

# Moving Hands: Types and Scales of Labour Mobility in the Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean (1200–1500 CE)

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## WHY THE LATE MEDIEVAL EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN?

The Eastern Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages constitutes an ‘ideal’ area of research to reflect on questions related to micro-historical and trans-local perspectives of global labour, since during this period, ‘no other region of Europe or the Mediterranean became a cynosure of so many ethnicities in such a small place’.<sup>1</sup> Due to a peculiar combination of political fragmentation and economic integration, especially within

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the former imperial sphere of the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans, there emerged a multitude of overlapping zones of power and commerce, of various religious, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. With the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, the (anew) advance of the Seljuks towards the Anatolian coast, the increasing presence of Italian merchants in the harbours of the Aegean, the Black Sea and the Levant and finally the Mongol expansion from the 1220s onwards, the Eastern Mediterranean became a zone of intensive contact between Mongols (the realms of the Golden Horde in Russia and the Ilkhans in Iran, Iraq, the Southern Caucasus and parts of Anatolia), Byzantines (after 1204 in the competing exile realms of Nicaea, Epirus and Trebizond), Armenians (in the Kingdom of Cilicia), Turks, Persians and Arabs (in the Sultanate of Konya), Slavonic-, Albanian- and Vlach-speaking people (in the realms of Serbia and Bulgaria as well as in the Kingdom of Croatia united with the Crown of Hungary), 'Latins', respectively, 'Franks' and a large number of further ethnicities (members of which were, of course, also mobile across political borders<sup>2</sup>), thus also between Orthodox, Oriental and Western Churches as well as Islam (in its various denominations) and (within the Mongol Sphere) also Buddhism. With the fragmentation of Seljuk central power after the defeat against the Mongols in 1243 into various Emirates and their expansion especially into Western Asia Minor towards the Aegean and the establishment of Italian colonies (including 'Catholic' bishoprics) in coastal towns and off-shore islands (e.g. the Genoese on Chios and in Phokaia/Foça) and of the Knights Hospitallers on Rhodes, the number of zones of interaction, but also conflict, increased in Anatolia, as they did in the Balkans in a dynamic interplay between centralisations and fragmentations of political power in Byzantium, Bulgaria and Serbia. At the same time, Venetians and Genoese integrated all these locations and regions as hubs and nodes into their commercial networks and into the Mediterranean subsystem of the late medieval 'World System', as Janet Abu-Lughod has called it.<sup>3</sup> With the Ottoman Expansion from 1300 onwards, these territories gradually were absorbed into one imperial framework once more (as it has existed under Byzantine rule until the eleventh century), which finally also included the remaining western colonies.

Beyond traditional over-regional contacts of members of medieval religious elites and nobilities, which always had crossed borders within

and beyond cultural-religious frontiers,<sup>4</sup> the increase in the number of contact zones, especially on the basis of commerce, opened paths to border-crossing also for other, non-aristocratic members of society. Commercial interests contributed to the establishment of a ‘middle ground’ (for this issue, see below) beyond religious or ethnic antagonisms. As Kate Fleet stated in her study of Genoese and Ottoman trade: ‘money largely formed the basis of the relationship between the Genoese and the Turks and this, rather than any religious scruple, dictated relations.’<sup>5</sup> One illustrative aspect of these relations also pertaining to labour and labour mobility is the use of eastern-style textiles in Europe and of western-style textiles in the Islamic world. This ‘cultural cross-dressing’ has found considerable scholarly attention recently and certainly deserves further study; ‘adopted, adapted, and appropriated by medieval elites, these kinds of artefacts produced networks of affinity not bounded by religious, ethnic, or linguistic identity but by possession, consumption, and display’.<sup>6</sup> Similar ‘networks of affinities’ also emerged based on profession and know-how, for instance. One most impressive result of entangled phenomena in this regard is the emergence of the *Lingua franca* of Mediterranean seafaring in the late medieval and early modern period.<sup>7</sup>

Within this framework, there emerged various phenomena of ‘labour mobility’, both deliberate (by ‘economically informed actors’ from elite and non-elite strata of societies) and forced ones, across spatial and temporal scales and especially also across political, religious or cultural frontiers. Even more, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea constituted the most important transfer zone between the Euro-Mediterranean sphere and the Mongol-Islamic world of the thirteenth to fifteenth century, from which (again both deliberate and forced) mobility of labour was effected across Eurasia—epitomised in the notorious figure of Marco Polo, a labour migrant from Venice who between 1273 and 1291 joined the administrative service of the Great Khan in Yuan China as did many other individuals from the Western regions and peripheries of the Mongolian sphere.<sup>8</sup> A survey of ‘moving hands’ across the late medieval Eastern Mediterranean, therefore, very much illustrates the ‘global’ dimension of labour mobility before 1500 and its ‘trans-local’ character.

## CONCEPTS AND METHODS: MOBILITIES, NETWORKS AND IDENTITIES

‘Mobility’ has been identified as a central aspect of socio-economic and-political, cultural and religious developments in historical and social research in recent years; some scholars even speak about a ‘mobility turn’ which ‘connects the analysis of different forms of travel, transport and communications with the multiple ways in which economic and social life is performed and organized through time and across various spaces.’<sup>9</sup> This ‘turn’, of course, resorts to earlier theoretical frameworks of mobility as they have been developed especially for phenomena of migration.

### *Typologies of Mobility*

Already in the 1880s and 1890s, E.G. Ravenstein classified mobile individuals by distance and time into local migrants, short-journey migrants, long-journey migrants, migrants by stages and temporary migrants. His ‘Laws of Migration’ identified economic factors as main causes of migration within a framework of ‘push and pull’, where socio-economic or political conditions in places of origin motivate mobility while the character of these conditions in places of destination attracts mobility. This framework, of course, underwent several modifications since then, but core concepts are still valid especially within economic theories of mobility. Their relevance can also be demonstrated for our period.<sup>10</sup>

A ‘global perspective’ on mobility was developed based on the ‘World-System Theory’ as established by Immanuel Wallerstein and as adapted by Abu Lughod also for the ‘late medieval World System’, as we have seen. A ‘world system’ is characterised by a differentiation between highly developed core areas, less developed peripheries and semi-peripheries in between, connected via ‘labour supply systems’, within which mobility takes place. Especially for ‘core centres’ such as Venice, attracting manpower from nearby and far away ‘peripheries’ across the Eastern Mediterranean, the value of such an approach can also be illustrated for the late medieval period (see below the example of maritime workforce).<sup>11</sup>

Such a macro-perspective pays little attention to the agency of individuals, while recent research on migration has very much focused on the interplay between ‘structure’ and ‘agency’; this approach has been summed up by McLeman as follows: ‘The terms structure and agency are

inherently linked, but their precise definitions can vary according to the context in which they are used. In simplest terms, agency refers to the degree of freedom an individual has in choosing his or her actions, while structure refers to the societal norms, obligations, and institutions that shape and set limits on the individual's actions'.<sup>12</sup> Structure and agency are also core concepts within a 'system approach' towards migration phenomena as developed recently.<sup>13</sup> It focuses on the interplay between socio-economic, political and spatial structures both in the 'society of departure'<sup>14</sup> and in the 'receiving societies',<sup>15</sup> which very much defined the scope of action, and the actual agency of individuals and groups. Equally, it highlights the significance of social networks established and/or used by individuals to effect mobility as well as integration within the socio-economic framework in the places of destination.<sup>16</sup> Also, Charles Tilly analysed the relevance of 'solidarity networks', for instance, which 'provide a setting for life at the destination, a basis for solidarity and mutual aid as well as for division and conflict' for the mobility of individuals. But he also emphasised the potentially constraining effects of such networks via which 'members of immigrant groups often exploited one another as they would not have dared to exploit the native-born'; he also made clear that 'every inclusion also constitutes an exclusion'.<sup>17</sup>

### *Networks, Mobility and Frontiers*

The conceptualisation and analysis of social (and other) networks in general has attracted increasing attention in social and historical studies beyond mobility and migration studies. Tools of network analysis enable us to integrate information on the interactions, communications and affiliations of individuals into 'social topographies', which make visible the actual complexity of these entanglements beyond selective or serial depictions of data. Researchers and other observers are able to detect patterns of social interaction—sometimes previously unnoticed within the mass of information. But network analysis claims 'not only that ties matter, but that they are organized in a significant way that this or that individual has an interesting position in terms of his or her ties'.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, network analysis can be combined with tools of *historical geographical information systems* (HGIS), thus establishing the connection between 'social' and 'geographical topography', whose correlation can also be inspected.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time, network analysis is only one aspect of the theoretical framework of relational analysis. In addition to quantitative analysis, the field of 'relational sociology' has highlighted the more 'qualitative' aspects of social networks with regard to their relevance for the embedding and even construction of identities and relationships.<sup>20</sup> The relational approach views nodes and their identities as well as relations and their interpretations as 'mutually generative'. In a meshwork of structure and culture, identities are created at the crossing points of relations and networks emerge: ties create nodes create ties.<sup>21</sup> The best-known theoretician of relational sociology is Harrison C. White; for him, 'networks are phenomenological realities as well as measurement constructs'—and 'persons' are constructs of communication; they only emerge in the process of communication and gain profile by their embedding in the web of communications.<sup>22</sup>

The usefulness of such a relational and flexible approach to the mobility of individuals and objects as well as to the fluid character of identities has been demonstrated also recently for the medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' frontier zone in India by Finbarr B. Flood; he cites James Clifford: 'Yet what if identity is conceived not as [a] boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject? The story or stories of interactions must then be more complex, less linear and teleological.'<sup>23</sup> The survey and mapping of the embedding of individuals or localities in multiplex networks across allegedly fixed boundaries and their modification through mobility thus in itself makes visible the potentials for the modification—be it affirmation or accommodation—of identities. But we have to take into account that also in late medieval Eastern Mediterranean, we do not encounter 'precise linear divisions' of boundaries, but 'frontiers', which 'connotes more zonal qualities, and a broader, social context'; and 'rather than bounded (or bordered) space, therefore, we are dealing with cultural and political spheres of authority that intersected at their margins to form 'zone boundaries' or 'transfrontiers' where limits of cultural and political authority overlapped and were continuously negotiated, whether by belligerent ruler or itinerant merchants, pilgrims, and travellers' (see also below the examples of peasant mobility).<sup>24</sup> Such frontier zones give room for the emergence of what Richard White has famously called 'the Middle Ground', 'a place in between', where 'diverse peoples adjust their difference through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings. (...) They often misinterpret and

distort both the values and practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices—the shared meanings and practices of the middle ground.<sup>25</sup> Labour mobility within such a politically fragmented, religiously, ethnically and linguistically diverse environment as the late medieval Eastern Mediterranean thus very much demands a combination of perspectives of history of labour and economy with that of cultural and religious history; the high density of border zones as spheres of contact and exchange as well as conflict and exclusion very quickly connected any act of spatial mobility with the necessity for ‘cultural mobility’.<sup>26</sup>

*Types and Institutional Frameworks of Mobility in the Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*

In the late medieval Eastern Mediterranean, we encounter similar types of mobile individuals, as Dirk Hoerder has identified them in his ‘Cultures in Contact’, especially for Western Europe (also a region of origin of many of those mobile in the East), many of which can be connected with phenomena of ‘labour mobility’: ‘cosmopolitan nobles and their households’, ‘itinerant administrators’ and ‘warring mercenaries’; ‘rural people, labourers and servants’; merchants and traders, ‘journeymen artisans’ and ‘out of town maids’ as well as masons and miners; and pilgrims and clerics. Hoerder has also highlighted the considerable degree of agency (see above) of individuals also within non-elite strata of societies, identifying, for instance, also itinerant peasants and artisans as ‘economically informed actors’.<sup>27</sup> But even more than in the ‘Latin/Catholic Occident’, actors also had to take into account parameters for mobility based on differentiations, especially of religion—especially since institutional frameworks from the side of state authorities very much operated along these lines.

Since the tenth century, the existence of a walled enclosure as quarters for (Western) Christian individuals (especially merchants) (*funduq/fundacio*) was a common and traditional solution for their presence in cities under Muslim (and also Byzantine) rule and the most important clause of the frequently renewed agreements between European merchant communities and local rulers, be they Byzantines or Muslims.<sup>28</sup> This was in the interest of both sides; local authorities were able (up to a certain degree) to control and limit the movement of strangers and their interaction with endogenous population, especially during times of religious

significance such as the Friday prayer, but also for the purpose of taxation.<sup>29</sup> Western travellers, in turn, could establish a secured area for living and storage, which also allowed for the practice of their faith (including church buildings) and a certain autonomy under their own consul, who also represented the community towards the local authorities.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, as also recent comprehensive studies have highlighted, there existed many occasion for interactions and commerce between Europeans and Muslims beyond the borders of the *funduq*, establishing partnerships and common commercial ventures.<sup>31</sup> Thus, while communities already existing within such frameworks very much facilitated the mobility of further individuals from regions of origin, these regulations did not necessarily totally limit the potential of interaction with indigenous communities.

At the same time, there existed various voices against contacts, commercial or otherwise, across the frontier, especially from the side of representatives of religious authorities such as the Catholic orders also active in the East. We observe deep suspicions toward the 'results' of such 'inappropriate' exchanges, such as individuals of (religiously, ethnically) 'mixed' origins; a crusading treatise of the earlier fourteenth century, the *Directorium ad passagium faciendum* contains detailed chapter on the spiritual and personal deficits of these groups and why one has to be wary of them. For the Gasmouloi (descendants of 'Latin-Greek' unions), who in the Byzantine Empire played a special role as mariners and marines (thus also one of several cases in which professional attribution accompanied the ethnic one), the author provides an interesting description of a what we would call today 'transcultural' identity: 'When they are with Greeks, they show themselves as Greeks, and when with Latins, as Latins.'<sup>32</sup>

Similar differentiations were also made with regard to forced mobility. Slaves were a special 'commodity' in various regards; and while owners and slaves could be of the same religious or ethnic background (see also below), there existed certain reservations towards delivering co-religionists to 'infidels'. Guillelmus Ada (d. 1338/9, temporarily Bishop of Smyrna and later Archbishop of Sultaniyya in Iran), for instance, wrote about the spiritual danger of selling (Orthodox) Christians to Muslims: 'The miserable Greeks are sold and become slaves of every nation, that is, of the Saracens, the Tartars, and the Jews, and each of them follows the sect professed by his master.'<sup>33</sup> This issue became even more critical



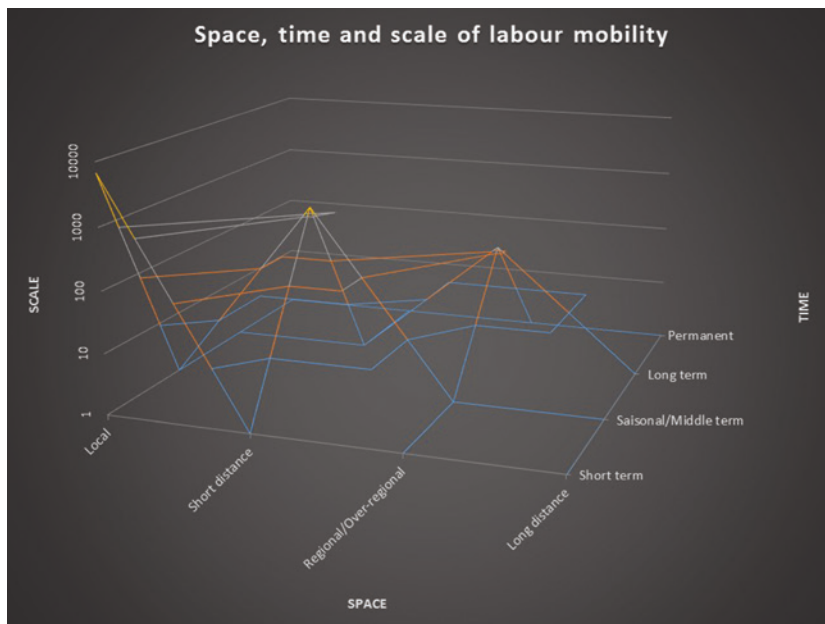
when slaves had become mobile on their own and had escaped across the frontier to an area under control of fellow Christians or Muslims. In such cases, the payment of a compensation was agreed upon in the treaties of Venetian Crete with the Turkish Emirates of Monteshe and Aydin in Western Asia Minor, for instance, while the restitution of an enslaved co-religionist to the ‘infidels’ was neither expected by the Christian nor the Muslim partner. Also, Ottomans and Genoese followed the same principles in an agreement in 1387.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time, too strong a presence of slaves of ‘inimical’ background was also considered a threat to security; in 1341, the Venetian Senate decreed that Turkish slaves should not be present on Crete for more than six months and should then only be transported further on to the West. In 1363, we learn about measures against merchants declaring Turkish slaves as ‘Greeks’ (who were—due to the weakness of Byzantine power—more or less ‘harmless’) to circumvent such restrictions.<sup>35</sup> A statute of the Hospitallers on Rhodes regulated in 1357 that no slave of Turkish origin should be in the service of any knight of the Order living within the fortified town of Rhodes for security reasons.<sup>36</sup>

As in many cases, we observe the friction between the utilisation of the potential of contacts and of manpower across the frontier and the necessity for control. Propagandists for a new crusade such as Guillelmus Ade or Mario Sanudo Torsello (d. 1338, a Venetian statesman traveling widely in the East) even argued for a total embargo against Muslim powers as precondition for a successful re-conquest of the Holy Land, denouncing also by name those among the Italian merchants doing intensive business with the ‘enemy’ as bad Christians and ‘ministers of hell’.<sup>37</sup> Any instruments of control, of course, would have been of limited effectiveness under pre-modern conditions, and almost ineffective in the face of extreme situations: when the armies of Timur devastated Anatolia after the Ottoman defeat at Ankara in 1402, both ‘Latins’ from Ayasoluk and *Turci innumerabiles* fled from the mainland to islands such as Samos.<sup>38</sup>

### *An Analytical Framework Across Scales*

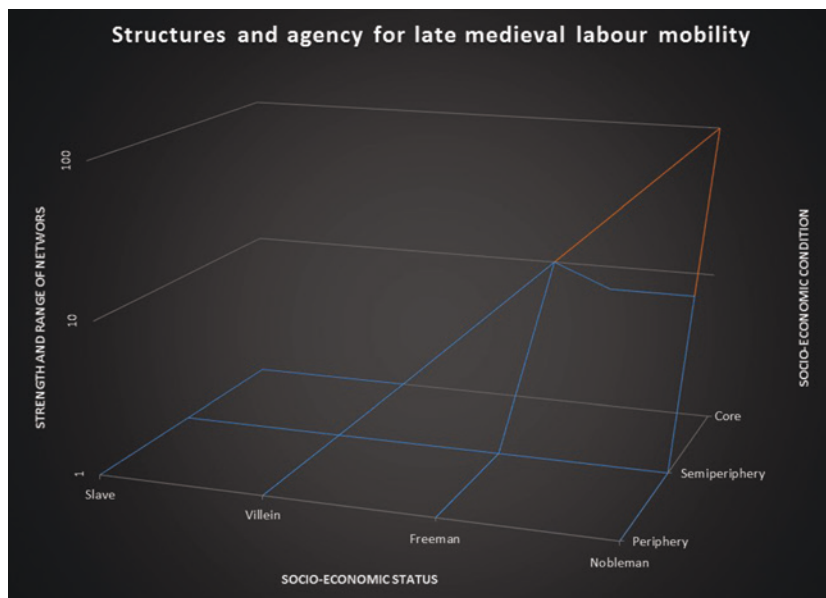
Integrating historical conditions as well as various typologies of mobility discussed above, we propose an analytical framework flexible enough to capture the complexity of labour mobility across scales and beyond rigid



**Fig. 2.1** The ‘space of possible shapes’ of labour mobility (graph: Mitsiou and Preiser-Kapeller)

categorisations. We understand the parameters of space, time and scale (in term of numbers) as an axis of a three-dimensional ‘space of possible shapes’ of these phenomena (Fig. 2.1).

Within this space, localities, due to a bundle of various socio-economic and cultural factors, may have acted as attractors which created ‘pull effects’ on specific combinations of parameters (short-distance seasonal labour mobility at a large scale, long-distance permanent mobility at a small scale) or also across scales. Also, individual life stories could move across this space (from permanent, long-distance migration to occupational, seasonal migration, for instance; see also examples below), connecting various local attractors at a different scale. A cumulative mapping of such trajectories (micro-histories making up macro-history) may



**Fig. 2.2** The ‘space of options’ of individual agency (graph: Mitsiou and Preiser-Kapeller)

help to identify the power of attractors, but also patterns of divergence. Similarly, we draw a ‘space of options’ for individual agency limited by axes of individual ‘socio-economic status’, of ‘socio-economic conditions’ and of ‘strength and range of social networks’ (Fig. 2.2).

Again, specific localities may provide specific parametric ‘boxes’ for individual agencies—and individuals may open larger spaces of options through mobility. In both cases, rigid typologies are replaced by a diversity of combinations across scales and attributions of status.

In the following, we are, of course, not able to survey the entirety of this multiplexity;<sup>39</sup> instead, we will focus on two sample groups which seem at the opposite ends of this ‘space of options’: groups for which mobility was an integral part of their occupation; and groups which became objects of forced mobility.

## MOBILITY AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OCCUPATION

*Itinerant Members of the Secular and Religious Elites: Samples and Connections*

As already mentioned above, Dirk Hoerder for the Middle Ages listed several types of mobile individuals, for whom mobility was not a temporary, but integral part of their occupation such as ‘cosmopolitan nobles’, ‘itinerant administrators’ and ‘warfaring mercenaries’. One figure combining all these attributes as well as connecting the Western and Eastern Mediterranean was the French nobleman Philippe de Mézières (ca. 1327–1405), who served rulers in Lombardy, Naples, Cyprus and France, fought in Crusading expeditions in Smyrna (İzmir) and Alexandria in Egypt as well as in the Hundred Years War and travelled as diplomat and propagator of a crusade to the Papal Court in Avignon, Venice, France, Spain and Germany. While his itinerary may suggest the image of a free knight errant, his ‘space of options’ was also often limited by factors beyond his influence, such as the death of royal patrons (King Peter I of Cyprus in 1369, King Charles V of France in 1380), who had supported his mobility in attempts to mobilise forces for another crusade.<sup>40</sup>

In total, warfare also supported the mobility of individuals across the frontiers in the Eastern Mediterranean in various forms, and also in the case of prisoners sold as slaves across the sea (see below) or via the recruitment of mercenaries from various backgrounds; even the ‘crusading’ King Peter I of Cyprus employed Turkish mercenaries in his garrisons along the Pamphylian coast in the 1360s.<sup>41</sup> In general, ‘war is not, therefore, always inimical to the promotion of cosmopolitan identities. On the contrary, it can unite men of different ethnicities and faiths (often against their coreligionists) and engender new patterns of circulation.’<sup>42</sup>

A most impressive example of a combination of both integration into recipient society and maintenance of connections to core elements of identity in the society of origin over long distances is a group of (Orthodox) Christians in Mongol service recruited mainly among the ethnicity of the Alans in the Northwestern Caucasus, but also neighbouring ethnicities, who already took part in the conquest of the Chinese Song Empire between 1265 and 1279. This is not only mentioned by Marco Polo, but also described in detail in the Annals of the

Mongol Yuan Dynasty, who ruled over all of China from 1279 to 1368. In biographical outlines, the careers of several members of the *Asud* (as the Alans are called in the Chinese texts) regiments, which in 1309/11 comprised not less than 33,000 men and were stationed mostly in and around the Yuan capital of Khanbaliq (Beijing), are described; they not only included 'Alans', but also Russians. Unfortunately, the Chinese sources, now accessible due to the book of Agustí Alemany, are interested only in their military deeds and not in their religious affiliation.<sup>43</sup> But the activities of Latin missionaries provide invaluable additional information; in 1307, the Papacy ordained the Franciscan John of Monte Corvino as Archbishop of Khanbaliq, where he served until his death in 1328. According to a Latin description, his flock also encompassed 'some good Christians, called Alans, 30,000 of whom are in the Great King's pay; these people and their families turn to Friar John and he comforts them and preaches to them'.<sup>44</sup> This information seems reliable, since the indication of the strength of Alan troops also accords with the one from Chinese sources. Even more, after the death of John of Monte Corvino, in July 1336, Emperor Toghon Temür (1333–1368) and five Christian Alan princes from his guard sent an embassy under the leadership of Thogay, *Alanus de Cathayo* to the Pope; it arrived in Avignon at the court of Pope Benedict XII in May 1338. The correspondence between Beijing and Avignon is transmitted to us in Latin and conveys the names of these Alan leaders, which, in turn, can be identified with individuals from Chinese sources and allow us to reconstruct the lineage of several Christian 'Alan' families in Mongol service in China from the 1240s up to the 1330s. One of the addressees of the Pope was a certain *Kathiten*, in Chinese *Xiang Shan*, who served in the *Asud* guards in the fourth generation as had done his father *Dimidier* (Demetrios), his grandfather *Kouerji* (Georgios, he died in 1311) and his great grandfather *Fudelaici* (Fjodor?, Theodoros?).<sup>45</sup> The same was true for *Jemmega*, in Chinese *Zheyuan Buhua*, the son of *Jiaohua* (1328), son of *Atachi* (under Kubilai, 1260–1294), son of *Niegula* (Nikolaos), who had entered the service of Möngke Khan in 1251/59.<sup>46</sup> Especially the usage of typically 'Orthodox' Christian names, also after the first generation, provides a hint of the 'original' denominational background of these families. In their letter to the Pope, the Alan leaders demanded the dispatch of a new bishop, since the flock was without a pastor after the death of John of Monte Corvino in 1328.<sup>47</sup> This may also have been the motivation for the Alans to accept the pastoral care of the Latin missionaries and hierarchs in China in the

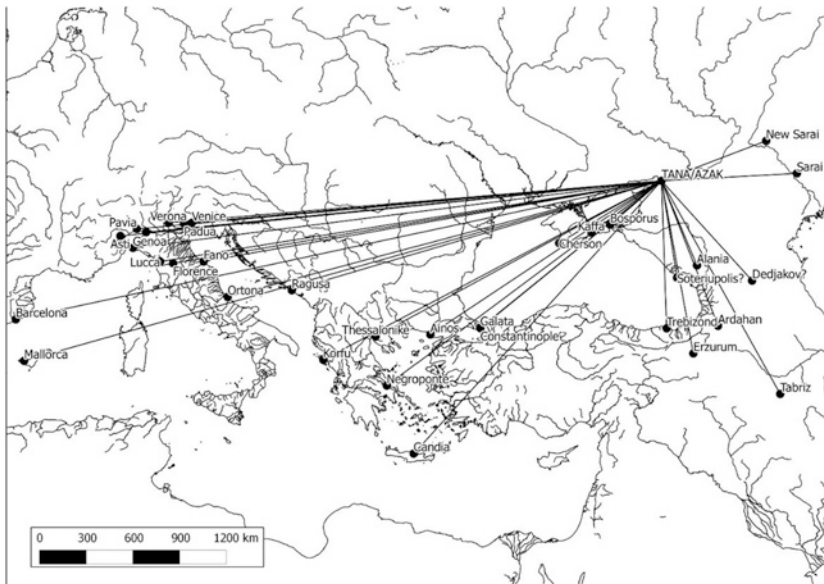
first place; this strategy also allowed them to maintain their Christian faith until the end of the Mongol Dynasty. Also, beyond the route to China, Alans became subjects and objects of deliberate and forced mobility, especially as mercenaries of the Golden Horde and later Byzantium, as military slaves (Mamluks) in Egypt (thereby joining the leading stratum of society there) and as slaves traded from the Black Sea in the entire Eastern Mediterranean as far as Italy.<sup>48</sup>

The evidence for the Christian Asud in China also highlights the far-reaching occupational mobility of clergymen. The Western Church, especially since the thirteenth century, tried to expand its influence to the East under the banner of mission, especially through the monks of the Mendicant orders. For their activities (and communication with the ecclesiastical centre in Rome respectively Avignon), Dominicans and Franciscans also relied on the networks of trade and founded their convents and stations in mercantile nodes, where merchants from the West supported them and became part of their flock besides (desired) converts among the endogenous population. Archbishop John of Sultāniyya (in Persia) wrote in retrospective at the beginning of the fifteenth century: ‘About the year of our Lord 1310, when there was no mention in the regions of the east of the Church of Rome and of its ceremonies, some of the Dominican Brothers went with merchants in these regions (...), and from that time they began to preach the Catholic faith’.<sup>49</sup> Over time, Dominicans and Franciscans established convents which, in turn, became bases for the founding of archbishoprics and bishoprics, such as in China (Khanbaliq—Beijing) in 1307 (see also above) or in Sultaniyya (Iran) in 1318.<sup>50</sup> The continuous presence of clergymen or even bishops depended on the acceptance by the respective Muslim ruler; also in this regard, the trading posts of European merchants provided important support, since, as we have seen, agreements between merchants and local authorities also included the maintenance of a church within the *fondacio*. Guillelmus Ade praised those ‘Tartars and Saracens, who allow the friars to come to them to preach the word of God to them and to live peacefully and quietly among them’.<sup>51</sup> Yet, the success of missions was limited, and bishoprics thus remain dependent on the ups and downs of trade cycles and Latin presence. The collapse of the Mongol Ilkhanate after 1336 (with the partial withdrawal of Italian merchants from Inner Anatolia) and the Black Death after 1347 and especially ‘the absence of any association between the mission and political power’ very much limited the chances for a sustainable or even growing ecclesiastical life in

many of the new foundations, although many sees existed as titular bishoprics until the fifteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

### *Occupational Mobility and Shipboard Societies*

As already mentioned, the networks of Catholic clergymen in the East at all scales (from local to regional to long distance between China and Europe) very much overlapped with those of merchants, another group of occupational mobility. The famous ‘Handbook of Trade’ of Francesco Pegolotti from the 1330s, for instance, provides not only an overview of the most important ports and cities of Europe and the Mediterranean as well as the commodities one could buy there, but also descriptions of the inland route from Laiazzo (the harbour of Ayas at the Cilician Coast) to Tabriz, the capital of the Ilkhans in Iran, as well as of the much longer way from Tana/Azow on the Black Sea through Central Asia to Khanbaliq in China.<sup>53</sup>



**Fig. 2.3** The connections between the port of Tana/Azow and localities of origin of merchants active there in 1359/1360 (graph: Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Before European Hegemony*)

Tana/Azow at the mouth of the river Don was the most important trading post of the Venetians in the Northern Black Sea and a city of many religious and ethnic groups, as the notarial records of Benedetto Bianco for the period September 1359 to August 1360<sup>54</sup> allow us to reconstruct.<sup>55</sup> Under the sovereignty of the Golden Horde, Tana attracted in this period many merchants from Venice and its Italian hinterland as well as its colonies in the Adriatic and Aegean Sea, but also many other Italians, even from Venice's main rival Genoa, as well as Catalans from the far west of the Mediterranean. But, in addition, we also find 'Byzantine' or 'Greek' traders from Constantinople and Trebizond in the city, other orthodox Christians from Russia and Alania (in the north-western Caucasus, see also above), Armenians from diaspora communities in the Black Sea region as well as from Armenia proper, Jewish merchants and Muslim merchants, some of them subjects of the Golden Horde ('Tatars'), others from Eastern Anatolia and Tabriz (Fig. 2.3).

Tana therefore functioned as attractor of mobility across several spatial scales.<sup>56</sup> This mosaic becomes even more multifaceted if we look at the places of origin of the most important commodity traded in Tana: slaves (see below).

Central hubs of communication thus were once more the ports, connected by a network of maritime routes; for their usage, merchants and all other travellers had to rely on the knowledge accumulated in the workforces of navigators, mariners and shipbuilders. Gilles Deleuze has defined the sea as the 'realm of the unbound, unconstructed, and free', where possibilities for the control of mobility of individuals and objects were much more limited.<sup>57</sup> Christer Westerdahl has described the emergence of peculiar 'maritime communities' in 'maritime cultural landscapes', 'the people who in their daily practice engage with the sea in roles such a fishermen, coastal traders, seafarers, and shipbuilder' and construct their identities often in deliberate differentiation from the 'landsmen'.<sup>58</sup> A most interesting example for the transfer of maritime know-how within networks based on kinship and ethnic affiliation has been recently analysed by Ruthy Gertwagen in her article on 'Byzantine Shipbuilding in Fifteenth-century Venetian Crete: War Galleys and the Link to the Arsenal in Venice'; she demonstrates how even the arsenal of the Serenissima in the first half of the fifteenth century, for the building of a specific type of light galleys, depended on the knowledge of a Greek



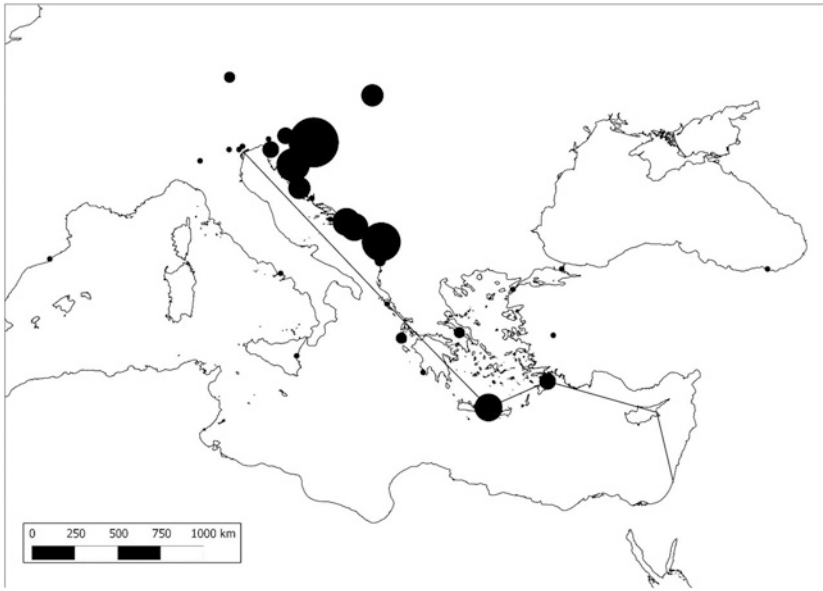
master from Rhodes (Theodoro Baxon, d. 1408) and later his nephew (Nicolò Palopano) and his son-in-law (Leo Miconditi, who was also active on the Venetian island of Crete), to whom Baxon had transmitted his skills.<sup>59</sup>

Other research has called for the study ‘of communities of mariners aboard ships, or shipboard societies’, also integrating Michel Foucault’s notion of the ‘ship as the heterotopia par excellence’, meaning a ‘real place in which society is simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted’, capable ‘of juxtaposing different places that are in themselves incompatible in a single real place’.<sup>60</sup> As a matter of fact, we observe that ships, regardless of the flag under which they were sailing, served as mobile contact zones of individuals of different religious or ethnic background.<sup>61</sup> Besides temporary passengers, ship crews permanently consisted of individuals from many areas along the Mediterranean shores; the manpower necessary to man a ship, especially a large galley with 200 oarsmen, could only be found by attracting hands from a lot of places.<sup>62</sup> A special issue of the journal ‘Medieval Encounters’ in 2007 was devoted to ‘Cross-Cultural Encounters on the High Seas’; contributions illustrate the poly-religious and poly-ethnic composition of crews on board ships of Latin, Byzantine and Muslim fleets during the Middle Ages.<sup>63</sup> For the late medieval Eastern Mediterranean, Bernard Doumerc has illustrated the ‘Cosmopolitanism on Board Venetian Ships’ and Theresa M. Vann has done so for Rhodes in the time between 1453 and 1480.<sup>64</sup>

Rhodes was also the place of origin of one of the best-documented sailors of our period, Michael of Rhodes, who in the 1430s and 1440s wrote a fascinating book (in Venetian Italian, while Greek was his mother tongue, which he most probably was not able to write) summing up his maritime and commercial know-how accumulated in 30 years of service in the fleets of Venice across the entire Mediterranean and beyond. The book ‘provides a fascinating window into the technological and practical knowledge of an ordinary, non-elite—but certainly exceptional—Venetian mariner’.<sup>65</sup> Michael started his career (maybe at the age of 16) signing in as a simple oarsman on board of a galley of the Venetian guard fleet in 1401 in Manfredonia in Apulia; he provides information on his annual travels (commanders of ship and fleets, his own rank, places of destination, purpose of the journey) until 1443. Michael worked his way up to the rank of an ‘armiraiò’, the highest position a non-noble could achieve in a Venetian fleet. This was a remarkable career for a Greek

coming from Rhodes, an island which itself since 1309 was under the 'Latin' rule of the Knight Hospitallers, who allowed the practice of the Orthodox rite up to a certain degree.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, Michael's manuscript does not provide any clear information on his own religious affiliation beyond being Christian; but considering the relatively strict politics of Venetian authorities regarding the practice of the Orthodox faith in this period and the generally existing barriers for integration into the citizenship of Venice, one may assume that in light of his continuous advancement, Michael adopted Catholicism, at least to the exterior. Also, his possible marriage to a Venetian woman (which would have made him a Venetian citizen *de intus* in 1407) points in that direction.<sup>67</sup> One highlight of his career may have been the convoys of 1437 and 1439, which brought the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos and his retinue from Constantinople to Italy for the Council of Ferrara/Florence (with the purpose of negotiations on a union of churches, which also brought some eases for Orthodox Christians in Venice) and back.<sup>68</sup> Michael retired after a last journey to London in 1443 and may have died shortly after 1445, maybe at the age of 60.<sup>69</sup>

Michael's life (which certainly deserves further study) is a most illustrative example for a combination of permanent migration and occupational mobility; at the same time, it is representative for many micro-histories summing up into a macro-perspective of labour mobility centred on the core hub of Venice in this period. In a Venetian account book, we possess the list of names and places of origin of many of the oarsmen working on a ship which sailed from Venice to Jaffa and back also along the Southern Anatolian coast between 9 May and 15 August 1414, under the command of Francesco Querini.<sup>70</sup> If we combine this data into a network model, we can visualise how the ship connects the places of origin of its crew with the localities on its route from Venice to the East. This data also allows us to visualise the relative significance of localities on the basis of the respective number of oarsmen coming from each of them. The largest numbers came from Venetian possessions and other sites in Dalmatia and Albania as well as from further inland of the Western Balkans, but also from the Italian hinterland of Venice, Hungary and Germany, and from the Eastern and Western Mediterranean (Fig. 2.4).<sup>71</sup>



**Fig. 2.4** Places of origin of oarsmen serving on the ship sailing from Venice to Jaffa in 1414 (sites scaled according to the number of oarsmen coming from there; graph: Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Civitas Thauris*)

This social network of the ship of 1414 is, of course, a mobile one (Fig. 2.5), so that this assemblage of people and their places of origin connects to all ports on its route from Venice to Jaffa, establishing a complex web of individual entanglements across the entire Mediterranean. The ship thus emerges as a ‘heterotopia’, capable ‘of juxtaposing different places that are in themselves incompatible in a single real place’ (Fig. 2.6).<sup>72</sup>

This mobile poly-ethnic and poly-religious network, in turn, interacted and overlapped with the trans-frontier networks in the various ports and maritime contact zones, adding to their diversity and structural complexity. At the same time, this sample provides an impression of the possible number of life stories of labour mobility similar to that of

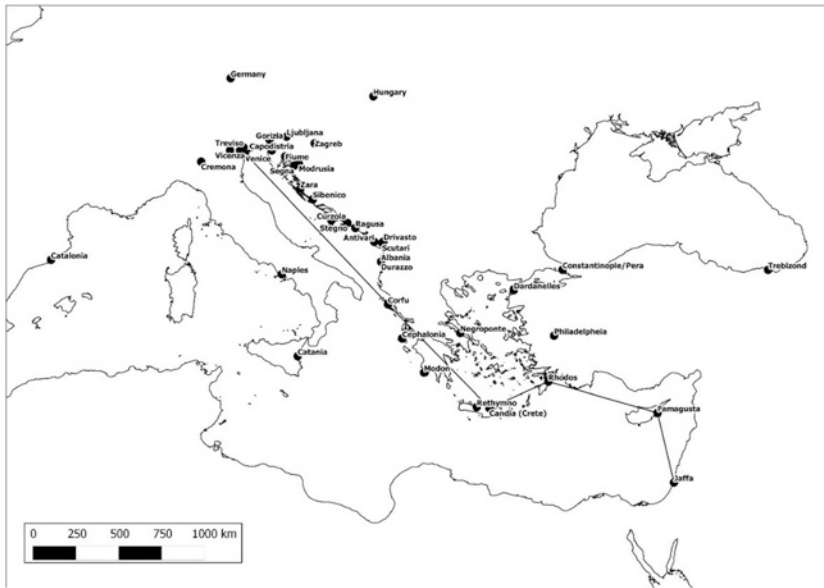


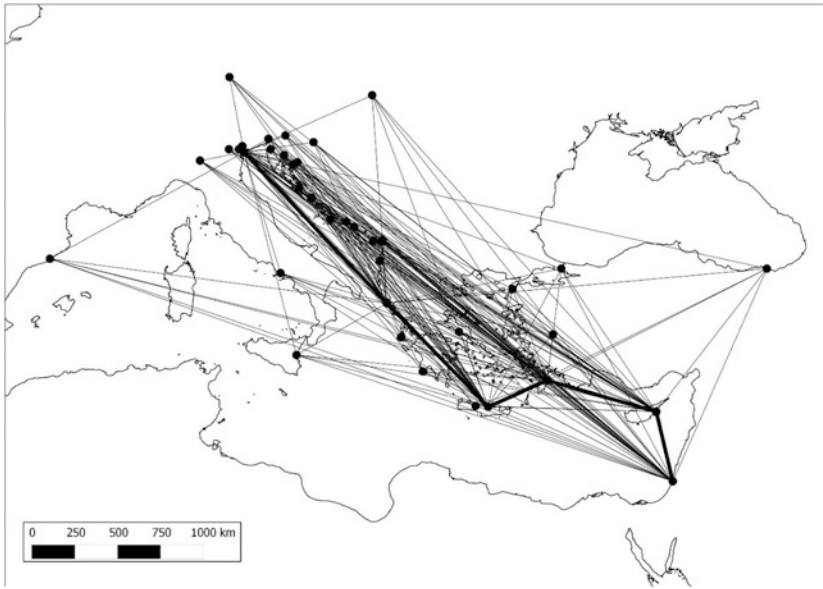
Fig. 2.5 The route of the ship sailing from Venice to Jaffa in 1414 and the places of origin of the oarsmen (graph: Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Civitas Thauris*)

Michael of Rhodes we have to take into account for this period without possessing comparable documentation.

## FORCED MOBILITIES

### *Forced, Attracted and Restricted Mobilities*

Besides those who deliberately set out for the purpose of commerce, work, diplomacy, pilgrimage or travel and thereby entangled themselves in the manifold networks across frontiers, there were also hundreds and thousands who were replaced from their original background and exposed different ones against their will. Yet, also within the framework of forced mobility, the parameters setting the space of options could very much vary. When the Seljuk Sultan of Konya 'Izz ad-Dīn Kaykāvūs, after his conquest of the port of Sinop at the Black Sea in 1214, intended to



**Fig. 2.6** The network between localities emerging because of the mobility of the oarsmen and of the ship sailing from Venice to Jaffa in 1414 (graph: Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Civitas Thauris*)

stimulate the commercial activity there, he, according to the historian Ibn Bibi, ordered ‘to select a well-funded merchant from every city and to send him to Sinop. His movable and immovable property should be bought by the privy purse with his consent and the full price should be handed over to him. In accordance with this order, respected merchants were sent to Sinop from the surrounding areas’. In such a case, authorities were, of course, interested to preserve both the financial and the human capital as well as the willingness to cooperate of those relocated to another place.<sup>73</sup>

Less cautious authorities may have acted towards peasants or even villeins (which was the status of the majority of the rural workforce both in areas under Latin and Byzantine rule)<sup>74</sup>; their mobility was a priori very much constricted if not executed with the approval or on the order of their landlords. But as Hoerder has illustrated for Western Europe (see above), the agency of this group as ‘economically informed actors’

should also not be underestimated.<sup>75</sup> Not only a rural workforce could actively seek more beneficial conditions of labour; both landlords and state authorities were actively attracting much-needed manpower by promoting such more beneficial conditions, especially in periods of demographic downturn due to epidemics, war or other calamities—and especially if such a movement of workforce was to the detriment of a direct neighbour and competitor. Under Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1254–1258), the Byzantine exile state of Nicaea welcomed peasants migrating from the (then Latin-controlled) island of Samos to the region of nearby Ephesus and provided them with land and utilities as well as the status of free peasants (*‘eleutheroi’*).<sup>76</sup> On the other side, Theodore’s father John III Vatatzes (1221–1254) ordered the return of *paroikoi* (villeins), who had fled from villages near Smyrna (İzmir) in 1244 to nearby regions because of mistreatment by their landlords, whose interests as military personnel outweighed those of the peasants.<sup>77</sup> David Jacoby has observed similar tensions between desired and unwelcome mobility of rural workforces, especially for territories on the island of Euboea (Negroponte) and in the southwest of the Peloponnese (Methone and Korone). Both were areas of often overlapping and competing zones of authority (Venice, local Latin landlords, Byzantium), which provided ample opportunities for (in their majority, Greek) peasants to cross (nearby) borders in the search of or already attracted by promises of more beneficial conditions of service. Sometimes, the various polities negotiated a return of such groups, but in many cases, such agreements remained without effect or were deliberately ignored by local authorities. One ‘solution’ from the side of landlords on either side of a border was the establishment of ‘partitioned villages’ as in the region of Corinth in the thirteenth century, where the revenues of such villages would be shared by the local Frankish landlord and his Byzantine peer right beyond the border, who then both would have an interest in the stability of the peasants at their current place of residence—thereby limiting their ‘space of options’ considerably.<sup>78</sup> Yet, to cite David Jacoby: ‘The flight of villeins was a constant concern of individual landlords, landholders, and the Venetian government. The shortage in rural manpower and growing competition between lords striving to acquire it generated a growing mobility and instability of the peasantry from the 1340s onward, both in continental Greece and in Euboea. The villeins were clearly aware that once they crossed political boundaries separating Venetian, Frankish and Byzantine territories, their return required

complex diplomatic negotiations between political entities with contrasting interests. They took advantage of these factors to obtain concessions from their lords or to promote their chances to evade a forcible return to their former residence. It follows that territorial fragmentation generated an intensification of peasant mobility in the Peloponnesus and between the mainland and Euboea.<sup>79</sup> Future research may produce similar results on this interplay between socio-political structures and individual agencies for other regions of the politically fragmented late medieval Eastern Mediterranean.

### *Slavery and Mobility: The 'Zero Point' of Agency?*

The same political fragmentation constituted the framework of an intensive slave trade which can be observed on the coasts of Asia Minor as well as in the Aegean and also especially in the Black Sea.<sup>80</sup> The main sources of slaves were prisoners of the wars frequently fought among the many polities of the respective populations of conquered or raided areas sold by their captors.<sup>81</sup> Slavery also implied the (from the perspective of the slave, unintended and often painful) establishment of new social connections and a modification and relocation of social networks, first via the exposure to the invading captors, then through those involved in the sale and transport of the slaves and (not necessarily) finally through the owners and their households (which could include also slaves from other or similar backgrounds), respectively, the entire society at the place of destination. Slaves of course could be resold, but also ransomed by kinsmen or fellow countrymen and (if possible) 'repatriated'. Integrating slaves of (sometimes, but not necessarily) very different religious, linguistic or ethnic backgrounds, of course, also affected the social environment of their owners,<sup>82</sup> slave trade thus produced a series of recombinations of social networks across frontiers due to the (forced) mobility of individuals, which, coming from Asia Minor, the Balkans or the Black Sea, could end up in regions very near to their homeland, in the Latin colonies on the islands and in mainland Greece, but also in the centres of European commerce in Italy, in Ilkhan Persia or in Mamluk Egypt. The last destination, of course, provided peculiar conditions for the 'space of options' of slaves, since the ruling elite of the country since 1250 until the Ottoman conquest in 1517 recruited from the ranks of slave soldiers, originating especially from the coasts of the Black Sea. Individual trajectories of life stories could therefore lead from the 'zero point' of

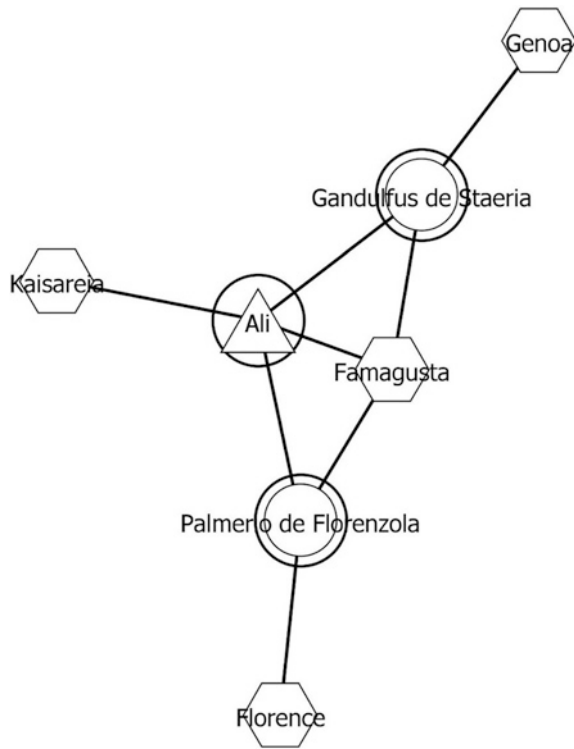
individual agency to ruling one of the most powerful polities of the region in that period.<sup>83</sup>

For many slaves, in contrast, enslavement was connected with a high degree of mobility, both from a spatial and cultural point of view, without such an enlargement of the ‘space of options’. Sources allow us to partly reconstruct the recombination of social networks inherent into this process for the port of Famagusta on Cyprus. For 1300/1, Ahmet Usta has systematically analysed the documents dealing with the trade of slaves in the acts of the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto, active in Famagusta between 1296 and 1307, at that time dominated by traders from his hometown. The documents, in most cases, register the ethnic/religious background of the slaves (at least as attributed to them by their sellers) and also of their sellers and buyers as well as the place(s) from or via which they came to Cyprus.<sup>84</sup> We used this data on the one hand to capture the ethnic/religious composition of the 37 slaves and of the 50 sellers and buyers as well as the gender composition of the slaves and then to create network models of slaves, owners and localities in order to survey and visualise the manifold entanglements emerging from the capture, relocation and sale of slaves. One ‘Turkish’ slave was Ali, who stemmed from Kayseri in Cappadocia and was transported to Famagusta, where he was sold by Gandulfus de Staeria (from Genoa) to Palmerio de Florenzola (from Florence) on 27 July 1301 (Fig. 2.7).

As his name indicates, Ali was (still) a Muslim—in contrast to other ‘Turkish’ slaves, who had been given a (literally) ‘Christian’ name and also may have been baptised already. We do not know if his new owner transported Ali to another locality within the Eastern Mediterranean or to his home city of Florence. Although the number of slaves from the East brought to Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century was not insubstantial, the number of ‘Turk’ slaves sold in Italy seems to have been relatively small, at least later in this period.<sup>85</sup> In any case, the document for the sale of Ali illustrates connections between inland Anatolia to Mediterranean commerce near (Cyprus) and far away (Genoa, Florence) from its coast. An even more impressive geographical range emerges if we visualise all connections between Famagusta and the Mediterranean world on the basis of links to the places or origin of merchants who came there to trade with slaves in 1300/1 (Fig. 2.8).

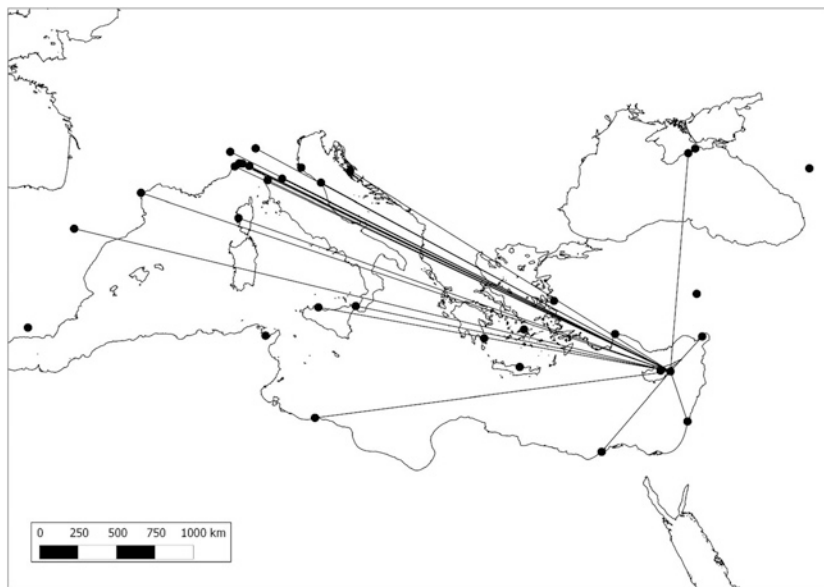
As expected, Genoa and cities in Northern Italy are predominant, but we also encounter traders from Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt as well as from the Crimea, Sicily, Libya, Southern France and the Iberian





**Fig. 2.7** The ‘ego-network’ of the ‘Turkish’ slave Ali from Kayseri, sold by Gandulfus de Staeria (from Genoa) to Palmerio de Florenzola (from Florence) in Famagusta on Cyprus, 27 July 1301 (graph: Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Civitas Thauris*)

Peninsula. Not less far ranging is the (forced) mobility of the slaves if we map the connections between Famagusta and the Mediterranean on the basis of links to the places from or via where slaves came who were traded in Famagusta: besides ‘nearby’ and ‘common’ markets such as Anatolia, the Black Sea, the Aegean, slaves from Dalmatia (via Italy) and from the Maghreb (via Spain) found their way from the West to the East.<sup>86</sup> All this adds up to a ‘multi-coloured’ web of connections between slaves and traders in the market of Famagusta in 1300/1: we find a Jewish merchant Raffael de Palermo from Sicily, ransoming five



**Fig. 2.8** Connections between Famagusta and the Mediterranean world on the basis of links to the places or origin of merchants who came there to trade with slaves in 1300/1301 (links weighted according to the number of merchants active in Famagusta from that city; graph: Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Civitas Thauris*)

Jewish slaves displaced from Candia on Crete from a Genoese trader (on the condition that they would repay Raffael's expenses). An Ugolinus from Messina sells an (unnamed) Muslim 'Moor' from the Maghreb, who came to Cyprus via Spain, to Iohannes de Pando from the same city, who also buys a 'Saracen' named Abraam from a Jewish merchant named Mossa from Tripolis in North Africa, who had bought Abraam in Alexandria in Egypt. We do not know what Iohannes de Pando did with his two slaves, but this example illustrates a 'recombination' also of individuals of very diverse Islamic backgrounds, not to speak of the general multiplicity of religious/ethnic/linguistic identities forced to reconnect and to modify within this framework.<sup>87</sup> Similar observations, both from an overall macro-perspective and for individual micro-histories of forced labour mobility (at which we only get a glimpse, albeit on maybe the most central episode within individual trajectories) could

be made by combining the background of traders and slaves for Tana at the Black Sea (see above). Most of the slaves (especially young girls) sold there originated from the immediate hinterland of the city (Tatars, Circassians, Alans), but we also encounter Russian, Greek, Armenian and Jewish slaves as well as one Chinese girl in 1359/60.<sup>88</sup> A comparable case study was also undertaken by us for the slave market of Candia on Crete for the years 1305/6.<sup>89</sup> In any case, it becomes evident that enslavement in the Eastern Mediterranean—similar to other forms of labour mobility—not only enforced a considerable degree of spatial, but also of cultural mobility on its victims. At the same time, other studies have highlighted the remarkable degree of adaptability, but also of resistance slaves were able to demonstrate within this framework.<sup>90</sup> Also, Stephen Greenblatt has called our attention to such phenomena: ‘mobility studies should account in new ways for the tension between individual agency and structural constraint. This tension cannot be resolved in any abstract theoretical way, for in given historical circumstances structures of power seek to mobilize some individuals and immobilize others. And it is important to note that moments in which individuals feel most completely in control may, under careful scrutiny, prove to be moments of the most intense structural determination, while moments in which the social structure applies the fiercest pressure on the individual may in fact be precisely those moments in which individuals are exercising the most stubborn will to autonomous movement. Mobility studies should be interested, among other things, in the way in which seemingly fixed migration paths are disrupted by the strategic acts of individual agents and by unexpected, unplanned, entirely contingent encounters between different cultures.’<sup>91</sup> These observations, of course, pertain to several phenomena of labour mobility discussed in our paper—and open up perspectives for further in-depth analyses of micro-stories and macro-trends embedded in our sources.

## CONCLUSION

As our case studies have highlighted, a flexible approach towards a survey of types, ranges, scales and especially networks of labour mobility in the pre-modern period has the potential to map both the entanglements emerging from micro-histories of individuals and to accumulate these individual trajectories into complex networks across spatial and temporal scales up to the ‘systemic macro approach’. At the same time,

it becomes evident that these two perspectives require each other: micro-history provides us with an in-depth perspective of the interplay between individual agency and structural constraints as well as opportunities and their specific dynamics in each case. Within the sum of these interactions and entanglements emerge the actual structural forces and socio-cultural phenomena we observe from a macro-historical point of view, showing also emergent properties not dependent on the agency (or design) of any individual, but on the complexity of the entirety of a system—phenomena such as the lingua franca of Medieval seafaring, for instance.<sup>92</sup> The interplay between structure and culture<sup>93</sup> also entails the entanglement between labour mobility and cultural mobility highlighted in almost all cases we have inspected in this paper; therefore, an integration of concepts such as those developed by Stephen Greenblatt (see above) is equally necessary. Along these lines, the value of micro-historical and trans-local perspectives on the global history of labour in the period before 1500 becomes visible.

## NOTES

1. Steven A. Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1400* (Baltimore, 2007), pp. 110–111, especially reflecting on the Aegean in the fourteenth century, a ‘period of maximum complexity’.
2. For some examples see the contributions in Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier, eds., *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (Xe–XVIe siècles)* (Paris, 2002), and Élisabeth Malamut and Mohamed Ouerfelli, eds., *Les échanges en Méditerranée médiévale* (Aix-en-Provence, 2012).
3. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York and Oxford, 1989); Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 1–12; Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millenium* (Durham and London, 2002), pp. 28–30. See also Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade in World history* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 115–119, esp. on the notion of ‘trade diasporas’. For the far-reaching connections through the mobility of individuals across Eurasia after the Mongol conquest, see esp. Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001).
4. See Niklas Luhmann, ‘Interaktion in Oberschichten: Zur Transformation ihrer Semantik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert’, in *Gesellschaftsstruktur und Semantik. Studien zur Wissenssoziologie der modernen Gesellschaft*,

- ed. Niklas Luhmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 72–161; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 60–62; Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Webs of Conversion: An Analysis of Social Networks of Converts Across Islamic-Christian Borders in Anatolia, South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea from the 13th to the 15th Centuries*, Working paper for the International Workshop: ‘Cross-Cultural Life-Worlds in Pre-Modern Islamic Societies: Actors, Evidences And Strategies’, University of Bamberg (Germany), 22–24 June 2012; Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, ‘Networks of Border Zones: Multiplex Relations of Power, Religion and Economy in South-Eastern Europe, 1250–1453 AD’, in *Revive the Past. Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (CAA). Proceedings of the 39th International Conference, Beijing, April 12–16*, eds. Mingquan Zhou, Iza Romanowska, Zhongke Wu, Pengfei Xu and Philip Verhagen (Amsterdam, 2012), pp. 381–393, and for the example of the Seljuk-Byzantine border in Anatolia: Sara Nur Yildiz, ‘Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician Frontier: Armenians, Latin, and Turks in Conflict and Alliance during the Early Thirteenth Century’, in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis. Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 91–120 and Sara Nur Yildiz, ‘Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes and His Descendants at the Seljuk Court: The Formation of a Christian Seljuk-Komnenian Elite’, in *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th–14th centuries)*, ed. Stefan Leder (Würzburg, 2011).
5. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, p. 141.
  6. Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation. Material Culture and Medieval “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Princeton and Oxford, 2009), p. 11 and pp. 61–85; Anne E. Wardwell, ‘Panni Tartarici: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)’, *Islamic Art*, 3 (1988/9), 95–173; David Jacoby, ‘Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58 (2004), 197–240; E. Jane Burns, *Sea of Silk: A Textile Geography of Women’s Work in Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia, 2009).
  7. Henry Kahane, Renée Kahane and Andreas Tietze, *The Lingua Franca of the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin* (Urbana, Illinois, 1958); Georgios Makris, *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schifffahrt* (Genoa, 1988), pp. 112–117.
  8. For the far reaching connections through the mobility of individuals across Eurasia after the Mongol conquest, see esp. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*.
  9. John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 6.

10. See Sylvia Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung* (Frankfurt and New York, 2012), p. 27 and pp. 30–32, with further references.
11. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 28–30.
12. Robert A. McLeman, *Climate and Human Migration: Past Experiences, Future Challenges* (Cambridge, 2013).
13. Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, with Donna Gabbacia, *What is Migration History?* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 78–114; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 15–21; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, pp. 21–36.
14. Harzig and Hoerder, *What is Migration History*, pp. 92–98.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–10.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–80.
17. Charles Tilly, ‘Transplanted Networks’, in *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology and Politics*, eds. Virginia Yans and McLaughlin (New York and Oxford, 1990), pp. 79–95, 90 and 92; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, p. 29.
18. Claire Lemerrier, ‘Formale Methoden der Netzwerkanalyse in den Geschichtswissenschaften: Warum und Wie?’ in *Historische Netzwerkanalysen*, eds. Albert Müller and Wolfgang Neurath (Innsbruck, Vienna and Bozen, 2012), pp. 16–41, at p. 22. See also Bonnie H. Erickson, ‘Social Networks and History: A Review Essay’, *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 30, 3 (1997), 149–157, and Lothar Krempel, *Visualisierung komplexer Strukturen. Grundlagen der Darstellung mehrdimensionaler Netzwerke* (Frankfurt and New York, 2005) (for the value of network visualisation). For an overview on tools of quantitative (historical) network analysis, see Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, ‘Letters and Network Analysis’, in *Companion to Byzantine Epistolography*, ed. Alexander Riehle (Leiden, New York and Cologne) (forthcoming). For samples see also Academia: <http://ocaw.academia.edu/TopographiesofEntanglements> (consulted on 27 October 2016).
19. Daniel Dorling, *The Visualization of Spatial Social Structure* (Chichester, 2012); Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, ‘Civitas Thauris. The significance of Tabriz in the spatial frameworks of Christian merchants and ecclesiastics in the thirteenth and fourteenth century’, in *Beyond the Abbasid Caliphate: Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden, 2014), pp. 251–300.
20. See Jan Fuhse and Sophie Mützel, *Relationale Soziologie. Zur kulturellen Wende der Netzwerkforschung* (Wiesbaden, 2010).
21. See also Betina Hollstein and Florian Straus, *Qualitative Netzwerkanalyse. Konzepte, Methoden, Anwendungen* (Wiesbaden, 2006).

22. Harrison C. White, *Identity and Control: How Social Formations emerge* (Princeton and Oxford, 2008); Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, 'Luhmann in Byzantium: A systems theory approach for historical network analysis', Working Paper for the International Conference 'The Connected Past: people, networks and complexity in archaeology and history', Southampton, 24–25 April 2012 (online: <http://oeaw.academia.edu/J.PreiserKapeller/Papers/>—consulted on 27 October 2016).
23. Flood, *Objects of Translation*, p. 3; see also Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 15–21, and Harzig and Hoerder, *What is Migration History*, pp. 79–82, for a network approach to migration history.
24. Flood, *Objects of Translation*, p. 24.
25. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. IX–XV. See also Epstein, *Purity Lost*, p. 135, using this term for our period and region.
26. On this issue, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge, 2009). See also Ekaterini Mitsiou and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, 'Übertritte zur byzantinisch-orthodoxen Kirche in den Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel (mit 10 Tafeln)', in *Sylloge Diplomatico-Palaeographica* I, ed. Christian Gastgeber and Otto Kresten (Vienna, 2010), pp. 233–288. For another phenomenon of spatial and cultural mobility across the Latin-Byzantine frontier; see also: Rustam Shukurov, 'The Byzantine Turks: An Approach to the Study of Late Byzantine Demography', in: *L'Europa dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli: 29 maggio 1453* (Spoleto, 2008), pp. 73–108; Rustam Shukurov, 'The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Prosopographical Perspective', in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Farnham, 2011), pp. 167–196 and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, 'Conversion, Collaboration and Confrontation: Islam in the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (14th Century)', *International Review of Turkish Studies*, 1, 4 (2011), pp. 62–79, for Christian-Muslim frontiers.
27. Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 59–91.
28. See Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean: World, Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003) (in general and in detail on this phenomenon), and Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 102–103, as well as Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)* (Venice, 1983), pp. 125–31; Andreas Külzer, 'Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit: ein historischer Überblick', in *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter, Part 2,2: Schauplätze*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke (Mainz, 2010), pp. 521–539, at pp. 529–30, for samples from our region and period.

29. See Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, pp. 265–269, and pp. 115–116, also for a fourteenth-century fatwa from the Egyptian jurist al-Subkī (d. 1355) on the legitimacy of the presence of foreign Christian merchants in Muslim lands, regarding their legal protection under the conditions of a safe-conduct (*aman*) or treaty as weaker than that of endogenous Christians possessing the status of *ahl al-dhimma*; see also Dominique Valérián, ‘Les marchands latins dans les ports musulmans méditerranéens: une minorité confinée dans des espaces communautaires?’ *Revue des mondes musulmans et la Méditerranée* 107–110 (2005), pp. 437–458. See also Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, pp. 134–136 and pp. 153–158 for restrictions and taxation of trade by Muslim authorities. And see also David Jacoby, ‘Western Merchants, Pilgrims, and Travelers in Alexandria in the Time of Philippe de Mézières (ca. 1327–1405)’, in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden and Boston, 2012), pp. 403–425 for conditions and the growing number of *fondacios* of various polities in Alexandria in Egypt in the fourteenth century.
30. Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, pp. 112–126, pp. 133–147 and pp. 281–290 (on consuls and the administration of Christian *fondacios* in Muslim cities), pp. 275–276 (‘access to their own law, religion, and foodways while in a Muslim city’); Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, pp. 125–131, pp. 137–139 (also on the Venetian consuls in Balat and the Genoese ones in Ayasoluk); Kate Fleet, ‘The Turkish economy, 1071–1453’, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. I: Byzantium to Turkey 1071–1453*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 227–265, pp. 262–263. For a magisterial study on Venetian consuls in Alexandria in Egypt in the fifteenth century see Georg Christ, *Trading Conflicts. A Venetian Consul in Mamlúk Alexandria at the Beginning of the 15th Century* (Leiden, 2012), and also now Jacoby, *Western Merchants*.
31. See Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, pp. 112–126, for examples from various regions of the Islamic Mediterranean, esp. pp. 280–281, pp. 287–288, as well as Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York, 2001), pp. 170–171 (no. 79); see also Dominique Valérián, *Les marchands latins* and Dominique Valérián, ‘Le recours à l’écrit dans les pratiques marchandes en context interculturel: les contrats de commerce entre chrétiens et musulmans en Méditerranée’, in *L’autorité de l’écrit au Moyen Âge (Orient-Occident). XXXIXe Congrès de la SHMESP (Le Caire, 30 avril–5 mai 2008)* (Paris, 2009), pp. 59–72, and for our region in particular many examples in Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, pp. 22–121, esp. p. 109 on one case of collaboration between a Muslim and an ‘infidel’ to circumvent the paying of customs on the import of



cloth by Non-Muslims. For an interesting comparison with the strategies of 'Ottoman' merchants when entering the 'Venetian' sea of the Adria from the fifteenth century onwards, see Maria Pia Pedani, 'Ottoman Merchants in the Adriatic: Trade and Smuggling', *Acta Historiae* 16, 1–2 (2008), pp. 155–172. But see also Jacoby, *Western Merchants*, for indications of a stricter regime in Alexandria.

32. *Directorum ad passagium faciendum*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, publié par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Documents Arméniens*, 2 Vols (Paris, 1869 and 1906), here vol. 2, pp. 490–495. See also Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross. Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, transl. Peter Lock (Farnham, 2011), vol. 3, 8, 2, pp. 289–290; Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 6, 14–15, 39 and 109–110. On the actual, also demographic significance of such groups on Venetian Crete, where children fathered by a free Latin man with a female slave automatically became free themselves, see for instance Sally McKee, 'Inherited Status and Slavery in Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete', *Past and Present* 182 (2004), 31–53, here pp. 33–44. For the image of Eastern Christianity in Western sources of the time see: Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Die 'Nationes christianorum orientalium' im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie. Von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne and Vienna, 1973). On 'transcultural identities' see: Ekaterini Mitsiou, 'Feinde, Freunde, Konkurrenten. Die Interaktion zwischen Byzantinern und "Lateinern" im Spätmittelalter', *Historicum. Zeitschrift für Geschichte* (Sommer/Herbst 2011) (published 2012), pp. 48–55.
33. *Guillelmus Ade, Tractatus quomodo sarracenos extirpandi*, ed. and transl. Giles Constable (Washington, D. C., 2012) (older edition in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, II, pp. 521–555), here at pp. 78–79 (chapter IV); on pp. 28–29 (chapter I), he denounces the sale of 'Greeks, Bulgars, Ruthenians, Alans, and Hungarians from lesser Hungary, who all rejoice in the Christian name' by Genoese and other merchants to Muslims, esp. the Mamluks of Egypt. The large scale enslavement of Greek Orthodox by Latins was also cause for a complaint of the Byzantine delegate Barlaam before the Pope in Avignon in 1339, see: Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, p. 160.
34. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, pp. 56–57; Epstein, *Purity Lost*, p. 114. See also Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, p. 284, for Mamluk protests in 1420 against Venetians capturing Muslims and selling them as slaves to the Duke of Naxos.
35. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, p. 163, no. 683 (with sources); Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, p. 44.

36. Anthony Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes: 1306–1440', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 46–47 (1976/77), 81–100, at pp. 86–87; Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, p. 43.
37. Guillelmus Ade, transl. Constanble, pp. 2–3, 5–6, 26–35 (ch. I), 48–49 (ch. IV). See also Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, pp. 8–9; Johannes Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die nördliche Ägäis)* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 10) (Vienna, 1998), pp. 144–145; Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 67–70; Michael Carr, *Motivations and Response to Crusades in the Aegean: c. 1300–1350*, PhD thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), pp. 86–103. See also: Charles Kohler, 'Documents relatifs a Guillaume Adam archevêque de Sultanieh, puis d'Antivari, et a son entourage (1318–1346)', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 10 (1903/4), 16–56. On Ade: Marino Sanudo Torsello II, 4, 13, esp. p. 117 (of the translation); Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, p. 13; Hansgerd Hellenkemper and Friedrich Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini) (Vienna, 2004), p. 588. On this issue see also Angeliki Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334', *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp. 374–392; Evelyn Edson, 'Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconte's Maps', in *Eastward bound. Travel and Travellers 1050–1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester and New York, 2004), pp. 131–155; Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 162–166, and Carr, *Motivations and Response*, pp. 10–12, on 'the interplay between religious and commercial motivations'.
38. Anthony Luttrell and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive 1389–1422* (Athens, 2008), pp. 100–101 (no. 13).
39. On multiplexity see. Preiser-Kapeller, 'Networks of border zones', pp. 381–393.
40. See Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Petkov, *Philippe de Mézières*. For another illustrative example: Damien Coulon, 'Lluís Sirvent, home d'affaires et ambassadeur barcelonais (vers 1385–1444)', in Malamut and Ouerfelli, *Les échanges*, pp. 215–239.
41. Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, p. 313.
42. Flood, *Objects of Translation*, p. 4.
43. Agustí Alemany, *Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation* (Leiden, 2000), esp. pp. 403–434.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 163–166, with further references.
45. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, pp. 416–418.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 434.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 163–166, with further references.
48. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*.

49. *Libellus de Notitia Orbis* 12, l. 5–9, ed. Anton Kern, ‘Der “Libellus de Notitia Orbis” Iohannes’ III. (de Galonifontibus?) O. P. Erzbischofs von Sulthanyeh’, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938), pp. 82–123, at p. 114; Conrad Eubel, ‘Die während des 14. Jahrhunderts im Missionsgebiet der Dominikaner und Franziskaner errichteten Bisthümer’, in *Festschrift zum elfhundertjährigen Jubiläum des Deutschen Campo Santo in Rom*, ed. Stephan Ehses (Freiburg, 1897), pp. 171–194, here p. 173; Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Sancta e dell’Oriente francescano*, vols. 1–2 (Quaracchi, 1906–1913), here vol. 1, p. 304; Raymond Loenertz, *La société des frères pègrinants. Étude sur l’Orient dominicain* (Rome, 1937), pp. 151 and 178 (also on merchants as companions of the missionaries traveling to India); Jean Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d’Orient au moyen âge (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Rome, 1977), p. 141; Marshall W. Baldwin, ‘Mission to the East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries’, in *A History of the Crusades, Vol. V: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison, Wisconsin, 1985), pp. 452–518, here at 453, 482, 515; Jean Richard, ‘Die römische Kirche und die Nichtchristen außerhalb der Christenheit: Kreuzzüge und Missionierung’, in *Die Geschichte des Christentums. Vol. 6: Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274–1449)*, eds. Michel Mollat du Jourdin, André Vauchez and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Freiburg, 1991), pp. 871–887, here at p. 884; Roxann Prazniak, ‘Siena on the Silk Roads: Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the Mongol Global Century, 1250–1350’, *Journal of World History* 21, 2 (2010), pp. 184–185.
50. See also Preiser-Kapeller, *Civitas Thauris*.
51. Guillelmus Ade, ed. and transl. Constable, pp. 94–95 (chapter IV).
52. Eubel, *Dominikaner und Franziskaner*, pp. 184–185; Loenertz, *Frères pègrinants*, pp. 154–60, 163, 172–173; Richard, *La Papauté*, p. 177; Richard, *Die römische Kirche*, p. 883; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow and London, 2005), p. 268.
53. Francesco Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura. Book of Descriptions of Countries and Measures of Merchandise*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, MA, 1936), pp. 21–23 and pp. 26–31 (and pp. 389–391 for a localization of the toponyms). See also Kurt Weissen, ‘Dove il Papa va, sempre è caro di danari. The Commercial Site Analysis in Italian Merchant Handbooks and Notebooks from the 14th and 15th Centuries’, in *Kaufmannsbücher und Handelspraktiken vom Spätmittelalter bis zum beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert. Merchant’s Books and Mercantile Practices from the Late Middle Ages to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, eds. Markus A. Denzel, Jean Claude Hocquet, and Harald Witthöft (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 63–74. On mercantile networks see also Jérôme

- Hayez, 'Les correspondances Datini: un apport à l'étude des réseaux marchands toscans vers 1400', in Malamut and Ouerfelli, *Les échanges*, pp. 155–199.
54. Sergej P. Karpov, 'Tana – Une grande zone réceptrice de l'émigration aus Moyen Age', in *Migrations et diasporas*, eds. Balard and Ducellier, pp. 77–89; Sergej P. Karpov, 'Les Occidentaux dans les villes de la périphérie byzantine: la mer Noire "vénitienne" aux XIVe–XVe siècles', in *Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges*, eds. Michel Balard, Élisabeth Malamut and Jean-Michel Spieser (Paris, 2005), pp. 67–76; see also Ievgen Khvalkov, 'Ethnic and Religious Composition of the Population of Venetian Tana in the 1430s', in *Union in Separation. Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, ed. Georg Christ et al. (Rome, 2015), pp. 311–328.
  55. See also Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 118–130.
  56. For similar findings for a less prominent, yet still considerable port, the city of Clarentza on the Peloponnese, see Angéliki Tzavara, *Clarenza. Une ville de la Morée latine XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Venice, 2008), esp. pp. 208–240.
  57. Cited after Robert Van de Noort, *North Sea Archaeologies: a Maritime Biography, 10,000 BC to AD 1500* (Oxford, 2011), p. 1.
  58. Christer Westerdahl, 'The Maritime Cultural Landscape', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 21, 1 (1992), pp. 5–14; citation from Van de Noort, *North Sea Archaeologies*, p. 25.
  59. *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. Ruthy Gertwagen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Farnham, 2012), pp. 115–127.
  60. Van de Noort, *North Sea Archaeologies*, pp. 33–35.
  61. See also Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, 'Liquid Frontiers. A Relational Analysis of maritime Asia Minor as religious contact zone in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries', in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, eds. Andrew Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (Aldershot, 2015), pp. 117–146. The present paper contains some material from this article, especially several parts which have not been included into the final printed version for lack of space in the volume.
  62. Bernard Doumerc, 'Cosmopolitanism on Board Venetian Ships (Fourteenth–Fifteenth Centuries)', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), pp. 78–95. See also Diana Gilliland Wright, 'Vade, Sta, Ambula. Freeing Slaves in Fourteenth-century Crete', *Medieval Encounters* 7, 2 (2001), 197–237, here p. 208. On regulations and their breaking on board of such ships see also Sergei Karpov, 'Les vices et la criminalité des marins vénitiens à bord des navires voyageant vers la Mer Noire, XIVe–XVe

- siècles', in Gertwagen and Jeffreys, *Shipping, Trade and Crusade*, pp. 105–114.
63. *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), ed. Kathryn Louise Reyerson.
  64. Doumerc, 'Cosmopolitanism'; Theresa M. Vann, 'Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Mariners in the Port of Rhodes, 1453–1480', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), 158–173, esp. pp. 159–160.
  65. *The Book of Michael of Rhodes. A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript. Volume 3: Studies*, ed. Pamela O. Long (Cambridge, MA and London, 2009), esp. pp. 2–3, and esp. Alan M. Stahl, 'Michael of Rhodes: Mariner in Service to Venice', in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, pp. 35–98, with the list of Michael's voyages pp. 47–48.
  66. Stahl, *Michael of Rhodes*.
  67. Benjamin Ravid, 'Venice and its minorities', in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden and Boston, 2013), pp. 449–485, esp. pp. 451–452 (on the citizenship *de intus*) and pp. 462–466; Stahl, *Michael of Rhodes*, esp. pp. 57–59.
  68. *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, pp. 15–20.
  69. Stahl, 'Michael of Rhodes', pp. 97–98.
  70. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.
  71. For this geographical distribution see also Doumerc, 'Cosmopolitanism'; Stahl, 'Michael of Rhodes' and Ravid, 'Venice and its minorities'. For Greek sailors on Italian and on Turkish ships see also Makris, *Schiffahrt*, pp. 118–127.
  72. Van de Noort, *North Sea Archaeologies*, pp. 33–34. On the common route from Venice to Cilicia, Cyprus or Syria, see also Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto des gales du marché à Venise (fin XIIIe-milieu XVe siècle)* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1995), pp. 119–130.
  73. Herbert W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 68; Ekaterini Mitsiou, *Untersuchungen zu Wirtschaft und Ideologie im 'Nizänischen Reich'*, Unpublished Dissertation (Vienna, 2006), pp. 127–128.
  74. David Jacoby, 'Peasant Mobility across the Venetian, Frankish and Byzantine Borders in Latin Romania, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries', in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: uomini, spazio, idee (13.–18. sec.): atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007*, ed. Despina Vlassi, Chryssa Maltezou and Angeliki Tzavara (Venice, 2009), pp. 525–539, here pp. 524–525; Mitsiou, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 98–100.
  75. See also John Mundy, 'Village, Town, and City in the Region of Toulouse', in *Pathways to medieval Peasants*, ed. James Ambrose Raftis (Toronto, 1981), pp. 141–190.
  76. Mitsiou, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 68–69 (with sources) and p. 88.
  77. Mitsiou, *Untersuchungen*, p. 104 (with sources).

78. David Jacoby, 'New Evidence on the Greek Peasantry in Latin Romania', in *Porphyrogenita: essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinou (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 239–256; David Jacoby, 'The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205–1470', in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, ed. Julian Chrysostomides et al. (Camberley, Surrey, 2004), pp. 131–179 and Jacoby, 'Peasant Mobility', esp. pp. 532–533 on the 'partitioned villages'.
79. Jacoby, 'Peasant Mobility', p. 537.
80. For an overview of the significance of Kaffa and the Black Sea in slave trade see Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 55–67; Nicola Di Cosmo, 'Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts', in *Mongols, Turks and others. Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden, 2005), pp. 391–424 (also for the relations between the Western merchants and the Mongol/Muslim overlords) and Annika Stello, 'La traite d'esclaves en Mer Noire au début du XVe siècle', published online in 2009 in *Medieval Mediterranean Slavery: Comparative Studies on Slavery and the Slave Trade in Muslim, Christian, and Jewish Societies (8th–15th Centuries)*, <http://med-slavery.uni-trier.de/9080/minev/MedSlavery/publications/TraiteEsclavesMerNoire.pdf> (consulted on 27 October 2016), for slave trade at the coasts of Anatolia esp. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, pp. 37–58.
81. See also Makris, *Schiffahrt*, pp. 195–210.
82. See also Wright, 'Freeing slaves', p. 212, and Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 81–82, on this issue.
83. See also Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes'. See also the very useful website of the 'Medieval Mediterranean Slavery'-project at the University of Trier: <http://med-slavery.uni-trier.de/minev/MedSlavery> (consulted on 27 October 2016). For an overview on the Mamluks see Ulrich Haarmann, 'Das Herrschaftssystem der Mamluken', in *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, eds. Heinz Halm and Ulrich Haarmann (Munich, 2004), esp. pp. 217–230.
84. Ahmet Usta, *Evidence of the Nature, Impact and Diversity of Slavery in 14th Century Famagusta as Seen through the Genoese Notarial Acts of Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha and the Venetian Notarial Acts of Nicola de Boateriis*. MA-Thesis, Eastern Mediterranean University, Gazimağusa, North Cyprus, 2011, esp. pp. 114–119 (Table 1). For Cyprus in this period, see also Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 80–93.
85. Sally McKee has done a statistical analysis for the slaves traded in Genoa between 1390 and 1500 and found a total of 46 'Turkish' slaves, which

amounted to between 3 and 16% of all slaves sold (and registered by McKee) over these decades, see Sally McKee, 'Domestic Slavery in Renaissance Italy', *Slavery and Abolition* 29, 3 (2008), pp. 305–326. See also Luttrell, *Slavery at Rhodes*, pp. 83–84, about slaves traded in Rhodes ending up in the Western Mediterranean.

86. See also Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 81–83.
87. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 82–3 and p. 90, on the various sales documented in by Sambuceto.
88. Karpov, 'Tana' and Karpov, 'Les Occidentaux'.
89. Preiser-Kapeller, 'Liquid frontiers'.
90. See for instance Suraiya Faruqi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire. Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (London and New York, 2014), pp. 129–142, on the mobility of slaves documented in the sixteenth-century registers of the Kadi of Üsküdar, a town on the Asian site of the Bosphorus opposite of Constantinople.
91. Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*, pp. 250–253 (See also <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~cardenio/mobility.html> – consulted on 27 October 2016).
92. See esp. Rudi Keller, *Sprachwandel: Von der unsichtbaren Hand in der Sprache* (3rd edn. Stuttgart, 2003), on the application of complex systems theory on linguistic phenomena.
93. See also Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, 'From Quantitative to Qualitative and Back Again. The Interplay Between Structure and Culture and the Analysis of Networks in Pre-Modern Societies, in *Multiplying Middle Ages. New methods and approaches for the study of the multiplicity of the Middle Ages in a global perspective (3rd–16th CE)*, eds. Ekaterini Mitsiou, Mihailo Popović and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Vienna 2018 (forthcoming).

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