

FERNAND BRAUDEL

THE MEDITERRANEAN AND
THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD
IN THE AGE OF PHILIP II

VOLUME ONE

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY
SIÂN REYNOLDS

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Contents

Preface to the English Edition	page 13
Preface to the Second Edition	14
Preface to the First Edition	17

Part One

THE ROLE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

I. THE PENINSULAS: MOUNTAINS, PLATEAUX, AND PLAINS	25
1. <i>Mountains Come First</i>	25
Physical and human characteristics	25
Defining the mountains	30
Mountains, civilizations, and religions	34
Mountain freedom	38
The mountains' resources: an assessment	41
Mountain dwellers in the towns	44
Typical cases of mountain dispersion	47
Mountain life: the earliest civilization of the Mediterranean?	51
2. <i>Plateaux, Hills, and Foothills</i>	53
The high plains	53
A hillside civilization	55
The hills	58
3. <i>The Plains</i>	60
Water problems: malaria	62
The improvement of the plains	66
The example of Lombardy	72
Big landowners and poor peasants	75
Short term change in the plains: the Venetian Terraferma	78
Long term change: the fortunes of the Roman Campagna	81
The strength of the plains: Andalusia	82
4. <i>Transhumance and Nomadism</i>	85
Transhumance	85
Nomadism, an older way of life	87
Transhumance in Castile	91
Overall comparisons and cartography	94
Dromedaries and camels: the Arab and Turk invasions	95
Nomadism in the Balkans, Anatolia, and North Africa	98
Cycles spanning the centuries	101
II. THE HEART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN: SEAS AND COASTS	103
1. <i>The Plains of the Sea</i>	103
Coastal navigation	103

The early days of Portuguese discovery	108
The narrow seas, home of history	108
The Black Sea, preserve of Constantinople	110
The Archipelago, Venetian and Genoese	115
Between Tunisia and Sicily	116
The Mediterranean Channel	117
The Tyrrhenian Sea	120
The Adriatic	124
East and west of Sicily	133
Two maritime worlds	134
The double lesson of the Turkish and Spanish Empires	135
Beyond politics	137
2. Mainland Coastlines	138
The peoples of the sea	138
Weaknesses of the maritime regions	140
The big cities	145
The changing fortunes of maritime regions	146
3. The Islands	148
Isolated worlds	149
Precarious lives	151
On the paths of general history	154
Emigration from the islands	158
Islands that the sea does not surround	160
The Peninsulas	162
III. BOUNDARIES: THE GREATER MEDITERRANEAN	168
A Mediterranean of historical dimensions	168
1. The Sahara, the Second Face of the Mediterranean	171
The Sahara: near and distant boundaries	171
Poverty and want	173
Nomads who travel far	176
Advance and infiltration from the steppe	177
The gold and spice caravans	181
The oases	185
The geographical area of Islam	187
2. Europe and the Mediterranean	188
The isthmuses and their north-south passages	188
The Russian isthmus: leading to the Black and Caspian Sea	191
From the Balkans to Danzig: the Polish isthmus	195
The German isthmus: an overall view	202
The Alps	206
The third character: the many faces of Germany	208
From Genoa to Antwerp, and from Venice to Hamburg: the conditions of circulation	211
Emigration and balance of trade	214
The French isthmus, from Rouen to Marseilles	216
Europe and the Mediterranean	223
3. The Atlantic Ocean	224
Several Atlantics	224

The Atlantic learns from the Mediterranean	225
The Atlantic destiny in the sixteenth century	226
A late decline	230
IV. THE MEDITERRANEAN AS A PHYSICAL UNIT: CLIMATE AND HISTORY	231
1. <i>The Unity of the Climate</i>	231
The Atlantic and the Sahara	232
A homogeneous climate	234
Drought: the scourge of the Mediterranean	238
2. <i>The Seasons</i>	246
The winter standstill	246
Shipping at a halt	248
Winter: season of peace and plans	253
The hardships of winter	255
The accelerated rhythm of summer life	256
The summer epidemics	258
The Mediterranean climate and the East	259
Seasonal rhythms and statistics	260
Determinism and economic life	265
3. <i>Has the Climate Changed Since the Sixteenth Century?</i>	267
Supplementary note	272
V. THE MEDITERRANEAN AS A HUMAN UNIT: COMMUNICATIONS AND CITIES	276
1. <i>Land Routes and Sea Routes</i>	276
Vital communications	278
Archaic means of transport	282
Did land routes increase in importance towards 1600?	284
The intrinsic problem of the overland route	289
Two sets of evidence from Venice	290
Circulation and statistics: the case of Spain	293
The double problem in the long term	295
2. <i>Shipping: Tonnages and Changing Circumstances</i>	295
Big ships and little ships in the fifteenth century	299
The first victories of the small ships	300
In the Atlantic in the sixteenth century	301
In the Mediterranean	306
3. <i>Urban Functions</i>	312
Towns and Roads	312
A meeting place for different transport routes	316
From roads to banking	318
Urban cycle and decline	322
A very incomplete typology	323
4. <i>Towns, Witnesses to the Century</i>	324
The rise in population	326
Hardships old and new: Famine and the wheat problem	328
Hardships old and new: epidemics	332
The indispensable immigrant	334

Urban political crises	338
The privileged banking towns	341
Royal and imperial cities	344
In favour of capitals	351
From permanence to change	352

Part Two

COLLECTIVE DESTINIES AND GENERAL TRENDS

I. ECONOMIES: THE MEASURE OF THE CENTURY	355
1. <i>Distance, the First Enemy</i>	355
For letter-writers: the time lost in coming and going	355
The dimensions of the sea: some record crossings	358
Average speeds	360
Letters: a special case	363
News, a luxury commodity	365
Present-day comparisons	370
Empires and distance	371
The three missions of Claude du Bourg (1576 and 1577)	374
Distance and the economy	375
Fairs, the supplementary network of economic life	379
Local economies	382
The quadrilateral: Genoa, Milan, Venice, and Florence	387
2. <i>How Many People?</i>	394
A world of 60 or 70 million people	394
Mediterranean waste lands	398
A population increase of 100 per cent?	402
Levels and indices	403
Reservations and conclusions	410
Confirmations and suggestions	412
Some certainties	413
Another indicator: migration	415
3. <i>Is It Possible to Construct a Model of the Mediterranean Economy?</i>	418
Agriculture, the major industry	420
An industrial balance sheet	427
The putting-out or 'Verlag' system and the rise of urban industry	430
The system prospered	432
An itinerant labour force	433
General and local trends	434
The volume of commercial transactions	438
The significance and limitations of long distance trade	441
Capitalist concentrations	444
The total tonnage of Mediterranean shipping	445
Overland transport	448
The State: the principal entrepreneur of the century	449
Precious metals and the monetary economy	451
Was one fifth of the population in great poverty?	453
A provisional classification	457
Food, a poor guide: officially rations were always adequate	459
Can our calculations be checked?	460

II. ECONOMIES: PRECIOUS METALS, MONEY, AND PRICES	462
1. <i>The Mediterranean and the Gold of the Sudan</i>	463
The flow of precious metals towards the east	463
Sudanese gold: early history	466
The Portuguese in Guinea: gold continues to arrive in the Mediterranean	469
The gold trade and the general economic situation	472
Sudanese gold in North Africa	474
2. <i>American Silver</i>	476
American and Spanish treasure	476
American treasure takes the road to Antwerp	480
The French detour	484
The great route from Barcelona to Genoa and the second cycle of American treasure	487
The Mediterranean invaded by Spanish coins	493
Italy, the victim of 'la moneda larga'	496
The age of the Genoese	500
The Piacenza fairs	504
The reign of paper	508
From the last state bankruptcy under Philip II to the first under Philip III	510
3. <i>The Rise in Prices</i>	516
Contemporary complaints	519
Was American treasure responsible?	521
Some arguments for and against American responsibility	522
Wages	524
Income from land	525
Banks and inflation	528
The 'industrialists'	532
States and the price rise	532
The dwindling of American treasure	536
Devalued currency and false currency	537
Three ages of metal	541
III. ECONOMIES: TRADE AND TRANSPORT	543
1. <i>The Pepper Trade</i>	543
Mediterranean revenge: the prosperity of the Red Sea after 1550	545
Routes taken by the Levant trade	549
The revival of the Portuguese pepper trade	554
Portuguese pepper: deals and projects	556
Portuguese pepper is offered to Venice	558
The Welser and Fugger contract: 1586-1591	560
The survival of the Levantine spice routes	562
Possible explanations	568
2. <i>Equilibrium and Crisis in the Mediterranean Grain Trade</i>	570
The cereals	570
Some rules of the grain trade	571
The grain trade and the shipping routes	576

Ports and countries that exported grain	579
Eastern grain	583
Equilibrium, crisis, and vicissitudes in the grain trade	584
The first crisis: northern grain at Lisbon and Seville	585
The Turkish wheat boom: 1548-1564	591
Eating home-produced bread: Italy's situation between 1564 and 1590	594
The last crisis: imports from the north after 1500	599
Sicily: still the grain store of the Mediterranean	602
On grain crises	604
 3. <i>Trade and Transport: The Sailing Ships of the Atlantic</i>	 606
I. <i>Before 1550: the first arrivals</i>	606
Basque, Biscayan, and even Galician ships	607
The Portuguese	608
Normans and Bretons	609
Flemish ships	612
The first English sailing ships	612
The period of prosperity (1511-1534)	613
II. <i>From 1550 to 1573: the Mediterranean left to Mediterranean ships</i>	615
The return of the English in 1572-1573	621
Anglo-Turkish negotiations: 1578-1583	625
The success of English shipping	626
The situation at the end of the century	628
The arrival of the Hansards and the Dutch	629
From grain to spices: The Dutch conquer the Mediterranean	630
How the Dutch took Seville after 1570 without firing a shot	636
New Christians in the Mediterranean	640
 Abbreviations	 642

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

A full bibliography and index will appear in Volume II. Where possible reference has been made to English editions of books mentioned in the notes.

List of Illustrations

1. Plan of Venice (XVIth Century) *Photo Mas, Barcelona*
2. Constantinople *Photo B. N. Paris*
3. Height and depth above and below sea-level (Figure 1)
4. Atlantic sailing vessel *Photo B. N. Paris*
5. Venetian galleon *Photo O. Böhm, Venice*
6. Merchant's round ship *Photo O. Böhm, Venice*
7. The English take Cadiz, 1596 *Photo B. N. Paris*
8. The Harbour, Barcelona
9. The Venice Arsenal (1500)
10. Sailing ships large and small *Photo B. N. Paris*
11. The Alps between France and Piedmont *Photo B. N. Paris*

List of Figures

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Height and depth above and below sea level (<i>see plate 3</i>) | |
| 2. The folds of the Mediterranean | 27 |
| 3. The great canals of the Lombardy plain | 73 |
| 4. The regularization canals safeguarded half of the Venetian lagoons | 79 |
| 5. Winter and summer pasture of sheep in Haute-Provence | 90 |
| 6. Castilian transhumance | 93 |
| 7. Transhumance in modern times | 98 |
| 8. The wrecks of boats sailing to Venice from 1592 to 1609 | 112 |
| 9. Captured vessels during the same period | 113 |
| 10. Sicily and Tunisia cut the Mediterranean in two | 114 |
| 11. Corfu, lying opposite Otranto, commands the entrance to the Adriatic | 124 |
| 12. The Mediterranean and the rest of the world | 169 |
| 13. The implantation of palm groves from the Indus to the Atlantic | 172 |
| 14. Saharan caravans, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries | 183 |
| 15. The roads of the German isthmus | 204 |
| 16. The Alpine barrier | 205 |
| 17. Lyons and the spice trade | 218 |
| 18. Marseilles and the internal French market, 1543 | 221 |
| 19. The 'true' Mediterranean, from the olive tree to the great palm groves | 232 |
| 20. A voyage to Spain that ended up at Tabarka, January, 1597 | 250 |
| 21. Effects of the mistral, 19th April, 1569 and days following | 252 |
| 22. Seasonal variation of the volume of business at the <i>Fondaco dei Tedeschi</i>
at Venice | 266 |
| 23. The road network of the Iberian peninsula in 1546 | 279 |
| 24. Roads over the Tuscan Apennines | 280 |

25. The Great Bazaar at Constantinople	313
26. The heart of Venice	314
27. The population of the towns of Castile	324
28, 29, and 30. News travelling to Venice	366-367
31, 32. Venice: the voyages of the <i>galere da mercato</i>	392
33. The population of the Venetian mainland in 1548	397
34. Population of Castile in 1541 and in 1591	406
35. Increase in population, 1541-1591, 1593	407
36. The population of Sicily, 1501-1716	409
37. Baptisms at Florence, 1551-1600	413
38. The exchange rate of the Venetian sequin	472
39. Gold versus silver	473
40. The two ages of American silver	477
41. Spanish 'political' silver in Europe, 1580-1626	479
42. Wheat prices in the Mediterranean and Europe	516
43. Prices at Bursa, 1489-1633	518
44. Rising prices in Paris	520
45. The price rise is felt at Strasbourg before Valencia	523
46. Prices and real wages at Valencia	525
47. Real prices of cereals at Strasbourg, Lwow and Valencia	526
48. Devaluation of moneys of account	528
49. The Sicilian <i>caricatori</i> in 1532	580
50. Venice: imported grain and mainland grain	596
51. Sicilian exports	598
52. Sicily after 1593	605
53. A register of marine insurance at Genoa	618-620
54. The increasing number of northern boats at Leghorn, 1573-93	632-633

Facsimile of the <i>carpeta</i> of a letter from Philip II's ambassador in Lisbon	461
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Preface to the English Edition

This English version of *The Mediterranean* corresponds to the second French edition of 1966. When, in 1964, several English-language publishers suggested to me the possibility of a translation, the original French edition had been out of print for twelve or thirteen years and I would not have wanted to re-issue the book without thoroughly revising it, in order to incorporate in the new edition the results of recent studies and of the extensive research carried out by my pupils and myself since 1949. But I do not think I should ever have found the courage to undertake this major revision had I not been faced with the prospect of a translation. I did not wish to offer the English-speaking public a book which had already had a somewhat tempestuous career. With the mass of books flooding from the presses today, works on history age more quickly than they used to.

The Mediterranean speaks with many voices; it is a sum of individual histories. If these histories assume in the course of research different values, different meanings, their sum must perforce change too. English-speaking historians will see that I have taken note of their work, and that I have given more space than I did in 1949 to the voyages to the Mediterranean of the ships of the northern countries, their merchants and their merchandise, through the narrow gateway of Gibraltar. I have also devoted more attention to what is a major historiographical problem, a zone of formidable uncertainty: the Ottoman empire. After the conquest of the Balkans and especially after that of the southern coast of the Mediterranean, from Syria to Algiers and almost to Gibraltar, that empire covered a good half of the Mediterranean region; it was an Anti-Christendom, balancing the weight of the west. We historians of the west are in exactly the same position as the contemporaries of Philip II, of Gian Andrea Doria or Don John of Austria: we can glimpse the Turkish world from the outside only. The reports sent by ambassadors and intelligence agents to Christian princes tell us something of the workings of that great body, but hardly ever anything of its motives. The secret, or some of the secrets, lie hidden in the vast archives in Istanbul. Access to them is difficult and it is only now that we are seeing some of the results of investigation of these sources, in works which are naturally all breaking new ground. I have done my best to take account of these recent studies – with the greater energy since in many cases (and I am very sensible of the honour) the area of the problem as defined in my book and the hypotheses (they were no more) which I advanced in the first edition had served as the original frame of reference for the research. As I write these lines, I have on my desk the admirable study by M. A. Cook, *Population pressure in*

rural Anatolia: 1450-1600, which has just been published by the Oxford University Press. I am touched and flattered by both his criticism and approval of my book.

Today in 1972, six years after the second French edition, I think I can say that two major truths have remained unchallenged. The first is the unity and coherence of the Mediterranean region. I retain the firm conviction that the Turkish Mediterranean lived and breathed with the same rhythms as the Christian, that the whole sea shared a common destiny, a heavy one indeed, with identical problems and general trends if not identical consequences. And the second is the greatness of the Mediterranean, which lasted well after the age of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, until the dawn of the seventeenth century or even later. This 'waning' of the Mediterranean, to borrow the word Huizinga used of the Middle Ages, had its autumnal fruits: Titian and Tintoretto in Venice; Caravaggio and the Carracci at Rome and Bologna; Galileo in Padua and Florence; in Spain, Madrid and the Golden Century; and the rise everywhere of the theatre and music we still love today.

In this brief foreword to a very large book, I should like to express my gratitude to all those concerned in producing the English edition: first of all to Hugh Van Dusen, who perhaps because he had wished for so long to see the book in English has taken the greatest pains to ensure that it has a quality rare I believe in the realm of translations. To Georges Huppert who helped us to find a translator. To Siân Reynolds who agreed to this weighty assignment and has admirably fulfilled the hopes we placed in her: it is no small task to adapt my not uncomplicated style to the vigorous rhythms of the English language. To Oreste Ranum, that great expert on the language and civilization of France, who agreed to read and revise the text and to resolve all the small problems that crop up in any translation. And finally to Richard Ollard, who has with energy and devotion seen the book through the press and presented it to the English-speaking public. To all may I express here my appreciation and warmest thanks.

FERNAND BRAUDEL

Paris, 8th February, 1972

Preface to the Second Edition

It was with much hesitation that I undertook a new edition of *The Mediterranean*. Some of my friends advised me to change nothing, not a word, not a comma, arguing that a work that had become a classic should not be altered. But how could I decently listen to them? With the increase in knowledge and the advances made in our neighbouring disciplines, the social sciences, history books age more quickly now than in the past. A moment passes and their vocabulary has become dated, the new ground

they broke is familiar territory, and the explanations they offered are challenged.

Moreover, *The Mediterranean* does not date from 1949, when it was first published, nor even from 1947, when it was defended as a thesis at the Sorbonne. The main outline of the book was already determined if not entirely written by 1939, at the close of the dazzling early period of the *Annales* of Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, of which it is the direct result. So the reader should not be misled by some of the arguments in the preface to the first edition. They are attacks on old positions, forgotten in the research world, if not in the teaching world of today, yesterday's polemic chasing shadows from the past.

Thus it soon became clear to me that a new edition would mean an extensive if not a total revision of the text, that it would not do simply to include the maps, diagrams, graphs, and illustrations which material difficulties in 1949 had made it impossible for me to publish. Corrections, additions, and revisions have been in some places considerable, since I have had to take account not only of fresh knowledge but also of what is often more significant, fresh approaches to historical problems. Several chapters have therefore been totally rewritten.

Any work of synthesis, as Henri Pirenne used to say, inspires a new crop of specialized research. Such research did not fail to follow in the wake of my book. It began by following in my footsteps and has now completely overwhelmed me. Many pages would be required to give an account of the immense amount of work that has been accomplished since 1949 in areas directly concerned by this book, with the books and articles published and unpublished of Ömer Lütfi Barkan and his pupils, Julio Caro Baroja, Jean-François Bergier, Jacques Berque, Ramon Carande, Alvaro Castillo Pintado, Federico Chabod, Huguette and Pierre Chaunu, Carlo M. Cipolla, Gaetano Cozzi, Jean Delumeau, Alphonse Dupront, Elena Fasano, René Gascon, José Gentil da Silva, Jacques Hcers, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, Hermann Kellenbenz, Henri Lapeyre, Robert Mantran, Felipe Ruiz Martín, Frédéric Mauro, Ruggiero Romano, Raymond de Roover, Frank Spooner, Iorjo Tadić, Alberto Tenenti, Ugo Tucci, Valentin Vázquez de Prada, Pierre Vilar, and lastly the studies undertaken by the group formed by the late José Vicens Vives and his admirable pupils. I have participated, often very closely, in the course of these studies.

And finally I myself have found much to add to the information given in the first edition, in the course of continued research and reading in the archives and libraries of Venice, Parma, Modena, Florence, Genoa, Naples, Paris, Vienna, Simancas, London, Cracow, and Warsaw.

This harvest had somehow to be brought home. And here the insidious questions of method once more raise their heads, as they inevitably must in a book on this scale which takes as its subject the Mediterranean region understood in the very widest sense embracing every aspect of its rich and dense life. Including more material necessarily means rearranging, eliminating old problems only to encounter new ones, the solution of which may