

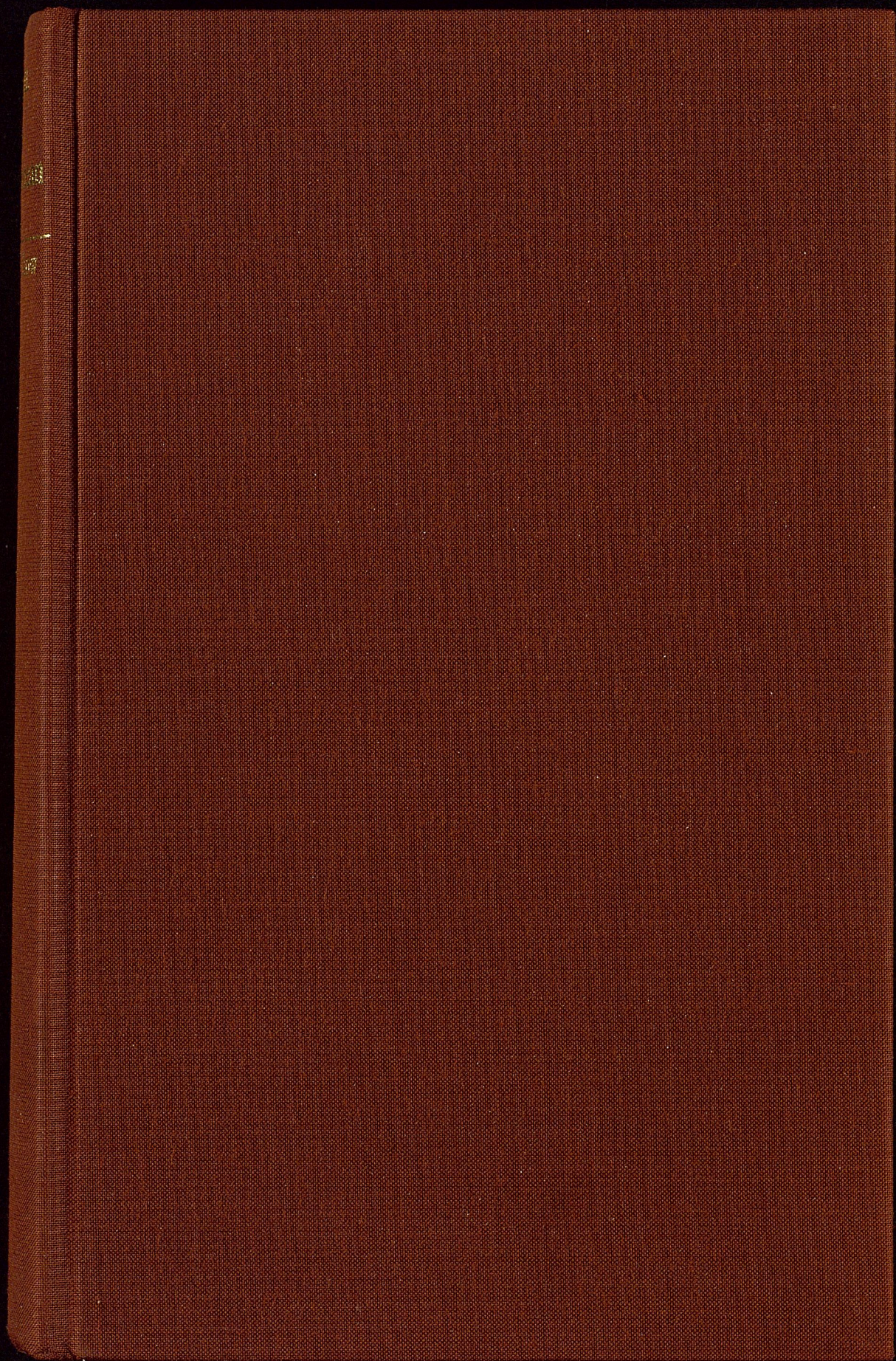
KRAUIDEL

THE

Mediterranean

Tales

Harper & Row



FERNAND BRAUDEL

*The Mediterranean*  
*and the Mediterranean World*  
*in the Age of Philip II*

VOLUME I

Translated from the French  
by Siân Reynolds

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS

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*A Lucien Febvre,  
 toujours présent  
 en témoignage  
 de reconnaissance  
 et de filiale affection*

This book was originally published in France under the title  
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## 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

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The Alps between France and Piedmont *Photo B.N. Paris*

Arid Regions *Photos Diputación Foral de Navarra*

The Rhône Delta *Photo E.P.H.E.*

*between pages 176 and 177*

Portulan (XVIth Century) of the Eastern Mediterranean *Photo B.N. Madrid*

Tapestry Map I *Photo A.C.L. Brussels*

Tapestry Map II *Photo A.C.L. Brussels*

The Harbour, Barcelona

On the Bosphorus *Photo Mantua Archives*

*between pages 336 and 337*

Merchant's Round Ship *Photo O. Böhm, Venice*

Atlantic Invades Mediterranean *Photo NASA, Washington*

Venetian Galleon *Photo O. Böhm, Venice*

*between pages 464 and 465*

Atlantic Sailing Vessel *Photo B.N. Paris*

The English take Cadiz, 1596 *Photo B.N. Paris*

Sailing Ships Large and Small *Photo B.N. Paris*

Galleys and Round Ships in the Atlantic *Photo B.N. Paris*

Round Ship *Photo Bavarian National Museum*

*between pages 560 and 561*

Genoa in the XVth Century

The Venice Arsenal (1500)

Constantinople *Photo B.N. Paris*

Cairo

Plan of Venice (XVIth Century) *Photo Mas, Barcelona*

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like it, the nomads would arrive at the gates of Aleppo,<sup>26</sup> Alexandria,<sup>27</sup> or Cairo. In November 1518, a garrison had to be sent to Aqaba in order to protect the baggage of the pilgrims 'from the Bedouin raids, which are constantly increasing'.<sup>28</sup>

Seen from the inside, through field studies, all these desert societies, so simple at first glance, reveal their complicated organizations, hierarchies, customs, and astonishing legal structures. But from the outside, they seem a handful of human dust blowing in the wind. By comparison, societies which in the Mediterranean seemed so unsettled, mountain society in particular, suddenly appear weighty and established.

*Nomads who travel far.* We should in any case distinguish between two types of nomad among the peoples of the desert. First there are the mountain nomads, who move within a short radius; they go down to pass the winter in the desert. This is even today the practice of the Oulad Sidi Cheikh south of Oran, the Tuareg of the Ajers or the Hoggar, and the Regueibat, who go to 'the cliffs of Zemmur' in the Spanish Sahara. Secondly, there are the nomads who pass the summer away from the Sahara, on the neighbouring steppes; they often cover very large distances, like the Rwalla, who travel to the Mediterranean from the Syrian desert; or the Beni Larba who, following the rhythm of the seasons, pass to and fro on the 800-kilometre journey between Laghouat and the high plateaux of Tiaret which they reach in May and June; or, this time moving away from the Mediterranean, the Moors who journey to the banks of the river Senegal in the dry season.<sup>29</sup>

We shall here be concerned only with these wide-ranging nomads, who regularly return with the seasons to the Mediterranean.

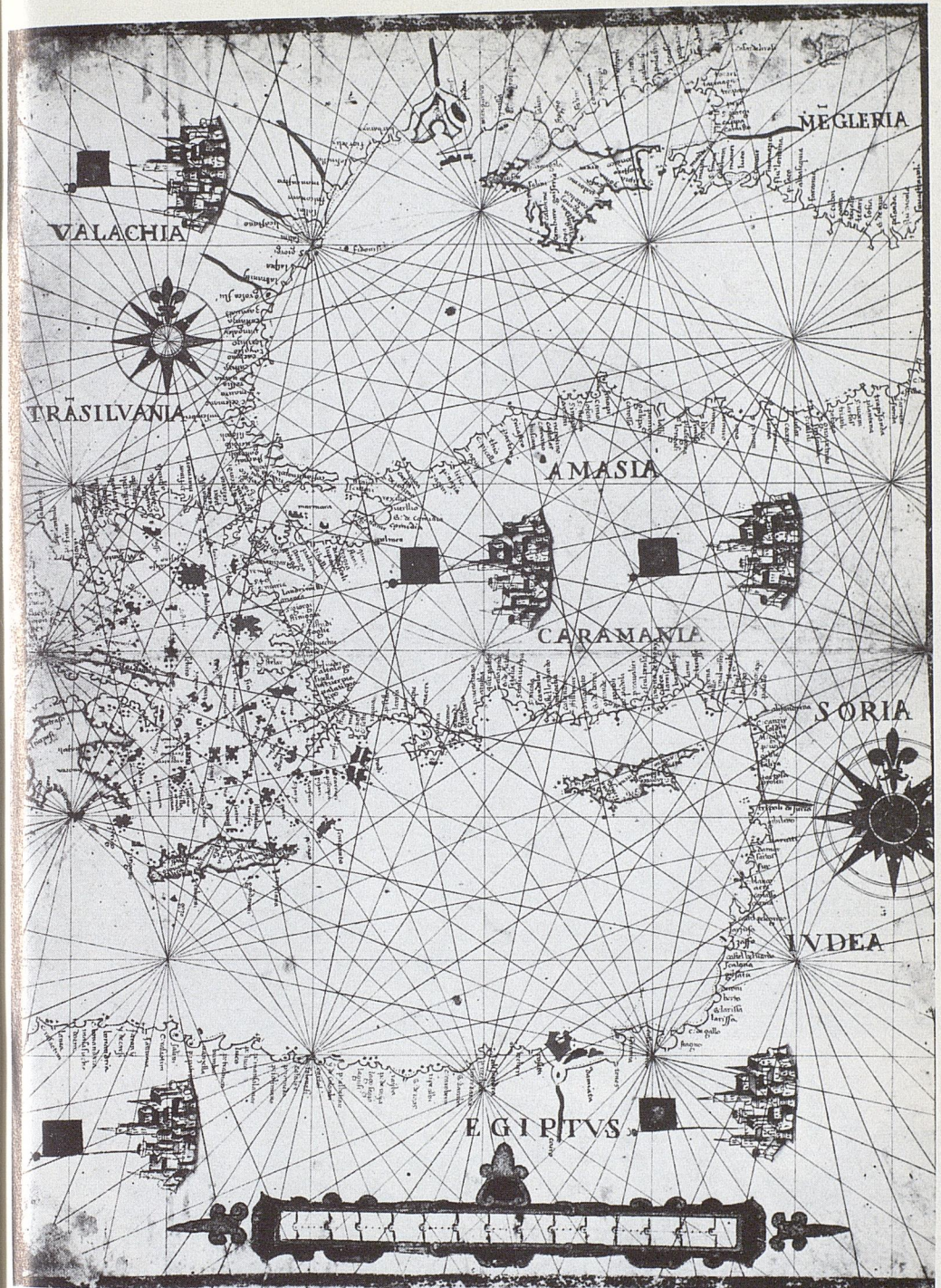
Every winter the Mediterranean is invaded by Atlantic depressions bringing rain. To the south and east these rains extend beyond the shores of the sea. In the region of Mecca, the winter rains from the Mediterranean are brief and sometimes violent. 'I have seen more than three feet of water in the streets of Jiddah,' writes General Brémont. The rainfall is far from regular of course. These downpours (one rain every two years, in some of the furthest regions, every four years), create steppes providing pasture, immense grazing lands, but where the grass is widely scattered and soon disappears. Even in the wide depressions of the *oueds*, the tufts are often 20 to 40 metres apart. The grass, which grows in the winter, gradually dries up from the south to the north, from the end of spring. It vanishes before the advance of the flocks, leading them on to the shores of the Mediterranean, which they reach after harvest time. But the sheep are

<sup>26</sup> Alonso de la Cueva to H.M., Venice, 6th June, 1609, A.N. K 1679, 'los Arabes que corrian la campaña robando todos los pasajeros'.

<sup>27</sup> Daniele Badoer to the Doge, Pera, 8th April, 1564, A.d.S. Venice, Senato Secreta Costantopoli, 4 D.

<sup>28</sup> *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, II, p. 266.

<sup>29</sup> Vincent Monteil, 'L'évolution et la sédentarisation des nomades sahariens', in *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales*, 1959, p. 600.



5. PORTULAN (XVTH CENTURY) OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Ms. 17 818 f. 4

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the pretext of confiscating any goods on board belonging to Jews or Turks. In vain both the Signoria and the Pope, protector of Ancona, protested, demanding that a flag should guarantee immunity to the cargo. The right of search, whether abused or not, was retained by Christian privateers. Turkish galleys invoked similar rights in order to seize Sicilian or Neapolitan cargoes. A legal fiction on both sides, the practice continued despite the severe blows which the Venetian galleys sometimes inflicted on corsairs of any nation.

When Ibiza was plundered in August, 1536, were the attackers French or Turkish?<sup>139</sup> How can one tell? In this case they were probably French since they carried off several sides of salt pork. Even amongst themselves, Christians and Moslems fought and looted. From Agde, during the summer of 1588, Montmorency's soldiers (who had not been paid, or so they said) began making pirate raids with a brigantine, capturing anything that sailed out of the gulf.<sup>140</sup> In 1590, corsairs from Cassis robbed two Provençal boats.<sup>141</sup> In 1593, a French ship, the *Jehan Baptiste*, probably from Brittany, carrying all the necessary certificates and passes issued by the Duke of Mercoeur and by the Spanish representatives at Nantes, Don Juan de Aguila, was nevertheless seized by Prince Doria, her cargo sold and her crew clapped in irons.<sup>142</sup> In 1596, French and above all Provençal *tartanes* were raiding the coasts of Naples and Sicily.<sup>143</sup> About twenty years earlier, during the summer of 1572,<sup>144</sup> a Marseilles freighter, the *Sainte-Marie et Saint-Jean*, master Antoine Banduf, returning from Alexandria with a rich cargo, became separated from the flotilla of other French ships by bad weather and met a Ragusan merchantman coming from Crete to fetch wheat from Sicily and take it to Valencia. The big ship captured the Marseilles boat and 'sent it to the bottom, drowning the said captain, his officers and mariners, having first looted and stolen the cargo'. Such were the hazards of life at sea. In 1566, the captain of a French vessel found himself in difficulties at Alicante – and to judge from the countless complaints of French sailors, the Spaniards could create powerful difficulties when they wanted to. But the captain was a bold man: he seized the men who boarded his ships and what was more scaled the walls of the town.<sup>145</sup> Anything was allowed – provided it succeeded. In 1575, a French ship took on board in Tripoli in Barbary a cargo of Moorish and Jewish passengers bound for Alexandria, 'people of all ages and both sexes'. Without hesitation, the captain sailed straight to Naples where he sold his

<sup>139</sup> Bernard Pançalba, governor of the island, to the empress, Ibiza, 26th August, 1536, A.N., K 1690 (orig. Catalan, transl. into Castilian).

<sup>140</sup> Barcelona, 24th July, 1588, Simancas E° 336, f° 164.

<sup>141</sup> A. Com., Cassis, E E 7, 21st December, 1580.

<sup>142</sup> Henri IV to Philip III, Paris, February, 1600, Letters of Henri IV to Rochepot, p. 3–4.

<sup>143</sup> 25th December, 1596, Simancas E° 343.

<sup>144</sup> The consuls of Marseilles to the lords, dukes and governors of the city and Republic of Genoa, Marseilles, 20th April, 1574, A.d.S., Genoa, Francia, Lettere Consoli, 1 2618.

<sup>145</sup> Madrid, 28th March, 1566, A.N., K 1505, B 20, no. 91.



29. IN SIGHT OF TUNIS (1535). Tapestry after Vermeyen. In the distance, La Goletta and its channel, the lagoon of Tunis and the town. In the foreground, the galleys