

## Entre mers—Outre-mer: An Introduction

At some time between 1316 and 1318 of our era, a Dominican friar from southwestern 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, nothing came out of these ideas, and the text remained largely forgotten until its recent re-edition.<sup>4</sup>

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

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 XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Mériidiennes 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”.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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

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 21<sup>st</sup> 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”),<sup>9</sup> developed his ideas about the “Oikumene” in a famous work entitled *Christian Topography*.<sup>10</sup> “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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 Indicopleustes et Jean Philopon. Deux lectures de la Genèse à Alexandrie au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, in: *Science et exégèse. Les interprétations antiques et médiévales du récit biblique de la création des éléments (Genèse 1, 1–8)*, ed. Béatrice Bakhouché (Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Hautes Études. Sciences religieuses 167), Turnhout 2016, 147–159.

11 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *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 Ἰκεανοῦ πλέεσθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ρευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀναδιδομένων ἀτμῶν καὶ ἀμβλυόντων τὰς ἀκτίνας 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.<sup>14</sup> While Kosmas called the intermediary seascape the “Indian Sea” (τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγος),<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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.

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<sup>18</sup> can be credited with having definitely established this influential paradigm based on a close interplay of geographical and historical thinking,<sup>19</sup> which emerged from a French colonial context in the Maghreb.<sup>20</sup> While the sheer range and erudition of Braudel's research had a rather discouraging impact on Mediterranean historical studies for some decades,<sup>21</sup> 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<sup>22</sup>

18 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée 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, *Méditerranée, 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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,<sup>24</sup> as well as the fundamental works written by Anthony Reid and Denis Lombard on maritime South East Asia<sup>25</sup> 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".<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> 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,<sup>28</sup> Horden and Purcell introduced 'connectivity', which they

<sup>23</sup> 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 Hirkkänen, *The Baltic and the North Seas* (Seas in History), London 2000; Olaf Mörke, *Die Geschwistermeere. Eine Geschichte des Nord- und Ostseeraumes*, Stuttgart 2015.

<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> 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

<sup>26</sup> Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean. A History of People and the Sea*, Delhi 1993, 3.

<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> This sophisticated synthesis has in turn influenced Michael Pearson’s monograph on Indian Ocean history,<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> 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).<sup>34</sup>

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,<sup>35</sup> Pierre-Yves Manguin and Himanshu Prabha Ray for the Indian Ocean,<sup>36</sup> Vassilios Christides and Dionisius Agius for Arab seafaring,<sup>37</sup> and last but not least, Michel Mollat who—

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> 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.

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> 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<sup>38</sup>—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.<sup>39</sup>

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),<sup>40</sup> in pictorial or sculptural works of art and objects,<sup>41</sup> but also in texts like travel accounts or hagiographic miracle tales.<sup>42</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>43</sup> 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 XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, principalement en Méditerranée (Deuxième colloque d'histoire maritime)*, Paris 1958; Idem (ed.), *Océan Indien et Méditerranée. VI<sup>e</sup> colloque international d'histoire maritime*, Paris 1964; Idem (ed.), *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'océan Indien. Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> 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 XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> 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 XIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Terrarum orbis 11), Turnhout 2013.

41 Christiane Villain-Gandoszi, *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; Nikolai Jaspert, Christian Neumann, and Marco di Branco (ed.), *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen. Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Mittelmeer* (Mittelmeerstudien 18), Paderborn 2018.

Early Modern periods are not only studied as material objects<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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<sup>46</sup> 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,<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> The relative coherence of the wide-ranging world of early Islam was likewise

<sup>43</sup> 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.

<sup>44</sup> 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.

<sup>45</sup> Enrica Salvatori, Corsairs’ Crews and Cross-Cultural Interactions. The Case of the Pisan Trapellicinus 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? (11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> John Mack, *The Sea: A Cultural History*, London 2011.

<sup>47</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> *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.<sup>49</sup> In contrast, the *bahr 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<sup>50</sup> and reaching well into the era of the early modern “guerre de course”.<sup>51</sup> 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].<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup>

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

<sup>49</sup> 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.

<sup>50</sup> Farhat Dachraoui, *Le rôle des ribats dans le gihad maritime en Ifriqiya au mogén âge*, in: *La Râbita en el Islam. Estudios interdisciplinarios*, ed. Francisco Franco Sánchez, Sant Carles de la Râpita 2004, 281–288; Christophe Picard, *La mer des califes. Une histoire de la Méditerranée musulmane (VII<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris 2015.

<sup>51</sup> 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.

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

<sup>53</sup> Mollat, Michel (ed.), *Océan Indien et Méditerranée. VI<sup>e</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup>

### **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”.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> The interconnected character of land

<sup>54</sup> 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.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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,<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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, XV<sup>e</sup> – XIX<sup>e</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, the Malay Peninsula together with Sumatra as a bridge between the maritime worlds of India and China respectively<sup>62</sup> 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 Bosphorus or the Almoravid and Almohad Empires across the Strait of Gibraltar.<sup>63</sup> As points of confluence

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<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> Recent research has furthermore emphasized the multiple roles islands and archipelagoes assumed in premodern imperial contexts, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>66</sup> 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 *outré 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.<sup>67</sup> Long-distance sea-based transfer to spaces and landscapes *outré-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 Lätch, *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. VIII<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> 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,<sup>68</sup> 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 *outré-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.<sup>69</sup> 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

*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.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

## 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 connectivity, 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

<sup>70</sup> 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 *outré-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 *outré-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, ebony, 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 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Both areas are thus understood as zones situated *outré-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 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup>-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 trans-cultural 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 *outré-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 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> 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 Śrīvijaya inbetween. A second phase characterized by the establishment of Muslim maritime networks in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries is followed by the intensification of Chinese maritime activity in the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 *outré-mer* of Chinese diplomacy, culture and trade that developed striking transcultural dynamics.

[Ranabir Chakravarti](#) analyses Indian maritime trade with the Arab world in the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> 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 Fuṣṭāṭ, 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 (‘Alī b. Maṣūr 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 *outré-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 14<sup>th</sup> century, the increasingly aggressive subjugation during the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> century. It took until the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 *outré-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—Outre-mer. 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

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