Nikolas Jaspert / Sebastian Kolditz

ENTRE MERS—OUTRE-MER

Spaces, Modes and Agents
of Indo-Mediterranean Connectivity

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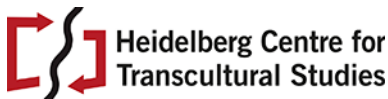
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Entre mers—Outre-mer: An Introduction

At some time between 1316 and 1318 of our era, a Dominican friar from south-western France or the eastern Pyrenees probably named Guillem d'Adam (William of Adam) wrote a treatise on how to recover the Christian possessions in the Levant which had been conquered shortly before by Mamluk forces. The text has recently been reedited and translated.[1] Guillem d'Adam postulated that one of the main reasons why earlier attempts at retaking Palestine had failed were the interests of Genoese traders who provided Muslim states with much-needed slaves in exchange for commodities, many of which came from the Indian subcontinent.[2] So important was the trade with India for the Muslim rulers of Egypt that Guillem proposed a naval blockade of strategically important ports along the coast of the Arabian Peninsula in order to suffocate the Egyptian economy. Three or four galleys should be positioned on islands off the Arabian coast to guard the passage of the Gulf of Aden. That would suffice, the author claimed.[3] Perhaps not surprisingly, nothing came out of these ideas, and the text remained largely forgotten until its recent re-edition.[4]

This little-known treatise is, nevertheless, an extraordinary text that touches upon several questions lying at the heart of studies on maritime con-

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[1] William of Adam: *How to Defeat the Saracens* = Guillelmus Ade: *Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni sunt expugnandi*, ed. Giles Constable, Washington 2012.

[2] Ibid., 32–35, 48–55.

[3] Ibid., 106–115.

[4] To the text by Guillem d'Adam one could add other treaties on "How to recover the Holy Land", some of which also show a keen sense of the extent to which Mamluk Egypt depended on the maritime trade. Sylvia Schein, *Fideles crucis: the Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land (1274–1314)*, Oxford 1991; Anthony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land. The Crusade Proposals of the late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Aldershot 2000; Jacques Paviot (ed.), *Projets de croisade (v. 1290 – v. 1330)* (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 20), Paris 2008; Jacques Paviot, Daniel Baloup, and Benoît Joudiou (ed.), *Les projets de croisade. Géostratégie et diplomatie européenne du XIVe au XVIIe siècle* (Méridiennes 1), Toulouse 2014. See the paper by Christoph Mauntel in this volume.

nectivity and its broader contexts. First of all, Guillem possessed concrete and very up-to-date knowledge of the agents and commodities of both Mediterranean and Indian Ocean trade. More importantly, he evidently conceived the area between the Indian subcontinent and the Northern Mediterranean shores as one connected area, a zone we might term the "Indo-Mediterranean".[5] He also had a keen notion of neuralgic points within this larger region: Arabian Sea ports and islands emerge as logistically important hubs for Indo-Arabian trade, and Alexandria and the Red Sea are seen to play a similar role for Arabia and the Mediterranean.[6] Furthermore, Egypt is considered a land that lies between the seas—as an area *entre mers*—namely as the land between the Arabian or Indian Sea on the one hand and the Mediterranean on the other. According to Guillem d'Adam, Egypt's political and economic position in fact essentially depended on this intermediate position. Long before A.T. Mahan,[7] our author thus shows a keen sense for the relationship between maritime economic communication and political power. Finally, the ultimate target of Guillem's treatise, Palestine and Jerusalem, are conceptualized as lands beyond the sea, as *Outre-mer*. Indeed, this was the very name by which the so-called Crusader States were often referred to in vernacular contemporary European texts.[8] They likewise essentially depended on maritime connectivity, on continuous connections with the lands of the "Franks" on the Northern shores of the Mediterranean. This, in fact, illustrates a complementary mode of connective

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5   Federico DeRomanis (ed.), *Across the Ocean. Nine Essays on Indo-Mediterranean Trade* (Columbia Studies in Classical Tradition 41), Leiden 2015.

6   William of Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens* (cf. n. 1), 32–37, 96–117.

7   Alfred T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660–1783*, London 1889; Alfred T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire 1793–1812, 2 vols*, London 1892; Jon Tetsuro Sumida, *Inventing Grand Strategy and Teaching Command: the Classic Works of Alfred Thayer Mahan Reconsidered*, Washington, DC 1997. Alfred Mahan's theories appear to be enjoying somewhat of a revival: James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, *Chinese Naval Strategy in the 21st Century: the Turn to Mahan* (Cass Series 40), London 2008.

8   Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Les familles d'outre-mer de Du Cange* (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France 18), Paris 1869; Alan V. Murray, Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: the Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer, in: *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon N. Forde, Leslie Peter Johnson, and Alan V. Murray, Leeds 1995, 59–73; Miriam Rita Tessera, Tra Oriente e Occidente: Guglielmo di Tiro, l'Europa e l'identità degli stati latini di oltremare, in: *Studi sull'Europa medioevale. L'Europa di fronte all'Oriente cristiano tra alto e pieno Medioevo*, ed. Annamaria Ambrosioni (Studi di storia greca e romana 6), Alessandria 2001, 95–116; Maria Pia Alberzoni and Pascal Montaubin (ed.), *Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII)* (Ecclesia Militans 3), Turnhout 2015.

structures, as it is the sea itself which forms the hinge holding lands isolated from each other together.

Writing nearly 800 years before Guillem d'Adam, an Eastern Christian author, who is generally known under the name Kosmas Indikopleustes ("the sailor to India"),[9] developed his ideas about the "Oikumene" in a famous work entitled *Christian Topography*.[10] "Kosmas" combined traditional geographical knowledge of the Ancient World with his own experience as a traveler. Having subdivided the Oecumene into three continents, he refers to four gulfs that extend into the land from the Ocean: the Mediterranean itself ("the gulf of ours from Gadeira [Cadiz] to the Rômania"), the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. According to the author, only these gulfs are navigable while the Ocean itself is not, due to the complexity of its currents, the evaporation obscuring the sky and the long maritime distances.[11] In order to prove these assumptions, Kosmas refers to his own experience as a seafarer: he knew three of the four gulfs (excluding the Caspian) due to his own voyages.[12] However, when he once approached the "mouth of the Ocean" on a maritime route to "Inner India", he was warned from navigating further into that direction by the sudden appearance of many albatrosses.[13] From this short

9   The actual name and identity of the author of the anonymous "Christian Topography" is a matter of debate, the attribution of the name Kosmas stems only from the 10th century, the epithet referring to India is likewise of secondary origin, but it certainly reflects the author's selfdesignation as a merchant. His identification with a certain Constantine of Antioch has been proposed by Wanda Wolska-Conus, Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie: Essai d'identification et de biographie, in: *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 47 (1989), 5–89, here 28–30, based on information given by the Armenian geographer Anania of Shirak. This convincing identification is, however, not universally accepted, see Karl-Heinz Uthemann, Kosmas Indikopleustes, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol 21, Stuttgart 2006, 606–613, here 606–607.

10   It is usually believed that the work was written in Alexandria in Egypt as has convincingly been argued by Milton Anastos, The Alexandrian Origin of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946), 73–80, although the author's theology reflects strong influence from Syria and the teachings of Theodoros of Mopsuestia, see most recently Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Cosmas Indicopleustès et Jean Philopon. Deux lectures de la Genèse à Alexandrie au VIᵉ siècle, in: *Science et exégèse. Les interprétations antiques et médiévales du récit biblique de la création des éléments (Genèse 1, 1–8)*, ed. Béatrice Bakhouche (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études. Sciences religieuses 167), Turnhout 2016, 147–159.

11   Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne,* ed. Wanda Wolska-Conus, vol. 1: Livres I–IV (Sources chrétiennes 141), Paris 1968, 333 (II 29): Οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοι οἱ κόλποι πλέονται, ἀδυνάτου ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ πλέεσθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ῥευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀναδιδομένων ἀτμῶν καὶ ἀμβλυνόντων τὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ τὸ πολλὰ διαστήματα ἔχειν.

12   Ibid., 335 (II 29).

episode we gain the impression that Kosmas was well acquainted with moving *entre mers* in a connected Indo-Mediterranean maritime space that had emerged in Antiquity based on the traditional maritime links of Egypt to the Red Sea and further on to India.[14] While Kosmas called the intermediary sea-scape the "Indian Sea" (τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγος),[15] he seems to have conceived the Ocean proper (Ὠκεανός) as a secluded maritime sphere beyond the navigable horizons. This horizon admittedly includes maritime connections to China, the silk-producing land of Tzinista, but Kosmas is fully aware of the advantage of the overland routes from Persia to China over the much longer maritime voyage.[16] His short descriptions of India in later sections of his work are tellingly centered on the western coasts of the subcontinent and on the island of Taprobane (Sri Lanka) and therefore clearly reveal a vision of India as an *Outre-mer*, a land accessible via the sea with flourishing maritime emporia.[17]

Both Guillem d'Adam and Kosmas Indikopleustes thus invite us to rethink the inherent complexities in the relationship between land and sea, between terrestrial and maritime circulation as they were perceived and practiced in premodern epochs, and finally between conditions or developments in localized lifeworlds and global notions of space. They direct our attention to the boundaries between seas *(entre mers)*, to the maritime as well as terrestrial linkages between them and to the various notions of *Outre-mers* they generate. These interrelations and interfaces formed the conceptual core of the international workshop held at Heidelberg University in November 2014, the proceedings of which are published in this volume.

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13 Ibid., 335 (II 30).

14 For the sources characterizing these connections see Nina Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien. Aus der Geschichte des byzantinischen Handels mit dem Orient vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 36), Berlin 1969, 91–133. For trade and ports in the earlier period of the Periplus Maris Erythraei (first century CE) see inter alia C. Margabandhu, Trade Contacts Between Western India and the Graeco-Roman World in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965), 316–322; Dietmar Rothermund, Der Blick vom Westen auf den Indischen Ozean vom »Periplus« bis zur »Suma Oriental«, in: *Der Indische Ozean. Das afro-asiatische Mittelmeer als Kultur- und Wirtschaftsraum*, ed. Dietmar Rothermund and Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, Vienna 2004, 9–35, here 11–17.

15 Cosmas, Topographie (cf. n. 11), 353, l. 9 (II 46).

16 Ibid., 353–355 (II 46–47). For a discussion of the rather superficial information on China contained in the *Christian Topography* see Michael Kordosis, The Limits of the Known Land (Ecumene) in the East According to Cosmas Indicopleustes: Tzinista (China) and the Ocean, in: *Byzantion* 69 (1999), 99–106.

17 Cosmas, Topographie (cf. n. 11), vol. 3: Livres VI–XII. Index (Sources chrétiennes 197), Paris 1973, 343–357 (XI 13–24). For the emporia and trade at the western coast of India see Pigulewskaja, Byzanz (cf. n. 14), 141–149.

Maritime History and the Relation of Sea to Land

Traditionally, studies in maritime history have a strong tendency to focus specific seascapes separately over rather long periods of time: Fernand Braudel's famous synthesis on the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century[18] can be credited with having definitely established this influential paradigm based on a close interplay of geographical and historical thinking,[19] which emerged from a French colonial context in the Maghreb.[20] While the sheer range and erudition of Braudel's research had a rather discouraging impact on Mediterranean historical studies for some decades,[21] the scheme proved fruitful with respect to other major seascapes which in turn became the object of long-term or even all-encompassing historical analyses, among them the Atlantic and the Pacific[22]

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[18] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditeraneé et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 2 vols, Paris 1949.

[19] Although the enormous impact of Braudel's work cannot be called into question, the Mediterranean had already previously been established as a category of analysis in geographical studies: Alfred Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet: seine geographische und kulturelle Eigenart*, Leipzig 1904; Maximilien Sorre, Jules Sion, and Yves Chataigneau, *Méditerranéee, péninsules méditerranéennes* (Géographie universelle, sous la direction de Paul Vidal de la Blanche 7), 2 vols., Paris 1934. For precursors to Braudel in the historical sciences see Salvatore Bono, Il Mediterraneo prima di Braudel. *Das Mittelmeer* di Eduard von Wilczek, in: *Alberto Tenenti: Scritti in Memoria,* ed. Pierroberto Scaramella, Naples 2005, 651–663 and Idem, Per una storia dell'idea mediterranea, in: Idem, *Il Mediterraneo. Da Lepanto a Barcellona*, Perugia 1999, 155–169; see also Andreas Eckl, Méditerranée? Mediterranistische Diskurse um Mittelmeerwelten und -räume aus forschungsgeschichtlicher Perspektive, in: *New Horizons. Mediterranean Research in the 21st Century,* ed. Mihran Dabag, Dieter Haller, Nikolas Jaspert, and Achim Lichtenberger (Mittelmeerstudien 10), Paderborn 2016, 109–153, particularly 111–119.

[20] This has been underlined by Manuel Borutta, Braudel in Algier. Die kolonialen Wurzeln der „Méditerranée" und der „spatial turn", in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 303 (2016), 1–38. See Erato Paris, *Le genèse intellectuelle de l'oeuvre de Fernand Braudel. La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II (1923–1947)*, Paris 2002; Karl Kaser, Fernand Braudels Mittelmeerwelten. Eine historisch-anthropologische Perspektive, in: *Der Süden. Neue Perspektiven auf eine europäische Geschichtsregion*, ed. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk and Martina Winkler, Frankfurt/Main 2007, 75–100; Jan Jansen, Erfindung des Mittelmeerraums im kolonialen Kontext. Die Inszenierung eines 'lateinischen Afrika' beim 'Centenaire de l'Algérie française' 1930, *ibid.*, 175–205.

[21] See Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford 2000, 39–43.

[22] See in particular Barry W. Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean. The Atlantic and its Peoples* (8000 BC–AD 1500), Oxford 2001; Paul Butel, *Histoire de l'Atlantique: de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris 1997; Donald B. Freeman, *The Pacific* (Seas in History), London 2010; Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples and Cultures*, Cambridge 2012.

or the Baltic and the North Sea.[23] In particular, the Braudelian impulse had a strong influence on the emerging field of Indian Ocean Studies: it inspired Kirti N. Chaudhuri's seminal books on the civilizations of the Indian Ocean,[24] as well as the fundamental works written by Anthony Reid and Denis Lombard on maritime South East Asia[25] and it influenced Kenneth McPherson's project to write the history of the Indian Ocean and its distant coastlines as a (macro-)regional history "based upon the human working of the Ocean which links these areas".[26]

A Mediterranean scheme has thus proved beneficial for conceptualizing the history of other maritime spaces. This seems to be true again for a second already classic monograph on Mediterranean history: *The Corrupting Sea* by Nicholas Purcell and Peregrine Horden. Its basic idea consists in understanding the Mediterranean area as an ecologically highly fragmented space that offered precarious conditions to human life at any of its coasts, conditions which were, however, compensated by an unusually intense degree of mainly water-based connectivity.[27] Although the actual focus of their study is thus much more on agrarian conditions in a circum-marine terrestrial zone than on shipping and maritime routes,[28] Horden and Purcell introduced 'connectivity', which they

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[23] Michael North, *Geschichte der Ostsee. Handel und Kulturen,* München 2011. The two Northern seascapes have also been treated as a coherent maritime space comprising parts of the Atlantic: Archibald Lewis, The *Northern Seas. Shipping and Commerce in Northern Europe A. D. 300–1100*, Princeton 1958; David Gordon Kirby and Merja-Liisa Hirkkanen, *The Baltic and the North Seas* (Seas in History), London 2000; Olaf Mörke, *Die Geschwistermeere. Eine Geschichte des Nord- und Ostseeraumes*, Stuttgart 2015.

[24] Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe. Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1990; Idem, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1985. Originally, Chaudhuri had focused on European patterns of trade in Early Modern India: Idem, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660–1760*, Cambridge 1978.

[25] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680,* 2 vols., New Haven 1988/1993; Anthony Reid and Kristine Alilunas-Rodgers (ed.), *Sojourners and Settlers. Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, Honolulu 2001; Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin (ed.), *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine*, 13e–20e siècles, Paris 1988; Denys Lombard, *Le carrefour javanais: essai d'histoire globale,* 3 vols., Paris 1990

[26] Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean. A History of People and the Sea*, Delhi 1993, 3.

[27] Horden and Purcell, The Corrupting Sea (cf. n. 21). See also Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology", in: *The American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 722–740. Sebastian Kolditz, Connectivity and Sea Power—Entangled Maritime Dimensions in the Medieval Mediterranean*, in: The Sea in History. The Medieval World / La mer dans l'histoire. Le Moyen Âge*, ed. Michel Balard, Woodbridge 2017, 58–69.

define as "the various ways in which microregions cohere—both internally and also one with another—in aggregates that range in size from small clusters to something approaching the entire Mediterranean", as a fruitful conceptual tool into debate.[29] This sophisticated synthesis has in turn influenced Michael Pearson's monograph on Indian Ocean history,[30] but it also fostered the search for "other Mediterraneans" all over the globe—that is spaces, maritime as well as terrestrial, with connective structures similar to those of the Mediterranean.[31] In this respect, the Indian Ocean has often been mentioned, and it has metaphorically been called an Afro-Asiatic Mediterranean Sea in the title of an excellent collection of essays.[32] However, critical positions exist likewise, questioning the validity of Mediterranean models or emphasizing fundamental geographical and historical differences between the Ocean and the inland sea. Such elements have for instance been outlined by André Wink who drew attention, among other factors, to the greater importance of river landscapes at the coasts of the Ocean in contrast to the Mediterranean and generally to the higher degree of vulnerability of the Ocean's coasts.[33] Despite such cautionary and well-founded reservations, it is beyond doubt that a transfer of research paradigms has long led primarily in one direction: from West to East. This is all the more striking because the impressive range and variety of results of Indian Ocean Studies could certainly offer much inspiration for the analysis of Mediterranean history, not only in the Early Modern period marked by European

28 See the discussion of the concept by Sebastian Kolditz, Horizonte maritimer Konnektivität, in: *Maritimes Mittelalter. Meere als Kommunikationsräume*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Nikolas Jaspert (Vorträge und Forschungen 83), Ostfildern 2016, 59–107, here 63–65.

29 Horden and Purcell, The Corrupting Sea (cf. n. 21), 123.

30 Michael N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (Seas in History), London 2003, here particularly 4–6.

31 See the overview given by David Abulafia, Mediterraneans, in: *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. William V. Harris, Oxford 2005, 64–93; R. Bin Wong, Entre monde et nation: les régions braudéliennes en Asie, in: *Annales. Histoire sciences sociales* 56 (2001), 5–41;

32 Dietmar Rothermund and Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik (ed.), *Der Indische Ozean. Das afro-asiatische Mittelmeer als Kultur- und Wirtschaftsraum*, Vienna 2004; for a transfer of the Mediterranean model to Eastern Asian seascapes see François Gipouloux, *La Méditerranée asiatique. Villes portuaires et réseaux marchands en Chine, au Japon et en Asie du sud-est, XVIᵉ–XXIᵉ siècles*, Paris 2009.

33 André Wink, From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History 44* (2002), 416–445.

presence in the Eastern seas but also for the so-called "Middle Ages" (to apply a European periodization).[34]

Besides studies as those mentioned so far, dedicated to the historical developments and structures of entire maritime spaces, maritime history offers rich traditions of research that focus on particular aspects of human engagement with the sea: on seafaring, traveling and communications, on shipping routes and trade, as well as on maritime violence, be it related to naval warfare or to the activities of pirates and corsairs. These issues are often examined on rather large scales, for entire seas and over several centuries, in order to establish general patterns which have only changed slowly over time: thus, for instance, routes were heavily influenced by the basically stable conditions of wind-systems, currents and the morphology of shores; the evolution of shipbuilding in turn was characterized by slow developments and persistent traditions, and this would also hold true for some main structures of seaborne trade in pre-modern times. Among the great scholars who have made considerable contributions to our knowledge of these subjects, we would name Marco Tangheroni, John Pryor and David Abulafia for the Mediterranean,[35] Pierre-Yves Manguin and Himanshu Prabha Ray for the Indian Ocean,[36] Vassilios Christides and Dionisius Agius for Arab seafaring,[37] and last but not least, Michel Mollat who—

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[34] The shortcomings and ultimately Eurocentric character of the term "Middle Ages" have rightfully been underlined. It will nevertheless be used in this volume for a lack of a generally accepted alternative.

[35] Marco Tangheroni, *Commercio e navigazione nel Medioevo*, Rom 1996; Idem (ed.), *Pisa e il Mediterraneo: uomini, merci, idee dagli Etruschi ai Medici*, Milano 2003; John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571*, New York 1988; Idem and Elizabeth Jeffreys, *The Age of the Dromon: the Byzantine Navy ca 500–1204* (The Medieval Mediterranean 62), Leiden 2006; David Abulafia (ed.), *The Mediterranean in History (dt. 2003: Mittelmeer: Kultur und Geschichte)*, London 2003; Idem, *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean*, London 2011.

[36] Pierre-Yves Manguin, The Southeast Asian Ship: An historical Approach, in: *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 11* (1980), 266–276; Himanshu Prabha Ray, *The Winds of Change. Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia,* Delhi 1994; Eadem, The Western Indian Ocean and the Early Maritime Links of the Indian Subcontinent, in: *Indian Economic and Social History Review 31* (1994), 65–88; Eadem (ed.), *Archaeology of Seafaring*, Delhi 1999; Eadem, *The Archaeology of Seafaring in Ancient South Asia*, Cambridge 2003.

[37] Vassilios Christides (ed.), *Navigation in the Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean* (Sailing Ships in the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian Gulf 2), Kuwait 2000; Dionisius A. Agius, *Seafaring in the Arabian Gulf and Oman. The People of the Dhow*, London 2003; Idem, *Classic Ships of Islam. From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean* (Handbook of Oriental Studies I 92), Leiden 2008; Dionisius A. Agius, Harriet Nash, Timmy Gambin et al. (ed.), *Ships, Saints and Sealore: Cultural Heritage and Ethnography of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea*, Oxford 2014.

though concentrating his own research on the European shores of the Atlantic in pre-modern times[38]—has nevertheless given many valuable stimuli to the field on a global level due to his leading role in the International Commission of Maritime History.[39]

Currently we can observe the emergence or actual flourishing of new fields of interest in maritime studies: one of them is the growing attention paid to perceptions and representations of the sea and human seafaring, be it on maps (among them the famous portolan maps),[40] in pictorial or sculptural works of art and objects,[41] but also in texts like travel accounts or hagiographic miracle tales.[42] At the same time the development of nautical knowledge and expertise, as for instance represented by the famous companion written by the experienced Venetian sailor Michael of Rhodes in the first half of the 15th century,[43] is now receiving due attention. Furthermore, ships of the Medieval and

38 See for example: Michel Mollat, *Le commerce maritime normand à la fin du Moyen Âge. Étude d'histoire économique et sociale*, Paris 1952.

39 Michel Mollat (ed.), *Le navire et l'économie maritime du Moyen Âge au XVIIIᵉ siècle, principalement en Méditerranée (Deuxiéme colloque d'histoire maritime)*, Paris 1958; Idem (ed.), *Océan Indien et Méditerranée. VIᵉ colloque international d'histoire maritime*, Paris 1964; Idem (ed.), *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'océan Indien. Actes du VIIIᵉ colloque international d'histoire maritime*, Paris 1970

40 Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde und des Geographischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin 13), Hildesheim 1962; Monique de La Roncière, *Les portulans. Cartes marines du XIIIᵉ au XVIIᵉ siècle*, Fribourg 1984; Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes. La representació medieval d'una mar solcada*, Barcelona 2007; Patrick Gautier Dalché, *L'espace géographique au Moyen Âge* (Micrologus' library 57), Florence 2013; Patrick Gautier Dalché (ed.), *La terre. Connaissance, représentations, mesure au Moyen Âge* (L'atelier du médiéviste 13), Turnhout 2013; Emmanuelle Vagnon, *Cartographie et représentations de l'Orient méditerranéen en Occident (du milieu du XIIIᵉ à la fin du XVᵉ siècle)* (Terrarum orbis 11), Turnhout 2013.

41 Christiane Villain-Gandossi, *Le navire médiéval à travers les miniatures*, Paris 1985; Hannah Baader and Gerhard Wolf (ed.), *Das Meer, der Tausch und die Grenzen der Repräsentation*, Zürich 2010; Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli and Gerhard Wolf (ed.), *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World. Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer* (Collana del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz 15), Venice 2010.

42 *La letteratura del mare. Atti del convegno di Napoli 13–16 settembre 2004* (Pubblicazioni del Centro Pio Rajna 1 – Studi e Saggi 14), Roma 2006; Maria Stella Calò Mariani (ed.), *I santi venuti dal mare* (Rotte mediterranee della cultura 4), Bari 2009; Michele Bacci and Martin Rohde (ed.), *The Holy Portolano. The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages* (Veröffentlichungen des Mediävistischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg, Schweiz 36), Berlin 2014; Nikolas Jaspert, Christian Neumann, and Marco di Branco (ed.), *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen. Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Mediterraneum* (Mittelmeerstudien 18), Paderborn 2018.

Early Modern periods are not only studied as material objects[44] but also as social entities. This has led to analyses of their crews, the ethnic and social background of sailors on board, hierarchies and structures, individual beliefs and social practices.[45] All these elements open new ways towards a historical anthropology of the maritime world: a conspicuous effort in this direction has recently been undertaken by John Mack whose "Cultural History" of the sea[46] purposefully transcends the boundaries of individual seascapes in specific time frames and combines exemplary cases from the Southern Indian Ocean as well as the Pacific or the North Atlantic worlds. Instead of such an ample, even global maritime approach,[47] we have chosen to focus on structures of connectivity in a limited, albeit nevertheless enormous, space of interconnected seas and landscapes—the Indo-Mediterranean, a conceptual landscape comprising both the Mediterranean and the vast maritime space of the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

These gulfs and the lands bordering them—Persia, Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula—form the major link within this huge spatial configuration, but among them only Egypt gives access to both Mediterranean and Oceanic waters. A number of fascinating sources relate to this *terre entre mers.* For example, the famous *Periplus Maris Erythraei* gives insights into the lines of the Eastern trade in ancient Roman times up to the early Byzantine period.[48] The relative coherence of the wide-ranging world of early Islam was likewise

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43 Alan M. Stahl, Pamela O. Long, Pamela and David McGee (ed.), The *Book of Michael of Rhodes. A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 2009.

44 Robert Gardiner (ed.), *The Age of the Galley. Mediterranean Oared Vessels since Pre-classical Times*, London 1995; Richard W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy*, London 1980; K. S. Mathew (ed.), *Shipbuilding and Navigation in the Indian Ocean Region, AD 1400–1800*, New Delhi 1997.

45 Enrica Salvatori, Corsairs' Crews and Cross-Cultural Interactions. The Case of the Pisan Trapelicinus in the Twelfth Century, in: *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), 32–55; Ruthy Gertwagen, Is there a Typology of Pirate Crews and Ships across the Byzantine and Medieval Mediterranean? (11th to 15th Century), in: *Seeraub im Mittelmeerraum. Piraterie, Korsarentum und maritime Gewalt von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Sebastian Kolditz (Mittelmeerstudien 3), Paderborn 2013, 67–82.

46 John Mack, *The Sea: A Cultural History*, London 2011.

47 Not to forget the first attempts to write global maritime histories: Lincoln Paine, *The Sea and Civilization. A Maritime History of the World*, London 2013; Michael North, *Zwischen Hafen und Horizont. Weltgeschichte der Meere*, München 2016; Christian Buchet (ed.), *The Sea in History*, 4 vols., Woodbridge 2017.

48 *The Periplus maris Erythraei*, ed. Lionel Casson, Princeton 1989; Eivind Heldaas Seland, *Ports and Political Power in the Periplus. Complex Societies and Maritime Trade on the Indian Ocean in the First Century AD*, Oxford 2010; Josef Wiesehöfer, Mare Erythraeum, Sinus Persicus und Fines Indiae. Der Indische Ozean in hellenistischer und

instrumental in maintaining close links between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, though the two seascapes did not possess a direct maritime connection. This has been shown most clearly by the documents of Jewish traders found in the Genizah of Fustat, and masterfully assembled into a comprehensive picture by Shlomo Goitein and Mordechai Friedman. In these texts, Muslim merchants also appear in long-distance commercial relations, certainly more focused on the Indian Ocean and even touching upon its remotest emporia like Quanzhou in Southern China.[49] In contrast, the *baḥr ar-Rūm* ("Sea of the Romans"), that is: the Mediterranean, was marked by the endemic struggles between different communities of faith, beginning with the maritime jihad of the Umayyad caliphs[50] and reaching well into the era of the early modern "guerre de course".[51] Focusing on the Arabian Sea and the Arabian Peninsula as an intermediary zone thus helps recalibrate established hierarchies of aquatic spaces in the pre-modern period.

This opens still another, larger perspective, closely linked to the emergence of global history: namely to view maritime communications in the two most prominent seas of the Old World as parts of global structures of exchange; a concept which is also pertinent for certain phases during the Middle Ages [as Janet Abu-Lughod has argued].[52] Even in 1962, the Sixth Conference of the International Commission for Maritime History (which took place in Venice and Lourenço Marques, now Maputo, capital of Mozambique), claimed to combine views on the "Océan indien et Méditerranée" though it apparently lacked a conceptual background and did not even venture into systematic comparison.[53]

römischer Zeit, in: *Der Indische Ozean in historischer Perspektive*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Asien und Afrika 1), Hamburg 1998, 9–36.

49 Angela Schottenhammer (ed.)*, The Emporium of the World. Maritime Quanzhou 1000–1400*, Leiden 2001. For the concept of emporia in Indian Ocean Studies see Dietmar Rothermund, Asian Emporia and European Bridgeheads, in: *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400–1750*, ed. Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund, Stuttgart 1991, 3–8.

50 Farhat Dachraoui, Le rôle des ribats dans le gihad maritime en Ifriqya au mogen âge, in: *La Rábita en el Islam. Estudios interdisciplinares*, ed. Francisco Franco Sánchez, Sant Carles de la Ràpita 2004, 281–288; Christophe Picard, *La mer des califes. Une histoire de la Méditerranée musulmane (VIIᵉ–XIIᵉ siècle)*. Paris 2015.

51 Michel Vergé-Franceschi (ed.), *La guerre de course en Méditerranée. 1515–1830*, Paris 2000; Salvatore Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer. Seekrieg, Handel und Sklaverei vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2009.

52 Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony. The World System A.D. 1250–1350*, New York, Oxford 1989.

53 Mollat, Michel (ed.), *Océan Indien et Méditerranée. VIᵉ colloque international d'histoire maritime*, Paris 1964.

However, in more recent times the role of the seas as a "gateway" into a truly global history has repeatedly been underlined, primarily from the viewpoint of the modern era. According to an agenda proposed by Jerry Bentley, the maritime focus has been seen as a tool to overcome the boundaries between predominant historical narratives concentrating on the national state, and as a means to combine perspectives on commercial, cultural and also biological exchanges, on migrations and the spread of religious traditions.[54] Such a focus —we might term it "maritimity" —thus allows for studying global dynamics, yet based on local conditions. It picks up the concept of translocality which has perhaps too exclusively been attributed to the more recent past of the 19th and 20th centuries.[55] The relationship between regional economies and global maritime connections became particularly apparent when Europe extended its power East and West during the early modern period. However, we might also question whether global history only began with the establishment of regular maritime links between South-East Asia and America in the 1570s, as Maria Fusaro stated some years ago.[56]

This Volume's Approach to Maritime History

Against this backdrop of numerous flourishing traditions and recent debates in maritime history, it is the aim of this volume to focus not merely on maritime communications but precisely on the role of stretches of land—countries, coastal zones and islands—between, within and beyond maritime expanses as constituents of historical dynamics. In an excellent analysis written some 50 years ago, Jacques Heers described the relationship between land and sea in premodern times as a combination of both economic "competition" and "collaboration".[57] Terrestrial, fluvial and maritime routes often constituted alternative pathways for the transport of commodities—an ambivalence especially visible in the case of the so-called Silk Road.[58] The interconnected character of land

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54 Jerry H. Bentley, Sea and Ocean Basins as Frameworks of Historical Analysis, in: *The Geographical Review 89* (1999), 215–224; Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen (ed.), *Seascapes. Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, Honolulu 2007.

55 Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, Introduction: Translocality. An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies, in: *Translocality. The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, ed. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, Leiden 2010, 1–21; see also Kolditz, Horizonte maritimer Konnektivität (cf. n. 28), 105–106.

56 Maria Fusaro, Maritime History and Global History? The Methodological Challenges and a Future Research Agenda, in: *Maritime History as Global History*, ed. Maria Fusaro, Maria and Amélia Polónia (Research in Maritime History 43), St John's 2010, 267–282.

and sea trade, however, becomes particularly visible when connections between various seascapes which have usually been focused on separately are taken into consideration. These transmarine relations which comprise both a factual level of transmarine mobility and a conceptual level with regard to the overall structuring of maritime space not only play a crucial role in projects aiming to develop a truly sea-based perspective on sea-bound spaces,[59] they also help us develop new spatial frames in historical analysis. These shall not substitute but rather complement well-established patterns of the spatial conceptualization of historical processes. This is the way in which we understand the term "Indo-Mediterranean" within this volume: not as a permanently coherent macro-region comprising the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, their more or less separable parts (such as the Red Sea, the Adriatic Sea, the Black Sea or the Persian Gulf) and some maritime areas adjacent to them but as a spatial reference frame appropriate for understanding phenomena of exchange and interaction between the worlds centred around the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.[60] Consequently, there are no fixed geographical limits of the Indo-Mediterranean but rather fluid patterns of maritime and terrestrial extension according to the range of existing connections in spatial practice and imagination. Such a conceptual Indo-Mediterranean space for instance clearly contains an important

57 Heers, Jacques, Rivalité ou collaboration de la terre et de l'eau? Position générale des problèmes, in: *Les grandes voies maritimes dans le monde, XVe – XIXe siècles*, Paris 1965, 13–63.

58 See Roderich Ptak, *Die maritime Seidenstraße*, München 2007; for a terrestrial model of Silk Road history see most recently Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road. A New History with Documents*, Oxford 2017. Christopher I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road. A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*, Princeton 2009, 251–262, has argued for a long-term process of substitution: according to his view the impact of continental trade on the Asian continent prevailed for a long time over the maritime exchange system, until the "mysterious disappearance of the Silk Road coincided with the appearance of the new Littoral System" (262) due to the advent of the Europeans around the coasts of Asia.

59 See note 54 above.

60 This understanding comes close to a more dynamical definition of the concept of "historical region" ("Geschichtsregion") which was introduced by Oskar Halecki and fruitfully applied in the conceptualization of Eastern European history, see Stefan Troebst, Vom 'spatial turn' zum 'regional turn'? Geschichtsregionale Konzeptionen in den Kulturwissenschaften, in: *Dimensionen der Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für Hannes Siegrist zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Matthias Middell, Leipzig 2007, 143–159; Idem, Le Monde méditerranéen. Südosteuropa, Black Sea World. Geschichtsregionen im Süden Europas, in: *Der Süden. Neue Perspektiven auf eine europäische Geschichtsregion*, ed. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk and Martina Winkler, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 49–73.

Atlantic dimension whenever the Atlantic Ocean was imagined as a possible or actual pathway to India.

Focusing on such a dynamical macro-zone which consists of both sea- and landscapes naturally increases our awareness of zones of passage and transition between seas (*entre mers*), be they maritime straits or entire countries situated at such an intersection point. Terrestrial spaces situated between Seas (*entre mers*) are not limited to Guillem d'Adam's Egypt: France and the Iberian Peninsula but also Morocco are situated between the maritime worlds of the (Northern) Atlantic and the Mediterranean and participated in both of them long before the Strait of Gibraltar became regularly navigable in both directions at the end of the 13th century.[61] Similarly, the Malay Peninsula together with Sumatra as a bridge between the maritime worlds of India and China respectively[62] might show us some structural similarities. Other terrestrial zones such as the Indian subcontinent or the Apennine peninsula show clearly distinguished Eastern and Western coasts bordering different parts of a larger seascape, which allows for comparative studies on these zones and their respective maritime linkages. On such a basis several sets of questions can be asked: How much and in which way did the various coastal zones influence the economic or political structures of lands between them? Can we observe complementary or rival patterns of connectivity at these coasts? How can local agents of connectivity be studied in a comparative way—economic as well as non-economic agents, both those oriented towards the sea as well as those establishing connections to the respective hinterland by means of rivers? And in which way did the policies of imperial rulers that controlled more than one coastal zone influence local developments?

Similar questions can be applied to straits because they often actually confine seascapes and are thus precisely located "between seas"— *entre mers*. They canalize maritime traffic on narrow routes under difficult navigational conditions and thus offer those controlling them the possibility to sever maritime communication. At the same token, straits also constituted neuralgic points for the connectedness of kingdoms and empires stretching across them—such as the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires did across the Bosporus or the Almoravid and Almohad Empires across the Strait of Gibraltar.[63] As points of confluence

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61 Michel Mollat, *Europa und das Meer*, München 1993, 82–88. For the Atlantic dimension in the earlier history of Morocco and the Islamic World see Christophe Picard, *L'océan Atlantique musulman. De la conquête arabe à l'époque almohade. Navigation et mise en valeur des côtes d'al-Andalus et du Maghreb occidental (Portugal – Espagne – Maroc)*, Paris 1997.

62 Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula. Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road (100 BC–1300 AD)* (Handbook of Oriental Studies III/13), Leiden 2002.

within a connective system, straits are furthermore comparable to other, functionally similar places, especially to highly frequented port cities, estuaries as critical zones of transition towards riverine traffic[64] and islands. Islands often functioned as "stepping stones" and resting places on maritime routes. Some larger ones actually mark the borders between parts of seascapes and sub-seas (e.g. Sicily separating the eastern and western basin of the Mediterranean or Sri Lanka with a similar position in the Indian Ocean). Then again, despite their varying functions within connective maritime networks, islands are sometimes associated with isolation, as they are said to favor the persistence of sometimes even archaic structures.[65] Recent research has furthermore emphasized the multiple roles islands and archipelagoes assumed in premodern imperial contexts, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean.[66] Insular micro-perspectives thus usefully complement large-scale approaches to maritime and transmarine interaction and connectivity.

As for this volume's second programmatic notion, we would also like to emphasize the role of seas as links between distant coasts. This relationship to land beyond the sea is what we will characterize by the term *outre mer*, therefore broadening the already mentioned medieval European, predominantly Christian usage of the term to refer to the Holy Land of Palestine beyond the sea.[67] Long-distance sea-based transfer to spaces and landscapes *outre-mer* was established repeatedly though certainly not continuously in various seascapes

63 Roderich Ptak, Some Glosses on the Sea Straits of Asia. Geography, Functions, Typology, in: *Crossroads* 1–2 (2010), 79–98; Kolditz, Horizonte maritimer Konnektivität (cf. n. 28), 92–99.

64 Stefan Burkhardt and Sebastian Kolditz, Zwischen Fluss und Meer: Mündungsgebiete als aquatisch-terrestrische Kontaktzonen im Mittelalter, in: *Wasser in der mittelalterlichen Kultur / Water in Medieval Culture*, ed. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, Christian Rohr, and Michael Stolz (Das Mittelalter. Beihefte 4), Berlin 2017, 90–104.

65 See Reinhard von Bendemann, Annette Gerstenberg, Nikolas Jaspert, and Sebastian Kolditz, Konstruktionen mediterraner Insularitäten: Einführende Bemerkungen und Reflexionen, in: *Konstruktionen mediterraner Insularitäten* (Mittelmeerstudien 11), ed. Reinhard von Bendemann, Annette Gerstenberg, Nikolas Jaspert et. al. Paderborn 2016, 7–41; Godfrey Baldacchino, *A World of Islands. An Island Studies Reader*, Charlottetown 2007; Frauke Lätsch, *Insularität und Gesellschaft in der Antike. Untersuchungen zur Auswirkung der Insellage auf die Gesellschaftsentwicklung*, Stuttgart 2005.

66 Élisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin. VIIIᵉ – XIIᵉ siècles*, 2 vols., Paris 1988; Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Insularités ottomanes*, Paris 2004; see also David Jacoby, The Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages. An Island World?, in: *Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. Jonathan Harris, Oxford 2012, 93–117.

67 See the titles cited in footnote 8 and Thomas Frank, Vom Heiligen Land erzählen. Oltremare in den italienischen Novellen des 14. Jahrhunderts, in: *Archiv für Kulturge-*

of the Indo-Mediterranean, e.g. between the coasts of India and South-East Asia,[68] between the North-Western Mediterranean coasts and the Levant in the age of the Crusades or in both the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean during the early expansion of Islam. The terms *outre-mer* as well as *entre mers* used as conceptual tools thus both draw our attention primarily to embedding terrestrial as well as maritime subspaces—we would like to speak of entangled spaces of maritime and terrestrial communications—into more comprehensive connective structures and networks.

This approach necessarily implies not limiting our understanding of space to socially constructed spaces alone. The wide shift brought about in the social sciences and the humanities during the past decades by the so-called "spatial turn" has made scholars become aware of the term's nonphysical dimension.[69] Over the past decades, mental maps, cultural space and other subjective spatial constructions have become predominant fields of academic enquiry. However, this long overdue and highly welcome turn currently threatens to marginalize more traditional understandings of space. The claim that a scholar's approach fosters "natural determinism" or that his or her study is based on the notion of "space as a container" are now mortal weapons in academic debate that leave

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schichte 81 (1999), 35–57; Anna Benvenuti, Reliquie e identità cittadina. Il ruolo delle memorie d'Oltremare nella costruzione del prestigio civico, in: *Taumaturgia e miracoli tra alto e basso Medioevo. Prospettive metodologiche generali e casistiche locali*, ed. Patrizia Castelli (Biblioteca. Accademia Sperelliana 2), Pisa 2008, 101–118.

68   Himanshu Prabha Ray, Early Maritime Contacts between South and Southeast Asia, in: *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 20 (1989), 42–54; Geoff Wade, An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900–1300 CE, in: *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40 (2009), 221–265; Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani, and Geoff Wade (ed.), *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia, Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, Singapore 2011; Pierre-Paul Wormser, Les relations maritimes entre l'Indonésie et l'Océan Indien au Moyen Âge, in: *The Sea in History. vol. 2: The Medieval World*, ed. Michel Balard, Woodbridge 2017, 918–925. For a critical evaluation of earlier models and their political contexts see Hermann Kulke, Maritimer Kulturtransfer im Indischen Ozean: Theorien zur „Indisierung" Südostasiens im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr., in: *Saeculum* 56 (2005), 173–197.

69   Thomas Schindl, *Räume des Medialen: zum spatial turn in Kulturwissenschaften und Medientheorien*, Boizenburg 2007; Jörg Döring and Tristan Thielmann (ed.), *Spatial turn: das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, Bielefeld 2008; Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (ed.), *Topographien des Sakralen. Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne*, München 2008; Moritz Csáky and Christoph Leitgeb (ed.), *Kommunikation – Gedächtnis – Raum: Kulturwissenschaften nach dem "Spatial Turn"*, Bielefeld 2009; Barney Warf and Santa Arias (ed.), *The Spatial Turn. Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Routledge Studies in Human Geography 26), London 2009; Susanne Rau, *Räume. Konzepte, Wahrnehmungen, Nutzungen* (Historische Einführungen 14), Frankfurt am Main 2013; Robert T. Tally (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, New York 2017.

many an opponent speech- and defenseless on the field. This one-sided stand has arguably been necessary in order to effectively enforce the absolutely fundamental insight that there is more to space than its material dimension. But now that this truism has become firmly established, it might be time to realize that matter matters and that there is also a very concrete, physical dimension to space. Physical nature had and still has an important impact on humans. We therefore advocate and discuss both understandings of the term in this volume, and our notion of agents, modes and commodities comprises both the mental and the material.[70]

Twelve Visions of Entre Mers—Outre-mer

The papers collected in this volume relate in various modes and degrees to the academic approaches outlined above. Several of them emphasize the role of seas as links between *distant* coasts: The Atlantic—dealt with in the articles by Luís Adão da Fonseca, Christoph Mauntel, Raimund Schulz and Daniel König— and the extended Indian Ocean (Alexandra von Lieven, Ranabir Chakravarti, Christoph Mauntel, Gita Dharampal-Frick and Susan Richter) play a paramount role in this respect. Some contributions lay a strong emphasis on transmarine relations by studying the entanglements between seas (Christoph Dartmann, Iván Armenteros Martínez, Gita Dharampal-Frick, Andrea Jördens, Joachim Friedrich Quack, Susan Richter). Within this group, the papers by Andreas Jördens and Susan Richter convey a keen understanding of the essential role that straits played as zones of passage and transition between seas (*entre mers*). The contributions by Iván Armenteros Martínez and Luís Adão da Fonseca in turn show a similar sensitivity for the function of islands as "stepping stones" and resting places on maritime routes. Although generally devoted to the question of maritime connnectivity, a number of articles primarily deal with lands connected by major seascapes (especially Daniel König, Alexandra von Lieven, Ranabir Chakravarti, Andrea Jördens and Gita Dharampal-Frick).

Evidently then, many papers are strongly indebted to the material and physical aspects of our subject matter. That being said, questions of agency and the construction of mental or social space are by no means neglected. Several

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70 Benno Werlen, Geographie/Sozialgeographie, in: *Raumwissenschaften*, ed. Stephan Günzel (Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 1891), Frankfurt am Main 2009, 142–158; Idem, *Gesellschaftliche Räumlichkeit 1: Orte der Geographie*, Stuttgart 2010; Gerhard van den Heever, Spatializing Practices at the Intersections: Representations and Productions of Spaces, in: *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, ed. Robert T. Tally, New York 2017, 70–81.

articles take a closer look at the agents of maritime communications and at the spatial networks they established between coasts and ports, at the commodities they carried and at the transcultural exchanges they promoted (Iván Armenteros Martínez, Ranabir Chakravarti, Christoph Dartmann, Gita Dharampal-Frick, Andrea Jördens, Alexandra von Lieven, Joachim Friedrich Quack). In this way, various effects and factors of long-distance maritime communications are investigated, including the role of political expansion and the exercise of naval power. This offers new insight into the question of continuities and changes in maritime communications over centuries and even beyond the limits of established historical periodization. Other authors ask for the mental maps existing in different parts of the Indo-Mediterranean world: Which were the effective boundaries of this world in contemporaries' eyes? How could seas function as a means of structuring the space of the known world? How were spaces *outre-mer* actually conceived? The papers by Christoph Dartmann, Luís Adão da Fonseca, Daniel König, Christoph Mauntel, Raimund Schulz and Joachim Friedrich Quack are particularly indebted to this line of inquiry.

As helpful as such an exercise relating this volume's articles to academic approaches and fields of research might be: neatly fitting the papers into a rigid typology and thus tucking them into academic drawers alone would ultimately do injustice to their diversity and richness, as the following outline of their respective analytical approaches and main results shows. Nevertheless, it seems promising to group them into four sections on the base of systematic as well as chronological criteria.

The first section is particularly devoted to Ancient Egypt—the classical hinge between the maritime world of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, a land "between seas" par excellence already in pre-classical antiquity. Joachim Friedrich Quack focuses on a nodal point of Old Egyptian long-distance trade, the legendary land of Punt. Instead of attempting to solve the vexed question concerning the exact location of this relay station between the African or Arabian side of the Red Sea, i.e. determining if Punt lay *outre-mer* or rather *deça-mer*, he presents sources from the third to the first millennium BCE referring to the routes that connected Egypt to this distant area situated at a remote point of her worldview. These texts and material objects (reliefs, inscriptions, steles, pictorial representations, statues) point at irregular contacts, not least due to the fact that ships had to be transported overland to reach this centre of commerce. The evidence also reveals which commodities were acquired in Punt —myrrh, electron, incense, but also people of small stature. Quack not only refers to Egyptians travelling south to this vibrant emporium but also analyses the presence of Puntites in the North. Due to its economic relevance, Punt became a conceptual landscape of crucial importance within the Egyptian

world view: it stood not only for the commodities actually acquired there but also for distant possessions and wealth per se.

Alexandra von Lieven does not deal with a particular physical area of transition such as Punt but rather provides evidence for direct contacts between India and Egypt between the 4th century BCE and the 2nd century CE. Both areas are thus understood as zones situated *outre-mer*, but linked by ties that were undoubtedly more intense than the limited number of extant sources suggest. Archaeological findings in Red Sea ports point to Indian goods transported to Egypt by Greeks, and written sources relate diplomatic, military and cultural contacts. Indians arguably settled in the West, as a Greek graffito found in the Temple of Kanais corroborates, and both literary as well as scholarly texts provide further clues. Finally, von Lieven argues that a 2nd to 3rd-century statue now kept in Mathura in Uttar Pradesh (India) depicts an "indianized" version of the Egyptian deity Harpocrates. The article thus assembles a sizeable number of indications for Indo-Egyptian contacts and processes of transcultural adaption.

In the third paper of this section Andrea Jördens fleshes out the extremely important role Alexandria performed as a hub between the Mediterranean, the Arabian Seas and the Indian Ocean. Reminding us that not only natural factors but also planned initiatives on the part of political leaders could establish such nodal points *entre-mers*, Jördens underlines the multiple roles that added to Alexandria's primary function as a centre of production and trade. In order to illustrate this, she presents and analyzes three pieces of evidence. The late 2nd century Muziris-Papyrus provides significant and detailed insights into the concrete organisation of Egyptian-Indian trade, revealing i.a. commodities and their values, but also the agents involved and the commercial practices they indulged in. Two inscriptions discovered on the Farasan Island opposite the coast of Yemen in contrast offer a glimpse into the hitherto hardly documented Roman military presence in the Arabian Sea, and the celebrated (and contested) Artemidorus-Papyrus arguably shows the animals that Indian ambassadors brought to Egypt when they visited Emperor Augustus. Within each of the three networks circumscribed by these sources—trade, military and diplomacy —Alexandria was a nodal point due to its position of uncontested centrality in Roman Egypt. For the Mediterranean world, in turn, Egypt held the monopoly position as the "bridge" towards the riches of India.

Even in ancient times, the desire to avoid this absolute dependence functioned as an important incentive for European attempts to find alternative maritime ways towards Asia. The second section of this collection thus focuses on intellectual and practical repercussions of these efforts, which gradually opened a larger Atlantic World up to European maritime societies. Taking a long-term perspective, Raimund Schulz asks a tantalizing question: If the earth

was known to be a globe since antiquity, why is it that it took Europeans so long to venture to Asia via the Atlantic route? Indeed, since the 4th century BCE, the possibility of reaching India—an area credited with great riches—via the West was known and deliberated. However, political changes such as the Greek expansion under Alexander the Great or nautical advances like the deciphering of the monsoon system by Egyptian-Greek sailors facilitated other routes to India, notably the land-route or the course via the Arabian Sea. Similarly, in later centuries, concrete political contexts impeded an Atlantic orientation, although the theoretical knowledge of this alternative route was transmitted into the Middle Ages. The Portuguese seafarers and Columbus hence only picked up far older debates about the relation between sea and landmasses in the Atlantic when they finally ventured west.

Christoph Mauntel's paper perfectly ties up with Raimund Schulz's study because he provides an in-depth analysis of late medieval assumptions about how India could be reached by travelling along the oceanic Atlantic sea-route. The rise of cartography in the 14th and 15th centuries and the accumulation of ancient and novel navigational knowledge—among others by Franciscan Friars—laid the ground for a changing perception of the Ocean's navigability. In the first part of his paper in contrast, Mauntel presents Egypt as a paradigmatic case of a land which was not only geographically situated between seas but also mentally constructed as such. His examples are the treatises on "How to Recover the Holy Land" mentioned earlier in this introduction. They not only convey a vivid understanding of how Latin Christian scholars conceptualised the causal relation between maritime commerce and military power but also show to what extent India was in the very focus of late mediaeval Christian merchants', travellers' and missionaries' interests. The concept of land-sea relations and the importance of accessibility via the sea were very present notions to learned authors around 1300.

Luis Adão da Fonseca's contribution in turn is closely related to Christoph Mauntel's paper in that he, too, discusses the understanding of oceanic, Atlantic space. However, in contrast to the former, who stresses the importance of economic interests as an impulse for seafaring, Fonseca calls to mind the religious and salutary dimension of navigation (e. g. the search for Eden). In particular, he describes the role islands played for the process of coming to grips with the Atlantic experience both nautically and intellectually. First seen as stepping stones in a concept of maritime space largely based on coastal navigation (cabotage), the islands became focal points in a new model of spatial referencing in the second half of the 15th century: In the "Age of Discovery", the position of a ship within the sea began to be seen as a more adequate form of locating it than its projection onto the coast it was closest to. Portuguese navigational

expansion—first to the Sea of Guinea, then out into the Atlantic—provided the framework for this shift in mental spacing.

The second section's particular focus on the intellectual prehistory of European expansion, which conceptually integrated the Atlantic into an Indo-Mediterranean framework, should not be understood as a continuation of traditional Euro-centric meta-narratives in maritime history. Instead, the third section aims at giving some exemplary insights into the plurality of *outre-mers* that can be detected in various parts of this extended Indo-Mediterranean world during the "Middle Ages". They were defined by the maritime activities and engagements of individuals and groups, be they merchants or settlers, envoys or administrative agents. In the first paper of this section, Gita Dharampal-Frick delineates a field of enquiry that promises further rich epistemological gain: the interdisciplinary study of Sino-Indian interaction from the 13th to 15th century CE. She maps out four phases that subdivide these 300 years within a millennial history of trans-maritime entanglements: the first of these still draws on an earlier period of Asian "maritimisation" under the impact of the Chola and Song dynasties and the flourishing emporium of Śrivijaya inbetween. A second phase characterized by the establishment of Muslim maritime networks in the 13th and 14th centuries is followed by the intensification of Chinese maritime activity in the 15th century and finally the penetration of European trade initiated by the Portuguese. Dharampal-Frick's main aim, however, is to elucidate the potential of an in-depth re-evaluation of textual sources and their correlation with archaeological findings. India thus emerges as an *outre-mer* of Chinese diplomacy, culture and trade that developed striking transcultural dynamics.

Ranabir Chakravarti analyses Indian maritime trade with the Arab world in the 11th to 13th centuries CE. His study is based on the pertinent letters from the Cairo Geniza assembled by S. D. Goitein and posthumously published by M. A. Friedman. After sketching the importance of the India trade within the commercial networks of Jewish traders in Egyptian Fusṭāṭ, Chakravarti focuses on references to ship owners (*nākhudās / nauvittakas*). He presents two case studies of an Arab-Jewish and an Indian ship owner respectively, both mentioned in the Geniza material (ʿAli b. Manṣūr Fawfalī and a person probably named Fidyār). This micro-study of commercial activities reveals the routes and regulations that marked trade between Alexandria, Aden and the north-western coast of India. The Indian merchant probably belonged to a family closely tied to the local feudal hierarchy, which might represent a general tendency in coastal areas of Karnataka and the Konkan. The case study presented here opens rare and telling insights into cultural—and linguistic—entanglements between Arabia and India.

Christoph Dartmann predates the new theoretical understanding of maritime space described by Luís Adão da Fonseca to the turn of the 15th century, when new portolan charts betray both a linear and a novel, spatial understanding of the sea. The creation of these maps thus marks a shift to a two-dimensional representation and reflects an innovative mental ordering of space. Even earlier, during the 14th century, Genoese merchants and scholars had already incorporated the Black Sea into their mental maps. This annex to the Mediterranean became a space of prime importance to Genoa in the later Middle Ages and can be understood as a sea beyond the sea, a particular form of *outre-mer*. Dartmann analyses the Genoese *Liber Gazarie* in order to illustrate how this process of geographic and intellectual inclusion was brought about. According to this source, the Black Sea was structured primarily by its commercial hubs—Pera, Caffa, Tana and Trebizond. In the *Liber Gazarie*, some of them were depicted as maritime centres largely separated from the hinterland, while others were seen as linked to terrestrial areas and overland routes. Pera in particular was of utmost importance and emerges as a neuralgic point of control for Genoa at the very intersection of the Pontic and the Aegean maritime systems.

Iván Armenteros Martínez studies the economic and social practices that marked the Canary Islands during three phases of their history: the initial, relatively cautious economic penetration on the part of Europeans during the 14th century, the increasingly aggressive subjugation during the 15th century and the period after the final conquest of the islands by Castile in 1496. Armenteros focuses on the two "flagships" of Euro-African trade: sugar and slaves. In both cases, the Europeans exported practices to the Canaries that had already been established in the Mediterranean. Raids, human trafficking and ransoming in the tradition of the mediaeval frontier societies on the one hand, and conquest, migration, landownership and technological transfer as practised in parts of the Eastern as well as the Western Mediterranean area on the other hand influenced the practice of slavery and sugar production. The Canaries thus emerge as a prolongation of the Mediterranean; both areas were linked by traditional and by newly established ties, for example in the form of upcoming entrepreneurs located in Barcelona but specialising in trade between the Canaries and the central and eastern Mediterranean.

Maritime political and military expansion at the turn of the Early Modern Age gave also birth to new modes of regulation in the maritime sphere itself. Two significant aspects of this development are analyzed in the contributions of the fourth section. Daniel König actually presents the negation or better: the closure of *Outre-mer*. He explains how it came to take centuries for the Islamic World to generate systematic and first-hand knowledge of the transatlantic West. Indeed, Muslim scholarship intellectually gave up the New World to the Christian powers that dominated it politically. News of the Christian transat-

lantic expansion admittedly reached Islamic lands at an early date, but no first-hand information became available for decades. A main reason for this neglect was the systematic and successful attempt on the part of the Christian, especially Spanish conquerors to impede Muslim migration into the Americas: the new lords did all they could to keep Islam out of their western possessions. Tellingly, the first eyewitness description of South America in Arabic language did not stem from a Muslim but from a Christian Arab of the 17th century. It took until the 19th and 20th century for Muslims to effectively migrate to the Americas in appreciable numbers.

The gradual transformation of maritime laws in the Strait of Malacca between the 15th and the 17th century is the topic of Susan Richter's contribution which focuses on the question as to what extent law was applied in order to structure maritime space. The Strait of Malacca was always an extremely important thoroughfare for long-distance trade, but was initially not considered a physical space in its own right to which Hindu or Islamic law would be applied. This changed with the Portuguese occupation of the area. The newcomers attempted to impose their law on land and sea alike, which only led to the latter's fragmentation, the establishment of competing emporia and ultimately to the demise of Portuguese rule over the strait. The Dutch in contrast acted differently and more successfully by allowing for a concurrence of regional and Dutch laws, while subtly imposing their own legal system on long-distance trade. The Strait of Malacca under early European command thus serves as an exciting example of the potential of applying a maritime perspective to the study of early modern law. Processes such as those analyzed by Daniel König and Susan Richter certainly played a decisive role in restructuring the plurality of trans-local Medieval *outre-mers* into the emerging system of a unified global economy which, in turn, opens new horizons in the long-term history of maritime connectivity.

We would not want to end this short introduction to "Entre mers—Outremer. Spaces, Modes and Agents of Indo-Mediterranean Connectivity" without some words of thanks, for we are grateful to many institutions and people. First of all, to the Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural Studies for financing the project, then to the Centre of European History and Culture for its support throughout, and to the Heidelberg Centre for American Studies for its hospitality. Particular thanks goes to our three chairs, first to our Heidelberg colleagues Joseph Maran and Susanne Enderwitz from the Institutes of Prehistory and Early History and Islamic Studies and Iranian Studies respectively and then to Gerrit Jasper Schenk from the Department of Medieval History at Darmstadt University. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their constructive criticisms and suggestions. Above all we are indebted to Paul Schweitzer-Martin, Viktor Gottesmann and Julian Reichert (Heidelberg) for invaluable

The Classic Hinge between Seas: Egypt and Indo-Mediterranean Connectivity in the Ancient World

Joachim Friedrich Quack

Incense, the Alphabet and Other Elements

On the Movement of Persons, Commodities and Ideas between Egypt and the Southern Red Sea Region

Abstract. Ancient Egypt has a long history of interaction with the Red Sea region. Especially a region called Punt was, from the third millennium BCE onwards, the object of several expeditions by ship, which sought luxury products such as aromatics like incense and myrrh. Some of the expeditions were commemorated by royal monuments which included images and texts. Punt also became part of the Egyptian conceptual world-view, being the domain of some deities as well as the outer limit of rule of the Egyptian king. Punt is probably to be located on the African side of the Red Sea. Egyptian contacts with the Arabian side only became more intense in the first millennium BCE, when the incense road from South Arabia to the southern Levant became established. At that time, the ancient South Arabian letter-order was adopted in Egypt. Arabia and the Arabians are also referred to in some demotic Egyptian literary narratives.

The Land of Punt and its Incense

Preliminary Remarks

The present paper is, in some ways, an exploration of the 'prehistory' of Red Sea connections to Egypt, at least insofar as it transcends the chronological limits otherwise set for this volume. To speak of a 'pre-history' is, however, potentially misleading, as we are, even then, looking at a fully historic period with a rich written and pictorial record.

The primary focus of Egypt's relations to the Red Sea region is the land called Punt in the Egyptian sources, and the trade in aromatics linked to this land from the Old Kingdom (3rd millennium BCE) onwards. Punt appears frequently in Egyptian texts as a region from which aromatic substances were obtained.[1]

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[1] Currently the online database of the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (URL: http://aaew. bbaw.de/tla, accessed 3 January 2018) records 74 attestations, and by far not all texts

Its importance is due primarily to a climatic-geographical factor; the species of the family Burseraceae, especially the genus Boswellia and Commiphora, producing some much coveted aromatic substances, growing exclusively in South Arabia and parts of Somalia and Ethiopia.[2] Their products, especially incense and myrrh, were high-value commodities needed as much for the cult of gods and goddesses as for medical applications, while they also form part of the luxurious lifestyle of the elite. Consequently, they became the objects of very early long-distance trade.

Punt as a Real Place and where to Locate It

An enormous amount of egyptological literature has already been written on the possible identification of the land called Punt.[3] From a geographical perspective, given the relevance of the aromatics, it should be sought in the south-

mentioning it are included in that database (although it has to be admitted that some of the attestations are doublets of texts attested in multiple copies, e.g. the Book of the Dead, the Kemit and the Instruction of a Man for his Son).

2 Frank Nigel Hepper, Arabian and African Frankincense Trees, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969), 66–72; Victoria Asensi Amoros, Essences à bruler en Égypte ancienne. Une enquête ethnobotanique du côté de la Corne de l'Afrique, in: *Parfums, onguents et cosmétiques dans l'Égypte ancienne: actes des rencontres pluridisciplinaires tenues au Conseil National de la Culture, Le Caire 27–29 avril 2002*, ed. Christian Leblanc, Cairo 2003, 1–19.

3 See e.g. Max Hilzheimer, Zur geographischen Lokalisierung von Punt, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 68 (1932), 112–114; Rolf Herzog, *Punt*, Glückstadt 1968; Kenneth Kitchen, Punt and how to get there, in: *Orientalia* 40 (1971), 184–207; Werner Vycichl, Lag das Land Punt am Meer oder im Sudan?, in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 45 (1970), 318–324; Bernard Couroyer, Pount et la Terre du Dieu, in: *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973), 53–74; Georges Posener, L'or de Pount, in: *Ägypten und Kusch: Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Erika Endesfelder, Karl Heinz Priese, Walter Friedrich Reineke et al., Berlin 1977, 337–342; Rodolfo Fattovich, The problem of Punt in the light of recent field work in the eastern Sudan, in: *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985.* Vol. 4: *Geschichte, Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Rechtsgeschichte, Nachbarkulturen*, ed. Sylvia Schoske, Hamburg 1991, 257–272; Jacques Degas, Don Joam de Castro sur l'itinéraire de Pount (1541), in: *Revue d'égyptologie* 46 (1995), 215–237; Rodolfo Fattovich, Punt: the Archaeological Perspective, in: *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 6 (1996), 15–29; Kenneth Kitchen, The Land of Punt, in: *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns*, ed. Thurstan Shaw, Paul Sinclair, Bassey Andah et al., London / New York 1993, 587–608; Kenneth Kitchen, Further Thoughts on Punt and its Neighbours, in: *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, ed. Anthony Leahy and John Tait, London 1999, 173–178; Dimitri Meeks, Coptos et les chemins du Pount, in: *Autour de Coptos: actes du colloque organisé au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (17–18 mars 2000)*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac, Marc Gabolde, and Geneviève Galliano, Paris

ern Red Sea region, either in South Arabia or in Ethiopia or its vicinity. In fact, only the African shore deserves full attention, since there is evidence that Punt could also be reached by land from Egypt. Furthermore, one scene depicts a rhinoceros in the landscape of Punt, which is to be expected only in Africa.[4] Other elements of the fauna, like baboons and giraffes, have also been used in

2002, 267–335; Dimitri Meeks, Locating Punt, in: *Mysterious Lands. Encounters with Ancient Egypt*, ed. David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke, London 2003, 53–80; Stephen Harvey, Interpreting Punt: Geographic, Cultural and Artistic Landscapes, in: ibid., 81–91; Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, The Land of Punt: problems of the archaeology of the Red Sea and the southeastern Delta, in: *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo 2000,* ed. Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock, vol. 1, Cairo 2003, 432–439; Kenneth Kitchen, The Elusive Land of Punt Revisited, in: *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region: Proceedings of Red Sea Project 1, held in the British Museum, October 2002*, ed. Paul Lunde and Alexandra Porter, Oxford 2004, 25–31; Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, On the Geographical Location of the Land of Punt, in: *Aegyptus et Pannonia II: acta symposii anno 2002* ed. Hedvig Győry, Budapest 2005, 203–237; Stanley Balanda, The So-Called "Mine of Punt" and its Location, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 42 (2005–2006), 33–44; Ogden Goelet, *W3ḏ-wr*, Punt, and Wadi Hammamat: the Implication of Verbs of Motion, in: *The Festschrift volume: a collection of studies presented to Professor Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, Emeritus Prof. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Faculty of Arts – University of Alexandria (Egyptian pioneer of the archaeological studies of the Red Sea) by his European and American colleagues and friends on the occasion of his 80th birthday*, ed. Essam el-Saeed, El-Sayed Mahfouz, and Abdel Monem Megahed, Alexandria 2006, 177–191; Andrés Diego Espinel, *Abriendo los caminos de Punt: contactos entre Egipto y el ámbito afroárabe durante la Edad del Bronce [ca. 3000 a.C.–1065 a.C.]*, Barcelona 2011; Andrea Manzo, Punt in Egypt and beyond. Comments on the Impact of Maritime Activities of the 12th Dynasty in the Red Sea on Egyptian Crafts with some Historical and Ideological Thoughts, in: *Ägypten und Levante* 21 (2011), 71–85; idem, From the Sea to the Deserts and back. New research in Eastern Sudan, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 75–106; Francis Breyer, Punt und die Seefahrer. Zum Nutzen von Logbüchern in der Punt-Diskussion, in: *Die Vermessung der Oikumene*, ed. Klaus Geus and Michael Rathmann, Berlin 2013, 311–319; idem, *Punt. Die Suche nach dem »Gottesland«*, Leiden, Boston 2016.

4 William Stevenson Smith, The Land of Punt, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1 (1962), 59–61; idem, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East. A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia*, New Haven 1965, 137–139, fig. 173–174; Lothar Störk, *Die Nashörner. Verbreitungs- und kulturgeschichtliche Materialien unter Berücksichtigung der afrikanischen Arten und des altägyptischen Kulturbereiches* (PhD thesis), Hamburg 1977, 221–238. While thus there are good indications for an African location, the argument brought forth by Kitchen, The Elusive Land of Punt (cf. n. 3), 26 and 29 that the sound *p* attested in the name of the land Punt as well as the name of its chief Parehu (attested in the Hatshepsut reliefs) and in other personal names would exclude Arabia since the South Arabian language had only *f* and not *p* is not valid – the supposed consonantal value *f* (and not *p*) of that letter is based on the modern Arabian pronunciation, not direct evidence. Given that Old South Ara-

attempts to identify its location. The depictions of an expedition by ship include an amazing amount of sea-life rendered in much detail, which permits us to identify the animals depicted as belonging to the Indian-Ocean-Red-Sea fauna.[5]

It has been proposed to identify the name of Punt with a place called Opône (variant Opôn) mentioned by the Roman period scholar Claudius Ptolemaios in his *Geographica* as a port on the Red Sea shore, which in turn has tentatively been identified with present-day Ḥafoun in Somalia.[6] However, the modern name refers to a specific city, not a region, and there are also phonetic problems with the equation of the first consonant.[7]

Currently, some specialists tend to locate Punt in the region of the Gash delta in Sudan where some specimens of Egyptian pottery have been found.[8] I do not intend to focus on this specific question to which I could contribute little new insight.

Expeditions to Punt

From an entry in the royal annals of the 5th dynasty we know that already in the Old Kingdom an expedition to Punt was undertaken, namely during the reign of King Sahure of the 5th dynasty (ca. 26/25th century BCE), which brought substantial amounts of myrrh and electron back to Egypt (Urk. I, 246, 5–6).[9]

Recently, an important addition to the evidence for this expedition has come to light in the form of a relief from the causeway of that very King

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bian texts use the supposed *f* (and not *b*) to render foreign *p*, and that the alphabetic position of *f* in the South Arabian alphabet corresponds to Egyptian *p* (not *f*) (see below), it is likely that Ancient South Arabian had a labial sound sufficiently similar to Egyptian *p* to be rendered by that sign.

5 Eva Danelius and Heinz Steinitz, The Fishes and other Aquatic Animals on the Punt-Reliefs at Deir el-Baḥri, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 53 (1967), 15–24.

6 Maurice Alliot, Pount-Pwāne, l'Opôné du géographe Ptolémée, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 8 (1951), 1–7.

7 Werner Vycichl, Punt, Opone, Hafun – das Weihrauchland der alten Ägypter?, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 13 (1967), 45–46.

8 Kathryn Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, The Land of Punt and Recent Archaeological and Textual Evidence from the Pharaonic Harbour at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, Egypt, in: *Human Expeditions: inspired by Bruce Trigger*, ed. Stephen Chrisomalis and Andre Costopoulos, Toronto 2013, 9–10.

9 See Toby Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments*, London 2000, 168–171; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Atlanta 2005, 72.

Sahure.[10] On one block (fig. 1), the depiction of his fleet (including monkeys climbing in the rigging) is partially preserved. The image of the king of Egypt surrounded by family members and the court in front of trees, which he seems to be cutting, probably in order to let the sap flow and thus produce the resinous product, is of particular interest.[11] The second block (fig. 2) shows the king and again members of the court; this time one of the courtiers is holding the adze for cutting the tree. The inscription stresses that this is a singular event which has never happened before[12]—although, given the nature of Egyptian official inscriptions, this claim should not be pressed too hard.[13]

Perhaps an indirect, even older piece of evidence can be found in a relief from the valley temple of King Snofru of the early 4th dynasty (ca. 27/26th century BCE). There, the king is depicted inspecting the growing of cedar and myrrh trees (fig. 3).[14] If the botanical identifications of the terms in question (ʿš and ʿntw) are at least halfway correct,[15] that would imply an effort at cultivating species not indigenous to Egypt. Apart from the desired economic benefits, this would also convey a substantial symbolic message, commemorating the exploits of the king to the north-east[16] and the south-east. Snofru's efforts in

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10 Tarek El-Awady, *Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway. History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom*, Prague 2009, 155–186 and 253–257, pl. V; Dominique Farout, Les déclarations du roi Sahourê, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 63 (2012), 103–113, esp. 103–105; Waltraud Guglielmi, Zur Identifikation der ʿnd(w)-Bäume auf den Reliefblöcken des Sahure, in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 235 (2012), 19–30; Samuel Mark, Notes on the Mediterranean and Red Sea Ships and Ship Construction from Sahure to Hatshepsut, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6 (2014), 34–49.

11 The inscription for this scene (El-Awady, Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway, 161) is probably to be read retrograde as 'inspecting the tribute of the [Puntites (?) which they brought] to his majesty'.

12 For the reading, see Farout, Les déclarations du roi Sahourê (cf. n. 10), 103–105.

13 For similar phraseology, see Pascal Vernus, *Essais sur la conscience de l'Histoire dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, Paris 1995, 62–70.

14 Elmar Edel, Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, Boston 1996, 199–208, esp. 200–204.

15 For the identification of ʿš as cedar see W. Vivian Davies, Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports: An Analysis of Wooden Coffins in the British Museum, in: *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant. Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC*, ed. idem and Louise Schofield, London 1995, 146–156, esp. 149–152.

16 Also the annals on the Palermo stone indicate that forty ships with cedar wood arrived during his reign, see Strudwick, Texts (cf. n. 9), 66. For Old Kingdom objects found at Byblos, see Karin Sowada, *Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Old Kingdom*, Freiburg 2009, 128–141 (stressing the uncertain archaeological context of many pieces).
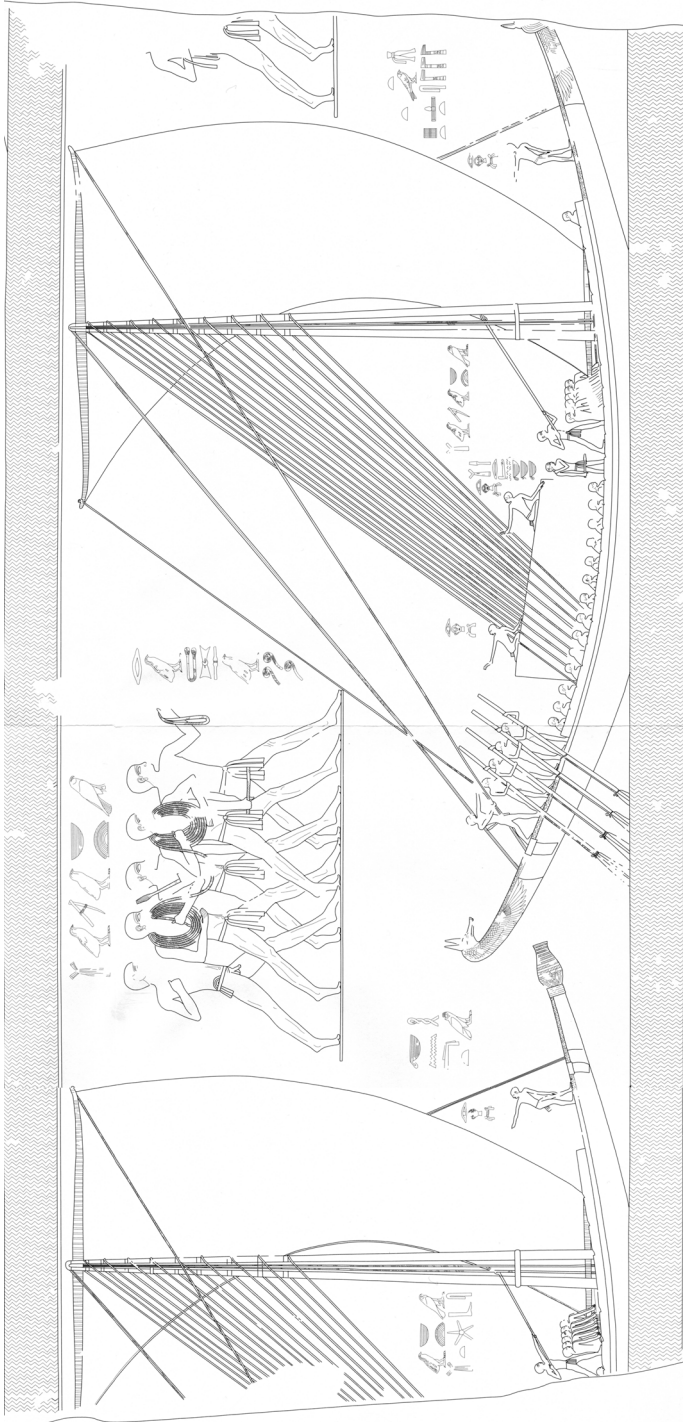
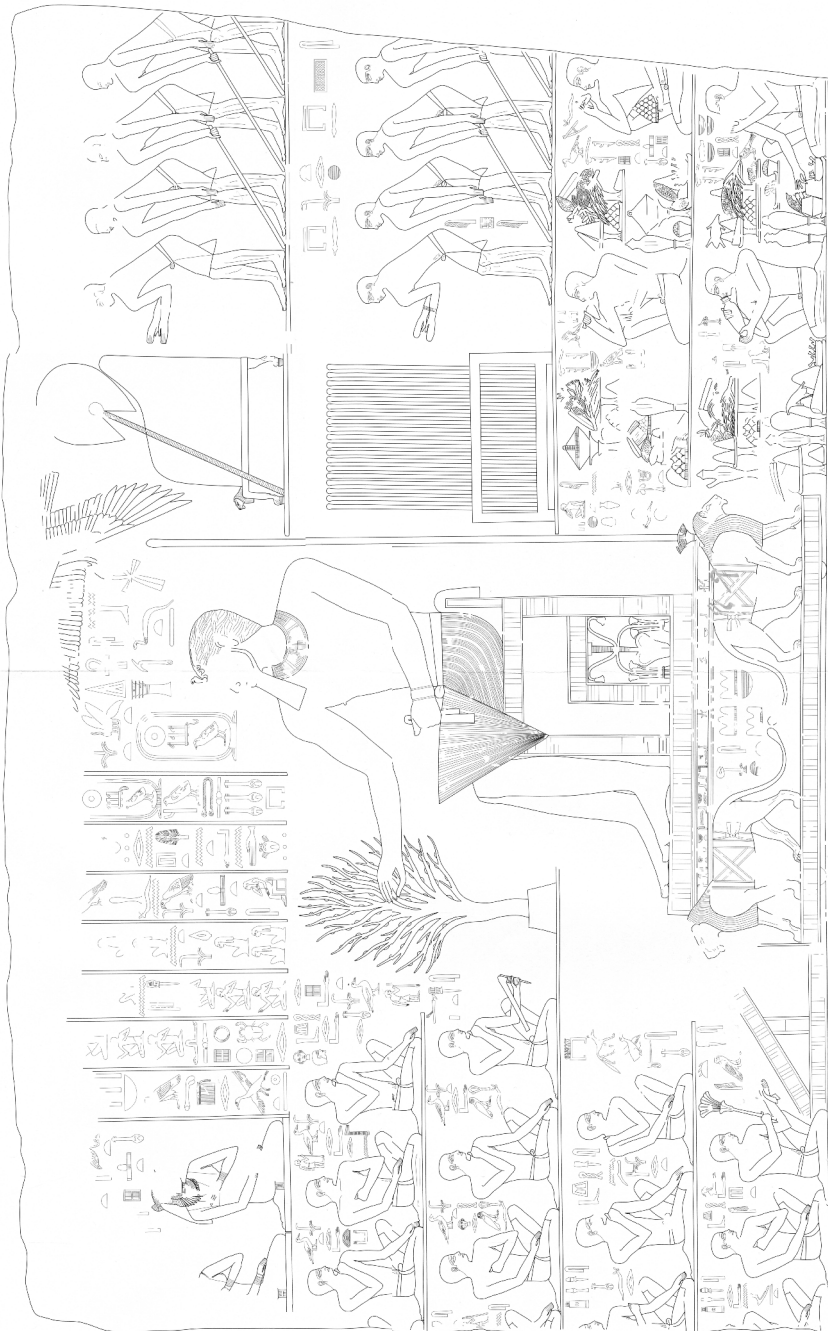**Figure 1.** Relief from the causeway of Sahure (Courtesy Jolana Malátková)

Figure 2. Relief from the causeway of Sahure (Courtesy Jolana Malátková)
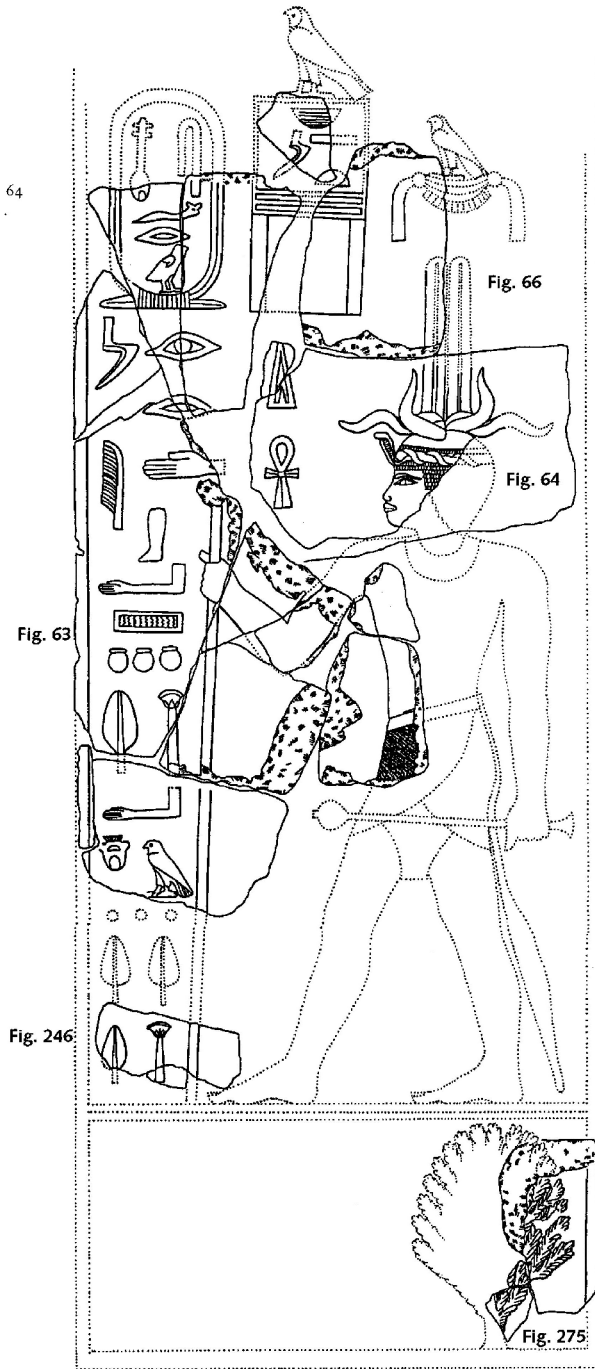
Figure 3. Relief from the valley temple of Snofru (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts Boston)

acclimatizing these trees, even if they are likely to have failed, are a notable precursor to similar activities by later Pharaohs, most prominently Hatshepsut.[17]

A further source is a tomb inscription from the late 6th dynasty at Elephantine (ca. 22nd century BCE) in which the owner Khnumhotep claims to have travelled to Byblos, Punt and probably Retenu (in the southern Levant) accompanying his masters.[18]

Recently, an Old Kingdom port at Wadi el-Jarf, on the shore of the Gulf of Suez, has been discovered which goes back to the time of King Cheops (ca. 27/26th century BCE).[19] This at least attests a possible starting place for early maritime exploits in the Red Sea, although no positive evidence has been found to this day.

Besides the aromatics, one other precious 'commodity' from Punt turns up in the Egyptian texts of the Old Kingdom, if, indeed, it is proper to call it a commodity, namely dwarfs (or pygmies) designated in the texts by a word *ṯng/ṯlg* which is possibly a loanword from the Ethiopic region.[20] It should be stressed that they could also have been brought via the Nile route, and not by the Red Sea. An inscription of the governor Harkhuf at Elephantine, dating to

17 David Dixon, The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969), 55–65; Susanne Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt. " Ein Expeditionsziel im religiös-politischen Kontext, in: *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Nicole Kloth, Karl Martin, and Eva Pardey, Hamburg 2003, 263–274, here 271.

18 Elmar Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan.* Erste Abteilung, Band I: *Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte archäologischer Befund und Funde der Gräber QH 24–QH 34p*, Paderborn 2008, 466–469. Compare Andrés Diego Espinel, Minima epigraphica, in: *Discussions in Egyptology* 59 (2004), 7–20, here 15–18 with a partially different reading.

19 Pierre Tallet, A New Pharaonic Harbour in Ayn Sokhna (Gulf of Suez), in: *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of Red Sea Project V Held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius, John P. Cooper, Athena Trakadas, and Chiara Zazzaro, Oxford 2012, 33–37; Pierre Tallet, Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf. Two Newly Discovered Pharaonic Harbours on the Suez Gulf, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 147–168; idem, Deux notes sur les expéditions au pays de Pount à la lumière de nouvelles données archéologiques, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 64 (2013), 189–209; idem, Des papyrus du temps de Chéops au Ouadi el-Jarf (golfe du Suez), in: *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 188 (2014), 25–49; idem, Les « ports intermittents » de la mer Rouge à l'époque pharaonique. Caractéristiques et chronologie, in: *Nehet* 3 (2015), 31–72; idem, *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I: Le "journal de Merer" (Papyrus Jarf A et B)*, Cairo 2017.

20 See also Francis Breyer, Zwerg-Wörter und ägyptisch-kuschitischer Sprachkontakt bzw. -vergleich: zur sprachlichen Situation im mittleren Niltal des 3.–2. Jts. v. Chr., in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), 99–112.

the late 6th dynasty (Urk. I, 128, 1–131, 7),[21] contains the singular information, as part of a letter to the king, that this official has brought with him a dwarf like the one the god's treasurer Bawerdjed at the time of King Asosi had brought from Punt. In the case of Harkhuf, it is clear that he was leading an expedition up through Nubia. By contrast, the previous case mentioned in the letter is likely to have been organized via the sea route.

A rock inscription of the Early Middle Kingdom (11th dynasty; ca. 2000 BCE) in the Wadi Hammamat (M 114) reports an important mission comprising 3,000 men.[22] They were sent out in order to convey seagoing ships to Punt and to collect fresh myrrh from the chieftains of the desert. The mission set out from Koptos and finally reached the sea where its leader built up the fleet and returned after having executed all the orders of the king. This narration, in connection with the place of the inscription, clearly demonstrates that the Egyptians used the technique of disassembling ships for overland transport through the Wadis of the desert and putting them together again at the shore of the Red Sea.

During the Middle Kingdom, the port of Mersa Gawasis at the Red Sea shore, about 60 km north of modern-day Quseir, seems to have been the principal place for launching expeditions to Punt.[23] Some stelae located there explicitly mention Punt, and there is good archaeological evidence for ship construc-

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21 New, improved edition by Edel, Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa (cf. n. 18), vol. 1, 620–621 and 626–628, pl. XXVIII.

22 Original edition in Jules Couyat and Pierre Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, Cairo 1912, 81–84, pl. XXXI; translations in Wolfgang Schenkel, *Memphis Herakleopolis Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens*, Wiesbaden 1965, 253–258; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*, Freiburg / Göttingen 1988, 52–54. See also the study by Louise Bradbury, Reflections on Traveling to "God's Land" and Punt in the Middle Kingdom, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 25 (1988), 127–156, here 127–138.

23 Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, Discovery of the Site of the 12th Dynasty Port at Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea Shore (Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria, in the Eastern Desert of Egypt – March 1976), in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977), 138–178; Bradbury, Reflections on Traveling to "God's Land" and Punt (cf. n. 22), 138–145; Rodolfo Fattovich and Kathryn Bard, À la recherche de Pount: Mersa Gaouasis et la navigation égyptienne dans la mer Rouge. Translated by Viviana Miele, in: *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 41 (2006), 7–30; Rodolfo Fattovich, De la mer Rouge au pays de Pount: le port pharaonique à l'embouchure du Ouadi Gaouasi. Recherches archéologiques 2001–2008, in: *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 171 (2008), 11–27; Cheryl Ward, Conservation of Maritime Remains at the Port of the Pharaohs to Punt: Mersa/Wadi Gawasis 2010–11, in: *Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt* 202 (2013), 26–32; Cheryl Ward, Building Pharaoh's Ships: Cedar, Incense and Sailing the Great Green, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and*

tion. Compared with the Old Kingdom harbor, this place shows a considerable movement to the south. On the one hand, this could simply be connected with a shift in the seat of power in Egypt from the Old Kingdom's capital at Memphis to Thebes during the 11th dynasty. On the other hand, the prevalent currents and winds in the Red Sea area make it quite difficult to sail northwards during most of the year. Thus placing the sea-harbour further to the south would have facilitated the expeditions: similar movements can also be traced during other periods.[24]

There is an inscription from the 17th dynasty at Elkab which might indicate that Punt was supporting the Nubians against Egypt,[25] but its state of preservation is quite precarious. If the reading is correct, this would provide important additional evidence in favor of the African location of Punt.[26]

By far the most famous depiction of an expedition to Punt is preserved in the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (western Thebes) from the 15th century BCE.[27] Even in its damaged condition, it provides by far the most substantial pictorial record for Punt and its inhabitants. It should be

Sudan 18 (2012), 217–232; Kathryn Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, Spatial Use of the Twelfth Dynasty Harbor at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis for the Seafaring Expeditions to Punt, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2 (2010), 1–13. Manzo, Punt in Egypt and Beyond (cf. n. 3), 71–85; Rodolfo Fattovich, Egypt's Trade with Punt. New Discoveries on the Red Sea Coast, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 1–59; Bard and Fattovich, The Land of Punt (cf. n. 8), 3–11; Mahfouz El-Sayed Les ostraca hiératiques du ouadi Gaouasis, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 59 (2008), 267–333; Kathryn Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, Egyptian Long-Distance Trade in the Middle Kingdom and the Evidence at the Red Sea Harbour at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, in: *Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity. Essays in Honour of John S. Holladay, Jr.*, ed. Timothy Harrison, Edward Banning, and Stanley Klassen, Leiden 2015, 1–10.

24 William Facey, The Red Sea: The Wind Regime and Location of Ports, in: *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region: Proceedings of Red Sea Project 1, held in the British Museum, October 2002*, ed. Paul Lunde and Alexandra Porter, Oxford 2004, 6–17.

25 William Vivian Davies, Sobeknakht of Elkab and the Coming of Kush, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (2003), 3–6, here 5–6; accepted by Pearce Paul Creasman, Hatshepsut and the Politics of Punt, in: *African Archaeological Review* 31 (3) (2014), 395–405, here 396 (with an erroneous attribution to the 18th dynasty).

26 Noted as such by Kitchen, The Elusive Land of Punt (cf. n. 3), 30.

27 Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari,* Part III: *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform*, London 1898, 11–21, pl. LXIX–LXXXVI; the hieroglyphic inscriptions can also be found (with collations and improvements) in Kurth Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Leipzig 1906, 315–355. See discussions in Kurth Sethe, Eine bisher unbeachtet gebliebene Episode der Punt-Expedition der Königin Hatschepsowet, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 42 (1905), 91–99; Abdel-Aziz Saleh, Some Problems Relating to the Pwenet Reliefs at Deir el Bahari, in: *Journal*

stressed that several orthographical and linguistic criteria raise the possibility that at least substantial parts of these inscriptions were copied from much older models[28] – and Hatshepsut is known to have taken up substantially older models elsewhere in the Deir el-Bahri temple too,[29] as in, for example, the text about the birth and youth of the future ruler.[30]

A noteworthy point is how the expedition is presented as a rare event. The chieftains of Punt are reported to have said: "How then did you reach this, to this country which men do not know. Have you descended on the upper roads? Did you travel by sea and by land? How prosperous is the god's land which you have trodden, like the sun-god." (Urk. IV, 324, 8–12), and in a broken pas-

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of Egyptian Archaeology 58 (1972), 143–145; Mario Liverani, Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Ancient Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C., Padova 1990, 240–246; Rosanna Pirelli, Punt in Egyptian myth and trade, in: Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia, Atti II, ed. Gian Zaccone and Tomaso Di Netro, Turin 1993, 383–390; Irene Shirun-Grumach, Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle, Wiesbaden 1993, 78–120; Thomas Hikade, Das Expeditionswesen im ägyptischen Neuen Reich. Ein Beitrag zu Rohstoffversorgung und Aussenhandel, Heidelberg 2001, 76–80; Christophe Barbotin, Pount et le mythe de la naissance divine à Deir el-Bahari, in: Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille 24 (2004), 9–14; David Falk, The Products of Hatshepsut's Trade Mission to Punt: An Alternative Translation of the Punt Reliefs at Deir el-Bahari, in: Göttinger Miszellen 238 (2013), 51–61; Francis Breyer, Vorlagen zur ›Punthalle‹ von Dair al-Baḥrī aus dem Alten Reich. Philologisch-epigraphische, textkritische und ikonographische cruces im Zusammenspiel von Darstellungen und Inschriften, in: Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur 43 (2014), 47–91.

28 Briefly mentioned in Joachim Friedrich Quack, Punt [1], in: Der Neue Pauly, vol. 10, ed. Hubert Cancik, Stuttgart 2001, 599; idem, Bemerkungen zum Ostrakon Glasgow D 1925.91 und dem Menu-Lied, in: Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur 29 (2001), 283–306, here 289 note 17. See also Breyer, Vorlagen zur ›Punthalle‹ von Dair al-Baḥrī (cf. n. 27), 68–90.

29 Andrzej Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Études et travaux 27 (2014), 61–93.

30 For older fragmentary attestations, see Adela Oppenheim, The Early Life of Pharaoh. Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwostret III at Dahshur, in: Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/11, ed. Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, Prague 2011, 171–188; Mohamed Megahed and Hana Vymazalová, Ancient Egyptian Royal Circumcision from the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare, in: Anthropologie 49 (2011), 155–164; Hartwig Altenmüller, Anubis mit der Scheibe im Mythos von der Geburt des Gottkönigs, in: Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur 42 (2013), 15–35, there 15–16, pl. 6; Mohamed Megahed and Hana Vymazalová, The South-Saqqara Circumcision Scene. A Fragment of an Old Kingdom Birth-legend?, in: Royal Versus Divine Authority: Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power, Prague, June 26–28, 2013. 7. Symposion zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 7th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, ed. Filip Coppens, Jiří Janák, and Hana Vymazalová, Wiesbaden 2015, 275–287.

sage "which had not been trodden by other people" can still be recognized (Urk. IV, 331, 12).

A lot about the conceptualization of Punt can be found in the oracular speech of the god Amun towards Hatshepsut:

> "I have given to you Punt entirely up to the countries of the gods; the god's land which had not been trodden, the terrace of myrrh which men did not know. It had been heard from mouth to mouth as tales of the predecessors, and the marvels which are brought from there were brought during (the reign of) your fathers, the kings of Lower Egypt, one after the other since the time of the ancestors, the kings of Upper Egypt who existed previously, as counterpart for substantial payment. It had not been reached, except by your scouts. Now I will cause your army to tread it. I have guided them on water and on land, opening for them roads difficult to access. I have trod the terraces of myrrh. That is the sacred region of the god's land, and now it is my place of relaxing my heart. I have made it for myself, in order to calm my heart together with Mut and Hathor, the lady of the crown, the lady of Punt, the lady of [heaven], the one with great magic, sovereign of all gods. They shall take myrrh as they like, they shall load their cargo ships to their contentment from the trees of fresh myrrh, all good gifts from this foreign country. The Puntites who did not know (Egyptian) men, the beard-wearers of the gods' lands, I rendered them gracious for your sake. They shall render you homage like to a god because of the greatness of your might throughout the foreign country." (Urk. IV, 344, 6–346, 2).

Reading closely, one can recognize that an important motive of the expedition was to cut costs by direct travel instead of a down-the-line-trade which could provide Egypt with the substances desired, but only at a high price. We can ask ourselves if the direct trade was really more cost-effective, given the equipment necessary for it and the risks linked with sea-travel. An important question behind this is whether direct expeditions from Egypt to Punt were triggered by difficulties in the land connections and rising prices resulting from them.

Relations with Punt during the time of Hatshepsut have also left their traces in contemporary tombs of some high-ranking officials,[31] e.g. TT 26 (Hapuseneb),[32] TT 39 (Puyemrê),[33] TT 100 (Rekhmirê),[34] TT 143 (Urk. IV, 1472,

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31 Silke Hallmann, *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 2006, esp. 268–269, 276–279 and 314–315.

32 Nina Davies, A Fragment of a Punt Scene, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47 (1961), 19–23, pl. IV–V.

33 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes,* Volume I. *The Hall of Memories*, New York 1942, pl. XXXII.

34 Idem, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ at Thebes*, New York 1935, pl. I.

14–20),[35] and TT 89 (Amenmose).[36] While the land of Punt is not explicitly mentioned, passages from the inscription of Senemiah are especially notable (Urk. IV, 502, 2–503, 14).[37] There, we see an active participation of the queen in the processing of aromatic substances.

Three New Kingdom inscriptions from the Sinai likewise mention Punt and thus hint at the existence of specialists who worked in the north as well as the south of the Red Sea region during that time.[38]

There is also an inscription fragment from Bubastis, probably dating to the 18th dynasty, which has been proposed to possibly contain a reference to a royal visit to Punt.[39] However, since Punt is not explicitly mentioned in the preserved passages, no safe conclusions can be drawn.

In a depiction of foreigners bringing tributes to Egypt in the tomb of Merire II in Amarna, it has been proposed to recognize one group of people as Puntites because of the gifts they carry, even though their ethnic characteristics are difficult to recognize in the published images.[40]

An inscription heading a toponym list of Ramses II (13th century BCE) at the temple of Aksha (KRI II, 211, 1f.) and Amara (KRI II, 215, 6f.) is quite remarkable as it indicates explicitly that he sent his expedition to Punt and that they brought back incense trees, animal hides and aromatics.[41] Particularly noteworthy is that parts of the text are written in a cryptographic writing sys-

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35 Idem, The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition, in: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 30, n°11 (Nov. 1935), Part 2: *The Egyptian Expedition* (1934–1935), 46–57, there 46–49. For the ship type of the Puntites depicted there, see Norbert Düring, *Materialien zum Schiffbau im Alten Ägypten,* Berlin 1985, 49–50.

36 Nina Davies and Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Amenmosĕ (No. 89) at Thebes, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1940), 131–136, pl. XXII–XXV, there 136, pl. XXV.

37 Guglielmi, Zur Identifikation der ꜥnd(w)-Bäume (cf. n. 10), 26–28.

38 Sinai 211 (Amenhotep III), 238 (18th dynasty), 427 (New Kingdom), see Alan Henderson Gardiner, Thomas Eric Peet, and Jaroslav Černy, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, London 1955, 165–166, 173, 213, pl. LXVI, LXVII, LXXXIX.

39 Raymond Faulkner, A Possible Royal Visit to Punt, in: *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1843 – 4 giugno 1943)*, vol. 2, Pisa 1949–1955, 84–90.

40 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, Part II: *The Tombs of Panehsy and Meryra II.*, London 1905, 41, pl. XXXVII and XL; Hallmann, Tributszenen (cf. n. 31), 99.

41 A special study of these passages, including improvements in the reading based on old photographs, was presented by Alicia Daneri Rodrigo, An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha, in: *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 15 (1985), 68–71. Unfortunately, this study was passed in silence by Kenneth Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated & Annotated, Translations,* vol. 2, Oxford 1996, 71 and 74; Kenneth

tem otherwise mainly known from arcane religious compositions, but which—especially during the Ramesside period—are also used on occasion in royal display texts. Furthermore, one of the products is written as *ʿnṯ* in that text. This word is otherwise mainly known from the Old Kingdom as a word probably to be identified with what is later normally written *ʿntw* "myrrh".[42] Again, we must not overlook the possibility that it is a copy from a much earlier model.

Three other texts from the time of Ramses II at the temples of Abydos (KRI II 514, 16) and Luxor (KRI II 619, 13) as well as an inscription in Sinai (KRI II 401,14) mention Punt, but they do not necessarily prove direct connections at that time: the first only mentions the presence of products from Punt in the temple magazines, the second only features a procession of personifications of geographic regions whose link to actual reality might be questioned, while the third only features a reference to the "lord of Punt" as an epithet of the god Thoth.[43]

In the great Papyrus Harris I (77,8–78,1), Ramses III indicates that he directed an expedition to Punt.[44] He also planted *snčr*- and -trees in the courtyard of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, claiming to have brought them with his own arms from the lands of the gods[45] (pHarris I 49, 7),[46] and *snčr*-trees in the *temenos* of Amun at Thebes, claiming to have brought Punt to the god (pHarris I 7,

Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated & Annotated, Notes and Comments,* Vol. 2: *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, Oxford 1999, 121 and 125–128.

42 Guglielmi, Zur Identifikation der ʿnd(w)-Bäume (cf. n. 10), 19–33

43 Alaael-din M. Shaheen, Thoth, Lord of Punt. A Brief Note, in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 165 (1998), 9–11. For further inscriptions from the time of Ramses II mentioning Punt without specific content see Rainer Nutz, Zur ideologischen Verortung von Tȝ-nṯr und Punt, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 (2010), 281–288, there 285 with note 33.

44 Pierre Grandet, *Le papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, Cairo 1994, 328; Luisa Bongrani, The Punt Expedition of Ramses IIIrd. Considerations on the Report from the Papyrus Harris I, in: *L'impero rameside: convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni*, Roma 1997, 45–59.

45 The apparent dual which was defended by Grandet, Papyrus Harris I (cf. n. 44), vol. 1, 291 note au) and which has led Bongrani, The Punt Expedition of Ramses IIIrd (cf. n. 44), 52–53, to speculations that 'the two god's lands' should designate the African and the Arab coast of the Red Sea is just an orthographic peculiarity which becomes frequent in the Late period, probably due to phonetic developments, i.e. writing what appears to be the dual *tȝ.wỉ* when in fact the plural *tȝ.w* is intended, see Joachim Friedrich Quack, review of Dieter Kurth, Edfu VIII, in: *Die Welt des Orients* 31 (2000/01), 196–201, there 199 (see also Harco Willems, Filip Coppens, Marleen De Meyer, et al., *The Temple of Shanhûr*, Vol. 1: *The Sanctuary, the Wabet, and the Gates of the Central Hall and the Great Vestibule (1–98)*, Leuven 2003, 113 note 133, where such writings are interpreted as singular forms, and Anke Ilona Blöbaum, Der übersetzte Gott? Transfer von theologischen Konzepten zur Legitimierung von Fremdherrschaft im pharaonischen Ägypten, in: *Der übersetzte Gott*, ed. Melanie Lange and Martin Rösel, Leipzig 2015, 9–36,

7). Linked with this might be a depiction in the temple of Medinet Habu where the king offers many precious items to the god Amun-Re, among them two trees and a heap of aromatic substances which are labelled as being from Punt (Medinet Habu V, pl. 328).[47] Probably this textual attestation can be linked with the discovery of a road leading into Arabia, dating from the time of Ramses III.[48] It is often assumed that this is the last mention of an Egyptian expedition to Punt, but in fact there are later attestations.

One text possibly speaking of traveling to Punt during the 26th dynasty (7th-6th century BCE) is found on a private statue of a royal envoy.[49] While the name Punt is partially damaged, the reading seems sufficiently certain. Less clear in its interpretation is a stela found at Defenneh in the Delta which is now normally dated to the 26th dynasty, although there is no royal name preserved. It speaks of rain on the mountains of Punt while the inundation is low in the nomes of Egypt.[50]

here 25–26, who gives undue relevance to such a supposed dual writing). For another clear example where *nꜣ tꜣ.wi r-ḏr=w* with plural article is written for 'all lands' already in the Ramesside period, see ostracon OIC 25346, rt. 6, published by John L. Foster, Oriental Institute Ostracon 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100), in: *For his Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David Silverman, Chicago 1994, 87–97.

46   See also Dixon, The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt (cf. n. 17), 59, whose argument hinges largely on the identification of *snḏr* as pistachio as proposed by Victor Loret, *La résine de térébinthe (sonter) chez les anciens Égyptiens*, Cairo 1949. Critical of Dixon is Grandet, Papyrus Harris I (cf. n. 44), vol. 2, 39, n. 154.

47   The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu,* Vol. V: *The Temple Proper.* Part I: *The Portico, the Treasury, and Chapels adjoining the First Hypostyle Hall with Marginal Material from the Forecourts*, Chicago 1957, pl. 328.

48   Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, Une mystérieuse route sud-orientale sous le règne de Ramsès III, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 111 (2011), 36–369; Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, A Road to the Arabian Peninsula in the Reign of Ramesses III, in: *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*, ed. Frank Förster and Heiko Riemer, Köln 2013, 511–518.

49   Marilina Betrò, Punt, la XXVI dinastia e il frammento di statua del Museo Pushkin I.1.B 1025, in: *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 19 (1996), 41–49. Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil IV: Die 26. Dynastie. Band 2: Gottesgemahlinnen/26. Dynastie insgesamt*, Wiesbaden 2014, 828 (no. 60.170) accepts the datation and gives a new edition of the hieroglyphic text.

50   William Matthew Flinders Petrie, A. S. Murray, and Francis Ll. Griffiths, *Tanis.* Part II: *Nebesheh (A M) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, London 1888, pl. XLII. Re-edition Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit, Teil IV*, 761f. (no. 60.11) (following the earlier edition since the present whereabouts of the stela are not known). It should be stressed that the orthography and grammar of the inscriptions strongly indicate a precedent in Old Kingdom models.

In any case, the episode of the circumnavigation of Africa ordered by Nekho II as recorded by Herodotus IV, 42 should also be mentioned.[51] There might be a larger geopolitical strategy behind this. Egypt under the 26th dynasty had tried to gain a foothold in the Levant and Syria, marching up to the Euphrates in order to help the floundering Neo-Assyrian Empire, but eventually the Egyptians lost against the Neo-Babylonian rulers. Since the roads in the north were thus blocked, attempting an exploration in the south-east would have made sense.

Egyptian trade with countries providing aromatics continues into the Ptolemaic Period,[52] but since the evidence is now in the Greek language, I defer to the contribution of Andrea Jördens in this volume. Within this framework, the finds of bronze objects of Mediterranean features at Gebel al-ʿAwd in Yemen also have to be considered.[53]

The Possibility of the Presence of People from Punt in Egypt

Some depictions of people on Old Kingdom monuments have been interpreted as men from Punt, mainly because their iconography shows similarity to the New Kingdom depictions of people from Punt.[54] At least two of them are not from royal monuments (where they can occasionally appear as vanquished enemies) but depict actual individuals living in Egypt. That fact would be highly

51 The historicity of this expedition was doubted by Jan Moje, Die angebliche phönizische Umseglung Afrikas im Auftrag des Pharaos Necho. Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Textstelle Herodot IV, 42, in: *Ägypten-Münster: kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten. Donum natalicium viro doctissimo Erharto Graefe sexagenario ab amicis collegis discipulis ex aedibus Schlaunstrasse 2/Rosenstrasse 9 oblatum*, ed. Anke Ilona Blöbaum, Jochem Kahl, and Simon D. Schweitzer, Wiesbaden 2003, 197–212, but his arguments are hardly cogent, see my remarks in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 155 (2005), 609. See further Stephan Heilen, Die Anfänge der wissenschaftlichen Geographie. Anaximander und Hekataios, in: *Geographie und verwandte Wissenschaften*, ed. Wolfgang Hübner, Stuttgart 2000, 33–54, here 40 with note 39.

52 Ulrich Wilcken, Punt-Fahrten in der Ptolemäerzeit, in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 60 (1925), 86–102; compare Stephan Schuster, *Das Seedarlehen in den Gerichtsreden des Demosthenes. Mit einem Ausblick auf die weitere historische Entwicklung des Rechtsinstitutes: dáneion nautikón, fenus nauticum und Bodmerei*, Berlin 2005, 171–172 with note 788. This means that the claim of Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt" (cf. n. 17), 264, that during the Ptolemaic period trade relations between Egypt and Punt are no longer attested, is exaggerated.

53 See for the moment the presentation at URL: https://www.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/96489 (accessed 1 April 2016).

important as it shows not only a long-term exchange of goods but also the settlement of persons in Egypt. Most significantly, one of the cases is quite early, probably from the 2nd dynasty (ca. 28th century BCE),[55] thus prior to all currently known textual attestations of the land of Punt. Also the second case, from the tomb of Hetep-Seschat and probably dating back to the 4th dynasty (ca. 26th century BCE), counts among the earliest attestations of Punt.[56]

Concerning the presence of people from Punt in Egypt, we should also refer to images attested in the New Kingdom depicting the festival of the god Min.[57] In the accompanying texts, a "negro[58] from Punt" is actually mentioned.[59] One of the hymns attested in these scenes, as well as much later in the Ptolemaic period temple of Athribis,[60] contains passages which are not amenable to any meaningful analysis as Egyptian language. It can be proposed that these passages are more or less garbled phonetic transcriptions of Puntite languages,[61] while it is also likely that these inscriptions are garbled copies taken over from much older originals. In any case, it should be noted that the Egyp-

54 Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Reʿ*, Leipzig 1907, 47–48 and 87; Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saʾhu-Reʿ*. Vol. II: *Die Wandbilder*, Leipzig 1913, 19–21; Henry G. Fischer, Varia Aegyptiaca, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963): 17–51, there 34–39; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten* (PhD thesis), Hamburg 1967, 5–9; Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt" (cf. n. 17), 264.

55 Stela from Helwan, see Zaky Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, Cairo 1947, 46–48, pl. XXVII.

56 Hermann Junker, *Gîza II. Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizäus† unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza*. Vol. II: *Die Maṣṭabas der beginnenden 5. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, Wien 1934, 182, fig. 28 and 194 (LD III, 23); Tallet, Deux notes sur les expéditions au pays de Pount (cf. n. 19), 192–195.

57 Detailed study by Henri Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, Cairo 1931.

58 While this term is not 'politically correct', I use it because it reflects the derogatory meaning of the Egyptian term *nḥs*/ used here.

59 Gauthier, Fêtes (cf. n. 57), 189–199; Alexandra von Lieven, Native and Foreign Elements in the Musical Life of Ancient Egypt, in: *Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie, Vorträge des 5. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Ethnologischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 19.–23. September 2006* (Studien zur Musikarchäologie 6, Orientarchäologie 22), ed. Arnd Both, Ricardo Eichmann, Ellen Hickmann et al., Rahden (Westf.) 2008, 155–160.

60 Christian Leitz, Rafed El-Sayed, Daniela Mendel et al., The Epigraphic Record, in: *Athribis I. General Survey 2003–2007. Archaeological & Conservation Studies. The Gate of Ptolemy IX. Architecture and Inscriptions*, ed. Rafed El-Sayed and Yahya El-Masry, Cairo 2012, 158–161, here 157.

tians saw it fitting that a person coming, at least on a conceptual level, from the Red Sea region should play an important part in an Egyptian festival.

Punt as a Conceptual Landscape

Punt is also a conceptual landscape embedded in the Egyptian world view.[62] There is an Old Kingdom alabaster vessel, found during the excavations at Abusir, which depicts a personification of Punt giving myrrh to King Teti.[63] An interesting example from the early Middle Kingdom is CT IV, 182 o-q, where the speaker in the role of the divine child Ihy (who conceptualizes himself as a child of different deities, especially Hathor and Re)[64] says that he has found himself in Punt and built a house there for himself at his place of birth, while his mother was under its trees. In several texts, Punt is mentioned as a place in the far south east linked with the sunrise, e.g. in CT III 90f., Book of the Dead chapter 15 c, the Book of Nut (P. Carlsberg 1, 1, 16. 26),[65] or in an invocation to the sun-god in the morning in the frame of a ritual of protection.[66]

61   Joachim Friedrich Quack, Punt [1] (cf. n. 28), 599; idem, Egyptian Writing for non-Egyptian Languages and Vice–Versa–A Short Overview, in: *The Idea of Writing. Play and Complexity*, ed. Alex de Voogt and Irving Finkel, Leiden 2010, 317–325, here 318.

62   Nathalie Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, Leuven 1990, 293–306; Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt" (cf. n. 17), 263–274; Creasman, Hatshepsut and the Politics of Punt (cf. n. 25), 395–405; Harvey, Interpreting Punt (cf. n. 3), 81–91; Rainer Nutz, Zur ideologischen Verortung von Tꜣ-nṯr und Punt (cf. n. 43), 281, 288; Françoise Labrique, Le regard d'Hérodote sur le phénix (II, 73), in: *Hérodote et l'Égypte: regards croisés sur le livre II de l'*Enquête *d'Hérodote. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon, le 10 mai 2010*, ed. Laurent Coulon, Pascale Giovannelli-Jouanna, and Flore Kimmel-Clauzet, Lyon 2013, 119–143, here 132–133.

63   Peter Kaplony, Bemerkungen zu einigen Steingefäßen mit archaischen Königsnamen, in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 20 (1965), 1–46, here 35–37.

64   Ludwig Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen im Spiegel der Gebelein-Region. Kulturgeschichtliche Re-Konstruktionen*, Leiden 2010, 369.

65   Alexandra von Lieven, *Grundriß des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, Copenhagen 2007, 49, 51 and 127–130.

66   Andreas Pries, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual zum Schutz des Königs und verwandte Kompositionen. Der Papyrus Kairo 58027 und die Textvarianten in den Geburtshäusern von Dendara und Edfu*, Heidelberg 2009, 72–3. By now, the history of this composition can be traced further back, see Kenneth Griffin, Toward a Better Understanding of the *Ritual of the Hours of the Night (Stundenritual)*, in: *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. New Discoveries and Research 2012–14*, ed. Elena Pischikova, Cairo/New York 2017, 97–134.

Egyptian gods can be labeled as lords of Punt.[67] One rather early example is Amun who is called "lord of the Medjai, ruler of Punt" in an important hymn attested since the Second Intermediate Period (c. 17th century) (pBoulaq 17, 1, 4 and parallels).[68] Even earlier there is a passage in the story of Sinuhe from the 12th dynasty where "the great goddess, lady of Punt" is mentioned (Sinuhe B 209–210). Deities linked with perfumes also tend to be associated with Punt.[69] In the *Book of the Day*, Punt is conceptualized as home of a group of baboons adoring the sun-god.[70]

Given the location of Punt at one of the outer points of the Egyptian worldview, it also marked the outer limit of Egyptian rule. Indeed, some Egyptian texts explicitly make this point. In the *Instruction of a Man for his Son*, a wisdom text from the Middle Kingdom, it is said about the Egyptian king: "His might traverses the sea, the islanders are in awe of him, Punt and the coasts of the Aegean. The god binds them together for him" (§ 8, 3–6).[71]

Furthermore, the Demotic Myth of the Sun's Eye should also be mentioned, which is attested in several 2nd century CE manuscripts. In this text Punt appears once in broken context (Lille B 45),[72] twice simply as a source of aromatics (Leiden 11, 10; 16, 4),[73] and in a third, more remarkable, attestation

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67 Some further examples Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt" (cf. n. 17), 270 with note 62.

68 See the (rather faulty) edition in Maria Michela Luiselli, *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17 (P. Kairo CG 58038)*, Wiesbaden 2004, 1, 5 and 43; and for the age of the text Detlef Franke, Middle Kingdom Hymns and Other Sundry Religious Texts – an Inventory, in: *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World, Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, ed. Sibylle Meyer, Leiden 2003, 95–135, there 113 and 131. Punt as subjected to Amun is also indicated in P. Leiden I 350, 1, 5, see Jan Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, Leiden 1948, 5–6.

69 Sydney Aufrère, Le « champ divin » de Bastet à Bubastis, l'albâtre, les parfums et les curiosités de la mer rouge (=autour de l'univers minéral XI), in: *Res Orientales XI. Parfums d'Orient*, ed. Rika Gyselen, Burres-sur-Yvette 1998, 65–83; for a special case involving Neith and Nekhbet, see Alexandra von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna. Eine Fallstudie zur Religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 2000, 145.

70 Marcus Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, Fribourg 2008, 155–163.

71 Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn. Eine Etappe auf dem „Gottesweg" des loyalen und solidarischen Beamten des Mittleren Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1999, 101 and 103–106.

72 Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, Berlin 2007, 198.

73 Meeks, Coptos et les chemins du Pount (cf. n. 3), 271 notes that there Punt seems curiously located in the north, but I am not sure about this interpretation. While *mḥy.t* etymologically means 'north wind', it experienced a semantic shift by Coptic, leading to a primary meaning as 'fresh breeze', compare Lycopolitan ⲘⲀⲎ.

(Leiden 6, 1), which contrasts the vegetation of Punt with that of Egypt: "Ebony does not become black in Egypt. The water places of Punt are overgrown with rush and reed, but sycamores are not found in them".

In the temple of Repit at Athribis, during the Ptolemaic period, a special "Punt chamber" was decorated showing different aromatic trees and describing them.[74] The treatise on the different trees has a direct parallel in the temple of Edfu; it classifies them according to the possibilities of use and attributes them to different deities.[75]

A particular facet of this conceptual valorization can be seen in the cult of the Egyptian god Min. He is one of the earliest attested deities in Egypt. By his main place of veneration in Koptos, he is associated with the main road through the Wadi Hammamat leading to the Red Sea. As a result, many later texts associate him with the land of Punt, to the far south-east of Egypt.[76] New Kingdom and Ptolemaic period depictions of his festival (c. 13th century BCE) even show that there were ritual spells to be recited by a "negro of Punt" (see above).

There is one late attestation of the land of Punt for which it is unclear whether it is linked to reality or conceptualization. According to the building inscription in the temple of Edfu, Ptolemy X fled to "Punt" when his elder brother Ptolemy IX regained the throne in 88 BCE (Edfou VII, 8).[77] From historical sources we know that in reality he fled first to Upper Egypt (the Thebaid),

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[74] Nathalie Baum, La salle de Pount du temple de Repit à Wennina, in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*. Vol. 2: *Nubie, Soudan, Éthiopie*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, Cairo 1994, 23–37; Michèle Chermette and Jean-Claude Goyon, Le catalogue raisonné de producteurs de Styrax et d'oliban d'Edfou et d'Athribis de Haute Égypte, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23 (1996), 47–82; Christian Leitz, Daniela Mendel, and Mohamed el-Bialy, *Die Außenwände und westlichen Seitenkapellem des Tempels von Athribis*, Cairo 2014, 243–285.

[75] Alexandra von Lieven, Das Göttliche in der Natur erkennen. Tiere, Pflanzen und Phänomene der unbelebten Natur als Manifestationen des Göttlichen, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 131 (2004), 156–172, pl. XX–XXI.

[76] Jean Yoyotte, Une épithète de Min comme explorateur des régions orientales, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 9 (1952), 125–137.

[77] See also Dieter Kurth, *Edfu VII*, Wiesbaden 2004, 11 with note 9, although the metaphorical sense of 'to die' for 'to flee to Punt' supposed by him is nowhere else attested and his interpretation of a simple narrative *sḏm=f* as circumstantial clause 'until he disappeared' is not well founded, see my review in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 160 (2010), 461. Previously, Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle, Le temple d'Edfou. Étapes de la construction. Nouvelles données historiques, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 35 (1984), 31–55, here 52–53 had understood that the priests did not know where the king had fled; similarly John Ray, Psammuthis and Hakoris, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72 (1986), 149–158, here 153 interpreted this as global expression

then back to the Delta and embarked on a fleet in the Mediterranean Sea. There he was pursued and fled to Lycia.[78] Unless the first move to the Thebaid is intended, the reference to 'Punt' as a northern location would be most surprising.[79] There is, however, one other option to consider: the last indigenous king of Egypt Nectanebos II fled to Nubia/Ethiopia (Diodorus 16.51.1) when Artaxerxes III reconquered Egypt in 343/342 BCE.[80] One can speculate if, due to this incident, "to flee to Punt" might have become an idiomatic expression for a king deserting his kingdom.

Arabia

Actual Encounters and Their Legacy

If we agree that Punt is more likely to be located on the African side of the Red Sea, the Arabian one is not well documented in Egypt during the earlier periods, except for some very northern places like the Arabah.

It is only with the advent of the first millennium BCE that the documentation for Arabia and Arabian people becomes substantial.[81] This is likely to be linked with the Incense Road, which went by land from South Arabia to the southern Levant, with Gaza on the Mediterranean shore as an important destination.[82] One important tribe from South Arabia involved in this trade are the Mineans. Their inscriptions mention travels to Egypt from the 4th century BCE

for seeking refuge in a foreign country. See also Edmond Van't Dack, Willy Clarysse, Getzel Cohen, Jan Quaegebeur, and Jan Winnicki, *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103–101 B.C. A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a "War of Sceptres"*, Brussels 1989, 145–146.

78 Werner Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.*, Munich 2001, 657–658.

79 Still, Robert Ritner, Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes, in: *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006*, ed. Peter Dorman and Betsy Bryan, Chicago 2011, 97–114, here 106 note 77 thinks that Punt is substituted here for Cyprus. Meeks, Locating Punt (cf. n. 3), 69 argues in the frame of a theory to locate Punt in Arabia that the king had been twice quite near to Arabia during his flight, but passing "quite near" is hardly enough to explain why Punt was indicated as his goal in the inscription. Edwyn Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London 1927, 334 note 1 thinks that "Punt" at this time might be used for any foreign country, but unambiguous further evidence for such a claim is lacking.

80 Huß, Ägypten (cf. n. 78), 53; Stephen Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West. Egypt and the Persian Empire 525–332 BCE*, Oxford 2012, 193.

81 Günter Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Mainz 2003, 180–193; Jan Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours. Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC*, Warsaw 2009, 306–365.

onwards.[83] One interesting source within this record are inscriptions speaking of Mineans marrying women from foreign places distributed along the incense road.[84] Most of them (thirty) are from Gaza, but there are also nine from Dedan in Arabia and eight from Egypt. At least in a few cases, the names given in the inscriptions can be provided with plausible Egyptian etymologies. In a somewhat similar vein, an inscription from Gebel Ghuneim (near Tayma) speaks of an Arab lying with an Egyptian woman.[85] There is one sarcophagus from Giza in Egypt which is very notable for having an inscription in the Minean language as well as incorporating Egyptian religious conceptions; according to one interpretation, the owner even became a priest in the Egyptian cult.[86] While most of the inscriptions concerning trade mention place names like Gaza, Sidon, or Tyre and thus imply that the incense road was used, there are two South Arabian graffiti from the Wadi Hammamat which could be interpreted as evidence for conforming to the Pharaonic pattern of sea travel in the Red Sea followed by an overland route to the Nile.[87]

Even though South Arabian texts are sparsely documented in Egypt, the South Arabian script left an important legacy in late Egypt, i.e. the period encompassing the 1st millennium BCE and the Roman Period. From about the 4th century BCE onwards, there are indications that the Egyptians used a sequence of sounds for ordering words and signs, so that we can speak of a late-Egyptian alphabet. Surprising as it might seem, the sequence actually used is not based on some writing system frequently used and attested in Egypt but on the Ancient South Arabian script.[88] The South Arabian sequence is the so-

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82 Michaël Jasmin, Les conditions d'émergence de la route de l'encens à la fin du IIe millénaire avant notre ère, in: *Syria* 82 (2005), 49–62.

83 Christian Robin, L'Égypte dans les inscriptions de l'Arabie méridionale préislamique, in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*. Vol. 4: *Varia*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, Cairo 1994, 286–301.

84 Walter Müller and Günter Vittmann, Zu den Personennamen der aus Ägypten stammenden Frauen in den sogenannten „Hierodulenlisten" von Maʿīn, in: *Orientalia* 62 (1993), 1–10.

85 Gunnar Sperveslage, Intercultural Contacts Between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula at the Turn of the 2nd to the 1st millennium BCE, in: *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East 1300–500 BC*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, Oxford 2016, 303–330, here 316.

86 Günter Vittmann, Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu Fremden und hellenisierten Ägyptern im Dienste einheimischer Kulte, in: *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, ed. Willy Clarysse, Anthoon Schoors, and Harco Willems, Leuven 1998, 1231–1250, there 1241–1244.

87 Robin, L'Égypte dans les inscriptions (cf. n. 83), 296–297.

called *halaham* order (after the first letters), and it has been speculated whether this might be a possible origin of the Latin word "element".[89]

Arabia and Its People in Demotic Egyptian Literature

I do not want to pass the role of Arabia in Egyptian literature in silence. While such texts do not easily provide what a historian would call 'facts', they can tell us a lot about the imagination of the people who created them, and indeed there are some Egyptian literary works where Arabia or the Arabs play a relevant role.

A first text to be mentioned is P. Carlsberg 459 + PSI Inv. D 51, a manuscript from 2nd century CE Tebtunis.[90] There we encounter an Egyptian woman who travels with an Arab to the country of Lihyan, which is known from other sources as an Arabian kingdom that flourished especially during the Ptolemaic period. In one episode, she takes a bath in a lake, and the Arab perceives her beauty. Things proceed as it is to be expected, and soon they sleep with each other. Without entering into all the details of a rather fragmentary text, such an

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88 First observations about the sequence were made by Jochem Kahl, Von *h* bis *ḳ*. Indizien für eine ‚alphabetische' Reihenfolge einkonsonantiger Lautwerte in spätzeitlichen Papyri, in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 122 (1991), 33–47. In Joachim Friedrich Quack, Ägyptisches und südarabisches Alphabet, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 44 (1993), 141–151, I first demonstrated the connection between the two traditions. For more recent studies, see especially Joachim Friedrich Quack, Die spätägyptische Alphabetreihenfolge und das 'südsemitische' Alphabet, in: *Lingua Aegyptia* 11 (2003), 163–184; François Gaudard, Le P. Berlin 8278 et ses fragments. Un « nouveau » texte démotique comprenant des noms de lettres, in: *Verba manent. Recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks*, ed. Isabelle Régen and Frédéric Servajean, Montpellier 2009, 165–169; François Gaudard, Birds in the Ancient Egyptian and Coptic Alphabet, in: *Between Heaven and Hell. Birds in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, Chicago 2012, 65–70; Didier Devauchelle, L'alphabet des oiseaux (O. dém. DelM 4–2), in: *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man. Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait*, ed. Aidan Dodson, John Johnston, and Wendy Monkhouse, London 2014, 57–65; new source material can also be found in John Ray, *Demotic Ostraca and Other Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara*, London 2013, 86–90.

89 See the critical discussion in Reinhard G. Lehmann, 27 – 30 – 22 – 26 – How Many Letters Needs an Alphabet? The Case of Semitic, in: *The Idea of Writing: Writing Across Borders*, ed. Alex de Voogt and Joachim Friedrich Quack, Leiden 2011, 11–52, there 15–16, note 8.

90 Kim Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 10. Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, Copenhagen 2012, 35–72. Compare for this episode Joachim Friedrich Quack, Where Once was Love, Love is no More? What Happens to Expressions of Love in Late Period Egypt?, in: *Die Welt des Orients* 46 (2016), 62–89, here 69.

episode gives at least some fleshed-out background to the Mineans marrying Egyptian women we have encountered previously. It seems especially close to the inscription from Gebel Ghuneim.

Another relevant literary text is the narrative about the prince and future king Sesostris. There are some fragments of a Greek novel about him, and they mention a battle between the Egyptians and Arabs led by a king called Webelis. Remnants of three Demotic manuscripts are still unpublished. Mostly, they narrate how King Amenemhet and his son Prince Sesostris fought against the Nubians, but at least one fragment mentions a turn of the army to Arabia, which might imply traversing the Red Sea. Indeed, the Sesostris story as told by Greek historians, especially Diodorus, clearly indicates that the armed expedition of Sesostris set out from Egypt, first south along the Red Sea coast, and then passed over to Arabia.[91] Harkening back to such episodes, Pliny NH VI 174 indicates a port of Isis a ten day journey by rowboat from Adulis where troglodytian myrrh is brought, and indicates a place Mossylites, still further on, as the farthest point Sesostris has reached.[92]

One piece of Demotic literature has a special significance as being a piece of literary imagination employing a supposed ruler from Arabia as a major figure. It is a Demotic text transmitted together with several others on a pottery jar from Roman period Egypt.[93] The object shows all the hallmarks of being a school exercise. It presents a sequence of short texts stylized as letters. One of them is introduced as a letter by Auski, Prince of Arabia, to King Psammetich Neferibre.[94] The Egyptian king, whose name was only correctly deciphered recently,[95] ruled from 595–589 BCE. Previously, it had been proposed to identify the Egyptian form Auski with the famous king Aśoka of India.[96] However, with the correct identification of his Egyptian counterpart, this proposal loses its chronological plausibility, while it was always burdened with the problem of

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91 Iris Sulimani, *Diodorus' Mythistory and the Pagan Mission. Historiography and Culture-Heroes in the First Pentad of the Bibliotheke*, Leiden 2011.

92 Bongrani, The Punt Expedition of Ramses IIIrd (cf. n. 44), 56–58.

93 Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*, Leipzig 1912.

94 See the special study of Phillipe Collombert, Le conte de l'hirondelle et de la mer, in: *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*, ed. Kim Ryholt, Copenhagen 2002, 59–76 as well as the overall presentation in Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, Berlin ²2009, 170–171 and the German translation in Hoffmann and Quack, Anthologie (cf. n. 72), 194–195 and 355–356.

95 Hoffmann and Quack, Anthologie (cf. n. 72), 355 note b.

96 Maria Carmela Betrò, Aśoka in un testo letterario demotico?, in: *Studi Ellenistici* 12 (1999), 112–125.

turning a person clearly labeled as Arab into an Indian.[97] The interpretation of the short letter is not without problems. In essence, it concerns a swallow whose nest with its young is destroyed by the raging sea. The swallow tries to take revenge by spitting sand into it and drinking out its water piecemeal. It is, however, not completely clear if this is presented as a futile effort or as an example of the power of even small creatures to successfully deal with big adversaries—and any possible interpretation of the text as conveying a hidden symbolic message concerning the relation between Egypt and Arabia is fraught with this additional complication.

The ethnic designation Hagar, probably meaning 'Arab', occurs several times in a manual of divination (P. Vienna D 12006), as a sort of role model for certain actions, perhaps regarding somebody who would do well not to leave his tent.[98] However, due to the lexical uncertainty of a crucial word, the interpretation remains doubtful.

Beyond Arabia, the African side of the Red Sea region is also relevant in Demotic Egyptian literature, but with a special connotation. Griffons are supposed to come from there, and especially in the narrative of the heroic deeds of Inaros, it is told how one came to the Egyptian army and wreaked havoc before it was killed by Inaros with an iron lance.[99]

Conclusions

This volume is put under the two categories of 'entre mers' and 'outre mer'. For the first of them, my material probably has to invert the perspective and create an 'entre terres', at least for the Punt expeditions where the Red Sea was a transition zone between lands, and the voyage through the eastern desert of Egypt meant transporting ships over a substantial land mass.

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97 Recently, Günter Vittmann, Die Schwalbe und das Meer, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge, Band 8: Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Daniel Schwemer, Gütersloh 2015, 440–441, there 440 note 508 has tried to support the identification with Aśoka. While Aśoka left numerous inscriptions in India and sent embassies to the Hellenistic rulers (see the contribution of Alexandra von Lieven in this volume), there is no evidence that his memory was kept alive in the Mediterranean region.

98 Martin Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung. Neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 Recto*, Wien 2004, 64–5, 76, 80, 131–135.

99 Kim Ryholt, The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition. A Survey of the Narrative Source Material, in: *Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, ed. Jan Gerrit Dercksen, Leiden 2004, 483–510, here 493–494.

As for the second term, I am not quite sure whether the sea, in my case, provided a firm link between distant coasts. While there is a history of Punt voyages, they seem to have been relatively rare, and indeed the Puntites reacted rather surprised when the Egyptians arrived, at least according to the Deir el-Bahri texts. Firmer links with Arabia can only be grasped from the first millennium BCE onwards, and they are based mainly on land travel, i.e. on the development of the incense road linking South Arabia to the Southern Levant. Thus, this contribution is perhaps primarily concerned with evidence for 'sans mer', though concerning the land par excellence between the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean Worlds.

Alexandra von Lieven

Trade Contacts and Cultural Exchange between Egypt and India in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period

Abstract. When speaking about Egypt's cultural contacts, only the nearest Mediterranean, African and Near Eastern civilizations are usually taken into account. However, during the Greco-Roman period, Egypt also had direct contact with Ancient India via the Red Sea trade. While this fact is in principle well known, these contacts are usually seen as relating to Greco-Roman trade. However, this trade was physically conducted via Egypt and consequently generated a cultural exchange between Egypt and India, a fact which has not yet elicited much study. This is perhaps due to the fact that specialists in Ancient History did not have a particular interest in Egypt, while Egyptologists were for a long time not interested in the later epochs, believing that Egyptian culture had long since declined by then. As recent research has shown that Ancient Egyptian culture was alive and thriving until well into the Roman period, this question now needs to be re-evaluated.

Egyptian Contacts to the East up to the Ptolemaic Period

When Egyptologists think of civilizations with which Ancient Egypt had cultural contact, many African, Levantine, Mesopotamian, Anatolian or Aegean cultures and countries readily come to mind. Ancient India and her neighbours are normally not included in this list. However, they clearly should be, as there can be no doubt that at least from the Ptolemaic Period, i.e. from the 3rd century BCE onwards, direct trade contacts between the two cultures did indeed exist. The interesting question is whether these direct contacts developed only then or had already been flourishing before, and since when. Indirect contact must have already existed from the Predynastic Period (ca. 3500 BCE) onwards, as lapis lazuli has been a prized commodity since this time.[1] As far as we know, this gemstone is only found in Afghanistan. However, it seems to have reached

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[1] Alfred Lucas and James Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London 1962⁴, 398–400; Paul Nicholson and Ian Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, 39–40.

Egypt via Mesopotamian intermediaries and up to this day, there has been no reason to assume that the Egyptians had any idea where the stone really came from (except that they probably knew it was very far away). According to Egyptian texts from the 2nd millennium BCE, it was supposed to come from *Tfrr.t*, literally "Lapislazuli land", a place not yet identified, located in the general direction of other Near Eastern neighbours.[2] In fact, it is likely that this is just a geographical name made up to give a place of provenance at all.

Bactria

The question since when the Egyptians had more precise knowledge of those far-away regions to the east, even beyond Mesopotamia, is not without interest insofar as there is a great debate on the dating of the so-called Bentresh Stela, a text mentioning a princess of Bakhtan.[3] This toponym, known from several other sources as well, clearly denotes Bactria. It is equally certain that the text of the stela, purportedly written in the reign of Ramses II, is a later pseudepigraph propagating a particular form of the god Khonsu. The question as to when the text was originally composed remains unanswered. Epigraphically, the stela looks quite plausible for a dating to the Third Intermediate Period, which would also fit the oldest other attestations for this particular deity, namely Khonsu-the-Counsellor (*Ḫnsw p3 iṛi sḥr.w*). It is therefore no surprise that such a date has been proposed in the past by some scholars. Yet, it seems hard to believe that Bactria as such was already known in this period and Kim Ryholt has recently plausibly suggested that the text as a whole should be understood in the framework of an *imitatio Alexandri*, thus being a composi-

2   James Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, Berlin 1961, 124–129, 134; Lucas and Harris, Materials (cf. n. 1), 400; Jürgen Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I: The Carlsberg Papyri 2* (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 17), Copenhagen 1998, 107–109; Holger Kockelmann, Die Fremdvölkerlisten in den Soubassements der ptolemäisch-römischen Heiligtümer. Feindnamen und Feindvernichtungsrituale im Tempel zwischen Tradition und Wandel, in: *Von Meroe bis Indien. Fremdvölkerlisten und nubische Gabenträger in den griechisch-römischen Tempeln*, ed. Holger Kockelmann and Alexa Rickert (Soubassementstudien V, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 12), Wiesbaden 2015, 3–141, here 71.

3   Orell Witthuhn, Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi, Moritz Klimek et al., *Die Bentreschstele: Ein Quellen- und Lesebuch. Forschungsgeschichte und Perspektiven eines ptolemäerzeitlichen Denkmals aus Theben (Ägypten)* (Göttinger Miszellen Occasional Studies 2), Göttingen 2015; Joachim Quack, Importing and Exporting Gods? On the Flow of Deities between Egypt and its Neighboring Countries, in: *The Dynamics of Transculturality. Concepts and Institutions in Motion*, ed. Antje Flüchter and Jivanta Schöttli, Heidelberg 2015, 255–277, here 269–270.

tion from the Ptolemaic Period at the earliest.[4] This date corresponds to a recent dating proposal by the Göttingen Bentresh Study Group.[5]

India

The earliest textual mentions of India proper (*Hnṯwy*, later also *Hntw*) date to the Persian Period. They do not contain any information, but just mention the toponym in a list of subjugated foreign countries.[6] Such lists were a stock feature of Egyptian political representation and while they often transported traditional, even outdated information, they were updated if there was a specific need and interest to do so. Thus, in the Persian Period, the lists reflect the Persian Empire and its border countries. Whether any more detailed information on these countries was available in Egypt is unfortunately unknown.

Against this background, the expedition of Alexander the Great and the subsequent reign of the Ptolemies as kings of Egypt led to a significant change. Suddenly, more detailed knowledge of India was available in Egypt. While surely at first this knowledge was accessible in Greek-speaking circles in Alexandria, there is good reason to assume that it also spread further. At any rate, literary texts written in Demotic, the contemporary script and language of the native Egyptians, begin to mention India as well. In such literature, India and Bactria are not just names: we are told much more about them.[7]

4 Kim Ryholt, Imitatio Alexandri in Egyptian Literary Tradition, in: *The Romance between Greece and the East*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh and Stuart Thomson, Cambridge 2013, 59–78, esp. 62–72.

5 Witthuhn, Bentreschstele (cf. n. 3), 62–67.

6 George Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte. Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 11), Cairo 1936, 70, 187, Pl. V (no. 9); Jean Yoyotte, The Egyptian Statue of Darius, in: *The Palace of Darius at Susa. The Great Royal Residence of Achaemenid Persia*, ed. Jean Perrot, London 2013, 240–279; Günter Vittmann, Tradition und Neuerung in der demotischen Literatur, in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 125 (1998), 62–77, esp. 75–77; for the later lists in Greco-Roman period temples see Kockelmann, Die Fremdvölkerlisten in den Soubassements (cf. n. 2), 3–141.

7 Martin Stadler, *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten* (Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 7), Berlin 2012, 55–56 with n. 260; Ryholt, Imitatio Alexandri (cf. n. 4), 72–78; Joachim Quack, Isis, Thot und Arian auf der Suche nach Osiris, in: *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond, The Carlsberg Papyri* 11, ed. Kim Ryholt (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 36), Copenhagen (in press). See also below.

Maritime Trade between Egypt and India

As has been stated, interest in this part of the world was obviously fostered by an interest in Alexander the Great and his exploits. Soon, however, another element is to be reckoned with, namely direct contacts between Indians and Egyptians via trade relations.[8] Such trade took place in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods and is well known from Greek documentary papyri[9] and ancient authors and texts like the famous *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.[10] This can also be proven by archaeological finds from several important Red Sea ports (for details see the paper by Andrea Jördens in this volume). The archaeological finds especially are of great relevance as they demonstrate the physical presence of actual Indians on Egyptian soil and not just Indian goods transported by Greeks.[11] On the one hand, this concerns the presence of large quantities of Indian household ceramics in mid-1st century CE Berenike. On the other hand, sherds (including one of a Roman amphora) inscribed in Tamil Brāhmī have been found in Berenike and Koptos, as well as others bearing Prakrit inscriptions in Quṣayr al-Qadīm, ancient Myos Hormos.

While those inscriptions have only been few in number up to now, the recently published inscriptions from Hoq cave on the Isle of Socotra with nearly 250 graffiti in different languages and scripts,[12] including south Indian Brāhmī and even north Indian Kharoṣṭhī, should dispel any doubt that Indians themselves really travelled all the way to Egypt. In fact, the Brāhmī inscriptions

8 Steven Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 B.C.-A.D. 217*, Leiden 1986; Roberta Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade. From Pots to Pepper*, London 2008.

9 Lionel Casson, New Light on Maritime Loans: P.Vindob. G 40822, in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 84 (1990), 195–206 with further bibliography; Stephan Schuster, *Das Seedarlehen in den Gerichtsreden des Demosthenes. Mit einem Ausblick auf die weitere historische Entwicklung des Rechtsinstitutes: dáneion nautikón, fenus nauticum und Bodmerei* (Freiburger Rechtsgeschichtliche Abhandlungen Neue Folge 49), Berlin 2005, 171–172; Andrea Jördens in this volume.

10 Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Princeton 1989.

11 Richard Salomon, Epigraphic Remains of Indian Traders in Egypt, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1991), 731–736; Steven Sidebotham and Willeke Wendrich, Berenike: Roman Egypt's Maritime Gateway to Arabia and India, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1996), 15–18, esp. 16–17; idem, Berenike. Archaeological Fieldwork at a Ptolemaic-Roman Port on the Red Sea Coast of Egypt 1994–1998, in: *Sahara* 10 (1998), 85–96, esp. 89; Tomber, Indo-Roman Trade (cf. n. 8), 73–76; Steven Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*, Berkeley, Calif. 2011, 231.

12 Ingo Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra. The Inscriptions and Drawings from the Cave Hoq*, (Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient 3), Bremen 2012.

make up the lion's share of the texts in the cave, widely eclipsing those in e.g. South-Arabian or even Greek.

Thus, there can be no doubt about trade contacts. Of course, the even more interesting question that can be inferred from this state of knowledge is whether apart from a simple exchange of goods also an exchange of ideas or at least an influence on certain cultural levels occurred. We would surely expect this to be the case, and indeed, there are some indications, even if they are not always easily detected.

Cultural Exchange

Aśoka's Buddhist Mission to Ptolemy II

Certainly, the most spectacular cultural contact is attested through one of the famous edicts of the Indian emperor Aśoka (ca. 269–232 BCE). In decree no. XIII, the Kaliṅga Decree,[13] he first describes his successful war against the state of Kaliṅga, approximately in the region of modern Orissa. However, the sufferings caused by this military action provoke deep remorse in him and, having converted to Buddhism, he vows to henceforth only "conquer through the Dhaṃma", i.e. to spread the Buddhist teachings. To begin with, he states that he managed such a "conquest as a source of happiness" in many places near and far, "up to a distance of six hundred yojanas". Unfortunately, the exact length of this measure of distance in this period is not known. Apart from two South Indian peoples, and Sri Lanka, which according to other sources are known to have been converted by his brother and son, he names some other places. They are "where the Greek king called Aṃtiyoka is and apart from this Aṃtiyoka the four kings by the names of Tulamaya, of Aṃtekina, of Makā, of Alikasudala". This enumeration clearly refers to the Hellenistic kings known as Antiochos III (261–246 BCE), Ptolemy II (285–245 BCE), Antigonos Gonatos (276–239 BCE), Magas of Cyrene (?–258 BCE) and Alexander of Epirus (272–255 BCE). On this base, the Kaliṅga decree and the Buddhist mission it describes can be dated quite precisely to the years 261–258 BCE. The fact that Aśoka and Ptolemy II exchanged diplomatic contacts with each other is also indirectly confirmed by Pliny VI 58, who in passing mentions that Philadelphos (i.e. Ptolemy II) sent Megasthenes and Dionysios to India. In the preceding sentence, Pliny speaks of Greeks who spent some time at the court of Indian kings, and this can naturally

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13 Ulrich Schneider, *Die großen Felsen-Edikte Aśokas. Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Analyse der Texte* (Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie 11), Wiesbaden 1978, 118–119, XIII, P-Q.

also be assumed for the two men mentioned by name. It is likely that this is how Aśoka learned about Ptolemy.

Unfortunately, however, I am not aware of any sign that his Buddhist missionaries ever reached Egypt or at least had any impact there. As far as I know, there is no certain notice about them in Greek texts, let alone any source in Egyptian.

The question as to whether Egyptian Buddhists ever existed has to be asked, particularly in view of a find from Sri Lanka. Among the offerings in Kiribat Vihāra in Anurādhapura, there was also an Egyptian scarab.[14] This Buddhist monastery was active from the 1st to the 5th century CE, which gives us an approximate dating of the deposition time of the piece. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to know whether this scarab made its way to Sri Lanka as merchandise or whether it belonged to the personal possessions of an Egyptian who had travelled there.

An Indian Venerating an Egyptian God under a Greek Name

There is, however, some better evidence for Indians in Egypt. A Greek graffito, no. 38 in the edition by Bernand,[15] has been found in the vicinity of the temple of Kanais. Based on epigraphic criteria, the editor dates it to the "advanced Ptolemaic Period". Since the time of Ptolemy I, the god Amun-Re had been venerated in the temple of Sethi I as "Pan of the good way". Pan of course stands for the traditional Egyptian god Min, often identified with Amun-Re, as lord of foreign countries and thus quite naturally also of travellers.

Graffitto 38 reads: "To Pan of the good way, and the Listener, Sophōn the Indian for himself". Bernand wanted to understand the dedicant Σοφῶν ἰνδός as "Sophon the elephant guide" and remarks that the name would not otherwise be attested in Greek, but be "well formed". Basham,[16] on the other hand, proposed to understand Σοφῶν as a graecized rendering of the Indian name Subhānu, and to take ἰνδός as a geographical indication of origin seriously. In view of the other inscriptions collected by Bernand, I would agree with Basham's view.[17] The denomination ἰνδός "Indian" is also attested in a few

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14 Petr Charvát, An Egyptian Scarab from Sri Lanka (Ceylon), in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 70 (1984), 19–26.

15 André Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs: Les inscriptions grecques*, Leiden 1972, 99–100. In the notes, Bernand provides further attestations for ἰνδός in Greek inscriptions from Egypt.

16 Arthur Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London 1967³ (reprint New Delhi 1993), 230–231.

other Greek graffiti. In general, indications of profession are rare in them, while indications of origin are more frequent, a feature that should not astonish us in view of the fact that the god honoured was particularly a patron of travellers.

The identity of the god is also a matter of interpretation. Basham stresses the degree of Hellenization of the writer and proposes to identify the "god of flocks and herds" Pan with the Indian shepherd god Kṛṣṇa. As a further reason, he states that both were associated with flute playing. While this is undeniable, the identification of the truly Greek goat-footed Pan with the breathtakingly beautiful and seductive Indian god Kṛṣṇa seems to be a less obvious choice.

Thus Basham assumes that Sophōn/Subhānu used the *interpretatio graeca* of the god for better international communication as he used the Greek language as *lingua franca*. If Sophōn/Subhānu had linked the name Pan with the Egyptian god Min, that it denotes,[18] he would have probably perceived him as Śiva in view of the traditional iconography of Min as ithyphallic. However, as there is no such depiction in the temple of Kanais because the original lord of the temple was Amun-Re, not Min, such a scenario is less plausible. Rather, it is possible that Sophōn/Subhānu did not at all feel a need to think of any Indian god when he dedicated his inscription just to the local deity, whom he only knew under his Greek name. I therefore cannot see a coercive reason for trying to find any Indian identification in this particular case.

17 Rachel Mairs, Egyptian 'Inscriptions' and Greek 'Graffiti' at El Kanais in the Egyptian Eastern Desert, in: *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, ed. Jennifer Baird and Claire Taylor, London 2011, 153–164, esp. 155, does not say to which of the two options she assigns no. 38 (although this graffito is listed in another context on p. 161). However, in Rachel Mairs, Intersecting Identities in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, in: *Egypt. Ancient Histories, Modern Archaeologies*, ed. Rachael Dann and Karen Exell, Amherst 2013, 163–192, esp. 174–182, she definitely opts for an occupational interpretation of ἰνδός, not an ethnic one. In view of the uniqueness of the name, which she also admits, I am not convinced. Perhaps the other cases of graffiti labelling the writer as ἰνδός should be reconsidered, too. There is a general danger that the epigraphers formed their opinion about the term on the simple assumption that it could not be explained otherwise. This would be less convincing in the light of the clear archaeological evidence for the presence of actual Indians, not just Indian goods on Egyptian soil.

18 For the complexities of *interpretatio graeca* of Egyptian deities see Alexandra von Lieven, Translating Gods, Interpreting Gods. On the Mechanisms behind the *Interpretatio Graeca* of Egyptian Gods, in: *Greco-Egyptian Interactions. Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BC–300 CE*, ed. Ian Rutherford, Oxford 2016, 61–82.

India and Indians in Egyptian literature

As already mentioned, India and neighbouring countries like Bactria also fea-
ture in Demotic literary texts. The novel known as "Egyptians and Amazons"[19]
forms part of the Inaros-Petubastis cycle of narratives. Unfortunately, it is only
fragmentarily handed down. In this text, the hero Petekhons is shown on a
military expedition to the east. They reach the Land of Women. At first, the two
parties fight each other, but in the course of fighting, Petekhons and Serpot, the
queen of the women, apparently fall in love with each other. In the following,
they march together against the Indians and seem to win. Unfortunately, the
continuation is lost due to the bad preservation of the manuscripts. One won-
ders whether the story found in the "Egyptians and Amazons" novel, in which
Petekhons is apparently not only the leader of the Egyptians but also has
Assyrians among his men, has anything to do with the tradition recounted by
Arrian V 7 that Semiramis the Assyrian wanted to conquer India, but died
before being able to accomplish her goal.[20]

What is particularly interesting in the Amazon's novel is that the god
Osiris is invoked by the Indian leader as "the great Agathodaimon of India".
Since the women venerate Osiris as well, and—much more fittingly—Isis, one
might be incited to think that the Egyptian author only ascribed the cult of a
prominent Egyptian deity to a foreign people. In this way, the passage has been
interpreted by its last editor, Friedhelm Hoffmann. However, Günter Vittmann[21]
rightfully called the fact to attention that Osiris or Dionysos, as he is called in
the *interpretatio graeca*, is also credited with an expedition to India in several
other texts.

The isolated case of the "Egyptians and Amazons" novel can now be
backed up by further Demotic literary texts. For example, P. Carlsberg 456, one
of the manuscripts of the story of the "Fight for the Armour of Inaros", pro-
claims that the heroic deeds of Inaros would be famous within all the *nomes* of
Egypt as well as up to India.[22]

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19 Friedhelm Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen. Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer
Papyri. P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A* (Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussamm-
lung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), Neue
Serie 24), Wien 1995.

20 Pierre Chantraine (ed.), *Arrien, L'Inde,* Paris 2002⁴, 29.

21 Vittmann, Tradition und Neuerung (cf. n. 6), 67.

22 Kim Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library, The Carlsberg
Papyri 10,* (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 35), Copenhagen 2012, 75, 78, 82, pl.
10.

There are also several still unpublished literary papyri which treat the exploits of the god Osiris himself in India. One of these texts also mentions Bactria (*BXtn*) and a "Great one of Kabul" (*Öbrw*).[23]

Dionysos and Herakles

All these texts in the West seemingly presuppose the Alexander expedition. In fact, Kim Ryholt's proposal[24] that the Egyptian texts are all facets of an Egyptian *imitatio Alexandri* is highly plausible. Nevertheless, these stories tied to the name of Osiris-Dionysos are not just Greek or Egyptian fiction. Arrian transmits information from Megasthenes, one of the Ptolemaic envoys to the Maurya court, which clearly ascribes the great exploits of Dionysos in the Greek myths to the Indian tradition as well.[25] He also recounts that Sandrakottos, i.e. Candragupta Maurya, the grandfather of Emperor Aśoka, traced his lineage back to Dionysos.[26] Clearly, there must be a real Indian tradition behind this. One is immediately reminded of the solar and lunar lineages so prominent in the Purāṇas. Klaus Karttunen, who investigated the sources in some detail, proposed to identify Dionysos with Śiva, demonstrably one of the most important gods of the Indian pantheon.[27] Herakles, who is named as another Indian god by Arrian,[28] should thus be seen as the other major divine figure, namely Kṛṣṇa.

In this context, it is important to note that in the palace treasury at Begrām in Afghanistan, among many other imported goods from the west, and Alexandria in particular, a splendid bronze figure of Sarapis has been found, which strangely holds the club of Herakles in his hands.[29] Against this background, it is also noteworthy that the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka (ca. CE 102–142 or 150–187)[30] later on included Sarapis among the gods who were minted on his gold coins.[31]

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23 Quack, Isis, Thot und Arian (cf. n. 7).

24 Ryholt, Imitatio Alexandri (cf. n. 4).

25 Chantraine, Arrien (cf. n. 20), 32–33.

26 Ibid., 35.

27 Klaus Karttunen, *India in Early Greek Literature* (Studia Orientalia 65), Helsinki 1989, 210–219.

28 Chantraine, Arrien (cf. n. 20), 33–36.

29 Pierre Cambon, Begram – antikes Alexandria am Kaukasus und Hauptstadt der Kushana, in: *Gerettete Schätze – Afghanistan. Die Sammlung des Nationalmuseums in Kabul*, Bonn 2010, 65–85.

Fables east and west

Apart from these direct links, there are also possible indirect hints at mutual cultural influences. At least for one fable in the Pañcatantra, an Egyptian parallel can be adduced, namely the text known as the "Swallow and the Sea".[32] While the proposed explicit connection of King Auski, who supposedly sent the text to pharaoh Psammetichus II, with Aśoka[33] is unfortunately rather unlikely for reasons of chronology as well as the fact that Auski is explicitly called an Arab king,[34] the likelihood that the two texts can in fact be traced back to the same source of popular fable telling is at least rather high. An influence from Egypt on the Indian version has explicitly been proposed since this particular fable does not belong to the oldest core of the text.[35]

Pepper in Medical Recipes

The products from India, namely pepper, were not only found in large quantities in the excavations of Red Sea ports but also appear textually in recipes in Demotic medical treatises.[36] As the ending of the Egyptian word *pprs* demonstrates, the name *pippalī*[37] entered the Demotic Egyptian vocabulary via the

30 Dates according to Hans Loeschner, Kanishka in Context with the Historical Buddha and Kushan Chronology, in: *Glory of the Kushans. Recent Discoveries and Interpretations*, ed. Vidula Jayaswal, New Delhi 2012, 137–194, esp. 166 and Robert Bracey, Policy, Patronage, and the Shrinking Pantheon of the Kushans, in: ibid., 197–217, esp. 204.

31 Laurent Bricault, Sarapis dans l'empire kouchan, in: *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 53 (1998), 249–254; Loeschner, Kanishka in Context (cf. n. 30), 167, 178–179; Bracey, Policy, Patronage, and the Shrinking Pantheon of the Kushans (cf. n. 30), 199–201, 203.

32 Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4), Berlin 2007, 194–195, 355–356.

33 Maria Carmela Betrò, Aśoka in un testo letterario demotico?, *Studi Ellenistici* 12 (1999), 112–125.

34 This identification is however now reinforced by Günter Vittmann, Die Schwalbe und das Meer, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, Neue Folge, Bd. 8: *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Daniel Schwemer, Gütersloh 2015, 440 n. 508. See Joachim Quack's contribution to this volume.

35 Joachim Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III: Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur* (Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 3), Berlin 2009², 170–171; Philippe Collombert, Le conte de l'hirondelle et de la mer, in: *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*, ed. Kim Ryholt (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 27), Copenhagen 2002, 59–76.

Greek intermediate πίπερις. Interestingly, this denotes the pepper tree in Greek, while pepper would only be πίπερι in Greek.

Astrological literature

In the realm of scholarly literature, particularly Egyptian astrological ideas which had entered Greek astrological treatises made their way to India. This is certainly true of the concept of the so-called decans, originally a group of 36 constellations used for time-keeping at night.[38] With the introduction of the zodiac from Mesopotamia to Egypt, they were transformed into imaginary entities governing 10 degrees of the zodiac each. In this form, they gained a certain popularity in the entire Roman Empire, as is attested by depictions found in many places, mostly on magical gems, but also on astrological tables probably used for divinatory purposes. Several treatises in Greek and Latin describe them.

It is therefore not surprising that they are also found in Indian works based on such sources. In the Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja (in its current form from the 3rd century CE)[39] they take up a whole chapter. As the title clearly indicates, the author used Greek sources. Yavana is the Sanskrit word for "Ionian", i.e. Greeks, later also extended to mean "western foreigner" in general. However, this is not the only text which describes the decans. For example, they also figure prominently in the 27th chapter of the most prestigious Indian

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36 Friedhelm Hoffmann, Zur Neuedition des hieratisch-demotischen Papyrus Wien D 6257 aus römischer Zeit, in: *Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Rome, and Greece: Translating Ancient Scientific Texts*, ed. Annette Imhausen and Tanja Pommerening (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 286), Berlin 2010, 201–218, esp. 211.

37 Sanskrit; the merchants would of course have spoken a vernacular language (Prakrit, Tamil, maybe Pali) anyway.

38 Wilhelm Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* [1936], Darmstadt 1969²; Joachim Quack, *Beiträge zu den ägyptischen Dekanen und ihrer Rezeption in der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Habilitation thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 2002.

39 David Pingree, The Indian Iconography of the Decans and Horâs, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963), 223–254; David Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja* (Harvard Oriental Series 48), Cambridge, Mass. 1978, I 82–89, II 15–19, 252–253. A later date has recently been advocated by Bill Mak, The Date and Nature of Sphujidhvaja's Yavanajātaka Reconsidered in the Light of Some Newly Discovered Materials, in: *History of Science in South Asia* 1 (2013), 1–20; idem, The 'Oldest Indo-Greek Text in Sanskrit' Revisited. Additional Readings from the Newly Discovered Manuscript of the Yavanajātaka, in: *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 62 (2014), 1101–1105.

astrological manual, Varāhamihiras Bṛhajjātaka (ca. 5th century CE).[40] Despite their heavy "Hinduization", their Egyptian origins are beyond question.

The Yavanajātaka also mentions the Dodekatropos, another astrological theory prominent in Graeco-Roman treatises.[41] A while ago, I demonstrated that there is evidence that this concept had its origins in old Egyptian concepts of four main directions, which were later expanded into the full-fledged 12 "houses" in the sky.[42]

These examples show that particularly in the field of scholarly literature, there is still a large unexplored field for potential indicators of cultural transmission. As such texts have often not yet been edited in reliable scholarly editions, let alone been translated, it is very difficult to assess this material correctly. Ideally, one would need to consult all of them and be skilled in all necessary original languages. Realistically, however, it is clear that this is utterly impossible. Therefore, such an endeavour would only be brought about by a large interdisciplinary team.

Indianization of Egyptian Iconography in Mathurā

The Statue Government Museum, Mathura Acc. no. 00J.7

There is at least one striking example of iconographic influence of an originally Egyptian motif on a piece of genuinely Indian sculpture. As with the other cases, it went through a Hellenistic filter. While the strong influence of western, i.e. Graeco-Roman art on the development of early Indian, particularly Buddhist, art is in principle well known, it is usually the strongly Hellenizing art of Gandhāra, a cultural hub in modern-day Pakistan and Afghanistan which stands out.[43] This is understandable as the influences are very strong there and

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40 P.S. Sastri (ed.), *Brihat Jataka by Varahamihira. Text with Translation and Notes*, New Delhi 1995, 207–215.

41 Wolfgang Hübner, *Die Dodekatropos des Manilius (Manil. 2, 856–970)* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz: Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1995, 6), Stuttgart 1995; Dorian Greenbaum and Micah Ross, The Role of Egypt in the Development of the Horoscope, in: *Egypt in Transition. Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE*, ed. Ladislav Bareš, Filip Coppens, Květa Smoláriková, Prague 2010, 146–182.

42 Alexandra von Lieven, *Grundriß des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch* (The Carlsberg Papyri 8, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 31) Copenhagen 2007, 146–147.

43 John Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*, London 1994, 129, fig. 4.67, 142–143, fig. 4.87–89.

consequently relatively easy to detect. Interestingly, though, in spite of my own intense research and consulting of experts in the field of Indian arts of the period,[44] I am not yet aware of any Gandhāra sculpture exhibiting the particular feature being discussed here.

This is all the more striking, as the art of Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh in northern India is not famous for having absorbed many characteristically Hellenistic features. Yet it was among the sandstone sculptures from Mathurā that the figure in question was discovered.[45] It is dated to the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE, i.e. a time when the trade contacts between Egypt and India were already well established for several centuries. The semi-plastic statue stands in front of a pillar, which once formed part of a railing around a sacred building.[46] The figure shows a slightly chubby youth in perfectly local Indian costume standing beneath a tree. While the left hand is held downwards in an elegant, but somewhat idle gesture, the right one is lifted upwards. Two fingers are put against the chin in a gesture that might suggest thoughtfulness or bewilderment. All of this would not be noteworthy if it was not for the peculiar headdress of the boy. In the middle of his turban sits a strange protuberance which is flat at the front and rises upwards considerably at the back. The lower part is striated like a horn.

Indeed, the horn is an interpretation to be found for this detail in literature. The sculpture itself has been thought to depict the ascetic Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, who was born with a gazelle horn on his head due to the fact that he sprang from the spilled seed of an ascetic licked up by a female gazelle.[47] His legend is told in many sacred scriptures, but apparently the gazelle does not feature in all of them. The interpretation of the Mathurā figure as Ṛṣyaśṛṅga has been questioned, though.[48] Indeed, the protrusion supposed to be the horn does not look very horn-like.

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44 My special thanks here go to Martina Stoye, Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, for having discussed the issue with me.

45 Alexandra von Lieven, Ein indisierter Harpokrates in Mathurā (Government Museum, Mathura Acc. no. 00J.7), in: Sapientia Felicitas. *Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016*, ed. Sandra Lippert, Maren Schentuleit, and Martin Stadler (Cahiers de l'ENIM [Égypte Nilotique et Méditérranéenne] 14), Montpellier 2016, 343–354.

46 Marianne Yaldiz, Nachdenklicher Jüngling, in: *Palast der Götter. 1500 Jahre Kunst aus Indien*, Berlin 1991, 60–61 (no. 9).

47 Klaus Fischer, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in the Narrative Art of Jaina *Stūpas* at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā. *Kāma* and *Tapas* in Jaina Sculpture: Patrons, Artists, Worshippers, in: *Indologica Taurinensia 11* (1983), 227–239, esp. 231 with n. 35–37.

48 Gouriswar Bhattacharya, Wer waren die Auftraggeber der Werkstätten Mathurās? (Inschriftlicher Befund), in: *Künstler und Werkstatt in den orientalischen Gesellschaften*,

Ṛṣyaśṛnga or Harpokrates?

Nevertheless, it might even be true that for the Indian artists who created this statue, this was indeed Ṛṣyaśṛnga. Yet, as an Egyptologist, one cannot fail to notice the remarkable similarity to the standard iconography of Harpokrates, the child form of the god Horus. As a child, he is always denoted by the gesture of sucking on his finger in Egyptian iconography. While today children usually suck on their thumbs, in Ancient Egypt it was always the index finger of the right hand that was depicted. The gesture was already reinterpreted in the Roman sphere within the Isiac mystery cult as a symbol of silence and secrecy.[49] It is easy to see how yet another culture might very well have reinterpreted the gesture in yet another way, namely as denoting thoughtfulness.

Horus is the main divine incarnation of kingship. In traditional Egyptian depictions, Horus-the-child (Harpokrates), the legitimate future ruler, is therefore often depicted with a rather prominent Double Crown.[50] The Double Crown was the traditional royal crown denoting rule over Upper and Lower Egypt. Hellenized depictions of Harpokrates tend to change the proportions, so that the crown shrinks considerably in size in comparison to its wearer. As a consequence, the crown can become rather small as well as slightly misshapen.[51] Therefore it can easily be explained how the Double Crown on Harpokrates' head could become something like a little horn. Thus, theoretically, an Indian viewer might have interpreted such a figure as a depiction of Ṛṣyaśṛnga in the light of the well-known legend. Alternatively, for Indian viewers, it might of course just have been a turban decoration without any deeper meaning. Interestingly, already Maurizio Taddei proposed precisely the above mentioned interpretation for similar looking turban decorations.[52]

ed. Adalbert Gail, Graz 1982, 109–118, pl. XIII-XVI; Gouriswar Bhattacharya, The so-called Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, in: *South Asian Studies* 7 (1991), 141.

49 Philippe Matthey, « Chut! » Le signe d'Harpocrate et l'invitation au silence, in: *Dans le laboratoire de l'historien des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Borgeaud*, ed. Francesca Prescendi and Youri Volokhine, Geneva 2011, 541–572.

50 Günther Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* (Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 6), Berlin 1956, pls. 15–21 passim (demonstrating that traditionally the Double Crown was only one possibility, another was particularly the Hemhem Crown, which on the contrary is very rare in Hellenistic depictions).

51 Herbert Beck, Peter Bol, and Maraike Bückling (ed.), *Ägypten – Griechenland – Rom. Abwehr und Berührung, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie 26. November 2005–26. Februar 2006*, Frankfurt a. M. 2005, 654–657, 660 (compare the traditional bronze of Harpokrates no. 242 with the Hellenized terracottas nos. 243, 245, 248, 249 and 254, which interestingly also often combine a hornlike tiny crown with a sort of elaborate turban).

At any rate, the Mathurā youth is indeed a heavily indianized offshoot of the Harpokrates iconography. This is assured by two factors, firstly the combination of the hand-to-mouth gesture with the horn-like crown, and secondly the shape of the supposed "horn", which is rather odd for a true gazelle horn and even as a mere turban ornament, but which still clearly betrays its origins as an Egyptian Double Crown by its shape.

Harpokrates Figures in India

Of course, this theory requires Indians being able to see a Hellenized Harpokrates in the first place. Thankfully, this requirement can easily be met with. There are actually several Harpokrates figures which were found in the region.[53] At least some of them have an ascertained archaeological provenance like the palace treasury of Begrām and a hoard buried in the courtyard of a house in Taxila. Rachel Mairs, who recently collected the evidence, has wondered about the meaning which might or might not have been attached to such figures in Asia.[54] While the question of meaning cannot be answered conclusively and even the identification of the Mathurā youth himself cannot be established beyond doubt, this figure is nevertheless very precious for the subject investigated here. For the first time it offers tangible evidence for a creative Indian adaptation of an artistic model of ultimately Egyptian origin in the Graeco-Roman Period.

Thereby it proves that the Harpokrates bronzes found in India were not just curiosities kept in palace treasuries but that they provoked some active engagement with these objects on the part of the Indian viewers. Even if it is not possible to unravel any more, it is thereby beyond doubt that *some* meaning must have been attached to them. The creative adaptation also makes it highly likely that this meaning was a genuinely Indian, not a foreign one.[55]

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52   Maurizio Taddei, Harpocrates – Brahmā – Maitreya: A Tentative Interpretation of a Gandharan Relief from Swāt, in: *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 3 (1969), 364–390.

53   Rachel Mairs, Egyptian Artefacts from Central and South Asia, in: *Current Research in Egyptology VI: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Symposium which took place at the University of Cambridge, 6–8 January 2005*, ed. Rachel Mairs and Alix Stevenson, Oxford 2007, 74–89, esp. 77–80.

54   Ibid., 79–80.

55   For similar conclusions regarding terracotta figures see Serena Autiero, Terracotta Figurines from Egypt as Agents of Cultural Globalisation in the Indian Ocean, in: *Current Research in Egyptology 2014, Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium University College London & King's College London 2014. Ancient Egypt in a Global World*, ed. Massimiliano Pinarello, Justin Yoo, Jason Lundock et al., Oxford 2015, 90–99.

Andrea Jördens

Roman Alexandria, Queen of the Mediterranean and Arabian Seas

Abstract. Regarding the concept of connectivity entre mers—Outre-Mer, Alexandria ad Aegyptum reminds us of the circumstance that in addition to seascapes, straits and islands on the one hand, and the adjacent port cities and territories on the other, cities that seem inconveniently located can emerge as a point of reference as well. This was the case with Alexandria, especially in Roman times: not only did all the luxuries of maritime trade with India and Arabia pass through her gates, but all those engaged in this trade, wealthy financiers and Roman authorities alike, were based there. This is illustrated by three different pieces of evidence, namely, an inscription that attests to the presence of Roman military forces in the Arabian Sea, and two papyri, one furnishing first-hand details of the terms and conditions of the Indo-Roman trade, and the other featuring sketches of south Asian animals.

When the young Roman general, who is best known under his later and honorary name Augustus, marched into the capital of his famous antagonist Cleopatra on the evening of August 1, 30 BC, he set foot in one of the most splendid cities of the then-known world.[1] At that time, Alexandria was a rather young city compared to her neighbours in the ancient Near East, such as the age-old centers Babylon, Jerusalem, Tyros or Memphis. As her name already tells us, Alexandria had been founded by Alexander the Great, in the year 331 when the Macedonian king was on his way to the Siwa Oasis where he would be addressed as the son of Zeus-Ammon and future master of the universe. 300

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[1] From the countless and manifold studies of Alexandria, I mention only Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols., Oxford 1972, and, for the archaeological evidence, Judith McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt c. 300 BC to AD 700*, New Haven 2007. German readers who are particularly interested in the Ptolemaic city may also be referred to Michael Pfrommer, *Alexandria. Im Schatten der Pyramiden.* Mainz am Rhein 1999, and Günter Grimm, *Alexandria. Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt. Bilder aus der Nilmetropole von Alexander dem Großen bis Kleopatra VII.*, Mainz am Rhein 1998, in the series *Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie.*—I would like to thank Rodney Ast and Julia Lougovaya for their help and many fruitful discussions and, not least, for correcting my English, and also Michael Speidel for his helpful suggestions.

years later, when the Romans took over Egypt, things had completely changed. The former fishing place—if it was even that—which had celebrated its 300th anniversary in those very days, had become one of the greatest cities in the world. Of all the towns that were founded by Alexander and bore his name—some twenty cities, most of them in the Persian East, as far as modern Afghanistan—this was surely the most important. Over the past three centuries, Alexandria *ad Aegyptum*, which had been fostered by the Ptolemaic kings, had grown into a mega-city second to none in the ancient world, and is still today the largest city lying directly on the Mediterranean coast. Her splendour was already legendary in antiquity, due to the brightness of her streets and buildings—including the Lighthouse of Pharos, which was counted among the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World—as well as her culture. Indeed, the king-sponsored *mouseion* and library outshone all similar institutions, and within less than a century Alexandrian scholarship had even outstripped the reputation of Athens.

All this did not end, of course, under Roman rule. Yet, in terms of status, Alexandria experienced a sharp decline. Although she had been, especially in the last years of Cleopatra's reign and with the kind assistance of the Roman general and royal consort Mark Antony, the capital of a newly created kingdom that stretched from Armenia, Media, and Parthia to Cyrenaica and Libya again, she was henceforth reduced to the mere seat of a provincial governor of secondary rank. What this meant to citizen pride, we see best in the new literary genre of the so-called *Acta Alexandrinorum*, where lion-hearted Greek Alexandrians campaigned against Jews and Roman emperors alike for the glory and autonomy of the city and, fighting fiercely—and, of course, in vain—eventually died a heroic martyr's death.[2]

As usual, however, there are two sides of the coin. What is much less visible is the other side, namely, the prominence that accrued to Alexandria at this same time in the realm of long-distance trade. It is quite obvious that Egypt had always been the very hinge between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Upon looking at the map, however, one may duly wonder how this could apply to Alexandria as well, or to be more precise, how a city that was located at its northwestern edge right on the border with the Libyan desert could play a major role in Indo-Roman trade. What is most interesting, though, is that Alexandria emerged anew as a point of reference, against all odds. This is to

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2 Andrew Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt. The Case of the* Acta Alexandrinorum, New York 2008; Andreas Hartmann, Judenhass und Märtyrertum. Zum kulturgeschichtlichen Kontext der *Acta Alexandrinorum*, in: Andreas Hartmann and Gregor Weber (ed.), *Zwischen Antike und Moderne (Festschrift für J. Malitz zum 65. Geburtstag)*, Speyer 2012, 119–209.

remind us that in exploring the concept of connectivity *Entre Mers—Outre Mer* it will not suffice to look at seascapes, straits and islands, on the one hand, and the adjacent port cities and territories, on the other. There are still other factors that cannot easily be accounted for, individual terms and circumstances, so to speak, that may initiate quite unexpected developments.

Thus, the question turns out to be far more complex, and Alexandria *ad Aegyptum* is without any doubt one of the finest examples in this respect. As with the other Alexandrias as well, when she was founded no one could foresee how things would go in the future, let alone predict the unique rise that we already observe in Ptolemaic times.[3] This was the more surprising given the location, which, at first glance, did not seem very favourable. Indeed, the main settlement area was situated on waterless lime rock, only 2 km wide and sandwiched between the Mediterranean Sea in the north and Lake Mariout in the South.[4] Presumably, this was the reason why the area had not been occupied before—and why, right from the beginning, commerce played so prominent a role.[5] Good harbours, then, were crucial for the flourishing of the town, and, to maximise the use of the port, the newcomers simply doubled them. By constructing the so-called Heptastadion, the causeway which joined the island of Pharos to the mainland, they divided the coastline up into two magnificent harbours:[6] One to the east, that was most beautiful, as we are told, but of rather difficult access, with a narrow entrance and several reefs, in part under water, and a passage that was safeguarded only by the Pharos.[7] This was called the Great Harbour where the main parts of the city and the royal quarters were sit-

[3] See e.g. the sketch by Mostafa El-Abbadi, The Greatest Emporium in the Inhabited World, in: Mostafa Hassan Mostafa, Nicolas Grimal and Douglas Nakashima (ed.), *Underwater Archaeology and Coastal Management. Focus on Alexandria*, Paris 2000, 17–21.

[4] McKenzie, The Architecture (cf. n. 1), esp. the map on p. 33, fig. [35].

[5] There may have been some activities on the site before, see now Jean-Daniel Stanley and Elizabeth A. Landau, Early Human Activity (pre-332 BC) in Alexandria, Egypt: New Findings in Sediment Cores from the Eastern Harbour, in: Damian Robinson and Andrew Wilson (ed.), *Alexandria and the North-Western Delta. Joint Conference Proceedings of Alexandria: City and Harbour (Oxford 2004) and The Trade and Topography of Egypt's North-West Delta, 8th century BC to 8th century AD (Berlin 2006)*, Oxford 2010, 35–52; David Fabre and Franck Goddio, The Development and Operation of the Portus Magnus in Early Alexandria—An Overview, in: ibid., 53–74, here 65; esp. McKenzie, The Architecture (cf. n. 1), 37 with 36, fig. [36], and for the still ongoing debate, 40 with n. 36 (383). But the changes induced by the Greek newcomers were fundamental anyway.

[6] See McKenzie, The Architecture (cf. n. 1), 45–47 with 36, fig. [36] and [37].

[7] Strabo 17.1.6 C 791–792; 17.1.9 C 794; for the topography, see now Fabre and Goddio, Development (cf. n. 5).

uated and where the famous Corniche is still one of the most conspicuous features of Alexandria today.

The other one, to the west, is much less known, but at least from the economic point of view this must have been the more important one. Strictly speaking, there were even two different harbours: the so-called Eunostos, "Harbour of Fortunate Return", whose name already indicates its high esteem; and a smaller, artificially excavated harbour to its rear, the "Kibotos" or "Chest".[8] This was where the canal that linked the city with the Canopic branch of the Nile ended, and clearly the route where commodities from the hinterland came in. Thus, one may wonder if the latter was intended first for domestic produce and the food supply, or for more valuable goods under special custody. Regrettably, our sources do not tell us much about these parts of the city. It is safe, however, to assume that it was here in the west and south of Alexandria, in the immediate neighbourhood of these less familiar harbours, where the industrial and commercial facilities of all sorts were situated, be it shipbuilding, glass, or ceramics industries, as well as storehouses and customs centres—the large *paralemptikai apothekai* which we will hear of later—and where huge transactions in maritime trade took place.

Nearly all these harbours saw the Mediterranean as the first and foremost communication line. This is, after all, what we should expect as it holds true for all the Greek foundations, those of the Black Sea like Olbia or Trapezus as well as those in the West like Massilia, Syracuse or Tarentum. Moreover, we know that the Ptolemies had strong interests in the Aegean Sea. What made Alexandria the very queen of the Mediterranean, however, was her singular position in the network of international trade. Of course, Alexandria was an important and thriving centre of production herself, and she was renowned for her artisanal crafts and industries, her glass production, and the manufacture of numerous works of art, such as jewellery, mosaics, and sculpture, to name only a few. Still, this was matched, if not superseded, by her importance as a hub. This applies not only to the large-scale transport of grain that was regularly shipped from the Nile valley to the outside, in particular to Rome and later to Byzantium, but also to the processing and marketing of other typical Egyptian products and commodities like papyrus and textiles. It is even truer for goods that originated far beyond the borders of the then-known world, such as spices,

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8 Strabo 17.1.6 C 792; 17.1.10 C 794–795 and the notes in Horace Leonard Jones, *Strabo VIII: Geography Book XVII, General Index. Text and Translation*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, 26 f.; Manfred Clauss, *Claustra Aegypti* – Alexandria und seine Häfen, in: *Millennium* 2 (2005), 297–328, here 297 f. The precise location of the Kibotos harbour, which is normally thought to have been near the Heptastadion, is still disputed; for a possible identification with the Ptolemaic harbour on Lake Mareotis—on which Strabo 17.1.7 C 793—Clauss, 303.

frankincense, and ivory. This was the case especially in Roman times, when the trade with India and Arabia gained new and considerable significance.

Indeed, for all the luxuries of maritime trade, it was clearly Alexandria where the goods passed through, to be distributed from there to other Mediterranean centres.[9] This may come as a surprise because communication in this direction, as I have shown before, was by no means obvious; moreover, the shores of the Erythraean and Arabian Seas were very far away. Nevertheless, there were old and reliable transport routes from the Red Sea ports through the Eastern Desert,[10] and, in combination with the subsequent passage on the Nile, for all people from beyond the south-eastern borders, traders and visitors alike, the way via Egypt was definitely the most appealing one. For all these, Alexandria was the door to the Mediterranean world, the unique point of reference, whose fame must have spread far and wide over the bordering coasts. This was true once more in the first two centuries CE, when the monsoon-driven trade went full speed, and the sheer amount of merchandise handled made Alexandria the queen not only of the Mediterranean but also of the Arabian Seas.

There is a lot of material evidence, of course, which could illustrate what has been said so far. For Indo-Roman trade, one could mention, for instance, the numerous hoards of Imperial coins that have been found along the West Indian Malabar Coast since the 1870s or sherds of Italian amphoras as far as the site of Arikamedu in South-Eastern Tamil Nadu.[11] Conversely, for imports into the Roman Empire one may cite literary texts as well, such as the famous *Periplus*

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9 Also noticed by e.g. Roberta Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade. From Pots to Pepper,* London 2008; Katia Schörle, Pearls, Power, and Profit: Mercantile Networks and Economic Considerations of the Pearl Trade in the Roman Empire, in: Federico De Romanis and Marco Maiuro (ed.), *Across the Ocean. Nine Essays on Indo-Mediterranean Trade*, Leiden 2015, 43–54.

10 See e.g. Paul Lunde and Alexandra Porter (ed.), *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region (Proceedings of Red Sea Project I Held in the British Museum October 2002)*, Oxford 2004, esp. the articles by Kenneth A. Kitchen, The Elusive Land of Punt Revisited (25–31), and D. M. Dixon, Pharaonic Egypt and the Red Sea Arms Trade, (33–41); Steven E. Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*, Berkeley, Calif. 2011, esp. 21–31; and, with special emphasis on the perennial problem of water availability, Jonatan Krzywinski, Water Harvesting in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, in: Eivind Heldaas Seland (ed.), *The Indian Ocean in the Ancient Period. Definite Places, Translocal Exchange*, Oxford 2007, 45–57. Of course, this cannot be compared with the much more intense use in Roman times, see below.

11 For a most useful overview of Roman antiquities found in India, esp. Subra Suresh, *Symbols of Trade. Roman and Pseudo-Roman Objects Found in India*, New Delhi 2004, but see also Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma (ed.), *Rome and India. The Ancient Sea Trade*, Madison, Wisc. 1991. The wealth of research as well as publications that resulted from the boost in Indo-Roman studies in the past thirty years, be it on Indo-

Maris Erythraei, which tells us about the influx of pepper, malabathron, pearls, ivory, silk and nard from just these regions,[12] and a plethora of other luxury goods from elsewhere in these parts of the world. This was still true in late antique times, if we trust the Digests. There, Justinian resumed a passage from the Severan Jurist Marcianus who had listed a total of fifty-four items that were pertinent to the vectigal—that is the quarter-tax assessed in Alexandria.[13] For my part, I will draw attention to three pieces of evidence that show convincingly why Alexandria may properly be called the queen of both seas.

The first is the so-called Muziris-papyrus, written on both sides in different hands, from the mid-second century CE.[14] One side contains a contract apparently between an Alexandrian financier and the merchant who, on the Alexandrian's behalf and with his money, conducts the trip to India, the other a detailed list of the goods shipped from India to Egypt, or rather an account of the price of the goods after the quarter tax had been assessed and deducted. In both cases, we do not have an official copy, and only parts of the original text. Fragmentary as they might be, the accounts reveal that the amount of nard and ivory[15] was less than an eighth of the overall cargo on the ship *Hermapollon.* Indeed, the estimated value of the whole cargo came to nearly 1,152 talents or, to be more precise, 6,911,852 drachmas. A huge sum, equivalent to about 10,000

Roman trade in general or on the material evidence detected on the shores of the Arabian sea in particular, can hardly be mentioned here. For Mediterranean artifacts found even beyond, in the Far East, see e.g. Brigitte Borell, The Early Byzantine Lamp from Pong Tuk, in: *Journal of the Siam Society* 96 (2008), 1–26; Eadem, Trade and Glass Vessels along the Maritime Silk Road, in: Bettina Zorn and Alexandra Hilgner (ed.), *Glass along the Silk Road from 200 BC to AD 1000 (International Conference within the Scope of the »Sino-German Project on Cultural Heritage Preservation« of the RGZM and the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, December 11th-12th 2008)*, Mainz 2010, 127–142; Eadem, Bérénice Bellina and Boonyarit Chaisuwan, Contacts between the Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula and the Mediterranean World, in: Nicolas Revire and Stephen A. Murphy (ed.), *Before Siam. Essays in Art and Archaeology*, Bangkok 2014, 119–209. Yet, the debate on the character of the trade is ongoing; see, e.g., the survey by Bram Fauconnier, Graeco-Roman Merchants in the Indian Ocean Revealing a Multicultural Trade, in: Marie-Françoise Boussac, Jean-François Salles and Jean-Baptiste Yon (ed.), *Autour du Périple de la mer Érythrée* (Topoi Suppl. 11), Paris 2012, 75–109.

12 PME 56.

13 Dig. 39.4.16.7 (Marcian., lib. sing. de delat.).

14 The now famous papyrus (= SB XVIII 13167, a.k.a. P. Vindob. G 40.822) turns up in nearly all publications related to Indo-Roman trade; for some amendments to the text and thorough discussion, esp. Dominic Rathbone, The 'Muziris' Papyrus (SB XVIII 13167): Financing Roman Trade with India, in: *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 46 (2000) (= Alexandrian Studies II in Honour of Mostafa el-Abbadi), 39–50; Federico Morelli, Dal Mar Rosso ad Alessandria. Il *verso* (ma anche il *recto*) del 'papiro di Muziris' (SB XVIII 13167), in: *Tyche* 26 (2011), 199–233.

camels, more than 40,000 donkeys, or the cost of living for 30,600 individuals for a year;[16] in Rome, the value should have doubled anyway.

These accounts and calculations give an idea of the immense scale of Indo-Roman trade which passed through Alexandria, but the other side of the papyrus contains even more information. Here, we get not only a glimpse into the rather sophisticated contractual arrangements that characterised and secured the intricate relationship between the wealthy financier and the merchant who ran the delicate venture to Muziris and back again.[17] Apart from the distribution of risk and responsibility between the two partners, which is of no little interest in itself, we can also see the manifold managerial duties that turned up during the journey and even after the arrival in the Red Sea ports. Indeed, the conveyance of goods first by caravans through the desert, then by ship down the Nile up to Alexandria was interspersed with a great deal of negotiations, be it with the customs officers at various points of the journey or else with the agents sent out by the financier. Thus, it was not only a risky but also a complex business, and one may duly wonder which of all these tasks was most demanding.

What is interesting, though, is the role of Alexandria in this play. It is safe to assume that the financier of the venture resided there, but of course he did not actively take part in the trip to India. Rather, he commanded a host of agents—probably slaves or freedmen—who were in charge in his stead of monitoring the journey and, in particular, of controlling the cargoes at various places along the route where they were endangered most. Of course, these agents did not dirty their hands themselves with loading goods from the ship onto the camels, from the camels onto the ships again, and at the recurrent warehouses

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15 These are at least the commodities we encounter in the extant portion of the papyrus. As has been argued most convincingly by Federico De Romanis, Playing Sudoku on the Verso of the 'Muziris Papyrus': Pepper, Malabathron and Tortoise Shell in the Cargo of the Hermapollon, in: *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 27 (2010–11), 75–101, pepper was listed as well, presumably also malabathron and tortoise shell; for the identification of the mysterious *schidai* as "fragments of tusks trimmed away from captive elephants" (thus in the abstract), see now Federico De Romanis, *Ivory from Muziris* (ISAW Papers 8, 2014) URL: http://dlib.nyu.edu/awdl/isaw/isaw-papers/8/ (accessed 3 January 2018).

16 For average prices in Roman Egypt–500–650 dr. per camel, or ca. 160 dr. per donkey, see Hans-Joachim Drexhage. *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians. Vorarbeiten zu einer Wirtschaftsgeschichte des römischen Ägypten I,* St. Katharinen 1991; equated with the cost of living in: Hans-Joachim Drexhage, Heinrich Konen and Kai Ruffing, *Die Wirtschaft des Römischen Reiches (1.-3. Jahrhundert). Eine Einführung,* Berlin 2002, 265.

17 With special emphasis, Gerhard Thür, Hypotheken-Urkunde eines Seedarlehens für eine Reise nach Muziris und Apographe für die Tetarte in Alexandreia (zu P. Vindob. G 40822), in: *Tyche* 2 (1987), 229–245.

in between, as all these organisational duties fell clearly on the merchant himself. They were however present to set their seals on the cargoes anytime and anywhere.

The customs authorities, for their part, behaved in just the same way. At least in the first century CE, the taxes on goods that were imported from beyond the eastern and southern borders of the Empire were still farmed out. As the name—*tetarte*—already indicates, these taxes amounted to a quarter of the value of the goods, and the farming must have been one of the most profitable activities in the Roman Empire one could think of. Accordingly, we encounter some of the wealthiest Alexandrians under these tax farmers, who were properly called *arabarchai* or "lords of Arabia"; I mention only the *arabarches par excellence*, the famous C. Iulius Alexander, who administered the Egyptian possessions of Antonia Minor, the niece of Augustus and mother of Germanicus and Claudius, and who adorned the nine gates of the temple of Jerusalem, as Josephus tells us, lavishly with plates of silver and gold.[18] In the second century, these functions may have been taken over by Roman state officials, but unequivocal evidence is still lacking.[19]

Be that as it may, these developments did not affect the lower levels of the system. Indeed, in the Red Sea ports as well as in the major entrepôt of Koptos, where the cargoes were loaded onto the ships, we find the same tax farmers as before, who assessed the value of the goods and placed them under bonds. These local customs officers, even if they were sometimes called arabarchs themselves, must not be confused with the high-ranking functionaries at Alexandria with the same title. Rather, they are to be compared with the agents of our financier, as both groups were instructed to register and to safeguard the goods but had apparently to refrain from any active dealing with them. There was simply too much at stake—the precious goods could be damaged, get lost or be stolen. Thus, the risk of conveyance was left completely to the merchant who was held responsible for the whole journey, right from the ports of India up to the eventual delivery at the Alexandrian *paralemptikai apothekai*.[20]

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18   Fabienne Burkhalter-Arce, Les fermiers de l'arabarchie: Notables et hommes d'affaires à Alexandrie, in: *Alexandrie: Une mégapole cosmopolite* (Cahiers de la Villa « Kérylos » 9), Paris 1999, 41–54; on C. Iulius Alexander, esp. 42 f., on his adorning the temple of Jerusalem Ios., Bell. Iud. 5.204 f.

19   Andrea Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum* praefectus Aegypti (Historia Einzelschriften 175), Stuttgart 2009, 359 f., esp. n. 16. Similar questions arise in connection with the so-called *paralemptai*, which cannot be discussed here. At least there is a fair chance that new evidence will add to our knowledge, as two inscriptions from recent excavations at Berenike suggest: Rodney Ast and Roger S. Bagnall, The Receivers of Berenike. New Inscriptions from the 2015 Season, in: *Chiron* 45 (2015), 171–185, esp. 178–183.

Admittedly, there were some *apothekai* also in between, not least because the goods had to be securely stored while awaiting assessment and further conveyance. This applies not only to Koptos, whose importance to Indo-Roman trade has never been denied,[21] but to the Red Sea ports as well, as is made clear by recently discovered inscriptions at Berenike.[22] Given that the merchant who spent as much money as he could in India was probably in need of cash to pay the numerous transport fees, it is not inconceivable that some goods were consumed and distributed locally. Besides, this can account for the enigmatic "parts of the arabarchs" that were deducted and converted there already.[23]

At best, however, this was only a small percentage that in no way affected the substance. Regarding the lion's share, in fact, we have every reason to believe that the cargoes were practically locked up during the journey. One should bear in mind, after all, that only if the cargoes were delivered intact and without any loss or damage could the quarter tax be duly assessed in Alexandria. Accordingly, it was Alexandria-based people who were pulling the strings behind the scenes, such as the arabarch and his successors who had had the goods taken in bond, as well as the financiers whose agents placed them under seal. Thus, the control was at least a double one, for the respective personnel were monitoring not only the merchant but also each other.

There was, however, a third party at play that we have to reckon with, namely Rome herself,[24] or more precisely the Roman authorities who were based at Alexandria, civilian and military alike. First, there were the representa-

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20   Summarizing Morelli, Dal Mar Rosso (cf. n. 14), 231–233.

21   See Marie-Françoise Boussac (ed.), *Autour de Koptos. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, 17–18 mars 2000* (Topoi Suppl. 3), Paris 2002, esp. the articles by Dominic Rathbone, Koptos the *Emporion*. Economy and Society, I-III AD, 179–198, and Fabienne Burkhalter-Arce, Le « tarif de Coptos ». La douane de Coptos, les fermiers de l'*apostolion* et le préfet du désert de Bérénice, 199–233.

22   Ast and Bagnall, The Receivers (cf. n. 19).

23   For the calculations Morelli, Dal Mar Rosso (cf. n. 14), 218–220.

24   The intricate question of whether and to what extent the imperial power actively participated in Indo-Roman trade shall not be addressed here; surveying the earlier discussion, with reservations, Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989, esp. 35–39; more confident, Alan K. Bowman, Trade and the Flag – Alexandria, Egypt and the Imperial House, in: Robinson and Wilson (ed.), *Alexandria and the North-Western Delta* (cf. n. 5), 103–109; Andrew Wilson, Red Sea Trade and the State, in: De Romanis and Maiuro (ed.), *Across the Ocean* (cf. n. 9), 13–32; from a different point of view, see now Michael Alexander Speidel, Wars, Trade and Treaties: New, Revised, and Neglected Sources for the Political, Diplomatic, and Military Aspects of Imperial Rome's Relations with the Red Sea Basin and India, from Augustus to Diocletian, in: Kuzhippalli S. Mathew (ed.), *Imperial Rome, Indian Ocean Regions and Muziris: New Perspectives on Maritime Trade*, New Delhi 2015, 83–128; Idem, Fernhandel und Freundschaft. Zu Roms

tives of the Roman treasury who deducted the quarter tax at the very end of the journey. Second, there was a large military presence in the Red Sea region—and, as we see more and more clearly, well beyond. Indeed, from literary evidence, or more precisely from the famous *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, it has long been known that there was a Roman garrison and tax official at Leuke kome, a Nabataean port on the Arabian coast.[25] However, this was usually deemed an exception, to the point that some scholars maintained that the centurion we hear of was a Nabataean one.[26] This is not necessarily so, as Manfred Raschke had already pointed out in his groundbreaking and still invaluable *New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East*. Writing in the late 1970s and renowned for his thorough and well-considered treatment of the subject, Raschke had no doubts that Roman troops and tax collectors could be stationed in the territory of a client state, and that this was also the case here.[27] Nevertheless, he was convinced that this did not go beyond that, as he firmly asserted: "There is in fact no trace of a Roman military presence in the Red Sea south of Berenice."[28]

Thirty years later, this assertion was upended by the discovery of two Latin inscriptions, my second piece of evidence, on the Farasan islands far to the south, opposite the Yemeni coast, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bāb al-Mandab. These inscriptions testify to a Roman military unit under the command of a *praefectus Ferresani portus et Ponti Herculis* in the first half of the second century CE.[29] Comparable prefectures that were established in exposed places and regions are quite well known; one need only mention the *praefectus*

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amici an den Handelsrouten nach Südarabien und Indien, in: *Orbis Terrarum* 14 (2016), 155–193; for a general picture, Gary K. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade. International Commerce and Imperial Policy 31 BC-AD 305*, London 2001.

25   PME 19; Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung* (cf. n. 19), 356 f. 364 f.; and see Sidebotham, *Berenike* (cf. n. 10), 175–177; Speidel, Wars (cf. n. 24), 103; Idem, Fernhandel (cf. n. 24), 159; on the long disputed question of location esp. Dario Nappo, On the Location of Leuke Kome, in: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 23 (2010), 335–348, arguing in favour of al-Wajh, lying on the same latitude as Myos Hormos.

26   This has been the prevailing view since Ulrich Wilcken, Ein νόμος τελωνικός aus der Kaiserzeit, in: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 3 (1906), 185–200 [Ed. pr. von W. Chr. 273], esp. 197–200; see Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung* (cf. n. 19), 364 with n. 39.

27   Manfred G. Raschke, New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East, in: Hildegard Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. II. Prinzipat*, vol. 9.2, Berlin 1978, 604–1378, here 664.

28   Raschke, New Studies (cf. n. 26), 647.

29   AE 2005, 1640 = AE 2007, 1659 (Hadrianic?); AE 2004, 1643 = AE 2005, 1639 = AE 2007, 1659 (140 CE); and see Michael Alexander Speidel, Ausserhalb des Reiches? Zu neuen lateinischen Inschriften aus Saudi Arabien und zur Ausdehnung der römischen Herrschaft am Roten Meer, in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 163 (2007), 296–306 (also in: Idem, *Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Stutt-

insularum Baliarum or the *praefectus orae Ponticae maritimae*. Usually, their main duties were, as it seems, to safeguard travel and trade—that is, to prevent any raid and particularly to fight against bandits or pirates.[30]

It is all the more remarkable that we encounter one of these prefectures in Egypt itself, namely the *praefectus montis Berenicidis*. As his title already indicates, he was in charge of the Eastern desert, that is, not only the imperial quarries located there but the whole area between Koptos and Berenike.[31] Accordingly, this comprised the caravan routes through the desert as well, where we see much better than elsewhere what the double task of protecting the roads and fighting against barbarians might imply. We do not know if the attacks by nomads increased after the middle of the first century CE,[32] but we can observe new and large-scale activities by the Romans in the following decades. The fortification and equipping of the Koptos-Berenike road with wells in Flavian times was clearly no small investment, and it eventually resulted in a shift of the main communication lines. In the early Imperial period, as attested by Strabo and material evidence alike, the port of Myos Hormos, which was closest to the Nile, was the preferred one for Indo-Roman trade. From the Flavian period onwards, however, and more so in the second century CE, southeastern Berenike Troglodytike may have taken the lead.[33]

gart 2009, 633–649); Speidel, Wars (cf. n. 24), 89–94; Dario Nappo, Roman Policy on the Red Sea in the Second Century CE, in: De Romanis and Maiuro (ed.), *Across the Ocean* (cf. n. 9), 55–72; Speidel, Fernhandel (cf. n. 24), 157–165.

30 See now Speidel, Fernhandel (cf. n. 24).

31 Adam Bülow-Jacobsen and Hélène Cuvigny, Sulpicius Serenus, *procurator Augusti*, et la titulature des préfets de Bérénice, in: *Chiron* 37 (2007), 11–33; Andreina Magioncalda, I prefetti di Berenice, in: Catherine Wolff (ed.), *Le métier de soldat dans le monde romain (Actes du cinquième Congrès de Lyon 23–25 sept. 2010)*, Paris 2012, 461–477.

32 However, see now Hélène Cuvigny, Papyrological Evidence on 'Barbarians' in the Egyptian Eastern Desert, in: Jitse H. F. Dijkstra and Greg Fisher (ed.), *Inside and Out. Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Leuven 2014, 165–198.

33 For a most useful overview, see now Sidebotham, *Berenike* (cf. n. 10), on the development of the road system esp. 125–174; Hélène Cuvigny, Le système routier du désert Oriental égyptien sous le Haut-Empire à la lumière des ostraca trouvés en fouille, in: Jérôme France and Jocelyne Nelis-Clément (ed.), *La* statio. *Archéologie d'un lieu de pouvoir dans l'empire romain*, Bordeaux 2014, 247–278, esp. 257–263; for the results of the excavations conducted since the 1990s in the framework of the *Programme « Désert Orientale »*, see also the site URL: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/praesidia/ (accessed 3 January 2018), with the pertinent series *Praesidia du désert de Bérénice*, published by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale since 2003; and, for a wider audience at an intermediate stage, the articles by Michel Reddé, La présence militaire romaine dans le désert Oriental (385–394), Jean-Pierre Brun, *Hodos Myshormitikè* : l'équipement de la route de Coptos et la mer Rouge aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine (395–414), and

Yet, even here, Alexandria was the constitutive reference. We shall not forget, after all, that the units that served in the Eastern desert and on the Farasan islands were part of the provincial army, as were their local commanders. Moreover, the above-mentioned prefects, who most probably resided at Koptos, were answerable to the prefects of Egypt as well. Thus, as far as the Roman army is concerned, we arrive at the same conclusion as before, namely, that the core of the system was situated nowhere else but in Alexandria. Indeed, the similarity of the organisational structures is especially striking. Just as in the realm of trade and customs duties, the leading figures were based regularly there. The personnel on the spot, for their part, however impressive they may have been to the outside, had only limited powers for a limited time and, in spite of their virtually awesome appearance, no authority of their own.

In this case, however, there seems to have been even more. For it is not too far-fetched to assume that the military was in charge of controlling not only the foreign and possibly hostile forces but also the merchants and the merchandise—and, we may add, the customs officers as well. This is, in all probability, why we find Roman stationary detachments as far as the straits; and there is good reason to suppose that there were still other, albeit less numerous, units on the other side of the Bāb al-Mandab as well. Indeed, one may duly wonder how the more than one hundred vessels that even in Strabo's time sailed to and fro each year could do so if there was no concrete and robust protection against one of the most obvious dangers of such a venture, namely, the capture and seizure, or worse, of goods and persons.

Such military support apart, it has recently been argued that the Romans created a network of *amici* to foster travel and trade in these parts of the world.[34] This need not imply genuine treaties of friendship, which we know about already from Republican times and which proved crucial for establishing peaceful and friendly relations between Rome and another state.[35] Rather, we should consider the pertinent title that was granted—then by the senate, now by the princeps—to states as well as to individuals who rendered special ser-

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Steven E. Sidebotham, From Berenike to Koptos: Recent Results of the Desert Route Survey (415–438), in: Boussac (ed.), *Autour de Coptos* (cf. n. 21). http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/praesidia/ (accessed 3 January 2018), with the pertinent series *Praesidia du désert de Bérénice*, published by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale since 2003; and, for a wider audience at an intermediate stage, the articles by Michel Reddé, La présence militaire romaine dans le désert Oriental (385–394), Jean-Pierre Brun, *Hodos Myshormitikè* : l'équipement de la route de Coptos et la mer Rouge aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine (395–414), and Steven E. Sidebotham, From Berenike to Koptos: Recent Results of the Desert Route Survey (415–438), in: Boussac (ed.), *Autour de Coptos* (cf. n. 21).

34   Speidel, Wars (cf. n. 24), esp. 113–119; Speidel, Fernhandel (cf. n. 24).

vices to Rome, or were at least expected to render them in the very near future. Of course, on the way to India, far beyond the frontiers of the then-known world, friendly relationships must have been more essential than ever, which makes this idea even more appealing. On the other hand, these putative *amici* could surely hope for some reward. Thus, it is safe to assume that the Roman military forces that were most plausibly present in the Arabian Sea also had a share in this respect. At least there is no reason why they should not have helped out merchants and *amici* in critical situations, to the benefit of all.

All these more theoretical reflections have taken us, however, far from Alexandria, and even farther from any evidence that could support our case. Thus, it is time to return to the Mediterranean, and we may follow an Indian embassy for that. "Embassies", as Augustus proudly declares in his *Res gestae*, "were often sent to me from kings in India; never before had they been seen in the presence of any Roman commander." He goes on with listing quite a number of other kings and peoples that "sought our friendship"—*amicitia*, as he explicitly states, "by means of embassies".[36] Of course, the degree of truth in such assertions must not always be taken for granted. In the case of Augustus, however, we have a good deal of evidence that this was by no means mere boasting but relates to very real events.

Indeed, there was at least one embassy from India that must have been most impressive, for it is recorded in literary sources even centuries later. The Severan historian Cassius Dio reports that in the winter 20/19 BCE, when Augustus sojourned at Samos, "a great many embassies came to him, and the people of India, who had already made overtures, now made a treaty of friendship, sending among other gifts tigers, which were then for the first time seen by the Romans" and the most memorable of all, we are told, was the Indian sage who accompagnied the embassy and, after being initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries at Athens where they stopped on the way to Rome, decided to burn himself alive.[37]

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35   Succinctly, Adolf Berger, Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law, in: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N.S. 43/2 (1953), 333–808, here 361 s.v. *Amicitia (foedus amicitiae)*; and see now *Forschungen über die rechtlichen Grundlagen der römischen Außenbeziehungen während der Republik bis zum Beginn des Prinzipats*, thorough studies conducted by Andreas Zack and published subsequently in: *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaften* 14 (2011), 47–119 (I); 15 (2012), 61–128 (II); 16 (2013), 63–113 (III); 17 (2014), 131–180 (IV); 17 (2014), 247–308 (V); 18 (2015), 27–83 (VI); 18 (2015), 115–178 (VII); 19 (2016), 89–163 (VIII).

36   Augustus, Res g. 31.1 f.; trans. Grant Parker, *The Making of Roman India*, Cambridge 2008, 210. For a range of possible candidates, see now Speidel, Fernhandel (cf. n. 24).

37   Cass. Dio 54.9.8–10, the citation in 9.8; trans. Earnest Cary, *Dio's Roman History with an English Translation, in Nine Volumes*, vol. 6, Cambridge, Mass. 1960.

This must have been the same embassy that is mentioned also by Strabo who, for his part, refers to the former tutor of royal children and historian Nicolaus of Damascus for more substantial details. Nicolaus, in fact, was credited with having encountered the Indian ambassadors himself when they passed through Antioch epi Daphne, and may have even got a glimpse of the letter of the king they delivered, written in Greek on a skin and offering Augustus the chance "to co-operate with him in anything that was honourable".[38] Again, we hear of the marvellous gifts and the Indian sage who leaped upon the pyre with a laugh, and even of the epitaph that the Athenians inscribed on his tombstone.

Yet, we do not exactly know where this embassy came from and which route it had taken. According to Nicolaus, the letter was written by a King Poros, who was ruler of six hundred kings, but this sounds hardly reliable considering that Poros was the king's name as early as in Alexander's time. If we trust the above-mentioned epitaph, they would have come from Bargosa or Barygaza, the famous commercial hub at the North Indian coast.[39] Thus, it is quite possible that the embassy took the overland route to the west and travelled through Mesopotamia and Syria. It is just as likely, if not even more plausible, that they came by sea. As is well known, the Southwest Monsoon, which was of critical importance to Indo-Roman trade, splits into two parts: the so-called *Arabian Sea Branch* that led to Kerala, and more precisely, as we have seen, to Muziris; and the northerly *Bay of Bengal Branch* that made Barygaza the terminus.[40] If the Indian embassy, as is most probable, embarked on the prevailing route, they would clearly have entered the Roman Empire via Egypt and, of course, Alexandria.

Now, we can be quite sure that this was indeed the case, as is shown by my third piece of evidence, viz. the so-called Artemidorus Papyrus. This papyrus has gained prominence in the last decade because it has been claimed to be a nineteenth-century forgery, and the discussion, as a matter of fact, continues.[41] According to the proponents of this view, forgery can be proved not least

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38 Strab. 15.1.73 C 719; trans. Horace Leonard Jones, *Strabo VII: Geography Book XV and XVI, Text and Translation*, Cambridge, Mass. 1930.

39 See Strab. 15.1.73 C 720: "Here lies Zarmanochegas, an Indian from Bargosa, who immortalised himself in accordance with the ancestral customs of Indians" (trans. Jones, *Strabo VII*).

40 Succinctly, Lionel Casson, Ancient Naval Technology and the Route to India, in: Begley and De Puma (ed.), *Rome and India* (cf. n. 11), 8–11; Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade* (cf. n. 24), 28–30; see André Tchernia, Winds and Coins: From the Supposed Discovery of the Monsoon to the *Denarii* of Tiberius, in: Federico De Romanis and André Tchernia (ed.), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*, New Delhi 1997, 250–276, and, most recently, James Beresford, *The Ancient Sailing Season* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 351), Leiden 2013, 213–235.

by the strange bestiarium that has been sketched on the reverse. Indeed, there is a plethora of most elegant and seemingly fanciful animal drawings that in all their liveliness make a quite modern appearance. Moreover, it is not to be denied that some of them are likely products of fantasy and myth, in particular those engaged in fights.

Most of them, however, are not.[42] Indeed, there are several animals whose strangeness results primarily from the fact that their features are not those we are familiar with from the Mediterranean world. Of course, the illustrator could not rely on modern techniques, and the sketches were not always precise, and now and then they were made from memory. Nevertheless, there are too many details that point to the fact that there were very real animals—marine, winged, and terrestrial alike—that served for him as models. Most of them came clearly from the African regions beyond Syene, to mention only the giraffe (**V21**), the caracal (**V38**), or the flamingo (**V28**). There are, however, others with an unquestionable Asian provenance—the tiger, for instance (**V31**), the Himalayan monal (**V27**), the Ganges softshell turtle (**V36**), the Indian python (**V16**), and possibly even a New Guinean southern cassowary (**V07**). Indeed, the sheer number of these South- or South-East Asian animals on the papyrus is astonishing, and this can be by no means a coincidence.

Thus, there is every reason to argue that all these exotic animals were among the gifts presented by the Indian embassy to Augustus, and that they were on display at Alexandria when the ambassadors passed through on their

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41 This prompted several conferences and a session at the XXVI Congress of Papyrology in Geneva; see, e.g., Kai Brodersen and Jaś Elsner (ed.), *Images and Texts on the "Artemidorus Papyrus". Working Papers on P.Artemid. (St. John's College Oxford, 2008)* (Historia Einzelschriften 214), Stuttgart 2009; the conference series *Intorno al Papiro di Artemidoro*: Claudio Gallazzi, Bärbel Kramer and Salvatore Settis (ed.), vol. 1: *Contesto culturale, lingua, stile e tradizione (Atti del Convegno internazionale del 15 nov. 2008 presso la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa)*, Milano 2010; idem (ed.), vol. 2: *Geografia e Cartografia (Atti del Convegno internazionale del 27 nov. 2009 presso la Società Geografica Italiana, Villa Celimontana, Roma)*, Milano 2012; Gianfranco Adornato (ed.), vol. 3: *I Disegni (Atti del Convegno internazionale del 4 febbr. 2011 presso il Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Firenze)*, Milano 2016; Paul Schubert, *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie Genève, 16–21 août 2010*, Genève 2012, XIX, and the article by Jürgen Hammerstaedt, The *status quaestionis* of the Artemidorus Papyrus, ibid. 307–313; most recently, Luciano Canfora, Simonidis als Verfasser des falschen Artemidor (249–255), and Jürgen Hammerstaedt, Simonides ist nicht an allem schuld! Die Debatte um den Artemidor-Papyrus (257–278), in: Andreas E. Müller, Lilia Diamantopoulou, Christian Gastgeber and Athanasia Katsiakori-Rankl (ed.), *Die getäuschte Wissenschaft. Ein Genie betrügt Europa – Konstantinos Simonides*, Wien 2017.

42 See Ragnar K. Kinzelbach, *Tierbilder aus dem ersten Jahrhundert. Ein zoologischer Kommentar zum Artemidor-Papyrus* (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 28), Berlin 2009, whose numbering of the sketches has been adopted in what follows.

way to Samos and Antioch. This assumption is the more convincing as some of them can in all probability be identified. Indeed, what is most interesting for us in Strabo's account is the enumeration of the animals that Nicolaus is purported to have seen when the Indians eventually arrived; apart from the tiger which is also mentioned by Cassius Dio (**V31**), he lists "large vipers (we have at least one king cobra, **V25b**), and a serpent ten cubits in length (our python, **V16**), and a river tortoise three cubits in length (our Ganges softshell turtle, **V36**), and a partridge larger than a vulture (our Himalayan monal, **V27**)".[43] To cut a long story short, the Artemidorus Papyrus is no fake, and it is more probable than not that those were the very models the sketches on the reverse were based on.

To conclude, if the title of the paper seems surprising, I hope to have shown that it is more than justified. Since Ptolemaic times, Alexandria was one of the world's leading cities in terms of learning, culture, and beauty, a place that could not easily be matched by any other capital of the ancient Mediterranean. Moreover, she was a thriving centre of production and commerce in her own right, and, not least, the door to the immense prosperity and wealth of Egypt. Under the Romans, her importance increased even more, and her area of influence expanded far and wide, to regions that had hardly ever been known before. For all the activities between the Levant and the Indian shores—trade, military, and diplomacy alike— Alexandria became the one and only point of reference that can properly be labelled the Queen of the Mediterranean and Arabian Seas.

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43 See Strab. 15.1.73 C 719; trans. Jones, *Strabo VII* (with my comments in brackets).

Integrating the Ocean into Indo-Mediterranean Concepts: Geographic Imagination and the Western Routes "Entre mers"

Raimund Schulz

Oceanic Sea Routes to India—the Western World´s Great Dream from Antiquity to Columbus

Abstract. In the first part of this paper we explain the historical and cultural circumstances which in the fourth century BCE had already led to the emergence of the idea that the marvellous coasts of India might be reached by sailing westward from the Iberian Peninsula into the Atlantic Ocean. The second part is devoted to the question; why the realization of this concept, originally developed by Greek intellectuals, actually failed in Antiquity, in spite of favourable political as well as economic conditions during the early Roman principate (first and second century CE). Although the idea endured throughout the Middle Ages, it was revived and finally implemented under a changing political constellation at the dawn of the modern era.

Introduction

The dream of reaching far-away worlds of wealth and happiness by crossing the Ocean is probably as old as organized seafaring. In order to realise it, four preconditions must be met:

Firstly, the destination must be worth the dangers and risks set by gods and nature. As a reward, in most cases there is the promise of immeasurable riches—first gold, then exotic plants—which are not found at home, as well as the hope of being able to lead an easy life without illness in a much more pleasant environment. The magical place of immortality at the end of the world is the most extreme expression of this hope, rumours of the incredibly old age of those living there is its relativized expression.

Secondly, one needs to have a global spatial idea of the location of the destination: no captain, no investor or purchaser will send a crew to completely unknown waters in search of phantoms. Rather, he must have an accepted, inherently consistent geographic overall concept of the destination's location and of the route to it in relation to already known spaces, even if the actual circumstances and the exact distance may be unknown at the time.

Thirdly, and immediately connected to this, one needs a disposition and tradition typical for maritime communities, which is not only ready to regularly dare to take the step onto the sea as the most dangerous element for humans but which also rewards this step with high social reputation and social advancement.

Fourthly,—and that concludes what has been said so far: technological and political preconditions must be met that provide both the material resources and the nautical experience for a voyage across the ocean to a previously unknown destination, not to be discouraged by initial failure.

The more dangerous and demanding the task, the more important it is that these preconditions are met at the same time and over a longer period. However, such a constellation is not found often. In most cases it develops cumulatively, or it collapses after a short time of everything being given. This holds much for the Western *oikoumene*'s great dream of reaching India, the wonderland, not via the land and sea routes in the Middle East but by going south or west of Spain, across the *Oceanus*. It was not only dreamt as late as in the fifteenth century but, together with the concept of the Earth as a globe, it counts among the great constant traditions of the Mediterranean world since Antiquity; the concept of this dream goes back at least as far as to the fourth century BC, but only seldom a door opened to show how it could be realised. In the following, I would like to demonstrate how and under which circumstances the elements of this greatest maritime project of the pre-modern age developed in the context of its time, which continuities and breaks were connected to the idea of sailing to India until the early modern age, and why on several occasions people had already closely missed its realisation long before Henry the Navigator and Columbus.

The Birth of the Western Concept of India and the Routes across the Ocean in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries BC

The birth of the idea of sailing to India across the Ocean came during the fourth century BC, even before Alexander set out to find the end of the world in the East. Two longer political macro-developments produced a far-reaching change in the way of explaining the world: by the end of the sixth century BC, the Persian Empire had, for the first time, conquered a consistent territory reaching from the Mediterranean to the Indus and formed a stable bridge of communication between East and West. Indian and Greek scholars met at the Persian court and accompanied the king on his campaigns. Indian soldiers fought with Xerxes' army in Greece. Phoenician and Greek captains played leading roles in

the expedition Darius sent out from Kabul down the Indus and then around Arabia as far as to the Red Sea.[1]

As a result of these contacts, detailed news about India reached Greece. Based on this information, authors such as Scylax, Hecataeus and Herodotus developed an image of India in the following decades which proved to be remarkably persistent afterwards and which portrayed a wonderland of immeasurable riches and sprouting plants, inhabited by bizarre creatures.[2] At the same time, Greek scholars integrated it into a geographic concept of the world which opened up alternative maritime approaches to the outer world, avoiding the territory controlled by Persia. For the seafaring Greeks, the fact that the surface of the world and thus the sea is convex was empirical everyday knowledge; celestial navigation made the conclusion almost inevitable that the inhabited world was part of a globe. In *De Caelo* Aristotle supplied the most perspicuous evidence for that and drew first conclusions from the distribution of landmasses and seas.[3] Since the end of the fifth century India was seen as the eastern end of the *oikoumene*, and Iberia as the western one. Aristotle estimated the total circumference of the earth to be 400,000 stadiums (65,000 km).[4] This is a rather high figure, the actual figure being about 40,000 km, but "in relation to the other stars" it is not much. The smaller the volume of the earth, and the wider the *oikoumene* stretched between East and West, the smaller the remaining maritime distance between the two ends, that is India and Spain: Aristotle believed it to be probable that "the region around the Pillars of Heracles was connected to that of Heracles (= India)" by a sea, and as at both ends there lived elephants, one might conclude that this sea was not very wide.[5] This implied the possibility to cross it by ship and to travel from one end of the *oikoumene* to the other.

Plato had expressed a different opinion. His famous statement that the people of the Mediterranean were sitting around the bog like frogs aimed at his contemporaries' focus exclusively on the familiar *oikoumene*. Actually, Plato

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1 Klaus Karttunen, *India in Early Greek Literature*, (Studia Orientalia 65), Helsinki 1989, 48–79; Thomas McEvilley, *The Shape of Ancient Thought: Comparative Studies in Greek and Indian Philosophies*, New York 2002, 5–9.

2 Klaus Karttunen, India (cf. n. 1), 65–84; James S. Romm, *The Edges of Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*, Princeton 1992, 82–100.

3 Aristot. Cael. 2.14; 297a-297b.

4 Aristot. Cael. 2,14; 297b 30 ff.; 2,298 a 15 f.; Friedrich Gisinger, Geographie, in: RE Suppl. 4 (1924), 521–685, here 577.

5 Aristot. Cael. 2,14 298a; meteor. 2,5.362 b 27 ff.; Hugo Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, Leipzig 1903, 317–319; Gisinger, Geographie (cf. n. 4), 585.

said, there were other earth islands around the globe. Combining this with his thesis of the four streams, the earth emerges as a globe divided into four *oikoumenes* by two rectangular "surrounding oceans". This design formed the basis of the globe model of Crates of Mallos, which remained popular also in the Middle Ages (fig. 1).[6] According to this model, one Ocean, stretching from North to South, was to be identified with the Atlantic Ocean, while the other one, running rectangularly from west to east, was the (Erythrean) Southern Sea. The segment to the upper right was the known *oikoumene*, the one below the counter (anti-)-*oikoumene*, and the two opposite fields were the *oikoumene* of the Perioikoi and the Antipodes respectively. In his tale of Atlantis, Plato goes on to speak of a gigantic mainland in the West, encompassing the Atlantic Ocean and perhaps even the entire *Okeanos*.[7]

All these models take up old myths, such as that of the land of the dead beyond the *Okeanos*, and connect them with the expectation of a geometrically balanced distribution of land and water on the Globe. However, they perhaps also reflect a certain amount of empiricism, connected with the increasing integration of Atlantic islands (Britannia and Ireland) into the Mediterranean horizon of knowledge. The situation concerning the third field of debate in those days was similar: Are there more landmasses south of the *oikoumene*?—A question which was essential when it came to the sea route to India. In the fourth century Mediterranean people had no knowledge of how far Africa stretched to the South, but could only assume that its southern border bulges slightly southward and, interrupted by the Red Sea, continues to the Arabian Peninsula. A similar state of knowledge concerned the "burned equatorial zone" which, according to Parmenides' doctrine of the zones, separated the temperate zone of the northern hemisphere from the southern hemisphere. However, some reports from expeditions suggested that the burned zone might be crossed by ship and that the existence of life was possible there and beyond. All this resulted in the thesis of a huge southern continent, the so called *terra australis*, which was identified with the land of the Antipodeans.[8]

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6 Phaid. 109 b, 112e. Berger, Geschichte (cf. n. 5), 314, William Graham Lister Randles, Classical Models of World Geography and Their Transformation Following the Discovery of America, in: *The Classical Tradition and the Americas,* vol. 1: *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, Berlin 1994, 5–76, here 10–11.

7 Plat. Tim. 2424e-25a; Klaus Geus, Utopie und Geographie. Zum Weltbild der Griechen in frühhellenistischer Zeit, in: *Orbis Terrarum* 6 (2000), 55–90, here 58 A. 14; Gisinger, Geographie (cf. n. 4), 581.

8 Plat. Tim. 63A; Stephan Heilen, Eudoxos von Knidos und Pytheas von Massilia, in: *Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften in der Antike,* vol. *2*: , ed. Georg
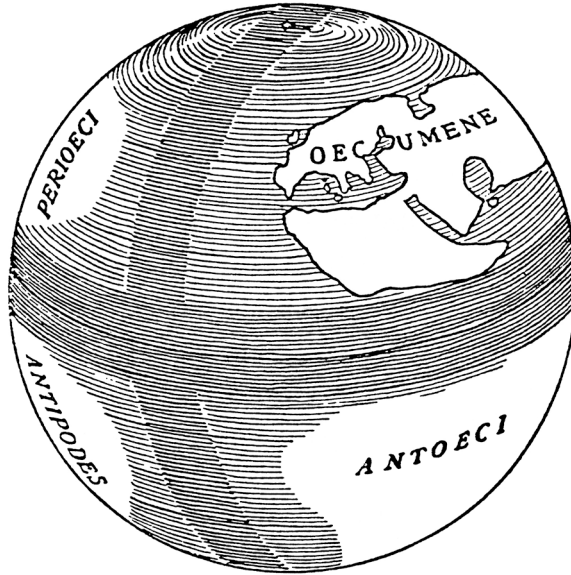
Figure 1. Reconstruction of the Crates-globe (Second Century BC) (from E.L. Stevenson, terrestrial and celestial globes, New Haven 1921, vol. 1, fig. 5).

Thus, even in the fourth century BC all models of global perception had been developed which from then on, for the next 2000 years, were to determine the debate on the question of oceanic sea travel to India: not even the basic features of the image of India changed much, but they were just enriched by more detailed geographic data and Christian variants such as Paradise on Earth. Everything else remained basically the same: the idea that India was immeasurably rich and full of fantastic creatures; the assumption that the passage across the Atlantic was blocked by huge islands or even a gigantic continent, and that one had to expect to meet unknown landmasses beyond the burned zone in the south. However, there was still the optimistic alternative of a free passage across a narrow Atlantic Ocean, for which the islands were not a barrier but could, instead, be used as stepping stones. Certainly, such ideas did not reach the mind of the simple coastal captain, but they belonged to the knowledge stock of the frequently highly educated and literarily active expedition leaders sent out by monarchs and big trade cities. One of them, Pytheas of Massilia, was a proven astronomer and geographer and at about the same time as the constructs of continents and sea routes had reached their peak, he proved dur-

Wöhrle, Stuttgart 2000, 55–73, here 59; Karl Abel, Zone, RE 14 (1974), 989–1188, here 1002–1003.

ing a famous journey across the North Sea that even the storm-driven waves of the Atlantic Ocean could be mastered (probably with the aid of the Celtic art of sailing).[9] Similarly, one could have used the Canary Islands further to the South, which had been explored by the Carthaginians, as a starting point to go west. At the same time, the methods of measuring the solar altitude, the position of the stars and of determining the position on the latitude using the gnomon reached such a quality that they would not alter much in the course of the next 2000 years. The world both of Antiquity and the Middle Ages was perfectly familiar with celestial navigation, and still in Columbus's time it provided the crucial base of orientation, apart from constant observation of the natural environment, which was not replaced but only complemented by the much quoted compass.[10]

The Great Interruption: From Alexander to the Roman Imperial Period

If the technological and nautical preconditions for long-distance maritime voyages were thus fulfilled, if the target India and the oceanic connections were, though in several competing geographic constructs, somehow located on the Globe and integrated into the general spatial perception of the period, and above all if the value of this target country as a rich wonderland was no longer disputed then the question is no longer *if* an oceanic connection from the West was believed to be possible but *why* it was *not* realised over the following centuries.

One first answer is provided by Alexander´s campaign. It created the preconditions for the replacement of the Persian Empire by the two large Hellenistic kingdoms of the Seleucids in Asia and the Ptolemies in Egypt. By land as well as sea routes across the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea respectively, both of them had direct contact to the Maurya-Empire emerging in India. These contacts indeed became so intense that the search for alternative sea routes from the far West became unattractive: given the existing direct connections, there was neither the need nor the realistic prospect of additional gain of economic,

9 Heilen, Eudoxos (cf. n. 8), 63–71; Christina Horst Roseman, *Pytheas of Massilia: On the Ocean. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Chicago 1994.

10 Reinhard Krüger, Eine Welt ohne Amerika, vol. 3: Das lateinische Mittelalter und die Tradition des antiken Erdkugelmodells (ca. 550–ca. 1080), Berlin 2000, 46–47, 228; Uta Lindgren, Von Ptolemaios zu Kolumbus. Das Problem der Zeit- und Ortsbestimmung, in: *Antike Naturwissenschaft und ihre Rezeption 3*, ed. Klaus Döring and Georg Wöhrle, Trier 1993, 90–103, here 102.

financial or political kind, and finally there was no actor in the far West to push the realisation of such a goal.[11]

The situation changed when at the turn of the second to the first century BC the power centre of the Mediterranean world had ultimately shifted from the East of the *oikoumene* to the Tiber. One after the other, the kingdoms in the East had been defeated by Rome, which finally, at the turn from the Republic to the Empire, took complete possession of the last remaining kingdom, that of the Ptolemies. In a more or less parallel development, the Parthians had established themselves as opponents to Rome on the territory of the former Seleucid Empire. Thus, whereas on the one hand the Mediterranean was united under one rule, the political unity of the Middle East stretching as far as to the Punjab which had been created by the Persians and maintained by the Seleucids was lost on the other hand. At the same time the Roman Imperial elite's demand for far-eastern luxury and consumption goods such as pepper and aromatics reached unprecedented heights. Since the Monsoon system had meanwhile been deciphered by Egyptian-Greek sailors, sea trade from the harbours of the Red Sea via the Arabian south coast to the two coasts of India experienced an unprecedented boom.[12] It secured the supply with Indian, Arabian, Chinese and far-eastern products to the whole Mediterranean so smoothly and resulted in such hefty profits for the merchants and importers involved that despite the changed situation of the world and most perfect economic and technological preconditions an alternative route to India across the Atlantic Ocean and around Africa was once again not seriously taken into consideration, even if that would have provided the opportunity to avoid the Arabian and Indian middlemen.[13]

11   Josef Wiesehöfer, Geschenke, Gewürze und Gedanken. Überlegungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Seleukiden und Mauryas, in: *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean World*, ed. Edward Dabrowa, Kraków 1998, 225–236; Josef Wiesehöfer, Mare Erythraeum, Sinus Persicus and Fines Indiae: Der Indische Ozean in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit, in: *Der Indische Ozean in historischer Perspektive*, ed. Stephan Conermann *(Asien und Afrika 1),* Hamburg 1998, 9–36.

12   Grant Parker, Ex Oriente Luxuria, in: *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 45 (2002), 40–95. Kai Ruffing, Wege in den Osten. Die Routen des römischen Süd- und Osthandels (1. und 2. Jh. n. Chr.), in: *Zu Wasser und zu Land. Verkehrswege in der antiken Welt.* (Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie 7, Geographica Historica 17), ed. Eckart Olshausen and Holger Sonnabend, Stuttgart 2002, 278–360.

13   See the Papers in: Marie-Françoise Boussac and Jean-Francois Salles (ed.), *A Gateway from the Eastern Mediterranean to India. The Red Sea in Antiquity*, Dehli 2005; Raoul McLaughlin, *Rome and the Distant East. Trade Routes to the Ancient Lands of Arabia, India, and China*, London 2010; Serena Bianchetti, Die Seerouten nach Indien in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit, in: Zu Wasser und zu Land (cf. n. 12), 280–292.

The Survival of Ancient Knowledge of the World in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

Nevertheless, the dream of an oceanic sea route to India was not given up but only postponed. The Roman Empire claimed rule over the entire *oikoumene*. When in the first century AD information about the Chinese Han Empire became known, this claim was no longer in accordance with reality, but in the West, beyond Britannia, there was only the vast *Okeanos*. Since Caesar, its submission was part of the ideological self-understanding of an empire which accepted no limits, neither in space nor time.[14]

Rome's imperial view across the Atlantic Ocean was in line with—and this is of essential significance for the idea of the sea route to India—a broad adoption of Greek-Hellenistic geography, which had extended and refined the theories developed in the fourth century BC. Even in the mid-second century BC, Crates of Mallos made the Romans familiar with his globe model of the four continents. At least a pseudo-Aristotelian writing mentioned islands beyond the *Okeanos*, and in the time of Augustus the famous geographer Strabo confirmed that there might be two or more worlds at the altitude of the temperate zone. Plutarch took up Plato's tale of a gigantic continent in the outer West,[15] and Seneca prophesized that one day mankind would discover an incredibly huge country beyond the *Okeanos*.[16] Parallel to that, the thesis of a free passage to India stayed alive, nourished not only by news of Indians who had stranded at the coast of Gaul but also by the tendency of mathematical geography to further reduce the estimated volume of the Earth, whereas since Alexander's time the estimates of the East-West distance of the *oikoumene* had constantly grown.[17] From these developments Seneca drew the much-quoted conclusion that crossing the Atlantic Ocean, in case of favourable winds, would only take a few days.[18]

The idea of travelling around Africa in southern direction became, however, more controversial when the lands of Southeast Asia were discovered. Due to this news, the geographer Ptolemy assumed that a direct land connection from Africa to India existed, which would have blocked direct naval access from the South to the harbours on India's west coast.[19] Others contradicted by referring to expeditions from West Africa.[20] Even if none of these concepts was

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14   Raimund Schulz, *Die Antike und das Meer*, Darmstadt 2005, 184–195.

15   Plut. De specie lunae 26.

16   Sen. Med. 374–379.

17   Klaus Tausend, Inder in Germanien, in: *Orbis Terrarum* 5 (1999), 115–125.

18   Sen. nat. Quest.1 praef.13.

realised, they were rooted in the minds of the experts, and if needed, they were at hand.

The Christian thinkers of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages continued to assume that the Earth was a globe as a matter of course.[21] Likewise, based on the writings of Pliny, Martianus Capella, on the Latin translation of Plato's *Timaios* and, since the thirteenth century, on Aristotle's *De Caelo*, they all maintained the global geographical theses of Antiquity and thus also the idea of trans-oceanic routes to India.[22] The ancient methods of geodesy were part of *Geometria* as it was taught at medieval arts faculties.[23]

Concerning the connections to the Far East, there were only two theological objections. Firstly, localising Paradise on Earth in the Far East caused problems insofar as, according to general opinion, it could not be reached, let alone entered, and thus Paradise blocked the naval access to India. Secondly, the existence of far-away continents was seldom doubted, but some scholars doubted the ancient assumption that they were inhabited by Antipodeans or other humans, for this would have meant that the Great Flood had spared humans outside the *oikoumene* and that the missionary task of Christ had not been fulfilled as the equatorial zone and the *Oceanus dissociabilis* blocked any connection.[24]

However, in the course of the advancing adoption of Aristotle's works, of the spread of knowledge on the Atlantic voyages of the Norsemen, and finally

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19 Ptol. Geogr. 7,5,4 ff. Alfred Stückelberger, Klaudios Ptolemaios, in: *Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften in der Antike*. Vol. 2: *Geographie und verwandte Wissenschaften*, ed. Georg Wöhrle, Stuttgart 2000, 185–208, here 204.

20 Mela 3,90 und Plin.nat. 2,169.

21 On the exceptions in the east, which were hardly noticed in the western Mediterranean, cf. Frank Schleicher, *Geographia Christiana. Kosmologie und Geographie im frühen Christentum*. Paderborn 2014, 163–222.

22 Reinhard Krüger, Das lateinische Mittelalter (cf. n. 10), 152; Reinhard Krüger, *Moles globosa, globus terrae und arenosus globus in Spätantike und Mittelalter: Eine Kritik des Mythos von der Erdscheibe*, Berlin 2012, 23–51. Nathalia Lozowsky, *"The Earth is Our Book": Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000*, Ann Arbor 2000, 120; Rudolf Simek, *Erde und Kosmos im Mittelalter: Das Weltbild vor Kolumbus*, München 1992, 16–38.

23 Silke Diederich, Geographisches in Scholien und Kommentaren, in: *Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften in der Antike,* vol. 2: , ed. Georg Wöhrle, Stuttgart 2000, 210–226. Rolf Decot, "Weltbild und Erdform in der theologischen Betrachtung von 1450–1550", in: *Entdeckungen und frühe Kolonisation*, ed. Christoph Dipper and Martin Vogt, Darmstadt 1993, 107–134, here 109–110.

24 Raimund Schulz, *Abenteurer der Ferne. Die großen Entdeckungsfahrten und das Weltwissen der Antike*, second edition. Stuttgart 2016, 442–443.

of the opening of communications with the East as far as to China (in the course of the Mongol expansion), these problems lost significance to such a degree that the majority of the intellectuals no longer considered them relevant.[25] Both Arab geographers and Marco Polo proved that indeed—as had already been known in Antiquity—it was not only possible to cross the equatorial zone but that it was also inhabitable and that human settlements even existed beyond it.[26] And as, in the course of Italian merchants, diplomats and missionaries the Far East, gold islands such as Cipango (Japan) were indeed found, but no Paradise on Earth: therefore this last barrier also lost its significance although it remained an ideal target projection. A new, although actually old, obstacle appeared only when Ptolemy´s thesis of the Africa-India land bridge gained prominence again, but meanwhile Christian scholars had become self-confident enough to take this thesis only as one among others.[27]

Realisation: The Portuguese, Columbus and Antiquity

When the Portuguese started exploring the southern route around Africa and later Columbus presented his plan of an Atlantic voyage, all the great geographic concepts of Antiquity were assembled once again.[28] From the start

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[25] Cf. Felicitas Schmieder, Nachdenken auf der Karte. Mappae Mundi als Spiegel spätmittelalterlichen Weltwissens, in: *Weltwissen vor Kolumbus,* ed. Justus Cobet (Periplus 23), Berlin 2013, 236–257, here 240–242.

[26] Irina Metzler, Perceptions of Hot Climate in Medieval Cosmography and Travel Literature, in: *Medieval Ethnographies. European Perceptions of the World Beyond,* ed. Joan Pau Rubiés (The Expansion of Latin Europe 9), Farnham 2009, 379–415; John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe.* With a new Introduction by Clartence J. Glacken, New York 1965, 162–164.

[27] Schulz, Abenteurer der Ferne (cf. n. 24), 455–462.

[28] Concerning the motives, aims and circumstances of Portuguese expeditions see Jean-Paul Lehners, Die Anfänge der portugiesischen Expansion, in: *Von der mediterranen zur atlantischen Macht. Geschichte der europäischen Expansion bis in die Frühe Neuzeit.* Querschnitte, vol. 2, ed. Peter Feldbauer, Gottfried Liedl and John Morrissey, Wien 1999, 126–147, here 137; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus. Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: 1229–1492*, Philadelphia 1987, 189–190; Bernard Hamilton, Continental Drift: Prester John`s Progress Through the Indies, in: *Medieval Ethnographies. European Perceptions of the World Beyond,* ed. Joan Pau Rubiés (The Expansion of Latin Europe 9), Farnham 2009, 121–153, here 139–140; Christoph Dipper, Guanahaní, 12. Oktober 1492: Der welthistorische Augenblick, in: *Entdeckungen und frühe Kolonisation*, ed. Christoph Dipper and Martin Vogt, Darmstadt 1993, 135–163, here 143.

Columbus—as has been made plausible by Felipe Fernández-Armesto—reckoned with several possibilities: either a free passage across the Atlantic Ocean as far as *Cathai* or *Asia*, as had been assumed by Aristotle, Seneca and later Pierre d´Ailly, or the discovery of lands of the Antipodes or of a new continent, as had been assumed by Plato, Crates and Strabo and in accordance with them by the majority of Christian scholars. Of course he expected to find many islands which had been assumed to exist in the Atlantic Ocean since Antiquity. The fact that the Spanish commission defined "islands and continents" as the object of the journey was quite in accordance with this range of possibilities. After the first Atlantic journey Pietro Martire d'Anghiera wrote that Christopherus had returned from the "Western Antipodes" (*ab Antipodibus occiduis*)[29]. Together with the Antipodes, the dream of Paradise likewise stayed alive. Columbus believed to have come close to it when arriving at the thundering sweet water floods of the Orinoco.

On the other hand, until the end of his life he stuck to the idea that he had reached India, and of course this goal was always at the heart of the Portuguese and Spanish efforts. That this very destination was only reached via the southern route does not contradict the world-historical significance of these oceanic expeditions. The 2000-year-old dream had become real because in the fifteenth century for the first time not only spatial awareness and technological preconditions were given but also political and economic circumstances were favourable: Western Europe was craving for gold like never before, eastern luxury goods were very expensive and could only be bought via Muslim middlemen. Another factor, however, was probably crucial: with the Portuguese and the unified Spanish kingdom as well as the massive support given by Genoese merchants and sailors, a group of suitable actors was at hand in the West who for quite a long time aimed for a new, 'Atlantic Mediterranean' while at the same time competing with each other. They ultimately sailed through the 'oceanic door' to India which the ancients had opened 2000 years before.

29   Pietri Martyris Anglerii Opus Epistularum, ep.131, p. 360.

Christoph Mauntel

Linking Seas and Lands in Medieval Geographic Thinking during the Crusades and the Discovery of the Atlantic World

Abstract. In keeping with the two-fold approach of this volume, this paper presents a pair of case studies that elaborate on the interplay between land and sea in the Middle Ages. The first case study focuses on crusade treatises from the thirteenth century, which reveal that, due to its location between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea (or Indian Ocean), Egypt was seen as the economic backbone of the Mamluk Empire. Thus, as suggested by the writings of William of Adam and Marino Sanudo, Egypt played a major role as a hub for trade with India. The second case study reflects on the notion that India was also reachable via the (Atlantic) Ocean (suggested, for example, by the thirteenth-century English Franciscan friar Roger Bacon). Although this idea of the Ocean as a connective seaway was, at first, only pursued theoretically, it nevertheless reveals that land and sea were perceived as interrelated spheres of communication and travel in the period. In 1492, Christopher Columbus's travels were seen to have made this theoretical connection a reality, as he initially believed that he had reached India via the Ocean.

In recent years, seascapes and maritime trade routes have been the subject of extensive study. Numerous analyses have identified seas and rivers as vital (maybe even decisive) factors of economic exchange and communication. Whereas most of these studies self-consciously adopt a modern interpretative position in relation to the economic importance of seas and rivers for the period, the aim of this article is to demonstrate that medieval authors were already thinking about these aspects of geography. This begs the question: if medieval writers understood the interplay between land and sea similar to modern research, what role did the complementary character of land and sea routes actually play in medieval geographic thinking? Which seas were seen as connected, and which lands were perceived as being enclosed between seas?

I will analyse two different examples in order to include the geographical settings outlined by the terms *entre mers* and *outremer*. Both cases analysed here are exemplary cases. They are by no means intended to address the topic comprehensively but rather to serve as case studies that elucidate a larger paradigm. The first focuses on one of the more striking examples of the passage and

transition zones between seas, namely Egypt, which is situated between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea (or Indian Ocean). Until now, medieval European connections to the region around the Indian Ocean have been analysed mainly with a focus on economic contexts.[1] Although crusade treatises form one specific textual genre that reflects on the geographic position of Egypt between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, they have been largely neglected in this regard.[2] After the conquest of Acre by the Mamluks in 1291, many Christian writers called for a new crusade to reconquer the Holy Land. Most of these treatises proposed a campaign that would strike at the heart of the Mamluk Sultanate (i.e. Egypt).[3] This popular approach led many individual authors to reflect upon the important geographical position held by Mamluk Egypt.

My second case study analyses the inverted model: the role that seas played as links between distant lands. The most obvious medieval example of this was the so-called Holy Land, which from a continental European point of

1 See for example Michel Mollat (ed.), *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien. Actes du 8. colloque international d'histoire maritime (Beyrouth, 5–10 Sept. 1966),* Paris 1970. Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India. Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Dehli 2010. Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa (*The California World History Library 17), Berkeley 2011. Antoni Picazo Muntaner, A Global Dream. The Indian Ocean in the European Trading Horizon, in: *Oceans Connect. Reflections on Water Worlds across Time and Space*, ed. Rila Mukherjee, Delhi 2013, 205–214. Michael Pearson, *Trade, Circulation, and Flow in the Indian Ocean World*, New York 2015. Federico De Romanis and Marco Maiuro (ed.), *Across the Ocean. Nine Essays on Indo-Mediterranean Trade* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 41), Leiden 2015. Michael Borgolte and Nikolas Jaspert (ed.), *Maritimes Mittelalter. Meere als Kommunikationsräume* (Vorträge und Forschungen 83), Ostfildern 2016. Friedrich Edelmayer and Gerhard Pfeisinger (ed.), *Ozeane. Mythen, Interaktionen und Konflikte* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der iberischen und iberoamerikanischen Länder 16), Münster 2017.

2 For two notable exceptions, see Emmanuelle Vagnon, Géographie et stratégies dans les projets de croisade, XIIIe-XVe Siècle, in: *Les projets de croisade. Géostratégie et diplomatie européenne du XIVe au XVIIe Siècle*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Croisades tardives 1), Toulouse 2014, 125–150; and Patrick Gautier Dalché, Cartes, réflexion stratégique et projets de croisade à la fin du XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècle. Une initiative franciscaine?, in: *Francia* 37 (2010), 77–95.

3 See Jacques Paviot (ed.), *Les projets de croisade. Géostratégie et diplomatie européenne du XIVe au XVIIe* (Croisades tardives, 1), Toulouse 2014. Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land. The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Aldershot 2000. Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades 1274–1580. From Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford 1992. Sylvia Schein, *Fideles crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land*, Oxford 1991.

view was (and was actually called) *Outremer*—that is, the region on the far side of the Mediterranean.[4] However, I want to focus here on another geographic question, namely that of the potential existence of a sea route to India via the (Atlantic) Ocean. Today, the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean is primarily connected to Christopher Columbus's voyages in the late fifteenth century. The question of a sea route to India not only played an established role in medieval geographical thinking, it also took a number of different forms in the period.

In both cases, my analysis underscores the perception of land and sea as interrelated spheres of communication and travel. As far as the Middle Ages are concerned, however, we must explore the degree to which interrelated land- and seascapes were perceived or described as connective elements or—as this volume attempts to advance—if geographic thinkers even had an analytical model upon which to base these cases.

The case studies in question have one more thing in common: they both highlight the importance of India as the source and origin of expensive luxury goods that were sought after by Europeans. This aspect became ever more crucial with the establishment of the Mamluk Sultanate and the expansion of the early Ottomans, which made the land route to India increasingly inaccessible.[5] As a consequence, the question of possible sea routes to the Indian Ocean became a subject of great importance, as did the need for reliable geographic information.[6]

In 1970, Jacques le Goff stated that the medieval Western world had no substantial knowledge about the 'realities' of the Indian Ocean.[7] More precisely, he argued that it was only by 1415 that the Indian Ocean was perceived as an 'open sea' connected to other large waterbodies. Previously, Latin-Christian authors had depicted it as closed or landlocked.[8] While most medieval world maps do not conform to modern notions of precision and accuracy, this does not mean that no precise information about trading routes and seaways to India were available.[9] For example, several thirteenth-century world maps

4 See Alan Murray, Outremer, in: *The Crusades. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan Murray, 4 vol., Santa Barbara 2006, 910–912.

5 Barry Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean. The Atlantic and its Peoples, 8000 BC–AD 1500*, Oxford 2001, 547–548.

6 On the landscape, see André Wink, From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Medieval History in Geographic Perspective, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (2002), 416–445.

7 Jacques Le Goff, L'Occident médiéval et l'Océan Indien. Un horizon onirique, in: *Un autre Moyen Âge*, ed. Jacques Le Goff, Paris 1999, 269–286, here 269.

8 Le Goff, L'Occident médiéval (cf. n. 7), 270–271.

9 Picazo Muntaner, Global Dream (cf. n. 1), 205f. and 209.

already depicted the Indian Ocean as connected to a larger Ocean that was believed to encompass the world.[10] A closer look at travelogues and other texts reflecting the geographical knowledge of the period also demonstrates that from the fourteenth century onwards, this Ocean was no longer perceived as an unnavigable barrier that surrounded the known world.[11] Quite the contrary, the Ocean and the seas were seen as forming a system of interconnected water-bodies. This knowledge resulted primarily from the "interplay between geo-graphical thought and social (navigational, mercantile) practice."[12] In the two following case studies, we shall explore how closely connected theoretical and practical geographical knowledge had actually become by the thirteenth cen-tury.

Egypt as a Land *Entre Mers*

The crusade treatises of the thirteenth and fourteenth century relied heavily on geographical knowledge. In 1274, the second Council of Lyon extended the privileges of the crusaders (the plenary indulgence) to everyone who could contribute valuable information. This request for (geographical) information on Palestine and the Near East was renewed by Pope Nicholas IV after the fall of Acre in 1291.[13] In response, an impressive number of authors produced a series of treatises, each one proposing different strategies to reconquer the Holy Land. However, the geographical space they were interested in stretched far beyond

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10 Marianne O'Doherty, A Peripheral Matter? Oceans in the East in Late-Medieval Thought, Report, and Cartography, in: *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 16 (2011), 14–59.

11 Christoph Mauntel, Vom Ozean umfasst. Gewässer als konstitutives Element mittel-alterlicher Weltordnungen, in: *Ozeane* (cf. n. 1), 57–74. Martin W. Lewis, Dividing the Ocean Sea, in: *Geographical Review* 89 (1999), 188–214, here 196–198. On the Indian Ocean in Arabic-islamic and Latin-christian geographic thought see Christoph Mauntel and Jenny Rahel Oesterle, Wasserwelten. Ozeane und Meere in der mittelalterlichen christlichen und arabischen Kosmographie, in: *Wasser in der mittelalterlichen Kultur / Water in Medieval Culture. Gebrauch – Wahrnehmung – Symbolik Uses, Perceptions, and Symbolism*, ed. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, Christian Rohr and Michael Stolz (Das Mittel-alter, Beihefte 4), Berlin/Boston 2017, 59–77.

12 O'Doherty, A Peripheral Matter? (cf. n. 10), 15.

13 Antonio García Espada, The Geographical Enlargement of the Crusade Theory after 1291. Its Subaltern Roots, in: *Les Projets de Croisade. Géostratégie et Diplomatie europé-enne du XIVᵉ au XVIIᵉ Siècle*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Croisades tardives 1), Toulouse 2014, 109–124, here 111–112.

the borders of Palestine and included regions such as Armenia, Egypt, Arabia, and even India.[14]

I have chosen a few of the most prominent examples, which have been made more accessible by new editions lately. The authors of these treatises were well-educated men: the Franciscan friar Fidentius of Padova, for instance, was the vicar general of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land. Having attended the Second Council of Lyon, he travelled back to Tripoli, which was conquered by the Mamluks in 1289. Two years later, he presented his treatise, the *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae,* to the pope.[15] Likewise, Pierre Dubois, the author of another treatise that was published in 1306 (*De recuperatione Terre Sancte*), studied at Paris and became *advocate du roi* of Philip IV in Normandy.[16] William of Adam, a Dominican friar born in southwest France, seems to have travelled himself through Palestine and Constantinople before he wrote his *Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni sunt expugnandi* between 1314 and 1316.[17] Throughout the entire work he emphasised his own experience and first-hand knowledge of the region.[18] The last crusade treatise in my sample is the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (1312–1321) by Marino Sanudo, a Venetian merchant and publicist who was also widely travelled. In the dedication manuscripts of his work, Sanudo cooperated with the Italian cartographer Pietro Vesconte, who drafted a set of maps for the treatise.[19]

14   García Espada, Geographical Enlargement (cf. n. 13); Gautier-Dalché (cf. n. 2), Cartes, 80.

15   Fidence de Padoue, Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte, in: *Projets de croisade (v.1290–v.1330)*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 20), Paris 2008, 53–169. See Paolo Evangelisti, *Fidenzio da Padova e la Letteratura crociato-missionaria Minoritica. Strategie e Modelli francescani per il Dominio (XIII-XV sec.)*, Bologna 1998.

16   Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte. Traité de politique générale*, ed. Charles-Victor Langlois (Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire 9), Paris 1891.

17   William of Adam*, How to Defeat the Saracens*, ed. Giles Constable, Washington 2012.

18   William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 54, 102–104, 114.

19   On their collaboration, see Edson, Evelyn, Reviving the Crusade. Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconte's Maps, in: *Eastward Bound. Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen, Manchester 2004, 131–155. Stefan Schröder, Wissenstransfer und Kartieren von Herrschaft? Zum Verhältnis von Wissen und Macht bei al-Idrīsī und Marino Sanudo, in: *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Martina Stercken (Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 19), Zurich 2012, 313–333. Christopher Tyerman, Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade. Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society London* 32 (1982), 57–73.

What the aforementioned treatises have in common is the representation of a new level of strategic thinking in planning a crusade.[20] In the eyes of their authors, geographical knowledge was clearly crucial for success, although the treatises differed on many points as regards content. Whereas Pierre Dubois focused mainly on inter-Christian problems and their possible solutions, Marino Sanudo took a far more economic approach to planning a crusade.[21]

Although it goes without saying that every author had his own agenda for promoting a crusade, nearly all authors focussed their attention on the political and economic strength of Egypt as the backbone of the Mamluk Sultanate.[22] The reason was—and many treatises agree on this—that the majority of the routes to India passed through Egypt: "Spices and goods that originate (…) from India (…)," as Marino Sanudo put it, "are brought westwards across the sea of the Ocean and are transferred from one sea to the other."[23] Egypt was situated at the end of this seaborne route, and, as William of Adam observed, it gained immense profits from trade with India.[24] To illustrate this advantage, he inserted detailed geographic observations in his text that outlined the geographic position and the most important ports of the Indian Ocean. According to William, the Indian Ocean constituted "a branch of the sea of the ocean," which was even larger than the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the Indian Ocean itself had many branches and gulfs, one of which stretched between the southern part of Arabia on one side and "true Ethiopia" (i.e. the African coast) on the other. At the end of this 'gulf' (the Arabian Sea) he located the port of Aden, which formed the gate to the Red Sea; and he explicitly pointed out that the two seas were connected. In short, William concluded that the immense benefit to Egypt that derived from trade with India was almost entirely due to its geographical position, "for all of the things that are sold in Egypt, such as pepper,

20 García Espada, Geographical Enlargement (cf. n. 13), 109–110.

21 See David Jacoby, Marino Sanudo Torsello on Trade Routes, Commodities, and Taxation, in: *Philanagnostes. Studi in Onore di Marino Zorzi*, ed. Chryssa Maltezou, Peter Schreiner, and Margherita Losacco, Venice 2008, 185–197.

22 García Espada, Geographical Enlargement (cf. n. 13), 118–119.

23 *Quod magna pars honoris, reditus, prouentus & exaltationis Soldani & gentium illi subiectarum, est propter speciariam, & alia multa mercimonia quae omnia non nascuntur in terris & partibus Soldano subiectis; imo nascuntur in terris & partibus Indiae, & per mare Oceanum versus Occidentem; ab altero ipsius maris latere transferuntur.* Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terræ Sanctæ recuperatione et conservatione*, ed. Joshua Prawer, Toronto 1972, 22. English translation: idem, *The Book of Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, ed. Peter Lock (Crusade Texts in Translation 21), Farnham 2011, 49. See also Dubois, De recuperatione Terre Sancte (cf. n. 16), 56 (§ 68).

24 *Emolumentum ergo quale et quantum Sarracenis Egipti proueniat de partibus Indiarum hoc nullus dubitet* (…). William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 96.

ginger, and other spices; gold and precious stones; silk and those precious materials dyed with the colours of India; and all other precious things, are carried from India to Egypt."[25]

This description of the Arabian Sea as a 'gulf' in the Indian Ocean and the contiguous Red Sea, which was reachable via the Gulf of Aden, is quite detailed and is consistent with the basic features in the maps of Pietro Vesconte (ca. 1321) or in the so-called Catalan World map (ca. 1450).[26] William's central argument that Egypt's wealth was based entirely on goods coming from India was itself founded on the fact that continuous waterbodies connected India and Egypt. Indeed, he states that if Egypt lost control of trade with India, it would become economically unviable due to a lack of its own natural resources.[27]

Marino Sanudo not only offered a similar analysis, he also elaborated on William's ideas as far as concrete trade routes were concerned. Sanudo emphasised that there were two main ports in India: Malabar and Gujarat. From these ports the luxury goods were brought—over the Indian Ocean— mainly to four ports: Hormus, Kish, Basra, and Aden; the first three of these were controlled by the Mongols and were located in the Persian Gulf. However,

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[25] *Et hoc ut melius cognoscatur presciendum est quod unum brachium maris occeani uersus meridiem terram diuidit, quod innumerabiles prouincias et ciuitates in suis littoribus habet et infra sinum suum ambit et continet paruas et magnas, mirabiles et miserabiles insulas infinitas. Et istud brachium mare Indicum appellatur. Quod maius esse quam istud nostrum Mediterraneum comprobatur. Brachium uero istud diuiditur in gulfos et portus plurimos et anfractus.*

De quo inter alios unus magnus gulfus uersus occidentem regionis illius protenditur, qui ex uno latere uersus meridiem Arabie partem et Idumeam et ex altera montes maximos, preter multa que omitto in parte inaccessibiles. Vltra quos montes ueram Ethiopiam habet et in fine sinus sui est quedam ciuitas situata que Eden nuncupatur (…). Hec ciuitas ex una parte habet gulfum maris Indici et ex altera mare Rubrum, ad quod itur de predicta ciuitate per quoddam strictum quod est quasi alueus fluuius. Quod quidem strictum fluxu maris impletur et refluxu euacuatur et ex hoc bis in die naturali. Per hunc ergo modum, mare Indicum est contiguum mari Rubro. Hoc mare Rubrum et Nilum fluuium qui in Egiptum currit paruum terre spatium diuidit, ita de mari Rubro in Egiptum breuis et facilis sit ingressus. Habita igitur ista dispositione preambula, quilibet potest aduertere quod premisi, scilicet quod India omnium malorum que supra posui materia sit, non casualiter nec occasionaliter sed ueraciter effectiue.

Omnia enim que in Egipto uenduntur, ut piper, zinziber et alie species, aurum et lapides pretiosi, sericum et panni illi pretiosi, tincti Indie coloribus, et omnia alia pretiosa (…), apportantur de India in Egiptum. William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 96–100.

[26] On the importance of Aden, see Roxani Eleni Margariti, *Aden & the Indian Ocean Trade. 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port*, Chapel Hill 2007.

[27] William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 28–30. See also Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis (cf. n. 23), 24f. See García Espada, Geographical Enlargement (cf. n. 13), 113; Vagnon, Géographie et Stratégies (cf. n. 2), 125–126.

as Sanudo observes, in his days the 'Persian' ports were barely ever called at. Instead, the bulk of the goods from India was brought to Aden and then carried on to Egypt where the Mamluk Sultan collected the tolls that made him rich.[28] To Sanudo the conclusion seemed a fairly obvious one: in order to harm the Sultan, the flow of trade must be diverted. He illustrated this by way of a metaphor: "For just as water naturally settles in valleys, so can trade be relocated where it is sought after."[29]

Based on a detailed analysis of trade routes, the projected crusades resembled economic warfare. In fact, whereas William of Adam and Marino Sanudo looked as far as India, Fidentius and others proposed a naval blockade of Egypt in the Mediterranean in order to prevent any Christian from buying goods from Egypt.[30] The strategy seemed to be clear: the war against the Mamluks had to be fought on the sea.[31] By blocking Egypt, Fidentius also hoped to divert the flow of trade through the *sinus Persicus* and then via the Christian kingdom of Armenia.[32]

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28   Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis (cf. n. 23), 22.

29   *Nam sicut aqua naturaliter labitur ad valles, sic mercimonia transferuntur ad loca, vbi magis requiruntur.* Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis (cf. n. 23), 23. English translation: idem, The Book of Secrets (cf. n. 23), 50.

30   *Quintum bonum galearum supradictarum est quia Sarracenis de Egipto non solum perdent theoloneum quod percipiunt a Cristianis qui portant merces suas in Egiptum, sed ipsi perdent etiam emolumentum quod ipsi a mercatoribus que de India per mare Rubrum portant piper et alias species in Egiptum. Si enim mercatores cristiani non emant piper et alias species que portantur de India, non erit qui emat; et sic frustra labora[re]nt mercatores venientes de India. Et ideo opportet quod illa via de India in Egiptum cessare debeat, sicut cessare debet via Cristianorum ad terram Egipti.* Fidence de Padoue, Liber recuperationis (cf. n. 15), 140–141.

31   *Primo dicamus de exercitu Cristianorum qui debet pugnare contra Sarracenos per mare, circa quod sciendum est quod primo opportet quod faciat banniri, per omnes civitates Cristianorum que sunt site super mare er per omnes portus marinos, quod nullus Cristianus naviget vel vadat in Egiptum vel ad aliquas terras, loca vel portus subjacentes soldano Babilonis ; et quod nullo modo vadant vel mittant ad Sarracenos qui subiciuntur dicto soldano pro aliqua mercatione exercanda vel facienda cum eis.* Fidence de Padoue, Liber recuperationis (cf. n. 15), 138; similar William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 26.

32   *Respondeo tibi quod piper et alie species non solum portantur per sinum Arabicum, id est per mare Rubrum, sed portantur per sinum Persicum et etiam aliud; sicut modo species portantur et diffunduntur per partes aquilonares et deferuntur in Armeniam ab India et non ab Egipto.* Fidence de Padoue, Liber recuperationis (cf. n. 15), 141. See also Foulques de Villaret et alii, Coment la Terre sainte puet estre recouvre par les Crestiens (1307–1308), in: *Les Projets de Croisade. Géostratégie et Diplomatie européenne du XIVe au XVIIe Siècle*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Croisades tardives 1), Toulouse 2014, 221–233, here 231: *Et les marcheans indois, quant il ne trouveront a qui vendre leurs marcheandises ne acheter ce*

William of Adam had much the same idea, but he pointed out its problems as well, namely the difficulties in uniting Christian kingdoms under the pope and equipping a fleet of galleys big enough to block access to Egypt. In order to realise this plan, Fidentius proposed equipping around 50 galleys.[33] However, William had another suggestion: instead of trying to control the whole Mediterranean coast of Egypt,[34] it was easier and more effective to block the narrow Gulf of Aden by means of only three or four galleys,[35] "so that the goods from the shores of the Indies cannot come through the Gulf of Aden to Egypt, since if this gulf is closed, there would be no other place or approach by which the Egyptians could obtain the goods for which our men sail to Alexandria."[36]

Aden was the key to William's plan because, as he noted, "the route from India to Egypt is by way of this island";[37] thus, blocking this route would divert the flow of trade. In the eyes of William of Adam and Marino Sanudo, this 'logic' of the interplay between waterbodies and lands seemed to function organically. Indeed, both writers used an organic metaphor to illustrate the complex situation:[38] for Sanudo, the Mamluk Sultanate was a tree, its trunk was Egypt (as the most important province), and its branches the other regions (Palestine, among others). Describing this image, he argued that it was useless to cut the branches off the tree (i.e. by attacking Palestine) or to attack the trunk directly as it was too big. The solution could only be to cut at its roots, the channel for its water and food—in this case, the "goods from India."[39] William of Adam, by contrast, used the metaphor of a body to illustrate the geographical setting:

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que leur est besoing, si lairont ce chemin et iront vers Baldac [Bagdad] et les espices reven-dront par le royaume d'Ermenie.

33   William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 34–38.

34   This was a proposition that Marino Sanudo elaborated on, see Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis (cf. n. 23), 27–29.

35   *Ad quod autem complendum unicus est modus et facilis, ut scilicet alique galee in mari Indico ponantur, que passum illum predicti gulfi de Eden diligenter custodiant et impediant, ne de cetero aliquis portans predictas merces de India in Egiptum perinde tute ualeant nauigare, et ad hoc explendum tres uel quatuor galee sufficiunt habundanter.* William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 102. For a description of the Gulf see ibid., 112.

36   *Vnde igitur malum prouenit ibi contra morbum remedium apponatur. Quod erit, si uia ista posset aliqualiter impediri, ne scilicet iste merces de maritimis finibus Indiarum possent per gulfum predictum Eden in Egiptum descendere, quia, clauso hoc gulfo, aliud hostium nee locus patet nec aditus unde possint Egiptii hoc habere, propter que per nostros, ut predicitur, in Alexandriam nauigatur.* William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 100.

37   *… que quidem insula est in medio gulfi predicti de Eden, per quem gulfum et per quam insulam est transitus de India in Egiptum.* William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 104.

38   See García Espada, Geographical Enlargement (cf. n. 13), 121–122.

> "For as food goes from the head through the throat, and from the throat into the stomach, and from the stomach to other parts of the body, so the aforesaid precious goods originate from the Indian sea, as from the head, and are spread through the Gulf of Aden, as by the throat, from there by the Red Sea to Egypt, as to the stomach, and then, as to the parts of the body, to the other parts of the world. If someone were to cut off the head, therefore, the whole stomach would consequently suffer from lack of food, and the other members would perish."[40]

William of Adam focussed on waterways: using the imagery of the (human) body, he stressed the connectivity between the Indian Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Red Sea, which in his view represented an organic structure. Based on this structure, the 'flow' of trade seemed to mirror the currents of the waterbodies. For Sanudo, on the other hand, Egypt, imagined as the stomach, was the centre of interest: enclosed by deserts in the west as well as in the south, "the land of Egypt," he declared, "is almost inaccessible apart from the sea."[41]

From the perspective of continental Europe, Palestine was not just geographically 'beyond the sea' but also literally called *outremer* or *ultra mare* by Christians.[42] In contrast, Egypt was perceived as being located *entre mers* and its strategic and economic importance was based on this geographical position.

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39 Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis (cf. n. 23), 40–41 and 45–47, quote on p. 45. English translation: idem, The Book of Secrets (cf. n. 23), 77–79 and 83–86, quote on p. 84.

40 *Nam sicut cibus a capite in gutture et a gutture in stomachum et de stomacho ad ceteras partes corporis se transfundit, ita predicte merces preciose a mari Indico quasi a capite ortum habent, et per predictum gulfum Eden quasi per guttur, dehinc in Egiptum per mare Rubrum quasi in stomachum, et deinde quasi ad partes corporis, ad ceteras mundi prouincias disperguntur. Qui ergo caput prescinderet, totus stomachus ex defectu nutrimenti tabescens per consequens et membra cetera deperirent.* William of Adam, How to Defeat (cf. n. 17), 100.

41 *Terra Aegypti aliunde quam a mari pene inaccessibilis est.* Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis (cf. n. 23), 261. English translation: idem, The Book of Secrets (cf. n. 23), 415.

42 See for example Brocardus, Directorium ad passagium faciendum, in: *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, 2 vol., Paris 1869–1906, vol. 2, 367–517, here 367, 368, 369, 379, 404 et passim (*oultremer*), see ibid. 404, 504 (*ultra mare*). For the related phrasing *ystoriis ultramarinis*, designating crusade stories, see ibid. 397, 439 and 510. Indeed, the term was used in both ways: inhabitants of the Levant, like Fulcher of Chartres or William of Tyre, used the notion *transmarinus* quite naturally to designate the Christian kingdoms in Europe, thereby showing how much the crusader states depended on the arrival of new pilgrims from over the sea: *O tempora recordatione dignissima! saepe quidem contristabamur, cum de transmarinis nostris amicis nullum auxilium habere poteramus.* Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia hierosolymitana,* ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, 390 (II,6,11). *Turci autem versipelles, cum per II menses opportunitatem vel*

Indeed, the crusade treatises sometimes seemed to focus more on Egypt and on economic aims than on the primary aim of reconquering Jerusalem and Palestine. Marino Sanudo, addressing the pope directly, even declared that once the pontiff established himself in Egypt, "he may send his ships to the Indian Ocean to control that sea and subjugate the islands and the coastlands of those parts."[43] In other words, once Egypt was conquered, the European gaze would turn its attention to the riches of India in the east rather than to the sacred sites in Palestine.

Excursus: The Importance of Maps for Medieval Geopolitics

In his dedication to Philip V of France, Marino Sanudo declared that the way to become one of the most powerful rulers of the world was laid out "in the books and *mappae mundi* mentioned above."[44] As previously pointed out, albeit briefly, Sanudo produced several dedication manuscripts of his book, which he then sent as gifts to European rulers in hope of garnering support for his crusade plans. These manuscripts were supplemented with an elaborate collection of (often five) maps drawn by the Genoese cartographer Pietro Vesconte, which included a world map, portolan charts of the (eastern) Mediterranean (and sometimes the Black Sea), and maps of Palestine, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Nine of these manuscripts still survive today.[45]

dissipandi vel superandi nostros exspectassent nec potuissent, quia de transmarinis partibus, ut mos est, venientibus peregrinis, eo tempore diatim exercitus noster crescebat nec gens Antiochena abibat, secesserunt in partes Damascenorum. Fulcher of Chartres, Historia hierosolymitana (cf. n. 42), 575 (II,51,2). *Erat quippe nostrorum populus exiguus nec de partibus transmarinis tute poterant in Orientem accedere, timentes hostium urbes maritimas, que a dextra levaque erant plurime.* William of Tyre, *Chronicon. Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, ed. Robert Huygens, vol. 1 (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis, 63 and 63A), Turnhout 1986, 478f. (X,20). *verum et de regionibus transmarinis, siqua sunt que Egyptus non habet, navigio omnis opulentia ministratur, unde amplius qualibet urbe maritima omnibus commoditatibus dicitur habundare.* William of Tyre, Chronicon (cf. n. 42), vol. 2, 903 (XIX,27).

43   *Eodemque respectu, postquam Sanctitas vestra ex terra Aegyptia suum velle affuerit assecuta, in mare Indiae, nauigium poterit intromiti, quod dominabitur illi mari, & illarum partium Insulas subiugabit, ac in terra firma terras maritimas existentes.* Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis (cf. n. 23), 94. English translation: idem, The Book of Secrets (cf. n. 23), 154.

44   *Et par ceste voye pourrez vous conquester la Terre Saincte, & les autres terres circostans à icelle ; & le remenant du monde ne se pourra defendre contre vostre haulte Seigneurie : selon ce que vous pourrez veoir, par les liures & mappemondes dessus dictes.* Marino Sanudo, Liber secretorum fidelium crucis, 5. English translation: idem, The Book of Secrets (cf. n. 23), 26.

From a technical point of view, they represent the state of the art of European map-making in the period. The portolan charts, for instance, reflect the excellent knowledge obtained by Venetian merchants and sailors, and the world map is the first to include a reference to the Chinese Empire (while omitting traditionally important places such as Paradise).[46] Like a portolan chart, Pietro Vesconte's world map is structured by the characteristic rhumb lines; since they do not have any practical function on this map, they may have been intended to signal that the map was 'modern.' With the exception of the short statement in the letter of dedication, the text of the *Liber secretorum* does not refer at all to the maps. This may indicate that they were of no immediate practical use for the reader but had a mere persuasive function: in other words, they were meant to support the argument and enhance the persuasive power of the treatise.

Indeed, many rulers in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries had already realised the (primarily military) importance of maps.[47] For instance, Louis IX of France is reported to have used a portolan on his crusade in 1270.[48] At the same time, Giles of Rome highlighted the utility of maps in his *Mirror of Princes* (*De regimine principum,* ca. 1280), commenting that any army needed a drawn representation of the land "just as the mariners have maps of the sea where first and foremost the names of ports are drawn."[49]

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45 Cf. n. 19. See also Gautier Dalché, Cartes (cf. n. 2), 84–87. Two exemplars can be viewed online: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1362 A, URL: http://digi. ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1362a (accessed 20 January 2018). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 2972, URL: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.297 2 (accessed 20 January 2018).

46 Ingrid Baumgärtner, Weltbild und Empirie. Die Erweiterung des kartographischen Weltbilds durch die Asienreisen des späten Mittelalters, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 227–253, here 234–236.

47 Picazo Muntaner, A Global Dream (cf. n. 1), 205–206.

48 *Super quo navis principes coram rege evocati, de loco ubi tunc aderant interrogati, sub dubio responderunt. Dixerunt enim, quod credebant esse prope terram, et multum mirabantur, quod tam tarde suis aspectibus appareret. Unde allata mappa mundi, regi situm terrae portus Callarici, et vicinitatem propinqui littoris ostenderunt.* William of Nangis, *Gesta S. Ludovici*, ed. Martin Bouqet (Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 20), Paris 1840, 444. See Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Kartographische Quellen. Welt-, See- und Regionalkarten* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 51), Turnhout 1988, 40; Gautier Dalché, Cartes (cf. n. 2), 77–79.

49 *Sic etiam marinarii faciunt, qui videntes maris pericula, ne eorum naves patiantur naufragium, descripserunt maris mappam ubi portus marini, discrimina maris et cetera talia proportionaliter sunt descripta, qui marinarii intuentes, statim percipiunt qualiter debeant pergere et in quo loco existant et a quibus debeant se cavere.* Aegidius Romanus,

As far as we know today, portolan charts had been in use since the end of the thirteenth century.[50] Most of them depicted the coastlines of the Mediterranean, a reflection of the vital importance of this sea for trade and communication from a European perspective. In comparison to traditional medieval (world) maps, portolan charts are indeed noteworthy: whereas *mappaemundi* focussed on the land and shrank most seas to narrow passages, portolan charts were primarily concerned with representing the sea.[51] Even the names of the numerous ports were inscribed towards the land at right angles from the coastline in order to leave the waterbody clearly visible. From the viewpoint of sailors and seamen, many seas were connective, navigable, and controllable. In the words of the fifteenth-century Portuguese chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara, portolan charts were the means "by which man controls every sea that is navigable."[52] Seas were perceived as spaces of transition, and portolan charts were not just a valuable tool for navigating them, they were also a symbol of controllable seafaring.

India as a Region *Outremer*

Although it was seldom disputed in the Middle Ages that the earth was a globe, the idea that waterbodies could connect rather than separate was not self-evident.[53] This was particularly true for the Ocean, which was seen traditionally as boundless and unnavigable.[54] The Ocean was envisaged as encompassing the

De Regimine Principum, ed. Hieronymus Samaritanius, Rome 1607, 584 (III.3.3.11); see Emmanuelle Vagnon, Géographie et Stratégies (cf. n. 2), 125–126.

50 The oldest surviving chart is the so-called Pisa chart from the end of the thirteenth century: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, Res G B1118, URL: http ://expositions.bnf.fr/marine/grand/por_007.htm (accessed 20 January 2018). See Tony Campbell, Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500, in: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. John Harley and David Woodward (The History of Cartography 1), Chicago 1987, 371–463. Von den Brincken, Kartographische Quellen (cf. n. 48), 38–42.

51 Le Goff, L'Occident médiéval (cf. n. 7), 271; Campbell, Portolan Charts (cf. n. 50), 377.

52 *E por certo nom foe a elles* [the ancestors of the seamen, CM] *o seu conhecimento de pequena escuridom, quando o nom souberom asseentar nas cartas, porque se regem todollos mares, per onde gentes podem navegar.* Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica dos Feitos de Guiné*, ed. António Dias Dinis, Lisbon 1949, 49. See Toby Lester, *The Fourth Part of the World. An Astonishing Epic of Global Discovery, imperial Ambition, and the Birth of America*, New York 2009, 185–186.

53 "The use of the oceans as highways of communication, rather than as insurmountable barriers, was one of the preconditions for such an achievement." Amélia Polónia,

known world (oecumene) and separating it from the rest of the earth.[55] As a consequence, medieval scholars were fully aware that the oecumene only constituted a part of the earth. Hundreds of so-called TO-maps depict this geographical idea of the known world, consisting of three continents, bound by the Ocean. Based on this geographical conception, India—the origin of many luxury goods—could only be reached via Egypt (or the Near East).[56] However, since the earth was understood to be a globe, it was possible, at least theoretically, to reach the eastern end of the oecumene by sailing westwards.

In fact, a tenth-century map preserved in a miscellany manuscript at the Stiftsbibliothek in Einsiedeln can be seen to depict this very idea.[57] In the upper part of the map there is a traditional TO-map containing the three known continents, Asia, Europa, and Africa, encompassed by the Ocean. A legend explains the etymology of the name *Asia* (according to Isidore of Seville);[58] and the names of the sons of Noah, Japheth, and Cham are added to the legends of *Europa* and *Africa*. Deviating from the more common layout used in such maps, a semi-circle is added below the map that serves to enlarge it towards the west. David Woodward interpreted this addition as a reference to the fourth continent (or southern hemisphere).[59] The inscription, however, indicates something

Jumping Frontiers, Crossing Barriers. Transfers between Oceans: A Case Study of the Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400–1800, in: *Oceans Connect. Reflections on Water Worlds across Time and Space,* ed. Rila Mukherjee, Delhi 2013, 121–142, here 121.

54 See for example, Patrick Gautier Dalché, Comment penser l'Océan? Modes de Connaissance des Fines orbis terrarum du Nord-Ouest (de l'Antiquité au XIIIe Siècle), in: *L'Europe et l'océan au Moyen Âge. Contribution à l'histoire de la navigation* (Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur), Paris 1988, 217–233.

55 See for example, Isidore of Seville, *Traité de la Nature*, ed. Jacques Fontaine (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Hispaniques 28), Bordeaux 1960, 307–308. (XL,3), *Oceani autem magnitudo incomparabilis et intransmeabilis latitudo perhibetur. Quod etiam Clemens discipulus apostolorum uisus est indicare cum dicit: oceanus intransmeabilis est hominibus, et hii qui ultra eum sunt mundi. Philosophi autem auiunt quod post oceanum terra nulla sit, sed solo denseo aere nubium contineatur mare sicut et terra subterius.*

56 On India and luxury goods, see Paul Freedman, *Out of the East. Spices and the Medieval Imagination*, New Haven 2008.

57 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 263 (973), fol.182ʳ. The map is reproduced in David Woodward, Medieval Mappaemundi, in: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. John Harley and David Woodward (The History of Cartography 1), Chicago 1987, 286–370, here 303. It can also be viewed online here: (URL: http://cartographic-images.net/Cartographic_Images/205.1_Examples_of_T-O_maps_files/droppedImage_4.png) (accessed 20 January 2018).

58 See Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive origines libri XX*, ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay. 2 vol. (Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis), Oxford 1911, XIV.3, 2–3.

different: it refers (again based on Isidore) to India, to its etymology, and to the number of provinces.[60] Furthermore, a legend reading *Paradysus* can be seen in the top right of the semi-circle. The "map" depicts the eastern part of Asia rather than an unknown part of the globe.[61] It is remarkable that the writer placed it in the far west of the oecumene rather than in the east. Was he suggesting that Paradise—from a European perspective—was located just across the insurmountable Ocean?

It took an unconventional thinker like Roger Bacon to overcome this mental barrier theoretically. In his *Opus maius,* written in 1267, he re-examined ancient sources, including Aristotle's *De caelo* (On the Heavens), which was only translated into Latin during the second half of the twelfth century.[62] His reading led Bacon to a re-evaluation of the proportions of land and water and thus to the simple conclusion that the extent of the ocean between Spain in the east and India in the west was not insuperably vast.[63] Bacon illustrated this in a rough sketch representing the Atlantic Ocean and the two poles as larger circles (with west on top). The Atlantic Ocean thus appears as a rather small barrier between India (*principium indie*) and Spain (*principium hispanie*). This suggests that, at least theoretically, India could be reached by sailing westwards from Spain.[64] The fact that Bacon explicitly referred to Seneca, who stated that the Ocean was navigable, suggests that his argument centred on navigation.[65]

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59   Woodward, Medieval Mappaemundi (cf. n. 57), 302–303. On the notion of the fourth continent, see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Fines terrae. Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 36), Hanover 1992.

60   See Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae (cf. n. 58), XIV.b3, 5 and 8.

61   See Brigitte Englisch, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas aus dem Weltbild des Mittelalters* (Paderborner Universitätsreden, 81), Paderborn 2002, 48–50.

62   The treatise was translated by Gerald of Cremona (d. 1187), see Edward Grant, De caelo, Commentaries on Aristotle's, in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Henrik Lagerlund, 2 vol., Heidelberg 2011, 247–251, here 248. On the idea of a passage over the Atlantic Ocean, see William G. L. Randles, La Navigabilité de l'Atlantique au Moyen Âge selon les Universitaires et selon les Marins, in: *L'Europe et l'Océan au Moyen Âge*, (cf. n. 54), 211–216. On Roger Bacon see Amanda Power, The Cosmographical Imagination of Roger Bacon, in: *Mapping Medieval Geographies. Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith Lilley, Cambridge 2013, 83–99.

63   *…et extenditur inter finem Hispaniae et inter principium Indiae non magnae latitudinis, et vocatur Oceanus; ut principium Indiae possit esse multum ultra medietatem aequinoctialis circuli sub terra accedens valde ad finem Hispaniae.* Roger Bacon, *Opus maius,* ed. John Henry Bridges. 2 vol., Oxford 1897, I, 292. See also ibid. I, 290: *Dicit Aristoteles quod mare parvum est inter finem Hispaniae a parte occidentis et inter principium Indiae a parte orientis. Et Seneca libro quinto Naturalium dicit quod mare hoc est navigabile in paucissimis diebus, si ventus sit conveniens.*

By contrast, in his *Image du monde* (ca. 1246) the French encyclopaedist Gautier of Metz still imagined the Ocean and seas as barriers. For instance, in order to explain the spherical shape of the earth, he wrote that if there were no water or other barriers, a man could circle the earth on foot, just as a fly can circle an apple.[66] Stating this, Gautier seemed to perceive the Ocean as an unnavigable barrier that could be crossed only hypothetically.[67] On the other hand, Bacon's sketch, by focussing on the waterbody as a navigable link between distant lands, was based on the same concept as the portolans; according to Bacon, India was located over the Ocean.

At the end of the thirteenth century, India was still the longed-for destination of Christian Europe. However, with the fall of Antioch in 1268, of Tripoli in 1289, and finally of Acre in 1291, the land route to India seemed increasingly impassable. Coincidentally, it was also in 1291 that the Genoese brothers Vandino and Ugolino Vivaldi equipped two ships for an expedition "which no one up to that time had ever attempted."[68] Unfortunately, there are only a few sources that mention their enterprise. One of the most detailed of these is by

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64   Lester, The Fourth Part (cf. n. 52), 100–109, the diagram of Bacon is printed on p. 106 (London, British Library, Royal MS 7 F.VII, fol. 44ʳ). See also Mauntel, Vom Ozean umfasst (cf. n. 11) with reproduction of the diagram on p 72, and Vincent H. Cassidy, *The Sea around them. The Atlantic Ocean, A. D.* 1250, Baton Rouge 1968, 156.

65   See n. 63.

66   *Se tele chose peüst avenir qu'il n'eüst riens seur terre, ne yaue, ne autre chose qui destornast la voie quel part que l'en alast, l'en pourroit aller environ toute la terre, ou homme, ou beste, sus et jus, quel part qu'il voudroit, aussi comme une mouche iroit entour une pomme reonde. L'image du monde de maître Gossouin. Rédaction en prose,* ed. Olivier H. Prior, Lausanne 1913, 93 (XI).

67   John Mandeville caught this up in his famous (but fictitious) travelogue, written in the third quarter of the fourteenth century; he declared that one can travel around the world, *si homme troveroit passage des niefs.* Jean de Mandeville, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, ed. Christiane Deluz (Sources d'histoire médiévale 31), Paris 2000, 331–341 (XX), here 333.

68   *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi Continuatori dal MCCLXXX al MCCLXXXXlll*, ed. Cesare Imperiali di Sant'Angelo et al., 5 vol. (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 11–14ª), Rom 1890–1929, 124 (V). I will cite the short note in full: *Eodem quippe anno, Thedisius Aurie, Ugolinus de Viualdo, et eius frater cum quibusdam aliis civibus Ianue, ceperunt facere quoddam uiagium, quod aliquis usque nunc facere minime attemptauit. nam armauerunt optime duas galeas, et uictualibus aqua et aliis necessariis eis impositis, miserunt eas de mense madii de uersus strictum Septe, ut per mare occeanum irent ad partes Indie mercimonia utilia inde deferentes. in quibus iuerunt dicti duo fratres de Viualdo personaliter, et duo fratres Minores; quod quidem mirabile fuit non solum uidentibus sed etiam audientibus. et postquam locum qui dicitur Gozora transierunt, aliqua certa noua non habuimus de eis. Dominus autem eos custodiat, et sanos et incolumes reducat ad propria.* (The text is also printed as Cafari et continuatorum. Annales Ianuenses a. 1099–1294, in *MGH SS 18*, ed.

the Genoese Jacopo Doria, who included a brief note on the brothers in his chronicle (finished c. 1294). According to Doria, the brothers equipped two galleys in May 1291 and sailed to Gibraltar "in order that the galleys might sail through the ocean sea to India and return with useful merchandise."[69] Jacopo Doria goes on to explain that the brothers joined the expedition along with two Franciscan friars. There is no way of knowing if the latter were familiar with the writings of their fellow Franciscan Roger Bacon;[70] however, the Franciscans' exceptional geographic knowledge and their eagerness to put this into use for the expansion of Christendom (a tendency hinted at by Patrick Gautier Dalché) makes it possible that the Franciscans on board the Vivaldi ships were not just missionaries but also experts on geography.[71]

Jacopo Doria ends his short note with a mention that the ships reached a place called Gozora, after which nothing more was heard of the Vivaldi brothers. According to Georg Heinrich Pertz, the name *Gozora* can be found on some fourteenth-century portolans and is identified today as Cape Iuby in Morocco.[72] Thus, the evidence suggests that the Vivaldi brothers attempted to reach India by circumnavigating Africa rather than by crossing the Atlantic Ocean.[73] Indeed, some later fourteenth- or fifteenth-century sources allude to the direction taken by the Vivaldi expedition. Two of these, the so-called *Libro del Conoscimiento* (ca. 1350–1385) written by an anonymous Spanish friar, and the famous letter written by the Genoese voyager Antonio Usodimare (1455), describe meetings with people believed to be descendants of the Vivaldi in the region of modern-day Guinea or Senegal.[74] As these sources are known for their partly fantastical content and unreliable geography, however, the accounts can only be taken with a very large grain of salt.[75] Furthermore, it is

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Georg Heinrich Pertz, Hanover 1843, 335.) See Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Der älteste Versuch zur Entdeckung des Seewegs nach Ostindien im Jahre 1291*, Berlin 1859, 9–10. On the expedition, see also Jill Moore, The Expedition of the Brothers Vivaldi. New Archival Evidence, in: *Spain, Portugal and the Atlantic Frontier of Medieval Europe*, ed. José-Juan López-Portillo (The Expansion of Latin Europe 1000–1500 8), Farnham 2013, 1–18; Francis M. Rogers, The Vivaldi Expedition, in: *Annual Report of the Dante Society* 73 (1955), 31–45; Richard Henry Major, *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, Surnamed the Navigator, and its Results. Comprising the Discovery, within one Century, of Half the World*, London 1868, 99–106; Marie Armand Pascal d'Avezac, *L'Expédition génoise des frères Vivaldi à la découverte de la route maritime des Indes Orientales au XIIIe siècle,* Paris 1859.

69   Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi Continuatori (cf. n. 68), 124 (V).

70   This was suggested by Jean Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine. The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages,* New York 1977, 196.

71   Gautier Dalché, Cartes (cf. n. 2).

72   N 27° 95, W 12° 91, see Pertz, Der älteste Versuch (cf. n. 68), 11–12.

73   See Rogers, The Vivaldi Expedition (cf. n. 68), 38–39.

worth noting that Antonio Usodimare's account seems to retell the story of the earlier *Libro,* surely a further indication that this source is not wholly reliable.[76]

Nevertheless, the thirteenth-century aims of the Vivaldi brothers continued to be relevant ones for future travellers: as early as in the second half of the fifteenth century, the chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara praised Henry the Navigator († 1460) who "joined the East with the West"[77] through his travels (or rather the travels he ordered). Vasco da Gama, who circumnavigated Africa in the service of the Portuguese king in order to reach India via the Ocean in 1479–1498, achieved what the Portuguese had been attempting for decades: all the spices and luxury goods commonly associated with the 'east' were finally accessible via the 'west'.[78]

In spite of the Vivaldis' failure, Roger Bacon's idea of sailing westwards became very influential in the late Middle Ages. In the early fifteenth century, the French theologian Pierre d'Ailly enthusiastically built on Bacon's ideas in his *Imago mundi* (1410). According to Ailly, Asia was (because of the immense size of India) far bigger than commonly thought and extended further into the east. Based on this conviction, he argued that the waterbody between India in the east and Spain and Africa in the west must be smaller than was believed.[79] The Genoese navigator Christopher Columbus was a fervent reader of Pierre

74 *Et dixeron me en esta çibdat de Grançiona que fueron y traidos los ginoveses que escaparon de la galea que se quebró en Amenuan, et de la otra galea que escape nunca sopieron qué se fizo. El Libro del conoscimiento de todos los reinos. The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms,* ed. Nancy Marino (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 198), Tempe, AZ 1999, 60–62. The letter of A. Usodimare is printed in: Giacomo Gråberg (ed.), *Annali di Geografia e di Statistica*, 2 vol., Genoa 1802, 290–291 (II, no. 6). See also Pertz, Der älteste Versuch (cf. n. 68).

75 Nancy Marino, Introduction (cf. n. 74), XI-LVII.

76 Gråberg (ed.), Annali di Geografia e di Statistica (cf. n. 74), 290–291 (II, no. 6). See Pertz, Der älteste Versuch (cf. n. 68), 5–7.

77 *Pollo qual conheço que as terras e os mares som cheos de teus louvores, ca tu per continuadas passageẽs fizeste ajuntar o levante com o poente, por que as gentes aprendessem a comudar as riquezas.* Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Crónica (cf. n. 52), 39 (VI).

78 In a 1474 letter to Fernam Martins de Roriz, confessor of the Portuguese King, Alfonso V, the Florentine mathematician and cartographer Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli expressed the confusion this idea had already created: *Et non miremini si voco occidentales partes vbi sunt aromata cum communiter dicantur orientalia quia nauigantibus ad occidentem semper ille partes inueniuntur per subterraneas nauigaciones. Si enim per terram et per superiora itinera ad orientem senper* [sic] Henry Vignaud, *Toscanelli and Columbus. The Letter and Chart of Toscanelli. A Critical Study*, London 1902, 296. On Toscanelli's map, India and China were supposedly located below the equator.

79 *Dico igit[ur] q[uod] frons Indie meridianus pellitur ad tropicum Capricorni propter regionem Pathalis et terrarum vicinarum quas ambit brachiu[m] maris magnu[m] descen-*

d'Ailly, and he underlined many passages concerning the sea route to India in his own copy of the *Imago mundi*.[80] Many scholars at the royal court disputed Columbus's views, and it took him years to convince the Spanish kings to support his ambitious plans.[81] It was only in April 1492 that Ferdinand and Isabella finally furnished him with everything necessary to sail "over the ocean sea, to India," as was proclaimed in their charter of protection.[82]

In 1500, the Spanish navigator and cartographer Juan de la Cosa drew up the first map to include the islands reached by Christopher Columbus on his first voyages. Indeed, as the captain of the *Santa María,* de la Cosa was an eye-witness to these events.[83] His map depicts the three known continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe as well as the newly "discovered" islands in the west, which he depicted as being partly surrounded by a huge land mass (coloured in green). Off the coast of modern-day Brazil an inscription identifies an Ysla descubierta por Portugal, presumably referring to the land found by Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500.

In the far east of de la Cosa's map, the Asian land mass was not delimited by any waterbody on its eastern side, just as the green land mass had no dis-

dens a mari oceano q[u]o[d] est inter Indiam et Hyspaniam inferiorem seu Africa[m] de quo supra tactum est. Pierre d'Ailly, *Ymago mundi. Texte latin et Traduction française des quatre Traités cosmographiques de d'Ailly et des Notes marginales de Christophe Colomb,* ed. Edmond Buron. 3 vol., Paris 1930, 260–262 (I).

80 See Frauke Gewecke, *Christoph Kolumbus. Leben, Werk, Wirkung*, Frankfurt am Main 2006. The notes and remarks in Columbus's manuscript of Pierre d'Ailly are edited by Buron (cf. n. 79).

81 See William Randles, The Evaluation of Columbus' 'India' Project by Portuguese and Spanish Cosmographers in the Light of the Geographical Science of the Period, in: *Imago Mundi* 42 (1990), 50–64.

82 *per maria oçeana ad partes Indie.* Charter of protection, 17.04.1492, printed in: Antonia Rumeu de Armas, *Nueva Luz sobre las Capitulaciones de Santa Fe de 1492 concertadas entre los Reyes Católicos y Cristobal Colon. Estudio institucional y diplomático*, Madrid 1985, 94.

83 The map is preserved in the Museo Naval de Madrid. It can be viewed online: Map of Juan de la Cosa, URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Map_of_Juan_de_la_Cosa (accessed 20 January 2018). See David Buisseret, Early European Cartography of the New World, in: *La Cartografia europea tra primo Rinascimento e fine dell'Illuminismo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale "The Making of European Cartography" (Firenze, BNEF-EUI, 13–15 dicembre 2001)*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, Angelo Cattaneo and André Ferrand Almeida (Accademia toscana di Scienze e Lettere La Columbaria Studi 213). Florence 2003, 95–107, here 98. James Smith, Europe's Confused Transmutation. The Realignment of Moral Cartography in Juan de la Cosa's Mappa Mundi (1500), in: *European Review of History* – 21 (2014), 799–816. Arthur Davies, The Date of Juan de la Cosa's World Map and Its Implications for American Discovery, in: *The Geographical Journal* 142 (1976), 111–116.

cernable end to the west. Since the cartographer had no information about whether or not there was a passage to the Indian Ocean west of the Caribbean islands, he covered this region with a large vignette of Saint Christopher.

With this map, Juan de la Cosa expanded the traditional focus of world maps further to the west. On traditional medieval *mappae mundi* a narrow Ocean belt surrounded the known world; but it is important to note that this does not necessarily mean that cartographers really conceived of the Ocean as a small belt girding the land, just that there was simply no need to extend its width on these maps.[84] All this changed with la Cosa's map, where a huge waterbody was depicted extending between the islands in the west and Europe — making the Atlantic Ocean a sea route to India, and thus India itself a region *outremer*.

Conclusion

Jacques Le Goff's belief in the geographic 'ignorance' of the 'medieval West' regarding the Indian Ocean must now be considered outdated.[85] On the basis of the evidence presented in this paper, one might even say that there was no region more in the sights of late medieval European merchants, travellers, and missionaries than India—and possibly also China.[86] In both the cases presented here, India formed the centre and focal point of interest. In the eyes of European Christians, India and the Indian Ocean were both parts of complex and interrelated geographic settings with links that reached as far as Europe. The geographic ideas behind these concepts quite naturally entailed an awareness of the interplay between land and sea: on the one hand, many crusade treatises explicitly described the position of Egypt as a link between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea (or Indian Ocean). On the other hand, the Atlantic Ocean was seen, since at least the thirteenth century, as a sea route to India. At first this was only a theoretical notion, but after the voyages of Christopher Columbus it became a tangible one. Whereas Roger Bacon's work proposed a theoretical

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84 See Francesc Relaño, *The Shaping of Africa. Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot 2002, 117–18. Martin Lewis, Dividing the Ocean Sea, in: *Geographical Review* 89 (1999), 188–214, here 194–196.

85 Cf. n. 7. See Picazo Muntaner, A Global Dream (cf. n. 1), 209.

86 See Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West. Thought, Report, Imagination* (Medieval Voyaging 1), Turnhout 2013. Folker Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China. Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 15), Sigmaringen 1992.

crossing of the Atlantic Ocean to reach India, the first physical expeditions attempted instead to circumnavigate Africa. We can assume that this was due to traditional geographical conceptions, which saw the Ocean as an unnavigable barrier surrounding the known world; in this light, a voyage across it would have seemed far too hazardous an undertaking. The work of Roger Bacon and Pierre d'Ailly made this mental and nautical barrier seem increasingly surmountable, and it was eventually overcome by Christopher Columbus. After his travels, the Atlantic Ocean rapidly became a navigable passage connecting Europe and the lands thought to be parts of Asia.

Medieval scholars, geographers, or seamen were well aware of the connective function of oceans and seas. However, the sources explored in this article do not necessarily reflect on this geographical setting conceptually. The first reason for this is that in both cases the sources clearly focussed on an individual situation and not on geography in a more general sense. Second, the driving forces behind both sources were primarily economic ones (even in the case of the crusade treatises). From this perspective, practical analyses of specific trade routes and important ports were more useful than abstract reflections on land—sea relations.

Apart from theoretical reflections, the two case studies clearly show that in the later Middle Ages trade and geographical knowledge were deeply connected.[87] The crusade treatises of Marino Sanudo and William of Adam included quite precise information about trade routes and the origin and availability of goods in specific regions, mainly India. The quest for a sea route to India (either around Africa or across the Atlantic) was also driven by economic concerns. One might even argue that the focus on land and sea as interrelated spheres was of importance first and foremost within economic contexts. The excursus on the importance of maps partly supports this thesis: the development of the portolan maps in the late thirteenth century mirrors the period's economic perspective on interconnected sea- and landscapes, although the historiographical evidence shows that they were also of interest within a political milieu. To sum up, the two geographical settings comprised by the terms *entre mers* and *outremer* reflect the awareness of many late medieval authors and cartographers that land and sea were deeply intertwined spaces.

87 Picazo Muntaner, A Global Dream (cf. n. 1), 207.

Acknowledgements

Luís Adão da Fonseca

Straits, Capes and Islands as Points of Confluence in the Portuguese Ocean Route between the Atlantic and the East (in the Fifteenth Century)

Abstract. In this paper, I will present a reflection on the role of straits, capes and islands as geographical references in the oceanic route from Europe to India. All three have a double dimension; geographical and cultural. So, the challenge is how to explain the nautical and intellectual process in which the generation of the oceanic concept operated. To support this idea, I will consider three successive aspects of these reference points: first, their importance in medieval oceanic doctrines; second, their role as reference points in the maritime routes of the central and southern Atlantic; finally, based on the linkage between the initial Atlantic experience and the emerging notion of oceanic space, I will emphasize two specific issues: their role in the shaping of the doctrine of a maritime rearguard, as well as their importance in fifteenth-century Portuguese diplomacy.

The Medieval Oceanic Imaginary

As this is a fairly well-known topic, I will limit myself to pointing out some general notions relevant to the theme of this paper.

For medieval men the sea was the space of the marvelous; the substantive horizon of what they feared because of its strangeness. It is the *topos* of the unknown. Characterized by its exterior position in relation to the inhabited world, the peripheral dimension of the Ocean is evident in the cartographic design of several medieval maps.[1] However, at this point, we also find variations and contradictions. Sometimes, the Atlantic was conceived of as completely different from the Indian Ocean, which was assumed to be an Interior Sea according to the Ptolemaic worldview and due to this, as a peripheral reality and therefore a nebulous one.[2]

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[1] This is the case, for example, of the T/O type maps. See Armando Cortesão, *História da Cartografia Portuguesa*, vol. 1, Coimbra 1969, 168; Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps*, New York 1979, 96–97.

On the other hand, not yet knowing of the existence of the American continents, but assuming that the earth was round, people had no difficulties to accept that one might reach the East by sailing straight to the West. The West could be viewed as the beginning of the eastern oceans. Thus, in the early fifteenth century, Pierre d'Ailly (in his work *Ymago Mundi*) wrote—and this is an allusion that Columbus would not forget to note—that the region of the Columns of Hercules (that is, the Atlantic) and India are bathed by the same sea.[3]

This vision, deeply rooted in late antique geography, had important consequences. The Ocean surrounding the inhabited lands became a disturbing element (adverse, destructive, and even dangerous), while the actual non-destruction of creation by the waters was almost considered a *permanent miracle*. As Isidore of Seville said, the Ocean had its name from its shape as a circle which surrounds the globe; or alternatively because it gleams with blue color, *ut caelum*, like the sky.[4]

In this view, the Ocean emerges as an entity which is *beyond the world*; in fact, it is *beyond the land* because it is outside the inhabitable space. It is the space of the unknown that is beyond the frontiers of the known world, it is understood as an inhuman space. In sum, the Ocean is *savage* and *immeasurable*.

Thus, one can say that the medieval oceanic imaginary bears a strong dimension of both, the unknown as well as the adverse, destructive, and dangerous. In a certain sense, the Ocean is associated with the idea of fear: it is an open space from where, beyond a certain limit, it is impossible to return. One only needs to consider chapter 8 of Zurara's *Chronicle of Guinea* (this Portuguese chronicler lived in the mid-fifteenth century [c.1410/1420–c.1473/1474])

2   Jacques Le Goff, L'Occident médiéval et l'océan Indien: un horizon onirique, in: *Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident*, Paris 1977, 280–298, here 282–283.

3   António Ramirez de Verger (ed.), *Ymago Mundi y otros opúsculos de Pierre d'Ailly,* Madrid 1992, 43.

4   These are his words: "Do Oceano. Gregos e Latinos chamam assim ao oceano porque, a modos de um círculo, cerca o orbe da terra [...]. Ou mesmo, porque, como o céu, resplandece de cor purpúrea: o oceano, seria, então algo assim como cyáneos." (I use my own translation of Isidore' published in *Do Imaginário do Atlântico ao Atlântico Imaginado,* vol. 1, ed. Luís Adão da Fonseca, José Adriano de Carvalho, Porto, 1993, 49). Similar words in Ramirez de Verger, *Ymago Mundi* (cf. n. 3), 111. See the interesting observations of Patrick Gautier Dalché, Comment penser l'Océan? Modes de connaissance des *fines orbis terrarum* du Nord-Ouest (de l'Antiquité au XIIIe siècle), in: *L'Europe et l'Océan au Moyen Âge. Contribution à l'histoire de la navigation*, Nantes 1988, 217–233; Danielle Lecoq, L'Océan et la mer entre mythe et questions naturelles (XIIe–XIIIe siècles), in: *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, N.S. 32,2 (1992), 257–281.

to understand clearly what the theme of *return* means to the Portuguese in the first half of the fifteenth century.[5]

The Horizon of Straits, Capes and Islands in the Atlantic

In traditional geography, in which the sea surrounds the continents, land is, in fact, an *island*. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, an important Portuguese navigator of the fifteenth century (c.1460–c.1531/1533), gave an explicit expression to this idea when repeating the traditional image of the sea. He writes:

> "And, therefore, we should first consider how the philosophers [...] have said that the whole earth is surrounded by sea, concurring in their understanding that the foundation of our life, the glory of our Empires, to the advantage of the waters, is made an island."[6]

Here lies the importance of straits, capes and islands in medieval oceanic thought. As an *unknown* and open space, the Atlantic needed spatial references and horizons in order to be navigable, even if these points only existed in human imagination. Like the Mediterranean, the Atlantic was thus conceived of as a horizontal ocean filled with islands, as most of the medieval maps show: offshore, there are islands; along the coast, there are straights and capes. Though their actual functions differ, they nevertheless had a common purpose for seafaring: they served as reference points on the actually navigated maritime routes.

On the other hand, it is important to remember another dimension of these navigations: instead of being mere journeys of discovery, they have a strong religious paradisiacal connotation. That is to say, the new space was also

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5 Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Crónica da Guiné, Porto 1973, chap. 8, entitled: "*Por que razão não ousavem os navios passar a alem do Cabo Bojador*" (49–51), here 49: *Como passaremos* (...) [os marinheiros do Infante D. Henrique] *os termos que poseram nossos padres, ou que proveito pode trazer ao Infante a perdição de nossas almas juntamente com os corpos, que conhecidamente seremos homicidas de nós mesmos?* Translation: *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, ed. Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage, vol. 1, London 1896, chapter 8 ("*Why ships had not hitherto dared to pass beyond Cape Bojador*"), (30–32), here 31: "How are we, men [the sailors of Prince Henry the Navigator] said to pass the bounds that our fathers set up, or what profit can result to the Infant from the perdition of our souls as well as of our bodies—for of a truth by daring any further we shall become wilful murderers of ourselves?".

6 Damião Peres (ed.), *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis por Duarte Pacheco Pereira*, Lisbon 1988, 18: *E, por tanto, devemos primeiro considerar como os filósofos, que nesta matéria falaram, disseram que a terra toda é cercada pelo mar, consentindo seus entenderes que [...] o assento de nossa vida, a glória de nossos Impérios, pera proveito das águas, em ilha seja feita.*

understood as the route of imaginary navigation, which gave access to Eden. There are many references in Portuguese sources that show this other dimension, thus an excellent example for this idea accompanying the navigations along the west coast of Morocco and Mauritania can be found in Zurara's writings. According to him, Saint Brendan, an Irish monk, had already traveled through the same North African maritime latitudes.[7] Sometimes, navigators openly admitted that they were on the way towards the Paradise Islands.[8] For many, this may well have been the place where the rivers of Paradise flow, as Cadamosto says about the mouth of the river Senegal and Columbus about the mouth of the Orinoco.[9] The cultural context against which these seafarers saw the mouth of big rivers is very clear from the meditations about the Nile that are found in chapters 61 and 62 of Zurara's *Chronicle of Guinea*.[10]

The Guinean Gulf as an Exemplary Case

The manuscript entitled *Itinerarium Antonii Ususmaris civis januensis*[11] counts among those texts in which the association of ocean, rivers and islands is most

[7] Zurara, Crónica da Guiné (cf. n. 5) and Idem, The Chronicle (cf. n. 5), chapter 7, entitled: *No qual se mostram cinco razões por que o Senhor Infante foi movido de mandar buscar as terras da Guiné* (43–47), where Zurara writes (43): *Bem é que alguns diziam que passara por ali S. Brandão* ("Some said indeed that Saint Brandan had passed that way") [refering to the area beyond the Canary Islands and Cape Bojador (27)].

[8] Zurara, Crónica da Guiné (cf. n. 5) and Idem, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, ed. Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage, vol. 2, London 1899, chapter 59, entitled: *Das palavras que disse Gomes Pires e como foram a terra de Guiné* (251–254 and 173–176), in which Alvaro de Freitas mentions his wish to sail to the *Paraiso terreal* (253 and 174, respectively).

[9] "It is said that this river is one of the four rivers that leave the Paradise, which is called Gion, [and] coming from there, it runs across Ethiopia; and finally from it the Nile is born." (*Diz-se que este rio é um dos quatro rios que saem do paraíso terrestre o qual se chama Gion,* [e] *que de lá vindo, banha toda a Etiópia; por fim dele nasce o Nilo*: Cadamosto, Navigations, quoted from José Manuel Garcia, Viagens dos Descobrimentos, Lisbon 1983, 96). See also: Consuelo Varela (ed.), *Cristóbal Colón. Textos y documentos completos.* Madrid 1984, 213–218 (letter sent to the Catholic Kings in October 1498).

[10] Zurara, Crónica da Guiné (cf. n. 5), chapter 61, entitled: *Como o autor fala algumas cousas acerca do Rio Nilo* (263–267) and chapter 62, entitled: *Do poderio do Nilo, Segundo os Astronimos e de seu crecimento* (269–272). English edition, The Chronicle (cf. n. 5): "*In which the author related some things concerning the River of Nile*" (183–187) and "*Of the might of the Nile according to the Astronomers, and of its increase*" (187–190).These two chapters are largely copied from the *General History* of the Castilian King Alfonso X the Wise (see Joaquim de Carvalho, Sobre a erudição de Gomes Eanes de Zurara, in: *Obra Completa*, vol. 2, Lisbon 1983, 185–340, here 328–338).

evident. It contains a letter written by the Genoese Antoniotto Usodimare, dated December 12, 1455, a source published in several studies devoted to the first European navigations in the Sea of Guinea.[12] What can be drawn from this manuscript?

The manuscript begins with a description of various geographic places, magical islands and fantastic regions with strange inhabitants. Beginning in the east, it ends in Africa. Along the way, references are made to historical expeditions carried out by Italians, the last of which is the one of the Vivaldi brothers (1291). Usodimare's letter, which gives an account of the voyage to Guinea, thus acquires credibility through this context. The initial text is followed by a brief treatise on universal geography, in which each continent (Asia, Europe, and Africa) is described, beginning with the rivers of each region: the description is therefore based on a fluvial sequence that is reminiscent of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (chapter 6 of book 14).

Actually, the manuscript contains two parts, separated by the copy of Usodimare's letter, the reference point that gives meaning to the entire manuscript. In the first part, a geographic image is presented, the descriptive components of which are inspired by books and endowed with a quality that is predominantly marvelous and fantastic, as has already been explained. If these components point towards a geographic imaginary that is well known, nevertheless, the form in which the narrative is presented (with references to real expeditions) leads the reader to associations both imaginary and real, establishing an illusion of continuity between them. In this sense, I believe that the reference to each of these expeditions was intended to introduce an unquestionable reality into the imaginary world that had been evoked just before. This would have been a way to invite the reader to give serious consideration to the wonders presented thereafter. In few words, it was a way to objectify the marvelous.

For the anonymous author of the manuscript, the seemingly only possible way to create an understanding of the reality described in Usodimare's letter was by making it probable; the letter would, in effect, have been read initially as a fantastic description because of the new world that is described in it. It refers to Guinea, a geographic space quite distant from the Mediterranean, where everything—land and sea—is different and, consequently, where the cultural understanding of the reality is not easy to achieve. Nevertheless, people of those times had to be offered some points of connection to their previous expe-

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11   Library of the University of Genoa, Manuscript B/1/36.

12   Among other editions, see: Richard Henry Major, *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator.* London 1868, 104–105; *Monumenta Henricina.* vol. 12, Coimbra 1971, doc. 99, 191– 193.

rience, thus establishing a mental relationship between the old world and the new one just being discovered.[13]

Indeed, this central Atlantic novelty in the Sea of Guinea can only be understood based on inherited cultural constructs. In fact, it should be remembered that the rupture that finally opened doors towards a new mode of comprehension of the entire world only occurred much later[14]. We can thus say that Usodimare's text gives evidence of two things: on the one hand, the difficulties of cultural assimilation to any form of otherness, be it cultural, social or spatial; and on the other hand, the extreme limitations of this process being developed before the rupture that will give rise to oceanic modernity. In this specific case, despite all the constraints mentioned, the comprehension of the novelty required the organization of an urgent cultural understanding. In the following lines we will try to explain how this happened.[15]

The Innovative Role of Guinea in the Formation of the New Ocean View

In the middle of the fifteenth century, when Genoese merchants accompanied the Portuguese into the central Atlantic, this was still an unknown space without geographic certainties. Because it was still undiscovered, it did not yet have a specifically oceanic identity. Instead it evoked or produced only images.

When this perspective is applied to the first text contained in Usodimare's manuscript, it becomes clear that the allusions to successive expeditions were made precisely to restrain the imaginary of each one of those expeditions. This process conferred a topological dimension to an oneiric inheritance. The text

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13 As Cadamosto writes, in those seas, "things are new, noticeable; [it is] another world" (*são coisas novas e dignas de alguma notícia*, é *outro mundo*, Garcia, Viagens (cf. n. 9), 77). See Ilaria Luzzana Caraci, Columbus' *Otro mundo*: The Genesis of a Geographical Concept, in: *Renaissance Studies*, 6, 3–4, (1992), 336–351, reprinted in: Ilaria Luzzana Caraci, *The Puzzling Hero. Studies on Christopher Columbus and the Culture of his Age*, Rome 2002, 183–201.

14 Luís Adão da Fonseca, A experiência da viagem da descoberta, in: *O Atlântico: a memória de um Oceano, vol. 2: A descoberta do Oceano: saga e memória (sec. XI–XVI)*, ed. Luís Adão da Fonseca and José Adriano de Carvalho, Porto 1996, 301–328; Idem, *Dal Mediterraneo all'Atlantico. Le scoperte e la formazione del Mare Oceano nei secoli XIV–XIV*, Pisa / Cagliari 2004, 61–81.

15 What I wrote about this *Itinerarium Antonii Ususmaris civis januensis*, is a summary of Luís Adão da Fonseca, O Itinerário de Usodimare: inspiração livresca, experiência mediterrânica e navegações atlânticas em meados do século XV, in: *Proceedings of the Second International Conference of the History of Madeira*, Lisbon 1990, 963–971.

thus works as a conceptual itinerary from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, which becomes the link that guarantees the legitimacy of the process itself.

This is significant for two reasons. First, it reveals that in the middle of the fifteenth century the Sea of Guinea was figured—in terms of intellectual understanding—on a horizon of rivers and islands. Second, it indicates that at that time, some viewed these rivers and islands in terms of a Mediterranean conceptual framework. Only in this context does the aforementioned bookish inspiration from Isidore's *Etymologiae* make sense.

This is a crucial observation because it shows how the Sea of Guinea exercised a strong influence upon the oceanic transition from the previous pattern of navigation along the African coasts (in accordance with the coastal model of Mediterranean seafaring) to a new pattern that was destined to be used in the South Atlantic and was based on astronomic observation.[16]

This is not only a chronological sequence. The two patterns were opposed on all levels. As Duarte Pacheco Pereira (quoted above) explains, different geographies correspond to different histories: the water being the same, the conditions of navigability are nevertheless different.[17]

The New Oceanic Experience in the Last Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

The journey of Vasco da Gama in 1497–1499 is the exponential moment in the development of oceanic navigation in the South, which represents the advent of the modern Atlantic. It was a complex process that, as I suggested above, cannot be reduced to a geographical differentiation. In fact, it is not so much a simple process of substitution but rather a far more complex process of cultural genealogy, in which the transformation of ideas and perspectives was induced by a variety of experiences.

In a sequence of several significant events, the 1480s led to what we can characterize as cultural consequences of synchronic processes: the treaty of 1479–1480,[18] the accession to the Portuguese throne of King John II in August 1481,[19] and the construction of the castle of St. George of the Mine in 1482.[20] Against this background, we might ask the question of how the Atlantic was

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16 Fonseca, A experiência da viagem da descoberta (cf. n. 14); Fonseca, Dal Mediterraneo all'Atlantico (cf. n. 14), 61–81.

17 Luís Filipe Barreto, *Descobrimentos e Renascimento. Formas de ser e pensar nos séculos XV e XVI,* Lisbon 1983, 213–253.

18 About this treaty, see infra note 25. Cf. Luís Adão da Fonseca, *D. João II,* Lisbon 2005, 50–59 and 112–116.

viewed in the middle of the second half of the fifteenth century. Considering the history of the term and the concept of *descobrimento* (discovery) in Portuguese literature from 1055 to 1567, the conclusion is evident: the verb *descobrir* (to discover), in the sense of initial knowledge of new lands, appears for the first time in 1472, while the abstract concept of *discovery* appears only in 1486.[21]

In sum, beyond the changes in the experience of the Ocean due to the voyages during the 1480s, another intellectual dimension of fundamental change is visible, as has already been stated. In fact, the experience gained on the Atlantic surmounted the traditional coordinates—those of the coast and the route—only when the Ocean was thought of as a space to be discovered. This was a new vision and not merely a perspective that extended the previous one by a process of mere accumulation.

This intellectual shift was not easily accepted in Portugal. It was accompanied by profound debates, which, because of the problems underlying the argument, represented a heated political struggle within some sectors of Portuguese society. The problem posed by the Southern Atlantic could not be more clear: between the discovery of the coast and the voyage on the high seas, the debate concerned two forms of navigation: one that valorizes *places* and one that privileges *position.* It is well known that with Bartolomeu Dias in 1487–1488,[22] it happened, still in an embryonic form. Then, with Vasco da Gama, in 1497–1498[23] it took a much more significant way, and it was this second type of navigation that finally imposed itself. An epoch when straits and capes constituted both identifying and differentiating references on coastlines was followed by another one in which, away from coastal horizons, the concern for location became dominant. In order to determine the location, stars were the most important physical element as they allowed determination of the latitude, but the physical expression of location were the islands. That is the reason why navigation within this *new Atlantic* was essentially a route to islands.

Many examples could be given for this tendency. Nevertheless, I will only provide two examples that I really consider emblematic. First, attention should be drawn to the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed in 1494 between the crowns of Portugal and Castile. In this treaty the division of the seas was agreed on, by

19   Fonseca, D. João II (cf. n. 16), 50–59.

20   Joseph Bato'ora Ballong-Wen-Mewuda, *São Jorge da Mina. 1482–1637,* vol. 1. Lisbon / Paris 1993, 45–70.

21   Joaquim Barradas Carvalho, *À la recherche de la spécificité de la Renaissance portugaise*, vol. 2. Paris 1983, 539.

22   Luís Adão da Fonseca, *O Essencial sobre Bartolomeu Dias,* Lisbon 1987.

23   Idem, *Vasco da Gama: o homem, a viagem, a época*, Lisbon 1997.

means of a meridian line drawn 370 miles west from Cape Verde. In this defini-
tion, the geographic reference is a set of islands chosen precisely because—
starting from this location—it was possible to clearly distinguish two types of
navigation in the Atlantic area: on the one hand the navigation to the west,
which, through the circuit of the northeastern trade winds, leads the fleets to
the West Indies; on the other hand the navigation to the south, which through
the circuit of the southeastern trade winds leads to the Cape of Good Hope and
to the Indian Ocean. Therefore it appears that an expression of a nautical con-
viction with the insular dimension as its fundamental point of reference was at
the bottom of the treaty's provisions as diplomatic decisions.[24]

With regard to this point, the treaty of 1494 has, however, a significant
antecedent: the Luso-Castilian Treaty of Alcáçovas-Toledo signed in 1479–
1480. As is known, the basis for this treaty is related to the contentions
between the two kingdoms over the explorations in Guinea. Without delving
too far into the diplomatic problems addressed in this treaty, I would like to
highlight an aspect that relates directly to the islands. Because of the conflicts
between the two kingdoms, the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two parts, sepa-
rated by a line that passes to the south of the Canaries. The parts of the Ocean
situated to the north of this line should belong to Castile and those situated to
the south should belong to Portugal. The actual terms of the division could not
be more revealing:

> "[…] And all of the islands that have until now been discovered and any oth-
> ers that may be found or conquered, the Canary Islands and below to Guinea,
> because everything that is found or will be found, conquered, or discovered
> in terms of the limits beyond what has already been found, occupied, and dis-
> covered will belong to the king and prince of Portugal and his kingdoms,
> with the only exception of the Canary Islands."[25]

When in the spring of 1500, a new Portuguese fleet on its way to India anch-
ored in the territory that would later be known as Brazil, this scale was located
at the western extreme of the eastern Atlantic zone reserved for Portugal by
the already mentioned Treaty of Tordesillas. Indeed, to the Portuguese people
of those times this land was not located in the West but at the western extreme
of the East. In this case, too, they chose an insular designation for the land: the

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24 Idem, *O Tratado de Tordesilhas e a diplomacia luso-castelhana no século XV*. Lisbon
1991; Fonseca, D. João II (cf. n. 18), 120–134.

25 João Martins da Silva Marques (ed.), *Descobrimentos Portugueses,* vol. 3, Lisbon 1971,
doc. 142, 205: *E qualesquier otras yslas que se fallaren o conquirieren de las yslas de cana-
ria para baxo contra guinea porque todo lo que es fallado e se fallare conquerir o descobrir
en los dichos terminos allende de lo que ya es fallado ocupado descubierto finca a los dichos
rey e prínçipe de portogal e sus reynos tirando solamente las yslas de canaria* […].

Island of Vera Cruz.[26] Thus, we better understand what Vespucci meant when in his letter dated 18 July 1500 he referred to the eastern limit of the Portuguese Sea: "I hope to bring many great news and discover the Island of Taprobana, which is located between the Indian sea and the Gangétic sea."[27]

Concluding remarks

This reference to Taprobana finally brings me back to the significance of the islands that has accompanied this contribution from the very beginning. As we can see, islands have always played a role in Portuguese navigation, from early history to the maritime expansion itself. Beginning as a merely oneiric reality, they occupy a critical place in the medieval imaginary. In addition, with the oceanic advance in the fifteenth century, they never lose this function. From the middle of that century, islands became ports of call in the direction of the Southern Atlantic. Then towards the end of the fifteenth century, they were appropriated by the political power (for example, the Treaty of Tordesillas) and served a fundamental role in the conceptual formulation of maritime space.

To use an expression by Christian Grataloup in his book entitled *L'invention des continents*,[28] we can state that the Atlantic Ocean was and is an *invention.* I stress this because the concept of ocean should be seen as a cultural construct, in the formation of which specific geographical references (straits, capes and islands, especially the latter) played a key role. However, taken as nautical and intellectual references, they played a key role in the formation of the modern concept of the Atlantic. To paraphrase the words of Michel Mollat du Jourdin, I would conclude that the aforementioned references—whether imagined or real—were an active motor during these years of transformation.[27]

26   William Brooks Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, London 1938, 33 and 60.

27   Luciano Formisano (ed.), *Amerigo Vespucci. Cartas de viaje,* Madrid 1986, 64.

28   Christian Grataloup, *L'invention des continents,* Paris 2009.

27   Michel Mollat du Jourdin, Les îles océaniques: du mythe aux réalités (Moyen Âge et l'époque des Découvertes), in: *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* N.S. 32,2 (1992), 85–95, esp. 95. About this topic see also Luís Adão da Fonseca, O horizonte insular na experiência cultural da primeira expansão portuguesa, Portos, Escalas e Ilhéus no relacionamento entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, in: *Proceedings of the International Conference Commemorating the Vasco da Gama Return to Portugal,* vol. 1, Lisbon 2001, 57–93.

The Plurality of Medieval Outre-Mers: Networks and Patterns of Spatial Penetration

Gita Dharampal-Frick

Transcultural Networks: From the Red Sea to the South China Sea, 1000–1800

Continuities and Transformations

Abstract. In focusing on transcultural networks of the Indo-Mediterranean, this paper aims to provide insights into the cultural and economic genealogies of globalisation as well as into the divergent ancestries of its social geographies. Its methodological objective is to examine the extensive Indian, Southeast Asian, Arab and Chinese interaction in the littoral regions of Malabar, the Bay of Bengal, the Indonesian Archipelago and the South China Seas in the medieval and early modern period. Thereby, rather than underscoring the significance of merely economic factors implicated in this maritime connectivity, other relevant (and hitherto largely neglected) aspects will be discussed, namely the enactment of political sovereignty (as a layered and shared concept), the crucial significance of resilient networks (defined by mercantile, cultural and social factors) as well as of widespread dynamic diasporic communities (of Chinese, Southeast Asians, Indians, Persians and Arabs), and last but not least, the flow and exchange of 'cargoes' (including both commodities and intellectual ideas). In doing so, an attempt will be made to ascertain the continuities and transformations (subsequent to the entry of European companies) in the pelagic patchwork quilt of the Eastern Indian Ocean until the beginning of the 19th century.

Preliminary Remarks

Entre mers—outre-mer,[1] exemplified by Indo-Mediterranean connectivity, has created waves in scholarship: owing to previous cross-fertilization between the French *Annales* school[2] and Wallerstein's world-systems analysis,[3] and instigated primarily by K. N. Chaudhuri's Braudelian pioneering research,[4] the mari-

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1   As a modified version of the paper presented at this conference in November 2014, this article constitutes an outline for a research proposal for which I received constructive feedback from the conference participants.

2   The pre-eminent French school of historiography, named after its scholarly journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (founded in 1929 by Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre and Henri Hauser), in emphasising the analysis of long-term socio-economic develop-

time history of the Indian Ocean (or the 'Afro-Asian Sea', to use another designation for the Indian Ocean whose validity as a category we could also question)[5] has recently been elevated to the status of a new thalassology.[6] With the focus now on the Eurasian connection, this proposed paradigm shift towards an Indo-Mediterranean trans-continental oceanic orbit aims to illuminate the cultural and economic genealogies of globalization, as well as to provide insights into the divergent ancestries of its social geographies. In other words, by investigating developments in this expansive maritime region, viable contributions can be made towards "reorienting",[7] as it were, our appraisal of the globalization process—in an east-west direction which would underscore the "southernization"[8] swing of the global economic pendulum as preceding and perhaps also succeeding the hitherto emphasis on the westernization trend.

ments, influenced trends in maritime history from the mid-1950s into the 1970s, with research being conducted almost exclusively by European scholars, focussing primarily on the early modern epoch (15th–18th century), and spatially on the Mediterranean, however only peripherally on the western Indian Ocean, see Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, Fernand Braudel, the Annales, and the Mediterranean, in: *Journal of Modern History* 44 (1972), 468–479.

3   Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, vol. 1, New York 1974, whose work initiated a shift in maritime history undertaken by Anglophone scholars based in the UK, North America and Scandinavia, all the while retaining a focus on social and economic history, but concerned more with subsequent modern developments from the 18th century into the contemporary period; see in particular contributions to the *Journal of World-Systems Research* (JWSR), founded by Christopher Chase-Dunn in 1995; Richard E. Lee (ed.), *The Longue Durée and World-Systems Analysis*, New York 2012; with specific reference to maritime history studies: Johan Rönnby, Maritime Durées: Long-Term Structures in a Coastal Landscape, in: *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 2 (2007), 65–82.

4   Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe. Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1990, explicitly inspired by the canonical oeuvre of Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1949.

5   See in particular Philippe Beaujard, The Indian Ocean in Euroasian and African World Systems before the Sixteenth Century, in: *Journal of World History* 16 (2005), 411–465; Pamila Gupta, Isabel Hofmeyr and Michael N. Pearson (ed.), *Eyes across the Water. Navigating the Indian Ocean*, Johannesburg 2010. For a similar questioning of the appropriate designation for the Mediterranean, see David Abulafia, *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean*, London 2011.

6   Markus Vink, Indian Ocean Studies and the 'New Thalassology', in: *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007), 41–62.

7   André G. Frank, *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Berkeley 2008.

8   Lynda Shaffer, Southernization, in: *Journal of World History* 5 (1994), 1–21; for discussions about the 21st century becoming an 'Asian century': Rohan Mukherjee and Anthony Yazaki (ed.), *Poised for Partnership. Deepening India-Japan Relations in the Asian*

Mapping out Spaces, Modes and Agents in Four Sequential Dimensions

In this trans-regional maritime 'highway', stretching from the Red Sea in the west to the South China Sea in the east,[9] where centre and periphery did not constitute stable entities, different cultural worlds (primarily Islamic, 'Hindu', Buddhist and Confucian, but also Jewish and Christian) interacted and overlapped, and in doing so, shaped distinctive, yet often also interwoven cultural, political and economic trajectories over the millennia.[10] Although this essay targets a comparatively slender temporal segment within a millennia timescale —spotlighting as it does the Sino-Indian maritime interaction from the early 13th into the early 15th centuries—, yet given that our crucial concern is to gauge the transition from the pre-colonial to the colonial period, a *longue durée* perspective is considered essential, hence the time-frame 1000–1800. From a three-tiered Braudelian conception of historical time,[11] namely that of structures, conjunctures (*conjonctures*) and events (*événements*), and bearing in mind the synergism of "spaces, modes and agents" (to employ the volume's terminology), this period, straddling eight centuries from the Middle Ages to the modern period, can be studied as comprising four influential (culturally and regionally specific) dimensions in maritime activity, in sequential but also overlapping order:

First and foremost, in view of my regional focus on the South and East Asian pelagic interplay, it is important to highlight the intensification of state support for maritime commerce and naval expansion in the 11th and 12th centu-

Century, New Delhi 2016; Hamish McDonald, *India, Australia and the Asian Century*, Melbourne 2013; P. Jegadish Gandhi (ed.), *India and China in the Asian Century. Global Economic Power Dynamics*, New Delhi 2007.

9 The connection of the westward shores, both with the southern Mediterranean as well as with the South China Sea, has crucial significance for historical developments which impinge correspondingly on the Indian Ocean world as on the Mediterranean and East Asia; for a geographical-historical appraisal, see André Wink, From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (2002), 416–445, and for the whole expanse up to East Asia, see Ralph Kauz (ed.), *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road. From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, Wiesbaden 2010.

10 Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*, New Delhi 1993. However, McPherson's statement that the Indian Ocean comprised "a remarkably self-sustaining economic and cultural 'world' which was set apart from other 'worlds' such as the Mediterranean and East Asia" (4) is being partially modified or even contested in this paper.

11 Olivia Harris, Braudel: Historical Time and the Horror of Discontinuity, in: *History Workshop Journal* 57 (2004), 161–174.

ries, as paradigmatically epitomized by the South Indian Chola dynasty with its nodal centre at Gangaikonda Cholapuram[12] and the medieval port city of Nagapattinam.[13] This conjunction of terrestrial and maritime dominion, notable for the Indian subcontinent, was juxtaposed in its pelagic plexus by the simultaneous Chinese maritime expansion under the Song dynasty[14] and complemented by the rise of Srivijaya in Southeast Asia.[15] Such a triangular constellation (comprising the Cholas, the Song and Srivijaya) productively paved the way for an emerging second dimension, namely for the Muslim maritime networks of the 13th and 14th centuries.[16] This second dimension of medieval maritime networks, a paradigm *par excellence* of *entre mers—outre-mer*, exemplifying Indo-Mediterranean connectivity, and linking up with their terrestrial overland

12 Literally "the capital city of the Chola king who captured the Ganga" (i.e. who brought water from the river Ganges, which implies the Cholas' symbolic hegemony over the north Indian Gangetic region), see Hermann Kulke, Trade and Politics in Eleventh-Century Bay of Bengal, in: *Trading World of the Indian Ocean*, ed. Om Prakash, Delhi 2012, 117–130; also the canonic studies by George W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion. The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya*, Madras 1983, and by Kallidai-kurichi A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Madras 2000.

13 As the prominent port of the Cholas for trade and the gateway to Southeast Asia, at the beginning of 11th century, it also served as the location for a Buddhist monastery (Chulamanivarma Vihara) donated by the Sailendra regent of Srivijaya, Mara Vijayayottungavarman, under the patronage of Raja Raja Chola (985–1014), see Gokul Seshadri, New Perspectives on Nagapattinam: The Medieval Port City in the Context of Political, Religious, and Commercial Exchanges between South India, Southeast Asia and China, in: *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa. Reflections on Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia*, ed. Hermann Kulke, Singapore 2009, 102–134; see also Himanshu Prabha Ray, *A 'Chinese' Pagoda at Nagapattinam on the Tamil Coast: Revisiting India's Early Maritime Networks*, (India International Centre (IIC). Occasional Publication 66), New Delhi 2015, 1–17.

14 Jung-pang Lo, *China as a Sea Power, 1127–1368. A Preliminary Survey of the Maritime Expansion and Naval Exploits of the Chinese People during the Southern Song and Yuan Periods*, Singapore 2012.

15 Oliver W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce. A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya*, Ithaca 1967; see also the book review by Anthony Reid, *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa. Reflections on Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia*, ed. by Hermann Kulke, in: *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 42 (2011), 339–341.

16 This is being used as an umbrella term which, besides referring to *Hadhrami* and *Magrebi* traders, also includes Judeo-Arabs, Armenians, etc.; for the Judeo-Arab merchants, see the pioneering study by Shlomo D. Goitein, New Light on the Beginnings of the Kārim Merchants, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1957), 175–184. For insights into the maritime merchants' activity in western India, see Ranabir Chakravarti, Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-Owning Merchants on the West Coast of India (C. AD 1000–1500), in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43 (2000), 34–64.

counterparts, laid the tracks (or rather mapped out sea-routes) for the subsequent world-system connecting Europe and Asia.[17] The ensuing crucial integration of the age-old terrestrial Silk Road with the maritime routes was only possible as a consequence of the synergetic interaction with the ongoing upsurge of East Asian activity.[18] It is this intensification of Chinese maritime activity which comprises the third dimension: besides the change in commodities traded, from luxury to bulk (in concrete terms from Chinese silk to porcelain),[19] a concomitant transformation of the Sino-centric world view was facilitated: as a result of the effective Sino-Arab interdependence, the hitherto pronounced Sino-centrism became considerably modified thanks to the knowledge acquired of maritime Asia and Africa, extending even as far as the Mediterranean. An analysis of the cognitive principles by which Chinese knowledge of the non-Chinese world was structured and evaluated would constitute an innovative feature of research, especially if contrasted with the mechanisms defining the early modern European quest for knowledge of the non-European world.[20]

Methodologically, the case-study that is being envisaged would deal with the documentary evidence emerging from Chinese maritime interaction with India which intensified from the early 13th century and continued into the third decade of the 15th century. Representing a radical metamorphosis in the long tradition of Sino-Indian terrestrial contact (which in the early medieval period had been defined as explicit, primarily by a deep interest in Buddhism through the prominently recorded visits to important sites in north and central India),[21] the renewed Chinese interest in the Indian subcontinent, shaped by maritime

17   Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350*, New York 1991.

18   Tansen Sen, The Formation of Chinese Maritime Networks to Southern Asia, 1200–1450, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49 (2006), 421–453, and also Roderich Ptak, *Die maritime Seidenstraße. Küstenräume, Seefahrt und Handel in vorkolonialer Zeit*, Munich 2007, 148–211.

19   For more details on the substantial transformation of Sino-Indian trade see Upinder Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India. From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, New Delhi 2009, 586–587; for specificities on the mercantile importance of porcelain, see Anne Gerritsen, Porcelain and the Material Culture of the Mongol-Yuan Court, in: *Journal of Early Modern History 16* (2012), 241–273.

20   Kuei-Sheng Chang, The Maritime Scene in China at the Dawn of Great European Discoveries, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974), 347–359, and Harish Kapur, *China and the Afro-Asian World*, New Delhi 1966. For contrastive details about the early modern European perspective, see Gita Dharampal-Frick, *Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit (1500–1750): Studien zu einer interkulturellen Konstellation*, Tübingen 1994.

21   For a differentiated appraisal of the early medieval Chinese interaction with India see Rabindra Panth (ed.), *India's Perception through Chinese Travellers*, Nalanda 2007. For

considerations, was more mercantile and political in portent and was directed towards South Indian littoral regions as has been substantiated by archaeological research.[22] From the tail-end of the Song dynasty, or the middle of the 13th century, there is evidence of a sizeable Chinese trading settlement in Periyapattinam, the ancient Pandya port city on the eastern side of the Gulf of Mannar, where a pagoda was built in 1267 bearing Chinese inscriptions.[23] In the same period, a diasporic community of Tamil merchants settled in Quanzhou, where they constructed a temple dedicated to Shiva. This temple was excavated just over a decade ago by Chinese archaeologists.[24] Likewise, on the south-western Malabar Coast, Kollam served as an important harbour for Chinese ships en route to the Persian Gulf; ceramic shards excavated along the coasts of southern India and Sri Lanka testify to the existence of medieval emporia frequented by Chinese traders.[25] Under Kublai Khan (r. 1260–1294) in the Yuan period, profiting from improved nautical technology, as many as fourteen political embassies are reported to have sailed from the South China Sea to South Indian regents (of Malabar on the east, and Kollam on the west coast) in the years 1279–1293.[26] None other than Marco Polo is purported to have accompanied one of these embassies on an arduous maritime expedition across the Malayan archipelago to South India, *entre mers—outre-mer*, on his return voyage via Persia to the Mediterranean.[27] Five decades later, another well-known transmarine agent deserves to be mentioned, for his pelagic travels underscore the

details about the transformation, see Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade. The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400*, Honolulu 2003.

22   Roderich Ptak, *Die chinesische maritime Expansion im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Bamberg 1992.

23   Adam T. Kessler, *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road*, Leiden 2012, 460–461, citing the archaeological findings at Periyapattinam initiated by Noboru Karashima and Yellava Subbarayalu where blue and white porcelain shards dating from the Yuan period were excavated; the Chinese pagoda constructed in 1267, as reported by the Chinese traveller Wang Dayuan is incorrectly interpreted as being located in Nagapattinam by Sen, Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade (cf. n. 21), 237.

24   John Guy, Tamil Merchant Guilds and the Quanzhou Trade, in: *The Emporium of the World. Maritime Quanzhou, 1000–1400*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer, Leiden 2000, 283–308; religious relics found recently were reported about in the Indian press: Ananth Krishnan, Behind China's Hindu Temples, A Forgotten History, in: *The Hindu*, July 20, 2013, http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/behind-chinas-hindu-temples-a-forgotten-history/article4932458.ece (accessed 21 July 2016).

25   Noboru Karashima (ed.), *In Search of Chinese Ceramic-Sherds in South India and Sri Lanka*, Tokyo 2004; see also the collection of papers in Roderich Ptak, *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200–1750)*, Aldershot 1998.

26   See Tansen Sen, The Yuan Khanate and India: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, in: *Asia Major* 3rd Series 19/1–2 (2006), 299–326.

distinct contribution of Indo-Mediterranean connectivity: the Moroccan Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1368 or 1377),[28] *nota bene* originating from the Mediterranean port of Tangier, as a somewhat reluctant emissary of the Delhi Sultan, Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1324–1351) to the Mongol court, travelled south and eastward.[29] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla*, perhaps a more reliable source than Polo's *Il Milione*, contains a wealth of details about the Sino-Indian trade and the cosmopolitan world of the many Indian Ocean port cities he visited en route.[30]

Another half century later, however, it was the Ming Admiral Zheng He's seven expeditions from 1405–1433 to Indian littoral potentates, especially to Calicut, Cochin, Kollam (but also three to Bengal),[31] that highlight the significance of Sino-Indian diplomacy and cultural exchange, seemingly superseding the importance of commercial trade.[32] Extant woodcut illustrations scarcely give an idea of the dimension of these fleets which are reported to have comprised 250 to 300 huge ships, supposedly measuring about 400 feet in length and 200 feet in width.[33] However, what is of greater relevance for our study of Sino-Indian cultural interaction is the composition of the crew, estimated at

27   Marco Polo, *Il milione. Die Wunder der Welt*, ed. Elise Guignard, Zürich 1983; for references to Kublai Khan's nautical technology, see Hans van Tilburg, Chinese Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology: Where Have All the Ships Gone? in: *Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology* 18/2 (1994), 7–10.

28   Joseph Cuoq (ed.), *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique Occidentale du VIIIᵉ au XVIᵉ siècle: Bilad Al-Sudan*, Paris 1975, 289.

29   Stephan Conermann, *Die Beschreibung Indiens in der „Riḥla" des Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa. Aspekte einer herrschaftssoziologischen Einordnung des Delhi-Sultanates unter Muḥammad Ibn-Tuġluq*, Berlin 1993.

30   For instance, the *Riḥla* contains a classification of maritime vessels off the western coast of India, see Dionisius A. Agius, Classifying Vessel-Types in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Riḥla, in: *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, ed. David Parkin, London 2002, 174–208.

31   Roderich Ptak, China and Calicut in the Early Ming Period: Envoys and Tribute Embassies, in: *China and the Asian Seas. Trade, Travel, and Visions of the Others (1400–1750)*, ed. Roderich Ptak, Brookfield 1998, 81–111; Haraprasad Ray, *Trade and Diplomacy in India-China Relations: A Study of Bengal during the 15th Century*, New Delhi 1993.

32   Robert Finlay, The Voyages of Zheng He: Ideology, State Power, and Maritime Trade in Ming China, in: *Journal of the Historical Society* 8 (2008), 327–347; Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He. China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405–1433*, New York 2007.

33   There is an ongoing debate about the actual size of the ships, see Sally K. Church, John C. Gebhardt, and Terry H. Little, A Naval Architectural Analysis of the Plausibility of 450–ft Treasure Ships, in: *Zheng He and the Afro-Asian World*, ed. Chia Lin Sien and Sally K. Church, Melaka 2012, 14–46; iidem, The Colossal Ships of Zheng He: Image or Reality?, in: *Zheng He: Images & Perceptions/Bilder & Wahrnehmungen*, ed. Claudine Salmon and Roderich Ptak, Wiesbaden 2005, 155–176.

numbering 20,000 to 30,000 men, who included not only sailors and nautical experts but also specialists belonging to a whole range of cultural and scientific fields, such as interpreters, physicians, herbalists, and astronomers.[34]

After the 1450s in the wake of Chinese withdrawal from this long-distance maritime enterprise,[35] Indians (both Muslims and Hindus), reinforced by Christian Armenians, Venetians, Jews, Southeast Asians and Arabs not only kept alive the commercial and cultural Indo-Mediterranean connectivity but even contributed to an upsurge in maritime activity.[36] The continuing maritime dynamism of the late 15th century paved the way for the fourth dimension, namely the penetration of European commerce initiated by the Portuguese[37] who endeavoured to latch onto the highly lucrative spice trade as well as the Chinese trade in copper, silk and porcelain. From the 1560s, via the Portuguese base in Macao and from their first Asian foothold in the island port city of Goa,[38] intra-Asian connectivity became redefined to a greater or lesser degree by the Lusitanian newcomers,[39] and in quick succession, by the Dutch, British and the French, with Asian port-cities soon metamorphosing into European bridgeheads.[40] Yet not only did the Europeans have to accommodate themselves to pre-existing mercantile structures (thereby conspicuously resorting to

34 Wan Ming, Reflections on the Study of Zheng He's Expeditions, in: *Ming Studies* 2004/1, 17–33.

35 The reasons for the Chinese withdrawal from intensive maritime activity are elucidated by Haraprasad Ray, The Eighth Voyage of the Dragon that Never was: An Enquiry into the Causes of Cessation of Voyages during Early Ming Dynasty, in: *China Report* 23/2 (1987), 157–178.

36 Roxani E. Margariti, Mercantile Networks, Port Cities, and 'Pirate' States: Conflict and Competition in the Indian Ocean World of Trade before the Sixteenth Century, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51 (2008), 543–577.

37 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, The Birth-Pangs of Portuguese Asia: Revisiting the Fateful 'Long Decade' 1498–1509, in: *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007), 261–280.

38 Pius Malekandathil, City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-City of Goa, 1510–1700, in: *Studies in History* 25 (2009), 13–38.

39 Kirti N. Chaudhuri, The Portuguese Maritime Empire, Trade, and Society in the Indian Ocean during the Sixteenth Century, in: *Portuguese Studies* 8 (1992), 57–70.

40 For studies on the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean see Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (ed.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean, and European Bridgeheads, 1500–1800. Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, Lisbon 2001; on the Dutch: Om Prakash, *On the Economic Encounter between Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*, Farnham 2014; on the British: Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660–1760*, Cambridge 1978; on the French: Donald C. Wellington, *French East India Companies. A Historical Account and Record of Trade*, Lanham 2006; for a panoramic study, Frank Broeze (ed.), *Gateways of Asia: Port Cities of Asia in the 13th-20th Centuries*, London 1997.

piracy),[41] but also Asian and Arab trans-regional networks, as competing 'partners', testified to their resilience by adapting themselves to the new challenges in this "Age of Contained Conflict" attempting to transform it into one of "Perceived Mutual Advantage."[42]

This is the lie of the land which has been mapped out at least partially by previous scholarship.[43] In particular, the pioneering work of Tansen Sen cartographically indicates the location of some historical port cities around 1000, whose dynamic rise and decline, however, needs to be charted out more extensively for the subsequent period of eight centuries. The importance of port cities needs to be highlighted as constituting spatial transit zones connecting the hinterland and the oceanic expanse. Representing, as they did, crystallisation points of economic, political and socio-cultural developments, in tracking the growth (and/or disappearance) of port cities, we would be able to provide crucial windows into the past of the Indian Ocean region.[44]

41 For debates on the topic of piracy see Michael Pearson, Piracy in Asian Waters: Problems of Definition, in: *Pirates, Ports, and Coasts in Asia. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer, Singapore 2010, 15–29; see also Patricia Risso, Cross-Cultural Perceptions of Piracy: Maritime Violence in the Western Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf Region during a Long Eighteenth Century, in: *Journal of World History* 12 (2001), 293–319; for Asian empirical data, see Pius Malekandathil, Criminality and Legitimization in Seawaters: A Study on the Pirates of Malabar during the Age of European Commercial Expansion (1500–1800), in: *Fluxos & Riscos. Revista de Estudos Sociais* 1 (2011), 55–74; Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India. Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Delhi 2010, 125–150.

42 The term "Age of Partnership" was first coined by Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600–1800*, Minneapolis 1976; "Age of Commerce" by Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680*, 2 vols., New Haven 1988–1993 and Kenneth McPherson, Indian Ocean (cf. n. 10); "Age of Contained Conflict" by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700. A Political and Economic History*, London 1993; "Perceived Mutual Advantage" by Om Prakash, *On the Economic Encounter between Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*, Farnham 2014.

43 In particular, see the studies of Sen, Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade (cf. n. 21), Ptak, Die chinesische maritime Expansion (cf. n. 22), Ptak, China's Seaborne Trade (cf. n. 25), Ptak, Die maritime Seidenstraße (cf. n. 18) and McPherson, Indian Ocean (cf. n. 10).

44 For an initial overview see Rila Mukherjee (ed.), *Vanguards of Globalization. Port-Cities from the Classical to the Modern*, Delhi 2014.

A Case-Study of Sino-Indian Maritime Interaction (13th–15th centuries): Documentary Sources

Whilst using the already mentioned extended time-frame (1000–1800) as a parameter of reference, the primary objective is directed towards filling in the lacuna in our knowledge of medieval India and its intra-Asian links.[45] With this goal in mind, a paradigmatic case-study will be conducted of the extensive Indo-Chinese interaction in the littoral regions surrounding the Bay of Bengal with its dense patchwork of havens,[46] extending into the Malayan Archipelago *entre mers*, and including the Coromandel and south-western Malabar Coast, *terre entre mers,* so-to-speak. It is this Sino-Indian maritime connectivity (from the early 13th to early 15th centuries) which, especially during the Yuan (1271–1294) and early Ming periods (in particular, during the reign of Yongle, the third emperor, 1402–1424), after the decline of longstanding Buddhist interaction, needs to be investigated from the perspective not only of political and economic determinants (given the dynamic diplomacy and trade) but also in view of cultural impinging factors. In particular, the rationale for the Ming expeditions and the heuristic insights to be gained about Sino-Indian historical interactions is what primarily interests me.[47] Fortunately, a vast archive of Chinese source material has already been collated which comprises detailed ethnographies that considerably supplement the existing historiographical tableau.[48]

One exemplary specimen of this systematic historical documentation would be the early 13th-century extensive report by Zhao Rugua (1170–1228), a

[45] For preliminary studies on intra-Asian links in the medieval period see Amita Satyal, Making Culture Portable: Silk Road Merchants and Monks as a Bridge between Indian and East Asian Buddhism, in: *Buddhism in East Asia. Aspects of History's First Universal Religion Presented in the Modern Context*, ed. Anita Sharma, Delhi 2012, 18–52; Hermann Kulke, Indian Colonies, Indianization or Cultural Convergence, in: *Onderzoek in Zuidoost-Azië. Agenda's voor de Jaren Negentig*, ed. Henk Schulte Nordholt, Leiden 1990; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Iranians Abroad: Intra-Asian Elite Migration and Early Modern State Formation, in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (1992), 340–363. My research focus must perforce be somewhat restricted, defined primarily by South Asian empirical contingencies.

[46] See Rila Mukherjee, *Pelagic Passageways. The Northern Bay of Bengal before Colonialism*, Delhi 2011; Haraprasad Ray, *Trade and Diplomacy in India-China Relations: A Study of Bengal during the Fifteenth Century*, New Delhi 1993.

[47] For pioneering research in this field see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 1: *Introductory Orientations: Sect. 1–7*, Cambridge 1954, 206–214.

[48] My focus converges fortuitously with ongoing research at the Indian Ocean World Centre in Montreal, in particular with the team dealing with the Zheng He voyages (URL: http://indianoceanworldcentre.com/Team_4 [accessed 21 July 2016]).

customs inspector at Quanzhou during the late Song dynasty, containing meticulous data on weights, measures, and even about revenue systems operating in maritime India (especially in the Tamil region and in Gujarat). Entitled *Zhufan Zhi* (1225), literally "Records of Foreign Peoples", and comprising two volumes, the work also contains data (partially culled from other available reports) on the vast geographic region extending from East Asia, Southeast Asia, littoral South Asia, East and North Africa, and across the Islamic world as far as the southern Iberian Peninsula.[49] A century later, Wang Dayuan (1311–1350), a traveller during the Yuan dynasty,[50] furnished an ethnographic account of his visit (1328–1333) to Bengal, Orissa, both coasts of South India, Gujarat and Sri Lanka. A third report, the most detailed of the three, was penned by Ma Huan (ca. 1380–1460), Admiral Zheng He's interpreter, conversant in Arabic and Persian, who accompanied him on three of the seven expeditions (namely in 1413, 1421 and 1431); the completed encyclopaedic work dating from 1433, entitled *Yingyai Shenglan* ("The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores"), has undergone multiple re-editions into the 20th century.[51] From a reading of J. V. G. Mills' translation of the 1433 supposed Urtext,[52] one obtains encyclopaedic data relating to maritime India, with graphic information about political constellations, commerce and the social economy, local customs, weather conditions and the environment. Moreover, since the Ming admiral visited Calicut and Cochin on almost all his expeditions, often sojourning for several months, with the Samudrin[53] and/or the Raja of Cochin[54] vying to host him, the descriptions of both Calicut and Cochin (including insights into their relationship of mutual rivalry) are correspondingly extensive. Preliminary reading of this historical

49 For an analysis of data relating to one region see Sally K. Church, Gujarat in a 13th Century Chinese Source: Zhao Rugua's Chapter on Gujarat in Zhu Fan Zhi, in: *Gujarat and the Sea*, ed. Lotika Varadarajan, Vadodara 2011, 353–384; for more general evaluations see Karam Tej Singh Sarao, An Evaluation of Faxian, Xuanzang, Yijing, Hye Ch'o and Zhao Rugua as Sources for the Study of the Decline of Buddhism in India, in: *Buddhism in East Asia. Aspects of History's First Universal Religion Presented in the Modern Context,* ed. Anita Sharma, Delhi 2012, 140–158; Suchandra Ghosh, South-East Asia and the Eastern Sea Board of India through the Lens of Zhao Rugua, in: *Convergence. Rethinking India's Past*, ed. Radhika Seshan, Delhi 2014, 41–54.

50 As renowned an 'agent' for China as Marco Polo is for Europe see an initial paper evaluating Wang Dayuan's report on Southwest India by Roderich Ptak, Wang Dayuan on Kerala, in: *Explorations in the History of South Asia. Essays in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund*, ed. Georg Berkemer, New Delhi 2001, 39–52.

51 A textual comparison of these differing editions would in itself be quite revealing, and should be supplemented by an analysis of the reports regarding the other four expeditions which as yet have received little scholarly attention.

52 Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]*, trans. and ed. J. V. G. Mills, Cambridge 1970.

documentation reveals precise information not just about religious practices but also about matrilineal inheritance, specific techniques of calculation, the multiple uses of the coconut, and even references to methods of punishment for criminals. An interdisciplinary analysis of these meticulous specifications remains an important research desideratum for gaining cardinal insights into the functioning of late medieval Malabar society.

Supplementing these Chinese reports is Indian inscriptional material, originating primarily from the eastern littoral, such as the Motupalli inscriptions (dating from the middle of 13th to the late 14th century) honouring the 500 heroes of Coromandel, i.e. the Tamil merchants trading with China and Southeast Asia.[55] For the littoral regions of the Northern Bay of Bengal as well as the Malabar Coast, archaeological excavations are underway.[56] Vernacular sources from the 14th-16th centuries, such as the *Manasamangal* and the *Chandimangal*[57] which contain ethno-historiographical narratives of maritime journeys by Bengali traders, reveal not only empirical data about the sea routes, ships and commodities traded but also help to mitigate the clichéd view that sea-travel was taboo for Indians.[58] Not only will preconceived notions of the paucity of

[53] Literally meaning "lord of the sea", also termed 'Zamorin'; K. V. Krishna Iyyer, *The Zamorins of Calicut: From the Earliest Times down to AD 1806*, Calicut 1938.

[54] For details about the political rivalry between the two see Alappat Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History,* Kottayam 1967, 170–172.

[55] Noboru Karashima, South Indian Merchant Guilds in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia, in: *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa. Reflections on Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia*, ed. Hermann Kulke, Singapore 2009, 135–157.

[56] Rila Mukherjee, *The Northern Bay of Bengal, 800–1500 C.E.: A History apart?,* New Delhi 2013. For the Malabar Coast, Himanshu Prabha Ray, The West Coast of India and the Maritime World of the Western Indian Ocean, in: *African Archaeological Review* 31 (2014), 583–598; see also the exhibition in Pattanam, Kerala "Unearthing Pattanam: Histories, Cultures, Crossings" hosted by the National Museum, Delhi with the Kerala Council for Historical Research, URL: http://www.nationalmuseumindia.gov.in/pdfs/Pattanam-Exhibition.pdf (accessed 21 July 2016).

[57] On the *Mangalkabyas,* including *Chandimangal,* see Asutosh Bhattacharyya (trans.), *Bangla Mangalkabyer Itihas*, Calcutta 2009 [1939]; these popular medieval religious texts also contain empirical data about maritime trade, for instance about the merchant Chand Sadagar and his ship's voyage starting from Saptagrama [Satgaon], medieval capital in southern Bengal, see Aniruddha Ray, The Rise and Fall of Satgaon. An Overseas Port of Medieval Bengal, in: *The Indian Trade at the Asian Frontier*, ed. S. Jeyaseela Stephen, New Delhi 2008, 69–101; references are found in these narratives to ports of the eastern coast, Sri Lanka, and in the west, of Gujarat [the medieval port of Patan] and the Laccadives, see Priyatosh Sharma, Identifying the Chief Trading Emporiums in Indian Ocean Maritime Trade, c.1000–c.1500, in: *Researchers World: Journal of Arts, Science & Commerce* 5/2 (2014), 131–142.

Indian maritime traditions be deconstructed through interdisciplinary research into the above-mentioned material (archaeological and historical, of both the ethno- as well as the endo-historical variety) but the significant role played by littoral communities in the history of the subcontinent will also be underscored.

Conceptual Modes and Explorations

Furthermore, to gauge the historical significance of this Sino-Indian connectivity—also with a view to tracking and assessing continuities and subsequent transformations—, I would suggest focussing on a set of crucial issues, as conceptual *modes*, to gain epistemic insights from a study of this paradigm of intra-Asian interaction extending over two centuries. Key elements of the envisaged analysis can be elucidated briefly as follows: given the central role of political diplomacy, which seems to have superseded in importance that of commerce, it would be salient to delineate the shifts in the enactment of political sovereignty (as a layered and shared concept)[59] as exemplified in the Sino-Indian tributary missions.[60] On the basis of the extant records meticulously detailing the several diplomatic missions to South Indian potentates as well as to the Sultanate of Bengal, a rigorous analysis would be undertaken of the modalities with which the discursive claims of political sovereignty were mutually negotiated for

[58] Exemplified by the term kalapani ('black water'); for an Indological contribution to the colonial discourse on this topic see Susmita Arp, *Kālāpāni: Zum Streit über die Zulässigkeit von Seereisen im kolonialzeitlichen Indien*, Stuttgart 2000; that this taboo was not all-pervasive throughout Indian society is evidenced by the empirical data on the long-standing seafaring traditions of the littoral communities.

[59] For innovative studies on the South Asian concept and practice of sovereignty see the contributions in Georg Berkemer and Margret Frenz (ed.), *Sharing Sovereignty: The Little Kingdom in South Asia*, Berlin 2003; Tiziana Pontillo, Cristina Bignami, Moreno Dore et al. (ed.), *The Volatile World of Sovereignty: The Vrātya Problem and Kingship in South Asia*, New Delhi 2015.

[60] The shifting perspective of the Chinese during the early Ming period is dealt with in an initial study by Sally K. Church, Changing Attitudes toward Foreigners from Overseas: An Investigation into the Policy of the Ming Emperor Yongle, 1403–1424, in: *Nanyang Xuebao (Journal of the South Seas Society)* 56 (2012), 43–73. Chinese diplomatic missions, for instance to the Malabar Coast, also involved return visits by Malayali officials to the Ming court at Nanjing where they were lavishly entertained, and even integrated into the Ming establishment, as was the case with an official from the Samudrin of Calicut, who accompanied Zheng He back to Quanzhou and then to Nanjing where he was employed as a judge, and awarded the military rank of vice-battalion commander by emperor Xuande, and given the Chinese name Sha Ban.

ordering power relations between the different parties. An empirically grounded and conceptually defined study would contribute towards a more differentiated understanding of sovereignty as a negotiable relationship between constituting and constituted power.[61] Despite obvious differences in pre-modern Sino-Indian political configurations, there seem to be indications of a shared axiomatic basis—or at least of a certain degree of political philosophical affinity —, as evidenced (to cite just one example) in the inherent congruity between the Chinese concept of *Da Yi Tong*, or unified empire as compared with the Indian notion of *Chakravartin*[62] implying a symbolic all-encompassing sovereignty, albeit articulated in a ritualized mode.

Another important task would be to investigate how the transcultural networks were organised.[63] In this connection, the role and status of the 'agents' would be ascertained, together with the manner in which mercantile, cultural and social factors were defined to facilitate the networks' extension across the fluid and porous (rather than fixed and closed) boundaries of cultures, societies and states. Besides examining the sociological anatomy of these networks, the mechanisms bolstering their resilience and adaptability to the changing morphology and strategic orientation of Indian Ocean trade require closer investigation. Part and parcel of these resilient networks were the widespread dynamic diasporic communities (with their multifarious ethnic, occupational and religious identities).[64] It will be shown that the differing extent to which these diasporic communities were integrated into the local societies (whereby

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61 This historical Asian perspective would substantially supplement recent studies in this field, such as by Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*, Princeton 2001.

62 Signifying the ancient Indian conception of a world ruler, the term literally means 'the one who turns the (cosmic) wheel'.

63 For theoretical considerations concerning network formation, in particular for the later period, see Bhaswati Bhattacharya, Gita Dharampal-Frick, and Jos Gommans, Spatial and Temporal Continuities of Merchant Networks in South Asia and the Indian Ocean (1500–2000), in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50 (2007), 91–105, where a concise definition of network is given, as "a structure [consisting of a centre, a locality, or a cluster of localities] through which goods, credit, capital and men circulate regularly across a given space which can vary enormously in terms of both size and accessibility" citing Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750– 1947. Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*, Cambridge 2000, 25; this approach would also take a cue from studies for the earlier period of which two pertinent titles are: Kenneth R. Hall, Ports-of-Trade, Maritime Diasporas, and Networks of Trade and Cultural Integration in the Bay of Bengal Region of the Indian Ocean: c. 1300–1500, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010), 109–145; Himanshu Prabha Ray and Edward A. Alpers (ed.), *Cross Currents and Community Networks: The History of the Indian Ocean World*, New Delhi 2007.

some migrants even participated in public administration and were involved in revenue collection in their host societies)[65] contributed significantly to the flourishing maritime economy. Investigating how the socio-economic status and the political role of diasporic Chinese, Indian, Persian and Arab communities were differentially negotiated with indigenous rulers and traders would enable us not only to better understand the functioning of the cosmopolitan Indian Ocean oecumene but also shed light on the shifting configurations of power existing between merchants (whereby the distinction between 'foreign' and 'indigenous' ones was fuzzy, to say the least) and political authorities.

An equally important focus of investigation in this maritime expanse would be on the flow and exchange of 'cargoes'[66] whereby the hitherto emphasis on economic commodities will be superseded by a radical shift to more culturally orientated cargoes, representing substantial intellectual and symbolic capital. Underscoring this latter feature, a curious illustration of the symbolic value of 'cargo' in the Indo-Chinese missions is exemplified by the emblematic presentation of a giraffe by the Sultan of Bengal to the Ming court in 1414:[67] a methodological analysis of the political and socio-cultural ramifications of this exotic ceremonial prestation by Saif al-Dīn Hamza Shāh (1411–1413), upstart incumbent of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty (1342–1487), could also provide compelling insights into the intricate mechanisms defining the Sino-Indian tributary system.[68]

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64 See the following studies indicative of the existing pluri-religious spectrum: John W. Chaffee, Diasporic Identities in the Historical Development of the Maritime Muslim Communities of Song-Yuan China, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 49* (2006), 395–420; *Jewish Diasporas in China. Comparative and Historical Perspectives: A Three-Day Scholarly Symposium Sponsored by the John K. Fairbank Centre for East Asian Research*, Harvard University, Cambridge, Cambridge, Mass. 1992; Malekandathil, Maritime India (cf. n. 41), 38–61; Hugh R. Clark, Maritime Diasporas in Asia before da Gama: An Introductory Commentary, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 49* (2006), 385–394.

65 For details see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India*, Delhi 1990; the extent to which the formation of mercantile diasporas were relatively long-term or fluctuating will be investigated for South Asia, as has been underscored for Southeast Asia by contributions in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ed. Anthony Reid, St. Leonards, NSW 1996.

66 Auguste Toussaint, Cargoes of the East. The Ports, Trade and Culture of the Arabian Seas and Western Indian Ocean, in: *The Great Circle* 2/2 (1980), 142–143.

67 The giraffe itself originated from Somalia, see Sally K. Church, The Giraffe of Bengal: A Medieval Encounter in Ming China, in: *The Medieval History Journal* 7 (2004), 1–37.

68 For a conventional American appraisal of the so-called tributary system, see John K. Fairbank, Tributary Trade and China's Relations with the West, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 1 (1942), 129–149. For more recent Chinese perspectives, see Fangyin Zhou,

More significantly, given the sizeable crew of specialists (as mentioned previously) accompanying the Ming expeditions, the Sino-Indian transfer and exchange of cultural capital extended across a wide spectrum, including technological and scientific concerns, such as in the adaptation of technologies in shipbuilding, in agriculture, the mutual borrowing of mathematical and astronomical knowledge, of medical practices—between Chinese and Indian (*Siddha* and *Ayurveda)* medicine, of which we have concrete evidence, as also of linguistic research in the form of a Bengali-Chinese lexicon, compiled in the wake of the Ming nautical missions.[69] Mutual borrowings or shifts in the iconographies of religion, ritual practices and philosophical beliefs would also be worth investigating.[70] The results of such research could possibly complement and supplement Sheldon Pollock's large-scale project[71] which set out to investigate the upsurge in creativity and innovation in Indian literary and philosophical production during the Early Modern Period (1550–1750): in our proposed research, however, we would contrastively underscore that, already in the preceding centuries, a socio-cultural and scientific dynamism not only extended to most spheres of societal concerns, not being restricted to the domains of literature and philosophy (as in the case of Pollock's project), but also that this productive dynamism may well have been initiated and stimulated by the dialogic and contesting spaces in this intra-Asian interaction.

The Sequel

With a view to evaluating the developments towards the end of the 15th century, a radically different set of significant questions is raised by the entry of

Equilibrium Analysis of the Tributary System, in: *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 4 (2011), 147–178, and Nianshen Song, 'Tributary' from a Multilateral and Multi-layered Perspective, in: *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5 (2012), 155–182.

69 Mukherjee, Pelagic Passageways (cf. n. 46), 84, footnote 392, with reference to Sen, Formation of Chinese Maritime Networks to Southern Asia (cf. n. 18), 442–443.

70 For influences originating from the Indian subcontinent see Upinder Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India from the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, Delhi 2008, 303–319 (Buddhism and Jainism), 429–445 (Religion beyond "isms") and 616–621 (South Indian Bhakti); for concrete examples of Chinese borrowings, see Roderich Ptak, China and the Asian Seas (cf. n. 31).

71 See the website link: URL: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pollock/sks/papers/index.html (accessed 21 July 2016), where the project is introduced as follows: "The Sanskrit Knowledge-Systems Project investigates the structure and social context of Sanskrit science and knowledge from 1550 to 1750. The period witnessed a flowering of scholarship lasting until the coming of colonialism, when a decline set in that ended the age-old power of Sanskrit thought to shape Indian intellectual history."

Europeans (the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and the French) into the Afro-Asian Ocean world.[72] This relates to missionary as well as commercial activity; quite tellingly, the missionary activity of the Jesuit Francis Xavier[73] (1506–1552) followed more or less the same maritime lanes marked out by the spice routes, thereby testifying to the interwoven nature of proselytization, trade, and subsequent colonial military control. What needs to be investigated with regard to the period from 1500 until ca. 1800 is how European ideas of state sovereignty, mercantilism, the military-fiscal nexus, and also ethnic-racial difference were mapped into the pre-existing patterns of resolving material and ideological tensions.[74] To what extent did older forms of exchange and networking prove to be resilient, even in a changed scenario?[75] The gradual transformation was concretized in the metamorphosis of port cities, from havens with bustling bazaars, to ones with fortresses, indicative of increased administrative and military control.[76] Beginning more unobtrusively in the shape of forts like the one built in Calicut by the Portuguese in 1513, somewhat camouflaged by the surrounding littoral habitations, the transmogrification became much more intrusive during the course of the 17th century when new fort cities were established by the British East India Company. Serving as militarized colonial bridgeheads, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, through their strategic location at focal manufacturing sites, represented the three cardinal points on the subcontinent's coast-line; and within a century all three became upgraded to the status of headquarters of the three Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, constituting the mainstay of the British Raj.[77] The developing narrative in China is substantially different, but the radical transfiguration of strategically located port cities (such as of Quanzhou to Canton) is indicative of a

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72 For an overview see Michael N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, London 2003, 113–189.

73 Pamila Gupta, *The Relic State. St Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India*, Manchester 2014.

74 For useful insights into the maritime transformations see the article by Craig A. Lockard, "The Sea Common to All": Maritime Frontiers, Port Cities, and Chinese Traders in the Southeast Asian Age of Commerce, ca. 1400–1750, in: *Journal of World History* 21 (2010), 219–247.

75 A case-study of changes taking place in south-western India is provided by Malekandathil, Maritime India (cf. n. 41), 82–108.

76 For the Dutch colonial perspective see the informative article by Markus Vink, From Port-City to World-System: Spatial Constructs of Dutch Indian Ocean Studies, 1500–1800, in: *Itinerario* 28/2 (2004), 45–116.

77 See the canonical study by Peter J. Marshall, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead. Eastern India 1740–1828*, Cambridge 1987; for a more recent appraisal of the colonial Presidency see Benjamin B. Cohen, Introducing Colonial Regionalism: The Case of India's Presidencies, the View from Madras, in: *India Review* 13 (2014), 321–336.

story-in-the-making, whose continuities and transformations across eight centuries between centers and peripheries in the pelagic patchwork quilt of the Indo-Mediterranean sketched out very briefly here deserve a more intensive research focus which will highlight the processes of shifting hierarchies and asymmetries in this expansive maritime region.[78]

Summa summarum: the proposed focus on Sino-Indian maritime interaction (ca. 1200–1430), besides filling a crucial lacuna in late medieval Indian historical research (facilitated by an interdisciplinary team of scholars),[79] would also be pertinent for gaining a better understanding of the historical genealogies of Asian economic and geopolitical developments in the 21st century.[80] Furthermore, whilst acknowledging that the present-day political economies and cultural configurations of this maritime region are largely a legacy of the massive shifts in regimes of political-economic governance and ethnic-cultural organization initiated in the age of European empires, analytical research into the prehistory of this age possesses more than mere academic value. By investigating the conceptual modes and mechanisms involved not only in negotiating political sovereignty, but also in managing far-flung socio-economic networks of diasporic communities, we should be able to gain insights into the modus vivendi in these extensive littoral regions, *entre mers—outre mer*, before the high tide of colonial dominance. These insights could also serve as heuristic tools to better facilitate and promote transcultural and transnational interaction in the 21st century.

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78   The rise and fall of port cities could be exemplified in a three-dimensional historical cartography (century-wise or even decade-wise) to concretize the continuities and transformations, to be pursued preferably in cooperation with the largescale project "The Indian Ocean Littoral: Cartography and Port Cities" (URL: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/indianocean/modules/group5/home05.html [accessed 21 July 2016]) initiated by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) at the University of Pennsylvania; hereby the role of Indian Ocean port cities as principle sites of social, economic, and cultural interaction during the period 1000–1800 would be examined.

79   The envisaged interdisciplinary research team would comprise primarily historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, philologists (of Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam, as well as of Persian and Arabic) and above all sinologists.

80   In particular, this historical research could give a welcome fillip to India's Look East Policy and China's Kunming-Initiative evolving into the BCIM [= Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar] Forum for Regional Cooperation.

Ranabir Chakravarti

Two Men of Boats: ʿAlī b. Manṣūr al-Fawfalī and PDYR—Gleanings from the Cairo Geniza

Abstract. Primarily oriented to an analysis of the Cairo Geniza documents of the Jewish 'India traders' (1000–1300 CE), this essay takes a close look at two ship-owning merchants, namely Ali b. Mansur Fawfali and PDYR (pronounced as Fidyar), who in the 1130s and 1140s participated in the flourishing maritime network in the western Indian Ocean. Both these ship-owning merchants operated from the western sea-board of India, especially the Malabar coast, and maintained regular linkages with the Red Sea ports, particularly Aden. The relevant Geniza letters mentioning these two shipowners, have been compared with nearly contemporary Indic sources. This essay argues that it was possible for traders who primarily dealt in agrarian/plant products to own ships or make investments in shipping; it also underlines the close ties between maritime networks and administrators in the coastal society of India at that time.

I

The title of this paper evidently draws upon the inimitable Jerome K. Jerome's novel of 1883.[1] However, beyond that, the title and the contents of the paper, primarily oriented to an analysis of the Cairo geniza documents (1000–1300 CE) of Jewish merchants, take the cue from Miller's outstanding historiographical piece on two premier maritime historians of the twentieth century, viz. S.D. Goitein and Fernand Braudel.[2] He has masterly unraveled before us the Braudel-Goitein correspondence in which two of the greatest 20th century his-

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1   Jerome K. Jerome, *Three Men on a Boat*, London 1999 (reprint).

2   Peter N. Miller, Two Men in a Boat: The Braudel-Goitein "Correspondence" and the Beginning of Thalassography, in: *The Sea: Thalassography and Historiography*, ed. Peter N. Miller, Michigan 2013, 27–60. I am thankful to Dr. Digvijay Kumar Singh for drawing my attention to this work. Miller's excellent readings of the Braudel-Goitein correspondence, however, mainly relate to the thalassographies of the Mediterranean largely because he viewed the Mediterranean as the common arena of the historical engagements of both Braudel and Goitein. How Goitein illuminated the Indian Ocean scenario

torians of the Mediterranean exchanged their ideas on incorporating the fascinating world of the seafaring Jewish merchants in the Indian Ocean zone. Both had life-long interests in the history of the Mediterranean on a megascopic scale, but with significant differences in their respective methodologies on approaching the past. One major point of difference between the two was that Goitein's primary scholarly interests had been in the study of the Jewish network in the Indian Ocean in the light of the geniza documents; he subsequently did shift the thrust of his research to the Mediterranean, though he continued to publish a few extremely significant papers on what he termed 'India trade'.

This essay does not deal with maritime historiography or offer a comparative analysis between these two masters of maritime history; its focus is on the Indian Ocean—or more precisely, on the South Asian maritime networks in the Indian Ocean trade during the first three centuries of the second millennium CE. The Indian Ocean maritime scenario during the first half of the second millennium is largely lit up by the letters of Jewish merchants, mostly from Egypt (Miṣr/Maṣr), who frequented the Indian Ocean to reach South Asia, in particular the ports on its western sea-board. Here the contributions of S.D. Goitein are monumental, though the impact of his studies on pre-1500 Indian Ocean history has been felt and recognized only recently. That is why a few words will be apt here—merely as a preliminary statement—on Goitein's enormous contributions to the Indian Ocean maritime history, though he is primarily noted as an authority on the Mediterranean thanks to his colossal study *A Mediterranean Society* (in six volumes). Goitein left indelible marks on the maritime history of the Indian Ocean by laying bare before us a remarkable archive of documents pertaining to Jewish merchants who regularly sailed from Egypt to the western sea-board of India through the Red Sea. The principal players in these letters and other documents from the Cairo geniza were the seafaring travellers/itinerant merchants to India, the Musāfirūn al-Hind, whom Goitein labeled as 'India traders'. Significantly enough, the classification, editing, translation and annotation of more than 450 geniza correspondences of these 'India traders' were the premier academic concern and project of Goitein, till perhaps the mid-1950s. Though he never wavered from his meticulous attention to the publication of this unique archival material on the Indian Ocean, Goitein gradually became engrossed in writing his celebrated six-volume *A Mediterranean Society* on the basis of the entire corpus of the Cairo geniza. He published five volumes of this magisterial work in his lifetime; the final and the sixth volume came out posthumously. In Goitein's own words, he had preferred to be off the

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with his seminal studies of the Cairo geniza, even when his principal thrust was on the Mediterranean, is virtually left out in Miller's analysis of the Braudel-Goitein correspondence.

Indian Ocean and on to the Mediterranean since the mid-1950s and thus the six-volume *A Mediterranean Society* turned into his academic priority. It was only with the publication of the 450 plus letters of India traders in 2008 (originally called the *India Book*) with English translations, intricate annotations and excellent introductory overviews—to which Goitein's collaborator and comrade, Mordechai Akiva Friedman made further brilliant contributions—that the Indian Ocean maritime history has been much more illuminated in recent years.

What is striking is that Fernand Braudel had a keen interest in Goitein's ground-breaking research on the 'India traders' and looked forward to a long-term collaboration between the two, especially the publication of letters of 'India traders'. Miller's investigations into the Goitein-Braudel correspondence have opened our eyes on how the letters of India traders almost became a part of the megascopic maritime history project planned by Braudel. However, the proposed book on India traders on the basis of the Cairo geniza did not take off, as Goitein independently proceeded to prepare his *A Mediterranean Society* by dissociating himself from Braudel's maritime history series. He put the publication of the 'India Book' on hold—something that did not see the light of the day during Goitein's lifetime—though he kept on continuously retouching his materials till the very end of his life.

The above historiographical narrative offers a rich background to our present endeavour. Miller's insightful analyses of the Braudel-Goitein correspondence may throw some light on the reasons of Goitein's eventual withdrawal from Braudel's project. Braudel emphasized the centrality of merchants for the making of the modern world. To capture some written words of merchants themselves was of extraordinary importance to him. Goitein wrote to Braudel:

> "I am a philologist and historian of Medieval Islam and Judaism, but will never write economic history. I regard it my duty to edit, to translate and explain as exactly and completely as possible these texts of the Cairo geniza. The conclusions to be drawn from them for the history of economy will be made by the scholars specializing in this field."[3]

Even when he reached some 'important conclusions' regarding the trade to India on the basis of the geniza papers, he considered these to be 'summaries of facts rather than abstractions made by a specialist'.[4] Interestingly enough, Goitein subsequently expressed his lesser involvement with writing economic history when he wrote the first volume of *A Mediterranean Society*, dealing with economic foundations. When he published a few samples of Jewish merchants'

3   Miller, Two Men in a Boat (cf. n. 2), 34–35.
4   Ibid., 35.

letters,[5] his preference for writing social history instead of economic history is evident from his introduction to this anthology. Engrossed in the study of the Mediterranean, Goitein viewed the participation of the Jewish India traders in the Indian Ocean merely as an extension of their primary involvement in the Mediterranean. For Mordechai Friedman, writing the Preface to Goitein's India Book, "the India trade was the backbone of the medieval international economy". This simple statement by Friedman gives centrality to the Indian Ocean in the long-distance commercial networks of that time.

II

These preliminary words, in the light of the emerging historiographical contours of Indian Ocean studies of the pre-modern times, have a bearing on our present endeavour which attempts to combine philological data with the history of commercial transactions. The immense possibilities of delving into philology for understanding the commercial and cultural profiles of the geniza letters have been driven home of late by Elizabeth Lambourn.[6] This 'combined method' of a different sort introduces the Indian textual and epigraphic materials to make some of the contents of letters of Jewish merchants more intelligible.[7] Needless to emphasize that the letters of the India traders are better grasped when read in conjunction with several contemporary Arabic and Persian texts on travel and geography.

Before situating the specific Jewish geniza letters in the context of the Indian Ocean trade, bearing particularly upon the western Indian Ocean and the western sea-board of India, our primary source material should be introduced at this juncture. Notwithstanding the stupendous importance of the scholarly works on the Cairo geniza, it is a highly specialized field attracting the attention of and interactions among a compact community of scholars, historians, linguists and textual experts alike. In terms of the history of trade in the subcontinent in the first half of the second millennium, the significance of the geniza documents has gained acceptance only in the recent past.

5 Shlomo Dov Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton 1973.

6 Elizabeth Lambourn, Borrowed Words in an Ocean of Objects: Geniza Sources and New Cultural Histories of the Indian Ocean, in: *Irreverent History for M.G.S. Naryanan*, ed. Kesavan Veluthat and Donald R. Davis Jr., New Delhi 2014, 1–29. My sincere thanks to Suchandra Ghosh for drawing my attention to this paper.

7 Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi, *Combined Methods in Indology and Other Writings*, collected and introduced by B.D. Chattopadhyaya, New Delhi 2004.

Recovered from a Jewish synagogue in Old Cairo (Egypt), these letters of 'India traders' also give us some quantifiable data on commerce, something rarely encountered in other genres of written sources of early Indian history and also on the pre-1500 Indian Ocean maritime history. According to the Jewish custom, any paper having the name of God written on it could not be destroyed, and therefore the discarded papers were deposited in the geniza of the synagogue. The geniza is actually a vast waste-paper basket. It is because these papers became useless to their writers, senders and recipients that they were deposited in the geniza: not because they were considered worth of preservation in an archive, but because they were no longer deemed relevant by their users. The 19th and 20th century scholarship transformed these thrown away documents into an invaluable archive. It is natural that these documents are primarily related to the trade in the Mediterranean zone, embracing Spain, North Africa, Egypt, Sicily and the Levant.[8] However, there are 459 letters of Jewish merchants who were involved in the maritime trade in the Indian Ocean and India itself. The recent publication of the collection of such letters in English translation offers immense possibilities in delving into the commercial world of the Indian Ocean and the significance of the subcontinent in this vast trade network.[9] The pioneering research by S. D. Goitein, the greatest authority on the geniza documents, and Mordechai Friedman and other scholars offers significant and new insights into the Indian Ocean situation. The most striking point here is that these letters bear the voice of merchants themselves; their various concerns bring to light the problems and prospects in their commercial ventures and speak of the exchange of information, so crucially linked with the transactions of commodities at distant places.[10] Many business letters also deal with partnerships among merchants, sometimes for a single specific venture

[8] The best account of life in the Cairo geniza documents is available in Shlomo Dov Goitein's monumental *A Mediterranean Society*, in six volumes, Berkeley 1967–1990. These volumes focus mainly on the Mediterranean situation, with occasional discussions on the Indian Ocean scenario. Some specimens of the business letters of India traders are also available in Goitein, Letters (cf. n. 5). Also see Shaul Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents*, Paris 1964. The overview of the collection of the documents and the making of the 'archive' is available in Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo*, London 2000.

[9] Shlomo D. Goitein and Mordechai Friedman, *India Traders of the Middle Ages: Documents from the Cairo Geniza ("India Book")*, Leiden 2008. This is the most important source for understanding the activities of the Jewish India traders. It is widely cited and used in this present essay. All references to our letters, unless stated otherwise, are from this source collection, abbreviated herein *India Book*.

[10] This is a rarity in the Indian Ocean situation. There are many stories of merchants' seafaring activities in Buddhist and Jaina literature and also in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*. However, it is difficult to find the actual activities of merchants from these stories.

and occasionally a sustained partnership. Partnerships were crucial in view of the tremendous risks and hazards for undertaking these long, perilous journeys often beset with uncertainties of profit. There also are many legal papers which were prepared when disputes took place; legal documents were also needed in case a merchant died in a far-away land or was lost out of sight. One may repeat here that these legal papers became part of the geniza when their specific purposes had become a concern of the past.

While many of the letters communicate official business matters, they also contain non-formal and personal aspects of communications among participating merchants.[11] This is particularly evident when a letter written in a formal style for business purposes also contained, usually at its end-section, information regarding gift items sent to the recipient. Sometimes personal frustrations of the sender of the letter during a long journey or unpleasant personal memories also found expression within an otherwise formal business letter.

A large number of the Jewish merchants hailed from Tunisia and reached Fusṭāṭ or Old Cairo, the political centre of the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt. From there the merchants opted for the voyages along the Red Sea from the Egyptian port of Qūṣ or ʿAidhāb, which could only be reached via overland journeys from Fusṭāṭ. A major hub of Jewish trading operations was Aden, a great port in Yemen and from Aden began the sea-borne journeys to the west coast of India, the ultimate destination of the Musāfirūn al-Hind. Of crucial importance is the maritime network in the Red Sea, the *bahr-i-kulzum* of the Arabic texts. The rise of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt in 965 CE swung the pendulum in

Another collection of seafaring tales is Buzurg ibn Shahriyār's *Kitāb ʿAjāʾib al-Hind*, transl. Grenville S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Book of the Wonders of India: Mainland, Sea and Islands*, London 1980. In the vast Arabic and Persian literature on geography, some information on seafaring is also available. See for example, S. Maqbul Ahmed (transl.), *India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq fiʾkhtirāq al-ʾāfāq*, Leiden 1960 (al-Idrīsī); S. Maqbul Ahmed (transl.), *Arabic Classical Accounts of India and China*, Shimla 1989. The celebrated travel accounts of Marco Polo (Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols., 3. ed., New York 1926), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Travels in Asia and Africa 1325–1354*, transl. Hamilton A.R. Gibb, London 1929) are also important sources on individuals crossing the sea. The concrete epigraphic evidence of various Tamil merchants' groups, especially the Ainnūrruvar, venturing to Sri Lanka, maritime Southeast Asia and also China reveals the actual seafaring by individuals and groups of merchants. See Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic Sherds*, Tokyo 2002; also Ranabir Chakravarti, An Enchanting Seascape: Through an Epigraphic Lens, in: *Studies in History* 20 (2004), 305–315.

11   Abraham L. Udovitch, Formalism and Informalism in the Social and Economic Institutions of the Medieval Islamic World, in: *Individualism and Conformity in Classical Islam*, ed. Amin Banani and Speros Vryonis, Wiesbaden 1977, 61–71.

favour of the Red Sea. The Red Sea network further offered linkages with the vibrant Mediterranean maritime trade through Egypt which acted like a hinge between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean with momentous consequences. The northernmost outreach of the Red Sea network was of course Alexandria which was, however, more oriented towards the eastern Mediterranean. Aden, like Old Cairo under the Fatimids, served as a major hub for the seafaring Jewish merchants who plied either between Maṣr (Egypt) and Yemen or between Aden and the western Indian sea-board, or from Maṣr to India via Aden. The growing importance of the Red Sea network coincided, to some extent, with the waning fortunes of Sirāf, on the Persian Gulf, which experienced a major earthquake in c. 950 CE.[12]

Now we should come to the South Asian commercial scenario during the 1000–1300 CE phase. Any discussion on the history of trade in the South Asian subcontinent—especially in pre-modern times—has to recognize that its social, economic and cultural life is dependent on agriculture, though trade belongs to the non-agrarian sector of the economy. Indian textile products, which were among the staple commercial commodities over very long periods during pre-industrial times, were indeed manufactured items, but also essentially agro-based products. The increasing instances of trade in agrarian commodities during the 600–1300 CE period need to be situated in the context of the spread of agriculture in greater parts of the subcontinent during the early medieval times. The study of trade in the subcontinent often emphasizes the dealings in high-value, small quantity, exotic, portable, luxury items. This is particularly seen in the study of India's long-distance trade, more so, in the historiography of the maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean.[13] This invariant image of India's maritime trade demands close scrutiny in the light of the changing perspectives of the Indian Ocean maritime history, especially of the pre-1500 AD phase.

The above preliminaries help us focus specifically on the first three centuries of the second millennium CE in relation to India's maritime trade. During

12 That both the Gujarat and Malabar coasts would benefit from the maritime networks in the western Indian Ocean—whether through the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea—is evident from Jean Charles Ducène, The Ports of the Western Coast of India According to the Arab Geographers (Eighth-Fifteenth Centuries AD): A Glimpse into Geography, in: *Ports of the Ancient Indian Ocean*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac, Jean-François Salles and Jean-Baptiste Yon, New Delhi 2016, 166–178. The Konkan ports, sandwiched between Malabar and Gujarat, seem to have prospered if and when the Persian Gulf network was more important than the Red Sea route.

13 For broad overviews of the Indian Ocean maritime history see Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean. A History of the People and Sea*, New Delhi 1993; Michael N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, New York 2004.

the first half of the second millennium the Indian Ocean emerged as a vast trading zone; its western *termini* were Sirāf/Baṣra/Baghdād in the Persian Gulf zone and Alexandria/Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) in the Red Sea area (especially after the emergence of the Fatimid Caliphate in 965 CE), while the eastern terminus extended up to the ports in China. The South Asian subcontinent stood almost at the very centre of the Indian Ocean where shipping and navigation were largely determined by the more or less predictable alterations of the monsoon wind system.[14] In view of the emergence of what K.N. Chaudhuri labels as 'emporia trade' and 'segmented voyages' in the Indian Ocean at the turn of the eleventh century, the two sea-boards of the subcontinent, dotted with numerous ports,[15] began to loom large as suitable points of transshipment, gateways and sojourning, in addition to their direct participation in commercial exchanges. It is surprising that out of the protracted past of India's involvement in the Indian Ocean maritime trade, only two phases, namely the first three centuries CE and the three centuries from 1500 to 1800, generally attract the prime attention of maritime historians. The first three centuries of the CE are celebrated for India's far flung contacts with the Roman empire, especially the eastern Mediterranean zone. The most worked out phase in Indian Ocean history is, however, the 1500–1800 period which witnessed major transformations in the Indian Ocean arena with the advent of North Atlantic powers and trading companies.[16] Pearson has rightly pointed out that this phase, however

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14 Ranabir Chakravarti, Merchants, Merchandise and Merchantmen in the Western Sea-board of India: A Maritime Profile (c. 500 BCE—1500 CE), in: *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean 1500–1800*, ed. Om Prakash, New Delhi 2012, 56–113, esp. 78–110. The two major sea lanes in the Western Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, did not enjoy the same amount of importance simultaneously; there is a pendulum-like swing in the significance of these two sea lanes. During the period under review the Red Sea seems to have gained greater prominence than the Persian Gulf network, largely due to the emergence of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt. For the importance of Fusṭāṭ see Abraham L. Udovitch, Fatimid Cairo: Crossroad of World Trade—From Spain to India, in: *L'Egypte Fatimide. Son art et son histoire*, ed. Marianne Barrucand, Paris 1999, 681–691. The dependence on the monsoon wind system for shipping and navigation in the Indian Ocean prior to steam locomotion also means that this long history is essentially related to the northern sector of the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean, which occupies nearly 20% of the total maritime space of the earth, experiences the wind system up to 10 degrees south latitude, to the south of which there is no impact of the monsoon wind. In other words, a sizeable portion of the Indian Ocean to the south of the 10 degrees south latitude remains outside the long history of monsoon-driven navigation.

15 Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1985. Applying Braudelian methods and perspectives to the Indian Ocean situation, Chaudhuri, however, chose to leave the eastern sea-board of Africa blank in his overview of the Indian Ocean.

important, covers only a very short span in the protracted history of the Indian Ocean. The first half of the second millennium often receives marginalized attention among maritime historians of the Indian Ocean.

The present essay takes a closer look at the maritime trade of India, especially along its western sea-board in the light of business letters of Jewish merchants. The geniza documents, among other things, are crucial for understanding the role of the ship-owning merchants. These ship-owning merchants are generally called *nākhudās* in the geniza papers; the Persian term literally stands for the lord or owner (*khudā*) of ships (*nau*). The term has a remarkable correspondence to and affinity to the Sanskrit term *nauvittaka*, encountered fairly regularly in inscriptions from the west coast of India, since about 1000 CE. The term *nauvittaka* literally denotes one whose wealth (*vitta*) was derived from ships *(nau)*. In fact, the two terms were considered synonymous in Indian epigraphic vocabulary and also abbreviated as *nau* and *nākhu* respectively. These terms cannot but point to the regular presence of these very rich merchants in coastal western India. It should also be taken into account that on several occasions the term *nākhudā* may not have been used in the geniza as an epithet of a ship-owning merchant; but the ship-owner's presence and active role is evident from the reference to ship(s) of a particular person/persons. Similarly, an early eleventh century Sanskrit inscription from the Konkan coast in the western sea-board of India informs us of the presence of three generations of rich merchants (*śreshṭhis*) who owned sea-going vessels; but none of these merchants bore the epithet *nauvittaka*. The term *nākhudā*, on occasions, has also been used in the sense of a ship-master or ship captain, distinct from the ship-owner. One needs to situate the reference to the epithet *nākhudā* in the historical context of the primary source. Before, however, encountering two such ship-owners in this study, it will perhaps be relevant to introduce the geniza documents as a source for understanding Indian Ocean maritime history, particularly the overseas trade network of the western sea-board of the subcontinent. The India traders were part of the broader maritime network linking the western Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean.

III

In this backdrop we would like to situate the Jewish geniza letters, a few of which will be analyzed here. The itinerant spirit of the Jewish merchants is well

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16 Ashin Das Gupta and Micheal N. Pearson (ed.), *India and the Indian Ocean 1500– 1800*, Calcutta 1987; Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe, Economy and Civilization in the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1990.

captured in the following quote, 'One who is present can see what is not seen by one who is absent'. This was what Joseph b. Abraham, a prominent India trader, wrote from Aden to Abraham b. Yijū in Malabar with the request to purchase for him some Indian commodities.[17] Abraham b. Yijū was deemed as the appropriate person to judge which commodities would be commercially most viable.

The itinerant nature of these merchants is borne out by their very names. Thus the name Joseph al-ʿAdanī al-Mamsawī tells us that this merchant had originally hailed from Aden but resided in Mamsa in Morocco. Similarly, the representative of Jewish merchants at Fusṭāṭ (like the *wakīl al-tujjār* at Aden) Abu Zikrī Kohen bore a *nisba*, Sijilmāsī, immediately implying that he came from Sijilmāsa in Morocco to Fusṭāṭ. The name Hiba al-Ḥamwi, another India trader, speaks of his connections with Ḥamā in Syria.[18]

No other source material offers more information on the ship-owners in the western Indian Ocean during the 1000–1300 CE phase than the geniza letters of the India traders.[19] There were ship-owners from coastal western India as well as Jewish and Muslim ship-owners who came from the Red Sea and the North African areas. Besides the ship-owners, two most prominent Jewish merchants were Abraham b. Yijū, a Tunisian Jew who spent nearly two decades at al-Mānjarūr (Mangalore, from 1132 to 1149) and Maḍmūn b. Ḥasan, who was the premier Jewish India trader at Aden. Many ship-owners figure in the correspondence of and between these two Jewish merchants. Among several such ship-owners, we propose to take a closer look at two of them, figuring prominently in a few business letters. They are ʿAlī b. Manṣūr Fawfalī (also spelt as Fofali) and PDYR (pronounced probably as Fidyār). None of them actually wrote any correspondence to a Jewish India trader, nor were they direct recipients of any correspondence. But they figure prominently in the correspondence of major Jewish India traders like Abraham b. Yijū and Maḍmūn b. Ḥasan-Japhet, who also functioned as the representative of the Jewish merchants at Aden.[20]

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17   Goitein and Friedman, India Book (cf. n. 9), 575.

18   Ranabir Chakravarti, *Trade and Traders in Early Indian Society*, New Delhi ²2007. See particularly the chapter 'Information, Exchange and Administration—Case Studies from Early India'.

19   Ranabir Chakravarti, Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-owning Merchants in the West Coast of India c. 1000–1500, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43 (2000), 34–64.

20   For these two pre-eminent India traders, see Goitein and Friedman, India Book (cf. n. 9); Amitav Ghosh, *In an Antique Land*, New Delhi 1990.

Both ship-owners were active in the Western Indian Ocean, especially on the western sea-board of India, in the 1130s and 1140s. Goitein and Friedman rightly found ʿAlī b. Manṣūr Fawfalī a betel nut merchant, without, however, discerning a distinct Indian philological element in his name. The term *fofali* or *fawfalī*, denoting a betel nut dealer, is actually derived from the Sanskrit word for betel or areca nut, *pūgaphala*. The term *pūgaphala* not only figures in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (c. 6th century CE) and the Sanskrit literary (*kāvya*) texts but also in the celebrated medical treatise of Suśruta (c. first three centuries CE[21]). The term *pūgaphala* is mentioned in an early eleventh-century inscription as a saleable commodity, along with black pepper, green vegetable and other products at a locality-level market centre, situated in an inland urban space (*pattanamaṇḍapikā*).[22] These nuts were (and are) widely used in the daily life in India, especially for chewing the nuts with the betel leaves. There is a term, derived from *pūga*, to connote a spittoon, which is indispensable to one chewing betel nuts/betel leaves. The betel nut is an essential item in numerous social and religious ritual practices in India, particularly in marriage, auspicious family rituals and temple rituals. That the betel/areca nut was grown and transacted in great bulk will be borne out by many inscriptions and land-grant charters, especially from the Konkan coast. These inscriptions leave little room for doubt that areca/betel nut plants were subject to various revenue demands and levies, including commercial taxes and tolls and customs. The betel nut was evidently an agrarian product grown and exchanged in bulk.[23] The Sanskrit term *pūgaphala*, already mentioned, would become *phuaphala* in Prakrit, from where its Arabic form *fofal* or *fawfal* is then derived. The epithet Fawfalī/Fofali therefore is likely to have had an Indic origin and, as a *nākhudā* he was possibly a person of Indian origin, active in the western sea-board of India. Interestingly, a later Arabic inscription from Gujarat, dated 1291 CE, records the presence of a ship-owner who was also a betel nut dealer. He was Haji Ibrahim, whose epitaph was inscribed on a tombstone at Cambay, the premier port of Gujarat during the 1000–1600 period (before it was eclipsed by the port of Surat).[24] The

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21 For the meaning of *pūga/pūgaphala* and other related terms see Monier Monier-Williams, *The Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New Delhi 1964, 641.

22 The *maṇḍapikā*, modern *mandi*, is a middle category market centre, larger than the weekly exchanges at rural level (*hatta/hat*), but smaller than a large market within an urban space (*pattana/pura/nagara*). See Ranabir Chakravarti, Between the Cities and Villages: Linkages of Trade in India (c. AD 600–1300), in: *Explorations in the History of South Asia. Essays in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund*, ed. Georg Berkemer, Tilman Frasch, Hermann Kulke et al., New Delhi 2001, 99–120.

23 Ranabir Chakravarti, Exchanges of Agrarian Products at Locality Levels and Beyond: Early Medieval Indian Scenario, in: *Excursus in History. Essays in Memory of R.S. Sharma*, ed. K.M. Shrimali (forthcoming).

considerable financial return from trade in betel nuts, paving the way for further investments into shipping business, is once again underlined here.

Since ʿAlī b. Manṣūr Fawfalī was often cited in the letters as *nākhudā*, there is little room for doubt that he was indeed a ship-owner. The ship-owners are likely to have been persons of immense resources which were indispensable for running the risky, hazardours but highly profitable shipping networks. One may further infer logically that our Fawfalī had either himself originally been a betel nut merchant or hailed from a family of betel nut dealers. His or his family's considerable success in the betel nut business seems to have paved the way for his investing in shipping or owning ships. There is, therefore, a case of a remarkable transformation of a betel nut dealer into a ship-owning *nākhudā* who in the Indian Ocean maritime context was usually a very rich merchant. The geniza letters highlight al-Fawfalī's close trading interactions with three important Jewish merchants: Maḍmūn b. Ḥasan-Japhet in Aden, Abraham b. Yijū on the west coast of India (Mangalore and various other parts of the Malabar coast) and Joseph b. Abraham, another prominent Jewish India trader. He seems to have been an Indian Muslim ship-owner on the west coast of India.

Writing from Aden in c. 1134 CE to Abraham b. Yijū, Maḍmūn addressed our Fawfalī as the 'most illustrious *nākhudā*, my lord ʿAlī b. Manṣūr al-Fawfalī —may God preserve his position'.[25] The context of the letter is to acknowledge the receipt of black pepper, the most coveted spice from South India, sent in al-Fawfalī's ship to Aden. Abraham b. Yijū sent this consignment of the pepper to Maḍmūn in Aden in al-Fawfalī's ship. The mode of addressing al-Fawfalī in this letter speaks of his prestigious position in the eyes of the premier Jewish merchant in Aden. It also clearly establishes that al-Fawfalī's ship(s) plied between ports on the western sea-board of India and Aden. Taking into account the shipment of pepper, for which Malabar was celebrated, and also that Abraham b. Yijū's principal place of activity was al-Mānjarūr or modern Mangalore on the northernmost part of the Malabar coast, al-Fawfalī's shipping is likely to have been strongly oriented towards the Malabar coast. Exactly a year later, in 1135 CE, Maḍmūn wrote to Abraham b. Yijū with diverse instructions regarding his business ventures in India. This has important bearing on the functions of al-Fawfalī, the *nākhudā*. Abraham b. Yijū was requested to take delivery of

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24 The relevant term used here is *fatolia*, which according to Z.A. Desai, the editor of the record, stood for a betel nut merchant. Ziauddin A. Desai, Arabic Inscriptions of the Rajput Period from Gujarat, in: *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1961, 22–24. The point has been noted also by V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India 1000–1300*, New Delhi 1989, 228, 230. Jain however did not bring in the perspective of the geniza documents. I am thankful to Dr. Digvijay Kumar Singh for this information.

25 Goitein and Friedman, India Book (cf. n. 9), 353.

letters meant for various merchants, including '*nākhudā* al-Fawfalī'. Abraham b. Yijū was to 'take good care of all the letters' (implying to 'take this matter seriously'). Maḍmūn further specifically wrote:

> "I have empowered the *nākhudā* ʿAli al-Fawfalī to sell the goods packed and all the items (actually their gears) and to take possession of the shallow dish kept by Budah.... And to take possession of the copper kettle... and to get the sandarac and all the items which are in the store-room; he is empowered to take possession of everything which belongs to me there. Please help him in this."[26]

The above quote, carrying fairly elaborate instructions to al-Fawfalī through Abraham b. Yijū, demonstrates the close trading ties between this Indian *nākhudā* and a Jewish India trader at Aden, the latter passing his written instruction through another Jewish friend of his, Abraham b. Yijū. Abraham b. Yijū is known to have spent nearly twenty years in Malabar, especially in al-Mānjarūr. It is likely that the storeroom referred to in this letter was located in al-Mānjarūr itself. The most important point here is that al-Fawfalī, in addition to being primarily a betel nut dealer and also a ship-owner, was also functioning as the local representative of Maḍmūn in coastal India, more precisely at al-Mānjarūr. This is the third aspect of this Indian merchant's multifarious trading activities and networks. His looking after the business interests of a Jewish India trader based in Aden and especially taking care of his storeroom at Mangalore, particularly underline that al-Fawfalī was an Indian *nākhudā*-cum-dealer. There is little room for doubt that Maḍmūn instructed al-Fawfalī to sell the goods kept in the storehouse. For the Adanese merchant, al-Fawfalī was acting as his selling agent in Malabar. The information and communication networks also need to be noted. The instructions were sent not directly to al-Fawfalī but through Abraham b. Yijū, by Maḍmūn. It is quite clear that al-Fawfalī had regular interactions with both of the prominent Jewish merchants, Maḍmūn and Abraham b. Yijū. The letters strongly bear out the reliability of al-Fawfalī recognized by Maḍmūn from the other shore of the Arabian Sea. It is likely that al-Fawfalī received communications, written or verbal, from Abraham b. Yijū and acted upon them. One cannot ascertain why al-Fawfalī was not contacted directly by Maḍmūn from Aden.

Now, we would like to take a closer look at another geniza letter, dated c. 1145 (or sometime between 1145 and 1148). This was written by Mahrūz, a prominent Jewish India trader, at that time in al-Mānjarūr (Mangalore). The letter was sent to another Jewish merchant, Abu Zikrī Kohen, who was at that time at Broach, the well known port in Gujarat. The context of the letter is the

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26 Goitein and Friedman, India Book (cf. n. 9), 350–351.

offer of consolation and material help to Abu Zikrī Kohen who suffered heavily on account of piracy near the port of Tana or Thana (now a suburb of Mumbai). Giving a host of information to the recipient (which shows how the exchange of information was integral to long-distance commercial transactions), Mahrūz informed that

> "I would indeed like to mention to you, my lord, that your servant (i.e. Mahrūz himself) had a large shipment in the boat of al-Fawfalī, then God ordained what happened."[27]

Mahrūz evidently sent some consignments in al-Fawfalī's ship which seems to have suffered shipwreck, leading to a major loss to Mahrūz and also to the ship-owner. It is also evident that al-Fawfalī's shipping business involved a third Jewish India trader, Mahrūz. Information about shipwrecks is quite common in the geniza papers.

We would now turn our attention to a letter of 1150 CE written by Joseph b. Abraham to Abraham b. Yijū. Three sentences in this letter are striking:

> "Al-Fawfalī has not arrived'. And Al-Fawfalī has absconded to Zabīd'. 'When he arrives at your place (probably al-Mānjarūr), take from him for me the 'eggs' or their proceeds."[28]

First, al-Fawfalī's business dealings with the fourth India Jewish trader, Joseph b. Abraham, looms large in the letter. The dealing in 'eggs' actually refers to the trade in a particular type of iron, exported from India to Aden. It is quite clear that al-Fawfalī ran into financial trouble and hence chose to avoid Aden and thus landed up in neighbouring Zabīd. Goitein pointed out that the ruler of Zabīd was an enemy of Aden's ruler. So the choice of Zabīd seems to have been deliberate on the part of al-Fawfalī. Following Goitein, once again, it appears that the financial problems faced by al Fawfalī could have been the result of the shipwreck he had suffered sometime between 1145 ad 1148, already cited above. Second, al-Fawfalī seems to have journeyed overseas towards Aden, but he did not actually arrive there. Instead the letter shows that he absconded to Zabīd in Yemen. So our ship-owner was actually afloat and took to the sea instead of permanently remaining ashore. What prompted him to undertake a voyage to Aden/Zabīd is not known to us. On other occasions he appears to have been mostly ashore, looking after his ship(s) that sailed and also acting in close cooperation with Maḍmūn in Aden and Abraham b. Yijū in coastal Malabar. That is why his act of absconding was communicated to Abraham b. Yijū

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27 Goitein and Friedman, India Book (cf. n. 9), 475.

28 Ibid., 589, 590.

by Joseph b. Abraham who was keen to have his supply of a particular type of iron delivered from al-Fawfalī. It is not improbable that he could have sought Abraham b. Yijū's intervention to resolve this issue. Al-Fawfalī also seems to have been familiar with the economic and political situations in and around Aden and Yemen. This is clearly reflected in his deliberate choice of Zabīd as his destination instead of Aden where he could be held as a defaulter. There is also the possibility that he might have planned to sail even farther, up to Egypt, via the Red Sea route, in order to avoid the Jewish merchants in Aden and India.

IV

Now to the second ship-owner, PDYR, whose name was probably pronounced Fidyār. He figures in at least four geniza letters, datable to the 1130s and 1140s. The name PDYR, as Goitein rightly pointed out, is not a personal name, but probably denotes an official designation. In a couple of other geniza letters we come across a similar functionary, called Fatanswamī, as a ship-owner. The term Fatanswamī is derived from Paṭṭanasvāmī, denoting a functionary in charge of a port (*paṭṭana*).[29] It is difficult to suggest what could have been the Indic equivalent of PDYR. A guess could be that the term could have been derived from *pratīhāra* which in Sanskrit inscriptions texts stood for the chief of palace guards. It is not impossible—but may be difficult to prove—that such an important officer, especially in the context of a coastal society, could have also been engaged in shipping business. The other difficulty is to explain the use of a Sanskrit word in the predominantly Tulu/Kanarese/Malayam-speaking coastal tract in South India at a time when regional vernaculars had already come into vogue. My initial hunch to relate the term PDYR/Fidyār to *pratīhāra*, however, gained stronger grounds during my recent communication with Malini Adiga. A scholar very well grounded in Kanarese and Tulu languages and relevant sources of early medieval/medieval times, Adiga points out that the Kanarese/Tulu word *paḍiyāra* was probably derived from Sanskrit *pratīhāra* (a door keeper, palace guard, chief of the palace guard).

The term *paḍiyāra* as an important functionary, in charge of the security of a palace, figures in an inscription as early as 969 CE. As this inscription informs us of the marriage of a *paḍiyāra* with the sister of the Ganga ruler, Butuga II, this *paḍiyāra* in question was possibly no ordinary palace guard, but enjoyed an elite rank (whether already an elite and hence married to a princess, or becoming an elite by dint of this marriage cannot be determined at this

29 Chakravarti, Nakhudas and Nauvittakas (cf. n. 19), 48.

stage). A Hoysala inscription of 1196 CE mentions a *paḍiyāra* (a high-ranking royal functionary) one of whose brothers was also a *paḍiyāra*. Significantly enough, their father is mentioned to have been a merchant (*vyavahārī*). Several inferences can be drawn from this record. First, the title *paḍiyāra* could be assumed hereditarily by members of the same family, thereby once again underlining the elite position of the title-holders. Second, a person holding a high-ranking administrative office of a *mahāpradhāna* retained the title *paḍiyāra*. Thus, the title *paḍiyāra*, once again, does not merely connote a palace guard but possibly the chief of the palace guards. No less significant is the third point that the father of these two brothers was a merchant. The likely prosperity of the merchant could have helped his two sons to subsequently gain notable administrative positions, at least one son having been placed fairly high in administrative hierarchy. Adiga further points out that the occasional use of the term *piriya* (senior), as a suffix to the title of *paḍiyāra*, should logically suggest that there was ranking in the office of the *paḍiyāra*—senior and junior. The *paḍiyāra* who was also a *mahīpradhāna* (literally, chief of the high functionaries) could have therefore been a senior *paḍiyāra* which is likely to have caused further elevation of his position in the administrative hierarchy. In another Kanarese inscription of 1170 CE a *paḍiyāra* functioned as an important military officer (*daṇḍanāyaka*).[30]

Thanks to the data presented by Adiga, the *paḍiyāras*—mostly in Karnataka inscriptions—appear to have enjoyed a high position in the feudatory hierarchy as well as access to lands and very high administrative positions (*mahāpradhāna, daṇḍanāyaka*). What is striking from that data presented by Adiga is that many *paḍiyāras* are still present in Karnataka, especially in the coastal areas. The *paḍiyāras* of modern times usually belong to the high caste of the Gaudiya Saraswat brahmanas and most of them nowadays are engaged in trade. The combination of the high caste position of the present day *paḍiyāras* with their commercial ventures may have important bearings on our current topic of study.

However, it is only in the geniza letters that we find the PDYR/*paḍiyāra* as a ship-owner. The PDYR of our geniza papers was most probably an important and elite-level functionary in coastal Karnataka. He seems to have invested a part of his wealth and resources in shipping business. Being stationed in or near the sea-board of Karnataka, he is likely to have found it commercially attractive and advantageous to run a shipping business, in addition to his administrative functions. That his ship(s) plied on high-sea routes to Aden—and not merely chugged along the coast for looping trade network—is amply borne

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30 Personal communication from Dr. Malini Adiga through an email. I am indebted to Dr. Adiga for sharing this data with me.

out by our geniza documents. One may recall here that on the southern Konkan coast a *mahāpradhāna* was also a ship-owner (*nauvitāka/nauvittaka*), active at the port of Balipattana (modern Kharepatan in southern Konkan). The same port was also noted for the shipping business of a family of rich merchants (*śreshṭhis*) of three generations; they also performed some administrative functions. Therefore, it may not be a far-fetched generalization to state that in coastal areas of Karnataka and Konkan there was a tendency to combine administrative functions with ship-owning business.[31]

Now, we turn to a closer examination of PDYR in the light of geniza letters. Like al-Fawfalī, PDYR was also intimately connected with a few prominent Jewish India traders. Joseph b. Abraham wrote to Abraham b Yijū sometime in 1136–39 CE and referred to sending a few gifts for Yijū. In this context he informed Yijū that he had sent the gifts, together with a bag of silk and a bag of arsenic, in PDYR/Fidyār's ship. These goods for Abraham b. Yijū were carried by a person from Egypt, clearly borne out by his name-ending Miṣrī.[32] PDYR's ship plied between Aden and Kanara coast, probably from around the port of al-Mānjarūr (Mangalore). Sometime around 1138, another letter written by a very prominent Jewish India trader, Khalaf b. Isaak (from Aden), to Abraham b. Yijū once again speaks of some gift items being sent for Yijū. These gifts were sent with one '*nākhudā* Aḥmad (variantly Muḥammad), the *nākhudā* of Fidyār's ship'.[33] That the PDYR/Fidyār was a ship-owner is quite clearly evident even though he did not bear the epithet *nākhudā*. In fact, he employed Aḥmad/Muḥammad as a *nākhudā* to man his ship; here the term *nākhudā* denotes a ship-master or ship captain. There is little doubt that the Fidyār/PDYR was a ship-owner and in that capacity he employed a ship captain. In 1146 a geniza letter speaks of the voyage undertaken by an Adanese Jewish merchant, Maḍmūn b. Salim. "While at sea", the letter narrates, "he boarded a ship of PDYR/Fidyār, but left everything in the ship (which had transported him from India)".[34] This is a rare instance of changing ships at sea. The sea must have been very calm at that moment to enable the merchant to transfer from one ship to the vessel belonging to PDYR. The above data underlines the importance of PDYR/Fidyār as a shipowner from India.

What is significant is that a letter of 1139 written by Khalaf b. Isaak to Abraham b. Yijū deals with the late delivery of cardamom from India to Aden.

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31 This is discussed by Ranabir Chakravarti with the help inscriptions of southern Konkan in: Coastal Trade and Voyages in Konkan: The Early Medieval Scenario, in: *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 35 (1998), 97–124.

32 Goitein and Friedman, India Book (cf. n. 9), 576, 578.

33 Ibid., 604–605

34 Goitein and Friedman, India Book (cf. n. 9), 619

Khalaf informs that he had discussed this matter with the illustrious Sheikh Maḍmūn, his superior who was to write about it, among others, to the PDYR/Fidyār.[35] It is possible that PDYR's ship(s) could have been used for the transportation of cardamom from Malabar to Aden on previous occasions. To the Jewish India traders at Aden the Fidyār was a ship-owner important enough to have been consulted in the context of the problem of late delivery of cardamom. It implies that someone like the PDYR could have had access to and given information on the problems of the supply of cardamom from the inland areas to the coast, especially to the ports on the Malabar coast. This once again speaks of the close ties and network between Jewish India traders and prominent Indian ship-owners on the west coast of India.[36]

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This essay tries to accentuate the importance of the port of al-Mānjarūr which figures so prominently in the Aden-Malabar shipping network in the geniza documents. In the Arabic and Persian texts on geography, travel and trade, al-Mānjarūr figures as a port on the western sea-board of India, but not as prominently as it does in the geniza papers. It is possible that the prominence of al-Mānjarūr is visible in the record because of its repeated mentions in the correspondence of Abraham b. Yijū with several Jewish India traders, especially Maḍmūn. It is only in the geniza documents that al-Mānjarūr's significance for long-distance high-sea linkages with Aden gains considerable visibility. In other kinds of sources, it is usually mentioned in the context of the coastal shipping along the western sea-board.

The geniza documents further offer exciting insights into the world of the cultural practice of borrowing vocabularies among different linguistic groups participating in the maritime trade between India and the Red Sea areas (extending up to Egypt). The two appellations, Fawfalī and PDYR, incorporated in the vocabulary of the Arabic speaking world, or more precisely the Judeo-Arabic vocabulary, were clearly derived from Indic words. These may not have been loanwords like ta'alam and fatiya, also occurring in the geniza papers and similarly words of Tulu/Kanarese and Malayalam origin(s).[37] However, the Arabic adaptation of two Sanskrit words, pūgaphala and pratīhāra, respectively into Fawfalī and PDYR hints at active bilingualism among the participants of

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35 Ibid., 609

36 For an appreciation of these letters of India traders see Ranabir Chakravarti, Indian Trade through Jewish *geniza* Letters (1000–1300), in: *Studies in People's History* 2 (2015), 27–40.

long-distance maritime trade. Bilingualism and loanwords are essential components of the cultural life in the connected space of the Indian Ocean. The geniza papers furthermore allow the most convincing reconstruction of the active role of ship-owners from the Indian shore; these *nākhudās/nauvittakas* competed and cooperated with Jewish and Muslim ship-owners in the western Indian Ocean. That various people from the sea-boards of India did take to the sea, irrespective of the taboo against crossing the sea pronounced in the Sanskrit normative treatises, is evidently illustrated by these letters. Our discussions also underline the importance of agrarian products (e.g. areca/betel nuts) and bulk items of trade (iron, for instance) in the making of Indian Ocean economic life. The geniza papers uniquely shed light on the small details of the life of several players in the Indian Ocean maritime trade. No biographical details are available to us about the two merchants under review, but some micro-histories of their lives can be attempted by analyzing the geniza letters. In the study of the Indian Ocean maritime history of the pre-1500 CE period the paucity of data does not often allow us to pursue either the micro-history centred around specific events, or the broad patterns of what Braudel labeled as conjunctures.[38] The geniza documents, when read in conjunction with Persian and Arabic texts (1000–1400 CE) and nearly contemporary Indian epigraphic materials, may offer interesting insights into some minutiae in the life of the maritime merchants.

37   The two words *taalam* and *fatiya* denote respectively a dish or a salver and the chest or box to keep personal effects. Lambourn's brilliant essay, Borrowed Words in an Ocean of Objects (cf. n. 6), argues how these two Tulu/Malayalam words were incorporated as loan words in the Judeo-Arabic vocabulary of the geniza papers as an outcome of the cultural connections interwoven with commercial exchanges. While the Tulu/Malayalam base of the two words, *ta'alam* and *fatiya*, is well argued for and demonstrated, both the words could also have originated from Sanskritic/Indo-Aryan vocabulary. *Ta'alam* as a dish was probably derived from Sanskrit *sthālam/sthālī* (dish) from which the Prakrit from would be *thali*. The word *fatiya* as a chest or box may well have its base in *peṭaka/peṭikā* in Sanskrit and *piṭaka* in Pali.

38   A stimulating discussion on the possibilities of writing micro-history in the period nearly contemporary to the India Book is offered by Elizabeth Lambourn, Describing the Lost Camel—Clue for West Asian Mercantile Networks in South Asian Maritime Trade (tenth-twelfth centuries AD), in: *Ports of the Ancient Indian Ocean*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac, Jean-François Salles and Jean-Baptiste Yon, New Delhi 2016, 351–407.

Christoph Dartmann

Die Genuesen und das Schwarze Meer— Raumerfassung und Raumpraxis am Beispiel des *Liber Gazarie*

Abstract. This paper aims to answer the question, how medieval actors perceived the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, by analysing the Genoese 'Liber Gazarie' – a fourteenth century collection of communal decrees concerning the practice of seafaring and overseas trade. The commune's decrees focus on the main trading routes along the shores from Italy via the Peloponnese to the Bosporus and Crimea. In order to organise seafaring and to control the implementation of decrees, focal points, such as Pera in today's Istanbul and Caffa on the Crimea were chosen, which functioned as hubs connecting different trading routes. Whether or not the hinterland of harbours and coasts is also considered, besides the port cities, depends on their importance for the political and/or economic interests of the Genoese. Thus, the caravan route leading from Trabzon to Tabriz is reflected in a detailed manner, whereas in other cases only the organisation of ports is mentioned. At the same time, the linear way in which the Mediterranean and the Black Sea are described in the 'Liber Gazarie' contrasts with the new two-dimensional mode of representing the maritime space in late medieval portolan maps.

Im Februar des Jahres 1403 publizierte der Genuese Francesco Beccario in Savona eine Portolankarte, in der er die Küsten und Meeresregionen darstellte, die seine Landsleute zu dieser Zeit regelmäßig bereisten. Wie er in der Karteninschrift verkündete, hatte er sich bei der Erstellung seiner Karte ausführlich mit Seeleuten beraten, um die Vorlagen aus Katalonien, Venedig und aus Genua selbst zu korrigieren, die ihm zur Verfügung standen, und um dadurch eine hohe Präzision seiner Karte zu gewährleisten. Dabei bezog er sich insbesondere auf die Atlantikküste Portugals, des Golfs von Biskaya und der Bretagne sowie Englands. Die Küsten des Mittelmeers und seiner Nebenmeere, so des Schwarzen Meers wie auch des Asowschen Meers und des Marmarameers, waren hingegen ihm und seinen Zeitgenossen so gut bekannt und auch kartographisch bereits so genau erfasst, dass er sie kaum einer eigenen Erwähnung würdigte.[1] Mit erstaunlicher Präzision erfasst diese Portolankarte ebenso wie andere Bei-

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1 *The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library*, Yale, Art Storage 1980.158, digitalisiert und mit Links zu hoch auflösenden Digitalisaten unter http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vuf

spiele aus dem Spätmittelalter neben den Küsten des Mittelmeers auch die Atlantikküste von Nordafrika auf der Höhe der Kanarischen Inseln bis zum Ärmelkanal samt dem äußersten Südwesten der Nordsee.[2] Südlich der Kanaren und nordöstlich von Brügge und London hörte hingegen für Francesco Beccario und die von ihm befragten Seeleute die bekannte Welt auf.

Die genuesische Portolankarte von 1403 ist ein eindrucksvolles Zeugnis dafür, wie präzise Genuesen ebenso wie zahlreiche andere Mittelmeeranrainer

ind/Record/3521236?image_id=1027149 (zuletzt abgerufen am 14. Juni 2016). Die Inschrift abgedruckt bei: Patrick Gaultier Dalché, Cartes marines, représentation du littoral et perception de l'espace au Moyen Âge. Un état de la question, in: *Castrum VII. Zones côtières et plaines littorales dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Marie Martin (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 105/7 = Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 76), Rom / Madrid 2001, 9–33, hier S. 24 Anm. 35: *Franciscus Becharius ciuis Ianue composuit cartam presentem in ciuitate Saone anno millesimo CCCCº tertio de mense februarii. Qui Francischus notum facit ad tollendam cunctis materiam dubitandi, et omnibus nauigantibus et nauigaturis mare occeanum protestatur, quod ipse Francischus in hac et ceteris cartis omnibus per eum compositis ab anno Domini Mº CCCC decursso citra, prolongauit distanciam itineris steriarum maris occeani certo spatio miliarium seu leucarum, plus quam ipsemet Francischus et ceteri magistri cartarum tam Catalani, Veneti, Ianuenses quam alii qui cartas nauigandi fecerunt temporibus retroactis soliti erant in eis apponere, et potissime in costa Portugalli, uidelicet ad capud Sancti Vincentis usque a capite Finisterre, et in steria maris seu litorum et locorum Byschaie et costa Britanie atque insula Anglie. Comperta ueritatis essencia de predictis per experienciam efficacem et relationem verissimam multorum numero •• magistrorum, patronorum, naucleriorum et pilotorum maris Yspanie et illarum partium et aliorum eciam peritorum in maris exercicione plurimorum qui frequenter et longo tempore per illas partes et maria nauigauerunt. Et pro tanto nullus miretur si de manu ipsius Francischi duarum formarum cartas super hoc dissimiles reperiret, quoniam ipse ante MCCCC primum aliarum [auctorum? Ch.D.] mensuras et magistrorum antiquorum formas et uestigia sequabatur et male. Eciam per multos patronos, nauclerios et marinarios sufficientes in arte marinarie michi predicto Francischo denunciatum fuerit pluries quod insula Sardinie que est in mari non fuerat posita in cartis in loco suo proprio per magistros superius nominatos, ideo in Christi nomine auditis predictis posui dictam insulam in presenti carta in loco proprio in quo esse debet. Et propterea uobis patrono presentis carte et omnibus aliis qui interfuerint sit notum.*

[2] Zu Portolankarten jetzt Philipp Billion, *Graphische Zeichen auf mittelalterlichen Portolankarten. Ursprünge, Produktion und Rezeption bis 1440*, Marburg 2011. Grundlegend bleibt Tony Campbell, Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500, in: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. John Brian Harley und David Woodward (History of Cartography 1), Chicago / London 1987, 371–463; wichtige Beiträge versammelt darüber hinaus: Patrick Gautier Dalché, *L'espace géographique au Moyen Âge* (Micrologus' Library 57), Florenz 2013. An anderer Stelle hat er eindrucksvoll betont, wie wenig man überhaupt über die Herstellung und Nutzung dieser Karten wissen kann: Ders., La carte marine au Moyen Âge. Un état de la question, in: *Comité français de cartographie, Bulletin* 157, 1998, 24–29; ders., Cartes marines (wie Anm. 1).

im Spätmittelalter den Raum des Binnenmeeres erfassten, mit dem sie lebten, und zugleich die Ränder des großen Ozeans im Westen erschlossen, in den sie immer weiter und regelmäßiger hineinfuhren. In ihrer Repräsentation der Meere samt der sie umgebenden Küsten greift diese Karte auf Darstellungskonventionen zurück, die bis in die Gegenwart hinein die Kartographie prägen, um geographischen Raum auf einem zweidimensionalen Blatt abzubilden. Daher erscheint sie in vorreflexiver Weise ‚richtig‘ oder ‚realistisch‘—außer in den Randzonen, in denen sich die Küsten der Nordsee im Schematischen verlieren, Wangerooge als mittlere von drei gleichförmigen elliptischen Inseln erscheint oder sich im Atlantik die seligen Inseln des heiligen Brendan finden. Den Eindruck einer ‚zutreffenden‘ Repräsentation des Meeresraums unterstreichen Rumbenlinien, mit deren Hilfe eine Überquerung der Meere auf direkter Linie möglich erscheint, ohne sich an den Landmarken der Meeresufer zu orientieren. Sie durchziehen zugleich die gesamte Karte mit einem Ordnungssystem, das die Windrose in 16 bzw. 32 Segmente unterteilt und damit die Ausrichtung der Karte nach Norden sowie die Differenzierung der verschiedenen Himmelsrichtungen zum wesentlichen Darstellungsprinzip erheben. Hinzu kommen Darstellungen des Polarsterns im Norden, eines Kreuzes im Osten sowie der nach Himmelsrichtungen unterschiedenen Winde. Die Proportionen werden durch Maßstabsleisten an den Rändern der Karte definiert.[3] Dieser geographische Zugriff ermöglichte es dem Kartenmacher nach eigenem Bekunden auch, die Insel Sardinien an ihrem richtigen Ort im Meer dazustellen und damit ältere, falsche Karten zu korrigieren. Allerdings rekurriert der Kartenmacher in seiner Inschrift lediglich wieder auf die Erfahrungen der Praktiker. Die Techniken der Repräsentation des geographischen Raums auf zweidimensionalem Pergament thematisiert Francesco Beccario nicht. In der Beischrift betont er lediglich, dass die Gespräche mit Seefahrern es ihm ermöglicht hätten, Karten mit höherer Präzision zu erstellen.

Neben diesem kartographischen Blick, geographischen Raum in einer zweidimensionalen Zeichnung zu repräsentieren, prägt die Portolankarte aber zugleich die lineare Raumerfassung mittelalterlicher Seefahrt. Dies klingt in der bereits zitierten Inschrift an, in der der Kartograph besonders darauf verweist, er habe die an den Küsten des Atlantiks zu überwindenden Entfernungen präziser dargestellt als seine Vorgänger, und zwar vom Cabo de São Vicente und dem Kap Finisterre über die Strände der Bucht von Biskaya und der bretonischen Küste bis zu den Ufern Englands. Besonders deutlich artikuliert sich der Modus linearer Raumerschließung aber in den Listen der Häfen, die das namengebende Spezifikum dieser Portolankarten ausmachen. Denn neben

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3 Zu diesen kartographischen Zeichen vgl. Billion, Graphische Zeichen (wie Anm. 2), 34–75.

Linien markieren hunderte von Hafennamen den Küstenverlauf, von Genua bis Neapel zum Beispiel allein über fünfzig. Sie greifen somit eine Praxis der Seefahrt auf, die dem Küstenverlauf folgte und die auch in Portolanen, also Auflistungen von Hafenstädten in Katalogform, Eingang gefunden hat.[4] Solche linearen, an konkreten Seerouten ausgerichtete Erfassungen von Raum spiegeln sich im Spätmittelalter auch in anderen Quellen wider, zum Beispiel in Reiseberichten wie dem *Itinerarium ad sepulchrum Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, in dem Petrarca im Jahr 1358 den Seeweg von Genua aus entlang der Westküste Italiens mit großer Detailfülle beschreibt.[5] Die Erzählhaltung ist davon geprägt, dass Petrarca antizipiert, was der Adressat des imaginären Reiseberichts vom Schiff aus zu sehen bekommt. Der Text ist also vom Standpunkt desjenigen geschrieben, der auf Deck steht. Verweise auf die Küste erfolgen in einer an diesen Standort gebundenen Weise. So rät er nach der Abreise aus Genua die Riviera Levante zu betrachten: „Wenn du von hier [= Genua, Ch.D.] aufgebrochen bist, wende den ganzen Tag ja die Augen nicht vom Land zur linken Seite".[6] Später heißt es nach der Erwähnung Livornos: „Wenn du dich von hier nach rechts wendest, so liegen dort Gorgona und Capraia".[7] Petrarca operiert also nicht mit Himmelsrichtungen, die eine zweidimensionale Erschließung des Raums voraussetzen, sondern mit dem linearen Kurs einer Fahrt entlang der Küste. Vergleichbare listenförmige, linear strukturierte Aufzeichnungen setzt auch Francesco Balducci Pegolottis *La prattica della mercatura* voraus, wenn dort die Häfen am Asowschen und Schwarzen Meer aufgezählt werden, die an der Route von Tana (= Asow) aus nach Südwesten an Caffa (= Feodossija) vorbei die Krim bzw. südwärts die Ostküste des Asowschen Meers entlang führen. Allerdings rekurriert auch Pegolotti nicht auf die Himmelsrichtungen, sondern definiert die Kurse nach ihren Zielpunkten: In Richtung der Krim bzw. in Richtung Abchasien werden die Häfen von Tana aus gezählt, ohne das mit einer

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[4] Es hat sich eingebürgert, zwischen Portolanen (= listenförmige Aufzählung von Häfen) und Portolan- oder Seekarten zu unterscheiden. Vgl. dazu knapp ebd. 3. Grundlegend zur Begrifflichkeit Campbell, Portolan Charts (wie Anm. 1), 375–380.

[5] Francesco Petrarca, *Reisebuch zum Heiligen Grab*. Lateinisch/Deutsch, ed. [und übers.] Jens Reufsteck, Stuttgart 2008, zur bisher unbefriedigenden Editionslage ebd. 73–76. Zu spätmittelalterlichen Reisen vgl. Folker Reichert, *Die Erfahrung der Welt. Reisen und Kulturbegegnung im späten Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2001; Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Erkundung der Welt. Die großen Entdeckungsreisen von Marco Polo bis Humboldt*, München ²2016.

[6] *Hinc digressus ad laevam totum illum diem ne oculos a terra dimoveas caveto*. Petrarca, Reisebuch (wie Anm. 5), 17, 16–17.

[7] *Hinc, si ad dexteram te deflectas, Gorgon atque Capraia* […] *praesto erunt*. Ebd., 23, 22–23.

Angabe der Himmelsrichtungen zu verbinden.[8] Pegolotti interessieren lediglich die Qualität der Häfen sowie die in den Häfen verwendeten Maßeinheiten.

Somit stehen Portolankarten wie die des Francesco Beccario am Übergang von zwei sich ablösenden Modi der Raumerfassung und -repräsentation. Denn die Praxis der Küstenfahrerei, der Cabotage, besaß im Mediterraneum eine lange Tradition und wurde von Praktikern betrieben, für die die Orientierung an Häfen, Küstenlinien und prägnanten Landmarken selbstverständlich war.[9] Eine zentrale Rolle spielte dabei in der Navigation der Einsatz von Lotsen mit präzisem Erfahrungswissen zu einzelnen Küstenabschnitten.[10] Seit dem 13. Jahrhundert wurde dieser nautisch, in linear gedachten Routen erschlossene Raum in zunehmend detaillierteren Karten zweidimensional repräsentiert und so zu einem an bekannten Konturen und Proportionen wiedererkennbaren Binnenmeer.

Der folgende Beitrag soll der Frage nachgehen, wie Genuesen vor der breiten Etablierung der Portolankarten für sie zentrale Regionen des Mittelmeerraums, hier konkret das Schwarze Meer, erfasst und zum Thema gemacht haben. Nach der Öffnung des Schwarzen Meers für westeuropäische Seefahrer im Gefolge der Eroberung von Konstantinopel im Jahr 1204 und nach dem Brechen der venezianischen Dominanz durch die Kooperation mit Kaiser Michael VIII. Palaiologos sicherte der Vertrag von Nymphaion den Genuesen einen privilegierten Zugang zu dieser Region.[11] Zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts schuf die Kommunalregierung von Genua ein eigenes städtisches Amt, das sogenannte *Officium Gazarie*, das sich mit Fragen des Handels und der Seefahrt im Schwarzen Meer und generell im Mittelmeer befasste.[12] Zahlreiche Beschlüsse

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8 Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (The Medieval Academy of America. Publication 24), Cambridge, MA 1936, 54: *Caricatori ove si carica e si lieva biado in Gazeria e del Zacchia del Mare Maggiore per navicare inverso Gostantinopoli e Pera e in altre parte del monde, e primieramente della banda di Gazeria*. Es folgt eine Aufzählung von sieben Häfen von Porto Pisano nördlich der Mündung des Don (evtl. an der Stelle des antiken Tanais) bis Lifetti (evtl. = Jewpatorij) auf der Krim. Unter der Überschrift „*E dalla banda di Zecchia*" werden ebd., 55, vier Häfen zwischen Balzimachi und Sangiorgio, beides Häfen an der Ostküste des Asowschen Meers an der Route gen Tscherkessien, genannt.

9 Zusammenfassend und mit weiterer Literatur jetzt Ruthy Gertwagen, A Chapter on Maritime History: Shipping and Nautical Technology of Trade and Warfare in the Medieval Mediterranean, 11th–16th Century, in: *Maritimes Mittelalter. Meere als Kommunikationsräume*, ed. Michael Borgolte und Nikolas Jaspert (Vorträge und Forschungen 83), Ostfildern 2015, 109–148.

10 Gautier Dalché, Carte marine (wie Anm. 2), 27.

11 Vgl. zuletzt Cecily J. Hilsdale, The Imperial Image at the End of Exile. The Byzantine Embroidered Silk in Genoa and the Treaty of Nymphaion (1261), in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 64 (2010), 151–199.

dieses *Officium Gazarie* wurden in einem eigenen Buch gesammelt, dem *Liber Gazarie*.[13] In dieser Kodifikation lässt sich daher ein breites Spektrum von Maßnahmen greifen, mit denen Vertreter der genuesischen Kommunalregierung die Interessen ihrer Landsleute am östlichen Rand Europas verfolgten. Er eignet sich somit für die Frage, wie das Schwarze Meer und seine Küsten von Praktikern aus Genua erfasst und beeinflusst werden sollten. Somit verfolgt der Beitrag Fragen der Raumerfassung aus einer praktischen, an politischen und ökonomischen Interessen orientierten Perspektive. Damit soll der Versuch unternommen werden, für das mittelalterliche Mediterraneum einen weiteren Aspekt der Raumerfassung und -repräsentation zu erschließen, der neben der graphischen Darstellung in Karten und der semantischen Analyse der Bezeichnungen von Meeren und Meeresregionen sein eigenes Gewicht besitzt.[14] Das greift einen Ansatz auf, die Wissensproduktion von Praktikern nachzuzeichnen, etwa in der Form kaufmännischer Ethnographie.[15] Darüber hinaus haben auch Analysen geographischer Repräsentationen von Meeresräumen zeigen können, dass es enge Interdependenzen zwischen diesen Repräsentationen und den in ihnen vorausgesetzten Praktiken gibt.[16] Es ist kein Privileg der Moderne, politische Macht nicht nur personal, sondern auch räumlich zu verstehen und zu definieren. Zugleich weist die Entwicklung der Geographie als Wissenschaft seit dem 19. Jahrhundert unübersehbare politische und militärische Prägungen auf, die in der Bezeichnung geographischer Räume wie auch ihrer Strukturierung unübersehbare Spuren hinterlassen hat.[17] Konkret wird es vor diesem Hintergrund um die Frage gehen, in welchem Maße die Genuesen das Schwarze Meer insgesamt in den Blick nahmen bzw. welche Küstenstriche oder

12 Das *Officium Gazarie* harrt noch einer systematischen Untersuchung. Vgl. einstweilen Giovanni Forcheri, *Navi e navigazione a Genova nel trecento: il Liber Gazarie* (Collana storica di fonti e studi 17 = Collana storica dell'oltremare ligure 4), Genua 1974.

13 Abgedruckt *als Imposicio officii Gazarie*, in: *Monumenta historiae patriae 2: Leges municipales*, Turin 1838, 305–430.

14 Zur Bezeichnung vgl. Nikolas Jaspert, Austausch-, Transfer- und Abgrenzungsprozesse. Der Mittelmeerraum, in: *Die Welt 1250–1500*, ed. Thomas Ertl und Michael Limberger (Globalgeschichte. Die Welt 1000–2000 [2]), Wien 2009, 138–174, hier 138–141; Michael Borgolte und Nikolas Jaspert (ed.), Maritimes Mittelalter – Zur Einführung, in: Maritimes Mittelalter (wie Anm. 9), 9–34, hier 25–27, jeweils mit weiterer Literatur.

15 Benjamin Scheller, Verkaufen, Kaufen und Verstehen. Die Atlantikexpansion der Europäer, die Fernhändler und die neue Erfahrung des Fremden im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, in: Maritimes Mittelalter (wie Anm. 9), 233–260.

16 Jenny Rahel Oesterle, Arabische Darstellungen des Mittelmeers in Historiographie und Kartographie, ebd., 149–180.

17 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, München 2009, 129–180.

Orte für sie von herausragendem Interesse waren. Wie weit reichte dieses Interesse über den Küstenstreifen bzw. die Hafenstädte hinaus auch ins Hinterland und schuf so Verbindungen mit Regionen jenseits des Meeres? Und wie intensiv sollte der Austausch zwischen dem Schwarzen Meer und Genua selbst gestaltet werden? Selbstverständlich spiegeln die normativen Vorgaben des genuesischen *Officium Gazarie* nicht die gesamte Praxis des Handels und der Seefahrt zwischen der ligurischen Hafenstadt und dem Schwarzen Meer wider und selbstverständlich sind normative Vorgaben und nautisch-ökonomisch-politische Praxis nicht in eins zu setzen. Eine politische Quelle als Ausgangspunkt ist trotz dieser Einschränkungen vielversprechend, weil sie die Perspektive eines konkreten, wenn auch kollektiven Akteurs erschließt und somit zur Rückgewinnung der Pluralität von Wahrnehmungen und Praktiken der Erschließung und Nutzung von Meeren in der Vormoderne beitragen kann.

Um die Interventionen des *Officium Gazarie* einordnen zu können, seien zunächst kurz die Rahmenbedingungen rekapituliert.[18] Wie bereits erwähnt, eröffnete der Vertrag von Nymphaion von 1261 den Genuesen die Durchfahrt durch den Bosporus ins Schwarze Meer. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten konnten die Genuesen an verschiedenen Orten der Schwarzmeerregion eigene Stützpunkte errichten, von denen aus sie einen lebendigen Fernhandel betrieben, der das Schwarze Meer mit dem Mittelmeer verband. Die wichtigsten Stützpunkte waren die Kolonialstädte Caffa, das heutige Feodossija auf der Krim, sowie Pera, heute Teil des Istanbuler Stadtteils Galata auf der europäischen Seite des Bosporus. Zugleich fiel in die zweite Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts auch der Beginn regelmäßiger Seefahrt auf dem Atlantik, wodurch Genuesen wie auch Venezianer das Mediterraneum mit den Handelszentren am Ärmelkanal und an der Nordsee, so Southampton, London oder Brügge, verbanden.[19] Im Schwarzen Meer selbst verfolgten die Genuesen unterschiedliche Interessen. Einerseits diente das Hinterland der Krim, des Asowschen Meers und der übrigen nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste als Quelle für Getreide, mit dem die Genuesen neben ihrer Heimatstadt selbst unter anderem Konstantinopel versorgten. Weitere Produkte wie Felle, Häute, Salz oder auch Wachs dürften ebenfalls von hier aus übers Meer verschifft worden sein. Zugleich gehörte das nördliche Hinterland

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18 Eine konzise Skizze bietet Michel Balard, The Black Sea: Trade and Navigation (13th–15th Centuries), in: Maritimes Mittelalter (wie Anm. 9), 181–194; breiter angelegt Charles King, *The Black Sea. A History*, Oxford 2007.

19 Zuletzt sind zwei Zusammenfassungen zur maritimen Geschichte Genuas erschienen, die wesentliche Grundzüge zugänglich machen: Enrico Basso, *Insediamenti e commercio nel Mediterraneo bassomedievale. I mercanti genovesi dal Mar Nero all'Atlantico* (Storia della cultura materiale. Medioevo ed età moderna 4), Cercenasco 2008; Antonio Musarra, *Genova e il mare nel Medioevo*, Bologna 2015. Zu Venedig jetzt Ermanno Orlando, *Venezia e il mare nel Medioevo*, Bologna 2014.

des Schwarzen Meers zu den Gebieten, aus denen Sklaven ins Mediterraneum verschifft wurden, wobei neben dem westlichen Sklavenmarkt auch das Mamlukenreich in Ägypten und im Nahen Osten zu den Abnehmern zählte. Zugleich diente das Schwarze Meer den Genuesen als Zugang zu den Handelsrouten, die über Zentralasien nach China führten. Im Gefolge der mongolischen Großreichsbildung nach den Eroberungen Dschingis Khans etablierte sich ein lebhafter Warenaustausch und Reiseverkehr, der Personen und Güter von Asien aus auf dem Land nach Tana oder auch Trapezunt (= Trabzon) brachte, um von dort aus über See nach Europa weitergeleitet zu werden. Diese unter dem Begriff „Seidenstraße" firmierenden Handelswege konnten von der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts an für gut hundert Jahre relativ sicher und berechenbar genutzt werden, bis die sogenannte *pax Mongolica* zerbrach und statt der Landwege die sogenannte maritime Seidenstraße an Bedeutung gewann, die den indischen Subkontinent und die Arabische Halbinsel mit der ägyptischen Küste des Roten Meers verband.[20] Somit war in den Jahrzehnten, die hier genauer betrachtet werden, das Schwarze Meer für die Genuesen einerseits ein Verkehrsweg, auf dem Güter aus dem unmittelbaren Hinterland seiner Küsten ins Mediterraneum und damit ins Handelssystem des lateinischen Europas transportiert werden konnten. Andererseits war der Seeweg über das Schwarze Meer eine Zwischenetappe auf der Reise von Personen und Waren von Zentralasien und China ins westliche Europa. Verschiedene Störungen wie die Kriege mit der Goldenen Horde, die von Tana aus nach Europa importierte Pest, die zunehmenden Spannungen zwischen Osmanen und Byzantinern um die Kontrolle der Meerengen des Bosporus und der Dardanellen führten ab der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts ebenso zu einem Bedeutungsverlust des Schwarzen Meeres für die Genuesen wie die Abschottung Chinas unter der Ming-Dynastie und nicht zuletzt die eigene Schwäche Genuas, die aus den kontinuierlichen Bürgerkriegen der ligurischen Metropole resultierten.[21]

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[20] Zur sogenannten ‚Maritimen Seidenstraße' Roderich Ptak, *Die maritime Seidenstraße. Küstenräume, Seefahrt und Handel in vorkolonialer Zeit*, München 2007. Zur Seidenstraße James D. Ryan, Silk Roads, in: *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages. An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Block Friedmann und Kristen Mossler, New York / London 2000, 559–561, mit weiteren Verweisen.

[21] Zu den asiatischen Großreichen vgl. zusammenfassend Felicitas Schmieder, Nomaden zwischen Asien, Europa und dem Mittleren Osten, in: *Weltdeutungen und Weltreligionen 600 bis 1500*, ed. Johannes Fried und Ernst-Dieter Hehl (WBG Weltgeschichte. Eine globale Geschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 21. Jahrhundert 3), Darmstadt 2010, 179–202. Die Geschichte Genuas fassen zusammen Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese 958–1528*, Chapel Hill, N.C / London 1996; Dino Puncuh (ed.), *Storia di Genova. Mediterraneo, Europa, Atlantico,* Genua 2003.

Während Darlegungen zum globalen Handelssystem des 14. Jahrhunderts erneut die Vorstellung einer zweidimensionalen Karte oder eines dreidimensionalen Globus evozieren, liegt mit dem *Liber Gazarie* eine Quelle vor, die auf derartige Raumprojektionen verzichtet. Der ‚Liber‘ besteht vielmehr aus einer Abfolge von Erlassen des *Officium Gazarie*, die mit seiner Begründung im Verlauf des Jahres 1313 beginnen:[22] Die Kommunalregierung beauftragte acht Männer damit, alle einschlägigen Fragen zu behandeln, die die Seefahrt östlich von Sizilien betrafen. Die Mitglieder dieses Gremium sollten für lediglich sechs Monate amtieren und ihre Nachfolger selbst auswählen. Ihnen wurden weitreichende Kompetenzen zugewiesen, dass die Normen und Entscheidungen, die sie erließen, unabhängig von anderen widersprechenden Gesetzen Geltung beanspruchen dürften und von den Amtsträgern der Kommune beachtet werden müssten, wenn sich die Acht selbst an die Maßgaben der für sie geltenden Bestimmungen orientierten. Um diese weitreichenden Kompetenzen fester im institutionellen Gefüge von Genua zu verankern, leisteten sogar die Ratsmänner sowie weitere Vertreter der Bürgerschaft einen Eid, in dem sie den Mitgliedern des *Officium Gazarie* Gehorsam und aktive Unterstützung versprachen. Zugleich wurden die Regelungen zur Einsetzung des *Liber Gazarie* in die Stadtgesetze aufgenommen und auch auf diesem Wege in das normative Gefüge der Kommune von Genua integriert.

Warum wurde das neue Amt in so aufwändiger Weise systematisch ins institutionelle und normative Gefüge der genuesischen Stadtgemeinde eingefügt? Welches Interesse besaß also die Stadtregierung daran, die Angelegenheiten der Krim—hier nach dem frühmittelalterlichen Großreich der Khazaren als Gazaria bezeichnet—und des Schwarzen Meers einem eigens dafür eingerichteten kommunalen Amt anzuvertrauen? Die ersten *sapientes* waren von der Kommunalregierung 1313 zunächst lediglich als Expertenkommission eingesetzt worden, um zu beraten, was hinsichtlich der Krim zu unternehmen sei. Sie präsentierten im November desselben Jahres ihre Analyse: Das Schwarze Meer sei von unzähligen Seeräubern befahren, und es seien daher große Geldsummen nötig, um die dadurch entstehenden Verluste auszugleichen. Die Genuesen hätten sich bis dato nicht auf koordinierte Gegenmaßnahmen geeinigt, sodass einzelne Mitbürger ihrerseits zu den gleichen Mitteln des Seeraubs griffen. Deswegen müsse man entsprechende Gegenmaßnahmen beschließen. Die *sapientes*

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[22] Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 305–312. Der *Liber Gazarie* liegt noch nicht in einer modernen, kritischen Edition vor, die wegen seiner zentralen Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Mediterraneums im Spätmittelalter sehr wünschenswert wäre. Weil der *Liber* auch online verfügbar ist, wird er hier nach der Spalte und ggf. der Rubrik zitiert, unter denen die einschlägige Passage zu finden ist. Vgl. URL: https://archive.org/details/HistoriaePatriaeMonumenta2 (zuletzt abgerufen am 20. Juni 2016).

wollten sich daher darüber beraten, was zu geschehen habe hinsichtlich Tana, Caffa, der Krim, des Schwarzen Meeres und der gesamten Region—und zwar um Gesandte dorthin zu entsenden, die Region zu befrieden und die Seefahrt von Genuesen zu reglementieren. Zugleich müsse man bedenken, wie all diese Maßnahmen finanziert werden könnten.[23] Die Kommunalregierung—nach eigenem Bekunden zuständig für die Regierung, Ordnung und Lenkung der Stadt sowie für alle Angelegenheiten, die den guten Zustand der Stadt selbst, der von ihr kontrollierten Küsten des Ligurischen Meers sowie ihres Contado betrafen—folgte den Vorschlägen der Experten. Zur Begründung führt der Text aus, die von den *sapientes* vorgebrachten Probleme wie auch alle Fragen, die Trapezunt, Persien, die Türken und das gesamte Schwarze Meer beträfen, seien von höchster Bedeutung für die Kommune, die einzelnen Kaufleute wie auch die organisierte Kaufmannschaft von Genua. Im weiteren Textverlauf wird diese Bewertung sogar noch allgemeiner formuliert: „Die Angelegenheiten und Geschäfte des Schwarzen Meers und der Krim betreffen die Kommune und alle Bürger von Genua und jeden einzelnen von ihnen sowie auch alle anderen, die der Regierung der Kommune von Genua unterstehen."[24]

Im Verlauf der Festschreibung der Kompetenzen werden sowohl die angezielten Regionen als auch die Aufgaben des neu geschaffenen *Officium Gazarie* noch einmal ausgeweitet und präzisiert. In einem Beschluss zur Ratifikation der Bestimmungen durch den Rat von Genua vom Januar 1314 wird ausgeführt, die acht Fachleute seien damit beauftragt, sich mit den Angelegenheiten des Schwarzen Meers, der Krim, Persiens und auch der Seefahrt jenseits von Sizilien zu befassen.[25] Neben Fragen der Seefahrt und der Beschaffung des für die angestrebten Initiativen nötigen Gelds hätten sich die acht Experten nun auch damit zu beschäftigen, wie geeignete Schiffe beschafft, repariert, ausgerüstet und bewaffnet werden könnten. Zugleich seien sie befugt, jede damit zusammenhängende Frage eigenständig zu beantworten.

Die bei der Einrichtung des Amts den Mitgliedern des *Officium Gazarie* zugewiesenen Aufgaben und Kompetenzen skizzieren bereits einige Grundzüge ihrer weiteren Arbeit. Zum einen basierte ihr Wirken darauf, dass die Interessen der Seefahrer und Kaufleute mit den Interessen der Kommune und der Bürger von Genua gleichgesetzt wurden. Zum anderen lässt sich die überragende

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23 Ebd., 305–307 vom 26. November 1313.

24 Ebd, 307–309, erlassen am gleichen Tag, das Zitat 308: *Cum facta et negocia maris maioris et Gazarie inter cetera negocia tangant comune et universos et singulos ciues et districtuales comunis Ianue* […].

25 Ebd., 309–311 vom 25. Januar 1314. Die Mitglieder des *Officium Gazarie* werden hier bezeichnet als *octo constitut[i] per comune Ianue super factis maris maioris et Gazarie et Persie et nauigandi ultra Sciciliam.*

Bedeutung sowohl des östlichen Mittelmeers als auch des Schwarzen Meers für die Interessen Genuas, wie sie die kommunale Elite definiert hat, fassen. Die Anfänge des *Officium Gazarie* sind von dem Bemühen geprägt, die mit der Kommunalregierung von Genua vereinbarten Leitlinien in die Praxis umzusetzen.

Ein vorrangiges Problem lag, wie bereits angesprochen, im Seeraub—und zwar nicht nur in Überfällen auf genuesische Schiffe, sondern auch in Übergriffen von Genuesen auf fremdes Eigentum.[26] Deswegen definierte das *Officium Gazarie* gleich zu Beginn seines Wirkens einerseits verpflichtende Standards für die Größe, die Bauweise, die Beladung und Bewaffnung der Schiffe, die in den Osten fahren sollten.[27] Andererseits finden sich im *Liber Gazarie* aber auch Bestimmungen, die unkontrollierte Übergriffe von Genuesen auf fremde Schiffe verhindern sollten: Für jedes Schiff, das aus dem Hafen von Genua auslaufe oder an einer anderen Stelle der Küste zwischen dem Golf von La Spezia und Monaco ablege, solle eine hohe Geldsumme als Sicherheit hinterlegt werden, um zu verhindern, dass es zu Überfällen gegen Schiffe befreundeter Mächte genutzt werde—explizit werden hier die Pisaner und Venezianer erwähnt. Außerdem soll auch verhindert werden, dass genuesische Schiffe sich in den Dienst anderer Könige, Fürsten oder Städte stellen oder ohne Zustimmung der Kommunalregierung irgendwelche Orte überfallen. Aus all dem könnte sonst für die Kommune von Genua ein Krieg oder ein anderer Schaden entstehen.[28] Mit den Bestimmungen zu den Pfandleistungen für auslaufende Schiffe übernahmen die Mitglieder des *Officium Gazarie* Bestimmungen, die bereits vor der Gründung ihres Amts von Vertretern der Kaufmannschaft erlassen worden waren. Zugleich beinhalten diese Passagen auch Mechanismen, mit denen

26 Zu den ‚Pirates of the Mediterranean‘ vgl. *Seeraub im Mittelmeerraum. Piraterie, Korsarentum und maritime Gewalt von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert und Sebastian Kolditz (Mittelmeerstudien 3), Paderborn 2013. Zu den Aktivitäten von Genuesen in diesem Metier der einschlägige Beitrag von Enrico Basso, Pirateria, politica, ceti dirigenti. Alcuni esempi genovesi del Tardo Medioevo, ebd., 209–250.

27 Wegen ihrer späteren Überarbeitung sind die frühen Vorgaben für den Schiffsverkehr ins östliche Mittelmeer und ins Schwarze Meer nicht im ursprünglichen Wortlaut erhalten. Die Übernahme dieser Vorgaben auch für den Seeweg zwischen Genua und Aigues-Mortes verweist aber explizit auf die entsprechenden Vorlagen: Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 367–371 vom 14. Oktober 1317 und 9. November 1318. Hintergrund waren die jahrzehntelangen Bürgerkriege, die zwischen 1314 und 1331 nicht zuletzt die Kontrolle der Riviera betrafen. Dazu Epstein, Genoa (wie Anm. 21), 194–202.

28 Die bis 1313 zurückreichenden, am 21. November 1317 überarbeiteten Regelungen zur Hinterlegung entsprechender Geldbeträge als Pfand für Wohlverhalten vgl. Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 360–366. Der dort genannte Hafen Corvo ist auf der oben Anm. 1 zitierten Karte des Francesco Beccario unmittelbar westlich der Mündung der Magra am nördlichen Ende der Toskanischen Riviera eingezeichnet.

neben Anzeigen auch anonyme Denunziationen entgegengenommen werden können. Dadurch sollten Konflikte mit anderen Seemächten vermieden und vor allem die Probleme um Regressforderungen gegenüber der Kommunalregierung von Genua bzw. Repressalien gegen andere Genuesen minimiert werden, die das Mediterraneum und die anliegenden Meere befuhren.

Neben Regelungen, die grundsätzlich die Seefahrt betreffen, finden sich im *Liber Gazarie* vor allem Ausführungen zu bestimmten Küsten, insbesondere zu denen des Schwarzen Meeres. Die chronologisch frühesten dieser Ausführungen betreffen die Umsetzung eines Boykotts gegen den bulgarischen Zaren Todor Swetoslaw.[29] Auslöser hierfür war ein Konflikt über Angriffe auf genuesische Schiffe. Nach einem beiderseitigen Austausch von Gesandten, durch den immerhin eine Fortsetzung der Verhandlungen vereinbart werden konnte, schickten die Genuesen mit Gregorius Furmentus einen Unterhändler nach Pera, der dort auf einen Vertreter des Bulgarenzars treffen sollte—aber vergeblich. Nach Monaten des Wartens erließ Gregorius Furmentus schließlich zwischen dem 18. und 22. März 1316 ein *devetum de non eundo in Zagora*. Der Text verbietet ganz allgemein jeden Zutritt zum Gebiet des damit gemeinten Bulgarischen Reichs sowie jeden Handel mit ihm, fokussiert aber vor allem die Seefahrt. Eigens erwähnt werden die Häfen Maurocastro (= Bilhorod-Dnistrowskyj) und Susopoli (= Sosopol)—nach dem Kaufmannsbuch des Francesco Balducci Pegolotti vor allem Ausfuhrhäfen für bulgarisches Getreide. Um dieses Handels- und Reiseverbot durchzusetzen, wurden Strafsätze für jede Zuwiderhandlung festgelegt. Darüber hinaus berechtigte der Beschluss, den die Mitglieder des *Officium Gazarie* ratifizierten, jeden Genuesen, den bulgarischen Zaren und seine Untertanen bei jeder Gelegenheit an Personen und Sachen schädigen zu dürfen. Dass es bei diesen Maßnahmen in erster Linie um Seehandel bzw. Seeraub ging, erschließt sich durch die Bestimmung, dass für jedes Schiff aus Genua, das neu ins Schwarze Meer fährt, vor der Durchfahrt durch den Bosporus in Pera ein Pfand zu hinterlegen sei, das als Kaution für den Fall dienen sollte, dass dieses Schiff verbotenerweise doch die Küsten des Bulgarischen Reichs anläuft bzw. auf ihm Waren von dort transportiert werden. Sollte es dennoch zu einem Bruch des Embargos kommen, seien neben dem Leiter der genuesischen Regierung in Pera, dem dortigen Podestà, auch die genuesischen Konsuln von Caffa und von Trapezunt gehalten, Anzeigen zu verfolgen.

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[29] Zu Todor / Theodor Svetoslav vgl. Daniel Ziemann, *unum imperium magnum per se – Bulgarien 1308*, in: *1308. Eine Topographie historischer Geichzeitigkeit*, ed. Andreas Speer und David Wirmer (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 35), Berlin / New York 2010, 809–825. Das *Devetum de non eundo in Zagora* vom 22. März 1316 bei Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 382–386.

Die zweite Intervention des *Officum Gazarie* in den Seehandel im Schwarzen Meer und im östlichen Mediterraneum führt hingegen in weitläufige geographische wie diplomatische Bezüge. Am 19. März 1316 erließ es Regelungen, die den Boykott des Seehandels mit den Mamluken umsetzen sollten—explizit mit der Begründung, man wolle das Recht gegen Frevler durchsetzen, die es aus Habgier überträten.[30] Die Amtsträger griffen damit Forderungen auf, die seit dem ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert mit zunehmender Dringlichkeit erhoben worden waren. Nach dem Fall der letzten Kreuzfahrerfestung Akkon im Jahr 1291 wurde im lateinischen Europa ein neuer Zug in die Levante erwogen, um die Herrschaft der Mamluken über die den Christen heiligen Stätten zu brechen. Um diesen Zug vorzubereiten und den Aufwand zu verringern, sollten Handelsverbote die materiellen und personalen Ressourcen der Mamluken entscheidend schwächen.[31] Das betraf neben Waffen und waffenfähigem Material vor allem Holz. In einer detaillierten Denkschrift legten die Gesandten des Königs von Zypern während des Konzils von Vienne (1311–1312) dar, wie effizient ein wirksames Embargo die Macht der Mamluken schwächen könnte.[32] In diesem Zusammenhang verweisen sie zusätzlich zu den genannten Handelsgütern auch auf den Bedarf an waffenfähigen Sklaven, die aus der Schwarzmeerregion nach Ägypten transportiert würden. Zusätzlich berichten sie darüber, dass gerade genuesische Schiffe gegen die Handelsverbote verstießen und zugleich diejenigen Christen angriffen, die den genuesischen Handel mit Ägypten störten—allen voran die wenige Jahre zuvor auf Rhodos etablierten Johanniter.[33] Im Zusammenhang mit den Vorbereitungen eines Kreuzzugs gegen die Mamluken wandte sich Papst Clemens V. mehrfach mahnend an die Genuesen, um sie zu einem kooperativeren Verhalten zu bewegen, insbesondere auch hinsichtlich der Johanniter auf Rhodos und des Königs von Zypern.[34] Vor diesem Hintergrund stehen auch die Maßnahmen, die das *Officium Gazarie* im März 1316 zur Durchsetzung des Handelsembargos gegen Alexandria beschloss, um den Transport von und Handel mit waffenfähigem Material, Waffen, Holz und Personen zu unterbinden. Damit bewegen sie sich im Rahmen der Boykottfor-

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30 Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 371–376 vom 19. März und 30. Dezember 1316.

31 Georg Christ, Kreuzzug und Seeherrschaft. Clemens V., Venedig und das Handelsembargo von 1308, in: Maritimes Mittelalter (wie Anm. 9), 261–283.

32 Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, vol. 2, Paris 1852, 118–125.

33 Zur ‚Landesherrschaft' der Johanniter auf Rhodos vgl. Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts. Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1522)* (Vita regularis 14), Münster 2001.

34 Julius Leonhard, *Genua und die päpstliche Kurie in Avignon (1305–1378). Politische und diplomatische Beziehungen im 14. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 2013, 84–90.

derungen, die die zypriotischen Gesandten in Vienne erhoben hatten. Die konkreten Durchführungsbestimmungen werfen aber Schlaglichter auf die Praxis der Genuesen. Neben dem allgemeinen Verbot, die genannten Güter nach Alexandria zu transportieren, wird eigens ausgeführt, kein Schiff, das Genua zugerechnet werden könne, dürfe im Schwarzen Meer oder im Bereich des Byzantinischen Reichs irgendwelche männlichen oder weiblichen Mamluken oder andere Ungläubige oder Sklaven transportieren. Die Durchsetzung dieses Verbots wird den Repräsentanten der Genuesen in Caffa und in Pera übertragen. Sie sollten sich von allen Schiffseigentümern und Kaufleuten, die dort aktiv seien, Geld als Sicherheit hinterlegen lassen, um sie bei Zuwiderhandlung effizient mit Geldstrafen belegen zu können. Zugleich sollten die Verbote monatlich in Caffa und Pera ausgerufen werden. Um auch neu ins Schwarze Meer fahrende Schiffe zu erfassen, müsse der Podestà von Pera darüber hinaus von deren Patronen entsprechende Pfänder entgegennehmen, bevor ihnen der Transit durch den Bosporus gestattet sei. Um die Wirksamkeit dieser Beschlüsse zu gewährleisten, legten die Vertreter des *Officium Gazarie* neben einem Strafenkatalog für Übertreter zugleich auch ein Verzeichnis der Strafen an, die Vertreter der Kommunalregierung in Genua oder in Pera und Caffa zu zahlen hätten, sollten sie nicht für eine wirksame Kontrolle der Verbote Sorge tragen. Erneut wird die Schlüsselstellung Peras am Eingang des Bosporus deutlich, durch den der gesamte Handel zwischen der Schwarzmeerregion und dem Mediterraneum abgewickelt wurde.

Besonders ausführlich fallen die Beschlüsse aus, die das *Officium Gazarie* zur Stadt Caffa auf der Krim gefasst hat.[35] Caffa war bereits im 13. Jahrhundert der zentrale Stützpunkt der Genuesen im Schwarzen Meer, wurde aber 1307 angegriffen und im folgenden Jahr von Tohtu Khan, dem Herrscher der Goldenen Horde, erobert, nachdem die fliehenden Genuesen die Stadt zerstört hatten. Im Jahr 1316 hatte sich die politische Situation auf der Krim für die Genuesen wieder so weit stabilisiert, dass an einen Wiederaufbau der zerstörten Stadt gedacht werden konnte. Die überaus detaillierten Beschlüsse können an dieser Stelle nicht im Einzelnen nachverfolgt werden, lassen aber folgende Schwerpunkte erkennen. Grundsätzlich wurden Regelungen getroffen, die einen raschen Wiederaufbau der Stadt beförderten. So seien alle Käufer von Grundstücken in der Stadt verpflichtet, sie bis zum Jahr 1330 zu bebauen. Sonst fielen

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35 Die Beschlüsse verteilen sich auf folgende Textblöcke: Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 377–382 vom 18. März 1316 unter der Rubrik *Ordo de Caffa*; 386–406 vom 30. August 1316 (eine Serie von Beschlüssen zur Organisation der Regierung von Caffa); 406–409 vom 30. August 1316 unter der Rubrik *Certus ordo de Caffa*. Zu Caffa vgl. Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe e siècle)*, 2 vol. (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 235 = Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria n.S. 18 [92]), Rom / Genua 1978, vol. 1, 114–118 und 199–215.

sie wieder an die Kommune von Genua zurück, die den Eigentümer lediglich mit der Hälfte des Kaufpreises entschädigen und die Parzellen erneut verkaufen sollte. Weiter wurde der Versuch gemacht, Auseinandersetzungen um ältere Eigentumsrechte zu unterbinden, indem alle Grundstücke neu verkauft werden und eventuelle existierende Bauwerke abgerissen werden sollten; deren Erbauer dürften lediglich die Baumaterialien zur Weiternutzung mitnehmen. Lediglich Gebäude wie der Konvent der Franziskaner, ein Hospital, ein Beginenhaus sowie die Kirchen der Armenier, der Russen und der Griechen wurden von dieser Enteignung und Neuverteilung ausgeschlossen. Beim Wiederaufbau sollte zugleich die Errichtung einer Infrastruktur für öffentliche Angelegenheiten berücksichtigt werden. Außerdem sollte ein Freiraum vor den Mauern der Stadt vermutlich dem Zweck dienen, im Belagerungsfall eine effizientere Verteidigung zu ermöglichen.[36] Weitere Maßnahmen, die das *Officium Gazarie* beschloss, betrafen die Regierung der Tochterstadt. Analog zum Vorbild der genuesischen Gemeinde in Pera am Goldenen Horn sollte auch Caffa eine Regierung erhalten, die von einem aus Genua entsandten Amtsträger geleitet und von Repräsentanten der lokalen genuesischen Bevölkerung kontrolliert werden sollte.[37] Im jährlichen Wechsel sollte ein Genuese aus der Mutterstadt mit dem ersten Schiff, das ins Schwarze Meer fuhr, als Konsul nach Caffa entsandt werden. Sobald er eingetroffen sei, habe er in einer Versammlung aller Genuesen in Caffa die Maßregeln zu publizieren, die ihm die Regierung der Mutterstadt mitgegeben habe, und müsse einen Rat von 24 angesehenen genuesischen Bewohnern von Caffa einberufen, der sein Wirken kontrolliert. Die weiteren Vorschriften lassen erkennen, dass die Regierung der Mutterstadt vor allem Versuche unterbinden wollte, sich während der Amtszeit in Caffa unberechtigterweise zu bereichern, denn sie betreffen vor allem den Umgang mit Einnahmen sowie die Rechnungslegung und Ausgabenpolitik der Konsuln. Ansonsten dienen sie in erster Linie ökonomischen Interessen verschiedener Genuesen, so dem Monopol genuesischer Notare in Caffa oder der Gewährleistung einer raschen, effizienten Rechtspflege in der Kolonialstadt.

Das Gros der Beschlüsse, mit denen die Angehörigen des *Officium Gazarie* im Jahr 1316 den Wiederaufbau und die Organisation von Caffa gewährleisten wollten, betraf also den städtischen Raum selbst und sein unmittelbares Umland sowie dessen Verwaltung. Darüber hinaus reichen lediglich Verfügun-

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36 Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 406–409 (30. August 1316); zu den Stadtmauern ebd. 381 (18. März 1316).

37 Die Beschlüsse zu Caffa stellen eine erweiterte Fassung 1304 erlassenen Statuten für Pera dar. Vgl. ebd., 386–408 (30. August 1316) mit Statuti della colonia genovese di Pera, ed. Vincenzo Promis, in: *Miscellanea di storia d'Italia* 11 (1871), 513–780, hier 765–780 (lib. 6).

gen, die die Bedeutung Caffas für den Handel der Genuesen am Nordufer des Schwarzen Meers gewährleisten sollten. Sie betreffen die starke Restriktion genuesischer Präsenz in anderen Häfen wie Tana oder Soldaia (= Sudak) und verpflichten die Genuesen, Caffa anzulaufen und dort im Hafen vor Anker zu gehen.[38] Im Zentrum steht also die Organisation eines sicheren Hafens und Handelsplatzes für den über See abgewickelten Fernhandel.

Ganz anders agierten die Mitglieder des *Officium Gazarie* knapp eine Generation später im Fall der Hafenstadt Trapezunt. In einem Block von Beschlüssen aus dem September 1341 finden sich Regelungen, die den Verkehr zwischen dem Schwarzmeerhafen und dem persischen Täbris betrafen—zum damaligen Zeitpunkt Hauptstadt des zerfallenden mongolischen Il-Khanats und zugleich Endpunkt einer Route der Seidenstraße.[39] Die Genuesen sollten nach den Regelungen von 1341 sowohl in Täbris als auch in Trapezunt unter der Leitung eines Konsuls stehen. In Täbris werden ihm ähnlich wie in Caffa vor Ort präsente Landsleute an die Seite gestellt, um seine Amtsführung zu kontrollieren. Allerdings spiegelt sich in den Regelungen die geringere Größe der genuesischen Kolonie im Il-Khanat: Je nachdem, wieviele Männer überhaupt greifbar seien, solle das Beratungsgremium aus 12 bis 24 Mitgliedern bestehen. Hinzu kam ein eigenes Amt der Kaufleute in Täbris, ein *Officium Mercancie*. Die Beschlüsse, die das genuesische *officium octo sapientum constitutum super factis nauigandi et maris maioris* anlässlich von Trapezunt und Täbris fasste, betrafen vor allem den Karawanenverkehr zwischen der Hafenstadt und dem persischen Handelszentrum sowie die ökonomischen Aktivitäten im Il-Khanat. Die Konsuln von Trapezunt und von Täbris sollen gemeinsam dafür Sorge tragen, dass nur von ihnen lizensierte Kamele und Saumtiere zum Einsatz kamen, um Waren zwischen beiden Städten zu transportieren. Zugleich regelten die Genuesen, wie die Tiere nach dem Ende der Karawane unter den beteiligten Kaufleuten aufgeteilt werden sollten. Neben diesen Regelungen zum Verkehr zwischen der Schwarzmeerküste und dem asiatischen Binnenland befasste sich das *Officium Gazarie* auch mit der Handelstätigkeit seiner Landsleute im Il-Khanat. Vor allem restringierten die Offizialen jedes Geschäftsgebaren, das als unlauter verstanden werden oder zu Konflikten führen könnte. Sie untersagten zum Beispiel Warentermingeschäfte mit einer Laufzeit von mehr als vier Monaten. Zugleich sollte der Umfang dieser Geschäfte nicht den Wert der Waren

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38 Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 381–382.

39 Ebd., 348–350, vermutlich in einem Beschluss vom 6. September 1341. Zu Täbris vgl. John Andrew Boyle, Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khāns, in: *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, ed. ders. und Arthur John Arberry (Cambridge History of Iran 5), Cambridge 1968, 303–421; Reuven Amitai, Il-Khanids I. Dynastic History, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 12, London / New York 2004, 645–654.

oder Gelder übersteigen, über die der Genuese in der Region selbst verfüge. Zur Kontrolle dieser Vorgaben mussten solche Geschäfte zunächst vom genuesischen Konsul und vom *Officium Mercancie* in Täbris genehmigt werden, ehe sie der genuesische Kaufmann vereinbaren durfte.

Das starke Interesse an der Route ins Binnenland und an den dortigen Aktivitäten der genuesischen Kaufleute sticht ins Auge. Die Mitglieder des *Officium Gazarie* tragen dem Umstand Rechnung, dass auch nach Pegolottis Darlegungen die Bedeutung Trapezunts in erster Linie im Umladen der Güter auf Schiffe bestand, die bis dahin zu Land transportiert worden waren. Wie eng Land- und Seeweg aufeinander bezogen waren, lässt sich auch daran ablesen, dass Maße und Gewichte in Täbris und Trapezunt identisch waren.[40]

Neben diesen Beschlüssen, die sich auf einzelne Häfen, deren Hinterland oder konkrete Küstenlinien beziehen, beinhaltet der *Liber Gazarie* zugleich lange Ausführungen zum Bau und zur Ausstattung von Schiffen sowie zur Praxis der Seefahrt. Besonders diese Passagen sind in der modernen Forschung breit rezipiert worden, weil sie den *Liber Gazarie* in die Genealogie modernen Seerechts einzuordnen erlauben.[41] Die Kompetenzen der Expertenkommission bzw. des neuen kommunalen Amts waren gleich zu Beginn geographisch definiert worden. Zunächst sollten sie nur für die Seefahrt im Schwarzen Meer verantwortlich sein, wie der älteste Text vom 26. November 1313 festhielt. Bereits im folgenden Januar wurde ihr Auftrag auf alle Routen ausgeweitet, die über das westliche Mittelmeer hinausführten, also jenseits von Sizilien befahren wurden. Damit standen neben dem Schwarzen Meer jetzt auch die Umsegelung der Peloponnes, der Seeweg durch die Ägäis nach Konstantinopel sowie die Route über Zypern an die Küsten der Levante, also des Königreichs Armenien und des Mamlukenreichs im Fokus der Beschlüsse.[42] Diese Umschreibung resultierte daraus, dass das *Officium Gazarie* die Seefahrt vor der italienischen Küste als weniger gefährlich einstufte und es deswegen nur für Fahrten jenseits von Sizilien für geboten hielt, die Größe der Schiffe, ihre Ausstattung und Bewaffnung so zu normieren, dass das Risiko eines erfolgreichen Angriffs auf sie minimiert wurde.[43] Konkret wurden Beschläge an den Schiffsrümpfen vor-

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40   Pegolotti, Pratica (wie Anm. 8), 26–31, zu den Maßen und Gewichten 29–30 unter der Rubrik: „Come il peso e la misura di Torisi [= Täbris, Ch.D.] torna in diverse terre e in quelle con Torisi, e primieramente con Trabisonda".

41   Jean-Marie Pardessus, *Collection de lois maritimes antérieures au XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 4, Paris 1837, 419–544, veröffentlichte bereits Auszüge unter dem Titel "Droit maritime de la république de Génes". Vgl. Forcheri, Navi (wie Anm. 12).

42   Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 305–308 (26. November 1313); 309 (25. Januar 1314).

43   Vgl. ebd., 312–323 (22. Januar 1333) und 323–342 (24. September 1330), zur Größe, Bewaffnung und Ausstattung der Schiffe, die die Meere jenseits von Sizilien befahren.

geschrieben, aber auch die Ausstattung mit Waffen und Bewaffneten sowie Standardgrößen. Zugleich wurde genuesischen Schiffen befohlen, in der Regel nur im Geleit mit bewaffneten Schiffen zu fahren, wenn sie ins Ionische Meer vordringen wollten. Diese Regelungen wurden auch auf die westliche Seefahrt übertragen, für die das *Officium Gazarie* gleichfalls zuständig wurde, also für jede Passage über Aigues-Mortes bzw. Mallorca hinaus, so zum Beispiel nach Flandern.[44]

Sucht man nach präziseren Umschreibungen des maritimen Raums, wird man in den Regelungen zur Seefahrt auf konkrete Routen bzw. einzelne Häfen verwiesen. Zum Beispiel durften Matrosen nur an wenigen mediterranen Häfen entlassen werden, die offenbar eine Chance boten, wieder auf einem anderen genuesischen Schiff anzuheuern. Genannt werden vor allem Häfen, die im westlichen Mittelmeerbecken liegen, nämlich Pisa, Neapel, Trapani, Messina, Palermo, Nizza, Marseille und Mallorca. Jenseits dieser Küstengewässer, die die Genuesen als sicher einstuften, werden lediglich das zyprische Famagusta sowie die genuesische Pflanzstadt Pera genannt.[45] Regelungen zur Fahrt im Schiffskonvoi zwangen auch diejenigen, die in die Levante reisen wollten, dazu, bis zur Südostspitze der Peloponnes gemeinsam mit Schiffen mit Kurs auf Konstantinopel zu reisen. Erst vor Lakonien dürfe man sich vom Geleit der anderen Schiffe entfernen.[46] Das Umfahren der Peloponnes kommt noch einmal an anderer Stelle zur Sprache. Zu den Maßnahmen, die eine sichere Seefahrt gewährleisten sollten, zählten unter anderem die Vorgabe, die Beladung so zu begrenzen, dass der Freibord eine minimale Höhe nicht unterschritt. Um das sicherzustellen, sollten metallene Markierungen außen am Schiffsrumpf—entsprechend einer modernen Freibordmarke—jederzeit erkennen lassen, dass das Schiff nicht über seine Kapazität hinaus beladen worden war. Diese Markierungen sollten eigens dazu verpflichtete Angehörige der Schiffsbesatzung, sogenannte *cercatores*, regelmäßig überprüfen. Bei einer Fahrt von Genua nach Konstantinopel sollte diese Überprüfung im Hafen von Messina sowie in oder nach der Durchfahrt der Meerenge zwischen Zakynthos und dem Nordwesten der Peloponnes erfolgen.[47]

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44 Ebd., 325 und 334 (Mallorca); 335–336 und 352–358 (Flandern); ebd., 355–356 (Aigues-Mortes). Während der Bürgerkriege zwischen 1314 und 1331 erschien hingegen sogar die Überfahrt von Genua nach Aigues-Mortes risikoreich: siehe oben Anm. 27.

45 Diese Bestimmung ist Teil eines am 10. Dezember 1339 erlassenen *Tractatus marinariorum*, ebd., 410–416, hier 412.

46 Ebd., 336.

47 Ebd., 330–331. Clarencia bezeichnet eine Hafenstadt im Fürstentum Achaia an der Stelle des heutigen Orts Kyllini.

In den verschiedensten Zusammenhängen wird Pera als zentraler Verbindungspunkt für die genuesische Schifffahrt in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts fassbar. Das zeigt sich bereits im Zusammenhang mit den weiter oben diskutierten Einzelmaßnahmen: Die Verhandlungen mit dem Bulgarenzar Todor Swetoslaw, aber auch die Maßnahmen zur Durchsetzung des Boykotts gegen ihn sowie gegen die Mamluken wurden in Pera koordiniert. Ebenso wird Pera als Zielpunkt der Konvois genannt, die regelmäßig von Genua aus in See stechen sollten bzw. als vorgeschriebener Sammelpunkt für Schiffe, die aus der Romania nach Genua zurückfuhren.[48] Folgerichtig diente Pera auch als Kontrollpunkt, um die Beladung der Schiffe sowie ihre Ausstattung mit Bewaffneten zu überprüfen. So wird in den 1340er Jahren festgelegt, dass analog zu den Mitgliedern des *Officium Gazarie* in Genua das *Officium Mercancie* in Pera als Anlaufstelle fungieren sollte, um die Einhaltung der Vorgaben zur Schifffahrt zu überprüfen.[49]

Peras Schlüsselstellung verdankt sich vor allem dem Umstand, dass das Schwarze Meer in den Augen des *Officium Gazarie* von überragender Bedeutung war. Auf den ersten Blick erscheint die starke Aufmerksamkeit für dieses Meer angesichts des—modernen—Namens dieses Amts wenig überraschend. Führt man sich jedoch vor Augen, dass nach dem Zeugnis des *Liber Gazarie* das Amt bereits seit 1314 generell für die Seefahrt über Sizilien hinaus in die Romania und nach Syrien zuständig war und dass sich auch Regelungen zu Fahrten ins westliche Mittelmeer finden, sticht die starke Betonung des Schwarzen Meers doch ins Auge. Zum Beispiel wird das Schwarze Meer ebenso wie das westliche Mittelmeer zwischen Mallorca und Sizilien von der Vorgabe ausgeschlossen, dass Genuesen nur im Konvoi mit bewaffneten Galeeren fahren dürfen. Erst nach der Durchfahrt durch den Bosporus müssen sie sich in Pera zusammenfinden, um nicht ohne Geleit durch die Ägäis zu fahren.[50] Daneben erscheinen die Schwarzmeerhäfen von Caffa, Tana und Trapezunt als die zentralen Anlaufstellen für die Schiffe aus Genua. Eine Normierung von Transportkosten berücksichtigt zum Beispiel die Routen von Trapezunt, Tana und Caffa nach Pera bzw. Genua.[51] Und die Konsuln bzw. die *Officia Mercancie* dieser Hafenstädte übernahmen neben den Amtsträgern in Genua und Pera die Kontrollfunktionen, die einen störungsfreien Schiffsverkehr zwischen dem Schwarzen Meer und Genua sicherstellen sollten.[52] Es fällt auf, dass sich vergleichbare

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48 Ebd., 334–336.

49 Ebd., 350–352.

50 Ebd., 334–335.

51 Ebd., 345.

52 Ebd., 337.

Regelungen weder für die Routen zwischen Sizilien und Konstantinopel sowie zwischen Sizilien und der Levante finden noch für den Verkehr ins westliche Mittelmeer, lediglich in einem Beschluss von 1317 findet die Möglichkeit Erwähnung, dass es einen genuesischen Konsul auch auf Zypern geben könnte.[53]

Die Durchsicht des *Liber Gazarie* ermöglicht einen Einblick in die interessengeleitete Raumerfassung derjenigen Exponenten der genuesischen Führungsschicht, die von der Kommune mit der Koordinierung und Sicherung des Seeverkehrs beauftragt worden sind. Für sie steht das Schwarze Meer im Fokus, dessen Unsicherheit ja auch zunächst den Anstoß zur Einrichtung eines besonderen, in dieser Form höchst ungewöhnlichen Amtes zur Normierung und Kontrolle der Schifffahrt ins östliche Mittelmeer und darüber hinaus gegeben hat. Dabei interessierten sich die Mitglieder des *Officium Gazarie* ausweislich ihrer kodifizierten Beschlüsse nicht für die gesamte Fläche oder alle Küsten des Schwarzen Meers, sondern nur für wenige Punkte—neben der genuesischen Stadt Pera bei Konstantinopel die unter eigener Kontrolle stehende Hafenstadt Caffa auf der Krim sowie die stark frequentierten Häfen von Tana und Trapezunt. Zunächst spiegelt diese Fokussierung auf wenige Häfen die institutionelle Infrastruktur wider, die die Genuesen in dieser Region etablieren konnten—an diesen Orten sind dauerhaft genuesische Podestà und Konsuln bzw. eine Selbstorganisation genuesischer Kaufleute, ein sogenanntes *Officium Mercancie*, zu fassen.[54] Diese institutionelle Infrastruktur dient für das in Genua angesiedelte *Officium Gazarie* als Instrument, ihre Mitbürger auch in den weitab gelegenen Küstenregionen zu kontrollieren, um die Vorgaben der Mutterstadt durchzusetzen. Durch den Austausch von Informationen konnten die Amtsträger in Genua wie an den Ufern des Schwarzen Meers ein gewisses Kontrollregiment etablieren, um eine Minimierung der Gefahren für die genuesische Seefahrt zu erzielen.[55] Daneben spiegelt sich in der Fokussierung auf einige wenige Hafenstädte auch die Struktur der Seefahrt im Schwarzen Meer: Tana, Trapezunt,

53 Ebd., 366.

54 Zu den kommunalen Verwaltungsstrukturen Genuas im Mittelmeerraum vgl. Christoph Dartmann, Die Etablierung transmaritimer Staatlichkeit als Reaktion auf Migration und Mobilität im spätmittelalterlichen Mediterraneum: das Beispiel der Kolonialstädte Genuas, in: *Die bewegte Stadt. Migration, soziale Mobilität und Innovation in vormodernen Großstädten*, ed. Jörg Oberste und Susanne Ehrich (Forum Mittelalter. Studien 10) Regensburg 2015, 99–111.

55 Die Analyse dieses Aspekts, dessen systematische Ausarbeitung ein vielversprechendes Forschungsprojekt darstellt, könnte dazu beitragen, die Debatte um mittelalterliche Thalassokratien zu präzisieren. Vgl. einstweilen Jan Rüdiger, Kann man zur See herrschen? Zur Frage mittelalterlicher Thalassokratien, in: Maritimes Mittelalter (wie Anm. 9), 35–58. Demnächst auch Nikolas Jaspert und Jan Rüdiger: *Thalassokratie – See-*

Caffa und Pera waren die Drehscheiben des Fernhandels, dessen Routen in erster Linie von den Genuesen und daneben auch von Venezianern dominiert wurden. Regionaler Transport zwischen den Küsten des Schwarzen Meers sowie Zubringerfahrten zu diesen Fernhäfen lagen hingegen in der Hand anderer Seefahrer: Griechen, Armenier oder Tartaren, für die sich die Amtsträger im fernen Genua aber nicht interessierten.[56]

Die starke, wenn auch punktuelle Präsenz der Genuesen an den Küsten des Schwarzen Meers resultierte aus sehr spezifischen Handelsinteressen. Caffa diente offenbar als Umschlagort für Waren, die übers Meer angeliefert und weitertransportiert wurden. Trotz der Besonderheit, dass Genua Caffa anders als Tana oder Trapezunt als Stadt unter eigener Oberhoheit organisiert hatte, zeigt sich das *Officium Gazarie* nicht am Umland auf der Krim interessiert, sondern lediglich am Transport zur See und an der Organisation der Hafenstadt selbst. Ganz anders sah es in Trapezunt aus, das vor allem wegen seiner Handelsroute nach Täbris in den Fokus der genuesischen Amtsträger geriet. Somit richtete sich hier das Interesse gerade auf die Verbindung der Hafenstadt mit dem Hinterland, konkret mit binnenländischen Handelsrouten, die für die Genuesen vom Meer aus zugänglich waren. Eine erneut andere Konstellation zeigt der Boykott der bulgarischen Küste, denn ihre Häfen waren für die Genuesen vor allem wegen des Exports von Getreide aus dem unmittelbaren Hinterland attraktiv. In der Zusammenschau ergeben diese Befunde das Bild eines ebenso vielfältigen wie uneinheitlichen Interesses an den verschiedenen Küsten oder genauer Hafenstädten des Schwarzen Meers. Es wird nicht in seiner Gesamtheit als kohärenter Verkehrs- oder Handelsraum erschlossen, sondern nur bestimmte Punkte an den Küsten, und zwar ganz an den spezifischen ökonomischen Chancen orientiert.[57] Die große Bedeutung, die gerade das Schwarze Meer während der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts für den genuesischen Fernhandel hatte, erklärt auch, warum sich gerade dort die institutionelle Infrastruktur der Genuesen konzentrierte. Auch wenn der regionale Fokus des *Liber*

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herrschaft im Mittelalter (Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung), Berlin [im Druck].

56 Balard, Black Sea (wie Anm. 18), 186.

57 Seit der Frühen Neuzeit lässt sich hingegen fassen, dass Meeresflächen als Hoheitsgewässer ausgewiesen werden und man zum Beispiel mit Staatssymbolen wie Flaggen hantiert, um diese flächenbezogenen Herrschaftsansprüche zu markieren. Oliver Cromwell „brach […] wegen der Weigerung niederländischer Kapitäne, angesichts englischer Schiffe die eigenen Flaggen zu dippen, den ersten englisch-niederländischen Krieg (1652–1654) vom Zaun." Claudia Schnurmann, Frühneuzeitliche Formen maritimer Vereinnahmung. Die europäische Inbesitznahme des Atlantiks, in: *Das Meer als kulturelle Kontaktzone. Räume, Reisende, Repräsentationen*, ed. Bernhard Klein und Gesa Mackenthun (Konflikte und Kultur – Historische Perspektiven 7), Konstanz 2003, 49–72, 66.

Gazarie ein Stück weit dem ursprünglichen Auftrag des Amts geschuldet sein mag, fällt doch auf, dass es für den Verkehr und Handel in der Ägäis, im östlichen Mittelmeerbecken oder auch westwärts keine vergleichbaren Kontrollinstanzen gibt wie die Repräsentanten der Mutterstadt am Bosporus und am Schwarzen Meer. Sogar der Boykott von Alexandria sollte vor allem in Pera durchgesetzt werden.

Zugleich lassen sich den Vorgaben des *Liber Gazarie* die Vorstellungen zur Seefahrt entnehmen, die den verantwortlichen Genuesen bei ihren Überlegungen vor Augen standen. Sie dachten in linearen Routen, die an den Küsten und Inseln des Mittelmeers und des Schwarzen Meers entlang führten. Grundsätzlich fällt allein schon auf, dass die Sicherheit zur See vor allem durch eine Bewaffnung von Schiffen sowie durch die Einrichtung von bewaffneten Konvois gewährleistet werden sollte. Die Suche nach Routen über die offene See, die den Seeraub zweifellos erschwert hätten, wurde nicht als Alternative erwogen. Stattdessen werden die ligurischen Küsten, die Straße von Messina, die Ufer der Peloponnes, die Dardanellen und der Bosporus als markante Punkte erwähnt,[58] an denen sich die Regularien der Schifffahrt orientieren. Und die Zielgebiete, in denen Genuesen präsent waren, werden gleichfalls von Genua aus als Routen benannt, die über Sizilien, über Aigues-Mortes bzw. über Mallorca hinausführten. Auch wenn zuletzt die These geäußert wurde, dass gerade Genuesen früh begonnen hätten, auch während des Winters das offene Meer zu befahren, und dafür offensiv geworben hätten, bezeugen die Normierungen des *Liber Gazarie*, dass mit dem Normalfall einer Fahrt entlang der Küste in der klassischen Reisesaison von Frühjahr bis Herbst gerechnet wurde.[59] Die zweidimensionalen Portolankarten des Mittelmeers und seiner Nachbarregionen bezeugen, dass es seit dem 13. Jahrhundert die Möglichkeit gab, den Meeresraum als Fläche zu erfassen und ihn in ein Ordnungssystem einzufügen, das sich an den Himmelsrichtungen orientierte. Diese neuartige Form der Raumerfassung prägte aber nicht sofort auch die Praxis der Seefahrer und Kaufleute. Sie fuhren auch weiterhin, imaginär ebenso wie praktisch, an den Küsten des Meeres entlang zu den Häfen in Outremer, an denen sich ihnen vielversprechende Geschäftschancen eröffneten.

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58 Imposicio (wie Anm. 13), 335, erwähnt den westlichen Ausgang der Dardanellen unter der Bezeichnung *Bucha Avei*.

59 Gertwagen, Chapter (wie Anm. 9), 133–135. Vgl. auch das Verbot, zwischen Anfang Dezember und Mitte März von Pera aus das Schwarze Meer zu befahren: Statuti di Pera (wie Anm. 36), 762 (cap. 249).

Iván Armenteros Martínez

The Canary Islands as an Area of Interconnectivity between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)

Abstract. This paper examines the role played by the Canary Islands as an area of interconnectivity between the Mediterranean and the middle Atlantic. It focuses on the period between the first European voyages to the archipelago in the fourteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth century, when the islands' economy was in full swing and perfectly integrated into the economic system that united first the trading circuits of Europe and West Africa, and later the New World. The paper specifically analyses the economic role of the islands by looking above all at the development of two activities that were at the heart of the Atlantic trade revolution; the slave trade and the production and transportation of sugar.

On September 30th 1537, Queen Joanna of Castile presented Gabriel Socarrats, a Catalan merchant based in the Canary Islands since the early sixteenth century, with new capitulations for the conquest and colonization of Saint Brendan's Isle. After centuries of unsuccessful attempts to locate an island that since the mid fifteenth century was believed to lie somewhere to the west of the Canary Islands, and following Francisco Fernandez de Lugo's attempt in 1517, and another similar expedition in 1526 under the command of Fernando Álvarez and Fernando de Troya, Socarrats became the leader of a new voyage of discovery. He had become convinced of this trip's chances of success after his navigation officer, Antonio de Fonseca, had claimed to have spotted this fantastic island between La Palma and La Hispaniola, in the Caribbean Sea.[1]

The queen gave Gabriel Socarrats the right to take "two vessels equipped with a crew and weapons, and provisions and all kinds of cattle, with an experienced navigator" to guarantee the success of the discovery and colonization.[2]

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1 The search for the imaginary Saint Brendan's Island, also known as *San Borondón* or Lost Island, was based on a myth that dated back to the legend of Saint Brendan, a sixth-century Irish monk who set out, along with fourteen other monks, on a journey that would take them, after seven years, to the island where the Garden of Eden was. Once Europeans began sailing down the coast of Africa, the myth was shifted to the middle Atlantic, somewhere near the Canary Islands.

Additionally and in accordance with the Canarian and American experiences, if Socarrats and his men found natives, Queen Joanna ordered him to bring them "into the service of God our Lord, and ours, and that they give obedience and vassalage to us as their kings and natural lords".[3] Gabriel could take "to this island (…) tools for making bread, and wine, and sugar on it, and cattle and other fruits", as well as "all kinds of seeds, plants and legumes and trees, and cattle, and wheat, and barley, to begin cultivating them".[4] If the enterprise was successful, Socarrats might be rewarded, in return, with the titles of governor, *capitán general* and *alguacil mayor* of the new lands, as well as with possessions, rents, vassals and slaves.[5]

The legend of Saint Brendan gained credence during the maritime expansion that began in the mid-fourteenth century with the *rediscovery* of the Canary Islands. From that time onwards, individual and collective enterprises converged in a race in which European sailors, traders and explorers discovered the coastline of West Africa, and the early Atlantic slave trade began to have an impact on South-western Europe. It also took them beyond the very frontiers of geographical knowledge, which were finally breached in the years following the first expedition to the West Indies.

During the first century of European expansion, the area between the Gulf of Guinea, the Atlantic islands and the southern Iberian Peninsula became a space linked culturally and economically to the Mediterranean Sea and to Northern European traders. Portuguese, Genoese, Florentines, Castilians, Catalans, Flemish, Germans, North-Africans, Berbers, Sephardi Jews and sub-Saharan Africans cohabited, conversed and communicated using a syncretic language of trade, but also their own respective languages: Portuguese, Ligurian, Tuscan, Castilian, Catalan, Flemish, German, Arabic, Berber, Hebrew, Wolof, Fulani, Temne, Bambara and Mandingo. Management of the hinterland remained in the hands of local potentates, Muslim *qaids*, *alformas* and *linguas*

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2 (…) *dos navíos basteados de gente y armas, y mantenimientos y ganados de todas suertes, con piloto suficiente* (…); Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Indiferente, 415, L.1, 1537, September, 30th, f. 222r-232r; "Capitulación con Gabriel de Socarrás".

3 (…) *al serviço de Dios nuestro señor, e nuestro, e que nos den la obediencia y vasallaje que nos deven como a reyes y señores naturales* (…); ibid.

4 (…) *en la dicha ysla* (…) *aparejo para labrar en ella pan, e vino, e açúcares, e ganado y otros frutos* (…) *todas semillas, plantas y legumbres y arboledas de provecho, y ganados, y trigo, y çevada, para la poner en cultura*; ibid.

5 Ibid.; see also Maria Emelina Martín Acosta, Capitulación de Gabriel de Socarrás para la conquista de la Isla de San Bernardo (San Brandán o San Borondón), in: *Revista de Historia Canaria* 178 (1996), 129–150; Luis Regueira Benítez and Manuel Poggio Capote, Una expedición de Melchor de Lugo para descubrir la isla de San Borondón (1570), in: *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 53 (2007), 99–166, here 110.

or agents and interpreters who, depending on the places where they met, were Europeans, Arab-Berbers or sub-Saharans. The logic of the Euro-African and inter-African trade that took place in the middle Atlantic extended the medieval Mediterranean and trans-Saharan trading circuits. It was based on the experience accumulated during the Late Middle Ages and it used pre-existing or slightly modified trading and naval technologies as demanded by the new economic reality that emerged in the ocean waters.[6]

In this context, the Canary Islands played a decisive role due to their geographical location, halfway along the route to Guinea and in an advantageous position for the transatlantic routes to the Caribbean.

The aim of this paper, then, is to examine the role played by the Canary Islands as an area of interconnectivity between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. I shall focus, basically, on the period between the first European voyages to the archipelago—in the fourteenth century—and the early decades of the sixteenth century, when the islands' economy was in full swing and perfectly integrated into the economic system that united the trading circuits of Europe and West Africa, first, and the New World, later.

I shall begin with a brief summary of the process of rediscovery, conquest and colonization of the archipelago, a process that took place between the beginning of the fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth centuries, and which culminated in the incorporation of all the islands into the Crown of Castile. Then I shall analyse the economic role of the islands by looking, above all, at the development of two activities that were at the heart of the Atlantic trade revolution: the slave trade and the production and exportation of sugar.

Rediscovering the Canary Islands

From the earliest days of European expansion in the middle Atlantic, the Canary Islands were coveted due to their geographical location. The islands were a halfway point on the voyage to the Gulf of Guinea and an almost certain stopping-off point on voyages to the New World. Moreover, due to their proximity to the coast of Africa, the Canaries were also an exceptional operating base from which to launch plundering expeditions on the shores of Mauritania. However, the archipelago was also desirable for its soils and climate, ideal for

6 António de Almeida Mendes, Le premier Atlantique entre deux Méditerranées : comment les Africains ont développé le Vieux Monde (XVᵉ-XVIᵉ siècles), in: *Les esclavages en Méditerranée. Espaces et dynamiques économiques*, ed. Fabienne Guillén and Salah Trabelsi, Madrid 2012, 151–170, here 155–156.

the intensive and extensive cultivation of sugarcane, much appreciated on the European trading circuits.

Generally speaking, the colonization of the Canary Islands has to be placed within the process of European expansion in the Late Middle Ages. It basically corresponds to the period of economic stagnation recorded from the late thirteenth century onwards, followed by a period of equilibrium and then the upturn towards a clearly positive growth curve in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The colonization of the archipelago took two forms closely related to these periods of contraction, equilibrium and expansion. The first of these saw the creation of trading enclaves and the establishment of protectorates and areas of political influence. It was a way of adopting practices widely used in the Mediterranean in the Late Middle Ages, in which the aim was to try to influence the existing structures in the places occupied without actually replacing them. The second form, much used during European expansion in the Atlantic, especially in the African archipelagos and the Americas, was an authentic colonization that was intended to transform the pre-existing reality.

Accepting this pattern for the Canary Islands, we can distinguish two stages in the process of European occupation of the archipelago.

In the first, which we might define as penetration or pre-colonization typical of the fourteenth century, European expansion was restricted to influencing the indigenous structures for the purpose of favouring, through trade and evangelization, European interests.

This first period witnessed the well-known voyage by the Florentine Angiolino del Teggia dei Corbizzi and the Genoese Niccoloso da Recco, in 1341, financed by Alfonso IV of Portugal and recounted by Giovanni Boccaccio in *De Canaria*.[7] Furthermore, there was an expedition commanded by the Genoese Lancelotto Malocello at the beginning of the fourteenth century[8] and the Catalan-Aragonese expeditions that set sail from Mallorca in 1342 and 1352, which

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7 It consists of a brief text only two pages long, written between 1342 and 1344, and later incorporated into the *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, which can be considered "the first descriptive model of all pre-Columbian and Columbian accounts of voyages and discoveries (el primer modelo descriptivo de todas las relaciones de viajes y descubrimientos precolombinos y colombinos)"; Marcos Martínez, Boccaccio y su entorno en relación a las Islas Canarias, in: *Cuadernos de Filología latina*, n° extraordinario (2001), 95–118, here 103–104.

8 Martínez, Boccaccio (cf. n. 7), 99–100; David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind. Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus*, New Haven 2008, 36. Also prior to da Recco's and Corbizzi's trip, Angelino Dulcert's 1339 portolan chart showed three of the Canary Islands—Lanzarote, with the coat of arms of Genoa in allusion to Malocello's expedition, Fuerteventura and an annexed islet—and placed the rest of the adjacent islands within

founded the diocese of Fortuna-Telde and brought Guanche slaves back to Europe for the first time.[9] This early phase maybe also includes the voyage commanded by Jaume Ferrer in 1346, which reached the Gold River,[10] as shown on Abraham Cresques' *Catalan Atlas* (1375),[11] and the first Castilian expeditions to the islands.[12]

the field of fantasy and mythology: San Brendan, Primaria, Capraria and Canaria—Elías Serra Ráfols, Los mallorquines en Canarias, in: *Revista de Historia* 54 (1941), 195–209, here 197; Francisco Morales Padrón, Los descubrimientos en los siglos XIV y XV y los archipiélagos atlánticos, in: *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 17 (1971), 429–465, here 429, 431 and 433; Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, Conquistar y colonizar en las regiones meridionales, in: *Le Canarien. Retrato de dos mundos*, ed. Eduardo Aznar, Dolores Corbella, Berta Pico et al., La Laguna 2006, vol. 2, 63–88, here 65. Apparently, one of the oldest references to the Canary Islands is in book VI of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, transmitted, centuries later, by Isidore of Seville and some Muslim authors who pointed to the existence of the Fortunate Islands or *al-Kalidāt*, and stressed the extreme difficulty of conducting a successful conquest due to the resistance of their inhabitants; Abulafia, Discovery of Mankind (cf. n. 8), 34–35.

9 Francisco Sevillano Colom, Mallorca y Canarias, in: *Hispania* 32 (1972), 123–148; Morales, Los descubrimientos (cf. n. 8); Serra Ráfols, Los mallorquines (cf. n. 8); Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *El obispado de Telde. Misioneros mallorquines y catalanes en el Atlántico*, Madrid 1960, 33–34; see, also, Abulafia, Discovery of Mankind (cf. n. 8); 66–67.

10 Fourteenth-century Majorcan maps speculated that the Gold River, located south of the Canary Islands and probably confused with the Niger River, would lead to the market of Timbuktu, suggesting that access to the African gold trade was already a target. For an analysis of the way Africa was shown on late medieval Majorcan charts, see Yoro K. Fall, *L'Afrique à la naissance de la cartographie moderne (14eme/15eme siècles): les cartes majorquines*, Paris 1982 and Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes. La representació medieval d'una mar solcada*, Barcelona 2007.

11 "The sailor Jaume Ferrer sailed to the Gold River on Saint Lawrence's day, 10 August, in the year 1346 (*Partich l'uxer d'en Jacme Ferrer per anar al Riu de l'Or al gorn de Sen Lorenç, qui és a ·X· d'agost, qui fo en l'any ·M·CCCXLVI*)": *El Atlas Catalán de Cresques Abraham. El primer atlas del mundo*, ed. Jaume Matas Tort, Barcelona 1975, 3, 98–99. Mecià de Viladestes' planisphere (1413) reproduces, with some differences, the same text and drawing as the *Catalan Atlas,* see Fall, L'Afrique (cf. n. 10), 153–155. A Latin manuscript preserved in Genoa also sheds some light on this expedition with a brief commentary which states that the Catalan Jaume Ferrer had left the city of Mallorca looking for the Gold River, and no one knew what had become of him; Rumeu, Obispado de Telde (cf. n. 9), 35–36.

12 In 1377, 1382, 1385, 1391 and 1393 respectively, even though the 1382 voyage, commanded by Francisco López who left Sanlúcar de Barrameda heading for Galicia, was not supposed to reach Gran Canaria: *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla don Pedro, don Enrique II, don Juan I, don Enrique III, por d. Pedro López de Ayala*, ed. Jerónimo Zurita y Castro, Madrid 1780, vol. 2, 493; Morales, Los descubrimientos (cf. n. 8), 437–439; Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580*, Minne-

During the second stage, which covered the entire fifteenth century and may be defined as the true colonization stage, the fundamental goal was the creation of stable structures, either by importing new elements or transforming pre-existing ones. Necessary preconditions for all of this were the exercise of military control, political and administrative organization, the reshaping of the native population and its social structure, and the reorganization of economic activities. The establishment of these three vectors, namely the politico-military, the demographic and the economic, had to be adapted to the peculiarities of the different islands and, to a greater extent, to the two fundamental phases of the conquest of the Canaries: the seigniorial one, carried out by private individuals up to 1475, and the royal one, organized by the Crown of Castile from shortly before 1480 to the end of the century.[13]

I shall not give a full account here of the events that took place between Bethencourt and La Salle's Franco-Norman expedition of 1402, when the full colonization of the islands began,[14] and the conquest of Tenerife in 1496, when the Crown of Castile gained effective control over the archipelago. However, before coming to the second part of this article, I would like to suggest an idea which might help to explain the structures of the early Canary Islands economy and its close relationship with Mediterranean trading practices: every war has its financial cost. In the case of the Canaries, especially during the conquests of Gran Canaria (1483), La Palma (1493) and Tenerife (1496), this cost was rather high, but it was always made up for by the financial returns that the islands could offer to investors and entrepreneurs.

sota 1977, 42–44; Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, Jean de Béthencourt, Sevilla y Enrique III, in: Le Canarien (cf. n. 8), vol. 2, 17–49, 32–33.

13   See, for the two stages of the process of European occupation of the archipelago, Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, La colonización de las Islas Canarias en el siglo XV, in: *En la España Medieval* 8 (1986), 195–217, here 195–197.

14   We owe our knowledge of the Franco-Norman expedition—the first attempt at systematic colonization carried out in the middle Atlantic—to the two different manuscripts of *Le Canarien* that have survived, in which the conquests of Lanzarote (1402), Fuerteventura and El Hierro (1405) are narrated. For the two different accounts of *Le Canarien* see Le Canarien (cf. n. 8), vol. 1 which includes an exhaustive edition of manuscripts G, or codex Egerton, and B, or codex Montruffet, with facsimile reproduction, transcription, Castilian translation and study of the two texts. Among the abundant bibliography, a good choice is again Le Canarien (cf. n. 8), vol. 2 with a large number of contributions analysing the military conquest, and contact with the human and natural world of the islands.

Trafficking with Slaves...

The conquest of the archipelago and its complete annexation to the Crown of Castile were accompanied by different ways of organizing the territory economically. These ways were not necessarily planned, but they were perfectly adapted to the different stages of colonization and the financial tensions that arose at the end of the conquest. All in all, they were a logical extension of the activities carried out in the Mediterranean over the preceding centuries.

Indeed, the strategy implemented by Castile during the military conquest of the Canary Islands was essentially a territorial extension of medieval border warfare. Control of each island was preceded by a fairly lengthy period of sporadic attacks and pillaging in search of booty, both material and human. And so it remained until the end of the fifteenth century, when a huge number of the natives of Gran Canaria, La Palma and Tenerife were enslaved.

On Tenerife, for example, once the conquest was complete and despite the fact that the natives had been considered a peaceful people after their surrender, Alonso Fernández de Lugo, the first *adelantado* of the Canaries, a title equivalent to that of governor, allowed them to be enslaved, probably in order to repay the huge debts he had run up with his creditors to finance the military campaigns.[15] Obviously, this way of doing things was not invented by the Castilians. In 1229 and 1287, during the conquests of Mallorca and Menorca respectively, similar methods had to be used.[16] In any case, the profits from the sale of Canary Island natives ended up in the pockets of those who had lent money to Alonso de Lugo, until the establishment of the sugar industry as a means of obtaining additional funds put an end to the mass enslavements in the early sixteenth century.[17]

Due to their proximity to the coast of Mauritania, the Canary Islands were also an ideal place for prolonging the medieval concept of border warfare, deeply rooted among the new Christian settlers, and for attempting to gain access to trans-Saharan trade. Therefore, besides the islands themselves, the Canaries' African frontier became an important source of supply of North Afri-

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15 See for La Palma's case Manuela Marrero Rodríguez, *La esclavitud en Tenerife a raíz de la conquista*, La Laguna 1966, 40–41.

16 See, for example, Gabriel Jover Avellà, Antoni Mas i Forners and Ramon Soto i Company, El primer tràfic esclavista a Mallorca, in: *L'avenç* 35 (1980), 60–65; Ramon Soto i Company, Colonització feudal i esclavitud, Mallorca 1230–1350, in: *Recerques* 52/53 (2006), 19–48; idem, La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca després de la conquesta catalana de 1230, in: *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez. Antiquité – Moyen Âge* 30/1 (1994), 167–206.

17 Marrero Rodríguez, Esclavitud en Tenerife (cf. n. 15), 24–25 and 28–33.

can and sub-Saharan slaves. It quickly became the ideal place for organizing cavalry raids, generally from Tenerife or Gran Canaria, under the legal guise of trading companies, and for subsequently establishing ransoming companies with the aim of negotiating the liberation of the highest-ranking Muslim prisoners.[18]

Additionally, in a context determined by the rivalry between Castile and Portugal for the control of the middle Atlantic and access to African markets, Castilian interest in trying to exercise relatively stable control over the Mauritanian coastline was responsible for the foundation of Santa Cruz de la Mar Pequeña, a small fortress erected by Diego García de Herrera in 1476 or 1478 that survived until about 1535. Its chief function was to challenge Portugal with regard to control of the trans-Saharan routes and to compete directly with the Portuguese fortress-factory of Arguin, likewise situated in Mauritania.[19]

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18 Expeditions to the Maghreb took the form of companies and societies that generally lasted no more than two trips and made high profits. The first investment, usually carried out by members of the insular oligarchy, served to fit out a ship and hire a crew to guarantee the success of the action: sailors, captains, infantrymen, horsemen and guides who knew the terrain. Ransoms also took the form of companies, usually formed by two individuals who were in charge of fitting out a boat, providing it with a crew and recruiting the Moriscos guides who were in charge of negotiating with the local authorities. Usually, slave owners who ceded their Muslim slaves to negotiate their ransom obtained, in exchange, two black slaves for each Sarasin, while the rest of the booty, both material and human, went to the partners who assumed the risks deriving from the weather, corsair attacks and the natural death or escape of slaves; see Marrero Rodríguez, Esclavitud en Tenerife (cf. n. 15), 47–48; Manuel Lobo Cabrera, Rescates canarios en la costa de Berbería, in: *Actas del Coloquio Relaciones de la península Ibérica con el Magreb (siglos XIII–XVI)*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and María Jesús Viguera Molins, Madrid 1988, 591–620, here 592; idem, Ideología y praxis en la proyección canaria hacia África occidental, in: *Colóquio Internacional Sobre as razões que levaram a Peninsula Ibérica a iniciar no século XV a expansão mundial*, Lisbon 1983, 1–24, here 5–7.

19 Built around 1440 on a small rocky island (Abulafia, Discovery of Mankind (cf. n. 8), 90), Arguin was an active market where Portuguese, Maghrebi and Berber merchants converged. From the late fifteenth century to 1535 more than 25,000 slaves were shipped from Arguin to the Iberian Peninsula (Ivana Elbl, The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, in: *The Journal of African History* 38 (1997), 31–75, here 43–44; António de Almeida Mendes, Portugal e o tráfico de escravos na primeira metade do século XVI, in: *Africana Studia* 7 (2004), 13–30, here 19–20). Roughly during the same period, the factory received between 20 and 25 kilograms of sub-Saharan gold from the goldfields of Bambuk and Bouré (Boubacar Barry, L'évolution économique, politique et sociale de la Sénégambie pendant l'ère portugaise, au XVᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles, in: *Colóquio Internacional sobre as razões que levaram a Península Ibérica a iniciar no século XV a expansão mundial*, Lisbon 1983, 3). By the mid-1520s, the shipment of slaves had reached the figure of 2,000 men and women per year. After that, several geopolitical factors – the Sharifian attacks on Agadir, Safi, Azamor, Aguer and Arzila as well as Canary Island piracy – caused

The cavalry raids and the ransoming companies became an important way of obtaining slaves, cattle, gold, amber and other African commodities. Nevertheless, the slave population of the Canaries was not only supplied from the raids and the ransoming of Berbers. Portuguese traders put in there on their way back to Lisbon and placed slaves in a market with a high demand for them, substantially stimulated by the sugar industry, without doubt the most important economic mainstay of the islands, as we shall see. Both the legal and the illegal version of the slave trade grew in the Cape Verde Islands and on the coast of Guinea and its main river deltas.[20]

From 1478 onwards, royal licenses for doing business in Cape Verde began to proliferate, a form of enterprise that would last throughout the sixteenth century[21] and would supply slaves not only to the Canaries but also to some cities in the Iberian Peninsula, such as Seville, Cadiz, Valencia and Barcelona, and the Castilian possessions in the Americas.[22]

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annual shipments to fall sharply. From the 1540s onwards, smuggling and the shift in Portuguese trade to the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia rivers finally ruined Arguin. From then on, Santiago in Cape Verde took over as the Portuguese centre for the slave trade in the region (de Almeida, Portugal (cf. n. 19), 28; Barry, L'évolution économique (cf. n. 19), 3).

20 In the legal version, a factor worked according to the orders given by the capitalists based in the Canary Islands, receiving a commission of as much as 33% of the profits. In the illegal one the negotiations fell to an agent who carried his own commodities to swap peacefully for slaves, and who also received orders from different people for the same purpose, obtaining a commission of 6%; Lobo Cabrera, Ideología (cf. n. 18), 13–14.

21 Manuel Lobo Cabrera, Gran Canaria y los contactos con las islas portuguesas atlánticas: Azores, Madera, Cabo Verde y Santo Tomé, in: *Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana / Coloquio Internacional de Historia Marítima (1982)*, Las Palmas 1985, vol. 4, 311–333, here 324–325; see ibid., 326–330, for different examples of Canary trading companies in Cape Verde.

22 Ibid., p. 331; de Almeida, Portugal (cf. n. 19), 26. In addition to the 122,000 black slaves who were shipped to the Americas according to the licenses granted by the authorities from 1505 to 1596 (cf. Vicenta Cortés Alonso, La mano de obra negra en el Virreinato (siglo XVI), in: *Revista de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* 117 (1980), 489–502), a large number of them arrived in the New World fraudulently. Ruses to avoid the payment of charges and fees were widespread. From ships going to Cape Verde with the alleged intention of returning to the Canary Islands, to captains that were transporting more slaves than they declared, including the *recruitment* of black slaves as cabin boys, all of these were common practices by those who left Castilian possessions bound for ports in Cape Verde, Guinea and São Tomé, with the intention of setting sail for the Caribbean without paying taxes and fees; see for that question Manuel Lobo Cabrera, Esclavos negros a Indias a través de Gran Canaria, in: *Revista de Indias* 45/175 (1985), 27–50.

However, sending ships illegally to the coast of Guinea held even greater appeal, first, because of the lower cost of the preparations in relation to attacks on the Maghreb, since it was not necessary to mobilize cavalry, ground artillery or infantry; and in addition, the profits to be made could reach close to three hundred per cent of the capital invested.[23] This was the reason why Canary Islands companies also had Flemish, Italian, French and even Portuguese stockholders; and secondly because the risks were smaller and were limited to problems with the weather, such as periods of calm or storms, and especially to the danger of encountering English and French corsairs or Portuguese surveillance ships. This last reason explains why, on numerous occasions, crews included expert navigators, usually from Portugal, as well as African guides to handle negotiations with native traders.[24]

Be that as it may, it cannot be questioned that for a century and a half the Canary Islands were able to sidestep the Portuguese slave trafficking monopoly by means of the old late medieval cavalry raids and the slave trade in Guinea and Cape Verde, especially the illegal one. Thanks to this, it became an attractive market for buying and selling slaves, not only capable of satisfying its own demand for labour, but also of supplying some of the most dynamic Mediterranean markets.

… and Growing Sugarcane

If slave trafficking was seen to be a highly lucrative business, either through the enslavement of the native population, or through raids in the Maghreb and

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23 Ibid., p. 38.

24 Marrero Rodríguez, Esclavitud en Tenerife (cf. n. 15), 51–52; Lobo Cabrera, Ideología (cf. n. 18), 12–15. During the early years of African navigation, the use of African guides for the organization of the Guinean trade was commonplace. In 1455, for example, the Venetian Alvise Ca'da Mosto stated that each of the ships that formed the fleet in which he was travelling carried "black slaves that had been sold by the lord of Senegal to the first Portuguese Christians that had come to discover the land of the Blacks (*des esclaves noirs qui avaient été vendus par le seigneur de Sénégal aux premiers chrétiens portugais venus découvrir le pays des Noirs*)", trained in the Portuguese language to serve as commercial agents (*Voyages en Afrique noire d'Alvise Ca'da Mosto (1455 & 1456)*, ed. Frédérique Verrier, Paris 2003, 86). The Canary expeditions to the Guinean coast lasted until 1564, when Philip II banned them in response to Portuguese complaints. However, as had been the case in the Maghreb, they undoubtedly continued, especially after the union of the crowns of Castile and Portugal (1580), even though it is true that, being under the control of the *Casa da Guiné e Mina*, an institution created by the Portuguese to regularize the African trade, they were no longer so profitable; Lobo Cabrera, Ideología, (cf. n. 18), 15.

participation in the Atlantic slave trade, something similar occurred with the cultivation of sugarcane. Indeed, these two activities became so closely interrelated that, separately, they probably would not have achieved the levels of development they actually did reach conjoined.

Essentially, the principal strength of the early Canary Islands economy was the wholehearted commitment to the two flagship commodities of Euro-African trade: sugar and slaves. Obviously, this commercial pairing did not come into being as a result of Atlantic expansion; it had originally developed in the Mediterranean Sea in the Late Middle Ages,[25] as had its legal architecture, the naval and military technology and the practical commercial knowledge necessary for organizing economic activities. However, it was in the middle Atlantic where the production and commercialization of sugar and the trafficking and exploitation of slave labour went hand in hand for the first time.

Like Madeira, where sugarcane was introduced in about 1420,[26] Gran Canaria, La Palma and Tenerife possessed an ideal climate and good soils for intensive sugar production. The high demand for a workforce to work in the fields and the sugar mills was quickly met through the use of slaves.

Unlike what had previously been the case in the Mediterranean, where sugar had been an expensive and rather unpopular product in the Late Middle Ages, the lucrative production of sugar was guaranteed thanks to the combination of slave labour and perfect weather. The regions south of the Sahara desert offered slaves in abundance and at low prices. Their massive and intensive use

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25 See Mohamed Ouerfelli, *Le sucre. Production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Leiden 2008.

26 The Portuguese explorer Duarte Pacheco Pereira stated that Prince Henry of Portugal "discovered the island of Madeira in the year of Our Lord 1420, and he ordered it to be settled and he ordered sugar cane to be brought from Sicily to be put under cultivation, and masters to teach the Portuguese how to produce sugar (*descobriu a ilha da Madeira no ano de Nosso Senhor de mil CCCCXX, e a mandou povorar e mandou a Cicília pelas canas de açúcar, que nela fez plantar, e pelos mestres que o açúcar ensinaram fazer aos Portugueses*), *Esmeraldo de situ orbis, por Duarte Pacheco Pereira*, ed. Damião Peres, Lisbon 1954, 120. The migration of sugar masters was a common phenomenon in the history of technology transfers during the Middle Ages. The first training centres in the sugar industry were in Egypt and Syria, from where highly skilled workers migrated to Cyprus and Sicily. In the fifteenth century, knowledge of the cultivation of sugar cane and sugar production spread from Sicily to the Iberian Peninsula, especially Valencia. At the end of that century, many of Valencia's sugar masters migrated to Madeira, where the Portuguese industry was flourishing. From there, masters and their knowledge arrived in the plantations in southwest Morocco, the Canary Islands, Cape Verde and São Tomé; Mohamed Ouerfelli, L'impact de la production de sucre sur les campagnes méditerranées à la fin du Moyen Âge, in: *Revue des mondes musulmanes et de la Méditerranée* 126/2 (2009), 47–63, here 59–60.

on sugar plantations lowered the costs of production and increased yields and profits. In short, sugar and slaves were the authentic driving force behind the Atlantic trade revolution, and it is in this association where we find the capitalist ideas that made it possible to extend the mono-cultivation of sugar cane, industrialize the plantations and obtain huge profit margins.

Right from the start, the conquests of Gran Canaria, La Palma and Tenerife established the sugar industry through a system of licenses aimed at the financial elites to stimulate the setting up of plantations and encourage the migration of a qualified workforce, basically from Madeira and, to a lesser extent, the Azores.[27] Moreover, both the physical conditions of the islands and their strategic position for Euro-African trade attracted the interest and the investments of businessmen and trading companies that until then had operated mostly in the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic.

From Madeira, the Canaries received sugar cane and its associated technology, a specialized workforce and occasionally basic supplies, and from the Azores, the isles received settlers and sometimes wheat. In turn, the Canaries supplied the Cape Verde Islands with settlers specializing in the cultivation of sugar cane and factors and representatives of the foreign and Castilian trading companies that came to sell wine and pitch from Tenerife and Gran Canaria and to buy African slaves for use in the sugar cane industry.[28]

From the late fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, regional and interregional relations in the mercantile activity of the Canary Islands were in the hands of the foreigners who settled there or were attracted by them. Sugar, along with slaves, and to a lesser extent cereals and wine, were the focuses of interest of their commercial activities.

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27 Migration from Madeira to the Canary Islands is mainly explained by the attraction that the newly conquered islands must have held for new settlers and the limited economic possibilities of the Portuguese archipelago. In addition, the islands' location, on the route to the West Indies, was doubtlessly a major incentive; Manuel Lobo Cabrera and Margarita I. Martín Socas, Emigración y comercio entre Madeira y Canarias en el siglo XVI, in: *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira* 41 (1983), 678–701, here 678–679; see also Marrero Rodríguez, Esclavitud en Tenerife (cf. n. 15), 31–32; Ana Viña Brito, La organización social del trabajo en los ingenios azucareros canarios (siglos XV-XVI), in: *En la España Medieval* 29 (2006), 359–381, here 363, and Antonio M. Macías Hernández, La colonización europea y el derecho de aguas. El ejemplo de Canarias, 1480–1525, in: *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia* 69 (2009), 715–738, here 726; for the links established between the Azores and the Canary Islands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Manuel Lobo and María Elisa Torres Santana, Aproximación a las relaciones entre Canarias y Azores en los siglos XVI y XVII, in: *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira* 41 (1983), 352–377.

28 Lobo Cabrera, Gran Canaria (cf. n. 21), 314 and 324–325.

Of the foreign communities in the Canaries, the Portuguese and the Italians were by far the most numerous, followed in order of size by Catalans, Valencians and, to a lesser extent, Flemish, French and English. Essentially, their interests focused on purchasing land and setting up sugar mills, moneylending, slave trafficking, importing commodities that were lacking in the islands and exporting Canary Islands sugar and African slaves to Europe.[29]

Thanks to their financial help during the campaigns to conquer Gran Canaria, La Palma and Tenerife, and their subsequent economic activities, the most outstanding businessmen in the various foreign communities established in the islands became part of the archipelago's economic and political elite.

For the conquest of La Palma, for example, Alonso Fernández de Lugo had the financial backing of Francesco Riberol and Gianotto di Lorenzo Berardi—two of the key partners of the Florentine Bartolomeo di Domenico Marchionni, the biggest slave trader of the day[30]—with whom he made common cause, dividing the costs of the enterprise and the profits deriving from it equally.[31] He was also financed by another investor, the Catalan Pere Benavent from Barcelona, who became one of his principal creditors and one of the maximum beneficiaries from the share-out of La Palma. Besides a sugar plantation of approximately four thousand hectares and the right to use half the Los Sauces river, essential for setting up the fields and the mills for cooking and crushing the sugar cane, Pere Benavent also received three ships valued at 650,000 *maravedís*.[32] In this way, Alonso de Lugo settled the debt that he had contracted during the conquest, and Benavent became one of the biggest landowners of La Palma.[33]

29 See, for this question, Maria del Cristo González Marrero and Juan Manuel Bello León, Los otros extranjeros: catalanes, flamencos, franceses e ingleses en la sociedad canaria de los siglos XV y XVI, in: *Revista de Historia Canaria* 179 (1997), 11–71 and 180 (1998), 13–67.

30 Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, *Bartolomeo Marchionni, "homem de grossa fazenda" (ca. 1450–1530). Un mercante fiorentino a Lisbona e l'imperio portoghese* (Biblioteca storica toscana 73), Florence 2014.

31 Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, *La integración de las Islas Canarias en la Corona de Castilla (1478–1526)*, La Laguna 1983, 41–43; Abulafia, Discovery of Mankind, (cf. n. 8), 96–100.

32 See Elías Serra Ráfols, *Las datas de Tenerife (libros I a IV de datas originales)*, La Laguna 1978, doc. 274–1.

33 For the political and economic activities of Pere Benavent and his family, see Ivan Armenteros-Martínez, *Cataluña en la era de las navegaciones. La participación catalana en la primera economía atlántica (c. 1470–1540)*, Barcelona 2012, 207–213, and Ana Viña Brito, Los Benavente Cabeza de Vaca, vecinos de Jeréz y grandes propietarios de La Palma (Canarias), in: *Andalucía Medieval. Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*, vol. 2, Córdoba 2003, 323–336.

Many of the foreign merchants established in the Canary Islands thus became major landowners through the accumulation of properties obtained in the share-outs, or through sales and purchases and the collection of unpaid loans. They were closely associated with the production and commercialization of sugar, cereals and wine. They were part of the networks of the early slave trade and the dispatch of slaves to the Iberian Peninsula. They ensured their social ascent through mixed marriages, usually with the daughters and grand-daughters of the Castilian conquerors, without doubt one of the most advantageous strategies for their definitive integration at the summit of colonial society. Their economic and social strength gained them access to political power through the accumulation of public positions in the municipal councils of the islands. Finally, entering the economic and political elites created suitable conditions for their descendants to follow in their footsteps helping to keep the business buoyant and managing the family fortune.[34]

As I have been saying, the two mainstays of the Euro-African economy, sugar and slaves, also became the principal foundations of the Canary Islands economy. Sugar from the Canaries and the African slaves that passed through there soon began reaching the main markets of the Christian Western Mediterranean. In Valencia and Barcelona, for example, from the late fifteenth century onwards the movement of ships to and from the Canaries increased notably.[35] Indeed, the transportation of Canary Island and African commodities became one of the principal economic engines of Valencia.[36] Concurrently, in virtually no time at all Barcelona became the main centre for finance and maritime insurance for the Catalan companies that operated in the Canary Islands and the Atlantic coast of Andalusia.[37]

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34 González Marrero and Bello León, Los otros extranjeros (cf. n. 29).

35 For the trafficking of slaves from the Canary Islands to Valencia and Barcelona, see Vicenta Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos (1479–1516)*, Valencia 1964, and Iván Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud a la Barcelona del Renaixement (1479–1516). Un port mediterrani sota la influència del primer tràfic negrer*, Barcelona 2015.

36 José Hinojosa Montalvo, Cesaro Barchi y otros mercaderes florentinos en la ciudad de Valencia en el tránsito del medievo a la modernidad, in: *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi Storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo*, ed. Luisa d'Arienzo, Cagliari 1993, vol. 3, 231–249, here 232–235; María Rosa Muñoz Pomer, Germán Navarro Espinach and David Igual Luis, El comercio de importación portugués en Valencia, 1487–1488, in: *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, ed. Luis Adão da Fonseca, Luis Carlos Amaral and Maria Fernanda Ferreira Santo, Porto 2003, vol. 3, 1121–1131, here 1125.

37 Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, El comercio catalán en Andalucía a fines del siglo XV, in: *La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391–1492), Actas de las III Jor-*

The Atlantic trading revolution and Ottoman hegemony in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean had brought about a substantial change in the logic of economic circulation. Whereas until the mid-fifteenth century Barcelona had been one of the most dynamic trading and financial centres in the Mediterranean, from the 1490s onwards it became the main insurance centre for the Catalan companies that, although they had come into being in the context of the Mediterranean, had gone on to concentrate virtually all their main activity in the middle Atlantic. Along with them, the flow of capital and human resources towards the Atlantic islands was, to say the least, notable.

The company of the Font family from Barcelona is a case in point. The earliest news we have of its commercial activities dates back to the first half of the fifteenth century, when we find them operating in the Western Mediterranean and occasionally taking part in long-distance trade between Barcelona, Flanders and the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula.[38] After 1490, however, the company's commercial strategy changed radically and focused on the Atlantic, firstly in Andalusia, and after 1504 in the Canary Islands. When two members of the family, the brothers Rafael and Miquel Font, established themselves in Tenerife, they used it as a platform from which to build an authentic economic and political empire. They accumulated extensive assets in the islands and participated actively in the production of sugar and its commercialization all over the Mediterranean, even sending cargoes from the Canaries to Alexandria, via Barcelona or Valencia. They became one of the principal traffickers of slaves between the Canary Islands and the Iberian Peninsula and joined the economic and political elite of the islands, all the while maintaining strong financial links with Barcelona.[39]

Conclusion

During the early decades of European expansion down the coast of West Africa, the middle Atlantic was seen as a logical extension of the Mediterranean Sea and the trading and warfare that had taken place in it during the Middle Ages.

nadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval (1991), ed. Manuel González Jiménez, Seville 1997, vol. 1, 421–452 (with Catalan version in *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 18 [1997]).

38 Mario del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV*, Naples 1972, 145; Claude Carrère, *Barcelone. Centre économique a l'époque des difficultés, 1380–1462*, Paris 1967), vol. 1, 491, n. 4; 462, n. 1; 518, n. 4; vol. 2, 916, n. 5.

39 See Armenteros, Cataluña (cf. n. 33), 213–228.

Until the end of the sixteenth century, when sugar production collapsed and the American economy began to take off, the Canaries played an important role of interconnectivity between the Mediterranean and the middle Atlantic. This interconnectivity was not just physical. It also acted as a link between the commercial practices that had been developed in the Mediterranean during the previous period and the new ones emerging in the Atlantic, closely associated with the extensive production of sugar and the intensive use of slave labour.

Just as the conquest and the colonization of the Canaries was a project born of the experience accumulated in the Mediterranean, the economic activities of the businessmen established in the archipelago originated in the late medieval Mediterranean experience. The establishment of trading companies, the design of the routes for transporting goods and the organization of the raids on the coast of Mauritania followed a wholly Mediterranean pattern. The Canary Islands were merely a new area of economic exploitation, as the ports of Alexandria and Damietta had been in the past, or a new frontier on which to extend the pattern of border warfare. The only peculiarity was that, on this new occasion, the geographical theatre of operations had shifted from the Mediterranean and the coast of North Africa to the middle Atlantic and the coast of West Africa. This new area quickly became a privileged place in which to combine Mediterranean commercial techniques with proto-capitalism based on the mono-cultivation of sugarcane on large plantations and the massive use of slave labour.

In many ways, then, this early expansion into the Atlantic was the result of a natural extension of the Mediterranean as a physical space, the trading practices that had been developed since the Late Middle Ages, and experimentation with other completely new ones that endowed the early Atlantic economy with great strength and dynamism.

Acknowledgements

Controlling and Prohibiting Maritime Space: Early Modern Patterns

Daniel G. König

The Making of a Christian Atlantic

The Role of Islam in the Early Modern Emergence of 'the West'

Abstract. This article sets out to define the role of Islam in the early modern emergence of a Christianized transatlantic sphere that was to stand at the origins of our contemporary notion of "the West". Part One discusses various sources and scholarly opinions with regards to the role played by Islam in the European-Christian discovery, conquest and settlement of South America. It shows that, in spite of early Muslim ventures into the Atlantic, the Islamic sphere ultimately failed to take advantage of its Atlantic coast-lines in the medieval period. Part Two argues that, from the early modern period onwards, the Islamic sphere was systematically sidelined by Christian maritime powers in their quest for dominance over the Atlantic sphere. Part Three explains how these European-Christian efforts to deny Islam access to the Americas are reflected in the early modern Muslim documentation of the Americas, to the extent that the earliest description and history of South America in Arabic, dealt with in Part Four, was written as late as two centuries after Columbus reached the Caribbean by a Christian, i.e. the Chaldean priest Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī from Baghdad. Against this backdrop, the article concludes with some reflections on the significance of this documentary evidence for the emergence of the transatlantic sphere known as "the West" in English, "al-gharb" in Arabic, a sphere that was almost untouched by Islam until the twentieth century.

Around the year 417 CE, the late Roman historiographer Orosius contemplated the successful Christianization of the Roman Empire in his Seven Books of History Against the Pagans. Although menaced by 'barbarian invasions', the empire as depicted by Orosius had, in his time, achieved a perfect state of order: it had abolished the chaotic multiplicity of pagan divinities, exchanging it for the rule of one single God, a process of unification paralleled in the secular sphere by the exchange of a multiplicity of unreliable legal systems with the ubiquitous rule of (Christianized) Roman law. Thanks to this state of affairs, Orosius, who had left his native town Braga for North Africa and the Holy Land, was free to travel the Mediterranean, in his eyes clearly a Roman-Christian sea:

"The breadth of the East, the vastness of the North, the extensiveness of the South, and the largest and very secure seats of the great islands are of my law and name because I approach Christians and Romans as a Christian and Roman. I do not fear the gods of my host; I do not fear his religion as my death; nor do I have such a place that I fear, where the owner is allowed to do what he wishes and it is not permitted a stranger to act in a way that is proper, where the law of my host is that which is not mine; the one God, who in the days when He Himself willed to become known, established this realm's unity, is both loved and feared by all; the same laws, which are subject to one God, prevail everywhere; and wherever I shall go unknown, I do not fear sudden violence as if I be unprotected. Among Romans, as I have said, a Roman; among Christians, a Christian; among men, a man; I implore the state through its laws, the conscience through religion, nature through its communion."[1]

Written around twelve and a half centuries later, a text of the late seventeenth century contains a comparable statement. Now, however, God has not revealed himself in the Christianization of a Mediterranean-centred Roman Empire but by allowing Catholic Christianity to spread into the Atlantic sphere and by bringing Atlantic peoples into the folds of the Holy Church:

"With regard to the Holy Church, bride of our Lord the Messiah, to which—after His Ascension—Saint Peter the Rock was appointed as its head and administrator together with those succeeding him: it has not ceased to extend its grasp and to enlarge its protecting care, to the degree that there is no place or region in the four inhabited corners of the world in which you will fail to find the preaching of the Gospel and the truth of the righteous faith among different peoples and in various languages. The damned slanderer, the enemy of what is good and rewarding, however, did not cease in his efforts and vigilance to confuse the conscience of the believers as to overwhelm them and to tear them away from the bosom of the Church, their mother. (...) When the aforementioned groups detached themselves from the bosom of the

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1 Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*, trans. Irving Woodward Raymond, New York 1936, 176–177 (Book V, chap. 2,3–6); Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII accedit eiusdem liber apologeticus*, ed. Carolus Zangemeister (CSEL 5) Vienna 1882, 280–281 (lib. V, cap. 2,3–6): *latitudo orientis, septentrionis copiositas, meridiana diffusio, magnarum insularum largissimae tutissimaeque sedes mei iuris et nominis sunt, quia ad Christianos et Romanos Romanus et Christianus accedo. non timeo deos hospitis mei, non timeo religionem eius necem meam, non habeo talem quem pertimescam locum, ubi et possessori liceat perpetrare quod uelit et peregrino non liceat adhibere quod conuenit, ubi sit ius hospitis quod meum non sit; unus Deus, qui temporibus, quibus ipse innotescere uoluit, hanc regni statuit unitatem, ab omnibus et diligitur et timetur; eaedem leges, quae uni Deo subiectae sunt, ubique dominantur; ubicumque ignotus accessero, repentinam uim tamquam destitutus non pertimesco. inter Romanos, ut dixi, Romanus, inter Christianos Christianus, inter homines homo legibus inploro rempublicam, religione conscientiam, communione naturam.*

Holy Church, the Lord Messiah decided to admit various people of different ethnicity and character (...) who had been living in the fourth world-region which was hidden to the eyes and concealed to thoughts, so that even the great priest and doctor of the Holy Church, Saint Augustine, used to believe that this world-region was not inhabited by humans. Our plan is to bear witness to and to relate how these aforementioned peoples [re]turned to the true faith and how they were integrated into the bosom of the Holy Church (...). The region, about which we intend to speak, extends far in length and breadth and is larger in length and breadth than the three other regions known as Asia, Africa and Europe. It has been given a new name: they called it America (...)."[2]

This quotation does not only merit attention because it claims the Atlantic sphere for Catholic Christianity, even regarding the spread of the latter to the Americas as a divine act of compensation for the losses incurred by the Catholic Church due to the rise of protestantism. Its peculiarity derives from the fact that it forms part of the introduction to the earliest description of (South) America written in the Arabic language.

The article at hand sets out to explain why it is no coincidence that this Arabic text was not written by a Muslim but by a Christian. Part One will discuss various sources and scholarly opinions with regard to the role played by Islam in the European-Christian discovery, conquest and settlement of South America. It will establish that, in spite of early Muslim ventures into the Atlan-

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2 Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī, *siyāḥa*, ed. Anṭūn Rabbāṭ, Beirut 1906, 2–3: *fa-ammā l-kanīsa l-muqaddasa ʿarūs al-sayyid al-Masīḥ allatī juʿila Mār Buṭrus al-ṣakhra raʾsuhā wa-mudabbiruhā min baʿda ṣuʿūdihi al-majīd wa-min baʿdihi li-lladhīna yakhlufūnahu fa-lam tazal tamtadd aṭnābuhā wa-tatawassaʿ aknāfuhā ḥattā innahu lam yakhlu makān wa-iqlīm min arbaʿat aṭrāf al-maskūna illā wa-tajid fīhi karāzat al-injīl wa-ṣiḥḥat al-īmān al-mustaqīm bayna ṭawāʾif mukhtalifa wa-lughāt mutafarriqa. wa-ammā l-laʿīn al-thilāb, ʿaduw al-khayr wa-l-thawāb, fa-lam yazal mujtahidan wa-muḥtarisan ʿalā tazaʿzaʿ ḍamāʾir al-muʾminīn ḥattā yuṭghīhum wa-yaṭraḥuhum min aḥdān al-kanīsa ummihim. (...) fa-lammā tafarraqat al-ṭawāʾif al-mudhkara min aḥdān al-kanīsa al-muqaddasa shāʾa al-sayyid al-Masīḥ an yudkhil ʿiwaḍahum anāsan mukhtalifī l-ajnās wa-l-ṭibbāʿ, gharībī al-alsun wa-l-lughāt (...), wa-kānū sākinīn fī l-iqlīm al-rābiʿ alladhī kāna mukh-fiyan ʿan al-abṣār wa-mastūran ʿan al-afkār, ḥattā inna l-qiddīs al-ʿaẓīm muʿallim al-kanīsa al-muqaddasa mār Aghusṭīnūs kāna yaẓunn anna hādhā l-iqlīm huwa ghayr mas-kūn min al-bashariyyīn. fa-sabīlunā an nabarhan wa-nubayyin rujūʿ hādhihi al-ṭawāʾif al-madhkūra ilā l-imān al-ḥaqīqī wa-iḥtiḍānihim li-l-kanīsa al-muqaddasa (...). wa-ammā hādhā al-iqlīm alladhī qaṣadnā al-takallum ʿanhu fa-huwa mumtadd al-ṭūl wa-l-ʿarḍ wa-huwa akbar min al-thalāthat aqālīm al-ukhrā al-maʿrūfa bi-Āsyā wa-Afrīkā wa-Ūrūbbā ṭūlan wa-ʿarḍan, wa-qad jaʿalū lahu isman jadīdan wa-sammūhu Mīrīkā (...)., Reprinted* as Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī, *al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa: riḥlat Ilyās al-Mawṣilī ilā Amrīkā. awwal riḥla sharqiyya ilā l-ʿālam al-jadīd*, ed. Nūrī al-Jarrāḥ, Beirut 2001, 28–29. On this passage see John-Paul Ghobrial, The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory, in: *Past and Present* 222 (2014), 1–93, here 71–74.

tic, the Islamic sphere ultimately failed to take advantage of its Atlantic coast-lines in the medieval period. Part Two will show that, from the early modern period onwards, the Islamic sphere was systematically sidelined by Christian maritime powers in their quest for dominance over the Atlantic sphere. Part Three will trace how these European-Christian efforts to deny Islam access to the Americas is reflected in the early modern Muslim documentation of the Americas, to the effect that the earliest description and history of South America in Arabic, dealt with in Part Four, was written, almost two hundred years after Columbus reached the Caribbean, by a Christian—the Chaldean priest Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī from Baghdad. On this basis, the article will conclude with some reflections on the significance of this documentary evidence for the emergence of the transatlantic sphere known as 'the West' in English, '*al-gharb*' in Arabic, a sphere that was almost untouched by Islam until the twentieth century.

The Role of Islam in the Disclosure of the Atlantic Sphere

Scholarship has proposed various hypotheses that explain the expansion of Christian Europe into the Atlantic sphere against the background of its relations to the Islamic sphere. In line with his well-known theory of "Challenge and Response", Arnold Toynbee described European-Christian expansionism into the Atlantic sphere as a Western response to centuries of Muslim alias "Syriac" pressure exerted on the medieval Franks and the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula. According to Toynbee, the Muslim invasion in 711 as well as subsequent raids against northern Christian societies provoked an expansionist drive among the latter which expressed itself first in the so-called reconquest (*Reconquista*) of the Iberian Peninsula,[3] then in the Portuguese and Castilian surge into the Atlantic.

> "[T]he Western reaction to Syriac pressure which declared itself on the bat-tle-field of Tours in A.D. 732 continued in force and increased in momentum on this front until, some eight centuries later, its impetus was carrying the Portuguese vanguard of Western Christendom right out of the Iberian Penin-sula and onward overseas round Africa to Goa and Malacca and Macao, and the Castilian vanguard onward across the Atlantic to Mexico and thence

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3 On the ambiguities of the term *Reconquista* see Nikolas Jaspert, Reconquista. Interde-pendenzen und Tragfähigkeit eines wertekategorialen Deutungsmusters, in: *Christlicher Norden—Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Mus-limen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Alexander Fidora and Matthias Tischler, Münster 2011, 445–465.

across the Pacific to Manila. These Iberian pioneers of Western Christendom performed an unparalleled service for the civilization which they represented. They expanded the horizon, and thereby potentially the domain, of our Western Society from an obscure corner of the Old World until it came to embrace all the habitable lands and navigable seas on the surface of the planet. It is owing to this Iberian energy and enterprise that Western Christendom has grown, like the grain of mustard seed in the parable, until it has become 'the Great Society': a tree in whose branches all the nations of the Earth have come and lodged. This latter-day Westernized World is the peculiar achievement of Western Christendom's Iberian pioneers; and the Western energy which performed this feat was evoked and sustained and wrought up to its high intensity by the challenge of Syriac pressure on the Iberian front."[4]

Many of Toynbee's premises are not necessarily shared by contemporary research, among others his definition of the Muslims as carriers of "Syriac" civilization, his reduction of the so-called *Reconquista* to an ideologically motivated expansionist drive and his mechanistic approach to world history in general. Notwithstanding, scholarship has not entirely discarded the idea that the European-Christian expansion into the Atlantic can be explained with reference to certain features of the so-called Spanish *Reconquista*,[5] as well as to more general Mediterranean preliminaries. Recent medievalist research has repeatedly defined the high and late medieval Mediterranean as a kind of ideological, logistic, military and economic 'training ground' for ensuing Atlantic activities. Latin-Christian expansionism into the Mediterranean, as expressed in the Norman establishment in southern Italy and Sicily, the crusades, the conquest of Constantinople and the annexation of great parts of the Byzantine Empire in and after 1204, the *Reconquista* and the establishment of highly active merchant diasporas in all important ports of the southern and eastern Mediterranean can certainly be regarded as experimental variants of conquest and colonization.[6] As Robert Bartlett put it:

4 Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. 2, London 1963, reprint of 1934, 203–204; see Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History. Abridgement of Volumes I-VI by David Churchill Somervell*, Oxford 1987, Reprint of 1946, 124–125.

5 See Abbas Hamdani, Columbus and the Recovery of Jerusalem, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99/1 (1979), 39–48; José-Juan López-Portillo (ed.), *Spain, Portugal and the Atlantic Frontier of Medieval Europe*, Farnham 2013; Thomas Benjamin, *The Atlantic World. Europeans, Africans, and their Shared History 1400–1900*, Cambridge 2009, 1–325.

6 See Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (ed.), *Coloniser au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1995; Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (ed.), *Le partage du monde. Échanges et colonisations dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Paris 1998; Peter Feldbauer, Gottfried Liedl and John Morrissey (ed.), *Von der mediterranen zur atlantischen Expansion*, Vienna 1999; Felicitas Schmieder, Das Werden des mittelalterlichen Europa aus dem Kulturkontakt. Vorausset-

> "The mental habits and institutions of European racism and colonialism were born in the medieval world: the conquerors of Mexico knew the problem of the Mudejars, the planters of Virginia had already been planters of Ireland. (...) The European Christians who sailed to the coasts of the Americas, Asia and Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries came from a society that was already a colonizing society. Europe, the initiator of one of the world's major processes of conquest, colonization and cultural transformation, was also the product of one."[7]

Complementing research on the medieval and early modern expansion of Christian Europe, various scholars have made efforts to understand to which degree Muslims were involved in the exploration of the Atlantic sphere. Extreme positions go as far as asserting that Muslims, not European Christians, have to be regarded as the 'real' discoverers of the Americas. Such allegations are based on a handful of medieval Arabic-Islamic sources as well as on research highlighting the Islamic contributions to the fields of geography, cartography, navigation and nautical science.

One should recall in this context that the Muslim conquest of North Africa in the late seventh century provided the expanding Islamic sphere with access to the Atlantic. Contemplating that, from the seventh century onwards, Muslim fleets became so active in the Mediterranean that Henri Pirenne was prompted to refer to its western parts as a "lac musulman".[8] One wonders why this naval force was not also used to surge forth into the Atlantic. Christophe Picard and Andreas Obenaus have shown that the Viking raids on the Iberian Peninsula in the ninth century actually provoked investment into the maritime infrastructure in the Atlantic port cities of al-Andalus while the Iberian engagement of two North African dynasties—the Almoravids and the Almohads—was only possible because maritime communication facilitated the administration of these African-Iberian empires in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[9]

zungen und Anfänge der europäischen Expansion, in: *Expansionen in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Renate Dürr, Gisela Engel and Johannes Süßmann, Berlin 2005, 27–41; Jérôme Baschet, *La civilisation féodale. De l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique*, Paris 2006; José Juan López-Portillo (ed.), *Spain, Portugal and the Atlantic Frontier of Medieval Europe*, Aldershot 2013. Also see Jock H. Galloway, The Mediterranean Sugar Industry, in: *Geographical Review* 67/2 (1977), 177–194, on links between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic sphere with regard to the crop, the organization of labour and variants of colonization, as well as the article by Iván Armenteros Martínez in this volume.

7 Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Exchange*, London 1993, 313–314.

8 Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, Paris 1992, 119–120, 215. On early Muslim fleets see Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland. Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650–1040)*, Berlin 1966.

Arabic-Islamic texts written between the tenth and the fourteenth century document several instances in which Muslims ventured forth into what these sources denominate "the Ocean" (*al-Uqyānus*), "the encompassing sea" (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) or even "the sea of darkness(es)" (*baḥr al-ẓulmāt*).[10] Two of these texts shall be presented here. Around the middle of the tenth century, the Arabic-Islamic polymath al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) reported on an Andalusian expedition into this maritime space:

> "Some claim that this sea is the source of water for all other seas. Strange things are reported about it (…), stories of people who shunned the risk and exposed themselves to its dangers on their own, some escaping unscathed while others perished, and of the things they lived through and saw. Among these was a man from al-Andalus called Khashkhāsh. He belonged to the youth of Córdoba, gathered a number of them and set out into the encompassing ocean with them in ships which he had equipped in preparation. He disappeared for a while and then returned with large booty (…)."[11]

Around the middle of the twelfth century, the Arabic-Islamic geographer al-Idrīsī (d. *c.* 560/1165) reported on a group of adventurers who had started out into the "sea of darkness" from Lisbon, "to find out what was in it and where it ends." On a transport ship equipped for several months of travel, they sailed westward for a period of approximately twelve days, then southward for another twelve days, eventually reaching an island inhabited by sheep-like animals. After sailing southward for another twelve days, they encountered an inhabited island. Communication with the inhabitants was possible thanks to an autochtonous interpreter with Arabic skills. Pushed by the west wind for a period of three days, the travellers then reached another location populated by Berbers who claimed that Lisbon lay at a distance of around two months of travel.[12] Considering that Columbus' fleet setting out from the Iberian city

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9 Christophe Picard, *L'Océan Atlantique musulman: de la conquête arabe à l'époque almohade. Navigation et mise en valeur des côtes d'al-Andalus et du Maghreb occidental (Portugal, Espagne, Maroc)*, Paris 1997; also see Christophe Picard, *La mer et les musulmans d'Occident au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1997; Andreas Obenaus, *Islamische Perspektiven der Atlantikexpansion*, 2 vols, Vienna 2013.

10 See Obenaus, Islamische Perspektiven (cf. n. 9), vol. 2, 212–250.

11 al-Masʿūdī, *murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. Charles Barbier de Meynard and Abel Pavet de Courteille, vol. 1, Paris 1861, 257–258 (cap. XII): *wa-tadhhab qawm ilā anna hādhā l-baḥr aṣl māʾ sāʾir al-biḥār wa-lahu akhbār ʿajība (…) wa-fī akhbār man gharrara wa-khāṭira bi-nafsihi wa-man najā minhum wa-man talafa wa-mā shāhadū minhu wa-mā rāʾū wa-idh minhum rajul min ahl al-Andalus yuqāl lahu Khashkhāsh wa-kāna min fatyān Qurṭuba wa-aḥdāthihim fa-jamaʿa jamāʿa min ahdāthihā wa-rakaba bihim fī marākib istaʿaddahā hādhā al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ fa-ghāba thumma inthanā bi-ghanāʾim wāsiʿa (…).*

Palos de la Frontera took around one week to reach the Canaries, then another forty days to reach San Salvador, the travellers mentioned by al-Idrīsī cannot have sailed very far across the Atlantic.[13]

In answer to the question to what extent Muslims were involved in the European discovery of the Americas, various scholars have justifiably pointed to the important contributions by Arabic-Islamic geographers, cartographers and navigators to late medieval and early modern European-Christian geographical and nautical knowledge and skills.[14] Fuat Sezgin even went as far as postulating that "the maps used by European 'discoverers' must have been of Arabic-Islamic provenance", given "that many of the new islands and coastlines are drawn in those maps with a degree of longitudinal precision that was not approached in Europe prior to the eighteenth century." Since Sezgin is also convinced that contemporary Spanish texts mention pre-Columbian contact between South America and the Islamic sphere, he can be clearly identified as one of the defenders of the hypothesis that Muslims discovered the Americas earlier than the Europeans—a hypothesis recently taken up by Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.[15]

Even those lacking experience with historical sources on late medieval nautical and cartographical knowledge in the Mediterranean cannot miss the fact that the debate about who first 'discovered' the Americas is not only highly

12   al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum sive "Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrare studeant"*, ed. Alesio Bombaci, Enrico Cerulli, Francesco Gabrieli et al., fasc. 5–8, Leiden 1980–1983, 548–549 (*al-iqlīm al-rābiʿ, al-juzʾ al-awwal*): *wa-min madīnat Lishbūna kāna khurūj al-mugharrarīn fī rukūb baḥr al-ẓulmāt li-yaʿrifū mā fīhi wa-ilā ayna intihāʾuhu (…)*.; see *Géographie d'Édrisi*, trans. Pierre Amédée Jaubert, vol. 2, Paris 1840, 26–29.

13   On the period needed by Columbus' fleet to cross the Atlantic see Urs Bitterli, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas. Von Kolumbus bis Alexander von Humboldt*, Munich 2006, 58.

14   Donald Hill, *Islamic Science and Engineering*, Edinburgh 1993, 34–54, 187–202; Henri Grosset-Grange and Henri Rouquette, Arabic Nautical Science, in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, ed. Roshdi Rashed and Régis Morelon, London 1996, vol. 1, 202–242. See the most recent contribution on this question by Obenaus, Islamische Perspektiven (cf. n. 9), vol. 1, 131–144; ibid., vol. 2, 171–178, 331–338.

15   Fuat Sezgin, Die Entdeckung des amerikanischen Kontinents durch muslimische Seefahrer vor Kolumbus, in: *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Bd. 13: Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland: Autoren,* ed. Fuat Sezgin, Leiden 2007, 2–39, here: 28, 32. Sezgin's hypothesis has recently been backed by Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, see, Muslims discovered America, says Turkish president, in: *The Guardian,* 16 November 2014, URL: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/16/muslims-discovered-america-erdogan-christopher-columbus (accessed 11 January 2016). See the harsh and equally ideological, if not islamophobic criticism of Sezgin's hypothesis in Frederick William Dane, *The Muslim Discovery of America*, Norderstedt 2013.

ideological but ultimately pointless. Regardless of who 'discovered' the American continent, the fact remains that European Christians and not Muslims settled, colonized and exploited this 'New World'. As will be shown in the following pages, the European Christians involved in these processes deliberately and systematically constructed bulwarks against what they regarded as an Islamic 'infiltration' of the Americas by taking expedient legal and practical measures.

Bulwarks against the Islamic Infiltration of the Americas

Legal rulings issued since 1493 prove that the Spanish Crown made great efforts to keep Muslims out of South America as soon as its discovery had taken place. Although in need of skilled labourers for the development of the earliest Spanish outpost in the Caribbean, the island Hispaniola, the so-called 'Catholic Kings' Isabella of Castile and Fernando of Aragon, insisted in 1493 that no Muslims (*moros*) be recruited.[16] As stated in a royal instruction issued in 1501, the exclusion of Muslims from the new colonies was motivated by the wish not to endanger the future Christianization of the indigenous population:

> "Likewise, we have to bring about the conversion of the Indios to our Holy Catholic Faith with much care. To avoid that persons who are suspicious with regard to their faith, present an impediment to the aforementioned conversion, do not consent nor create the opportunity that Moors (*moros*), Jews, heretics, persons reconciled to the faith (*reconciliados*) nor recent converts to our faith go over there, with the exception of black slaves who have been born into the sphere of Christians who either are our subjugated or natural subjects."[17]

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16 Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, vol. 2: *Documentos de Colón y de las primeras poblaciones*, Madrid 1859, 47 (n° 23, 23 May 1493): *vos mandamos que luego busqueis en esa frontera los dichos veinte hombre de campo, é otro hombre que sepa hacer las dichas acequias, que non sea moro, que sean hombres seguros é fiables (...)*.

17 *Cedulario indiano recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, 4 vols, Madrid 1596 (facsimile reprint 1945–1946), vol. 1, 455: *Ytem, por quanto nos con mucho cuidado avemos de procurar la conversión de los indios a nuestra Santa Fe Católica; y si hallá fuesen personas sospechosas en la fe a la dicha conversión podría ser algún impedimento, no consentiréys, ni daréys lugar que allá vayan moros ni judíos, ni herejes, ni reconciliados, ni personas nuevamente convertidas a nuestra fe, salvo si fuesen esclavos negros o otros esclavos negros que ayan nacido en poder de cristianos nuestros súbditos y naturales*. See Louis Cardaillac, Le problème morisque en Amérique, in: *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 12 (1976), 283–306, here: 285; Antonio Garrido Aranda, El morisco y la inquisición novohispana. Actitudes antiislámicas en la sociedad colonial, in: *Andalucía y America en el siglo XVI*, Madrid 1984, 501–533, here: 502.

A ruling from 1522 tying the right of non-Christians to travel to the colonies to royal permission shows that some exceptions were made. At the same time, however, the law extends the general travel prohibition to the children of the aforementioned non-Christian groups.[18] In 1526, this prohibition, repeated in 1531 and 1550, was further applied to slaves who had grown up under Muslim rule.[19] These and other provisions show that the Spanish Crown took great pains in the sixteenth century to ensure that the newly acquired colonies would be kept free from any form of non-Catholic religious influence. As Charles V stated in 1543, the New World was supposed to become Catholic, the spread of Islam to be avoided at all costs:

> "Know that we have been informed that to these regions have passed and everyday pass a number of male and female Berber slaves as well as other free persons such as recently converted Moors and their children who have been prohibited from passing because of the huge inconveniences which, according to experience, have appeared as a consequence of their passage. And [they have also been prohibited from passing] because one has heard of the damage potentially produced by those having passed and those passing in the future, because in a new territory such as this one where the Faith is newly planted, it is adequate to avoid every opportunity of sowing and publicizing the sect of Muḥammad or any other sect that offends God our Lord and commits perjury vis-à-vis our holy Catholic Faith."[20]

18 *Recopilacion de las leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, vol. 4, Madrid ³1774, 4 (Libro IX, Titulo XXVI, Ley xv): *Que ninguno nuevamente convertido de moro ó judio, ni sus hijos, pasen à las Indias sin expresa licencia del rey.*

19 Recopilacion de las leyes de los Reinos de las Indias, vol. 4 (cf. n. 18), 4 (Libro 9, Titulo 26, Ley 19): *Que no passen esclavos Gelofes, ni de Levante, ni criados entre Moros* [11 May 1526; 28 September 1531; 16 July 1550]; Cedulario Indiano, vol. 4 (cf. n. 17), 384: *Y porque los negros que ay en aquellas partes de Leuante, muchos dellos diz que son de casta de Moros y otros tratan con ellos, y en una tierra nueua donde se planta agora nuestra santa Fe Católica, no conuiene que gente desta calidad passe a ella, por los inconuinientes que dello podrian suceder: vos mando que en ninguna manera ni por ninguna via dexeis ni consintais passar a las nuestras Indias, islas e Tierra firme del mar Oceano, ninguno esclauo negro, que sea de Leuante ni se aya traido de alla, ni otros ningunos negros que se ayan criado con Morisco, aunque sean de casta de negros de Guinea.* [1550]

20 Cedulario Indiano, vol. 4 (cf. n. 17), 382: *Sepades que nos somos informados que a essas partes han passado y de cada dia passan algunos esclauos y esclauas Berueriscos y otras personas libres, nueuamente conuertidos de Moros e hijos dellos, estando por nos proueido que en ninguna manera passen por los muchos inconuiniente que por experiancia ha parecido que de los que han passado se han seguido. Y porque se escusen los daños que podrian hazerlos que huuieren passado y de aqui adelante passaren, porque en vna tierra nueua como essa, donde nueuamente se planta la Fe, conuiene que se quite toda ocasion, porque no se pueda sembrar y publicar en ella la secta de Mahoma ni otra alguna, en ofensa de Dios nuestro Señor, y perjuyzio de nuestra santa Fe Catolica. Visto y platicado en*

A document produced by the authority responsible for issues of emigration, the *Casa de Contratación* in Sevilla, shows clearly that the Spanish Crown was not able to fully control the departure of ships to the New World.[21] This is corroborated by the contemporary legislation cited above which regularly refers to Muslims who reached South America in spite of the prohibition.[22] The presence of non-Catholics in the new colonies made it seem expedient to prohibit the latter from possessing Indio slaves in 1513.[23] In 1530, the local authorities in the new colonies were ordered to send Berbers, Moors, Jews and Mulattos, who had reached the colonies without royal permission, back to Spain.[24] This ruling was extended to Muslims (*moros*) who had recently converted to Christianity, as well as to their children, in 1543.[25] As late as 1570 it seemed necessary to give instructions for the enslavement of Muslims preaching or disturbing the religious order of the colonies in any other way. The instruction even mentions Indios who had converted to Islam, but forbids their punishment, calling for the necessity to win them over to the Catholic faith with the help of arguments.[26]

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el nuestro Consejo de las Indias, fue acordado que deuiamos mandar que todos los esclauos y esclauas Berueriscos, personas nueuamente conuertidos de Moros y sus hijos, como dicho es, que en essas partes huuiere, sean echados de la isla y prouincia donde estuuieren, y embiados a estos Reynos, de manera que en ninguna forma queden en essas partes (…). The decree was reconfirmed in 1552.

[21] Cardaillac, Le problème morisque (cf. n. 17), 298.

[22] Guevara Bazán, Muslim Immigration to Spanish America, in: *The Muslim World* 56/3 (1966), 173–187, esp. 175.

[23] Fernández de Navarrete, Colección (cf. n. 16), 402 (§ 175): *y porque la dicha isla se pueble de cristianos viejos y personas que tengan el celo que deben y son obligados al servicio de Nuestro Señor é mio, mandase que ninguno hijo ni nieto de quemado, ni hijo de reconciliado, ni hijo ni nieto de judío ni moro pueda tener ni tenga, ni le sean dados Indios en la dicha isla.*

[24] Recopilación de las leyes de los Reinos de las Indias, vol. 4 (cf. n. 18), 4. (Libro 9, Titulo 26, Ley 17): *y si el esclavo, que assi se passare sin licencia, fuere Berberisco, de casta de Moros, ò Judios, ò Mulato, el General, ò Cabo de la Armada, ò Flota le buelva, à costra de quin le huviere passado, à la Casa de Contratacion, y le entregue por nuestro à los Jueces de ella; y la persona, que esclavo Morisco passare, incurra en pena de mil pesos de oro, tercia parte para nuestra Camara y Fisco, y tercia para el Acusador, y la otra tercia parte para el Juez que lo sentenciare, y si fuere persona vil, y no tuviere de que pagar, le condene el Juez en la pena à su arbitrio.* [25 February 1530].

[25] Cedulario Indiano, vol. 4 (cf. n. 17), 382: *personas nueuamente conuertidos de Moros y sus hijos (…).* [a. 1543, confirmed 1552].

[26] Cedulario Indiano, vol. 4 (cf. n. 17), 374: *Tambien se nos a pedido de vuestra parte que atento que ay en essa tierra isla de Moros, y ellos vienen atratar y contratar, los quales impiden la predicacion del santo Euangelio, y os inquietan. os demos licencia para hazer a los tales moros esclauos, y tomarles sus haziendas: estareis aduertido que si los tales Moros son de su nacion y naturaleza Moros y vinieren a dogmatizar su secta Mahometica, o hazer*

Due to this Muslim 'infiltration', the local authorities started to take concrete measures against Islam in the new colonies by having recourse to the inquisition from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Collected by Louis Cardaillac, the few documented cases from Peru, Mexico and Guatemala suggest, however, that the authorities were mainly battling Islamic remnants rather than a dynamic religious group spreading the message of the Qurʾān. In 1560, three persons were judged culpable of being Muslims in Cuzco, two of them for having dared to spread the Islamic faith. The cases dealt with in Lima, Mexico and Cuzcatlán in the years 1569 to 1570 then only deal with public expressions of sympathy for Islam. In connection with a woman named María Ruíz, the tribunal judged a case of former adherence to Islam: a *morisca* from the Iberian Peninsula, she had given herself up to the inquisition in 1596, confessing that she had practiced Islamic rites as a child, before her emigration to Mexico. Given that she had voluntarily confessed the 'sins of her youth', the inquisition dealt with her discreetly and even refrained from informing her husband. The official request, read out publicly during the opening of the tribunal of Cartagena de las Indias in 1610, to denounce every possible indication of affiliation to Judaism, Islam or Protestantism, must be read as a measure to build up public pressure to conform to the religious norms propagated by the Catholic Church in the colonies.[27]

Aside from these legal and practical measures taken to prevent the spread of Islam in the colonies and to extirpate all possible Islamic remnants, the colonists also introduced anti-Islamic traditions to the colonies, thus creating an ideological bulwark against Islam. In many cases, the early colonizers seem to have regarded the autochthonous population of the new colonies through the mirror of their recent experiences with Islam on the Iberian Peninsula.[28] In line with this, they also began to import anti-Islamic Iberian traditions to the New

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guerra a vosotros o a los Indios que estan a nos sugetos o a nuestro Real seruicio, los podreis hazer esclavos, mas a los que fueren Indios y ouieren tomado la secta de Mahoma no los hareis esclauos por ninguna via ni manera que sea, sino procurareis de los conuertir y persuadir por buenos y licitos medios a nuestra santa Fe Catolica.

27 Cardaillac, Le problème morisque (cf. n. 17), 91–98. On pages 304–305 he provides the documentation of the case of María Ruíz, 305–306 of the request for denunciation. Also see Rukhsana Qamber, Inquisition Proceedings Against Muslims in 16th Century Latin America, in: *Islamic Studies* 45/1 (2006), 21–57.

28 Mercedes García-Arenal, Moriscos e indios: para un estudio comparado de métodos de conquista y evangelización, in: *Chronica nova* 20 (1992), 153–175; Mercedes García-Arenal, Moriscos and Indians. A Comparative Approach, in: *The Middle East and Europe. Encounters and Exchanges*, ed. Geert Jan van Gelder and Ed de Moor, Amsterdam 1992, 39–55; Jens Lüdtke, Das indianische Fremde als arabisches Fremdes, in: *Romania Arabica. Festschrift für Reinhard Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Jens Lüdtke, Tübingen 1996, 481–494.

World. These traditions originate in Iberian festivities known today as *fiestas de moros y de cristianos*. Still celebrated today, they commemorate the Christian conquest of Iberian localities during the so-called *Reconquista* by staging battles between Muslim and Christian forces as well as, in some cases, the destruction of Islamic symbols (including puppets of the prophet Muḥammad) and the conversion of the Muslim host to Christianity.[29] Equivalent festivals in Mexico, e.g. the festival of Zacatecas, stage the legendary crusade of Charlemagne and the Battle of Lepanto, mixing various elements from Catholic, Aztec and Mexican national tradition.[30]

One should note, however, that in spite of all these measures taken against Islam in the New World, the attitude towards Muslims—a religious group rarely encountered—was not necessarily hostile. A sermon preached by the friar Juan de Grijalva in the Mexican city of Puebla on 11 September 1621 proves that members of the clergy in the colonies could even show empathy for the fate of the Moriscos, recently expelled from Spain.[31]

The Early Muslim Documentation of the Americas

Mexican expressions of sympathy for the fate of the Moriscos cannot obliterate the Spanish Crown's considerable efforts to ensure that Catholic Christianity remained the only viable religion imported from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic sphere. In spite of the above-mentioned Islamic remnants in the colonies, these measures seem to have proven effective. Among other things, this is corroborated by the scarcity of Muslim sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth century on the Americas as well as the fact that the few existing texts are all dependent on European-Christian sources of information.

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29   See Marlène Albert-Llorca, Mahomet, la Vierge et la frontière, in: *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 4 (1995), 855–886; Marlène Albert-Llorca, L'image du Maure dans les fêtes de "Moros y Cristianos" (Pays valencien, Espagne), in: *Héritages arabo-islamiques dans l'Europe méditerranéenne,* ed. Catherine Richarté, Roland-Pierre Gayraud and Jean-Michel Poisson, Paris 2015, 449–460. On the destruction of puppets of Muḥammad see Hubert Kahl, Mohammed brennt nicht mehr. Streit um spanische Dorffeste, in: *Ntv,* 20 October 2006, URL: http://www.n-tv.de/politik/dossier/Streit-um-spanische-Dorffeste-article337385.html (accessed 11 April 2015). See Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors and Christians. Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain*, Austin 2000, 18–19, 31–66, on the medieval origins of these festivals.

30   Harris, Aztecs, Moors and Christians (cf. n. 29), 2–16.

31   Robert Ricard, Les Morisques et leur expulsion vus de Mexique, in: *Bulletin Hispanique* 33/3 (1931), 252–254.

The earliest known Muslim reports on the Americas already date from the early sixteenth century and are written in Ottoman Turkish, not in Arabic. The earliest known document is a commented map of territories in the south-western Atlantic produced by the Ottoman admiral Piri Reʾis around 1513. In his comment, Piri Reʾis reports on the discovery of the Americas, his source of information being a Spanish captive who had travelled to the Americas with a Genoesea infidel named "Qulünbü".[32] Further Ottoman references to the discovery of the Americas can be found in the *kitab-ı Bahriye* of 1521 by the same author, the *al-muhit* written in 1554 by the admiral Seydi Ali Reis, a geographical work composed by Tunuslu Haci Ahmet in 1560 as well as another Ottoman map produced in 1567.[33] The first substantial Ottoman description of the New World dates from 1580 and is entitled *tarih-ı hind-ı garbi*, i.e. History of Western India.[34] This detailed and illustrated description of South America is mainly based on contemporary Spanish historiography in Italian translation.[35]

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[32] Gregory McIntosh, Christoph Kolumbus und die Piri-Reʾis-Karte von 1513, in: *Cartographica Helvetica* 11/2 (1995), 36–42, here: 38, with a German translation of the Ottoman comment. See Paul Kahle, *Die verschollene Columbus-Karte von 1498 in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513*, Berlin 1933, 16–26; Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, New York 2010, 23–25.

[33] Dealt with in detail by Thomas Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World. A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana*, Wiesbaden 1990, 7–16. Also see Ali Hamdani, Ottoman Response to the Discovery of America and the New Route to India, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101/3 (1981), 323–330; Fuat Sezgin (ed.), *The Ottoman Geographers Kemāl Reʾīs (d. 1511), Pīrī Reʾīs (d. 1554) and Sīdī ʿAlī (d. 1562). Texts and Studies*, Frankfurt 2008; Emine Fetvaci, Others and Other Geographies in the Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫan, in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012), 81–100; Bilgin Aydın, XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Seyahatnâmeleri Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme (An Overview of the Ottoman Travelogues of the Sixteenth Century), in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012), 435–451; Baki Tezcan, The Many Lives of the First Non-Western History of the Americas: From the *New Report* to the *History of the West Indies*, in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012), 1–38. On Ottoman knowledge about contemporary Habsburg Spain see Alain Servantie, Charles Quint aux yeux des Ottomans, in: *Carlos V, los moriscos y el Islam*, ed. María Jesús Rubiera Mata, Madrid 2001, 195–319.

[34] Goodrich, Ottoman Turks (cf. n. 2), 15. For a juxtaposition of the *tarih-ı hind-ı garbi* with an almost contemporary Mexican chronicle reporting on the Ottoman Empire, the *Repertorio de los tiempos* by an emigrant from Hamburg called Henrico Martínez (Heinrich Martin), see Serge Gruzinski, *Quelle heure est-il là-bas? Amérique et islam à l'orée des Temps modernes*, Paris 2008.

[35] Goodrich, Ottoman Turks (cf. n. 33), 32–38, mentions Pedro Martin d'Anghiera, *De orbe novo* (1516); Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *De la natural hystoria de las Indias* (1526); Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias* (1552); and Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru* (1555).

It deals with Columbus' discoveries, the conquests of Mexico and Peru at the hands of Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro as well as with the flora and fauna of the continent, among other things.[36]

In his study and translation of the *tarih-ı hind-ı garbi*, Thomas Goodrich points out that there exists no relationship between the various Ottoman Americana mentioned above, all of which drew on different European-Christian sources and had practically no effect on other compilations of knowledge produced in the Ottoman sphere of the sixteenth century. In Europe, he argues, the increasing use of the printing press ensured that the discovery of the Americas was soon communicated to a large audience, consequently prompting reactions in various social circles. The aforementioned Ottoman Americana, in turn, formed part of a discourse restricted to specialists of geography and maritime navigation that had no traceable impact on society.[37] We should consider, however, that the aforementioned Ottoman texts testify to an intensive flow of information from the western Mediterranean, including the Iberian Peninsula, to the Ottoman Empire. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the Ottomans controlled parts of the Maghreb and were actively involved in the fate of the Iberian Muslims and Moriscos.[38] In addition, many Sephardic Jews and Moriscos who had been expelled from Spain either 1492 or around 1609, sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire.[39] This intensive Ottoman engagement with people from the western Mediterranean implies that Ottoman scholars could poten-

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36 Goodrich, Ottoman Turks (cf. n. 33), 149–338.

37 Goodrich, Ottoman Turks (cf. n. 33), 15–16: "No Ottoman cartographer, geographer, or historian of the sixteenth century used information provided by an earlier Ottoman, and there is no insertion of news of the New World into general compilations of knowledge. In Europe, by contrast, there was a constant flow of news, a growing realization of the political and economic significance of the New World (…)." On the inner-European diffusion of information about the New World see Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *1492, un monde nouveau?*, Paris 2013, chapter 1.

38 See James Monroe, A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire, in: *Al-Andalus* 31 (1966), 281–303; Andrew Hess, The Moriscos. An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain, in: *American Historical Review* 741 (1969), 1–25; Abdeljelil Temimi, Evolution de l'attitude des autorités de la Régence de Tunis face à l'accueil des morisques à la lumiére d'un nouveau firman du Sultan ottoman, in: *Actes du Ve symposium international d'Études morisques sur la Ve centenaire de la chute de Grenade 1492–1992* ed. Abdeljelil Temimi, Zaghouan 1993, 711–722; Abdeljelil Temimi, Politique ottomane face à l'expulsion des morisques et à leur passage en France et à Venise 1609–1610, in: *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 22/79–80 (1995), 397–420; Pieter S. van Koningsveld, An Appeal of the Moriscos to the Mamluk Sultan and its Counterpart to the Ottoman Court. Textual Analysis, Context, and Wider Historical Background, in: *Al-Qantara* 20/1 (1999), 161–189; Mehmet Özdemir, Ottoman Aids to Andalusian Muslims, in: *The Turks, vol. 3: Ottomans,* ed. Hasan Celâl Güzel, Ankara 2002, 207–221.

tially draw on a great number of information carriers with at least some knowledge of the new Spanish colonies in the Americas. We must also take note of the fact that the period of Ottoman maritime expansion slowly came to a halt at the end of the sixteenth century for various reasons discussed by Salih Özbaran and Giancarlo Casale.[40] This may explain why further Ottoman investigations concerning the Atlantic sphere were not undertaken as is suggested by Ḥajjī Khalīfa or Kātip Çelebi (d. 1068/1657), an Ottoman scholar involved in the translation of various European geographical works into Ottoman Turkish.[41] Complaining about the lack of geographical knowledge among his Ottoman contemporaries, Kātip Çelebi proves the relevance of such knowledge by claiming that the Ottomans had somewhat been excluded from what was happening in the Atlantic sphere because they had failed to invest in the acquisition of geographical knowledge in the same way as the Europeans:

> "Of the necessity of this science [of geography] the following provides a sufficient indication and a clear proof: that the infidels by application to it have discovered the New World (*yeñi dünyā*), and have penetrated the harbours of Sind and Hind (…)."[42]

39 Aron Rodrigue, The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire, in: *Spain and the Jews. The Sephardi Experience 1492 and After*, ed. Elie Kedouri, London 1992, 162–188; Jacob Barnai, The Jews of Spain in Egypt, in: *Moreshet Sepharad. The Sephardi Legacy, vol. 2,* ed. Haim Beinart, Jerusalem 1992, 72–76; Joseph Hacker, The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth Century, in: ibid., 109–133; Abraham David, Iberian Exiles in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire, in: *Sephardic Identity. Essays on a Vanishing Jewish Culture,* ed. George Zucker Jefferson 2005, 43–53; Gilles Veinstein, L'établissement des juifs d'Espagne dans l'Empire ottoman (fin XVᵉ-XIIᵉ s.): une migration, in: *Le monde de l'itinérance en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne. Procédures de contrôle et identifications*, ed. Claudia Moatti, Wolfgang Kaiser, and Christophe Pébarthe, Paris 2009, 667–683.

40 Andrew Hess, The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453–1525, in: The *American Historical Review* 75/7 (1970), 1892–1919; Salih Özbaran, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century*, Istanbul 1994; Salih Özbaran, *Ottoman Expansion Towards the Indian Ocean in the 16ᵗʰ Century*, Istanbul 2009; Casale, Ottoman Age (cf. n. 32).

41 See Sonja Brentjes, Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750: A Domain of Painters, Calligraphers or Cartographers?, in: *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, vol. 2, London 2005, 125–156, here: 126–132; Pinar Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Farnham 2014, 149–151.

42 Translation adapted from Haji Khalifeh, *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, transl. James Mitchell, chapters 1–4, London 1831, 3–4; original text in Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfet ül-kibar fi esfar il-bihar*, Istanbul 1141/1729, 30: *ve bu ʿilmiñ luzūmuna delīl-i kāfī ve burhān-ı vāfī bu yeter ki kuffār-i ḫāksār ol ʿilmlere taqayyud ve iʿtibārile yeñi dünyāyı*

At the end of the sixteenth century, around half a century later than their Ottoman equivalents, Arabic Americana began to be produced. This seems strange considering that the Muslim West of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century could have hardly failed to notice the intensifying maritime traffic from the Iberian Peninsula to the new colonies. Among the earliest Arabic texts mentioning the Americas we find an annalistic chronicle that even refers to this maritime traffic and its disturbance—not by Muslims but by other Christians. Al-Fishtālī (956–1031/1549–1621), court historiographer and head of the chancery of the Saʿdī sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī, dedicates a passage to the English attack on the Castilian port of Cádiz in 1596:

> "The galleys of the Andalusian tyrant and his fleet, prepared to set sail to India (*al-Hind*), was stationed there without someone to protect it. So the English fleet pounced upon (...) and attacked it. It was allegedly made up of five ships belonging to the tyrant, charged with riches said to have contained wares highly demanded in the developing territory of India (*arḍ al-Hind al-nāmiyya*), their estimated profit amounting to 200,000 [dīnār?]."[43]

Thus, at the very end of the sixteenth century at the latest, Northwestern Africa seems to have been aware, not only of the riches transported to and probably also from the Americas in the royal Spanish fleets, but also of the nature of the economic relations between a developed mother-country and developing colonies. This may also apply to the period predating the events of 1596. However, due to the lack of Arabic sources on the subject, we are forced to turn to Castilian sources to find out if Muslims of the sixteenth-century Maghreb had access to other sources of information on the Americas. A history and topographical description of Algiers, conceived by a Christian captive in the so-called Barbary States between 1577 and 1581, provides an example. It lists the different origins of the various Christian renegades living in Algiers during the author's captivity, informing us in this context of the presence of "Indios from the Portuguese Indies, Brazil and New Spain."[44]

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bulub banādir-i sind ve hinde müstevlī oldı (...). I would like to thank Şevket Küçükhüseyin for providing me with a transcription and precise translation of the original Ottoman text.

[43] al-Fishtālī, *manāhil al-ṣafā fī māthar mawālīnā al-shurafā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Karīm, Rabat 1972, 196: *aghribat al-ṭāghiya al-andalusiyya wa-usṭūluhu al-muʿidd li-safar al-Hind jāthima ʿalayhā wa-muḥāmiyya dūnahā fa-awjafa ʿalayhā usṭūl al-Inklīz (...) fa-awqaʿ bihā wa-kānat fīmā zaʿamū khams marākib li-l-ṭāghiya mashḥūna bi-l-amwāl yuqāl fīhā min al-silaʿ al-nāfiqa bi-arḍ al-Hind al-nāmiyya al-arbāḥ yusāwī al-miʾayn min al-ālāf (...).*"; translation adapted from Nabil Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578–1727*, New York 2009, 162.

By the seventeenth century, Arabic texts feature more substantial information on the Americas. It is probably no coincidence that this information features in the writings of a certain Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, a bilingual Morisco employed at the court of the ruling Saʿdī sultan.[45] Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī visited France and Flanders around the year 1612 to seek restitution for property robbed by Christian captains from various Morisco families during their expulsion from Spain in 1609.[46] In the travel account terminated in 1047/1637 that reports on this mission,[47] Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī reports that he has read about the circumnavigation of the earth by a certain "Bidru Ṭashābar" or "Biduru Ṭashāyira" who set sail from Portugal, passed through the lands of the Western Indians (al-Hunūd al-maghribiyya) and then returned home via the encompassing Ocean (al-muḥīṭ), the eastern islands, the regions around Baghdhad and the Mediterranean.[48]

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44   The author is either identified as Diego de Haedo, Antonio de Sosa, and even Miguel de Cervantes. See the quotation in: Diego de Haedo, *Topografía, e historia general de Argel*, vol. 1, Madrid 1927 (reedition of Valladolid: Diego Fernandez de Cordoua et Ouiedo, 1612), 52–53: *No hay nación de cristianos en el mundo de la cual no haya renegado y renegados en Argel. Y comenzando de las remotas provincias de Europa, hallan en Argel renegados moscovitas, rojos [...], búlgaros, polacos, húngaros, bohemios, alemanes, de Dinamarca y Noruega, escoceses, ingleses, irlandeses, flamencos, borgoñones, franceses, navarros, vizcaínos, castellanos, gallegos, portugueses, andaluces, valencianos, aragoneses, catalanes, mallorquines, sardos, corzos, sicilianos, calabreses, napolitanos, romanos, toscanos, genoveses, saboyanos, pamonteses, lombardos, venecianos, esclavones, albanes [...], griegos, candiotas, cretanos, chipriotas, surianos y de Egipto y aun Abejinos del Preste Juan e indios de las Indias de Portugal, del Brasil y de Nueva España.* See the English translation: Antonio de Sylva y Sosa, *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam. Antonio de Sosa's Topography of Algiers (1612)*, ed./transl. María Antonia Garcés and Diana de Armas Wilson, Notre Dame 2011, cited in: María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale,* Nashville 2005, 34–35; Farid Khiari, Alger: une société métissée au XVIIᵉ siècle, in: *Confluences Méditerranée* 10 (1994), 59–68.

45   On the author and his activities in Europe see Gerard Wiegers, A Life between Europe and the Maghrib. The Writings and Travels of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥağarī al-Andalusī, in: *The Middle East and Europe. Encounters and Exchanges,* ed. Geert Jan van Gelder and Ed de Moor, Amsterdam 1992, 87–115.

46   Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians. Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, New York 2003, 5–8.

47   Aḥmad b. Qāsim, *riḥlat Afūqāy al-Andalusī: mukhtaṣar riḥlat al-Shihāb ilā liqāʾ al-ajānib, 1611–1613*, ed. Nūrī al-Jarrāḥ, Beirut 2004. This travel account was integrated by the author into the following larger work: Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfirīn / The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels*, ed. / trans. Pieter S. van Koningsveld, Qasim Samarrai, Gerard A. Wiegers, Madrid 2015.

48   Aḥmad b. Qāsim, riḥla (cf. n. 47), 100; Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, kitāb nāṣir al-dīn (cf. n. 47), 192 (AR), 207 (EN). It is not entirely clear to whom Aḥmad b. Qāsim is refer-

Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī also acquired information about the Americas via his relations to the Ottoman sphere. Among other things, he reports that the king of Spain (*sulṭān Ishbāniya*) had been denied the possibility of stationing a permanent representative at the Ottoman court of Istanbul. The Ottomans allegedly took this decision "when they became aware of his inimical attitude towards Islam" (*lammā taḥaqqaqū min ʿidāwatihi li-l-islām*), probably in connection with the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609,[49] but also when they had learnt that the Spaniards had murdered the "sultan of the Western Indians in the city of Mexico (*Mīshiqu*) called Moctezuma (*Mutashumah*)" while they were offering diplomatic presents to the Aztec ruler.[50]

Up to the middle of the seventeenth century, Arabic-speaking Muslims had thus learnt a few things about the Americas from European-Christian and Ottoman sources of information.[51] They may have even encountered the one or the other 'Western Indian' in the context of their hostile or peaceful relations with the Spanish monarchy. However, they did not participate actively in the further exploration and settlement of the Atlantic sphere.[52] It is only at the end of the seventeenth century, around two centuries after the European-Christian discovery of the Americas, that readers of Arabic were (theoretically) able to lay their hands on an Arabic description of South America produced by an eyewitness, the aforementioned Chaldean priest Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī from Baghdad.

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ring. According to the editors of the *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, 207 (EN), note 67, the author is referring to Pedro Teixeira, a Portuguese traveller of Jewish background who published his *Relaciones del orígen, descendencia y succesión de los Reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz, y de un viaje hecho por el mismo autor desde la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra* in Antwerp 1610.

49 On the Ottoman reception of the expulsion of the Moriscos see the literature cited in n. 39.

50 Aḥmad b. Qāsim, riḥla (cf. n. 47), 101; Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, kitāb nāṣir al-dīn (cf. n. 47), 195 (AR), 208 (EN).

51 Another author who recorded information about South America was the Tunis-born physician Ḥusayn Khūja b. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī, who, around the year 1138/1725, wrote a medical treatise on quinine in which he pointed to the latter's South American origins. See Ḥusayn Khūja, *al-asrār al-kamīna bi-aḥwāl al-kīna kīna*, ed. al-Kurrāy al-Qusanṭīnī, Tunis 1993, 39–43 (South American origins), 17 (date of MS).

52 See Nabil Matar, The Maghariba and the Sea: Maritime Decline in North Africa in the Early Modern Period, in: *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean. Braudel's Maritime Legacy,* ed. Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood and Mohamed-Salah Omri, London 2010, 117–137.

The Earliest Arabic Eye-Witness Account of South America

The figure of Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī has been known to western scholarship ever since he was mentioned in Georg Graf's multi-volume history of Christian-Arabic literature as well as in Ignaty Yulianovich Krachkovsky's history of Arabic geographical literature.[53] In recent years, his travel account,[54] followed by a history of South America still awaiting a critical edition, has been used by a number of scholars, most recently by John-Paul Ghobrial. The latter wrote two elaborate articles on this author and his writings as well as on other documentary evidence of his extensive travels.[55]

Ilyās b. Ḥannā set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and then travelled via Aleppo to Europe, where he was received by the highest authorities. In Rome he had an audience with pope Clement IX (sed. 1667–69); in Paris he encountered Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and the Duke Philippe I of Orléans and was active as an interpreter for the Ottoman ambassador sent by sultan Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–87).[56] In Madrid he presented the Spanish regent Maria Anna of Austria (ruled 1665–75) with a letter by pope Clement IX[57] and asked her for permission to travel to the Spanish colonies (*bilād Hind al-gharb*). In this context, Ilyās b. Ḥannā refers to the aforementioned legislation of the Spanish Crown that barred any non-Catholic non-Spaniard from travelling to the colonies who could not produce a royal permission to do so:

> "They do not allow any stranger to the Spanish race (*al-jins al-sbanyūlī*), not even merchants or priests, to accompany them, unless he possesses an order issued by the king, as we have mentioned before. Until this day, these are the stipulated laws and rules laid down in the days of Charles V, one of the kings

53 Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlich-arabischen Literatur*, vol. 4, Città del Vaticano 1951, 98; Aghnāṭiyyūs Yūlyānūfîtsh Krātshkūfskī, *tārīkh al-adab al-jughrāfī al-ʿarabī*, vol. 2, Kairo 1963, 701–706.

54 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa (cf. n. 2); Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2). The travel account has been translated into English in: Matar, In the Lands of the Christians. (cf. n. 46), 45–111; Caesar E. Farah (trans.), *An Arab's Journey to Colonial Spanish America. The Travels of Elias al-Mûsili in the Seventeenth Century*, Syracuse 2003.

55 Yaʿqūb Sarkīs, ṣāḥib riḥlat awwal sharqī (ʿirāqī) ilā Amīrka, in: *maǧallat luǧat al-ʿArab* 60 (1931), 331–354; Elias Muhanna, Ilyās al-Mawṣilī, in: *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography: 1350–185,* ed. Joseph Edmund Dowry and Devin J. Stewart, Wiesbaden 2009, 295–299; John-Paul Ghobrial, Stories Never Told: The First Arabic History of the New World, in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012), 259–282; Ghobrial, Secret Life (cf. n. 2), 51–93.

56 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa; (cf. n. 2), 7–8; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 37, 39.

57 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa; (cf. n. 2), 9; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 40.

of Spain and the lands of Hungary, in whose time they conquered the lands of the Indians."[58]

Having procured this royal permission, Ilyās b. Ḥannā was allowed to board a royal galley in Cádiz on 12 February 1675, thus accompanying the Spanish fleet setting out every three years to fill the royal treasury with the precious metals of Peru.[59] Having arrived in Venezuela, he travelled via Columbia, Panama, Ecuador and Peru to the silver mines of Potosí. In 1680, during a one-year stay in Lima, he began writing his travel account. Leaving Peru, he traversed Central America, stayed in Mexico-City for six months and then returned to Europe via Veracruz and Cuba.[60]

Scholarship has speculated on Ilyās b. Ḥannā's motivations to undertake this long journey to and through South and Central America. Ignaty Krachkovsky, Georg Graf, Elias Muhanna and John-Paul Ghobrial surmise that he may have intended to collect money for the Chaldean church, whereas Nabil Matar points to the wealth Ilyās b. Ḥannā acquired during his journey, not only in the form of gifts but also through commercial activity.[61] Krachkovsky, Muhanna and Matar also deliberate on the question of whether Ilyās b. Ḥannā was charged with an official mission which he chose not to mention in his travel account. In this context, they point to the Ottoman escort that accompanied him to Jerusalem, his audience at the papal curia, his reception at the French and Spanish royal courts, the luxury of travelling in a private cabin aboard the royal galley to South America, the servants catering to his needs during his travels, his relations to governors and inquisitors in the colonies, his intercession for the disgraced and deposed viceroy of Lima, and finally papal and royal Spanish honorary titles mentioned in the Latin-Arabic prayer book printed in Rome at the orders of Ilyās b. Ḥannā in 1692.[62]

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58 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa; (cf. n. 2), 13: *wa-lā yadʿūna insānan gharīban ʿan al-jins al-sbanyūlī yurāfiquhum lā tājiran wa-lā kāhinan in lam yakun maʿahu amr min al-malik, mithla mā dhakarnā sābiqan. wa-hādhihi hiya ilā l-yawm qawānīn wa-nawāmīs mauḍūʿa min ayyām Kārlus al-khāmis min mulūk Isbānya wa-bilād al-Majar, ḥaythu ʿalā ʿahdihi fataḥū bilād al-Hind.;* cf. ibid., 11: *li-annahu lā yaqdir gharīb an yajūz ilā bilād al-hind in lam yakun maʿahu amr min al-malik.*; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 47, 45.

59 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa; (cf. n. 2), 12–13; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 46–47.

60 Vgl. Graf, Geschichte der christlich-arabischen Literatur, vol. 4 (cf. n. 53), 98.

61 Krātshkūfskī, tārīkh, vol. 2 (cf. n. 53), 701–706; Graf, Geschichte der christlich-arabischen Literatur, vol. 4 (cf. n. 53), 98; Muhanna, Ilyās al-Mawṣilī (cf. n. 55), 298; Ghobrial, Stories (cf. n. 55), 260; Ghobrial, Secret life (cf. n. 2), 63–64; Matar, In the Lands of the Christians (cf. n. 46), 47.

Regardless of his motivations, it is clear from his travel account that Ilyās b. Ḥannā regarded himself as part of the colonial ruling class. He may have observed that the Spaniards' treatment of Indios was often unjust.[63] However, when staying overnight in an Indio village on his way to Potosí, he resorted to methods of punishment also used by the ruling class. Presenting a royal writ entitling him to the services of a local muleteer to the village elder, he paid the mules under the condition that they be at his disposal early the next morning. When this did not happen and his investigations led to an encounter with an inebriated village elder who had the gall to reply to his questions "in the Indian language" (*bi-l-lisān al-hindī*), Ilyās b. Ḥannā ordered the latter to be flogged.[64] The travel account does not convey the impression that its author felt a stranger in South America. He may emphasize repeatedly that he celebrated Mass 'Oriental style'[65] and may occasionally take on the role of an observing ethnographer.[66] In general, however, Ilyās b. Ḥannā seems to have exhibited the same confident poise of belonging to the dominant civilization as his colonial European contemporaries.

The Emergence of a Christianized Transatlantic Sphere

Ilyās b. Ḥannā's identification with the colonial elite is inextricably linked to his self-perception as an agent of expanding Christian truth. The purpose of his writings is, to quote John-Paul Ghobrial, "a celebration of the spread and triumph of Christianity—and in particular the Catholic Church—across the entire world."[67] Ilyās b. Ḥannā states in the quotation cited at the beginning of this article that Christ himself had facilitated this expansion and had thus created a

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62 Krātshkūfskī, tārīkh (cf. n. 53), vol. 2, Kairo 1963, 701–706; Matar, In the Lands (cf. n. 46), 46; Muhanna, Ilyās al-Mawṣilī (cf. n. 55), 295–299, 298.

63 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa; (cf. n. 2), 53: *fa-ana ṣadaqtu kalāmahu min jihat al-ẓulm alladhī naẓartuhum yaʿmalūnahu ʿalā l-Hunūd*; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 94.

64 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa; (cf. n. 2), 47; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 87.

65 Ilyās b. Ḥannā, *siyāḥa*; (cf. n. 2), 34: *thumma ṭalabū minnī an uqaddis fa-arsaltu wa-uḥḍirat min al-dār ālat al-quddās fa-qadastu lahum quddāsan bi-l-lisān al-kaldānī yaʿnī al-suryānī al-sharqī fa-ṣāra ʿindahum inshirāḥ zāyid li-istimāʿ quddāsī*; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 72.

66 See his comparison of the custom to drink the beverage mate in Buenos Aires with that of drinking coffee "in our countries" (*fī bilādinā*): Ilyās b. Ḥannā, siyāḥa; (cf. n. 2), 51; Ilyās b. Ḥannā, al-dhahab wa-l-ʿāṣifa (cf. n. 2), 92.

67 Ghobrial, Secret Life (cf. n. 2), 71.

Christian sphere presided by the pope and administrated by different institutional agents of the Catholic Church and, at least partly, the Spanish Crown. The latter's legal, practical and ideological measures had ensured effectively that this new sphere in the process of Christianization remained impervious to Islamic influence for several centuries.

This notwithstanding, we should not believe that only insignificant numbers of Muslims or descendants of Muslims entered the Americas in the Early Modern Age. Aside from the abovementioned sixteenth-century Spanish legislation, many sources suggest that many Muslim immigrants actually entered the Americas, but belonged to social strata that lacked the possibilities of building up functioning Islamic infrastructures. Among other factors, Bartolomé de las Casas' (d. 1566) reasoned plea—later recanted—to spare the autochthonous 'Indio' populations from slavery by importing black slaves from West Africa, can be held responsible for the fact that various Muslims reached the Americas during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries to work as slaves on South and Central American plantations.[68] This is even corroborated by a rather late Arabic source: the Ottoman marine officer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baghdādī tells us how his boat made leeway on the Atlantic and involuntarily reached the coast of Brazil in 1865–1866. His travel account, written after his return via Damascus to Istanbul, not only contains a very short history of Brazil but also reports on al-Baghdādī's encounter with black slaves of Muslim faith,[69] possibly contemporaries and descendants of those Muslim slaves who had participated in the uprising of 1835 in the Brazilian region of Bahia.[70]

From the late eighteenth century onwards, relations between the Americas and the Islamic world intensified. Among other things, the United States' increasing engagement in the Middle East made further knowledge on the 'new continent' available to the Arab world.[71] We already find a brief reference to the American revolution in the travel account to Spain of Muḥammad b. ʿUth-

68   See Francis Patrick Sullivan (ed.), *Indian Freedom. The Cause of Bartolomé de las Casas, 1484–1566: a Reader*, Kansas 1995, 159–161; Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*, New York 1998, 33 (Brazil, Trinidad, Cuba), 45 (Brazil, Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas, Santo Domingo, Buenos Aires, Chile, Peru), 72 (Cartagena, Colombia, 1620; Brazil, mid-1800s). See Chris Gratien, Race, Slavery, and Islamic Law in the Early Modern Atlantic: Ahmad Baba al-Tinbukti's Treatise on Enslavement, in: *Journal of North African Studies* 18/3 (2013), 454–468.

69   György Hazai, Istvan Ormos, Abenteuer eines Irakers in Brasilien, in: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 36/1–3 (1982), 215–226.

70   João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, Baltimore 1993.

71   Ami Ayalon, The Arab Discovery of America in the Nineteenth Century, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 20/4 (1984), 5–17, here: 7–17. Also see Michael Oren, *Power, Faith and*

mān al-Miknāsī (d. 1213/1799).[72] As Ami Ayalon has shown, substantial information on the Americas, especially the United States, became available to Arab readers from the 1840s onwards, e.g. in the works of Rifāʿat al-Ṭahṭāwī, in Buṭrus al-Bustānī's *Encylopédie arabe* (*dāʾirat al-maʿārif*), several translations of European books, as well as in the emerging Arab press.[73] Whether South America received comparable attention in this period remains to be investigated, as does the question as to which role Islam played in relations between the Americas and regions in the Pacific and Indian Oceans boasting large Muslim populations. It is clear, in any case, that, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, various Arabic-speakers from the Ottoman Middle East voluntarily emigrated to South America, most of them Arab Christians.[74] A directory published in 1941 by Aḥmad Ḥasan Maṭar under the title *Guia social de la colonía árabe en Chile* contains several hundred prosopographical entries as well as the addresses of Arab immigrants to Chile, corroborating that Arab mass immigration to South Americas is a rather recent historical phenomenon. This "social guide" is mainly written in Spanish, but also carries the Arabic title "Statistical, social and economic guide to the pronouncers of [the Arabic letter] ḍāḍ in Chile" (*dalīl al-iḥṣāʾ al-ijtimāʿī al-tijārī li-nāṭiqī l-ḍāḍ fī Tshīlī*), a common way of defining Arabic speakers regardless of their religious affiliation. The guide thus testifies to the social and economic establishment of a group, defined in linguistic terms, in Chile.[75] Considering that the first mosque in the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro was inaugurated as late as 1955,[76] we may surmise that

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Fantasy. America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present, New York 2007; Ussama Makdisi, The Question of American Liberalism and the Origins of the American Board Mission to the Levant and its Historiography, in: *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean. Late 19*th *Century Until the 1960s*, ed. Christoph Schumann, Leiden 2008, 15–28; Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Nearest East. American Millennialism and Mission to the Middle East*, Philadelphia 2010, 15–97; Samir Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant. Ungodly Puritans, 1820–1860*, New York 2012.

72 al-Miknāsī, *al-iksīr fī fikāk al-asīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Fāsī, Rabat 1965, 96–97; cited and translated in Ayalon, Arab Discovery (cf. n. 71), 7; see Matar, In the Lands of the Christians (cf. n. 46), xxxvi.

73 Ayalon, Arab Discovery (cf. n. 71), 7–17. To Ayalon's extensive list one could add Khayr al-Din al-Tūnisī, *aqwām al-masālik fī maʿrifat al-mamālik*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād, Beirut / Cairo 2012, 715–721, with a short explanation on how parts of the Americas were discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1485 (sic!), followed by details on the continent's geographical location and three lists, mentioning the most important mountains, valleys as well the number of inhabitants of selected locations.

74 Kemal Karpat, The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860–1914, in: *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 17 (1985), 175–209; Nedim Ipek, The Emigration from the Ottoman Empire to America, in: *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 12/1–2 (2006), 29–43.

Muslim communities in South America only began to organize publicly in the course of the twentieth century. Further research on the early Muslim public organization in the highly diverse countries of South and Central America is certainly necessary before it is possible to draw definite conclusions.[77] However, seen in conjunction with the comparatively meagre Ottoman and Arabic documentation of the Americas in the Early Modern Age, the lack of evidence for Muslim mass immigration to the Americas before the twentieth century implies that the anti-Islamic immigration policy introduced by the Spanish Crown of the early sixteenth century had been effective. The Christian Atlantic sphere envisioned by Ilyās b. Ḥannā had become a reality—at least for a certain period.

Circumstances have changed enormously in the course of the past century. In terms of religion, South America may still be dominated by Catholicism as well as Christian-indigenous-African forms of syncretism, both increasingly challenged by evangelical movements.[78] In comparison to the seventeenth century, the life-time of Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī, relations between South America and the (Arabic-) Islamic world, however, have acquired completely new dimensions. Various websites, exhibitions and books express themselves on the Arab and Islamic factor in South America, political and economic elites discuss Arab-South American alliances.[79] Apart from the South American-Arab summit meetings held under the acronym ASPA (*Cumbre América del Sur –*

75 Ahmad Hassan Mattar, *Guía social de la Colonía Árabe en Chile (Siria – Palestina – Libanesa)*, Santiago de Chile 1941; See for the situation today: Muhammed Abdulla al-Ahari, The Caribbean and Latin America, in: *Islam Outside the Arab World*, ed. Ingvar Svanberg and David Westerlund, Richmond 1999, 443–461.

76 María del Mar Logroño, Latin America, in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* ed. Juan Eduardo Campo, New York 2009, 439–440.

77 See three recent overviews by Kambiz Ghanea Bassiri, Islam in America: the Beginnings; Mark Lindley-Highfield of Ballumbic Castle, Islam in Mexico and Central America; Marco Gallo, Muslims in South America. History, Presence, and Visibility of a Religious Minority in a Christian Context, all in: *Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West*, ed. Roberto Tottoli, New York 2015, 109–122, 154–169, 170–180. On Muslim immigration to North America see Michel Nancy and Elisabeth Picard, *Les Arabes du Levant en Argentine*, Aix-en-Provence 1998; Kambiz Ghanea Bassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order*, Cambridge 2010. Also see Ernesto Capello, Latin America, in: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh, vol. 3, Leiden 2008, 1–6.

78 See Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Das Christentum in Lateinamerika*, Leipzig 2007; Lee Penyak and Walter Petry, *Religion and Society in Latin America. Interpretative Essays from Conquest to Present*, Maryknoll 2009.

79 See the literature cited in the previous footnotes as well as Fehmy Saddy (ed.), *Arab-Latin American Relations: Energy, Trade, and Investment*, New Brunswick 1983; Isaac

Países Árabes) since 2005, the popularity enjoyed by the late Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez (1954–2013) in the Arab world provides an example for this contextual shift. Chávez stood for an anti-imperialist stance vis-à-vis US hegemony in South America and the Middle East,[80] an attitude phrased playfully in the song title *Romper las cadenas*, "breaking the chains", sung by Columbian Salsa musician Yuri Buenaventura and Moroccan Rai-musician Cheb Faudel in Spanish and Arabic.[81] The so-called 'Muslim ban'—US-president Donald Trump's highly contested Executive Order 13769 (27 January 2017) that denied entry to citizens of several predominantly Muslim countries[82]—may forcefully recall the Spanish Crown's sixteenth-century efforts to exclude Islam

Caro, *Relaciones militares de América latina y el Caribe con Israel y el Mundo Árabe*, Santiago 1985; Lorenzo Agar Corbinos and Raymundo Kabchi (ed.), *El mundo arabe y América latina*, Madrid 1997; Eurídice Charón Cardona, Las sociedades árabes en Cuba (1904–1958), in: *Boletín del Archivo Nacional – La Habana 11* (1998), 32–37; Anton Escher, Arabische Netzwerke in Lateinamerika. Theoretische Überlegungen mit empirischen Anmerkungen am Beispiel Venezuela, in: *Die islamische Welt als Netzwerk. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Netzwerkansatzes im islamischen Kontext,* ed. Roman Loimeier, Würzburg 2001, 355–366; Amadou Mahtar M'Bow and M. Ali Kettani, *Islam and Muslims in the American Continent*, Beirut 2001; Rigoberto Menéndez Paredes, *Los Árabes en Cuba*, La Habana 2007; Abdeluahed Akmir (ed.), *Los árabes en América Latina. Historia de una emigración*, Madrid 2009; Lorenzo Agar Corbinos, *Contribuciones árabes a las identitades iberoamericanas*, Madrid 2009; Ahmad Al Atrach, Rethinking Arab-Latin American Relations: A Theoretical Framework, *Centro de Estudios del Medio Oriente contemporáneo, Córdoba/Argentina: working paper 04/2009*, URL: http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=106274 (accessed 28 January 2016). Sergio Macías Brevis, *Influencia árabe en las letras iberoamericanas*, Sevilla 2009; Raanan Rein, María José Cano and Beatriz Molina Rueda (ed.), *Mas allá del Medio Oriente. las diásporas judía y árabe en América Latina*, Granada 2012. See the following homepages: URL: www.arabe.cl/inmigracion.html and www.rimaal.org (accessed 28 January 2016); as well as the bibliography of ASPA under URL: http://www.bibliaspa.com (accessed 28 January 2016). Also take note that the official magazine of the Peruvian ministry of foreign affairs dedicated an entire issue to the Arab world and its relations to South America, see *Chasqui. El correo de Peru. Boletín Cultural del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores* 17 (2010), URL: http://www.rree.gob.pe/politicaexterior/Documents/Chasqui17Esp.pdf (accessed 16 February 2017).

80 Ali Hashem, Hugo Chavez's Mixed Legacy in the Middle East, in: *Al-Monitor*, 6 March 2013, URL: http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/03/chavez-legacy-middle-east.html (accessed 19 November 2015); See James Rochlin, Subaltern Orientalism and Counter-hegemonic Strugges. The Construction of Arab, Chinese and Russian Communities in Chavista Venezuela, in: *Estudios políticos* 45 (2014), 33–54.

81 Published on the album Yuri Buenaventura, *Herencia africana*, 2008.

82 Donald J. Trump, Executive Order 13769: Protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry into the United States, published 27 January 2017, URL: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/27/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-e

from the Americas. However, the world has changed considerably since then: one does not have to read Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe* to see that centres and peripheries have shifted and their relationships undergone considerable changes since the life and times of Ilyās b. Ḥannā al-Mawṣilī.[83]

Acknowledgements

ntry-united-states (accessed 16 February 2017). On the follow-up see, for example, al-Jazeera, Donald Trump clashes with courts over immigration ban, in: al-Jazeera, 8 February 2017, URL: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/donald-trump-courts-immigration-ban-170206042616383.html (accessed 16 February 2017).

83 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton 2000.

Susan Richter

Constitution of Space through Law—A Study on the Question of Property of the Sea in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Law in the *Strait of Malacca*

Abstract. In the last few years, international researchers have discussed the concept of spatial turn, concerning the development of spaces and questions about the constitution of spaces. The focus has been placed on how spaces were culturally constituted and have to be seen as historically variable. However, spaces resulting from an implementation of law and their perception as representing a culturally different understanding of law in non-governed and governed territories, and as a common, monopolized and sole property have not yet been analyzed. The following study assumes that written law, which was globally accepted, constructed symbolic spaces surpassing geographical distances, or created spaces as territories and thereby created a new semantics of spatial distance and order. It focusses on the Strait of Malacca in a pre-colonial and colonial context. The Strait of Malacca was not constituted and structured as a closed, but rather an open space, available for everyone. The sea and Strait were not controllable from a pre-colonial perspective, but this changed after the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese. The enforcement of their commercial monopoly was aimed at creating the Strait as a manageable space in order to own parts of the sea. This study will show that this plan could not be implemented completely, and therefore created simultaneously existing spaces of law in the Straits of Malacca.

Introduction

In the last few years, questions regarding the development and constitution of spaces have gained prominence in the international field of historical research under the impact of the so-called "spatial turn". The focus has been laid on how spaces were culturally constituted and should consequently be seen as historically variable entities. However, the creation of spaces as a result of the implementation of law and their configuration as culturally different understandings of law in non-governed and governed territories respectively, as well as the understanding of space as a common, monopolized and sole property have not yet been analyzed. The implementation of law is a human practice. The following study assumes, however, that written law constructed symbolic spaces

either by passing geographical distances or by perceiving spaces as territories and thereby creating new semantics of spatial distance and order. It focusses on the Strait of Malacca in a pre-colonial and colonial context, assuming that the pre-colonial Islamic and Islamic-Hindu law of *Udang udang Malakka* and *Udang udang Laut* originated as a hybrid from two traditions and that they legally structured the commercial center of Malacca and its harbours on the Malayan peninsula and connected this trading area with the Indian Ocean by its common Islamic legal practice. However, it did not constitute and structure the Strait of Malacca as a closed space but rather as an open one, accessible to everyone. Even in regions of straits, the sea was not controllable in pre-colonial times, but this changed after the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese. The forced establishment of their commercial monopoly aimed at the creation of a manageable space in the strait in order to own the sea. The study will show, however, that this plan could not be implemented completely and therefore created several legal spaces in the Straits of Malacca, which existed simultaneously.

The Dutch East India Company (VOC), did not only purposefully accept domestic law besides their own commercial law, as long as this was helpful with regard to the acquisition of goods, but also kept it actively operating in legal transactions with local people, though always based on the Dutch monopoly.

In this context, a hybrid and interlinked law was developed, and the Strait of Malacca became a space of interlinked laws, but without a domination or even an occupation of the sea by the Dutch. On the contrary, the freedom of the sea and the respect paid to domestic law by the Dutch proved to be a useful strategy in order to gain access to all goods. In addition, contracts with the local people were based on natural law (the general rule of *pacta sunt servanda* as well as the principle of 'good will') and therefore lent substance to them.[1] In this sense, the Strait of Malacca represents the formation of a compact geographical space, consisting of coasts which define and border on a manageable part of the sea and thereby make it an interesting object of study.[2]

With this in mind, the particular object of this paper is the history of the commercial city of Malacca between the 15th and the 17th century. In the following, I will argue that the circumstances within the strait were not only pro-

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[1] Anthony d´Amato, Good Faith, in: *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, vol. 7, Amsterdam/New York/Oxford 1984, 107–109.

[2] Heinz Fischer defines a strait as a "narrowing of the sea between mainland or islands" (Verengung des Meeres zwischen Festlandmassen oder Inseln): Heinz Fischer, Meerengen. Eine vergleichende Studie, in: *Geographica Helvetica* 18/2 (1963), 212–222, here 212.

duced by physical presence (i.e. plying it) but also by the space-constituting and space-occupying effects of law. The term "production of space by means of law" is understood here as the spatial distribution of generally accepted and acknowledged rights. However, this can also be an imposed law (like colonial commercial law with a claim to monopoly), which superseded law based on military superiority.

In the course of the first part of my analysis, I will portray the origin of the Strait of Malacca as a pre-colonial legal space. Thus, I will develop the argument that during this period no property rights were applied to the sea and correspondingly to the strait. I will show that it was only with the establishment of European trade monopolies—especially the Lusitanian crown monopoly[3] and the Dutch commercial monopoly—and the contractual fixing of legal rights that an enforcement of property claims concerning the sea took place. This also had a space-structuring effect on the strait by producing several coexisting legal areas. It will be demonstrated that only the Europeans structured the geographical space of the Strait of Malacca (in its totality) through the instrument of arbitrary legal boundaries. It will be shown how law was used either to interconnect or to separate parts of the sea, and in this particular case how the Strait of Malacca was either closely connected to the Indian Ocean or separated from it.

Who owns the Sea? Some Reflections

Within two years between 1493 and 1494, the papal bull *Inter cetera* and the subsequently concluded Treaty of Tordesillas—as well as the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529—divided the extra-European world between Portugal and Spain. In doing so, these documents legally assigned the seascapes to one sphere of influence or the other. In defining their claims and ideas of ownership, the two European crowns referred to the extensive power and sovereignty of the *Vicarius Christi*.[4] The Portuguese King Manuel I (1469–1521), for example, gave expression to his proclaimed rule over the Eastern Seas, including the maritime

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3 The study uses the term "monopoly" in its contemporary meaning as "exclusive freedom of trade" (*alleinige Verkaufungs=Freyheit*), which is ensured both contractually and militarily. Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschafften und Künste,* vol. 21, Leipzig 1735, 1192. See also Kerry Ward on the law of the Dutch East India Company and briefly on their handling of domestic law: Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company*, Cambridge 2009, 74–75.

4 For the idea of a closed sea (*Mare clausum*) in the Early Modern Times see Bo Johnson Theutenberg, Mare clausum et Mare liberum, in: *Arctic* 37/4 (1984), 481–492. Here

route to India, by adorning himself with a corresponding title: *Pela Graça de Deus, Manuel I, Rei de Portugal e dos Algarves, d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar em África, Senhor da Guiné e da Conquista, Navegação e Comércio da Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e Índia, etc.* ("D. Manuel, [...], Lord of Navigation and Commerce in Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India").[5] In a comparatively unspecific way, and rather tailored to the terrestrial sphere, King Philipp II of Spain (1527–1598) called himself *Hispaniarum, Indiarum Rex.*[6] Although being conceptualized in terms of international law by John Selden (1584–1654) in 1635 for the first time, the idea of ownership of the seas can even be identified within European medieval discourses. Seldon's concept of a *mare clausum* itself can be regarded as a response to Hugo Grotius's *Mare liberum.*[7] The Spanish jurist Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca (1512–1569), on the other hand, argued along different lines when he stated, so Hugo Grotius quoted: "For it is manifest that if many hunt on the land or fish in a river, the forest will soon be without game and the river without fishes, which is not so in the sea".[8] The Dutch lawyer Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) structured his argument in accordance with Roman law and finally

5   Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, ed. José Barbosa Machado, Braga 2010, 81 (cap. 46).

6   Monica Brito Vieira, Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum: Grotius, Freitas, and Selden's Debate on Dominion over the Seas, in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64/3 (2003), 361–377, here 376. See also the copper plate from Emanuel van Meteren in the private collection of Peter Borschberg: Peter Borschberg, *The Memoirs and Memorials of Jaques de Coutre. Security, Trade and Society in 16th- and 17th-Century Southeast Asia*, Singapore 2014, 103.

7   John Selden, *Mare clausum: seu de dominio maris, libri duo*, London 1635.

8   Grotius, The Free Sea (cf. n. 4), 47. Baldus argued: *Maris est commune quod usum, sed proprietas est nullis* [...] *iurisdictio est caesaris, & sic ista tria sunt diversa; proprietas, usus, iurisdictio & protectio.* Theutenberg, Mare clausum et Mare liberum (cf. n. 4), 481–492. 488.

concluded as Vázquez de Menchaca that the seas were rather a common good of mankind. In his treatise *Mare liberum*, published in 1609, he claims:

> "For even that ocean where with God hath compassed the Earth is navigable on every side round about, and the settled or extraordinary blasts of wind, not always blowing from the same quarter, and sometimes from every quarter, do they not sufficiently signify that nature hath granted a passage from all nations unto all?"[9]

Thus, the sea differed from the land in so far as it could not be taken into possession. Ownership, according to Grotius, results from a justified or unjustified physical occupation.[10]

Although the VOC utilized the Grotian argument in order to legitimize its call for an unimpeded access to the sea and for free trade in all regions of the world, their actual strategies of occupying both lands and parts of the sea rapidly foiled this very strand of thought.

Correspondingly, Gilles Deleuze emphasizes that the VOC, in line with the terrestrial experience, aimed at declaring certain parts of the sea to be shipping routes by means of mapping. The factual occupation of these routes was realized by both plying them and controlling them through a certain form of military presence. Following the argument of Deleuze and Guattari, this was how the 'smooth' maritime space was carved:

> "Von allen glatten Räumen ist das Meer auch der erste, den man einzukerben versucht hat, den man in eine Dependance der Erde zu verwandeln versuchte, mit festen Wegen, konstanten Richtungen, relativen Bewegungen."[11]

Seen from a historian's point of view, this argument is corroborated by the systematic establishment of the so called *wagenspoor* of the Dutch,[12] the plied and guarded route of their ships.

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[9]   Grotius, The Free Sea (cf. n. 4), 11. Karl Zemanek, Was Hugo Grotius Really in Favour of the Freedom of the Seas?, in: *Journal of the History of International Law* 1 (1999), 48–60, here 51. Martine van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle: Hugo Grotius, Natural Rights Theories and the Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies 1595–1615*, Leiden 2006, 286. Martine Van Ittersum, Kein Weiser ist ein Privatmann. Die Römische Stoa in Hugo Grotius' De Jure Praedae (1604–1608), in: *Kosmopolitanismus: Zur Geschichte und Zukunft eines umstrittenen Ideals*, ed. Matthias Lutz-Bachmann, Andreas Niederberger and Philipp Schink, Weilerswist 2010, 59–100, here 89–90.

[10]   Grotius uses an argument of Seneca, cf. Van Ittersum, Kein Weiser ist ein Privatmann (cf. n. 9), 90–91.

[11]   Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Tausend Plateaus: Kapitalismus und Schizophrenie*, Berlin 1992 553 and 533.

Comparatively, it seemed to be easier and thus more attractive to occupy those parts of the sea that were associated with straits which, due to their natural conditions, shaped and delimited manageable and thus controllable spaces.[13] Straits were thus of particular geostrategic importance, since their domination implicated great political and economic advantages. The control over the strait's waterscape could be constituted by maritime and commercial laws that in turn could be enforced by administrative and military institutions (administrative bodies, fleets). Straits, therefore, offered an opportunity for the implementation of a *Mare clausum*. The Portuguese jurist Serafim de Freitas (1570–1633) claimed in his work *De iusto imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico*, published in 1625, that the sea could be used by acts of navigating or fishing.[14] This recalls the idea of the Portuguese king Manuel I as "Lord of Navigation" as mentioned earlier. Referring to the Roman law, this denied the possibility of being the rightful owner of elements such as air or water. He nevertheless highlighted the point that the sea could only be controlled in the form of a river in its bed. This very 'bed' of the sea proved to be especially manageable within a strait.[15]

The territorial occupation of the sea by the Europeans contrasts with traditional Southeast Asian ideas of space, especially with regard to the execution of power. The sultans rather ruled over people than governed a territory. The quality of the sultans' access to their human resources depended on their physical presence. While the Portuguese and the Dutch made use of militarily marked strategies of occupation, the sultans did not command large fleets or possess fortified weir systems by means of which they might have been able to assert control over the sea.[16]

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12 Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline*, Zutphen 2003, 112.

13 Fischer, Meerengen (cf. n. 2), 212. Deleuze argues that the horizon plays an important role with regard to orientation and territoriality: "Die Wüste, der Himmel oder das Meer, der Ozean, das Unbeschränkte spielt zunächst die Rolle eines Umfassenden und tendiert dahin, Horizont zu werden: die Erde wird also durch dieses Element, das sie im unbeweglichen Gleichgewicht hält und eine Form möglich macht, zur Umgebung." ("The desert, the sky and the sea, the ocean, the indefinite first acts as surrounding and tends to become horizon: this keeps the earth in a fixed balance and creates its form and the earth becomes environment.") Deleuze and Guattari, Tausend Plateaus (cf. n. 11), 685.

14 Seraphim de Freitas, *Do justo Império Asiático dos Portugueses*, vol. 2, chap. XI, n. 15. See also Brito Vieira, Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum (cf. n. 8), 372.

15 Freitas, Do justo Império (cf. n. 14), vol. 2, chap. X, n. 129. Vieira, Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum (cf. n. 8), 373.

16 Regarding ideas of frontiers and boundaries see James Scott, *The Art of not Being Governed. An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, New Haven 2009; Oliver William Wolters, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, Ithaca 1999, 27–28.

Thus the Portuguese and Dutch claims to power provide information on the European attempts to transform the Asian seas into systems of borders and subdivisions. In this context, it is still unclear to what extent the constitution of laws shaped spaces and subjected them to certain types of ownership.

Precolonial Conditions

Geographically speaking, the Strait of Malacca is a waterway connecting the Indian Ocean (Andaman Sea) and the South China Sea. It runs between the Malay Peninsula to the East and the Indonesian Island of Sumatra to the West. During the 15th century, it predominantly served commercial exchanges between East Asian, Southeast Asian, Persian and Arabic communities. By the 16th century, in contrast, this trading system was additionally completed through trade links between European, Arab and Asian communities that even extended to the American continent. Thus, concerning at least the period between 1400 and 1699, the strait can be identified as one of the central points of globalization that significantly contributed to a worldwide transfer of goods, knowledge and ideas.[17] The town of Malacca, in turn, probably derived its name from the Arab term *malakat*, i.e. community of merchants.[18] Already prior to the arrival of the Europeans in 1511, the city constituted one of the region's most thriving places of transshipment and subsequently developed into the

Alexander Drost, Grenzenlos eingrenzen. Koloniale Raumstrukturen der Frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel niederländisch-spanischer Konfliktfelder in Asien. Essay zur Quelle Vertrag von Ternate mit der Ostindischen Compagnie 1607, in: *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte*, URL: http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2013/Article=613 (accessed 30 August 2015), 1–8, here 1 and 5–6. According to the Malayan annals (Sejarah Melayu), the inhabitants of Malacca did not have the weapons nor the power to fight against the Portuguese. Pires mentions two cannons, but no fleet at all. Malcolm Dunn, *Kampf um Malakka. Eine wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Studie über den portugiesischen und niederländischen Kolonialismus in Südostasien*, diss., Wiesbaden 1984, 246, note 1. The Ottoman Empire supported Aceh with weapons when they attacked Malacca. Rui Manuel Loureiro, Weapons, Forts and Military Strategies in East Asia, in: *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture* 27 (2008), 78–96, here 85.

17 Antje Flüchter and Michael Jucker claim that Asian networks had a huge impact on the early globalization, into which the Europeans integrated themselves: Antje Flüchter and Michael Jucker, Wie globalisiert war die Vormoderne? Ein Plädoyer für einen neuen Blick in den asiatischen Raum, in: *Traverse* 14 (2007), 97–111, here 97.

18 A different view supposes that the name derives from a tree which grows around Malacca. I am very thankful for this comment to Peter Borschberg, "Myrobalans, the fruit of a tree growing along the banks of a river called the Aerlele […]." Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay, ed. J.V. Mills, in: *Journal of Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8 (1930), 1–288, here 19.

central trading port of Southeast Asia—at least under Portuguese control. Due to its geostrategically advantageous location, the city was a crucial part of various trading routes. Since the contemporary maritime technologies did not allow the merchants to cross the Indian Ocean within one monsoon season, the city's port proved to be a welcome stopover. In 1515, the Portuguese Tomé Pires (c.1468 – c.1540) noted:

> "Melakka is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world; the end of the monsoons and the beginning of the others. Melakka is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malakka."[19]

Within his account, Tomé Pires informs us on the colorful bustling activities of the city's merchant community that was comprised of trading groups coming from 55 different regions and representing 40 language communities. He meticulously mentions merchants originating from Cairo (North Africa), Mecca, Hormus, Siam, the Indian province of Gujarat, Cambodia, China, the Maluku Islands and Timor. In accordance with Pires, Arabic, Bengal and Persian merchants settled in the area of the city. These settlement processes were closely linked to the ruling Malakkan dynasty's conversion to Islam, which attracted Muslim merchants, but simultaneously did not impede the commercial activities of merchants belonging to other religious groups. Observing Malacca's thriving economy, Pires concluded "that anyone who was a master of Malakka held Venice by the throat".[20] This was the reason why first the Portuguese and subsequently the Dutch aspired to dominate the city.

Since the rule of Parameśvara (1344 ? – c.1414), an heir of the kings of Śrīvijaya who converted to Islam, Malacca was subordinate to the government of a sultan, according to the Persian model of a "coastal kingdom". Moreover, the city enjoyed the protection of Ming China, to which Malacca payed annual

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19   Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, reprint 1944, Nendeln 1967, 286. Pires's report needs to be seen critically and does not state the size of the city correctly, following the indigenous *Malay Annals* (Sejarah Melayu). He was probably exaggerating the importance of the city in order to emphasize its successful occupation. On the transmission of Pires's reports see Peter Borschberg, Another look at Law and Business during the Late Malacca Sultanate, c. 1450–1511, unpublished paper, 3–4.

20   Pires, The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires (cf. n. 19), 269. Indian cotton and spices from South East Asia were mostly traded at the port of Malacca. Barbara Watson and Leonard Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, New York 1982, 43–44; Ahmad Sarji and Abdul Hamid, *The Encyclopedia of Malaysia: The Rulers of Malaysia,* vol. 16, Singapore 2007, 114.

tributes.[21] This, too, made the city very interesting for the Portuguese and later for the Dutch.

Hugo Grotius highlighted the fact that local laws existed in some Asian regions, without further commenting on each of these codes of law, their contents or their geographical areas of validity.[22] Malacca, in this regard, is an excellent example of a well-functioning legal system. During the reign of Muḥammad Shah (1424–1444) the *Undang undang Malakka*, a public law that focused on the city of Malacca, was compiled. Initially, it was conceived as an instrument regulating the relations between the sultan and his subjects. In addition, it included a commercial law together with many references to trading.[23]

This law was complemented by the *Undang undang Laut*, a code of maritime law applied to ship owners and ship tenants of Malacca. Both the *Undang undang Malakka* and the *Undang undang Laut* could easily be interpreted as a reaction to the legal uncertainty that had been communicated by the Muslim merchants.[24] On site those people had to face a customary law that was hardly transferred into a written form (ʿādāt = arab.: unwritten customary law), and was based on the Hindu tradition established by Muḥammad Shah's ancestors. Apart from that, this customary law partly clashed with Islamic law and the

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21 Francois Gipouloux, *The Asian Mediterranean: Port Cities and Trading Networks in China, Japan and Southeast Asia, 13*th–*21*st *Century*, Cheltenham 2011, 74–75 and 104. On private and official trade as well as liberalizations see Bodo Wiethoff, *Die chinesische Seeverbotspolitik und der private Überseehandel von 1368–1567*, Wiesbaden 1963, 22–23. Idem, Tribut und Handel. Chinesische Seeräuber und Überseehändler im 16. Jahrhundert, in: *Saeculum* 15 (1964), 230–246, here 244. Between 1403 (under the Ming emperor Yongle [r. 1402–1424]) and 1511, Malacca had to pay tributes to China. Gipouloux, The Asian Mediterranean (cf. n. 21), 59, 63 and 142. Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 31. See also Arun Das Gupta, The Maritime Trade of Indonesia 1500–1800, in: *South East Asia: Colonial History*, vol. 1: Imperialism before 1800, ed. Paul Kratoska, London 2001, 91–125. Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson, The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture, in: *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. Claire Holt, Ithaca 1972, 1–69; Borschberg, Another look at Law (cf. n. 19), 8.

22 De Freitas, Do justo Império (cf. n. 14), 195 (chap. XI).

23 On the emergence of different versions and on the content of *Undang Undang Malakka* see Liaw Yock-Fang, *Undang-Undang Melaka. A Critical Edition*, PhD thesis The Hague 1976, 33 and 45–48. See also Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680*, vol. 2: *Expansion and crisis*, New Haven 1993, 48–50. On the code's age, see Richard Winstedt, The Date of the Malacca Legal Codes, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1/2 (1953), 31–33.

24 On the beginnings of Islamization of the Indian Ocean, see George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton 1951, 62–64.

commercial space constituted by it: a space that encompassed large parts of the Indian Ocean. In the process of its islamification, Malacca became a crucial part of this system. Henceforth, the *Undang undang Malakka* and the *Undang undang Laut* offered a set of rules and regulations for those areas, where Islamic law was superimposed on old-established customary laws. This law seemed more concerned with pointing out differences between Islamic Law and *ʿādāt*. As a result, uncertain and hardly comprehensible traditions of oral customary law—especially from the foreign merchant's perspective—were transferred into a written form. Therefore, both codes formed a link between the ancient Hindu law and the 'new' Islamic law.[25] This combination strategically constituted the legal space of Malacca and structured it transparently.

First, the *Undang undang Laut* regulated the crews, the *nakhodas*' (captains) rights and obligations as well as those of the *hukum Kiwi* (travelling merchants), their privileges regarding business contracts and the granting of loans. Furthermore, the *Undang undang Laut* firmly established the *commenda* system.[26] Nevertheless, it did not contain "specific laws to protect the trader and the entrepreneur."[27]

Until the end of the precolonial era, the codes guaranteed and structured free trade within the city and provided a certain amount of legal certainty for the foreign merchants. Furthermore, they determined the dues for using the port, regulated the off-hire periods and particularly secured the sultan's control over the local trade by settling custom matters.

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25 Peer Zumbansen, Defining the Space of Transnational Law: Legal Theory, Global Governance and Legal Pluralism, in: *Beyond Territoriality. Transnational Legal Authority in an Age of Globalization,* ed. Günther Handl, Joachim Zekoll and Peer Zumbansen, Leiden 2012, 53–86, here 53.

26 Pires states: "If I am a merchant in Melaka and give you, the owner of the junk, a hundred cruzados of merchandise at the price then ruling in Melaka, assuming the risk myself, on the return [from Java] they give me a hundred and forty and nothing else, and the payment is made, according to the Melaka ordinance, forty-four days after the arrival of the junk in port." Pires, The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires (cf. n. 19), 284. On the system of commenda and its Roman roots, its circulation in Medieval Europe and simultaneously in the Arab trading area see Hans Lovrek, *Die mittelalterliche Commenda und die moderne Private Equity Industrie. Lösungen eines Prinzipal-Agent Problems,* unpublished PhD thesis Wien 2012, 8–25. See also Shlomo Dov Goitein, Economic Foundations, in: *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza,* vol. 1, Berkeley 1967, 170. Alfred Lieber, Eastern Business Practices and Medieval European Commerce, in: *The Economic History Review* 21/2 (1968), 230–243.

27 Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, Ethics and Entrepreneurship in Southeast Asia c. 1400–1800, in: *Maritime Asia. Profit Maximisation, Ethics and Trade Structure,* ed. Karl Anton Sprengard and Roderich Ptak, Wiesbaden 1994, 171–187, here 178–179.

The *shahbandar*, a harbour master[28] who was paid by the court, had full control over the trading goods on behalf of the sultan. He collected the port dues and supervised both the port and the warehouses. This function guaranteed a proper solution to all matters related to logistical issues. Additionally, he was authorized to negotiate with foreign envoys. During his stay in Malacca between 1512 and 1515, Tomé Pires recorded four *shahbandars* being responsible for merchants from different regions: they were the merchants' official reference persons.[29] However, the *Undang undang Malakka* mentions only one.[30]

Nevertheless, on closer consideration it becomes obvious that the extent of the sultan's sovereignty was closely associated with the city and its port. Contrary to previous paradigms of research, it has to be emphasized that the sea itself was not included in his territory. Rather, the *Undang undang Laut* conceptualized the ships as sovereign entities, whose captains were endowed with the authorities of a *rāja* and correspondingly possessed a certain authority over people (e.g. crew, travelers) and goods entrusted to them. This corresponded to the European idea of a ship as a space within the spaceless vastness of the sea. Juridically speaking, it constituted a system comparable to an ancient *polis*, as the responsible people were provided with corresponding functions (reign, jurisdiction). During the early modern period, ships were seen as an extension of those European powers or trading companies that had delegated them. Their captains applied the law given by their commanders. With this in mind, the ship was regarded as a bubble of sorts, with its limits constituting the sphere of influence of the captain.[31] Once he left the ship, he lost most of his power.

28 Malcolm Murfett, John N. Miksin, Brian P. Farrell et al., *Between Two Oceans. A Military History of Singapore from 1275 to 1971*, Singapore 2011, 32. Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 50. Ahmad and Hamid, Encyclopedia of Malaysia (cf. n. 20), 115. On this function see Charles O. Blagden, Shahbandar and Bendahara, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1921), 246–248.

29 "They are the men who receive the captains of the junks. [...] These men present them to the Bemdara (the royal treasurer), allot them warehouses, dispatch their merchandise, provide them with lodging if they have documents, and give orders for the elephants. There is a Xabamdar [Shahbandar] for the Gujaratees [Islamic merchants of India], the most important of all; there is a Xabamdar for the Bunuaquijlim, Bengalees, Pegus Pase; a Xabamdar for the Javanese, Moluccans, Banda, Palembang, Tamjompura and Lucoes; there is a Xabamdar for the Chinese, Lequeos, Chancheo and Champa. Each man applies to [the Xabamdar] of his nation when he comes to Malacca with merchandise or messages." Pires, The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires (cf. n. 19), vol. 2, 265.

30 Liaw, Undang-undang Melaka (cf. n. 23), 63.

31 Eckart Schäfer, Das Staatsschiff. Zur Präzision eines Topos. in: *Toposforschung. Eine Dokumentation*, ed. Peter Jehn, Frankfurt am Main 1972, 259–292, here 260. Dietmar Peil, *Untersuchungen zur Staats- und Herrschaftsmetaphorik in literarischen Zeugnissen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, München 1983, 700–870.

Neither the Malaccan law nor the maritime law forced the captains to land at the city's port and sell their goods at its markets.[32] On the contrary, every *nakhoda* was free to land his ship at the port he preferred. Although the *Undang undang Malakka* and the *Undang undang Laut* had a space-structuring effect on the Strait, they did not occupy this space. Turning the city and its port into a legally safe and lucrative trading place, their space-constituting influence was indirect.[33] In terms of a juridical terminology, it is wrong to assume that the Strait of Malacca was a legal monopoly of the sultan during the precolonial period.[34] It was rather the local advantages which attracted the merchants and thereby led to a concentration of the trade in the area of the city. The *Undang undang Malakka* and the functions created by it were a vital requirement for both a free, open and unrestricted market for strong trade and the rise of Malacca as a commercial center, which embraced most of the regional trading networks. Besides being structurally open, the city offered another attractive reason to the merchants of Sumatra and other Southeast Asian areas: the continuous presence of Chinese traders and their goods.

Borschberg argues that the *Undang undang Malakka* contains a regulation that possibly provides an indication concerning the Sultans' attitude towards the sea.[35] Paragraph 20.1 implies a distinction between "living land" (*tanah*

[32] "When you administer these laws at sea, they shall not be afterwards interfered with on shore. Henceforth let the laws of the sea be carried into effect at sea, in like manner as those of the land are carried into effect on land; and let them not interfere with each other; for you (addressing himself to the nakhodas) are as rajas ('king') at sea, and I confer authority on you accordingly."Cited in James Reddie, *An Historical View of the Law of Maritime Commerce*, Edinburgh 1841, 484.

[33] Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826) stated in his *History of Java*: "Of this monopoly there is no trace in the *Undang úndang* of the *Maláyus*, or in the fragments of their history." Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. 1, Kuala Lumpur 1965, 235. Peter Borschberg refers to the sultan allied with *Orang laut*, free inhabitants or *sea gypsies* and their ships, who did not belong to a community and therefore could control the Strait with regard to piracy and prohibited trade. Borschberg, Another look at Law (cf. n. 19), 15. A similar idea can be found in Leonard Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree. Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka*, Honolulu 2008, 114–115., 173–175. However, Wolters states that the cooperation between the sultan and the *Orang laut* can be regarded as legitimized piracy, i.e. corsairing, which benefited the sultan. This assumption thwarts the assumption of legal surety created by the two codes for Malacca as a trading spot. Oliver Wolters, *The Fall of Śrīvijaya in Malay History*, London 1970, 14.

[34] See Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 56. Sinnapah Arasaratnam, Monopoly and Free Trade in Dutch-Asian Commercial Policy. Debate and Controversy within the VOC, in: *South East Asia. Colonial History*, vol. 1, *Imperialism before 1800,* ed. Paul Kratoska, London/New York 2001, 315–333. Borschberg argued in our discussion "it is true that Malacca had a hegemonic position in the straits, but it was not unquestionable" (Singapore, August 2014)

hidup) and "dead land" (*tanah mati*): "There are two kinds of land, first the 'living land'; and second the 'dead land'". In regard to "dead land", nobody owns it until there is a sign of someone cultivating it. If someone wants to grow rice on it—a *huma* or *landang* or *sawah* or *bendang*—no one can proceed against him.[36] This law does not deal with the sea and its association with the Strait. However, if one transfers the idea of "dead land" to the sea, the latter cannot be conceptualized in terms of ownership or property. If someone cultivates a certain part of area, he is entitled to own this part. However, this cannot be applied to the sea. In my opinion, Peter Borschberg compares the "dead land" to the jungle, equating wild animals with the ships on the sea.

However, this is a wrong interpretation, although there are similarities between a hunter chasing a wild animal and a ship. Both use the given spaces (the jungle and the sea) and, if appropriate, use their products such as animals and fish. However, looking at the *Undang undang Malakka* again, this excludes hunting as an indicator of human ownership of land as well as maritime traffic as evidence for owning the sea. Instead, owned space should be cultivated and made suitable for human settlement. It is also possible to think of a merchant walking through a jungle to get from one place to another, following Borschberg. Even if he cultivates his part of the jungle, he admittedly 'changes' the jungle. However, this change should not be classified as cultivation. According to the law, the jungle thus remains "dead land", which means it does not belong to a human being.

To a certain extent, these considerations echo Serafim de Freitas's (1570–1633) idea of the exploitation of the sea, which itself does not constitute any ownership.[37]

This corresponds with the legal understanding of the sultans of Malacca, as they only claimed rule over people. Neither a trade monopoly nor a legal claim on the sea or an official military fleet existed that 'possessed' the Strait. Therefore, precolonial Malacca cannot be classified completely as a thalassocracy, even though this has been alleged by several scholars.

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35 "One surmises that traditional thinking held that ships are like wild beasts in the forest." Peter Borschberg, Malacca as a Sea-Borne Empire. Continuities and Discontinuities from Sultanate to Portuguese Colony (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century), in: *Water and State in Europe and Asia*, ed. Idem and Martin Krieger, New Delhi 2008, 35–71, here 43 and 45.

36 Liaw, Undang undang Melaka (cf. n. 23), 111.

37 See Borschberg, Malacca as a Sea-Borne Empire (cf. n. 35), 39. On the term "thalassocracy" and its use for Malacca see Peter Wheatley and Kernial Sandhu, *Melaka. The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400–1980*, vol. 1, Kuala Lumpur 1983, Introduction and 129–130.

The Portuguese Strait of Malacca

The precolonial *status quo* was changed by the inclusion of the Europeans in the local trading system. By imposing their maritime power, they exported the European idea of a trade monopoly to the region. When the Portuguese seized the city in 1511, they aimed at controlling both the local trading system and the trading routes towards Europe.[38] This implied the supervision of the ships travelling through the Strait via payment of duties—and thus the control of the entire Strait.

Therefore, I argue that these steps must be understood as the establishment of a monopoly by means of the Portuguese commercial law via military supremacy. On the one hand, the Portuguese intended to impose their claims regarding a monopolized trade of spices (especially pepper and cloves).[39] This claim was inter alia realized by the conclusion of treaties. The treaties theoretically excluded other powers from the trading system. These monopoly contracts geared at limiting the rights of authorized traders, e.g. the expulsion of Muslim merchants from the city. Peter Borschberg refers to the huge influence of the church and of the religious orders on the Portuguese trade and the *Estado da India* respectively.[40] Religious diversity and mission both occasionally dominated and limited Portuguese trade ambitions. On the other hand, the new authorities draconically punished those indigenous suppliers who traded with other European merchants such as the Dutch.[41]

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38 Loureiro, Weapons, Forts and Military Strategies in East Asia (cf. n. 16), 79. Bailey Diffie and George Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580*, Minneapolis 1978, 259. Gipouloux, The Asian Mediterranean (cf. n. 21), 120–121.

39 Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 56.

40 Peter Borschberg, *Singapore and Melaka Straits. Violence, Security and Diplomacy in the 17th Century*, Singapore 2010, 197. "Estado da India" refers to an administratively consistent combination of all the areas that were ruled by governors under the head of a general governor based in Indian Goa. The governor was supported by an advisory council and a *capiato*. Five noble families occupied these governor positions until the end of the seventeenth century.

41 Johan Theodor Bry, *Achter Theil der Orientalischen Indien, begreiffend erstlich Ein Historische Beschreibung der Schiffart, so der Admiral Jacob von Neck auß Hollandt in die Orientalische Indien von Ann. 1600. biß An. 1603 gethan. Darnach Ein Historia, so von Johan Herman von Bree, Obersten Handelsmann auff dem Schiff der Holländische Zaun genannt, in gleichmessiger Reyse von An. 1602. biß 1604. auffgezeichnet worden. Alles auß Niederländischer Verzeichnus in Hochteutscher Sprache beschrieben. Durch M. Gotthardt Artus von Dantzig. Auch mit schönen Kupfferstücken gezieret vnd an Tag geben durch Johan Theodor. vnd Johan Israel de Bry Gebrüder*, vol. 8/1, Franckfurt am Mayn 1606, S. 10–13.

Furthermore, the Lusitanian lords of Malacca forced all ships crossing the Strait to land at the city's port and to pay their dues.[42] They constructed several forts[43] that rapidly formed a network, and permitted the positioning of smaller naval units. Thereby, the Portuguese were able to block the Strait at any given time. The coastal forts marked a frontier which was extended to the sea by the ships.[44] Besides this, their military power even enabled the Portuguese to control Indian and Arab ships crossing the Indian Ocean. These had to pay certain tributes in order to receive the permission to sail into the Strait. Correspondingly, the Viceroy of Goa ordered the destruction of every ship that did not have such a permission (*cartaze*).[45]

As a result, the Malaccan law, the *Undang undang Malakka*, lost its validity in the process of the European conquest.[46] Being Islamic and Hindu laws, they were no longer allowed to be applied. From this time on, both the city and the Strait were structured according to European commercial law and, as a consequence, were subordinated to Christian European influences. The Portuguese law replaced the *Undang undang Malakka* and established a new administrative trade system. A coexistence of laws was not desired due to religious and economic reasons. Although both the *Undang undang Malakka* and the *Undang undang Laut* were still in use at some places, they rather played a subordinated or ideally a subsidiary role. The *Undang undang Malakka* was only applied in cases where the Portuguese were not involved. This concerned trading in groceries and therefore the inner Asian trafficking of goods. A transcultural entanglement between these trading cultures, however, cannot be assumed. The space-constituting impact of the Portuguese commercial law on the city, its port and large parts of the Strait clearly emerges when compared to its predecessors. Portuguese rule over the sea could be enforced successfully due to the

42   There is differing information regarding its amount: seven percent or one eighth of the value of the respective goods. Sometimes, up to nine percent was charged. Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 88 and 250.

43   On the erection of these forts see: Loureiro, Weapons, Forts and Military Strategies in East Asia (cf. n. 16), 85–86.

44   On forts and ports as frontiers of European powers, characterized by architecture and technique, see Drost, Grenzenlos eingrenzen (cf. n. 16), 6.

45   Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 88 and 111. Diffie and Winnius, Foundations of the Portuguese Empire (cf. n. 40), 321–322. John Villiers, The Estado da India in South East Asia, in: *South East Asia. Colonial History*, vol. 1, *Imperialism before 1800,* ed. Paul Kratoska, London / New York 2001, 151–178, here 156.

46   The *Undang undang Melaka* states in § 11: "Such is the law of God administered by everyone in the country." Liaw, Undang undang Melaka (cf. n. 23), 83. This refers to the *Reconquista.* On the *Reconquista* in Portugal, see Diffie and Winnius, Foundations of the Portuguese Empire (cf. n. 38), 48–49.

geographical nature of the waterway. In contrast to its Asian predecessors, Portuguese law regulated the scope of economic actors by excluding those merchants who did not possess an official license. Hence, it created an enclosed space dominated by the Portuguese within the geographical area of the Strait, which had previously attracted merchants from all over the world due to its structural accessibility. The Portuguese justified their actions by referring to the Treaty of Tordesillas from 1494. Additionally, they argued according to the legal principle of *beati possidentes*. Nonetheless, the restriction and the dislocation of the old indigenous law led to the constitution of new legal spaces that both coexisted and competed within Portuguese Malacca. However, the outlined developments interrupted the trade between the commercial centers within the region of the Strait, thereby hindering its passing. The Portuguese way of acting separated the Strait into several coexisting legal spaces whose trading systems competed in an antagonistic way.[47] Due to the compulsive or voluntary migration of traders from the 1530s onwards, previously unimportant places such as Aceh in the North of Sumatra and Johor in the South successively became more important.[48] Closely drafted according to the *Undang undang Malakka* and the *Undang undang Laut*, the maritime and commercial laws compiled by the rulers of Aceh and Johor especially attracted Muslim merchants. From the North coast of Sumatra, the traders of Aceh sent their ships as far as the Red Sea.[49] Based on its geographical location, Aceh emerged as the "principal Muslim entrepôt in the Straits of Malakka" and thus became the starting and ending point of the Western Asian, Arab and Southeast Asian trade.[50] The Portuguese had difficulties in coping with this challenge. They were even incapable of controlling the local pepper trade, since the merchants of

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[47] Instead of building a mosque, a fort was built in Malacca and the Portuguese tried to re-establish trade with the city. Pires shades the facts and refers to the new legal situation: "The land began welcoming merchants, and many came. [...] Malacca cannot help but return to what it was, and [become] even more prosperous, because it will have our merchandise; and they are much better pleased to trade with us than with the Malays because we show them greater truth and justice." Pires, The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires (cf. n. 19), vol. 2, 281.

[48] Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce (cf. n. 23), 65. On the organisation of trade in Aceh and Banten see ibid., 107, 116, 212–213. Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40); Idem, The memoirs and Memorials of Jaques de Coutre (cf. n. 6), 94–95.

[49] Liaw, Undang undang Melaka (cf. n. 23), 13–14.

[50] Sunil Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal. The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants*, Cambridge 2013, 51–52. Amrith emphasizes, that Aceh followed the Ottoman Empire closely and used new sea routes via the Bay of Bengal to include pepper in the Levant trade.

Aceh simply avoided the Strait. Additionally, Aceh was supplied with weapons by the Ottoman Empire and consequently functioned as an oppositional military pole of Portuguese Malacca. Due to permanent military conflicts between the two cities that represented the Christian European and the Muslim powers respectively, the entire Strait became destablized.

Johor as the main operating area of the expelled sultan also made the attempt to succeed Malacca. Most notably, the city tried to attract Chinese and Javanese merchants. Javanese merchants predominantly traded with groceries that were of special importance for Malacca.[51] Consequently, the city suffered several shortages of supply. Aceh and Johor successively became rivals, but nevertheless, a common enemy linked the two cities together: the Portuguese city of Malacca.[52] Its monopoly over the Strait had been established by territorial occupation, commercial jurisdiction and military control. This type of monopoly can be classified as commercial and thereby constituted the Lusitanian rule of the waterway. At times, however, the Portugese failed to enforce their claims owing to high costs, indigenous resistance or the mere dimension of the Strait. The aspiration to control the Strait of Malacca completely ultimately led to the city's decline although the commercial center with its advantageous climatic conditions remained, at least from an external point of view, a desirable entrepot.

It has thus become clear that Peter Borschberg's assumption that the Portuguese sought to continue the monopolistic policies of the Sultanate, is not quite convincing. A monopoly could only be achieved by legal occupation as well as military control of the entire strait including the maritime traffic passing it. However, the sultans never raised such a claim.

The Dutch Strait of Malacca

Though acting inconsistently with their own demands for a *Mare Liberum*, the Dutch sought to occupy the city of Malacca and the rest of the Strait and to remove Portugese domination. Thus, they wanted to establish a base that would enable them to gain control over the local spice trade, and allow their convoys

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51 Malcolm Dunn, Pfeffer, Profit and Property Rights. Zur Entwicklungslogik des Estado da Índia im südostasiatischen Raum, in: *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (16th and 17th Centuries)*, Stuttgart 1987, 1–36, here 7. Johor was occasionally a vassal of Aceh. Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40), 138.

52 Gupta, The Maritime Trade of Indonesia (cf. n. 21), 91–125, 101. In 1615, a short peace was concluded between Malacca and Johor. Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40), 139.

to sail to Europe.[53] Admiral Matelieff de Jonge (1569–1632) signed two treaties on behalf of the Dutch with the Johor sultans ʿAlāʾuddīn Riʿāyat Shah III (1597?-1615) and ʿAbdullāh Maʾayat Shah (Raja Bongsu) (1615–1623) in the early summer of 1606. The treaty of May 17th 1606 urged the sultans to become vassals of the States General of the Netherlands.[54] Furthermore, Malacca would be legally assigned to the sultan while the Dutch were granted the right to rule the suburb Kampung Kling, which was located outside the fortified city walls. The Dutch enjoyed a commercial law of all traded goods—at prices they fixed. At the same time, and in contrast to the Portuguese practice, trade had to remain in the hands of the established merchant communities, regardless of the individual trader's origin or religion. According to this ruling, the contracting parties aimed to stimulate the flow of trade between the city and its hinterland. However, the local trade was subject to the constant control of the Dutch and was thereby aligned to their profit concerning import and export duties, passport charges and port dues.[55] Anyhow, since the VOC did not succeed in wresting the city from the Portuguese, the treaty was never implemented.

Nevertheless, the VOC tried to conquer Malacca, once again besieged the city and caused a complete closure of the Strait between 1615–1620 and 1633–1641 respectively. In this context, the waterway, due to its limited space, was turned into a prime battleground.[56] Seen from a sociological point of view, social life within the strait was predominantly based upon transit traffic that was nearly abandoned in these phases. Usually the strait was a lively region due to maritime traffic, which was widely disrupted during the conflicts between the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Spanish armada respectively. This

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53 This was planned before the establishment of Batavia. Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40), 122.

54 The contractual practise between the Dutch and the peoples of South East Asia consisted of appointing them to "getrouwe[n] vasallen des Coninck van Hollandt oder von den Heeren Staten Generael." See Jan Ernst Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum. Verzameling van Politieke contracten en verde verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten, van Privilegebrieven, aan hen verleend, enz., vol. 1, 1596–1650, 's-Gravenhage 1907, 34 (XV), Treaty with the island of Oma, 1605, 131 (LV), Treaty with Ambon, 1617, 306 (CXXV), etc. See Jörg Fisch, *Krieg und Frieden im Friedensvertrag. Eine universalgeschichtliche Studie über Grundlagen und Formelemente des Friedensschlusses*, diss., Stuttgart 1979, 173. Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40), 124–125. Grotius referred to the Roman Stoics while talking about the theory of treaties and the practice of treaties with non-European communities. See van Ittersum, Kein Weiser ist ein Privatmann (cf. n. 9), 80–81.

55 Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 189–190.

56 Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 42), 143–176. On strategical spots to occupy within the Strait of Malacca chosen by the Dutch see Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40),174.

European conflict caused the occupation and destabilization of the Strait of Malacca and forced Asian as well as Portuguese merchants to change their routes.[57] It was only in 1641 that the Dutch succeeded in conquering Malacca and subsequently implemented the terms of the above-mentioned treaty of 1606.[58]

Hugo Grotius claimed that the Portuguese, as a mere occupying power of the city, did not have any right to impose trade prohibitions on the sultan of Johor. Rather, they were to be obliged to show respect for his sovereignty[59] and subordinate themselves to his law:

> [...] *nec vero aequum esse, ut illi sibi, quid suo in regno facere deberet praescriberent: imo rectius Lusitanos, ut qui Malaccam tenerent, (nam et hanc avito jure rex ille sibi vindicat, etsi possessione detrusus) suis legibus parituros.*[60]

Without making specific reference to either the prevailing law of Malacca or to the *Undang undang Malakka*, these lines can be read as a Grotian plea for the recognition of indigenous rights and laws. By guaranteeing the continuation of indigenous trade, especially with regard to the inner-Asian areas, the acceptance of the existing law indeed constituted a significant advantage for the Dutch. Therefore it was necessary for the VOC to accomodate the applicable indigenous law with both their own ideas of commercial law and their interest to establish a trade monopoly.[61]

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57 Another strategy by the Portuguese was the reloading of goods on smaller ships that crossed the Strait during the night. They also chartered English and Danish ships. Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40), 177 and 179–182.

58 The vassalage of the surrounding communities of Malacca was stated in the Treaty of Malacca in 1641: *D´voorschreven capiteijn en outsten, mitgaders d´jnwoonders van Naningh, zoo Manicaber als Maleijers, blijven gehouden van de rijssvellden ende alle andere vruchten ande Generale Oost-indische Compe te geven de thiende dersellver. Item van betele ende peper thuijnen jaerlijcx soodanige rente [...]. [...] do thuijnen onder den anderen vercoopende, sullen gehouden gewesen aen de Compe offte hare gemaghtigens te betalen den 10n dersellver in contant, gelijck voor dese costumelijck.* Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum (cf. n. 54), vol 1, 350–351 (CXXXVIII). Treaty with Malacca from 1641.

59 The acceptance of the sovereignty of the Asian sultans made it possible to conclude treaties and contracts. Therefore, the monopoly treaty of the VOC with Johor was legitimate. According to Hugo Grotius, sovereignty was divisible. See Urte Weeber, Hugo Grotius' Völkerrechtskonzeption – ein spezifisch europäisches Instrument im Handel mit außereuropäischen Gemeinwesen?, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Germ. Abt.* 127 (2010), 301–312.

60 Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Praedae Commentarius: Texte Latin, publié pour la première fois d´après le manuscrit autographe par Ger. Hamaker*, The Hague 1869. De Freitas, Do justo Império (cf. n. 14), 202 (chap. XI).

Being contractually allied trading partners of the Dutch, Aceh,[62] Perak and Kedah were permitted to engage in trade with Javanese, Chinese, Malayan and Arab communities according to the rules of both the *Undang undang Malakka* and their own old-established laws—provided that they purchased the necessary permission in advance. This was a strategy of the VOC, —whose agents respected the traditional rights on the one hand, but insistently aspired to assert full control over those fields of action that were conceded to them by these very rights on the other hand. They were eager to establish a tight network of factories in certain provinces, such as in Aceh.[63] The Dutch aimed at the regional dominance of Malacca by insisting on a certain legal continuity for strategic reasons while they subordinated the compilation of rights to their own idea of commercial law.

The simultaneous acceptance of both the old local authorities and the new controlling power had a space-constituting and space-structuring effect on the Strait of Malacca. It neutralized the hostile and competitive coexistence of the Strait's trading centers and paved the way for a trading system that both functioned according to the usual procedures and was orientated towards the interests of the VOC.

This resulted in the coexistence of two legal areas that were contractually bound, although one of them depended on the other in a unilateral manner. With this in mind, the Dutch controlled the Strait—as a space included in a network—and reunited and stabilized the area to a certain extent. Moreover, this specific legal practice supports the argument by Jörg Fisch, who stated that

> "die eine Seite [the VOC] es vermochte, das Recht für sich zu vereinnahmen, es zum Werkzeug für eigene Ziele zu machen. Sie [war] nicht mehr nur Partei, sondern [vermochte] sich zugleich als Richter aufzuspielen."[64]

This not only concerned their own commercial law but also the indigenous law, whose general application and validity was grounded on acceptance and protection by the Dutch—as long as it did not work against the interests of the

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61 Dunn, Kampf um Malakka (cf. n. 16), 187.

62 When the Dutch conquered Malacca the Muslim sultanate in Aceh became a leading trade power. The weakening of Aceh caused by losing Malacca and a female ruler (Ratu Ṣafiyyat ud-Dīn Tāj al-ʿĀlam (ca. 1636–1675)) was seen as the reason for the treaty between Aceh and the VOC. See Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Basingstoke 2001, 40–41.

63 An illustration of the factory of the VOC in Aceh can be found in Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40), 147.

64 Fisch, Krieg und Frieden im Friedensvertrag (cf. n. 54), 479.

VOC. This means,that the indigenous law was sometimes applied to the benefit of the Dutch.

Their way of acting corresponded to Grotius's roughly formulated call to acknowledge existing foreign laws. From the perspective of the VOC, this procedure did not ignore the Dutch demand for the establishment of a *Mare Liberum*.[65] Hugo Grotius saw the negotiation of treaties as a natural law of human beings. Their results had to be accepted by a third party, e.g. if two parties agreed on a monopoly for one of them:

> *C'est la force de la raison naturelle qui ne vous permet pas de nier que celuy auquel on à promis de delivrer certaine marchandise a droict d'empecher que celuy qui l'a promis ne le delivre à quelqu'aultre.* [sic!][66]

Only by the accord of both parties could the monopoly and the treaties of the VOC be revoked : *Ce qui est faict par le consentement de deux parties ne se peut deffaire par la vollonte d'un seule, pacis*[c]*i est libertatis stare pacto necessitatis.*[67] The trade monopoly of the VOC was well established by the treaties with the sultan of Johor, which could not be revoked. Unlike the Portuguese, the dominance of the Dutch was built on the 'voluntary' agreement of the indigenes and recorded in a treaty.

Due to such voluntariness of Southeast Asian rulers the Dutch could claim that they did not restrict the freedom of the sea by establishing and implementing their monopoly, which was heavily doubted by the English. These doubts were expressed at a conference held between 1613 and 1615 to decide on the

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65 *Quod cum quidam Indorum principes ac nationes fecerint nobis solis aromatum venditionem promittendo nihil est aequitati naturali iurique gentium convenientius quam pacta illa conventa, imo foedera publica, servari.* The memoranda of the negotiations in 1613 and 1615 are published in: George Norman Clark and Willem Jan Marie Jonkheer van Eysing, *The Colonial Conferences between England and the Netherlands in 1613 and 1615*, vol. 1, Leiden 1940), 41–42., 101 (Mémoire néerlandais du 20 avril 1613).

66 Ibid., 205 (Troisième mémoire néerlandais du 13 mars 1615).

67 Ibid., 203 (Troisième mémoire néerlandais du 13 mars 1615). The contract with Ternate from May 26th 1607 can be seen as an example, as § 10 regulates the Dutch monopoly on the trade of cloves: "Sollen [die Ternater] keine Gewürznelken verkaufen dürfen, egal an welche Nation oder Volk, als nur dem Faktor, der wegen der Herren Staaten in Ternate wohnen wird, und das zu solchem Preis wie die Herren Staaten anordnen und mit dem König akkordieren werden." ("The people of Ternate are not allowed to sell any cloves to any person, but only to the factory of the States-General, depending on their chosen prize and accordance with the king"). Alexander Drost, Vertrag von Ternate mit der Vereinigten Ostindischen Kompanie (VOC) (26. Mai 1607), in: *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte*, URL: http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2013/Article=613, 2 (accessed 30 August 2015)

prospective relationship between the VOC and the EIC regarding trade in Southeast Asia. The English asked:

> "And do not the Hollanders deny this argument propounded by the Spaniard, and declare themselves in the behalf of free Trade, and to all nations, with as much liberty and freedom as *mare liberum*?"[68]

The Dutch, as mentioned above, had already expressed their argument.

In sum, it can be said that the VOC contractually secured its trade monopoly in an intelligent way against the Sultan of Johor and other regional powers that were unable to void the contracts unilaterally. In strong contrast to the Portuguese way of executing power in the region, the Dutch (re)produced their dominion over the Strait of Malacca by means of the 'voluntary' contractual agreement with the indigenous people, without in principle violating the legal provisions regarding the politics of the *Mare Liberum* policy.

Conclusion

In this article, I have focused on law as a specific practice both constituting and structuring social spaces. In this context, the main question was whether and how the various actors used the law in order to shape the social geography of the Strait of Malacca and transform it into a legal space or subspace that consequently could be transferred into ownership.

Originally the traditional Hindu customary law and the newly introduced islamic commercial law had been applicable side by side in precolonial Malacca. Such coexistence was caused by the conversion of the ruling dynasty to Islam. In the *Undang undang Malakka* both legal systems have been merged which enabled a stronger integration of the city into the islam-dominated trading area of the Indian Ocean. The legal imperfection resulting from this process was compensated by the *Undang undang Malakka*, which created a direct connection between the different law systems and, due to its written form, provided a certain level of transparency. The combination of applied Islamic commercial law and Hindu commercial law can be seen as a hybrid, which, however, only affected the spatial constitution of the city and was explicitly not applied to the waterway, i.e. the sea. On the one hand, it transformed the city of Malacca into a legal space, making it more manageable, secure and transparent. On the other

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68 Clark and Jonkheer van Eysing, The Colonial Conferences, 120 (Rapport des délégués anglais au Conseil Privé du 10 mai 1613). See Christoph Driessen, *Die kritischen Beobachter der Ostindischen Compagnie. Das Unternehmen der "Pfeffersäcke" im Spiegel der niederländischen Presse und Reiseliteratur des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Bochum 1996, 65.

hand, it extended the space constituted by the Islamic commercial law to the whole geographical area of the Strait. At the same time, Malacca as a trading center (space) was embedded into the trading and legal space of the Indian Ocean and to the south to the islands of the Indonesian archipelago. However, this hybrid law did not produce any statutory basis with regard to ownership of certain parts of the sea.

In the aftermath of their occupation of Malacca and its port, the Portuguese aimed to neutralize the applied laws and consequently intended to replace them by their own legal concepts. These functioned as an instrument for the occupation of the terrestrial and maritime space associated to the Strait. The occupation was accompanied by the attempt to establish a trade monopoly. This effort led to the emigration of many indigenous merchants and finally resulted in a translocation of the established spaces of commerce and law. Henceforth, Portuguese Malacca had to face strong commercial rivals like Aceh, whose market systems functioned in accordance to customary laws.

The Portuguese aspired to establish a new, unified judicial area which was to be controlled by them. This configuration, however, was not only completely separated from the Islamic commercial area that encompassed large parts of the Indian Ocean but also had a fragmenting effect on the latter.

By controlling the area's important maritime routes, the Portuguese at least intermittently succeeded in occupying parts of the sea. Since they were not capable of enforcing their claims permanently and comprehensively—their aspired monopoly failed—, the Strait temporarily showed an unintentional legal pluralism in the sense of a competitive coexistence. This example shows how both the application of legal categories of ownership of the sea and the idea of maritime boundaries were prerequisites for conceptualizing the Strait as an enclosed space.

Hugo Grotius defined property by physical possession.[69] Along these lines, the VOC kept their property by possessing the laws. This rather nebulous expression refers to the skillful integration into their tactical repertoire of obtaining trade monopolies and linking indigenous powers to their own commercial law. The law served them as an economic and political instrument and likewise functioned as a legitimation of their actions. Correspondingly, the Dutch maintained precolonial legal structures and used them for their own purposes. They applied the same strategy to the *Undang undang Laut*: the local indigenous commercial law remained unaffected as long as it served the interest of the Dutch. This was an important part of shared sovereignty. Consequently, the trading places within the area of the Strait controlled by the Dutch can be considered a mixed legal space that was based on toleration. Notably,

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69 Van Ittersum, Kein Weiser ist ein Privatmann (cf. n. 9), 91.

these phenomena particularly referred to the sea. It has to be kept in mind that no effective linkage of European and indigenous laws can be proven in the analyzed period. These laws rather coexisted in a hierarchical and tolerated manner or indigenous law was ultimately replaced by European law. The *Undang undang Laut* was modified during the colonial period in the seventeenth century,[70] a transformation which is currently being analyzed by scholars at the Australian National University (NUS) in Canberra. To what extent elements of law favouring the VOC were included has yet to be answered.

The enforced and alleged monopoly of the Dutch provoked criticism in the United Provinces, too. Both Laurens Reael (1536–1601) and Steven van der Hagen (1550–1620) raised the legal question as to whether the Dutch were legally entitled to prevent others from approaching ports and thus to curtail their trade with the Asian peoples. Both authors saw such measures as a control of the sea.[71]

During the precolonial period, the Islamic law, as shown above, had had a direct space-constituting impact only on the city itself. In contrast, the European colonial laws constituted the sea of the Malaccan Strait as a new legal space that was dominated by the Portuguese and the Dutch respectively. By means of their colonial laws, the European powers territorialized the Strait and established borders which were independent of the coast lines and thus detached from the geographical boundaries of the sea. Keeping this in mind, trade monopolies and their enforcement can be highlighted as a specific European cultural technique carving the sea up and creating law in strong contrast to Islamic law and to the law codes that originated in Malacca. By ways of indentation, the notion of property of the sea was established.

In principle, both the pre-colonial Strait of Malacca and that same area under Portuguese and Dutch domination can be seen as a 'readable place'[72], formed by the respective law systems or their parallel existence. The written codes of the *Undang undang Malakka* and the *Undang undang Laut* bridged the geographical proximity of the trading centers of the Indian Ocean and the Strait of Malacca and thereby particularly created new semantics of spatial dis-

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70 See Borschberg, The Singapore and Melaka Straits (cf. n. 40), 206.

71 Arasaratnam, Monopoly and Free Trade in Dutch-Asian Commercial Policy (cf. n. 34), 316–317.

72 Gerhard Neumann and Sigrid Weigel, *Lesbarkeit der Kultur. Literaturwissenschaften zwischen Kulturtechnik und Ethnographie*, München 2000. Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Kultur als Text: die anthropologische Wende in der Literaturwissenschaft*, Tübingen 2004. Jeremy Brotton, *Trading Territories. Mapping the Early Modern World*, London 1997. See also Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Mito e mercadoria, utopia e prática de navegar* (séculos XIII–XVIII), Lisboa 1990.

tance and order within it. Under Portuguese control, these configurations of order were semantically reshaped, geographically connected to the Portuguese spheres of influence and seen as property, while the Dutch, or the VOC respectively, created a 'readable place' by tolerating indigenous law featuring semantical parallels. However, this 'readable place' was contractually dependent and controlled by the monopoly of the VOC. The claim of control over this 'readable place' was not raised legally but rather created through dependencies and symbolically suggested by the *wagenspoor*.

Ownership of the sea was heavily discussed in Europe as the European powers consistently tried to claim parts of it. In 1795, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) demanded in the third Definitive Article in his work "Perpetual Peace":

> "[…] ein Besuchsrecht, welches allen Menschen zusteht, sich zur Gesellschaft anzubieten, vermöge des Rechts des gemeinschaftlichen Besitzes der Oberfläche der Erde, auf der, als Kugelfläche, sie sich nicht ins Unendliche zerstreuen können, sondern endlich sich doch neben einander dulden zu müssen, ursprünglich aber niemand an einem Orte der Erde zu sein mehr Recht hat, als der andere. Unbewohnbare Teile dieser Oberfläche, das Meer und die Sandwüsten, trennen diese Gemeinschaft, doch so, daß das Schiff, oder das Kamel (das Schiff der Wüste) es möglich machen, über diese herrenlose Gegenden sich einander zu nähern, und das Recht der Oberfläche, welches der Menschengattung gemeinschaftlich zukommt, zu einem möglichen Verkehr zu benutzen."[73]

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[73] Immanuel Kant, *Immanuel Kant's sämmtliche Werke in chronologischer Reihenfolge*, ed. Gustav Hartenstein, vol. 6, Leipzig 1868, 424–425. For an English translation see Immanuel Kant, *Practical Philosophy*, transl. and ed. Mary Gregor, Cambridge 1999, 329: "But the right to visit; this right, to present oneself for society, belongs to all human beings by virtue of the right of possession, in common, of the earth`s surface on which, as the sphere, they cannot disperse infinitely but must finally put up with being near one another; but originally no one had more right than another to be on a place on earth. Uninhabitable parts of the earth`s surface, seas and deserts, divide this community, but in such a way that ships and camels (ships of the desert) make it possible to approach one another over these regions belonging to no one and to make use of the right to the earth`s surface, which belongs to the human race in common, for possible commerce."

Index

Compiled by Viktor Gottesmann

The index contains names and places mentioned in the main text and in the notes. In addition, literary works and sources *(sub auctore)* and the proper names of some institutions that are explicitly referred to in the articles are given in italics. Rulers and high ecclesiastical dignitaries are furthermore identified by their respective realms, bishoprics etc.

The history of individual seascapes has recently become a vibrant and innovative field of research. Nonetheless, connections between seas (entre mers) and the imagination of lands "beyond the Sea" (Outre-mer) have only rarely been focused in these contexts. This is precisely the main aim of the present collection of essays, which results from a conference held at Heidelberg University. The individual papers treat various aspects of transmarine connections, their regulation and mental expansion in an Indo-Mediterranean context, which comprises the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, as well as projections of seaways to India on other maritime areas, thus spanning a wide chronological spectrum from Egyptian antiquity to the onset of the Atlantic Age in the sixteenth century.

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