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В. В. Бартольда (1869–1930)**

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**On the Occasion of the 150th
Anniversary of Academician
Vasily V. Barthold (1869–1930)**

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SAINT PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

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К 150-ЛЕТИЮ АКАДЕМИКА В. В. БАРТОЛЬДА
HISTORY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES IN RUSSIA:
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 150th ANNIVERSARY
OF ACADEMICIAN VASILY V. BARTHOLD

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Vasco de Quiroga in Oran (1525–1527): Intercultural Relations and Charles V's Imperial Policy

Vasco de Quiroga (1470–1565) is recognized, above all, for his work as the first bishop of the diocese of Michoacán, Mexico, as well as for his role in the evangelization of the Purépecha or Tarascan Indians from 1534 until his death. His interventions in both the Junta of the Mexican Church in 1539 and the First National Council of Mexico (1555) were also decisive, while his missionary activity may be pinpointed in two ways: a practical one, oriented towards the foundation of a series of hospital-villages (*hospitales-pueblo*), inspired by the characteristic utopian thought of the Humanism of the sixteenth century, which promoted the peaceful catechization of Native Americans; another, in theoretical terms, through the writing of two fundamental works within the tradition of the Indian treatise: the *Información*

¹ The Balfour Declaration, 1917. <http://www.mideastweb.org/mebalfour.htm>.

² Esilyurt N. Turning Point of Turkish Arab Relations: A Case Study on the Hijaz Revolt. (PDF). *The Turkish Yearbook*. XXXVII (2006). P. 107–8.

en derecho (*Information in Law*, 1535) and the *De debellandis Indis* (ca. 1553), in which he tried to make compatible the interests of both natives and settlers. Before his move to America as a judge (*oidor*) of the Second Audiencia of Mexico in 1530, it is highlighted his experience in Granada and North Africa, which allowed him to train as a jurist and officer of the Spanish Crown (WARREN 1998 y 1963).

The Context

African interests did not figure in the imperial agenda of Charles V to the same extent as other large enterprises, such as the domination of the West Indies or Italian politics (Braudel 1987, 153; 1928, 191–192). Africa, however, provided a double perspective on Spanish interests during the sixteenth century:

1. From an internal perspective, it consisted of a policy of defence and attack against Islam: defence of the coasts of the Kingdom of Granada and eastern Spain which, after the fall of the Nasrid emirate of Granada on January 2, 1492, formed a new frontier with the Islamic world established along the southern shore of the Mediterranean. There, a “new Granada war” had been transferred (Braudel 1987, 153; 1928, 192–194), the continuation of the crusade against Islam that was begun in 1480 during the celebration of the Cortes of Toledo through the ritual of the blessing of the flags of the Order of Santiago (Suárez Fernández 1989a, 361). The Court as such symbolized the new hegemonic role of the Spanish monarchy, which tended to concentrate all the power of the kingdom in the person of the sovereign, while affirming a policy of “religious maxim” by which the religion of the kingdom, Catholicism, became mandatory for all subjects of the Crown, while excluding any other creed (Suárez Fernández 1989b, 5–40). To these were added other matters of significance, such as certain initiatives that concentrated a medieval-style Messianism in the person of the Spanish monarchs, and which was expressed in the drive to recover the Holy Land for Christianity (Zaballa Beascochea, Gonzalez Ayesta 1995); together with the imperial claim, as expressed by the chancellor Mercurino Gattinara in 1522: it was the duty of the greatest prince of Christians to govern the world (Braudel 2000, 34–44).

This policy of defence, territorial expansion and aggrandizement of Christianity, led Spain to expand its own domains to the south, at the expense of Islam, in the period following the capture of Granada. In 1509 they snatched Oran from the sultanate of Tlemcen, taking advantage of the precariousness of the Tlemcenian dominion over that stronghold (López de Coca Castañer 2018; Laroui 1994, 203; García-Arenal, 1992). The action was directed by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, a Franciscan ecclesiastical reformer who had overseen the repression against the Mudejar population (Spanish moors) of Granada in 1499 and became an arbiter of Castilian politics after the death of Queen Isabel I in 1504 (García Oro 2002, 185–209). By 1510 Spanish expansionism had reached Tripoli (Fernández Rodríguez, Martínez Peñas 2014, 177–210; Zurita 1610, 225 v^o–227 r^o).

Henceforth, the Spanish Crown faced the problem of supplying the African strongholds out of Málaga, which acted as a “great regulatory station” of the traffic *en route* to Africa and, as a result, had to face growing harassment by North African corsairs, who continuously threatened the passage of goods and people along the Mediterranean routes (Braudel 1987, 153–154). From Oran, Spain maintained its control over the surrounding zone with difficulty and turned neighboring territories into feudatories, such as Tlemcen (Sánchez Doncel 1991, 173; De La Véronée 1983). To maintain a Spanish population and garrison within the stronghold, the Emperor granted a range of immunities and grants to the Christians of Oran and nearby Mazalquivir on May 5, 1525, at the request of its governor, Luis Fernández de Córdoba, second Marquis of Comares (Sánchez Doncel 1991, 173). This measure confirms continuity with the legal and fiscal uses previously adopted by the Spanish Crown so as to maintain the old frontier with the Nasrid emirate (González Jiménez 1989, 211–219).

2. On the other hand, in terms of foreign policy, Spain tried to oppose the growing expansion of the Ottoman Empire via the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, the Danube Basin, and the Balkan Peninsula, thus trying to thwart its attempt at settlement in the African- Maghreb strip. The Turks, from the year 1480, after an ephemeral attack to the south of Italy, showed a growing interest in occupying maritime bases in Africa that would allow them to spread with guarantees throughout the European West while, between 1516 and 1517, they caused the fall of the Mamluk dynasty of Egypt, thereby inaugurating their expansion from the Mashriq to the Magrib. Meanwhile, one of the corsairs known as Barbarossa (Bābā ‘Arūdj), who had taken Algiers in 1516, joined with his brothers, Kḥayr al-Dīn and Ishāk, and conducted an intense campaign of privateering in the service of the Ottomans, which was thus able to extend Turkish control over North Africa between 1518 and 1520 (Heers 2002, 45–55; Le Tourneau 1986, 677–679).

In the first half of the sixteenth century Tlemcen was a sultanate in decay, threatened by internal disputes among the members of the ruling family and the aspirations of emerging powers within the environs, especially Spain, from its base in Oran, and Turkey, through the domain of Algiers (Marçais 1986, 93; Braudel, 1928, 214–215). The Tlemcenian population was dissatisfied with its sovereign Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad V al-Ṭḥābitī b. Muḥammad IV (910–22 H./1504–16), of the Banū ‘Abd al-Wād dynasty (Zayyānids) (Iahiane 2006, 3–4, 157–158; Marçais 1986, 93; Bargès 1887, 415–425), for having submitted to vassalage under the Spanish and transformed the sultanate into a tribute-paying dependency of Spain. Moreover, Spain set down in the agreements with Tlemcen of May-June, 1511, that all its commerce was to be channelled through Oran, a city that in the years that followed was to become the centre of all Spain’s trade with Africa (López Beltrán, 1985).

On the death of the Sultan at the end of 1516, there was a dynastic crisis between two pretenders to the throne: the brother of the deceased, Abū Zayyān, and his uncle

Abū Ḥammū III Mūsā b. Muḥammad III (923–934 H./1516–1528). The latter seized the throne with the help of the Spanish, which caused the former to call for help to the Turks installed in Algiers. In September 1517 ‘Arūdj defeated Abū Ḥammū III and managed to seize the stronghold, while taking the decision to assassinate his protégé, Abū Zayyān, and take over the Tlemcen government. A short time later, the Spanish, who had hosted Abū Ḥammū III in Oran, won back the stronghold and put ‘Arūdj to death in the autumn of 1518 (Le Tourneau 1986, 678; Bargès 1887, 427–437; al-Wazzan 1556, 239; López de Gomara 1853, 371–379; Mármol Carvajal 1573, 180 v^o–183 v^o; Haedo 1612, 53r^o–55 r^o). Abū Ḥammū III returned to the throne and became a vassal, committing himself to the payment of tributes (Mármol Carvajal 1573, 183 r^o; Gutiérrez Cruz 2012, 291). Throughout this process, the Spaniards employed the tactic of attrition which they had already used in the conquest of the Nasrid sultanate of Granada, fomenting the internal rivalries among the ruling dynasties, as well as the discontentment of the Muslim population.

Despite its political decline, Tlemcen retained an important economic activity, encouraged by the ‘Abd al-Wadids dynasty, while projecting its production of fabrics and metal objects, especially harnesses for horses (Mármol Carvajal 1573, 89 v^o, 176 r^o–177 r^o). Even so, the continuity of its commercial relations with both sub-Saharan Africa and Europe was more important, allowing it to achieve significant urban development and become the “gateway” to the Mediterranean basin for caravans from within the interior of Africa (Lawless 1975; Daouadi 2009). During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, North Africa had become the economic “engine” of the Mediterranean, thanks to the traffic of gold and slaves, thus leading to its occupation by Christian merchants; Tlemcen became “the city of honest merchants”, in which Spaniards, French and Italians made regular stops which included other important locations: Bejaia, Constantine, Tunisia, Ceuta, Tangier, Oran, or Fez, which enabled communication with the *Bilād al-Sūdān* (Braudel 1987, 619–621; Kaye 1997, 752–761; al-Wazzan 1556, 239; Mármol Carvajal 1573, 171 v^o–172 r^o, 176 v^o). From the twenties of the sixteenth century on, there was a decline in the traffic of gold in North African ports due to three possible causes: the growing competition among Spaniards, French and English; the increase in production costs; and the increasing entry into Europe of precious metals from America (Braudel 1987, 622–630). The situation became stabilized to a large extent when the Turks and North African Sharifs (*ashrāf* or *shurafā*) began to control the situation in the decades that followed, but the possibility of converting the Maghreb into a “European market” had been lost (Braudel 1987, 628).

Vasco de Quiroga’s Intervention in Africa

In 1525, Vasco de Quiroga was commissioned by the Crown as an investigator judge (*juez de residencia*) in Oran, under the jurisdiction of the Royal Chancery of Granada, to which he belonged in administrative and jurisdictional terms (ARChV,

RE, C, 272.35: 1512, 1 r^o). Afterwards, in June 1526, he was assigned, together with Pedro de Godoy, to the negotiation of a peace treaty with the Sultan of Tlemcen, Abū Hammū III (Aguayo Spencer 1986, 23). Later, on November 9, 1526, he was commissioned as an inquirer (*pesquisidor*) to go to a series of localities in North Africa, Vélez (Bâdis) and Tetuán, among others, to investigate the contraband that had been taking place between the ports of the Kingdom of Granada and Muslim territory (López Beltrán 1985, 310). This mission was still underway in the June of 1527 (López de Coca Castañer 1993, 226–227).

In this same territory, Quiroga also became familiar with the imperial policy toward cultural minorities. In this way, it can be seen that, since 1525, the emperor, with the support of General Inquisitor Alonso Manrique, maintained a double-sided policy regarding the Moorish population of Spain: on the one hand, it sought its definitive assimilation into Christian society; and, on the other, it moderated repressive measures, while applying non-aggressive integration formulas. This policy was reflected in the conclusions reached in the session of the Royal Chapel of Granada in the summer of 1526 and in the legislative measures derived therefrom (Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 2001). This system was not altruistic as such but sought to maintain social order, assimilate the non-Christian population into Christian society, while also upholding a profitable tax system in the interests of the Crown through a three-pronged strategy: firstly, to ensure a cultural minority as payers of double tributes, not only because this same minority was subject to special taxes as a religious minority, but also to ordinary taxes that were to be paid without any palliative measures being applied, since any exemptions were exclusively applicable to Christian-old settlers; secondly, to ensure the maintenance of a pre-conquest tax system favourable to the interests of the Crown; and thirdly, to obtain additional contributions from the minority concerned due to the promise of continuity in the moderate policy of cultural integration (Castillo Fernández, Muñoz Buendía 2000). In Oran the same policies were followed as in the rest of the Kingdom of Granada, and thus, for example, in the lease of the rents of 1512, it was sought to preserve the customary uses “in time that was of Moors” (Gutiérrez Cruz 2012, 287). A “peaceful crusade” of conversion to Christianity was also undertaken with regard to the Muslim and Jewish population, in the case of those who were freemen, as well as those who were slaves (Alonso Acero 1999).

Apart from imperial policy, the daily treatment of Jewish, Muslim, and Christian merchants, along the frontier line, was an example of the overcoming of cultural and religious barriers in benefit of other interests, in this case, those of commerce (López de Coca Castañer 1993, 229–230).

Conclusions: the Results of Quiroga’s intervention

As an investigator judge (*juez de residencia*), Quiroga intervened in conflicts among merchants of different nationalities and faiths, while trying to correct the

abuses committed by the Spanish authorities in Oran, thereby restoring real justice (AGS, CRC, 97.3, AGS, CRC, 30, eleven). This strategy maintained the precarious balance among the different communities that made up the Oranian society of the time, based on a system similar to that of Nazarian Granada, which meant preserving among the native population, as far as possible, the uses in vogue prior to the Spanish occupation, while privileging the imperial political order.

As inquirer (*pesquisidor*), Quiroga investigated the “merchants and other people”, autochthonous and foreign who, for ten years, had been smuggling prohibited merchandise --arms, supplies, ammunition, or artillery--, between Spanish ports and the African coast (AMM, P, XI, pp. 121–122). The Crown warned of how the smugglers, “with little fear of God and of real justice”, were handing over to the “enemy Moors” indispensable supplies which ensured the maintenance of their opposition to Spain (AGS, CC, M, leg 188). On the other hand, much needed income was being drained from the royal coffers to meet the large maintenance costs of the North African strongholds (López Beltrán 1985). Towards 1520, the chief magistrate (*corregidor*) of Oran insisted on the importance of the city keeping its small colony of Jewish merchants (Primaudaie 1875, 30).

As a diplomat, Quiroga managed to close an agreement that was signed on August 12, 1526, in the monastery of Santo Domingo el Real, in Oran, that was endorsed by the Emperor Charles V on September 9 of that same year, in Granada. These agreements allowed Spain to maintain a degree of control over the North African traffic, while also maintaining its presence in the area in the face of growing Ottoman power and the rise of the Sa‘dids who, from 1524, already controlled Marrākush, while expanding throughout the territory of the Wattāsids (De la Véronée 1995, 723).

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