many artisans and tradesmen also

Benjamin Ehlers. *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. 241 pp. Reviewed by Edward Behrend-Martínez, Appalachian State University.

depended on the patronage of the morisco population and resented efforts to upset an economically harmonious situation.

Ehlers describes how, from 1583 on, Ribera became a determined champion of the expulsion of the moriscos. During the last two decades of Philip II's reign, Ribera unsuccessfully lobbied the king to expel them. Philip II, however, preferred to encourage more determined efforts to convert the moriscos. With the accession of Philip III, however, Ribera and like-minded ministers eventually won out. The last chapters of the book describe in moving detail the expulsion from Valencia and Spain.

Between Christians and Moriscos sheds much light on the complicated debate over and motivations behind the expulsion of the moriscos. Ehlers shows, through the experience of one archbishop, that the determination to implement the Counter-Reformation was linked to an increasingly callous attitude toward the moriscos in Spain. The book could be used with great effect in the classroom. *Between Christians and Moriscos* would be appropriate for upper-level courses dealing with the Counter-Reformation, early modern Europe, or Spain.

J. H. Elliott. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*. New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2006. xx + 546 pp. 43 illus., 7 maps, bib., index. Reviewed by J. B. Owens, Idaho State University.

With this impressive synthesis of available research, J. H. Elliott invites his readers to discussion and reflection on a series of central historical issues. In doing so, he treads through a swamp of old prejudices and stereotypes without having these soil his comparison of the "British" and "Spanish" American enterprises in the first global age. He adheres to a broadly chronological framework, which he divides into sections on "occupation," "consolidation," and "emancipation." In the four thematic chapters of each section, he stimulates thought by weaving back and forth between the Castilian and English experiences. Although in some hands this method of comparison might confuse readers, Elliott maintains their comprehension through his characteristic attention to organization and stylistic clarity. This book will disappoint no one.

Sometimes, the thematic treatment undercuts the ability of readers to grasp the importance of relationships among them. For example, in chapter 5, "Crown and Colonists," Elliott stresses the greater authority of the Hispanic monarch in the Americas in comparison with the English one. He explains this difference largely in terms of institutions and "political cultures." However, the next chapter, "The Ordering of Society," suggests reasons for the appearance of greater royal authority in a Hispanic America, with its small, "white," often fractious elite perched atop, and exploiting, a huge, potentially resentful *casta* population. It is likely that the desire of the disproportionately wealthy for a means of resolving conflicts among themselves in the face of indigenous and African hostility was more significant in maintaining crown institutions than any power a monarch, served by a relatively tiny number of crown officials, might have had. Because the vision of the community of English colonists was less inclusive of non-whites, both the internal political dynamics of the English colonies and the relationship with their monarchs were different. However one organizes these themes, historians will always be hampered in their understanding of American economic, political, and social realities by the difficulty of penetrating a world whose political negotiations and contraband activities are poorly recorded in the surviving documents.

Elliott clearly welcomes readers' attempts to integrate these themes based on what comparison exposes. "Even imperfect comparisons can help to shake historians out of their provincialisms, by provoking new questions and offering new perspectives." (xviii) In the final analysis, Elliott stands on strong ground by stressing two general areas of difference between British and Spanish America. On the one hand,

Spanish America possessed what British America did not: vast quantities of mineral wealth, gold, and especially silver, which was vital for the development of the world economy during the first global age. On the other, in part because they were confronted upon arrival by a numerous and settled indigenous population, European settlers in Spanish America were much more willing to include the non-white in their imagined communities, in their religious and civil dimensions, than were those of British America. Perhaps because I live in an area where religious prejudice, hostility, comparison, and discourse are a common currency of everyday life, I am particularly impressed by Elliott's ability to deal with religion in both British and Spanish America and to draw out of comparison valuable insights into the relative impact of this factor in the two colonial spheres.

While this book constitutes an impressive achievement, it does have a few flaws. Many times, Elliott argues that factors of human and physical geography shaped important differences, but there are insufficient maps to help the reader grasp the situations described. The illustrations are well chosen, but their impact is much reduced by confining them to two sections of the book rather than placing them in close relation to the point in the text where they or their subjects are discussed. The size of some of the illustrations is too small for the reader to see the details mentioned by the author.

The primary title, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, is deceptive and raises questions about "Atlantic" history. Although the concept might work for a "British" history, it creates, as usually employed, a serious distortion of "Spanish" history. One wonders why, for example, Lima is considered a location within an Atlantic history but Antwerp, Barcelona, Besançon, Milan, and Naples, all of which were parts of the same Hispanic Monarchy and are located considerably closer to the Atlantic, are not. The failure to include in an "Atlantic" history adequate consideration of the eastern Atlantic domains undercuts comprehension of the complexity of the cultural, economic, and political history of the Hispanic Monarchy. Framing the subject in terms of a future "Spain" omits the crown of Portugal and its American presence, which were also part of the Hispanic Monarchy for an extended period and constituted a part of "Spain" as then understood. A number of times, Elliott refers to the importance of the vast geographic differences between Castilian and English America for understanding the remarkable nature of the former and its duration, but the disproportion between "British" and "Spanish" activities in the "Atlantic world" becomes even more evident when the true dimensions of the latter are exposed.

In her study of the Canary Islands as a cultural stepping stone between early modern Europe and the Americas, Eyda Merediz travels deftly in both directions, a historiographical ability—or concern—few outside the fold of Ibero-Americanists have mastered. Acknowledging her debt to Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Merediz investigates how Americanization flowed back and forth in tandem with Europeanization in an oceanic space she refuses to dichotomize. Her pioneering work truly fulfills its purpose: to contribute to "the increasingly acknowledged and significant current of contemporary literary criticism that studies the cultural production of the two shores [of the Spanish-speaking Atlantic] as part of one single cultural sphere." Harkening back to how Sara Castro-Klarén equated Hispanic colonialists' cultural inattentiveness to the Americas to that of owner-residents on vacation, Merediz argues they "did not abandon the house of the New World, but rather covered the furniture and moved it to another house—the Canary Islands." Introducing these islands into the transatlantic mix creates a methodological triangulation that overcomes the deficiencies of "unidirectional gazing" and "dual and antagonistic" models. Just how much transference (or diffusion) of the Americas occurred, however, remains a challenge for further study,

Eyda M. Merediz. *Refracted Images: The Canary Islands through a New World Lens*. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004. Pp. 181, cloth. Reviewed by Fabio López-Lázaro, Santa Clara University.

though Merediz's literary evidence is fairly definitive.

Merediz links Alonso de Espinosa's 1594 *Del origen y milagros de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, que apareció en la isla de Tenerife* to the specific reading given it by Antonio de Viana in his *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas* (1604). Viana's reinterpretation of Espinosa's version of the Canary Islands' conquest culminated, for Merediz, in the problematic and forgotten dramatization in Lope de Vega's *Los guanches de Tenerife y Conquista de Canaria* (1604-1609). Merediz traces how the literary representation of conquest evolved from Espinosa's Lascasian view of an "unjust and unjustifiable" war to Viana's "harmonious reconciliation of two cultures"; this in turn inspired Lope de Vega to describe the Canaries as a place of "cultural integration (4-5)." Historical accident explains how the Canaries' late medieval conquest was eclipsed by the rapidly developing corpus of discourse on America's incorporation into "colonial experimentation (40)." Espinosa's Guatemalan experiences, for example, framed his conceptualization of the Guanches' absorption into Castile as a Lascasian-inspired story of an unjustly conquered "proto-Christian society." (73) Viana's attempt "to undo the history narrated by Espinosa," Merediz argues, was predicated not on negating, but on refuting the latter's "impugning [of] the cultural tradition of the islanders as well as the honor of one of the most prominent conquistadors...implicitly reacting to the firm lines of Lascasian thought (81)" in Espinosa's work.

Espinosa's fundamentally ahistorical image of the Guanches is historically important, according to Merediz, because it denied "the smooth entrance of the Canary Islands into an integrated and harmonious Spanish imperial identity (82)." On the other hand, Viana's relationship with one of the Castilian conquering families, the Guerras, explains why his divergent approach "became crucial for the legitimization of the islands' aristocratic elite (99)." His "idealized projections" of proto-Christianity and proto-Spanishness onto the Guanches made their assimilation a Platonic reunification "with...Spanish civilization (92)," a literary revisionism analogous to the historical reinterpretations of American conquest and conversion performed, in their works, by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Luis Lasso de la Vega and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. One wonders, however, in this context, why Merediz does not directly critique Espinosa's, Viana's, and Lope de Vega's visions in light of what Stafford Poole, James Lockhart, and Jacques Lafaye have said of creole syncretism. The answer may be that none of the authors Merediz analyzes felt the weight of Guanche presence as much as their creole cultural compatriots in the Americas felt that of the Indians. This may account for the facility with which Guanche integration into Spain was manipulated by Lope de Vega to elide otherness and privilege our concern for economic and social stratification over racial or ethnic difference. "Viana's islands had always been legally and culturally bound to Spain," Merediz states early on, and Lope de Vega followed suit: thus in both their visions, though less so in Lope's, given his denunciation of Spanish covetousness, "the most basic foundation of colonialism—the colonized devoured by the colonizer—symbolically disappears from Spanish imperial history (4)." Combining Pauline conversion and Augustinian *translatio imperii*, however, could not comfort the early modern readers of these texts in the long run, that is, if they were truly worried about Spain's absorption of the Guanches. Merediz's depiction of the three works makes it clear that for elites in the Iberian and Ibero-American Habsburg dominions, "thinking about Spain [viz. the Canaries] also meant addressing critically the colonial history of Spain in the New World (160)." This problematic, however, must not have been too intense, judging by the *a posteriori* logic of all three authors who, like their American counterparts, envisioned Mediterranean Europe's expansion as a *fait accompli* and inevitable. To borrow an idea from post-structuralism, the Americas—and now we can add the Canaries—were *always already there* within a sort of deep structure embedded in Europeanness *before* they were Europeanized.

Merediz's intellectual voyage is guided by the critical insights of Mary Louis Pratt, Paul Gilroy, and James Clifford, among others who have put forth transatlanticism, but perhaps more succinctly than previous authors she repositions Fernández-Armesto's islands into their proper central location in early modern cultural history. As a result, Merediz's work makes a significant contribution, both methodologically and historiographically, to de-centering post-colonialism as a global technique for critiquing empire, correcting the ways in which its theoretical origin in the "British colonial experience" can decontextualize other subject matter—and ironically *otherize* it. She consciously combats significant qualities the interdisciplinary post-colonialist initiative has acquired over the course of the past quarter-century as an intellectually imperializing vision that distorts and obfuscates historical realities such as the Hispanic(ized) Atlantic, which its prism reflects poorly. The refractions she uncovers free us from dichotomies that have kept us from intellectually spanning the *charco*. Merediz's book undoes the false physical security of oceanic difference that the historic cultural unity of her authors belies.

This study is a revision of Therese Martin's dissertation, presented in 2000 at the University of Pittsburgh. The most prominent patron of San Isidoro de León, Queen Urraca (r.1109-1126) ruled on her own for part of her reign. Her family, from her grandparents Fernando I (d.1065) and Sancha (d.1067) to her children, the infanta Sancha (d.1159) and Alfonso VII (d.1157), also acted as patrons of Isidoro. As Martin demonstrates, the women of the family often patronized the saint most dramatically, and their consistent support fostered innovation and success on the site of his shrine.

Fernando I and Sancha of León built their palatine church on the site of the double monastery of San Pelayo and San Juan Bautista in León in the central years of the eleventh century. The body of San Isidoro arrived from Seville in 1065, and Sancha completed the church following her husband's death later the same year.

Construction progressed under the infanta Urraca (d.1101), who became the primary patron for San Isidoro after Sancha's death. She oversaw construction of a new portico and the Pantheon, which served as the public area of the palace where courtiers gained admittance. At the end of the eleventh century she supported a series of projects that resulted in an updated Romanesque church.

Martin draws our attention to the Lamb Portal above the only public entrance to the basilica. Its unusual tympanum scene, instead of the usual Revelation scene of the Lamb of God, depicts Abraham's near-sacrifice of Isaac. Martin suggests that here, Abraham represents Alfonso VI, Hagar represents Sancho's heritage as the son of Alfonso and Zaida (conceived when they were not married), and thus Isaac represents Urraca.

Urraca inherited León-Castile when Alfonso VI died in July 1109. She supported the enlargement of the church so that it could develop from a palatine chapel into a pilgrimage site. A new projecting transept replaced the recently completed east end of the church, making Isidoro's relics more accessible to pilgrims passing through León to Santiago de Compostela and enhancing León's position on the pilgrimage route. As part of that same process, given that canons could interact more directly with the court and pilgrims, the infanta Sancha and Alfonso VII replaced the nuns of San Pelayo with Augustinian canons. Sancha even gave the canons part of her palace, including the Pantheon and the palace chambers above and north of it.

San Isidoro and León benefited from the additions to the church. *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, composed c.1135, mentioned León twice and encouraged pilgrims to visit San Isidoro. It was the last church suggested for pilgrims to visit before entering Santiago de Compostela.

Therese Martin has written a fascinating, intricate study. While Queen Urraca

Therese Martin. *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*. (The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 30.) Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006. Pp.viii + 292; black and white and color illustrations. Reviewed by Ernest E. Jenkins, University of Kansas.

rightly commands a prominent place in this study, her relatives also helped ensure San Isidoro's success. Her family, from Fernando I and Queen Sancha to Alfonso VII and the infanta Sancha, supported and improved San Isidoro de León during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Martin illuminates many significant themes in her investigation, including matrimonial alliances, work and travel patterns of artisans, financial resources available to women of the royal family, and the linkages between improvements at San Isidoro and the urban enhancement of León. With its engaging text, lavish illustrations, informative appendices, and exciting interpretations, *Queen as King* is a real pleasure to read and savor. It tells us much about the social, religious, and artistic history of León in the High Middle Ages. It also highlights the determination and insight of the members of the Leonese royal family, especially Queen Urraca.

Timothy D. Walker. *Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition: The Repression of Magical Healing in Portugal during the Enlightenment*. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World series (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 433 pp. Reviewed by Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, University of Kentucky.

In his book, *Doctors, Folk Medicine, and the Inquisition*, Timothy Walker seeks to explain an early-eighteenth-century surge in prosecutions for what the Portuguese Holy Office labeled "witchcraft" (*bruxaria*, "witchcraft," and *feitiçaria*, "sorcery," though he also discusses charges of *superstição*, "superstition.>"). He notes that most people accused of witchcraft were not charged with the classic practices associated with witchcraft—a pact with the devil, participation in sabbats, night flight, etc. Rather, the vast majority were engaged in folk medical practices. In the introduction, Walker links his work to a broader historiography on Portuguese witchcraft and early modern European witch-hunting in general, speculating on why popular beliefs seem different in Portugal from the rest of Europe and on why witch-hunting was less common there. But he soon leaves these difficult questions for more concrete and productive territory, examining a notable rise in popular-healing prosecutions in the first half of the eighteenth century. In brief, Walker argues that a confluence of interests between inquisitors, on the one hand, and an increasingly Enlightenment-influenced professional medical class, on the other, came together in the first half of the eighteenth century to use the Holy Office for a wide-ranging repression of popular-healing practices. What is most interesting in Walker's monograph is his ability to show how and why these two groups were able to work together in an unusual moment in Portuguese history. This has implications for the history of the Inquisition, medical history (particularly in Portugal), and understanding Portugal's Enlightenment.

Part I, "Social, Political and Institutional Context," comprising the first five chapters, provides a close look at Portugal in the first half of the eighteenth century, examining popular-healing practices, reforms in medical training, and a close study of not only King João V and the Inquisitor General, but also of the closed world of the court, a world which provided opportunities for elites in both the medical and inquisitorial fields to find common ground. The intellectual milieu that Walker describes is different from the vibrant scientific culture that Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and more recently Emily Bergquist have shown existed in Spain and Spanish America in the early modern period. Though Walker argues, with some reason, that Portugal was not as scientifically backward as previously thought, this is still a much more closed, conservative intellectual culture than that of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. Walker states that scientific reform depended in part on patronage and on the contributions of Portuguese expatriates, or *estrangeiros*, to drive innovation. As the position of inquisitorial *familiar* became one of high status in court society, an increasing number of doctors joined the ranks of lay functionaries of the Holy Office. They brought their knowledge of recent medical innovations and a desire to effect reform, not only in medical training but also in the healing practices of the population at large. A coterie of reform-minded elites, both within the medical profession and without, supported

this and other activities, paving the way, Walker notes, for the Pombaline reforms of the 1760s and 1770s.

In Part II, “The Repression of Magical Healing,” comprising the last five chapters, Walker turns his attention more fully to the inquisitorial material and the campaign of repression *per se*. To his credit, he has read an enormous amount of Inquisition records, and Part II leads the reader through those sources in some detail, from the policy of repression (Chapter 6), to a series of case studies (Chapter 7), to a discussion of punishment (Chapter 8), to a demographic and geographic study of the accused (Chapter 9). There are a few missteps in how he handles legal material. He cites Brian Levack’s definitive account of witch-hunting for inquisitorial legal procedure; it is an outstanding book, but perhaps not the best source for this information. In addition, he does not seem to realize that the variable sentencing he describes in Chapter 8 was the primary legal practice in early modern Europe, though in other parts of Europe it was moving well out of fashion by the eighteenth century. It is also not clear from the evidence Walker provides that the clemency shown popular healers was more generous than that shown eighteenth-century New Christians by the Portuguese Inquisition, as he asserts. There is also a certain amount of repetition throughout the text; Walker’s argument is convincingly, but exhaustively made, and the text might have benefited from a little trimming, or from moving some of the material to an appendix.

Walker’s conclusion (Chapter 10) considers why these prosecutions diminished. Pombal’s reforms played no small part. His expulsion of the Jesuits freed medical reformers to take their campaign to the medical faculty at the University of Coimbra and worry less about persuading medical practitioners from the ground up, so to speak. At the same time, Pombal severely weakened the Holy Office, limiting its ability to prosecute. In an interesting parallel to Andrew Keitt’s argument in his recent book, *Inventing the Sacred*, Walker notes that authorities increasingly ceased to believe in the preternatural power of magical healers. And finally, in a cautionary note to a narrative of Enlightenment progress, Walker gently suggests that Enlightenment-influenced elites may have realized that their campaign against popular healers had not fundamentally changed rural people’s minds about the efficacy of so-called “superstitious” healers.

Despite some weaknesses of presentation, Walker’s fundamental argument that elements of elite Portuguese society who to us seem to have divergent interests—innovators in medical practice and inquisitors of the Holy Office—could work together for mutual benefit when the situation demanded, is an interesting and well-argued one. For its unique vantage point on intellectual culture in the eighteenth century and the changing world of Enlightenment medical practice, as well as for its view of the later history of the Holy Office in Portugal, *Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition* is a welcome addition to the historiography.

In 1636, Spain’s most famous *gracioso*, or comedic actor, was arrested for the crime of sodomy. In early modern Spain this scandalous event should have certainly ruined his career and, since sodomy was a capital offense, ended his life. Instead, he was shortly released from custody without a scratch. It is presumed that he was protected by powerful patrons at the highest levels including members of the royal family. In fact, most nobles and the general populace alike adored him as the indisputable king of comedy. Against all odds, his infamous arrest and subsequent seventeenth-century “outing” surprisingly propelled him to further stardom as many of the best dramatists of the period continued writing *entremeses* (brief comic interludes presented between the acts of a main play) specifically for him. In short, his career continued to flourish even as his sexual orientation became common knowledge after his arrest. His comedic success was based upon a knowing collaboration between actors (most notably

Peter E. Thompson. *The Triumphant Juan Rana: A Gay Actor in the Spanish Golden Age*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. x + 183 pp. Reviewed by José R. Cartagena-Calderón, Pomona College.

himself), dramatists, and producers who were willing to theatrically “expose” his offstage sodomitic practices while combining them with hilarious gender-bending performances onstage. In the end, this celebrated buffoon went on to star in more than fifty *entremeses* that were performed in Spain between the years 1617 and 1672.

His name was Cosme Pérez. He was an overweight, short and effeminate man who was said to be able to make the audience break into laughter simply by making his entrance. Pérez was better known by his stage name Juan Rana, literally John “Frog,” a polyvalent nickname that referred, among other things, to his “amphibolic” identity and ambiguous sexuality. Peter Thompson’s superb study of Juan Rana analyzes the actor’s persona both on and off the stage, persuasively arguing that what we would call nowadays his queerness, sexual otherness, or gayness was a recurring and central part of his stage performance / presence and a key aspect for his long-lasting fame as the most memorable *gracioso* of the seventeenth-century *entremés*. To this end, Thompson draws on a wide selection of materials consisting of historical documents about Juan Rana’s arrest for the crime of sodomy, short plays with a gay sub-text performed by the actor, and other sources that have been accessible to theater scholars for many decades. Until very recently, however, modern-day Hispanists have preferred to keep Juan Rana’s sexuality hidden inside the closet, as the majority of critics who have studied this mesmerizing figure “conspicuously avoid the subject, dismiss his homosexuality or undermine its importance” (13). One notable exception is Sherry Velasco’s recent fascinating book *Male Delivery: Reproduction, Effeminacy, and Pregnant Men in Early Modern Spain* (2006), which uses as a point of departure Lanini Sagredo’s short play *El parto de Juan Rana (John Frog Gives Birth)* (c. 1660).

In the five chapters that comprise his monograph, Thompson brilliantly analyzes, with a keen eye on questions of gender, non-normative sexuality, material culture, power, patriarchy, (in)tolerance, performance, and theatrical reception more than a dozen rarely studied playlets that were performed by Juan Rana and written for the actor by such prominent playwrights as Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Luis Quiñones de Benavente, Agustín Moreto, Pedro Lanini y Sagredo, Francisco Bernardo de Quirós and Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco. The title of Thompson’s volume alludes to *El triunfo de Juan Rana*, the last *entremés* that Cosme Pérez performed just three months before his death in 1672 and after more than fifty-five impressive years working as an actor. In this play Juan Rana is crowned as the *máximo gracioso* or the greatest buffoon of seventeenth-century Spain in front of the royal family and foreign dignitaries who attended the performance at the exclusive theater of the Retiro palace. The short play was specifically written for him by Calderón de la Barca, who after the death of Lope de Vega enjoyed, like the comedic actor, a long and successful career, becoming the most influential playwright of his age and one of Juan Rana’s many well-known admirers and supporters.

With close readings of the works selected, and never losing sight of the broader historical context in which the various playlets examined were written and performed, Thompson skillfully analyzes different salient aspects of Juan Rana’s queer acting that shed light on how the popular actor “achieved success and acquired fame by playing on and, indeed, playing up what for many is considered a great defect, his homosexuality, his ‘unmanliness’” (28). Among these elements are the comic appearance of other Juan Ranas on stage in the form of doubles, mirror images, statues and portraits, which “generated an ambiguous and evocative stage representation of identity” as “mutable, undefinable, and illusory” (65), and which in turn gave “double meaning to everything he played in and as,” in particular in reference to his transgressive sexuality (63). Additionally, Thompson cogently examines the many over-the-top gender-bending roles played by Juan Rana. For example, in one play the actor cross-dresses as a bride and marries a masculinized woman. In another he plays the part of a pregnant man who

goes into labor and gives birth on stage. Thompson reveals how these plays interrogate “the most basic foundation of patriarchal society, the male / female binary classification” (65). Thompson also places Juan Rana’s acting in short plays specifically in the context of his gayness when examining his performance in productions written well after his arrest, with their “phallic symbols and homosexual innuendoes” that undoubtedly required “semantic and, indeed, complicit knowledge” on the part of the spectators of the actor’s association with the crime of sodomy (19).

Finally, although Thompson convincingly demonstrates that Juan Rana’s non-normative sexuality was tolerated by a diverse audience who enjoyed and even applauded the homosexual double entendres, jokes and overtones performed on stage, he is attentive to the fact that this phenomenon took place within the ephemeral upside-down world of the *entremés*, which, like other carnivalesque performances, provided a brief and controlled escape valve to act out a series of behaviors, desires and attitudes that were otherwise unacceptable or forbidden by society at large. In sum, Thompson’s admirable achievement in this ground-breaking monograph is precisely what he embarked to do in the opening pages of his study: “to establish the gayness of Juan Rana the actor in order to provide a more enlightened revision of seventeenth-century Spanish theatre and theatrical reception” (13). Unique and compelling in its argument, *The Trumphant Juan Rana* is a much welcomed and celebrated contribution to the study of Spain’s queer past and to what Thompson aptly calls the “other” early modern Spanish theater.

SSPHS CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS: MIAMI 2007

The Empire of Spain included Mediterranean, Caribbean, Atlantic and Pacific islands. These many islands of the Spanish Monarchy generated a state of mind: Gavan Daws, a historian of English-speaking colonization in the Pacific Islands, called this mentality a “dream of islands.” The Pacific island groups (Mariana, Philippine, Marquesa and Solomon) were perceived on *terra firme* at times as peripheral, isolated, burdensome and even forgettable while equally viewed as strategic steppingstones, profitable ports, and millennial realizations. In today’s world, islands can be exotic locations for fun, sun, and vacation. The exoticism may not have changed, but the image and reality of far-distant, isolated isles prevailed for early modern Spaniards. For example, Christopher Columbus emphasized in his diary that Fernando and Isabel were “Kings and Queens of the Spains and the Islands of the Sea.” The 1568 Mendaña expedition to the Solomon Islands, purportedly wealthy with gold, returned with disappointment because the islands they found “had no source of profit, and all the people were naked savages.” Despite past and present misperceptions of isolation, the history of the encounter with the Pacific Islands and their inhabitants opens up the world of Spanish expansion and Pacific Islander connection to the global world.

This paper studies the involvement of facilitators, accomplices, and associates in the perpetration of sexual misconduct. While considerable attention has been devoted to the archetype of the procuress Celestina in Spanish literature, little has been written about other types of participants. In fact, early modern litigation is replete with allusions to pimps, intermediaries and go-betweens, and concealers, individuals who played significant roles in enabling sexual relations. Likewise, little has been written about other confederates, including family members and friends, who also had important parts in sex crimes, serving as accomplices and facilitators, particularly in abductions.

James B. Tueller, Brigham Young University – Hawaii, “Islands of the Sea: A Spanish Dream of Islands.”

Renato Barahona, Univ. of Illinois at Chicago, “It Takes More Than Two to Tango: Third Parties in Sex Crimes.”

Go-betweens and enablers were generally female, but third parties in abductions were overwhelmingly male. The latter confederates in particular were prominent in other ways: they hid abducted women and arranged abortions through repeated bloodlettings by doctors and surgeons to cover up pregnancies. This essay underscores the existence of traditional patterns of social and sexual behavior (e.g., in marriage formation through abduction, as well as in seduction through the active assistance of third parties). Finally, if early modern Basque women were profoundly subordinate to men, it is scarcely surprising that this was also the case as third parties in sex crimes. For while females exercised a certain agency as assistants in sexual malfeasance, they always did so as instruments at males' behest and direction. More to the point: in ways large and small, female accessories primarily served male interests and objectives. Their subservience as third parties eloquently mirrored their position in society.

Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, Fordham University, "Yankee Conquistadors: Spanish History and American Empire, 1898-1915."

This paper will examine the appropriations of Spanish colonial history in the United States in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. Its hypothesis is that as the United States expanded into Latin America and the Pacific, some Americans sought to justify the global role by linking themselves to the history of Spanish conquest and colonization. The recently vanquished rival offered a compelling model of the civilizing claims of imperial power, especially in those regions of the U.S. once ruled by Spain. The focus here will therefore be on the U.S. Southwest, especially California, where the symbols of the Spanish empire became integral to local and national identities in the early twentieth century.

Still smarting from the disaster of 1898, Spanish officials and intellectuals responded with puzzlement and curiosity as local civic groups and institutions in cities such as San Diego feted Spanish colonial heroes and surrounded themselves with the trappings of the Spanish empire. The Panama-Pacific Exhibition held in San Francisco and San Diego in 1915 to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal was a rich moment of imitation and appropriation that elicited commentary and speculation from Spanish observers. Though Spain declined to participate officially in the Exhibition, it sent numerous envoys and academic experts, such as Rafael Altamira, to report on the festivities. Their reports and reflections on the meanings of these events will form the core of this paper. Sources include dispatches from Spanish ambassadors, envoys, and consuls to the United States during this period, which I found in the Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores.

Lisa Duffy-Zeballos, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, "Devotional Paintings as Liturgical Art in Murillo's Retablo Mayor of the Convento de Capuchinos de Sevilla."

Midway between icons and didactic narratives, devotional images inhabit the space between cult and pedagogy occupied by private prayer. Liturgical art is typically viewed as a didactic narrative of the Gospels. However, devotional images with their contextual ambiguity better embody the metaphysical reenactment of the sacramental rite. In Seville, large devotional altar paintings often served as *loci* for private meditation and public liturgical display. This corresponded to the exultant nature of baroque piety in which formerly private devotions became corporate expressions of faith.

This paper examines Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's altarpiece for the Convento de Capuchinos in Seville. Murillo executed twenty-one paintings for the high altar and lateral chapels from 1665-1669. During the first stage of the commission (1665-66), Murillo executed nine devotional paintings for the *altar mayor*, whose subjects reflected the early history of the site and principal Capuchin devotions. Murillo employs pictorial strategies of devotional painting to achieve higher states of empathy,

but at key moments in the mass these images resonate with the prayers and petitions of the liturgy. Collectively, Murillo's altar paintings complement the devotions of the Friars Minor as a public expression of the private prerogatives of the Capuchins of Seville and their lay patrons.

This paper will consider some of the problems and perils of researching twentieth-century Spain in the context of the collection and retention policies of the formal institutions of historical records: libraries and archives of Western Europe and the United States. The question of what these repositories retain, what is discarded, and how they provide intellectual and physical access to the researcher will be examined against the real needs of researchers. Who are competing players? How do material concerns trump research needs? Who wins out in the decisions of retention and access? How has the Black Legend influenced holdings in the United States? What is the importance of high and low culture, commercial channels, and the holy academic trinity of race, gender, and class? How do nineteenth- and twentieth-century epistemologies affect what is collected today? What is the impact and importance of technology? Is it all a lost cause? This paper will attempt to draw together the practical experience and training of two separate but equally important *métiers*: the historian and the archivist/librarian. I will rely heavily on my experiences in collections in Western Europe and the United States, both as a librarian and a researcher.

One of the never-ending debates among critics of the drama of Pedro Calderón de la Barca revolves around the punishment of the rebel soldier in *La vida es sueño* who sparked the rebellion that overthrew Basilio and brought Segismundo to power. Some argue that it is patently unjust and reveals Calderón's sense of the unjust foundations of monarchical rule or the imperfection of human society. Others attribute it to a prudent reason of state that condemns treachery to the established order even to achieve a desired end, and blame the soldier's self-serving claim that he deserves a reward. The objective of my talk will be to illuminate that debate from the perspective of several other Calderonian dramas of war and rebellion: *El sitio de Breda*, on an episode in the war in Flanders; *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*, on the morisco revolt in the Alpujarras of 1568-70; and *La aurora en Copacabana*, on the conquest and Christianization of Peru and a supposed miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary in that process. Bringing into my treatment consideration of the changing status of military service in early modern Spain as the army became semi-professional, I will argue that Calderón regularly assigns the dirty but necessary work of war to self-serving actions of lower-class characters whom he depicts unfavorably, thereby safeguarding an aristocratic ideology of the nobility of military service by upper-class officers.

In early modern military literature, the figure of the soldier became an object of analysis: his potential for disruption, as an agent of violence, was in conflict with the contemporary demand for proper military discipline. In Spanish military treatises of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the potentially unruly figure of the soldier is subjected to control by a hierarchy of authorities – officer, king, and God. Yet such regimes of control conflicted with a more traditional vision of the role of the warrior, who achieved fame through valiant acts in battle. This paper will examine the

Andrew H. Lee, New York University, "Creating the Past and Dumpster Diving in Spanish History: A Personal *Auto de Fé*."

Margaret R. Greer, Duke University, "Class and the Dirty Work of War in Calderón."

Suzanne J. Walker, Tulane University, "Force and Discipline: Making the Early Modern Soldier."

construction of the soldier in Spanish military treatises of the late sixteenth century and seventeenth centuries, in juxtaposition with the visualization of the ideal soldier in contemporary visual culture. Focusing specifically on soldiers and soldiering in the Army of Flanders during the Eighty Years' War, it will consider perceptions of Spanish soldiers by both foreign and Spanish authors. In examining the conflicting demands placed on the combatant, I will argue that the effort to master the soldier's violence was inevitably and necessarily incomplete, despite the claims for superior discipline and order that have been made on behalf of the early modern army.

Hamilton M. Stapell, State University of New York, New Platz, "Europeanization or Bust: Consolidating Democracy in Madrid, 1986-1992."

After 1986, the national Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), led by Felipe González and Alfonso Guerra, increasingly re-appropriated and redefined the image of the capital of Spain in its bid for European integration. For the leadership of the PSOE, Spain's integration into the rest of Europe was seen as the surest method of solving Spain's mounting economic difficulties and of overcoming the country's national identity "problem" bequeathed by the experience of the dictatorship. In addition, even though there was a degree of continuity within the regional government, no one replaced the independent spirit of Tierno Galván within Madrid's *Ayuntamiento*. Instead, the capital's new young mayor, Juan Barranco, increasingly relied on the national administration for support after the death of his mentor. As a result of the national PSOE's increased influence over the capital, the space for an independent regional identity was permanently closed in Madrid. Thus, by the end of the decade, there was no chance for any alternative democratic future for Madrid, especially one where social equality was valued as highly as the free market, where citizen participation was promoted rather than seen as an inconvenience or at worse a threat to the political order, and where regional and national pride were free to co-exist without being supplanted by the imperatives of Europeanization.

Nichole S. Prescott, SUNY Stonybrook, "A Glance at Early Modern Granada through the Classifieds."

The Gazetilla Curiosa, o Semanero Granadino, Noticio, y Util Para El Bien Comun, by Fr. Antonio de la Chica Benavides, is the first popular serial pamphlet produced in Granada. It was published weekly from 1764 to 1765 and provides a wealth of historical, religious, demographic, social, and cultural information about late eighteenth-century Granada. Through the gazette's "items for sale" and "lost and found" sections and the employment section, one is able to develop a sense of the trafficking of objects and people, and thus trace their different movements and the multiple interests in them. Though I will examine the gazette as a site of market exchange, I will pay particular attention to its function as a centralized job bank and analyze women's uses of this job-seeking medium.

Ellen Prokop, The Frick Collection and Frick Art Reference Library, "Fray Juan Ricci, Mateo Cerezo the Younger, and the Commission to Complete the Retrochoir of the Cathedral of Burgos."

The final expense report (1660) for the construction and decoration of the new retrochoir of the cathedral of Burgos, Spain, contains an inconsistency that may reflect conflicting opinions among the early modern clergy concerning religious imagery displayed in a public setting. The Benedictine artist and architect Fray Juan Ricci was one of the artists involved in this important commission: Ricci was awarded 5,515 ½ reales for a series of six paintings destined for the side altars, a series that included *The Ecstasy of St Francis*, one of his most powerful celebrations of visionary experience. Yet soon after Ricci's series was completed, two canons, Diego and Manuel de la Moneda, purchased an additional canvas of *St Francis* from a local artist, perhaps as a replacement for Ricci's version of the miraculous event. The possible controversy

surrounding Ricci's painting provides an opportunity to examine the role of devotional painting in seventeenth-century Castile.

In seventeenth-century Spain, as José Antonio Maravall wrote, honor regulated society and informed all manifestations of human existence (economic, moral, religious, and private). Also during this period a distinction emerged between natural honor (inherited through lineage) and merited honor (obtained by virtue). This dual nature of honor provoked debates among contemporaries over who could attain honor and the desirability of one form over the other. The life of Rodrigo Calderón (1576-1621), one of the most famous *privados* (favorites) in the court of Philip III of Spain, reveals the intensity of such debates over honor in a particularly illuminating manner. After a spectacular social and political ascent, during which he accumulated tremendous wealth, honor, and power, Calderón found himself in the middle of a political scandal that culminated in his imprisonment and execution. The execution itself was designed as a ritual humiliation and inspired myriad writings dealing with Calderón's *privanza* (the favorite's tenure in office) and death.

This paper analyzes the role honor plays in the literary representation of Calderón's *privanza* and death. The sources include Gerónimo Gascón de Torquemada's *Nacimiento, vida, prisión y muerte de don Rodrigo Calderón, Marqués de Siete Iglesias*, Matías de Novoa's *Historia de Felipe III*, Francisco de Quevedo's "Grandes anales de quince días," Sebastián Flores's *Dos romances a don Rodrigo Calderón*, and poetry by Juan de Tasis, Luís de Góngora, and others. In addition, this event is embedded in the historical context of the baroque court.

The 1230 conquest of Mallorca by Aragonese and other crusader forces would eventually lead to total disappearance of that island's indigenous Muslim population. In part this resulted from the pernicious effects of large-scale slave exploitation and/or exportation, but assimilation to the emerging colonial society through conversion to Christianity was also an important factor. This paper re-examines the iconic figure of "Michael" Bennazar in order to shed new light on the latter dimension of Mallorcan and broader reconquista history.

Though long presented by Church historians as an ex-Muslim prince who went on to join the Dominican Order as an Arabic teacher and leading missionary activist, I suggest here that Michael Bennazar was in fact a fictitious character pieced together over time from a number of different anecdotes and legends. A real Bennazar family did exist on medieval Mallorca. It was a thriving and well-connected mozarabic merchant clan with a strong interest in the slave trade. The Bennazar family's links to the Dominican Order are especially well illustrated in the careers of friar Peter Bennazar (whose fourteenth-century tomb seems to lie at the core of the "friar Michael" legend) and his wealthy contemporary, John Bennazar. Both profited from dealing in slaves, whether Muslim or recently baptized, without revealing any trace of concern for their religious status.

Once attention is re-focused on documented activities of friars and colonists such as the Bennazars, rather than past hagiographical efforts to identify model "missionary" saints and bilingual go-betweens like friar Michael (or Raymond Lull), it becomes evident that the Dominicans and other Christian religious Orders made remarkably few efforts to promote conversion of colonized peoples in the Middle Ages. Their work was instead almost entirely aimed at serving the spiritual needs of their own families and of other respected Christian neighbors. The gradual disappearance of conquered Muslims into the lower ranks of Mallorcan Christian society can therefore

Silvia Mitchell, University of Miami, "A Favorite of a Favorite in the Court of Philip III of Spain (1598-1621): The Role of Honor in the Textual Representation of Rodrigo Calderón's *Privanza* and Death."

Robin Vose, Saint Thomas University, "The Case of the Vanishing Moor: Michael Bennazar, Mission, and Slavery in Conquered Mallorca."

best be understood as a largely unstructured and unintended socio-economic process, not the result of effective mendicant preaching strategies.

Jeffrey Schrader, University of Michigan, "Goya and His View of Miraculous Imagery in the *Disasters of War*."

In the *Disasters of War* of 1810-15, Francisco Goya suggests that miraculous images lost some of the power they had historically exhibited during wartime. Print 67 of the series, "Esta no lo es menos," depicts an indecorous procession involving two Marian statues. The uninspiring spectacle, so unfamiliar in the history of art, has not lent itself to a secure interpretation. Some insight may result from analyzing the print with respect to the traditional expectations held in war of cult images. This approach places sacred imagery within the centuries-old covenant between the heavens and the monarchs, a framework that lost currency during the War of Independence and contemporary political upheavals.

The two advocations represented by Goya likely include the Virgin of Atocha, which had been of key importance for its function as a palladium for Spain. People had appealed to her in previous ages and left accounts of her heroic deeds in defense of the monarchy. The statue was also invoked on behalf of royalty in Napoleonic times, yet Goya then advanced an unflattering vision of the mixture of heavenly and earthly affairs. His print may criticize the habitual practice of subsuming Marian devotion into the martial glory of mere mortals.

Jodi Cambell, Texas Christian University, "Señas y Señales: Physical Descriptions of Faces in Early Modern Spain."

Early modern Spaniards, and Europeans in general, were adept at reading each other's faces for a wide range of information. People made judgments about race, religion, and character based on the contours and colors of a face. As with modern Americans, however, the vocabulary they used to describe each other was more limited than their visual perception (think of how we describe people as "black" or "white" even though we can perceive a much wider range of actual skin color). Studying facial descriptions therefore gives us a suggestion of how people mentally categorized each other based on physical appearance. Comparing physical descriptions drawn from Inquisition, criminal, and Hermandad records, this paper surveys the most common terms used by early modern Spaniards to describe each other's faces, and analyzes this vocabulary to determine the associations they made with particular facial characteristics.

Andrea J. Smidt, Geneva College. "Eighteenth-Century Reflections on Tridentine Reform: Grass-Roots Resistance to Reform Catholicism in the Diocese of Barcelona, 1766-1775."

The Enlightenment had a profound impact on eighteenth-century Europe, especially on its religion. My project looks at "enlightened" attempts to reform popular religious practices in Spain.

This study focuses specifically on how eighteenth-century enlightened attempts intertwined with the aims of the sixteenth-century Council of Trent to restore ecclesiastical relationships within the Catholic Church and between parish priest and parishioner. Josep Climent i Avinent, Bishop of Barcelona from 1766-1775, explicitly advocated a popular enlightenment and the creation of a more independent "public sphere" in Spain by means of increased literacy and education of the masses while also directing his efforts at promoting more lateral, egalitarian relationships amongst clergy, implicitly condemning the present hierarchy of the Catholic Church. In doing so, he focused on the use of councils and correspondence with fellow clergy in and outside of Barcelona as ideal means to effect all reform. While the Early Church was the model to emulate in designing reform, the Council of Trent had provided more recent instruction and justification for reform attempts that had been intended for implementation in the sixteenth century.

Examining the letters Climent received from rural and urban parish priests, revealing the types of popular religious practices that were the object of reform, I argue that on the whole by the later eighteenth century Tridentine reform had yet to be established in the Diocese of Barcelona—not because of a lack of effort, but because of popular resistance to such measures. Illustrating the strength of lay religiosity in holding on to its own unique sense of Catholicism from locality to locality, parish priests across this Catalan region cried out to their bishop for help in establishing themselves as the religious authority and the parish church as the religious center of the community, all the while complaining of the popularity of rural shrines and chapels as well as the political power of prominent lay members of the community. Although larger political and ecclesiastical developments in early modern Europe brought about many barriers to religious reform, in the end it was the resistance from below on behalf of everyday Spaniards that blocked the goals of Trent, overall calling into question the compatibility of Tridentine Catholicism with that of local Spanish religion.

In researching the life of Juan de Valdés, I discovered documents concerning his father's appointment to the *mayoralía* of the houses and hospital of San Lázaro in the diocese of Cuenca in 1525. Since Juan's father Fernando transferred the *mayoralía* to him in 1529, my initial interest was simply to find out how much pay went with the position. The problems Juan's father had with the affiliated *cofradía* of San Lázaro led me into early welfare reform in Castile and Anne Cruz's related work on *Lazarillo* and the picaresque novel. Juan or Alfonso de Valdés has been suspected as the author of *Lazarillo* for more than a hundred and twenty years. Several recent works have revived the argument of an Erasmian author in general, and Alfonso de Valdés in particular. This paper explores three over-lapping chronologies: the chronology of the political activities of the Valdés family from 1518 to 1530, the chronology of the early movement to reform public begging in Castile during the same period, and the chronology of *Lazarillo*. Viewed in this context, Fernando de Valdés's battle with the *cofradía* of San Lázaro adds some historical documentation in support of the hypothesis that either Juan or Alfonso de Valdés wrote *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

Despite the inaccessibility and invisibility of the Spanish Habsburg kings, encounters between *labradores* and *labradoras* represent some of the most memorable moments in early modern Spanish literature, including "Fuenteovejuna" and "El alcalde de Zalamea." My presentation examines these and other meetings with ordinary Spaniards in the context of early modern Spanish political ideas about kingship and efforts by real men and women to reach their monarch.

In this presentation I will examine the phenomenon of the craze for the actresses known as *tonadilleras*, who enraged yet attracted audiences in late eighteenth-century Spain. The *tonadilleras* were actresses and singers who became famous for their interpretations of sensual, satirical and risqué *tonadillas*, the popular songs performed in between acts that were the rage in the Spanish theater during the 1760s and 1770s. With their provocative attire, flashy jewelry, and sensual dances, the *tonadilleras* portrayed an exaggerated and sexually dangerous type of femininity. I will argue that the performativity of the female body of the *tonadillera* and its excess of femininity—in the clothing, adornment, movements and laugh—offered a symbolic alternative to what French feminist linguists have labeled "the order of the father." These women posed a threat to this patriarchal order by having a public voice that although questioning this order did not attempt to alter it.

Daniel A. Crews, University of Central Missouri, "The Valdés Family, Welfare Reform, and *Lazarillo de Tormes*."

Luis R. Corteguera, University of Kansas, "In the Royal Presence: Unscripted Meetings between Kings and Ordinary People in Early Modern Spain."

Marta Vicente, University of Kansas, "Staging Femininity in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Theater."

J. B. Owens, Idaho State University, "Violence and Smuggling in Sixteenth-Century Eastern La Mancha."

This paper presents the results of research on cases of violence in the huge royal seignory of the Marquesado de Villena during the 1560s and the possible relation of this violence to smuggling activity in this period across the border between Castile and Valencia, at the eastern edge of the Marquesado. I did this research in an effort to validate my initial hypothesis that those involved in this smuggling were part of a sixteenth-century version of a twentieth-century, mafia-type criminal organization, which was headed by a prominent Milanese merchant based in Cuenca. In my book *"By My Absolute Royal Authority": Justice and the Castilian Commonwealth at the Beginning of the First Global Age* (University of Rochester Press, 2005), I stressed the Crown's lack of capacity to impose royal commands without the cooperation of municipal leaders, many of whom in the border towns of the Marquesado de Villena were involved in clandestine economic activities. In our time, even the most powerful governments have trouble stopping the illegal flow across their borders of narcotics, people, weapons, money and pirated intellectual property. I was certain that the activities of the smuggling organization I had discovered would allow me to uncover heretofore unrecognized aspects of the Habsburg Hispanic Monarchy, which the organization appeared to parallel to some extent.

As I acquired more information, I began to see that I had badly misconstrued the nature of sixteenth-century smuggling activity. Those criminal organizations of our age involved in smuggling are mostly protection rackets, which exist by selling protection to those who wish to avoid violent attacks from the organization and harassment by rivals, the police, and other government officials. However, the borders of the Habsburg Hispanic Monarchy were so porous that there was little or no scope for any sort of protection racket, at least in the European case I was studying, and there were few effective Crown officials. What I discovered instead were networks organized on the basis of high levels of cooperation among merchants and others, many of whom did not know each other personally. This predominant pattern of collaborative activities shocked and puzzled me because these relationships contrasted so sharply with the *Wall Street Journal* model of intense competition and hostility among rival firms.

Yet, while there was no mafia cartel and no violent protection racket operating along the sixteenth-century Castile-Valencia border, my research had uncovered a good deal of violence on the Castilian side and in eastern La Mancha and the Kingdom of Murcia in general. Because most criminal proceedings have not survived, to build an adequate sample of cases involving violence, I poured over the surviving indices maintained by the notaries of the *Sala de Justicia* (ESJ) in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), the unindexed and relatively unorganized papers of the *Registro General del Sello* (RGS) of the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), and other Simancas collections to which I was directed either by available indices or the assistance of Simancas' always-helpful archivists.

The paper reviews the types of violence I have so far uncovered in the border municipalities of the Marquesado de Villena, the Kingdom of Murcia, and the Bishopric of Cuenca. As a result, I conclude that there was plenty of violence in the area, and some of it was committed by people who were smugglers. However, the violence was not essential for the existence of clandestine economic activity, and the spatially extensive smuggling networks did not approximate a modern mafia. Normally, when smugglers were caught, if they were not able to evade prosecution, they simply dealt with the financial consequences of arrest, which usually involved seizure of the smuggled property and some sort of fine, and went about their business.

Indeed, the activities of the large-scale smugglers constituted an area of tranquility within the violent, conflict-prone border environment over which they were moving their wool, silver, and other products. With the existence of violent, armed gangs in the borderlands between the Crowns of Aragon and Castile, it occasions no

surprise to discover other reports of violence in conjunction with smuggling, but the violence generally manifested itself in clashes with royal and local officials and rivals over issues other than smuggling, which the paper reviews. The residents of these small towns could also react with collective violence if they felt that royal or seigniorial officials were violating local customs and privileges. Also, the existence of noble jurisdictions within the territory of the royal Marquesado de Villena and the Crown's sale of new town jurisdictions created enough confusion about rights and privileges to use land or collect fees that violence might erupt whenever citizens of one municipality asserted their claimed privileges against those of another who refused to recognize the claims. Given the magnitude of the problem in contemporary Spain, it will occasion no surprise that violence was committed against women in La Mancha in the 1560s, and the paper presents examples from the surviving documents. Finally, I discovered evidence of a number of murders, although most of those committed in the region appear to have been handled by the justices on the spot, particularly the royal ones, which means that the trial transcripts have disappeared. To repeat, however, there was no necessary relationship between violence and smuggling, and I suspect that, as in Murcia, the big smugglers, regardless of origin, wanted to reduce the violence to cut down on the number of short-term royal justices sent to the area.

