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# Introduction

## Mediterranean quarantine disclosed: space, identity and power

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Histories and memories of quarantine – the well-known collective practice of defence against epidemic disease that acquired global reach in modern times – still lead back to the Mediterranean, the region which gave birth to this institution in fourteenth-century Italian city-states and embedded its evolution up until our present days. Sometimes it is the word itself, derived from the Venetian dialect *quaranta giorni* (forty days) and appropriated elsewhere around the Mare Nostrum, that still conveys effectively the medieval fear of that deadliest of pestilences, the Black Death, and the confusing horror of dying in enforced reclusion in small, beautiful islands surrounded by blue waters. Modern writers hailing from Mediterranean countries have exploited with worldwide success this memory potential in masterful works where quarantine is either literally or metaphorically used, from Albert Camus' *La peste* to Afnan el-Qasem's *Quarantaine à Tunis*, from José Saramago's *Ensaio sobre a cegueira* to Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio's *Quarantaine*. Other times, however, what continues to strike people is rather the material evidence that the *al-Bahr al-Abyad Mutawassiṭ* – the White Middle Sea of the Arabs – holds the most dense and impressive collection of old lazarettos in the world. In dozens of port towns on both sides of the sea, from Mahón to Istanbul, Marseilles to Ghar El Melh, Beirut to Venice, Piraeus to Algiers, Malta to Corfu, Lisbon to Essaouira (the latter two Atlantic ports, though with strong commercial and sanitary links with the Mediterranean), it is still possible to see the remains of



those institutions, in some cases regretfully forgotten, left to deteriorate or ruined, in other cases restored as heritage museums and conference centres, or turned into luxury hotels and stylish restaurants.

As if following this mutation of Mediterranean lazarettos, the last decades have also seen the historiographical picture of modern quarantine deeply transformed thanks to the application of new, elaborate theoretical insights and cutting-edge research and approaches from a wide spectrum of disciplines. Traditionally, there existed an abundance of studies on the preventive strategies deployed in various localities against the recurrent epidemics of plague, cholera and yellow fever – with attention being paid to specific lazarettos and sanitary cordons, or else to specific sanitary administrations and policies – and on the long-lasting scientific debate of contagionism versus anti-contagionism. This classical approach, epitomised by the works of Erwin Ackercknecht, Carlo Cipolla, Daniel Panzac or Gunther E. Rothenberg, is still alive and well today.<sup>1</sup> However, current historiography follows different lines of research. For example, studies on modern quarantine have been put at the centre of works on international health diplomacy and public health bodies preceding the World Health Organization, as well as on the European colonial expansion and the sanitary regulation of the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Foucaultian theoretical interpretations and approaches have led to redefinitions of lazarettos as paradigmatic ‘disciplinary’ and ‘confinement’ institutions, and have in general triggered sophisticated investigations on the medical ‘bio-political technologies’ deployed in those sanitation epicentres over the ‘bodies’ of quarantined individuals.<sup>3</sup> Finally, scholarly works from a variety of disciplines comprising archaeology and cultural studies have explored the multiple uses of quarantine in the construction of individual and collective identities, as well as in the creation of memories of migration and cross-border travel.<sup>4</sup>

As a consequence of the fertilisation from these multiple theoretical standpoints, quarantine history has been expanded into ‘quarantine studies’, an ever more fertile global and interdisciplinary field of inquiry. Surprisingly, major international scholarship on this emergent field in the last two decades has tended to neglect the Mediterranean in various respects. The impressive account of epidemic prevention practices and debates in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe by Peter Baldwin in his book *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* (1999), barely touches on developments in southern European and

Islamic countries. Mark Harrison's sophisticated account (*Contagion. How Commerce has Spread Disease* (2013)) of the relationships between quarantine and public health on the one hand and global trade and pandemics on the other hand gives the Mediterranean a central place, but largely disregards local Mediterranean historiography and case studies in favour of British ones. Alison Bashford's recently edited volume *Quarantine. Local and Global Histories* (2016) seeks to connect the histories of quarantine in the Old and New Worlds, though it actually does so by focusing on Great Britain and its various former colonial outposts (Hong Kong, Australia, the United States, New Zealand, Aden). We think these works are major landmarks in the development of the new field of quarantine studies, ones which the contributors to the present volume have used profusely as bibliographic references and for comparative purposes. However, they also reflect certain persistent biases found in international historiography about quarantine in general and Mediterranean quarantine in particular.

The present volume seeks to enrich quarantine studies by bringing local Mediterranean historiography to an Anglophone audience. For this purpose, it provides a selection of case studies presented during the first scientific meeting of the Quarantine Studies Network held at the University of Malta between 7 and 8 November 2014. We think that at this stage in research on the history of quarantine, it is important to have a new Mediterranean-focused set of essays, and especially a selection that shows clearly the similarities and differences around and across this sea, on the southern and northern shores, in Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Italian and French-speaking domains. Of course, the British had close connections with the Mediterranean too – more especially during the period under study (1750–1914) – and for that reason this volume includes British contributions and case studies. These join, however, a plurilingual and multinational ensemble which – though far from being comprehensive because it lacks case studies from the Italian peninsula, Egypt or the Ottoman Empire – includes discussions on quarantine in many geographical locations across the Mediterranean, from the Iberian to the Balkan Peninsula, from southern France to Morocco, from Mallorca to Malta and Corfu. The circum-Mediterranean geographical spread of this book illuminates the similarities, the differences and the overlapping of quarantine institutions and practices throughout the region, showing for instance how Christian and Islamic

populations perceived, and their governments dealt with, infectious disease from plague to yellow fever and cholera. This volume is, in sum, also interested in ‘joining the Anglosphere conversation’<sup>5</sup> and thus engaging in the global English-speaking community, offering a range of terms, sources, bibliography, interpretative tools and views produced and elaborated in the Mediterranean countries.

In this sense, the Mediterranean foundation of this collection of chapters contributes to current efforts to write a global history of quarantine. Instead of enlarging the geographical scope to draw connections with the Atlantic, the Indian and Pacific Oceans, we have actually attempted to ‘disclose’ the global trends underlying local Mediterranean processes to ‘provincialise’ Mediterranean quarantine.<sup>6</sup> This was actually one of the main reasons behind the selection of the long nineteenth century as our period of analysis. During this timeframe, the *Mare Nostrum* became much more exposed to the spread of yellow fever from the Americas and of cholera and plague from Africa and Asia as a result of multiple processes that led to an increasing global interconnectivity: spurred by European colonial expansion, ever-faster land and sea transport and intensified trade exchanges. All these processes were present in the Mediterranean, though, paradoxically, they often contributed to create or deepen rivalries, divisions, conflicts and processes of domination and subordination between its northern and southern, its eastern and western coasts. Modern quarantine was, in this sense, an expression of a persistent fracture which continues to the present day. For centuries, zones, countries and whole areas in the Middle Sea implemented quarantine against each other, and when these transversal restrictions were eased it was often as a result of conquest or colonisation and therefore at the expense of the collective health of local populations. Fast forwarding to the present, old sanitary quarantines are being replaced by new, equivalent, cross-border arrangements of sanitary controls, checkpoints and detention centres for the containment, inspection – through modern biometric screening, medical and genetic techniques – selection and transfer/redirection of incoming flows of migrants and refugees. The European Union, for instance, seems to be engaged in a process of defining and demarking its southern political and sanitary borders through the construction of a ‘new quarantine system for the Mediterranean’ for migrants attempting to cross from the southern and eastern littorals to European countries.<sup>7</sup>

In the end, all these long-running tensions have contributed to the displacement of the *Mare Nostrum* as the perceived centre of world history – including quarantine history. It is by no means the intention of this volume to reclaim nostalgically the Mediterranean as central to the history and historiography of quarantine. Instead, we aim to use it to illuminate how a global practice was played out in local, provincial settings, what we call ‘provincialisation’, and to move beyond the period from the 1400s to 1700s, which still dominates the literature on the Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup> To disclose the global trends behind modern quarantine in this region, contributors to this volume have more or less explicitly used three fundamental categories of analysis – space, identity and power – which, although marking separate sections of the book, are actually present and indivisibly intertwined in all chapters. Before explaining in more detail the various problematics of research that can be derived from each, and discussing those that have been actually dealt with by the authors in their chapters, we would just like to make a preliminary comment. If global history, seen as different from a ‘history of the world’, puts most emphasis on the entanglement and interconnection of phenomena rather than on their totality across geography and time,<sup>9</sup> then these categories should contribute to show the inherent instability – the historicity – of the geographic, cultural/religious and political boundaries defining modern Mediterranean quarantine.

The set of chapters making up the first section of this volume focus principally on space to investigate how quarantine articulated territorial organisation, demarcated land and maritime boundaries and frontiers, substantiated national governance and economic infrastructure, and consolidated the expansionist imperial ventures of the European Mediterranean nation-states over their Islamic neighbours. Thus, Chapter 1 by Quim Bonastra investigates the modes by which lazarettos – and perhaps less significantly sanitary cordons – coevolved with the Spanish state’s modern transport–communication and economic–industrial infrastructures throughout the nineteenth century. It also examines how these quarantine institutions functioned as sanitary gateways or entry checkpoints at borders, physically marking and consolidating while protecting the national territorial space. Bonastra’s chapter traces the ideas underpinning the configuration and development of this quarantine network on Spanish national territory, which occurred unevenly – with the most evolved parts depending on certain strategic

ports and on links with the railway transport infrastructure that was still under construction. Besides their integration in the national infrastructural grids, as the Spanish case illustrates, lazarettos also continued to develop as hubs of regional networks, connecting coastal ports to islands, islands to islands, and linking wider still with the empire and the global economic system.

The next two chapters in the first section of this book take a somewhat similar approach, exploring the development of two lazarettos and the part they played in nation- and empire-building processes, territorial demarcations and expansion. In Chapter 2, Dominique Bon investigates the lazaretto based in the port of Nice, and finds that in contrast to other similar institutions in southern Europe examined in this volume, this quarantine establishment progressively lost its importance as a tool of public health during the first half of the nineteenth century. This occurred in parallel with, and actually reflected, the geo-political shifts of the town and its neighbouring territory, then located on the 'Italian' side on the French–Sardinian border. Bon traces the gradual transformations that took place in the political, economic and sanitary interests of the port authorities, which resulted in the progressive relaxation of quarantine for arrivals from French ports, in contrast to more stringent measures for ships arriving from the Italian peninsula, and which in turn revealed and intensified an alignment with French liberal politics and free-trade commerce. The lazaretto of Nice did not shield the town against French annexationism, but rather paved the way for it.

Chapter 3 authored by Francisco Javier Martínez deals with another quarantine institution: the lazaretto of Mogador Island in Morocco. Specifically, he explores the site's centrality to the Spanish imperialist project of 'regeneration' of its southern neighbour. In contrast with the 'civilising mission' schemes deployed by the leading European imperial powers at the end of the nineteenth century, regeneration did not seek to construct a colonial Morocco but a so-called African Spain complementing peninsular Spain. This project was to be achieved through the support and direction of ongoing Moroccan initiatives of modernisation, as well as through the training of an elite of 'Moors' who were to collaborate with Spanish experts sent to the country, largely based in Tangier. Within this general context, the Mogador Island lazaretto became a key site of regeneration projects. From a sanitary and political point of view, it was meant to define a Spanish–Moroccan space by marking a new border and also to protect 'Moor' pilgrims against both

the ideological and health-related risks associated with the Mecca pilgrimage. Martínez argues that this lazaretto's perceived ability to perform both functions derived partly from its symbolic location in front of the town of Essaouira (Mogador for Europeans). The history of this European-style city built anew in the mid eighteenth century was being reinterpreted to highlight the role played by Spain and therefore to present it as a direct precedent of the Spanish–Moroccan modernisation plans that were then being launched in Tangier.

The chapters in the second section of this book deal with the role of quarantine in the construction of multiple and diverse identities in the Mediterranean, and how they are intricately intertwined with issues of space and territoriality. In general, they consider it as an important instrument or 'technology' in the Foucauldian sense for building and defining collective identities of various kinds. More precisely, they explore how being subject to quarantine as a traveller, or having to express an opinion about it as a doctor or government official, had consequences for one's own cultural or professional identity. Thus, two chapters by Malika Ezzahidi and Christian Promitzer illuminate the experiences of individuals and collectives from countries that either were Islamic or hosted significant Muslim populations. Ezzahidi in Chapter 4 examines the writings of the renowned late eighteenth-century Moroccan ambassador Ibn Uthmân Al-Meknassî, who was the first known traveller from his country to leave an account of European quarantine as experienced during his two diplomatic missions in Spain's Ceuta (1779) and Malta's Valletta (1782). Ezzahidi shows that quarantine, on the one hand, acted as a marker of otherness by which Ibn Othman was identified as a Muslim – though this was not a uniform process, owing to the fact that significant differences existed in the degree of alterity experienced in Spain and Malta, and indeed other parts of the Mediterranean. The subjective opinion on quarantine, on the other hand, was also one of the means through which Ibn Othman situated himself within *makhzen* (Moroccan Government) elites at a time when a division between those who declared themselves in favour of European-style modernisation and those who advocated a rejection of European novelties was already visible.

Chapter 6 by Christian Promitzer provides another, more contemporary and less individualised, example of the construction of the Muslim 'other' through quarantine regulation of the Mecca pilgrimage, the *Hajj*. Promitzer investigates the under-researched case of the

Muslim pilgrimage from the Balkans during the nineteenth century. Pilgrims from Bosnia-Herzegovina (a dependency of Austria-Hungary since 1878), and Bulgaria (a tributary state to the Ottoman Empire until 1908), were subject to different quarantine policies on their return from the Mecca. The author shows that while the former underwent more relaxed procedures as Austria sought to win Bosnian Muslims over to its recently established rule, the latter had to undergo strict quarantine as part of an effort by the Bulgarian authorities to consolidate their still problematic national identity against the Muslim minorities that were a reminder of their long-time oppression by the Ottomans. This, however, was not the only identity-building process going on, as sanitary measures were not always adhered to without question. Muslim pilgrims perceived the procedures of disinfection and/or fumigation of their bodies as degrading, and came to voice a heightened sensitivity towards the discrimination and stigmatisation inherent in these lengthy and stringent practices. Many came to show open discontent and even resistance to quarantine, which they identified as a Western institution.

Quarantine was also a symbolic site where the professional identity of doctors and hygienists was constructed, measured and/or altered, as the other two chapters in this section argue. Both Ezzahidi and Promitzer address a question embedded in the larger arguments about disease aetiology and preventive strategies for cholera and other epidemics which came to dominate the medical profession during the nineteenth century, usually depicted as a confrontation between contagionism and anti-contagionism (miasmatism). The authors reflect on how opinions about quarantine acted as professional boundary markers for medical bodies and individual doctors within them. A related point is made by Lisa Rosner in her Chapter 5, focusing on a particular group of British doctors, those practising with the Royal Navy. She argues that in the early nineteenth century, these physicians usually acquired their first experience of quarantine in the Mediterranean. It was an established practice for navy doctors to spend the first years of their professional trajectory in the two key British possessions in the region: Gibraltar and Malta. There, they learned to regard quarantine as a useless measure – in conformity with dominant British anti-contagionism – despite the fact that it was systematically applied. Sustaining an opposite view was often incompatible with pursuing a career within the navy. At the same time, quarantine was also being used by the British medical press



as a sort of ‘crash-test’ to define what ‘professionalism’ should mean in the medical corpus. The press highlighted the contradiction which existed between the theoretical medical views prevalent in Britain and the routine practices of navy doctors on site in the Mediterranean outposts, and exposed this as an example of the lack of professionalism.

Jon Arrizabalaga and Juan Carlos García-Reyes explore another aspect of identity in their Chapter 7, where they show how quarantine was used by the Spanish army doctor Nicasio Landa as an opportunity to elaborate not just his scientific discourse, but also his political and humanitarian views. For Arrizabalaga and García-Reyes, the classical thesis of Erwin Ackercknecht about the clear-cut dichotomy between contagionism and miasmatism in nineteenth-century Europe does not hold. On the contrary, following the work of medical historians Peter Baldwin and Christopher Hamlin, they argue that the reality in European countries was often characterised by a plurality of intermediate positions between the two extremes. It is here, they argue, that Nicasio Landa positioned his views. The commission for the Spanish Army Health Service, which he performed in the Canary Islands on the occasion of a major outbreak of yellow fever in 1862–63, served Landa as an opportunity to publicly present his views on quarantine to his chiefs in the army through administrative reports and to civil doctors during the Spanish Medical Congress held in Madrid in 1864. Landa came out as an opponent of quarantine for both scientific and humanitarian reasons, due to the additional sufferings infected patients were obliged to endure while in isolation. However, he also admitted that in practice it was necessary to adopt a pragmatic approach that did not discard quarantine as a tool to prevent the damage to public health which could result from the uncompromising confrontation of medical doctrines, especially harsh in the case of the Spanish medical community.

The third and last section of the volume explores an unavoidable issue in any serious discussion on the history of quarantine: power. The four chapters here investigate the embeddedness of quarantine within power structures. In particular they examine the use of the lazaretto and the *cordon sanitaire* as instruments of state building and colonial overseas expansion, and also as sites of contestation by local communities or colonised societies, which came to associate this institution with undesired foreign imperialist intervention. Chapter 8 by John Chircop shows how the system of maritime quarantine, which the

great European powers helped to construct and operate in the Mediterranean, sustained their imperial presence and helped to expand their colonial frontiers. In this manner, they further solidified and extended their political hegemony and control over North Africa and the Levant – areas which mostly formed part of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire depicted and treated as ‘the Sick Man of Europe’. In other words, during the modern imperialist era, quarantine politics came to be indivisibly entangled with the European powers’ colonial partition of this part of the world. This thesis is a mainstay of the present volume, emphasised in most of the contributions, and is further explored in John Chircop’s account of the contradictions in British attitudes towards quarantine. He shows, on the one hand, that Britain often took the most vociferous anti-quarantinist position at gatherings such as the International Sanitary Conferences, where they argued that quarantines were inherently incompatible with free trade and liberalism, a position they supported using environmentalist or miasmatic medical theories. On the other hand, he argues, paradoxically the British also adopted a strict quarantinist position in their Mediterranean colonies. There, powerful shipping interests and colonial lobbying, the resistance of local collaborative and oppositional elites, and the popularity of quarantine measures with the native colonial populations were all factors leading British authorities to maintain draconian isolation measures. Thus, this chapter demonstrates the extent to which quarantines in these colonial ports were transformed into sites of power brokerage and negotiation between colonial masters and sections of the colonised people, and between various economic and political interests.

In Chapter 9, Laurinda Abreu explores the historical endeavours of the Portuguese crown to construct a modern nation-state and organise a functioning mode of governance with the use of public health institutions – specifically through quarantine. It is shown how, from the sixteenth century, the king considered sanitation and plague control to be one of his principal responsibilities, justifying his direct intervention during outbreaks of epidemics and affirming his duty to mitigate collective calamities. For Abreu, this historical precedent was behind the use of quarantine during the second half of the eighteenth century to strengthen the centralisation of the Portuguese state. Abreu examines three particular examples of that process. On the one hand, she studies how the quarantine measures decreed by the Marquis of Pombal, Portugal’s first minister between 1750 and 1777, for preventing an unlikely

importation of plague from Algeria, actually served to reinforce his political power. On the other hand, she analyses how the establishment of a sanitary cordon on the frontier with Spain in 1800 for fear of importation of yellow fever from Cádiz was actually an instrument for the mobilisation and organisation of military forces against an eventual Spanish invasion. By contrast, another sanitary cordon set up in 1804 in the same frontier would have a primary sanitary goal and would follow modern procedures.

The third chapter in this section, by Costas Tsiamis, Eleni Thalassinou, Effie Poulakou-Rebelakou and Angelos Hatzakis (Chapter 10), deals specifically with the quarantine measures that operated in the British protectorate of the Ionian Islands (1815–64). More precisely, this team of researchers shows how, in reality, Great Britain – the anti-contagionist nation par excellence in principle – strengthened rather than abandoned the strict quarantine measures in the Ionian Islands during that period. Actually, Britain reinforced quarantine throughout its network of Mediterranean possessions (Gibraltar, Malta, Corfu/Ionian Islands) as a forefront yet distant barrier against the spread of cholera, plague and other contagious diseases, but also as a means to regulate regional shipping and trade as well as to facilitate its own shipping passing through a densely quarantined Mediterranean. Strict quarantine in the remaining British possessions, as in the other regional ports, became even more pronounced with the opening of the direct maritime route to India through the Suez Canal from 1869. By this time, there had been a reversion to quarantine in Britain itself in parallel with the stricter quarantine measures adopted in the southern European ports – a general process which Peter Baldwin has termed ‘neo-quarantinism’ and which has also been called ‘the English system’ (for the British case) by various authors including Krista Maglen.<sup>10</sup>

Examples of the correlation of quarantine institutions with state power and modes of governance over national territories are found in all sections of this volume, and is further examined in the last Chapter 11 by Joana Maria Pujades-Mora and Pere Salas-Vives on the connections between quarantine and the structures of power of the liberal state in Spain. Their study shows that the setting up and the actual configuration of sanitary cordons during the nineteenth-century epidemics in Mallorca were, to various extents and in different measures, shaped by the problematic relation between the central, provincial and municipal health administrations. Enacted by the state and guarded by

the army, sanitary cordons were usually repressive, shaped by national frontier politics. Yet, in the case of Mallorca, *cordons sanitaires* were also an expression of how local communities, assisted by their local medics, continued to believe in the strength of the ‘inland isolation [by cordons] which had a long historical tradition’ as protection against the spread of contagion. This popular pro-quarantinist mentality was still encountered as late as 1880, as manifested in the local people’s protests against the central government’s attempts to relax quarantine, and specifically against the prohibition of cordons following the Health Law of 1855. Similar pro-quarantine philosophies remained very strongly rooted in the population and the local medical bodies, not only in Mallorca, but in most other parts of southern Europe and the islands.

In conclusion, by making the complex interfaces of space, power and identity apparent, all chapters in this volume have sought to contribute to the ‘disclosure’ of the heterogeneous practices of Mediterranean quarantine that were sources of significant political and cultural transformation, and the ‘provincialisation’ of the history of modern quarantine in the Mediterranean to show how global practices were expressed in local, provincial settings. In this way, they have sought to contribute to the writing of an interdisciplinary and global history of quarantine. These chapters do not pretend to be the last word on quarantine in the Mediterranean or elsewhere. Rather, they seek to open the field to further historical work, and illuminate what the past has to say about current efforts to find solutions for ongoing problems of cross-border migration within this region. These problems have brought back to the fore, albeit in new ways, some of the old realities and debates that always made of quarantine much more than a purely sanitary issue.

### Notes

- 1 See, for instance, the recent works of Oleg Shepin and Waldemar Yermakov, *International Quarantine*, Madison, International Universities Press, 1991; Christopher Hamlin, ‘Predisposing causes and public health in early nineteenth-century medical thought’, *Social History of Medicine* 5, 1, 1992, 43–70; Mohammed A. El-Bezzaz, *The International Sanitary Council of Morocco, 1792–1929* [in Arabic], Rabat, University Mohammed V, 2000; Krista Maglen, “‘The first line of defence’: British quarantine and the port sanitary authorities in the nineteenth century”, *Social History of Medicine* 15, 3, 2002, 413–428; Pierre-Louis Laget, ‘Les lazarets et l’émergence de

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- 2 Jean-David Mizrahi, 'Politique sanitaire et impérialisme à l'heure de la révolution pastoriennne: le Conseil sanitaire de Constantinople, 1839–1923', in Jacques Tobie and Walid Arbid (eds) *Méditerranée, Moyen-Orient, deux siècles de relations internationales: Recherches en hommage à Jacques Thobie*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2003, 221–242; Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health*, London, Palgrave-MacMillan, 2004; Valeska Huber, 'The unification of the world by disease? The International Sanitary Conferences on cholera (1851–1894)', *The Historical Journal* 49, 2, 2006, 453–476; Mark Harrison, 'Disease, diplomacy and international commerce: the origins of international sanitary regulation in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Global History* 1, 2, 2006, 197–217; Sylvia Chiffolleau, 'Entre initiation au jeu international, pouvoir colonial et mémoire nationale: le Conseil Sanitaire d'Alexandrie, 1865–1938', *Egypte-Monde Arabe* 4, 2007, 55–74; Michael Christopher Low, 'Empire and the Hajj: pilgrims, plagues, and pan-Islam under British surveillance, 1865–1908', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, 2, 2008, 269–290; Saurabh Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics and Pestilence. The Hajj from the Indian Subcontinent, 1860–1920*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2011; Mark Harrison, *Contagion. How Commerce has Spread Disease*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2012; Luc Chantre, 'Le pèlerinage à La Mecque à l'époque coloniale (v.1866–1940). France, Grande-Bretagne, Italie', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Poitiers, 2012; Sylvia Chiffolleau, *Genèse de la santé publique internationale. De la peste d'Orient à l'OMS*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes/Ifpo, 2012; Allison Bashford, *Quarantines. Local and Global Histories*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2016; Francisco Javier Martínez, 'International or French? The early international sanitary conferences and France's struggle for hegemony in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean', *French History* 30, 1, 2016, 77–98.
  - 3 Stuart Eden, 'Plague, panopticon, police', *Surveillance and Society* 1, 3, 2003, 240–253; Quim Bonastra, 'Ciencia, sociedad y planificación territorial en la institución del Lazareto', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Barcelona, 2006; Alan McKinlay, 'Foucault, plague, Defoe', *Culture and Organization* 15, 2, 2009, 167–184; Quim Bonastra, 'Recintos sanitarios y

- espacios de control. Un estudio morfológico de la arquitectura cuarentenaria', *Dynamis* 30, 2010, 17–40; Enrique Perdiguero and Josep M. Vidal Hernández (eds), *La ciudadela de los fantasmas. Lazaretos y protección sanitaria en el mundo moderno*, Mahón, Institut d'Estudis Menorquins, 2010.
- 4 Quim Bonastra, 'Los orígenes del lazareto pabellonario: la arquitectura cuarentenaria en el cambio del setecientos al ochocientos', *Asclepio* 60, 1, 2008, 237–266; Biswamoy Pati and Mark Harrison (eds), *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, London and New York, Routledge, 2008; Paola Schiappacase, 'Archaeology of Isolation: The 19th Century Lazareto de Isla de Cabras, Puerto Rico', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Syracuse, 2011; Anne-Marie Moulin, *Islam et révolutions médicales. Le labyrinthe du corps*, Paris, IRD-Khartala, 2013; Michael C. Lemay, *Doctors at the Borders: Immigration and the Rise of Public Health*, Santa Barbara, Praeger, 2015; Peter Hobbins, Ursula K. Frederick and Anne Clarke, *Stories from the Sandstone: Quarantine Inscriptions from Australia's Immigrant Past*, Crows Nest, Arbon Publishing, 2016.
  - 5 Peter Baldwin, 'Smug Britannia: The dominance of (the) English in current history writing and its pathologies', *Contemporary European History* 20, 3, 2011, 351–366.
  - 6 We take the concept from Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007.
  - 7 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/23/eu-to-create-new-quarantine-system-for-mediterranean-migrants> (accessed 26 September 2016).
  - 8 Some recent works on Medieval and Early-Modern Mediterranean quarantine include, for example, Nelli-Elena Vanzan Marchini, *Venezia e i lazzaretti mediterranei*, Venezia, Edizioni della Laguna, 2004; Salvatore Speziale, 'Le domaine sanitaire tunisien aux temps d'Hammoudah Pacha (1782–1814)', *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 32, 117, 2005, 123–135; Birsen Bulmuş, 'Plague in the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1838', unpublished PhD thesis, Georgetown University, 2008; Blazina Tomic and Vesna Blazina, *Expelling the Plague. The Health Office and the Implementation of Quarantine in Dubrovnik, 1377–1533*, Montreal-Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015; Jane L. Stevens Crawshaw (ed.), *Plague Hospitals: Public Health for the City in Early Modern Venice*, London and New York, Routledge, 2016.
  - 9 Bruce Mazlish, 'Comparing global history to world history', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28, 3 (1998), 385–395; Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.
  - 10 Krista Maglen, *The English System: Quarantine, Immigration and the Making of a Port Sanitary Zone*, Manchester and New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.