Introduction
An Empire of Eloquence in a Global Renaissance

On June 23, 1721 Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero (1698–1775) gave a "job talk" (*lección de oposición*) for the chair of rhetoric at the Royal and Pontifical University in Mexico City.[1] For Cabrera and the other candidates, this was no small undertaking. Indeed, the aspiring rhetoricians were each given only twenty-four hours to compose and deliver from memory an elegant Latin lecture on a passage from one of Cicero's orations. To prevent collusion, this passage was selected at random from a fine Renaissance edition of Cicero's speeches by a local boy who was by design too young to have studied Latin. Thankfully for Cabrera, on this occasion luck was on his side. He was given the opening lines of Cicero's well-known speech *In Vatinium*, in which the Roman orator celebrated his own triumphant return to the Eternal City following a period in exile. The gobbet also ended with a typically self-aggrandizing rhetorical question that provided plenty of grist to Cabrera's mill: "what then more honorable could have happened to me, what more desirable for the immortality of my glory and everlasting perpetuation of my name, than that all my fellow-citizens should think that the good of the state was bound up with my own welfare?"[2]

In the course of his lecture on this passage delivered in the great hall (*aula mayor*) that stood above the submerged ruins not of republican Rome, but of the Aztec metropolis of Tenochtitlan, Cabrera did not simply offer an analysis of the text, its historical context, structure and form in the most elegant Latin he could muster, as the rules of the competition required. Instead, he delivered a long meditation on the relationship between civic life and rhetoric. Cicero, he argued, had been right to equate himself with the republic, as eloquence (which the ancient orator personified) was the foundation of any

[1] BNM, ms. 27, fols 78r–85r.
[2] Cicero, *In Vatinium*, 8: "Quid ergo … praestantius mihi potuit accidere, quid optabilius ad immortalitatem gloriae atque ad memoriam mei nominis sempiternam, quam omnes hoc cives meos iudicare, civitatis salutem cum unius mea salute esse coniunctam?" All translations are my own.

well-functioning society.[3] Like Athens, New Spain (*res publica Mexicana*) depended on persuasive speech, which served to unite its citizens under the banner of the Hispanic Monarchy, resist the rise of tyrants, defend it from external enemies and maintain the true religion. Mexico City, the "Rome of the New World," as the early Franciscan missionary Pedro de Gante had called it, could not do without a qualified scholar-orator to lecture on Cicero's orations, teach rhetorical theory and oversee student declamations; and Cabrera was the only man up to the task – or at least so he argued!

To underline the utility of classicizing eloquence, Cabrera also told a revealing story about a dying man who could not decide which of his sons deserved to inherit his wealth: the physician or the orator. This was no competition, Cabrera informed the jury in Latin verses that he had dashed off the night before:

> You ask, my sons, who will inherit my wealth,
> But I ask: who could be of more use to his homeland?
> Believe me, eloquence is the life blood of cities.
> Medicine has not sometimes, but always spelled death.[4]

Although these verses were probably meant somewhat tongue in cheek – a jab perhaps at the members of the medical faculty who were also vying for the chair of rhetoric – Cabrera's larger celebratory account of the classical rhetorical tradition deserves our attention, as we find it in every corner of the early modern Iberian world where its value was understood in almost identical terms.

Indeed, across the Hispanic Monarchy (the patchwork global polity often erroneously referred to as the "Spanish Empire") rhetoric was taught in colleges and universities. This, in turn, influenced the secular and sacred public speaking that resounded in churches, cathedrals, gubernatorial palaces, plazas and university halls, through which orators sought to unite listeners in the pursuit of shared societal goals.[5] For instance, sacred orators in Oran in Spanish North Africa celebrated the triumphs of monarchs in Madrid as part of multisensory civic rituals that reminded the inhabitants

[3] Osorio Romero, *Tópicos sobre Cicerón en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 1976), 83–84.

[4] BNP, ms. 27, folio 83v:

> "Quaeritis, heraedes, istum cui competat aurum
> Et quisnam patriis aptior esse potis?
> Urbibus est igitur facundia, credite, vita
> Non modo, sed semper mors medicina fuit."

[5] Although sermons and orations are usually treated as separate genres of public speaking (one "religious" and the other "secular," whatever that really means in the premodern context), here I treat them together as expressions of the same classical rhetorical tradition.

of the Spanish *presidio* of the king whose interests they defended. In Spanish Manila, we find the same reliance on classicizing public speaking on occasions as divers as royal funeral commemorations and the inauguration of the academic year at the city's numerous colleges, where the combined praises of humanist learning, Christian piety and loyalty to the Crown were sung to generations of students. This was no less the case in the disparate parts of the world under the Crown of Portugal, before, during and after the Iberian Union (1580–1640). Along the sinuous trade route that linked Brazil to Lisbon, Goa and Macau, Jesuit missionaries from Iberia and elsewhere taught the *studia humanitatis* (the Renaissance curriculum centered on the classical rhetorical tradition) and delivered classicizing orations and sermons in a variety of languages that made similar calls for unity around Iberian Catholicism. At the same time, classicizing rhetoric and oratory did more than just follow the flag. It also spilled out into areas that were not under the direct control of any Iberian monarch, but were touched by the outward migration of Iberian merchants and missionaries. Black-robed Jesuit humanists carried the classical rhetorical tradition with them to Japan and China as tools to evangelize and instruct native populations, while native Christians also quickly embraced the tradition to bolster their newfound faith. All this had the effect that the classical rhetorical tradition, as part of what we might call a "Global Renaissance," became one of the first intellectual currents to traverse the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa, where it contributed in tangible ways to the stability and longevity of the patchwork of societies that made up the Iberian World.[6]

Thus, the classical rhetorical tradition, Cabrera believed and *Empire of Eloquence* argues, contributed to the ideological coherence and equilibrium of the early modern Iberian World, providing important occasions for persuasion, legitimation and eventual (and perhaps inevitable) confrontation. While bureaucratic "chains of paper," commercial networks and the threat of violence (real or perceived) played an important role in holding together the composite monarchies of Spain and Portugal, the oratorical "chains of words" that resonated both within and beyond the areas we normally associate with Iberian empire were also very much in the mix. This said, it would be wrong to characterize them as merely means for the imperial center to exert power. Like the ability to petition the Crown or leverage business interests, these orations gave agency to thousands of

[6] Peter Burke, Luke Clossey and Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "The Global Renaissance," *Journal of World History* 28 (2017), 1–30.

individual orators, both Iberian and Iberianized non-European, who sought to harmonize and shape the organic societies in which they lived. At the same time, speaking on particular occasions in front of particular audiences meant that orators had to craft their arguments to the needs and expectations of those in attendance, thus handing over some of their own (already decentralized) agency in the interests of building consensus. Consequently, the many hundreds of surviving orations and classicizing sermons offer a window onto the myriad unique, but (orators hoped) ultimately converging perspectives on politics, religion and society that characterized and shaped the Iberian World. This geographical diffusion is, in turn, a boon for global historians, as it is well suited to the sort of historical analysis that transcends national, national-imperial, regional and civilizational history. The aims of *Empire of Eloquence* are therefore three-fold: one cultural, one intellectual, and one meta-geographical.

Cultural History: Building Empires

Over the years, historians have given numerous cultural explanations for the longevity of Iberian political hegemony and Catholic religious unity. In particular, writing, the law and bureaucratic tools are often seen as foundational, supplemented by the power of imagery and architecture.[7] In contrast, *Empire of Eloquence* makes the case that it was also through the early modern incarnation of the classical rhetorical tradition that the rubber of ideology met the road of society. Indeed, during the Iberian World's Global Renaissance, neo-Roman public speaking was the

[7] José Antonio Maravall, *La Cultura del Barroco: Análisis de una Estructura Histórica* (Barcelona: Esplugues de Llobregat, 1975); Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995). The legal apparatuses of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns are often seen as the prime movers of empire, contributing to an "empire of law" in which Iberians, indigenous peoples and others were integrated into a political and cultural system through self-interested interactions with the law, much as had happened in the Roman Empire, their law's ultimate source: Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500–1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Sylvia Sellers-García, *Distance and Documents at the Spanish Empire's Periphery* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014); Brian Philip Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); cf. Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). On visual culture and empire, see Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). On civic rituals, see Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Alejandra B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

archetypal ordering mode in Iberian urban settings, and a powerful tool for spreading ideas, building political consensus, bolstering religion and articulating standards of public behavior that could take place in Latin, European vernaculars and indigenous languages.

Of course, the importance of ancient Mediterranean culture to Europe and other parts of the early modern world affected by European expansion is well known. As Sabine MacCormack taught us, Greco-Roman antiquity as revived in the Renaissance provided nothing less than "a framework for the construal of historical experience" in the early modern Andes and elsewhere.[8] Similarly, Ángel Rama famously argued that educated urban elites (*letrados*) living in "lettered cities" (*ciudades letradas*) dominated all aspects of intellectual life, applying their scholarly tools, many inherited from Greece and Rome, to build the ideological foundations of a new "Latin" America out of the ruins of pre-Columbian polities.[9] Yet, there was also an oral, and specifically an oratorical dimension to the Renaissance world of Iberian and Iberianized *letrados* that contributed in important ways to its stability and longevity. In this sense, there are both identifiable links and striking parallels between Rome's "world state" and the Iberian World, which were both knitted together by law, culture, religion and, of most significance for our purposes, oratory.[10] This is because premodern state formation (be it "national" or "colonial") was fundamentally unlike its modern (i.e. industrial and post-industrial) counterpart, such that the neo-Roman social technologies of the Iberian World mirrored Roman precedents both by technological necessity and overt imitation.[11]

[8] Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), xv.

[9] Ángel Rama, *La Ciudad Letrada* (Hanover, NH: Ediciones del Norte, 1984). The term *letrado* has both a general meaning of "learned individual" and "degree-holding jurist." Rama employs the term in the former more general sense, and I follow his usage here.

[10] Josiah Osgood, *Rome and the Making of a World State, 150 BCE–20 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2; Emma Dench, *Empire and Political Cultures in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 29–33. Indeed, anyone who dips into the last fifty years of scholarship on the empires of both ancient Rome and early modern Iberia will be struck by the fact that almost all the debates and insights of early modernists are prefigured in the historiography on Rome. Given that we now know how little was exceptional about premodern Western Eurasia, it is tempting to conclude that these various parallels were a reflection of a larger premodern pattern, rather than something uniquely "Western": Walter Scheidel (ed.), *Rome and China: Comparative Perspectives on Ancient World Empires* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[11] On state-building in the Iberian World, see: Tamar Herzog, *Upholding Justice: Society, State, and the Penal System in Quito (1650–1750)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 1–8. In using "neo-Roman," I am purposefully repurposing Quentin Skinner's epithet for the early modern republican tradition: Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

This is, however, not to say that this neo-Roman system was entirely free from coercive elements. Creating consensus by coaxing the unwilling with honeyed words was for sure not the same as demanding loyalty or conversion at the point of a sword, but it was the product of the same intention and led to the same result. It was a means for imperial, missionary and local actors to exert power, just as much as any civic, scholarly or artistic practice. Yet, it also bears underlining that like alphabetical writing or painting the classical rhetorical tradition was not wedded to one particular worldview, but was a conduit for the orator to contribute to public discourse, while advancing his own agenda. Described by Cicero and all those who followed in his footsteps as means to teach, delight and move listeners to action (*docere, delectare, movere*), classicizing public speaking was a versatile instrument of consensus building, which could be put to differing, even contradictory, ends depending on the circumstances. Codified at the level of theory at the elite level, such processes took place across the social spectrum in the Iberian World, as public speaking was characteristic of a whole host of occasions and linguistic sub-contexts.

Intellectual History: A Treasure-Trove of Ideas

It is highly unusual to center an intellectual history on public speaking.[12] After all, ornate displays of spoken eloquence belong to that no-man's-land between history and literature that few care to enter, a space too literary for historians and too historical for literary scholars. Selected sermons may have attracted the interest of historians of religion, but for the most part the *orationes*, *oraciones*, *orações*, *sermones* and *sermões* remain unread.[13] In the Iberian World, however, rhetoric mattered. It was a high prestige activity that could result in significant financial and social rewards. It stood at the heart of elite education. It crowned important civic and religious rituals in all urban contexts. The fact that historians have paid so little

[12] The notable exceptions all come from Renaissance historiography: Anthony F. D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), 111–207; John M. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

[13] Félix Herrero Salgado, *La Oratoria Sagrada Española de los Siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 vols., (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1996–1998); Perla Chinchilla Pawling, *De la Compositio Loci a La República de las Letras: Predicación Jesuita en el Siglo XVII Novohispano* (Mexico City: UIA, 2004). The most important Anglophone study of preaching in the Hispanic World remains Hilary Dansey Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age: A Study of Some Preachers of the Reign of Philip III* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

attention to this widespread and influential civic practice is therefore more the product of our modern disciplinary boundaries and a post-Romantic mistrust of skillful displays of eloquence than a reflection of its historical importance, although the challenges of dealing with these written accounts of oral performances as sources are real.

Furthermore, the particular corpus of sermons and orations treated in *Empire of Eloquence* has been overlooked by intellectual historians for linguistic reasons, namely that a large proportion of it is in postclassical Latin, or requires an understanding of Latin to comprehend its intellectual context fully. This is because in an age of national languages it is tacitly presumed that all Latin and Latinate public speaking was devoid of real content, and in any case probably incomprehensible to its audience.[14] However, we must not forget that these classicizing orations and sermons – be they in Latin, European or non-European vernaculars – were designed to be understood, with the choice of language and conventions being carefully calibrated for the particular circumstances and audience. Although there must have been instances when the audience did not fully grasp the orator's meaning, this was likely the exception rather than the rule. Indeed, the whole culture of classicizing public speaking and the institutional infrastructure that underpinned it was premised on the idea that listeners would be moved by what they heard. This only worked if the words being spoken were actually comprehensible to the listeners. As distant as it may be from our modern experience, this was equally the case for orations in Latin, the sacred language of the large Brahmanical class of *letrados* in the Iberian World, although, of course, unlike Sanskrit, it was not expressly forbidden to other castes.

If classicizing public speaking was an important and legible cultural practice, we should therefore take seriously the ideas put forward in it. Indeed, centering such a history on rhetoric and oratory offers a treasure trove of new insights. First, it bypasses a certain Eurocentric bias in Iberian intellectual history. These were specific *local* expressions of *local* ideas. In other words, these orations and sermons composed and delivered in Mexico City, Lima and Goa, to name but a few examples, offer a window onto a variegated world that the more commonly studied set-piece histories and works of political theory – frequently written and printed in Spain,

[14] The type of scenario envisioned is akin to the satirical portrait of late colonial culture painted by the Filipino novelist José Rizal in a passage of his novel *Noli Me Tangere* (1887), in which he describes a sermon delivered by a Spanish friar that was incomprehensible to his indigenous congregation: Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 19.

Portugal and Italy – do not.[15] Second, they offer a less rarefied perspective than the aforementioned genres. Normally articulated within the context of epideictic rhetoric that aimed to rally a wide range of office holders, clerics and commoners around widely held beliefs, the orations of the Iberian World had to reflect mainstream views by necessity. We should not be afraid that the ideas expressed in them were the idiosyncratic creation of a single wild-eyed scholar. Third, by following the ideas espoused in orations and sermons from Latin into European vernaculars and indigenous languages, it is possible to begin to move across ethnic and class lines in a way that is otherwise difficult. They are therefore of potential interest to ethnohistorians and others interested in "history from below," as well as intellectual historians in the traditional mold. In short, studying the classical rhetorical tradition offers many advantages, both historical and historiographical.

Historical Meta-Geography: Defining the Iberian World

The final purpose of *Empire of Eloquence* is meta-geographical. That is to say, it offers a sketch map of the early modern Iberian World as a whole, with an emphasis on the place of the Americas within it (Figure I.1).[16] This approach is far from typical. When this sprawling series of polities, diasporic enclaves and cultural zones has been studied, it has been traditionally viewed from the perspective of the part not the whole. Proto-national and regional traditions of scholarship dominate. The Iberian Atlantic has a distinctly imperial and cis-Atlantic flavor.[17] Iberian Asia is normally divided into its constituent Hispanophone and Lusophone parts with Brazil nowhere to be seen.[18] Self-declared historians of Iberian global

[15] David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Thomas James Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

[16] On the concept of meta-geography, see: Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[17] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Benjamin Breen, "Hybrid Atlantics: Future Directions for the History of the Atlantic World," *History Compass*, 11 (2013), 597–609.

[18] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1993). Even the wide-ranging work of Charles Ralph Boxer focused largely on just one of the Iberian Peninsula's two kingdoms, for the most part in Africa and Asia: Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969). On the life and scholarship of Boxer whose influence can be found throughout this study, see Dauril Alden, James S. Cummins and Michael Cooper, *Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life: Soldier, Historian, Teacher, Collector, Traveller* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2001).

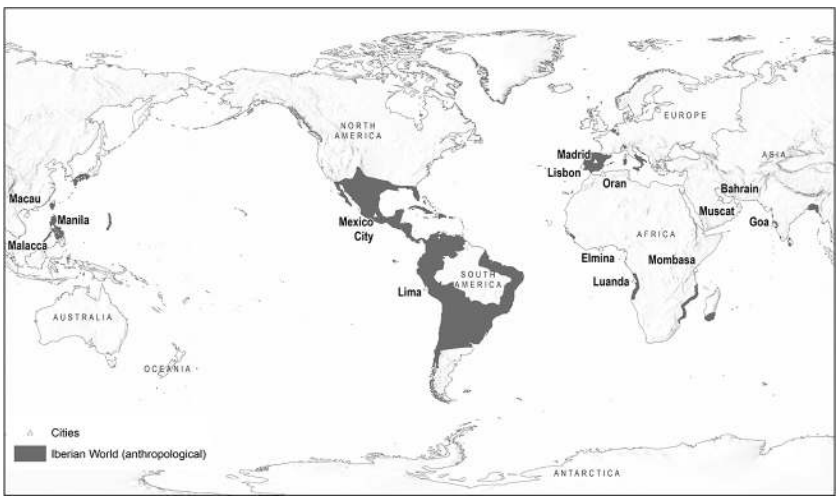

Figure I.1 Diachronic map of the early modern Iberian World (anthropological terms). Made with the assistance of Cheryl Cape

empire have taken a similarly bifurcated approach. In almost all instances, territorial rather than anthropological definitions of the empires of "Spain" and "Portugal" dominate, with "borderlands" being considered the exception rather than the rule.[19] Of course, this does not mean that the Iberian World was homogenous and without conflicts, even during the Iberian Union (1580–1640). What political or cultural space is? Rather, as will become apparent there is a value to widening the panorama, to placing Goa, Mexico or Macau in a larger context, which few to date have done.

In *Empire of Eloquence*, in other words, the Iberian World is understood not as a nation *in ovo*, nor even as the sum total of the areas under Iberian political control. While large parts of the supposedly "conquered" Americas remained minimally Iberianized, Iberian influence extended beyond claimed political borders, including to allied states and de facto protectorates like Genoa and Tuscany, as well as to the Portuguese commercial zones and missionary fields that stretched from the Kongo to Kyūshū. Here, the hallmarks of "empire" in the sense of both the political and the sociocultural space created by Iberian expansion from the late fifteenth century onward were Iberian political influence (although

[19] Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–1763* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2004).

not necessarily sovereignty), Iberian trade networks and Iberian cultural forms, including food, dress, language and above all Iberianized Catholicism. These "Iberian" traits could come from either the Iberian Peninsula itself or some other part of the Iberian World.[20]

This is the spatial scaffold I have used to build the "Empire of Eloquence." While there is extensive evidence of the important role played by classicizing public speaking in public life in France, Britain, German-speaking lands, Venice, imperial Russia and elsewhere, it nonetheless had a particular set of manifestations and applications in the Iberian World that mean that it can be usefully studied within this context without prejudicing any future attempt to place it within an even wider geographical frame. All these settings featured virtue-driven funeral orations and inaugural orations at universities. However, in the Iberian World these were delivered by orators living under (or in the shadow of) particular crowns, or teaching in institutions modeled on particular universities and colleges in the Iberian Peninsula where a particular brand of Catholicism was practiced that differed subtly from those of Italy and France.[21] That is to say, geography, history and religion conspired to create a particular set of circumstances in the Iberian Peninsula that would cast a long shadow, such that while not "exceptional," the Iberian World had a set of identifiable features that makes it a useful heuristic for historical study.[22] At the same time, the Iberian World is a particularly convenient starting point for

[20] Here, I am purposefully taking an anthropological approach to the question of Iberian "empire," drawing on: Gary W. McDonogh, *Iberian Worlds* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[21] Marc Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'Eloquence: Rhétorique et "Res Literaria," de la Renaissance au Seuil de l'Epoque Classique* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1980); Peter Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory, 1598–1650: A Study in Themes and Styles, with a Catalogue of Printed French Pulpit Oratory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Max J. Okenfuss, *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism in Early-Modern Russia: Pagan Authors, Ukrainians, and the Resiliency of Muscovy* (New York: Brill, 1995); Johan Anselm Steiger, "*Oratio Panegyrica versus Homilia Consolatoria*. Ein Exemplarischer Vergleich Zwischen einer Römisch-katholischen Trauerrede (Wolfgang Fuchs) und einer Lutherischen Leichenpredigt (Johann Gerhard)," in Birgit Boge and Ralf Georg Bogner (eds.), *Oratio Funebris. Die katholische Leichenpredigt der frühen Neuzeit. Zwölf Studien. Mit einem Katalog Deutschsprachiger Katholischer Leichenpredigten in Einzeldrucken 1576–1799 aus den Beständen der Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg und der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 103–130; Lucy Wooding Kostyanovsky, "From Tudor Humanism to Reformation Preaching," in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 329–347; Stuart M. McManus, "*Classica Americana*: An Addendum to the Censuses of Pre-1800 Latin Texts from British North America," *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 67.2 (2018), 421–461; George V. Bohman, "Rhetorical Practice in Colonial America," in Karl R. Wallace (ed.), *History of Speech Education in America; Background Studies* (New York: Forgotten Books, 1959), 60–79.

[22] This case is made particularly well by: Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires and the Globalization of Europe, 1415–1668* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).