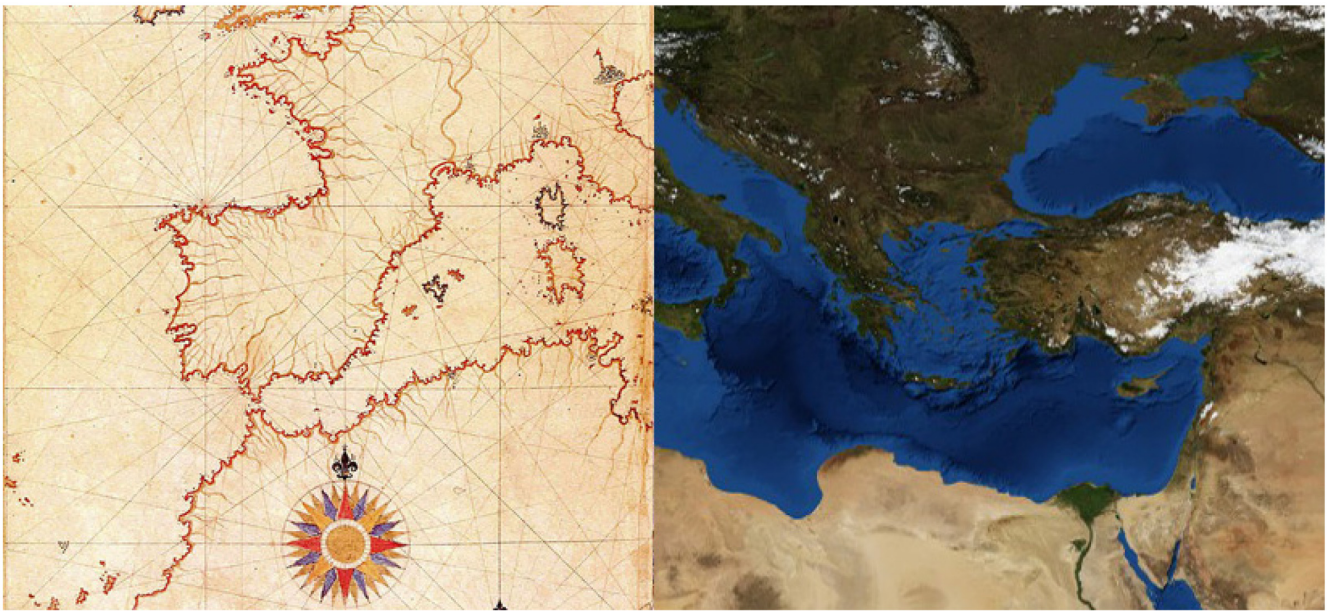
Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean

A World History Curriculum Project for Educators



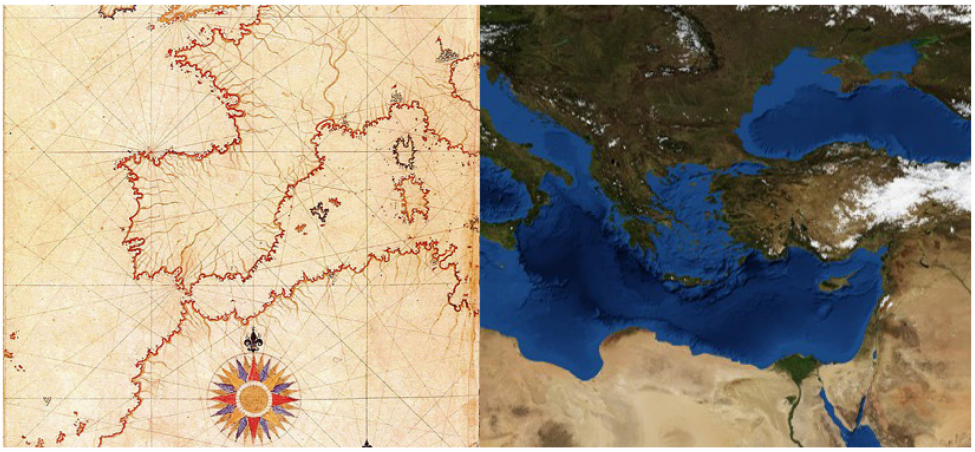
presented by Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies, George Mason University

MODULE 4:
Mediterranean Transformations in a Changing Global Context, 1450-1800

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY | ALI VURAL AK CENTER FOR GLOBAL ISLAMIC STUDIES

Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean

A World History Curriculum Project for Educators



presented by Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies, George Mason University

MODULE 4:
Mediterranean Transformations in a Changing Global Context, 1450-1800

Barbara Petzen

A project funded by
The British Council and The Social Science Research Council

BRITISH COUNCIL SSRC

Cover Image: National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Piri Reis map of Europe, the Mediterranean Sea and North Africa from his Kitab-ı Bahriye (Book of Navigation), 1521-1525 at http://art.thewalters.org/detail/19195.

Foreword from the Directors: A Statement of Purpose

Why the Mediterranean? What does a body of water have to teach us about a common human heritage? The teaching resources that collectively comprise "Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean" share a common focus on the idea of World History as a distinctive paradigm for learning about the past and understanding the present. By studying the people, events, and processes that have defined the evolution of human history in a particular region, or, in this case, a space that connects multiple world regions, we learn much more than just isolated facts about culture and society in specific locales. We rather come to understand how broader global forces, trends, and currents of change manifest themselves in particular historical and geographical experiences.

While the Mediterranean features heavily in many conventional tellings of "Western civilization," it tends to be figured as a zone in which precursor civilizations are born, die, and subsequently become reanimated by the cultural inheritors of a uniquely European legacy. Monotheistic religions appear, fall into conflict, and those fault lines seemingly persist. What tends to be left out of this standard narrative for any number of reasons, not least of which is the fact that the historical reality is much messier and more complex than textbooks like, is the idea that the Mediterranean has always been in contact with—shaping and being in turn shaped by—world historical forces. Easy categories and supposedly distinctive civilizational and religious identities—e.g. traditional, modern, Islamic, Christian, Middle Eastern, European—turn out to resist the roles we commonly assign them in the making of the present.

The team that produced "Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean" has achieved the rather remarkable feat of recognizing and taking on board this complexity while rendering it in a form that is accessible and legible to a broad learning audience. The complexities of world history are not simply narrated on top of standard paradigms. Rather, students are invited to discover the diverse and multifaceted social realities that comprise Mediterranean histories through research and critical thinking exercises framed around questions already familiar to them in their own daily lives. Among the authors and scholar consultants that produced this material are to be found historians, yes, but also social scientists and pedagogical experts. This multidisciplinary team worked together to identify key themes and approaches that were integrated across the full set of modules—ensuring a high level of continuity and cohesiveness across the various periods of history covered here.

We strongly encourage you to read the project's introductory essay, by Edmund Burke III, who explains extremely eloquently just what is at stake in grounding our teaching in the world history approach. At a time when the worldwide interconnectedness that define what we call globalization seems to be at historically unprecedented levels, it is vitally important for our students to understand that world historical forces have actually been with us for a long time. In light of the ongoing process of European integration, regional migration dynamics, and the dramatic Arab Revolutions of 2011, no world space is better than the Mediterranean for understanding how our shared past shapes all manner of shared futures.

About the Funders and Our Shared Past

Our Shared Past is a collaborative grants program to encourage new approaches to world history curriculum and curricular content design in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and North America. Our Shared Past is premised on the notion that many of the categories used to frame and teach world history—civilizations, nations, religions, and regions—occlude as much as they reveal. Although there have been successful attempts at incorporating recent historical scholarship in world history writing, the core of world history instruction continues to be shaped by civilizational, national, and regional narratives that emphasize discrete civilizations and traditions frequently set at odds with one another at the expense of historical and material connections.

Our Shared Past seeks to promote the development of international scholarly communities committed to analyzing history curriculum and reframing the teaching of world history through the identification of new scholarship and the development of new curricular content that illustrate shared cultural, economic, military, religious, social, and scientific networks and practices as well as shared global norms and values that inform world history and society. The project encourages both the synthesis of existing scholarship on these topics and the exploration of concrete ways that this reframing can be successfully introduced into teaching curriculum in European, Middle Eastern, North African, or North American contexts.

The British Council is the United Kingdom's international organisation for educational opportunities and cultural relations. The British Council works in over 100 countries, creating international opportunities for the people of the UK and other countries and building trust between them worldwide. It was founded in 1934 and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1940 as a public corporation, charity, to promote cultural relationships and understanding of different cultures, to encourage cultural, scientific, technological and other educational cooperation between the UK and other countries, and otherwise promote the advancement of education.

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) is an independent, international, nonprofit organization founded in 1923. It fosters innovative research, nurtures new generations of social scientists, deepens how inquiry is practiced within and across disciplines, and mobilizes necessary knowledge on important public issues. The SSRC pursues its mission by working with practitioners, policymakers, and academic researchers in the social sciences, related professions, and the humanities and natural sciences. With partners around the world, SSRC builds interdisciplinary and international networks, links research to practice and policy, strengthens individual and institutional capacities for learning, and enhances public access to information.

Consulting Scholars

Mehmet Açıkalın is Associate Professor in the Department of Social Studies Education at Istanbul University, Turkey.

Edmund Burke III is Research Professor of Modern Middle Easter and World History at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and Director of the Center for World History at UCSC.

Julia Clancy-Smith is Professor of History at the University of Arizona, Tucson.

Sumaiya Hamdani is Associate Professor of History at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.

Driss Maghraoui is Professor of History and International Relations at Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Morocco.

Peter Mandaville is Associate Professor of Government and Director of the Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, and Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution.

Huseyin Yilmaz is Assistant Professor of History and Co-Director of the Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.

Curriculum Developers

Susan L. Douglass is Deputy Project Director for Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean, and a doctoral candidate in world history at George Mason University, with an M.A. in Arab Studies from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. She also serves as Education Consultant for the Al-Waleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, presenting workshop sessions for schools, university outreach programs, governmental agencies, and professional conferences across the US. She is a published author of print and online teaching resources and curriculum research on Islam and Muslim history, world history and geography, and academic standards. She served as Affiliated Scholar with the Institute for Religion and Civic Values (formerly the Council on Islamic Education) for a decade, and in 2006, she was Senior Research Officer for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations initiative. Publications include *World Eras: Rise and Spread of Islam, 622-1500* (Thompson/Gale, 2002), and the study *Teaching About Religion in National and State Social Studies Standards* (Freedom Forum First Amendment Center and Council on Islamic Education, 2000, online teaching resources such as the IslamProject.org, *World History for Us All*, islamicspain.tv, and she designed *The Indian Ocean in World History* (indianoceanhistory.org). She contributed to the Bridging Cultures Bookshelf/Muslim Journeys project of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Library Association through the Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies at George Mason University.

Jonathan Even-Zohar Jonathan Even-Zohar has a degree in History from Leiden University in World Historical Perspectives in History Textbooks and Curricula, with an honorary Crayenborgh-degree in Islam and Europe. He is Director at EUROCLIO – European Association of History Educators, an organisation with a mission to promote History

Education so that it contributes to peace, stability and democracy. He has managed History Education Innovation Projects in Bulgaria, Cyprus and the former Yugoslavia including many visits to these countries. He also organises international conferences, seminars, workshops, exchanges, and study visits. Within these projects, many aspects of publishing, curriculum development, political influence and general attitudes towards History Education are developed. Currently he is manager of the EUROCLIO Programmes: History that Connects, How to teach sensitive and controversial history in the countries of former Yugoslavia and the EUROCLIO International Training Programme.

Craig Perrier Craig Perrier is the High School Social Studies Specialist for Fairfax County Public Schools. Previously, he worked as PK-12 Social Studies Coordinator for the Department of Defense Dependent Schools and was a secondary social studies teacher for 12 years at schools in Brazil and Massachusetts. Perrier is an online adjunct professor in history for Northeastern University, Southern New Hampshire University, and Northern Virginia Community College. He has been an instructional designer and curriculum writer for various organizations including IREX, the Institute of International Education, and the State Department's Office of the Historian. He maintains a blog "The Global, History Educator" discussing content, technology, instruction, and professional development.

Barbara Petzen is director of Middle East Connections, a not-for-profit initiative specializing in professional development and curriculum on the Middle East and Islam, global education, and study tours to the Middle East. She is also executive director of OneBlue, a nonprofit organization dedicated to conflict resolution and education, and president of the Middle East Outreach Council, a national consortium of educators furthering understanding about the Middle East. She was education director at the Middle East Policy Council, where she created a comprehensive resource for educators seeking balanced and innovative materials for teaching about the Middle East at TeachMideast.org. She served as outreach coordinator at the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, starting just before September 11, 2001. She taught courses on Middle Eastern history, Islam and women's studies at Dalhousie University and St. Mary's University in Nova Scotia, Canada, and served as tutor and teaching assistant at Harvard University, where she may at some point complete her doctoral dissertation in Middle Eastern history on European governesses in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. She earned her B.A. in International Politics and Middle Eastern Studies at Columbia College and a second Honours B.A. as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University in Oriental Studies. Her academic interests include Ottoman and Middle Eastern history, the history and present concerns of women in the Middle East and Muslim communities, the role of Islam in Middle Eastern and other societies, relations and perceptions between Muslim societies and the West, and the necessity for globalizing K-12 education in the United States.

Joan Brodsky Schur is a curriculum developer, author, workshop presenter and teacher, with over thirty years of experience in the classroom. She has presented workshops for teachers for the National Council for the Social Studies, Asia Society, the National Archives, Yale University (Programs in International Educational Resources), Georgetown University, the Scarsdale Teachers Institute, and the Bank Street College of Education division of Continuing Professional Studies, for which she leads Cultural Explorations in Morocco: Implications for Educators in Multicultural Settings. Her lesson plans appear on the Websites of PBS, the National Archives, *The Islam Project*, and *The Indian Ocean in World History*. She has served as a member of the Advisory Group for PBS *TeacherSource*, the advisory committee for WNET's *Access Islam* Website, and as a board member of the Middle

East Outreach Council. Her books include *In a New Land: An Anthology of Immigrant Literature* (McGraw-Hill, 1994), *Immigrants in America: The Arab Americans* (Lucent, 2004), *Coming to America: The Arabs* (Greenhaven, 2005), *Eyewitness to the Past: Strategies for Teaching American History in Grades 5-12* (Stenhouse, 2007), *Advocating for Abolition* (Interact Publishers, 2011) and *20th Century World Activators* (Interact Publishers, 2013). She currently serves as Social Studies Consultant to the City and Country School in New York City. She received her B.A. and M.A.T. degrees from New York University.

Tom Verde Tom Verde is an award-winning journalist and book author who specializes in Islam, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean studies, early Christian history, comparative religion, food history, and travel. Formerly on the faculty of Ethics, Philosophy and Religion at King's Academy in Jordan, he has lived and traveled widely in the Middle East, Africa, and Europe and written extensively on religion, culture, the environment for major national and international publications, such as *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe, Biblical Archeology,* and is a regular contributor to *Saudi Aramco World* magazine. Verde has also been a frequent contributor to broadcast networks, including NPR, Public Radio International and the BBC.

Why the Mediterranean in a World Historical perspective? by Edmund Burke, III

The *Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean* curriculum includes six modules aimed at providing students with an historical understanding of the Mediterranean as a zone of interaction and global change. Grounded in state of the art historical understandings, it provides full lesson plans, including maps, illustrations and suggested student activities. Keyed to world historical developments, it encourages students to see beyond the civilizational binaries that have hitherto clouded our understanding of the region. By linking the histories of the Mediterranean region into a single if complex historical narrative, *Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean* encourages students to perceive the deeper structural roots of global change from the classical era to the present.

Where is the Mediterranean? Its northern rim extends from Spain to the Balkans and Turkey while its eastern and southern limits include the Middle East and Arab North Africa. Depending upon the interests of the historian, however, a bigger or smaller Mediterranean configuration may be proposed. Because the modern Mediterranean is not included in most history curricula, students lack the ability to understand its history. This is a huge problem in this post 9/11 world, since in the absence of a global perspective, events appear to come out of nowhere. As a consequence, this crucially important world region remains misunderstood, and civilizational explanations have tended to supplant more grounded world historical understandings.

The world historical approach is only one of the note-worthy features of *Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean*. The curriculum provides a series of historically grounded lessons that enable students to understand the sequences of change by which the Mediterranean region was transformed as a whole. By following the lessons in the six modules, students acquire an understanding of the region's path to modernity and why it differed from that of northwestern Europe. In the process, they learn to distinguish the main types of change (ecological, economic, political and cultural) that affected Mediterranean societies since 1492. The curriculum also allows students to comprehend how these changes affected both Mediterranean elites and ordinary people in similar ways regardless of cultural background. The emphasis on patterned responses to global changes constitutes a major distinguishing feature of this curriculum.

A brief summary of the modules reveals the distinctive features of this approach:

Module One provides an innovative approach to the deep past of the region, keyed to the eco-historical forces that have shaped its successive transformations since the dawn of civilization. It emphasizes the role of the environment and the hand of man in the shaping and reshaping of the region over the human past.

Module Two examines the classical Mediterranean from an unusual vantage point: the empire of Carthage. It also examines technology and inventions, economic exchange, cultural innovation, power and authority, and spiritual life across the Mediterranean region in the formative period 5000-1000 BCE.

Module Three covers the period 300 – 1500 CE. Among other topics, it emphasizes the transformation of Mediterranean cities, migrations within and beyond the region, and

Mediterranean trade in the medieval period. The increasingly global yet intensely local character of Mediterranean trade is emphasized. From the silk roads to the spice trade to the trans-Saharan gold trade to the Arabian coffee trade. the Mediterranean has been deeply emeshed in trade that spans Afroeurasia. This module also provides lessons that survey religious tolerance and intolerance in an increasingly diverse Mediterranean society. The result is more complex understandings of how cultural difference worked locally and across the region.

What I call "the Liberal Project" is an unstable, always contingent and conflictive phenomenon which nonetheless when viewed from the perspective of world history can be seen to assume particular patterns. It is the particular phase of the global development project.

Module Four surveys the rise of the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires in the post-1500 CE period, and links this development to long term waves of global change in the early modern period. The same module contains important lessons on the political and cultural transformations of the region, and how they affected different groups, together with lessons on slavery within the region.

The long nineteenth century (1750-1919) constitutes the subject of **Module Five**. As old empires crumbled across the region, new economic, political and cultural forms struggled to be born. Economically, the Mediterranean path to industrialization was rendered more difficult by the absence of significant deposits of coal within the region. The construction of the Suez Canal on the other hand renewed the place of the region in the global system of trade and commerce. Politically, the example of France, and French military, political and economic models were widely influential within the region from Italy and Spain to the Ottoman empire and North Africa. The nineteenth century Ottoman reform process known as the Tanzimat thus paralleled the introduction of French reforms in Spain and Italy. The module explores the impact of these changes in the Ottoman province of Tunisia. The onset of colonialism in the Mediterranean and human migration are studied as regional examples of global processes of change.

Module Six explores the period from 1914 to the present, with emphasis on the post-1945 period in the Mediterranean. It shows how the changes that have affected the region are manifestations of larger global patterns of change. For instance, the cases provided in this module link the end of colonialism, the rise of petroleum as a leading global energy source, and the dissemination of large-scale engineering projects such as the construction of the Aswan High Dam and other major water projects to global patterns of change. Overall students come away from Module Six with an increased understanding both of the specificity of local change, and the ways it echos broader global patterns.

Table of Contents

Teachers' Introduction to Module 4

A generation ago, historians might have seen the Mediterranean as a dividing line between civilizations, the West and Islam. However, the period from 1450-1800 clearly demonstrates that the Mediterranean connected civilizations—it was the scene of an enormous number of transactions and transfers—human, mercantile, cultural and artistic, biological, military, and technological. Of course, those connections weren't always positive or peaceful, but neither were they all negative or warlike. The "clash of civilizations" scenario assumes that religious identity was the paramount factor in political and cultural alliances, but an examination of the many sources for this period shows that in fact allegiance was often based upon economic interest, political convenience, ethnicity, or other factors.

Not only were these two "civilizations" in fact deeply connected with one another, they were both deeply split within. In both cases there were deep religious splits, and competition among a variety of state actors that exploited those religious differences. At the same time, it is important to recognize that however much the Muslim and Christian states of the Mediterranean were linked by pragmatic trade and politics, they still perceived one other as "other," and often expressed a rhetorical antagonism toward the non-believer to define themselves and claim legitimacy.

This period is often referred to as "early modern." The terminology is debated, both because the idea of what constitutes modernity is not entirely clear, and because the term early modern implies that the defining characteristic of the age is its inevitable march towards "modernity"—whatever that is. Thinking as historians, we should take care not to imagine that the future of the region was predestined in 1450, or 1492, 1798, or any other date.

Nonetheless there are a set of characteristic transformations that we can see across much of the region, if unevenly: population rise (or recovery, after the plague), urbanization, commercialization of markets, a rise in volume of long-distance trade, merchant capitalism, early industrialization, and the rise of centralized, bureaucratic states. All of this happens in a context of the spread of gunpowder warfare, the opening up of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans to European exploration and exploitation, and a long series of severe climate events and wars in the 16th and 17th centuries. In many ways, the Mediterranean was a transitional zone between the rising nation-states, the Atlantic system, and growing industrialization north and west of it and the agrarian economies, empires and land-based trade south and east of it. The Ottoman Empire shows elements of both systems, especially in the reform movements of the 17th and 18th centuries, Ottoman connections to the Atlantic trade, and new social and cultural movements often led by new urban social groups (think merchants in coffeehouses).

Far too often, this period is considered as the point at which the Atlantic and Indian Ocean voyages of discovery by Europeans made the Mediterranean a backwater, effectively obsolete in history. This module will examine the ways in which the Mediterranean and its peoples dealt with the challenges and opportunities of the colonial and imperial expansion of various European states, along with the changing technologies, economic pressures and social upheavals of the age. The peoples of the Mediterranean were by no means left out of history, but remained active and innovative players on the world stage.

Correlation to Standards for World History, Key Competencies for Lifelong Learning (EUROCLIO), Common Core/C3 Framework

- For a list of skills standards from these documents that the Modules draw upon, see Module 1, pages 14-17, following the General Bibliography.

The developers of this project have aimed to make the teaching modules both flexible in scope and applicable to standards and competencies used in a variety of education systems around the world. Each of the six module's lessons contains learning objectives or outcomes keyed to the National Standards for History in the United States, including the Historical Thinking Skills (http://www.nchs.ucla.edu/Standards/), which in turn correlate to many state content and skills standards. We have also borne in mind the Key Competencies for Lifelong Learning used in development of EUROCLIO (http://www.euroclio.eu/new/) lesson design projects, including EU Transversal Competencies.

The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3 Framework for Inquiry in Social Studies State Standards at http://www.socialstudies.org/c3) is the newly published document based on the Common Core Standards for English language arts and mathematics, intended as a guide for states revising their subject area standards in accord with the Common Core, where it is being adopted. The C3 framework was developed by the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), and published in late 2013 .

- For a list of skills standards from these documents that the Modules draw upon, see Module 1, pages 14-17, following the General Bibliography.

Summary of Module 4

This period in history sees the expansion of European states into the Indian Ocean and across the Atlantic to the New World, and these enormous changes have tended to make many assume that the Mediterranean became, quite literally, a backwater. The Mediterranean has also been seen as the dividing line between East and West, across which Muslim and Christian civilizations struggled for dominance. The topics in Module 4, which covers the early modern period from 1450-1800, reveal a more complex reality. While Europeans were sailing around Africa and discovering the New World, the Mediterranean actually remained an important locus of trade, politics, and culture. And while there was certainly conflict between Muslims and Christians, there were also alliances across religious lines and a whole lot of division and fighting within each of those broad faith groups. In this module, students will trace a variety of connections and tensions across the societies of the Mediterranean. Students will create their own attack ads as they debate the ideas of golden age and decline with reference to Hapsburg Spain and the Ottoman Empire, and map a number of Mediterranean movers and shakers as they criss-cross the region for trade, pilgrimage, war, and exploration. They will look at Mediterranean economies as they create, trade and consume commodities like sugar, coffee and silk—as well as enslaved human beings. They will also look at a cosmopolitan Mediterranean city through time, and examine the various peoples that made the city of Salonica tick.

Historical Sources in Module 4: "How Do We Know What We Know?"

Each module features historical sources that are characteristic for that era and the types of questions historians and geographers ask about that time. They are also dependent on the technologies that existed in a given era. The kinds of available sources have of course changed historical interpretations. For example, before the recent studies of DNA in human populations by the Genographic Project, ideas about migration and settlement in the world were limited, often relying upon ideas about race differences. More recently, ideas about the early modern era have changed with the opening of Ottoman archives on diplomacy, economics, and court records. For the medieval period, paintings tell about material culture, and in the nineteenth century we have photographs, while the twentieth century brought moving pictures, audio recordings, and electronic data. Students should think about how the kinds of historical sources determine the perspective of "history from above"—such as royal tombs and chronicles—or "history from below"—such as artifacts and dwellings of ordinary people. The following list highlights some of the types of historical sources featured in each of the six modules.

Module 4 Featured Source Types

- Court records (Ottoman & other)
- Diplomatic documents (Britain, France, Ottoman)
- Personal narratives
- Printed books and manuscripts
- Engravings and paintings

As teachers use these modules, they can draw attention to the changing types and amount of historical sources to which we have access for constructing our views of the past. This source material is growing with new discoveries, and is also being enhanced by new techniques of analysis, and of course new interpretations. World historians are also drawing upon historical narratives from the vast secondary literature in history and other fields to synthesize work done in disparate disciplines. Creative teachers can integrate "how we know what we know" into their lesson construction and assessment tasks.

The consulting scholars and curriculum developers hope that teachers and their students will enjoy and benefit from this module on the Mediterranean in World History.

Module 4 Lessons

Topic 1: Beyond Golden Age and Decline

Topic Overview

At the beginning of this period in 1450, two great empires were forming at either end of the Mediterranean: Spain and the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans under Mehmet II were poised to conquer Constantinople and put an end to the last vestiges of the Byzantine Empire. On the Iberian peninsula, the last outpost of Muslim rule in Spain was on the verge of extinction, and the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella would celebrate the completion of their conquest of Spain in 1492 with the siege and fall of Granada. In the same year, they financed the voyage of Cristobal Colon to seek a westward path to the Indies.

For this is also the period of what is called the Age of Exploration, when Europeans discovered both two new continents to the West and a sea route to the Indian Ocean around Africa. Exploration in both directions was driven by a hunt for access to the sources of high-value trade goods, and both had repercussions far beyond their original intent. The success of these European voyages relied upon non-European agents and accumulated local knowledge regarding geography and navigational science.

By the end of this period in 1800, northern European states like Britain and France were clearly in a more dominant position compared to the Ottoman Empire and Spain. Textbooks still often portray Ottoman history as experiencing a brief Golden Age, particularly under Suleiman the Magnificent/the Lawgiver (r. 1520-1566), followed by a long decline until its eventual collapse in 1923. This passage from a well-known text sums up the older view of historians on decline:

> The Ottomans did not realize at once that they had lost more than just a great ghazi [warrior] with the death of Suleiman the Magnificent…. By the end of the century, however, some observant foreign ambassadors to Constantinople and some astute Ottoman men of letters would concur that somehow the empire's golden age had come to an end. Keenly aware of the Ottoman fall from grandeur, they would lay the blame upon the corruption of the empire's classic institutions that had flowered in Suleiman's reign. [from Norman Itzkowitz, *The Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 37.

However, most recent research has debunked this "decline" thesis, providing historical evidence that demonstrates that we should think instead in terms of reform and transformation in a rapidly changing economic and military environment. In addition, Ottoman bureaucrats and writers themselves frequently wrote about "decline" in state efficiency in order to argue for innovations or reform in military science, technology or statecraft.

Similarly, older historical interpretation held that Spain reached its apogee under Charles V (r. 1516-1556, a contemporary of Suleiman) and then began to decline, never recovering the power and splendor that it had commanded during his rule. Critics in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century argued that Spain had to return to the values that underlay its Golden Age, revitalize its commitment to Catholicism and purge itself of suspect, impure elements.

In recent decades, historians of both Spain and the Ottoman Empire have challenged the "decline thesis" on a variety of fronts. In the first place, the definition of a golden age is ambiguous. In the two cases here, as soon as the empires stopped conquering new territories, their *raison d'être* seemed to be compromised—but must all states continually expand to be successful?

Secondly, the centralization of the state and absolutism of the ruler are taken as sources of strength, but this view from the center doesn't always reflect the complex views of other groups in society or at the margins of the empire and state. In any event, decline for one group might represent opportunity for another, because central authorities could no longer impose their will absolutely on other actors in society. Thus social and political communities of different sorts enjoyed more flexibility for their own commercial and other ambitions when the central state exercised less absolute control. In northern Europe, the development of alternative bases of power to the crown is often seen as a precursor to limited government, and a good thing—however, in Spain and the Ottoman Empire, it is seen as a harbinger of decline.

That turns out to be, in part, because observers within those societies whose interests were aligned in some way with a strong central government themselves saw the lessened reach of the state as decline, and for a long time the writings of these hand-wringing reformers were the basis upon which we evaluated Ottoman and Spanish governance.

It is certainly the case that both the Spanish and the Ottomans faced enormous challenges in the 16th and 17th centuries, despite their grandeur and achievements. Both states lost battles and eventually significant territory. At the same time, however, both states attempted to adapt to changing circumstances through a variety of financial and bureaucratic innovations, with varying measures of success. And while their economies and societies were transformed in many ways, they remained an integral part of the European and Mediterranean systems for centuries. In the Ottoman case, historian Baki Tezcan calls this transformation and survival in difficult circumstances the "Second Ottoman Empire" rather than decline.

It is important, however, to examine the literature of decline, both that written while the state was facing these challenges and that of historians looking back from our own times. It has a lot to tell us about how different groups within each Empire felt their interests were threatened or supported by a strong central state, and it can also teach us about how we tend to write history from our own perspective. For example, many of our textbooks today still see the Ottoman Empire as something of a foil for Europe. It is used as a counter-example for all that Europe became in the modern age—where Europe saw itself as civilized, the Ottomans were barbaric; where Europe had justice and the rule of law, the Ottoman empire had tyranny. Progress/stagnation, Renaissance/stultifying tradition, reason/fanaticism—we see many such comparisons between "West" and "East," all "proving" why "Islam" never developed capitalism, had a Reformation, made scientific advances, cultivated democracy, etc. In the end, many of these comparisons are asserted rather than proven with evidence. The reality is much more complex and uneven, and far more interesting.

Lesson 4.1: Beyond Golden Age and Decline

Lesson Overview:

This lesson provides a set of primary source documents that showcase different views of the Ottoman Empire and Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The

juxtaposition of these texts should be used to stimulate discussion on how the concepts of golden age or decline are often used not merely as objective descriptors, but as polemical devices to argue for change.

Students will analyze the terms "golden age" and "decline," and work to understand their weaknesses as explanatory paradigms for the Ottoman Empire and Spain in the 16th-17th centuries. Students will recognize that both "Golden Ages" and "Declines" have their winners and losers, and that the rhetoric of decline and of comparison with an "other" is often used as a political tool to advocate for certain policies.

Having analyzed the documents, groups of students will storyboard and create political attack ads for television emphasizing a negative perspective about an early modern political leader or societal issue.

Lesson Objectives

- Students will be able to define and explain the concepts of golden age and decline.
- They will be able to identify major persons and time periods associated with these concepts in the Ottoman Empire and Spain.
- They will be able to analyze primary source documents and identify the point of view, goals, main arguments, rhetorical devices, and evidence used by the writers.
- They will be able to compare the positions and goals of the authors of different primary source documents on a single issue.
- They will be able to recognize bias in polemical political advertising, and to identify the strategies used in such advertising to promote a certain perspective.

Grade Level

Secondary World History, Comparative Government

Time:

2-3 45-50 minute class periods

Materials Needed:

- Student Handout 4.1.1: Reform Narratives of Ottoman and Spanish Golden Age and Decline
- Student Handout 4.1.2: Attack Ad Storyboard Template
- Video editing software (optional)(iMovie, Movie Maker, YouTube video editor at http://www.youtube.com/editor, or other)
- Image collection of the Ottoman Empire and Spain (Because some content on some image collections, including Wikimedia, may be inappropriate for your classroom, it is advised that you create a collection of images your students can use for this activity and link directly to those images. Here are some suggested images and image collections from which you can choose.)

  http://www.kismeta.com/diGrasse/TurkishMuscowCostume.htm

  http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ottoman_miniatures

  http://www.kalemguzeli.net/galeri/minyatur-galerisi

  http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Pashas_present_their_gifts_To_Sultan.jpg

  http://theottomans.org

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Parade_of_Guildsmen-Farmers,_millers,_breadmakers.jpg

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Turkish_miniatures_in_the_Topkapi_Palace_Museum

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antonio_de_Pereda_y_Salgado_001.jpg

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Franciscosandovallerma.jpg

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spanish_-_Ceiling_Tile_with_a_Lion%27s_Head_-_Walters_4821065.jpg

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spanish_Galleon.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Thetriumphofdeath.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Felipe_III_caballo_Vel%C3%A1zquez.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Philip_IV_by_Velazquez.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Rocroi.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Embarco_moriscos_en_el_Grao_de_valencia.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:The_Harvesters_by_Brueghel.jpg

Procedure/Activities:

1. Open discussion by asking students to define the term "golden age." What makes a golden age, and who gets to decide it? Ask students to give examples of golden ages in history. Now ask students to define the term "decline." Again, ask how a decline is calculated, when it begins and ends, and who decides. Ask again for historical examples of societies in decline.

2. Read the paragraph above about the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Compare your world history textbook. Does it discuss Ottoman decline? What reasons for decline does it give, and along what timeline? Now compare the discussion of Ottoman decline to the textbook discussion of Spanish decline. What are the similarities and differences between the two treatments of empires in decline? [**NOTE:** If you don't use a world history textbook in your school, you may substitute the Wikipedia articles on the history of the Ottoman Empire and on Hapsburg Spain, as representative cloud-sourced amalgamations of widely-held views on these topics.]

3. Distribute the Student Handout 4.1.1: Reform Narratives of Ottoman and Spanish Golden Age and Decline. Have students read through the selections written by several reformers, then have them re-read the selections closely, and answer the following questions for each set. This exercise may be done individually in class, as a homework assignment, or in groups.

1. What society is the writer from, and what society is he critiquing?
2. What are or should be the sources of strength in the society the writer is discussing?
3. What does the writer see as the sources of "decline" in his society?
4. Take notes on specific complaints the writer has about his society. What rhetorical devices does he use in pointing these out?

4. Discuss with the class how they answered the questions. Note that each reform writer uses either the past or an "other" as a foil against which to marshal his complaints about society.

5. Point out that in some ways, these reform treatises represent "attack ads" against certain people or practices in society. Tell students that they are going to create a television attack

ad that criticizes the practices or weaknesses of a particular person or group in the Ottoman Empire or Spain as contributing to societal decline. [You may want to incorporate a short lesson on propaganda and attack advertising in political campaigns so that students have a good idea of the techniques used in this sort of political ad. You may reference, for example, CSPAN's lesson on election campaign ads.]

6. Divide students into groups of 3-4. Have students create a storyboard for an attack ad using Student Handout 4.1.2: Attack Ad Storyboard Template, thinking about how they can use images, sound, emotion, special effects and voiceover to influence their audience. Direct them to the image bank of images of Spain and the Ottoman Empire you've created (see materials, above). They should create at least ten slides, and incorporate images and sound. Ask them to use as many details as possible in their storyboard, to create as complete a sense of the final ad as possible.

5. Students should create their television attack ads in a simple video editing application (like iMovie, Movie Maker, or YouTube's free editor at http://www.youtube.com/editor).

7. When students have completed their ads, have groups pair up to evaluate one another's work. What techniques did the group use to portray the weaknesses or faults of the target figure or group? Did they effectively marshal those techniques to paint a negative picture of the target? Is the ad clear and creative? Have the two groups sit down together to discuss one another's ads, incorporating their evaluations.

Adaptation: You may opt to have students create only the storyboard for the ad if access to video editing technology is difficult, or have students create a negative billboard ad rather than a television ad. You may also work with the school's technology teacher or consultant or the media specialist(s) to support students as they work with the video editing technology.

Extension: Students can extend their understanding of the golden age and decline paradigm by analyzing its use in the contemporary American context. Have students research current articles and books on the decline of the United States. [You might start with the Huffington Post's tagged articles on this topic at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tag/american-decline, but there is a plethora of current literature.] What are the causes different authors assert for American decline? What evidence of decline do they emphasize? What other states do they believe will be able to take advantage of American decline, or are entering their own "golden age" according to each author? What authors deny that America is in decline, and what evidence do they present in rebuttal? What rhetorical devices do proponents and critics of the thesis of American decline use to convince their audience?

Ask students to compare the rhetoric of American decline to the passages on Ottoman and Spanish decline they read in Student Handout 4.1.1: Reform Narratives of Ottoman and Spanish Golden Age and Decline. What arguments were used in the 16th and 17th century that still resonate today?

Have students write a short letter to the editor of a regional newspaper putting forward their opinion on whether America is in decline or not, and why, and suggesting remedies or critiquing the arguments of the declinists.

Assessment: Peer assessment strategies for political ad projects above; teacher assessment should follow the same rubric with additional consideration for effective participation in the group.

Topic 2: Expansion, Exploration and Exploitation: Population Movements in the Age of Empires

Topic Overview

The purpose of this topic is to engage students in analysis of the ways in which individuals and groups experienced the expansion and competition of empires in this period, and to examine how those individual experiences can shed light on the larger processes as well.

The student will strengthen his/her geographical competencies by analyzing and creating maps of this era, including plotting the travels and experiences of a set of individual subjects of Mediterranean states on an online map (either Google Maps or Google Earth). Students will conduct historical and geographic research and integrate current geospatial technology.

Students will be able to identify and analyze significant events and places relevant to each individual, and explain using images and multimedia how these individual lives reflect the larger themes of imperial exploration, expansion and exploitation.

Students will be able to connect the narrative of expansion to the New World with the ongoing story of imperial competition in the Mediterranean and in the Indian Ocean.

Lesson 4.2: Mapping Imperial Contexts

Lesson Overview:

In order to ground the study of the early modern Mediterranean, students need to become familiar with the various players on the scene. To that end, students will identify the major imperial players of the Age of Exploration, and track their exploration and expansion on a series of maps.

Students will also investigate the main impetus for expansion and economic competition: trade in a variety of important commodities. Students will map the locations of production of major spices (cinnamon, nutmeg/mace, cloves, pepper), gold and silver, and other major commodities.

Students will use geographical analysis of these maps to examine motivations for exploration and expansion along particular routes, particularly competition for control over trade routes to and in the Indian Ocean, European demand for gold/silver to pay for luxury goods, and new products or sources of old products that Europeans discovered or created in the New World.

Lesson Objectives

- The student will be able to identify major political entities in the early modern Mediterranean and trace their geographical extent on a map.
- Students will be able to identify important commodities in Mediterranean trade, their sources, and the trade routes along which they could be traded.
- Students will be able to analyze the motivations for exploration of new geographical areas and exploitation of natural resources in the early modern period.

Grade Level

World History, Secondary (8-12)

Time
One 45-50 minute class period

Materials Needed
- Student Handout 4.2.1: Mapping Imperial Contexts of Trade
- Large world map for reference (wall map or projected, optional)
- Internet access

Procedure/Activities:
1. Ask students who the major players in the Mediterranean in the early modern period were. Have a student record answers on the board. Ask students to free associate a few terms or ideas related to each state.

2. Distribute copies of Student Handout 4.2.1: Mapping Imperial Contexts of Trade. Ask students to examine the maps of the various major political entities active in this period. Note that all the states were not at the peak of their political power and range at the same time.

3. Have students answer the questions on the handout in relation to the maps given:

    a. What cities (in what states) were most important? Why?
    b. Which trading goods were most important? Where did they originate? Who controlled the trade in these goods?
    c. How do the maps reflect changes in territory or influence of these states over time?
    d. Which states extended their rule beyond the Mediterranean, where and how?

4. If a large world map is available, have students point out all the actors identified so far, and where they are based.

5. Divide students into pairs and have each pair investigate one of the trade goods on the list given. On the electronic version of the document, each commodity is linked to a site that gives a short précis on that good's importance in early modern trade. You may also wish to have students research the trade goods independently. Reiterate that they are looking for the history of trade in that commodity in the early modern period.

6. Bring the class back together and have each pair introduce their spice/good in a brief "elevator pitch"—no more than one minute on why their trade good is so important in early modern history.

7. After all the presentations, have students answer the following questions:

    a. Which trade goods were most important?
    b. From where did they originate,?
    c. Who controlled the trade in these goods? How?

Extension: Have groups of students design a trading game using a world map as the board, tokens with colored ships and caravans as game pieces, and a selection of the trade goods as the prizes to be won or controlled. Students should devise a way for the various political entities to compete, giving some an edge through geography (shorter distances) or technology (some might have faster ships or more experienced caravans) or policy (such as Dutch ruthlessness in trying to monopolize the spice trade in Southeast Asia). Students might incorporate penalties for a variety of mishaps, including pirates or bandits, missing the monsoon winds, storms, or falling out of favor with their patron. Have students play one

another's games and rate them on a rubric incorporating historical accuracy, entertainment, visual appeal, playability and creativity.

Lesson 4.3: Comparison of Historical Maps

Lesson Overview:

Students will compare several historical maps of the period, including:

- Carta Catalana, 1452
- Mürsiyeli İbrahim Efendi's 1461 map of the Mediterranean
- Henricus Martellus Germanus' 1490 world map
- Piri Reis' 1513 world map fragment
- Piri Reis' 1521 Kitab al-Bahriye (Mediterranean, Marseilles and Toulon, and Venice)
- The 1502 Cantino Planisphere
- the 1507 Waldseemuller map
- Sebastian Munster's 1570 map of Europe as a Queen

Groups of students will research who made each map and for what purposes, the technology and knowledge upon which the map was based, and the elements of geography represented on each map. Students will analyze why these features were seen by the mapmaker as most important to show.

Lesson Objectives

- The student will recognize geographical features of maps.
- The student will be able to draw upon data in historical maps as primary sources of history.
- The student will be able to interrogate historical data.
- The student will be able to contextualize historical documents and situate them in time and place.
- The student will be able to analyze primary source documents and identify the point of view, goals, main arguments, and evidence used of the writers.

Grade Level

World History, Secondary (8-12)

Time:

One 45-50 minute class period

Materials Needed:

- Student Handout 4.3.1 Comparison of Historical Maps (without image information)
- Student Handout 4.3.2 Comparison of Historical Maps with info (with image information)
- Online larger-format versions of the maps for use with internet access:

  http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1450_%C2%BF_Carta_Catalana_jpeg_copy.jpg

  http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1450_%C2%BF_Carta_Catalana_jpeg_copy.A.jpg

  http://www.hgk.msb.gov.tr/ustbanner/turk/ibrahimmursel.htm

  http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_Reis_map_of_Europe_and_the_Mediterranean_Sea.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Marseilles_and_Toulon_by_Piri_Reis.jpg
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venice_by_Piri_Reis.jpg
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_reis_world_map_01.jpg
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_As_A_Queen_Sebastian_Munster_1570.jpg
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cantino_planisphere_%281502%29.jpg
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Waldseemuller_map.jpg
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Martellus_world_map.jpg

Procedure/Activities:

1. Open the discussion by asking students what maps do—what purposes might they serve? Encourage students to think beyond "getting from one place to another." For example, maps might serve to claim territory, to identify geographical dangers or curiosities, to exalt one place or discredit another, to promote a political point of view, to show natural resources that could be exploited, as an artistic endeavor, etc.

2. Ask students to research and define the following terms: portolan, planisphere, Ptolemaic map (or Ptolemy's Geography.)

3. Distribute Student Handout 4.3.1: Comparison of Historical Maps (you may use one set per group to cut down on color copying). Divide students into groups and ask them to examine the maps. Ask students to identify geographic features on each map. How are different features represented? What is unique about each map? What kinds of features and what areas does each map include and exclude—why might that be?

4. Ask students to try to place the maps in chronological order of creation, and to cite evidence for why they place them in this order. What technology or discoveries are the maps based upon? Can you follow the expansion of geographical knowledge in each map? Ask each group to identify who might have made each map, and the evidence they used to make that determination. What else would they like to know about each map?

5. Finally, distribute a copy of Student Handout 4.3.2: Comparison of Historical Maps with info(with identifying information for each map) to each group and have them examine the larger images of the maps online as well. Have them review their previous answers and discuss what they were able to figure out, and what stumped them, and why. Ask groups to analyze what they think the purpose of each map might be. What features on the map suggest it? Why might the mapmaker have thought those features were most important for his purposes?

6. Assign each group one of the maps or sets of maps. Have them create a poster display around the map, identifying its most important features and historical context from the questions above. They should identify interesting visual information, the historical context and purpose for which it was created, etc. Students may need to do additional research to fill out the context for their map. Display the maps around the classroom for the remainder of the early modern unit.

Adaptation: For younger students or those with less historical background, introduce the first three maps in chronological order in large format (projected) with a guided discussion of their visual features and historical context. As you introduce further maps, have students gradually take on more of the discussion of features and development of geographical knowledge.

Assessment: Students should be assessed on both their participation in the small group discussions and their work on the final product, which should be assessed on accuracy, completeness of information, creativity and clarity.

Lesson 4.4: Mapping Mediterranean Movers and Shakers

Lesson Overview:

Students will research a set of individuals whose life stories reflect themes of movement, imperial competition, trade, piracy, slavery, etc. and then create geo-biographies on an online map. Each working group of students will plot at least 4-5 events in the life/career of one individual on the map, analyzing the significance of the event and connecting it to larger historical currents.

Lesson Objectives:

- The student will be able to analyze nonfiction writing to extract important information.
- The student will be able to analyze primary source documents and identify the point of view, goals, main arguments, and evidence used of the writers.
- The student will be able to compare the positions and goals of the authors of different primary source documents on a single issue.
- The student will be able to use technology effectively to demonstrate geographical and historical information.

Grade Level

World History, Secondary (8-12)

Time:

One 45-50 minute class period, plus additional time for extension

Materials Needed:

- Student Handout 4.4.3: Mapping Mediterranean Movers and Shakers
- Google Earth (installed on computers)
- Computer and internet access for each student group
- Sample Google Earth tour at http://media.teachmideast.org/mepc/Who%20Was%20Abd%20el-Kader.kmz

Procedure/Activities:

1. Divide the class into nine groups, and distribute to each group the first page of Student Handout 4.2.3: Mapping Mediterranean Movers and Shakers as well as copies of one of the nine biographies provided.

2. If you have not used Google Earth in the classroom before, introduce it by projecting it in class. Start out by finding your school, and then zooming to the Mediterranean and identifying significant features there. Access a demonstration tour (such as http://media.teachmideast.org/mepc/Who%20Was%20Abd%20el-Kader.kmz) , and then allow students in groups to work through the tutorial on how to annotate Google Earth and create a tour (http://www.google.com/earth/outreach/tutorials/annotate.html).

3. Now, have each group read the biography of the figure they have been given, and note down each specific place they can identify where that person lived or to which they traveled. (Some figures traveled a lot—students may want to choose 10-12 interesting

places to showcase!) Have students use Google Earth to determine the latitude and longitude of each place.

4. Have groups create their tour by creating a waymark for each event or place in their figure's life (You might ask each group to use a different color for their waymarks, so that in the final presentation each traveler stands out.). They should give each waymark an expressive title, enter the proper latitude and longitude, and write a sentence or two describing what happened in that person's life in that place and what about the event or its context that is significant. They may add an image or a video to each waymark if they like, but should definitely use an image at least in the first waymark.

5. Make sure students create a tour by arranging the waymarks in chronological order, so that when you play your tour, they appear in the correct order. Have students save their tours as a .kmz file and send it to you. When all the tours your class has created are showcased together in Google Earth, project the Google Earth image. Ask students to identify patterns of movement they see across the Mediterranean. What places have the most "traffic?" Why might that be?

Adaptation: If internet access is not available, you may obtain a large-format map of the Mediterranean and surrounding areas. Give each group map tacks and Post-it notes in one color, and have them complete the same exercise by using the tacks and Post-its to track their traveler.

Extension: Have students each identify a new person to track across the Mediterranean. Create a short biography of someone else active in the Mediterranean world in the early modern period and map their biography in Google Earth as well (or trade biographies with a partner and map the lives of each other's figures).

Alternative extension: Have each student group create a "Fakebook" page (http://www.classtools.net/FB/home-page) for their figure, incorporating the biography, the map they created, other visual and textual elements, and the resources they used.

Assessment: Assess students' participation in their groups. Assess student Google Earth tours for completeness (did students create at least 8-10 waymarks), appropriate use of technology, addition of visual or video elements, and correct geographical placement.

Topic 3: Networks of Trade, Technology and Taste: Sugar, Coffee and Silk

Topic Overview

The Mediterranean has long been understood as a region that connected societies and economies through trade, especially in the classical and medieval periods. However, in the early modern period, known as the European Age of Exploration, the Mediterranean often "drops off the map." It is often assumed that once the Portuguese discover a sea route around Africa to the Indian Ocean and Columbus crosses the Atlantic to discover the New World, the Mediterranean becomes a literal backwater, no longer controlling the rich trade from India, China and Southeast Asia and unable to compete with new products and wealth from the new Atlantic economy. Many textbooks do not even mention the Mediterranean after the introduction of the "Age of Exploration:" the 'Old World' becomes irrelevant after the discovery of the 'New World.'

In fact, a closer look reveals that states, producers and merchants in the Mediterranean responded to these new challenges in a variety of ways. While they weren't always

successful in competing in the new economic environments, their responses show a great deal of inventiveness and pragmatism.

This unit will explore the history of three commodities the trade in which helped to support Mediterranean economies and societies and which had an enormous impact beyond the Mediterranean as well. Students will learn that the deeper study of a single element of a larger story can illuminate overarching themes, and that individual commodities can illustrate the broader economic, social and cultural impact of trade.

Lesson 4.5: Bittersweet: The Sugar Trade and Its Effects

Lesson Overview:

This lesson will begin by examining how sugar is produced from sugar cane. Students will examine a piece of sugar cane as well as granulated processed sugar and hypothesize about how the latter is produced from the former. They will then research sugar cultivation and production, and discover why sugar production requires high labor inputs.

Students will then track the history of the spread of sugar from Southeast Asia and India to the Mediterranean. They will look at particular instances of sugar production, especially in the Levant, Cyprus, Spain, and Morocco, and the innovations in production that occurred in the Mediterranean region.

Students will examine the strong demand for sugar in Europe, and the limitations on its production in the Mediterranean. They will then examine how the rising European taste for sugar led to Portuguese sugar plantations in Madeira and the Canary and Cape Verde Islands, the use of enslaved African labor, and the further transfer of sugar production to the New World, especially Brazil and the British West Indies. Finally, students will examine various factors that have been put forward to explain the decline of the sugar industry in the Mediterranean.

Lesson Objectives:

- The student will be able to explain the historical development of sugar cultivation and production.
- The student will be able to explain the historical development of sugar consumption in Europe.
- The student will be able to analyze historical cause and consequence in explaining the relationship between sugar cultivation, slavery, and European exploration, expansion and colonization.
- The student will be able to analyze primary source documents and identify the point of view, goals, main arguments, and evidence used of the writers.
- The student will be able to compare the positions and goals of the authors of different primary source documents on a single issue.

Grade Level

World History, World Geography, Economics; middle grades, secondary

Time:

One 45-50 minute class period, plus additional time for extension (may be assigned as homework)

Materials Needed:

- Pieces of sugar cane (small pieces of stick sugar cane are available at many grocery stores or from online stores)
- Granulated white sugar, brown sugar or demerara sugar, and molasses
- Student Handout 4.5.1a: Sugar Production and Consumption
- Video: *Addicted to Pleasure: Sugar*. BBC Documentary Series, April 2013. (beginning of film to 25:20)
- Student Handout 4.5.1b Graham Chandler, "Sugar, Please." *Saudi Aramco World*, July-Aug 2012. Photographed by George Azar. (or students may access online at http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/201204/sugar.please.htm, in which case they will be able to examine images in larger format)

Procedure/Activities:

1. Announce to the class that you are going to investigate something that changed the world's economy, political structures, and social mores. Hand around pieces of sugar cane (if you can find the sugar cane precut into "swizzle sticks," one for each student, so much the better). Ask students if they can identify it. Reveal that it is sugar cane, and ask students to describe it.

2. Divide students into groups of 4-5 students. Give each group samples of sugar cane, white sugar, brown or demerara sugar and molasses in containers. Ask students to hypothesize how each of the other products might be derived from the sugar cane.

3. Distribute copies of Student Handout 4.5.1a: Sugar Production and Consumption to each group. Have students write down what kind of information each text or image provides about sugar. How does each piece expand our understanding of sugar as a plant, a commodity, a driver of social organization (especially slavery), and an influence on culture?

3. Distribute copies of the article "Sugar, Please" in Student Handout 4.5.1b (or have students access the article online). Ask students to highlight the passages that help them answer the following questions. They should mark the passages in their copies of the text, or copy and paste relevant passages from the online version of the article for each question, giving the explicit citation each time.

a. Where and when was sugar first cultivated? First refined into crystals?
b. An often-quoted phrase is that "sugar followed the Koran." What does this phrase mean?
c. What are the challenges of growing sugar cane in commercial quantities outside its native climate? What environmental limitations are there to sugar cane cultivation and processing in the Mediterranean? What 'revolutionary' innovations did the Arabs come up with to succeed in this endeavor?
d. What is necessary to produce sugar? What are the elements in the refining process? What innovations in sugar refining occurred in the Mediterranean, and when?
e. How was sugar used? Give examples of various uses at different times and places.
f. Who provided the labor for the first sugar production in the Levant? What labor system began to be used later, especially in Cyprus, Crete and Morocco, as the demand to increase production of sugar grew?
g. What drove sugar cultivation west? In what new areas did sugar cultivation begin, and what were the consequences?

4. Ask students to answer the questions above in writing for homework, using and citing the evidence they have marked.

5. While sugar is no longer produced commercially in the Mediterranean, until about 1600 it was a major source of sugar and an area where innovations in the cultivation and production of sugar occurred. As students to evaluate the importance of the Mediterranean in the history of sugar production, and to compare it to Atlantic and Caribbean sugar production after 1400.

6. The article *Sugar, Please* is based in large part on archeology, the examination of sugar producing sites around the Mediterranean. Ask students to find examples showing what kinds of information the archeological evidence provided in the article. Ask student what other kinds of sources they think historians might use to research the cultivation and production of sugar in the region? Ask them to find evidence from the article to show that these other kinds of sources were used.

Adaptation: For students who might find it challenging to read the article closely and annotate it on their own, work through the article as a class, modeling the technique. Pose the first few questions to the class as a whole, and have them find the relevant information in the article. Discuss why this information is important, and ask if there is any other evidence in the article. Continue in this way through most of the questions, then ask students to do the same with at least one question on their own or in pairs.

Extension: Have students continue the story of sugar by watching the BBC documentary *Addicted to Pleasure: Sugar*. This documentary tracks the evolution of sugar production in the Mediterranean, the Atlantic islands, and the Caribbean; the use of slave labor to cultivate, harvest and refine sugar, and the changes in consumption habits it drove in northern Europe, particularly in Britain. The producer frequently uses statistics to make his point.

a. Have students watch the video from the beginning to 25:20 either in class or at home. Ask students to write down each statistic they hear the narrator use.
b. In groups of 4-5, have students organize the statistics they gathered from the video into appropriate categories [i.e., volume of sugar production, numbers and origins of people enslaved for sugar production, sugar consumption, etc.]. Compare the data and organization of all the groups.
c. Assign each group one set of data. Ask students to create an infographic to display the data in that category effectively. The infographic should make a clear argument as to the meaning and importance of the data. [More than one group can work on the same set of data.]
d. If time permits, have student groups synthesize their knowledge by creating a PowerPoint or Prezi presentation integrating images, maps, information on sugar cane cultivation and sugar production, and their infographics to tell the history of sugar from its origins through the nineteenth century. They may use images from the online version of *Sugar, Please*, images from Student Handout 4.3.1a: Sugar Production and Consumption, and do their own research to supplement these sources.

Assessment: Students should be assessed on their contribution to both the classroom and small group discussions and work, as well as on the accuracy, completeness, and citation of the evidence they mark while doing the close reading, and on the final written answers to the questions. If the extension activity is included, assess student work on the infographic

assignment according to the degree to which they collected and marshaled the data, organized it coherently, presented it neatly and creatively, and whether it makes a clear and convincing argument related to the meaning and importance of the data. Assess student PowerPoint or Prezi presentations on the appropriateness and use of the data and images students included, the coherence of the full story, and their contributions to the group project.

Lesson 4.6: Coffee, Coffeehouses, and Controversy

Lesson Overview:

This lesson tracks the spread of coffee from Ethiopia and Yemen to the Ottoman Empire to various European cities by following the debate over coffee and the new institution of the coffeehouse. The document-based inquiry lesson focuses on primary sources that reflect controversies over whether coffee should be allowed under religious law, its effects on the body, and the unease governments and social critics felt as coffeehouses became new sites of political gathering, cultural production, and sometimes immoral activities.

Lesson Objectives:

- Students will gain awareness, tolerance and respect for points of view deriving from other national or cultural backgrounds
- They will be able to analyze historical primary source documents, both written and visual, and identify the point of view, goals, main arguments and evidence used by the writers (or artists).
- They will be able to compare the positions and goals of the authors of different primary source documents on a single issue.
- They will be able to articulate how cultural debates reflect different worldviews, political stances, and economic interests.
- They will be able to choose and defend a perspective based on a variety of evidence.

Grade Level

World History, Secondary (6-12)

Time:

One 45-50 minute class period, plus additional time for extension (may be assigned as homework)

Materials Needed:

- Student Handout 4.6.1 Coffee

Procedure/Activities:

1. Open the activity by passing around a sample of coffee beans. [If available, also pass around a hand-held coffee grinder, and allow students to grind and smell the coffee.] Ask students if they know where coffee originates [Ethiopia] and how it spread [via the Arabs and the Ottomans]. Ask students to imagine a world without coffee—or cafes/coffeehouses. Where would people "hang out?" Explain that in the early modern Mediterranean world, before the introduction of coffee (and tea and chocolate, which are introduced around the same timeframe), most people socialized in their homes, at the mosque (or church or synagogue), or in their workplaces. The introduction of coffee opened up a whole new kind of space for socializing.

2. Pass out copies of Student Handout 4.6.1 Coffee.

3. Ask students to read the first set of texts on the religious permissibility of coffee. Depending on the level of your students, you can answer the questions on each document with the whole class working together, or have students work individually or in groups to answer the questions. What are the differences between the arguments for and against coffee in Muslim and Christian contexts? Why?

4. Once students have worked through all the documents in the first section, take a poll by asking students to stand on one side of the room or the other, depending on whether they would have allowed coffee on the basis of the documents or not. Ask students from each side to present the most convincing argument they can make to support their stance.

5. Follow the same procedure with the second section of the handout on the health effects of coffee. Then ask students if they think, based on today's evidence, that coffee is good for you or bad for you. Do any of the arguments given by the authors in the primary source documents still hold up according to modern medical opinion?

6. Now ask student to examine the set of documents on coffeehouses. Have students note where and when each document is from as they analyze them, using the prompts in the handout.

- Why does each author approve or disapprove of coffeehouses?
- Describe the people you see in the images. Who do you think they are? What are they doing? Where would you guess the different individuals are from, and what do they represent? How do you think the artist is using the images of the people portrayed to influence his audience about coffee and tobacco?
- What differences and similarities do you see in coffeehouses and the debate about them in different countries?
- What arguments are most compelling to you? Why?
- Why do you think coffeehouses continued to grow in popularity despite the significant opposition to them from religious authorities and governments?

7. As homework, ask students to write a tract from the perspective of someone in 1700, advocating either for or against coffeehouses. They can set their argument in any of the cities represented in the primary sources. Alternatively, ask students to prepare for a debate before the sultan over whether coffeehouses should once again be banned. Have groups from each side of the issue create short position papers representing the religious establishment, local merchants, the intelligentsia, and the chief of police. Have each group choose a representative to argue their position before the throne so that the sultan can make an informed decision.

Extension: Have each student group make their arguments for or against coffeehouses in the form of public service announcements for television.

Assessment: Students should be assessed on their ability to find evidence for particular perspectives in texts and to articulate its meaning and impact on the argument. They should also be assessed on their participation and communication in both group discussions and the larger debates. If they write a tract, their writing should be assessed for clarity, the appropriate use of the arguments in the primary source material incorporated into their imaginative work, and effective use of language.

Lesson 4.7: Conspicuous Consumption and Competitive Trade: The Story of Silk

Lesson Overview

This lesson on silk covers a wide range of concepts related to the uses of silk for international elites over a millennium and more, the growth of import/export trade in a luxury good, the establishment of European manufacturing centers for silk as import substitution, and how growing demand led to innovation in production. Using primary sources, students explore the continuing relevance of Mediterranean trade for Europe after 1500, and the importance of competition and changing terms of trade. The history of the drawloom and its Asian origins is described, and how 18th and 19th century innovation related to drawloom patternmaking were related to the invention of computers.

The documents in the handouts trace ways in which both technologies and new tastes and fashions moved from one region to others throughout the Mediterranean through the manufacture and trade in silk textiles. They also demonstrate the tension between the "snob value" of expensive luxury fabrics created far away and the resulting urge toward import substitution, or copying and manufacturing similar items for the local market (and sometimes re-export) that would cost less and create jobs and tax revenues at home.

Lesson Objectives

- Students will analyze the significance of silk as a luxury product consumed by the wealthiest classes, the Church, and royalty as "power dressing," and the plant and animal patterns that evolved from symbols of royalty to elegant home furnishings and costumes.
- They will explain how imports of silk fabric from Asia, Egypt and Muslim Spain stimulated demand and import substitution, giving rise to Italian, French and later English silk manufacturing that depended on the Levant for sources of silk cocoons.
- They will describe the technology of brocade weaving on a drawloom and explain how the process of weaving highly complex, multi-colored patterns in silk is related to the technologies of digitizing design, mechanization of weaving, and ultimately the early development of computers
- They will analyze changes in the direction of flow and terms of trade in luxury silks in the Mediterranean region from the 14th to the 18th centuries, and cite evidence that the Mediterranean region remained a vital arena of the textile trade after 1500 CE.

Grade Level

Grades 7-12 world history and beyond

Time

2 class periods

Materials Needed

- Student Handouts 4.7.3a, 4.7.3b, 4.7.3c
- Projection device for color images, laptops or tablets
- (Optional) fabric samples of silk of different types, as swatches or silk garments, silk cocoons (available online)
- Video from Qantara: Mediterranean Heritage at http://www.qantara-med.org/qantara4/public/show_document.php?do_id=576&lang=en for background on medieval silk imports and uses

Procedure/Activities

1. The first part of the lesson investigates the phenomenon of "Power Dressing" as a way for elites such as ruling groups and nobility to demonstrate and confer power, and as a driver of imitation among lesser elites. Ask students to describe what "Power Dressing" means today, who dresses for prestige and how they do it. If rulers long ago put symbols of themselves on clothing, what power symbols are put onto clothing today? (Think of the celebrity red-carpet question, "Who are you wearing?")How are such symbols marketed today? The lesson looks at the heritage of silk brocade as a high-prestige fabric that was introduced to the Mediterranean via Persia and the Silk Roads, from where it was first produced in China. In Sassanian, Byzantine, and later Islamic royal workshops, silk brocades were for the ruler and the court, and were inscribed with designs that reflected power and other personal kingly qualities. These luxury fabrics were often given as robes of honor. Samples of surviving silk fabrics show the similarity of designs. The use of inscriptions—in Arabic, *tiraz*—that included blessings on the ruler or the wearer are a design element that helps trace the spread of brocade technology across the Mediterranean region from east to west, and into Spain, Italy, France, and later England. The images show surviving silk fragments and paintings depicting luxury fabrics, demonstrating how these fabrics crossed cultural and religious boundaries. For example, Islamic motifs were used as burial shrouds, altar cloths, and vestments, and as clothing and backdrops to depict sacred figures in Christian settings. Discussion can focus on the way these fabrics enhanced the wearer, how they are evidence of sophisticated information exchange as they were traded and imitated, and as drivers of demand that engendered new manufacturing centers to produce "import substitutes."

2. Aesthetics: Have students note common elements in the color and design of the fabrics shown in Handout 4.3.3a. How do they become symbols of power and elegance? What qualities of silk fabric make it the highest form of power dressing? What sorts of garments were made of silk? How were they used in homes and religious ceremonies? What role do symmetry and animal and floral motifs play in the design, and what role does lettering play? Looking at the fabrics, do some aspects of these ancient and medieval designs remind us of luxury domestic fabrics for curtains, sofas, and rugs today? Are they still symbols of domestic comfort and luxury?

3. How are words used on fabrics today in ways that confer status? (Designer labels and monograms as part of the design of handbags, shoes, etc.; sports figures' names, message t-shirts and symbols of ideology can be included.)

4. Students use handout 4.3.3b to learn about the origins of brocade looms and their transit across Asia to the Mediterranean, and the innovations made to meet growing demand in Lyons, France that led to the Jacquard loom and early automation and machine programming technology. It also includes information on the artisans and workers in the silk industry over time, and how they were affected by changes in production and technology. The lesson includes a short graphic lesson on the principle of brocade weaving as digitized design (i.e. a drawing mapped onto a grid with woven thread as "pixels"). The handout instructions call upon students to:

    a. Read the short passages, watch the UNESCO video of the Chinese drawloom arts of Nanjing (see handout for YouTube link), and sketch out a storyboard that traces the steps from hand loom to automated loom to early computers.

b. Take notes on the intertwined stories of the weavers and inventors, and the social changes that resulted from these technologies.
c. Track the places on a map of the eastern hemisphere that make up the trail of technology and silk brocade design in this lesson.

5. The third part of this lesson is about how silk was traded during the 18th century, as French, Italian, and English manufacturing centers imported raw silk, cocoons, and thread for silk manufacturing centers developing in Europe. First, the activity shows that the Mediterranean did not die out as a trade emporium with the opening of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean to European trade. Second, import substitution and protection of domestic manufacturing made the trade highly competitive, and changed the terms of trade between Europe and the Levant, from exports of finished goods at high prices to exports of raw materials, with very little export of finished silk fabric. European traders were, however, still at the mercy of local conditions, and had little to export from England except woolen fabric. This trade reflects changing markets and balance of power and involves wealthy middlemen who purchased from the rural silk producers and sold to European exporters (many of whom were non-Muslim minorities later brought under the capitulation treaties and given extraterritorial rights).

6. The handout consists of texts from economic historian Ralph Davis' book *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, featuring letters from merchant houses to their factors in the Levant, describing conditions of life and trade for agents and indigenous merchants, and competition with French and Italian silk traders. Student handout 4.3.3c includes a "scavenger hunt" through these excerpts that should set the stage for discussion of these concepts.

Topic 4: Cosmopolitan Port Cities on the Mediterranean

Topic Overview

The port cities of the Mediterranean were hubs in the trade in globalized commodities and political networks of the region, connected both to one another and to their hinterlands, although there were frequently tensions along both of these sets of axes. The society of the port cities was typically characterized by cosmopolitanism, relative openness, cultural diversity, transience, and dynamism compared with cities in the hinterland that had more homogenous populations. This openness, however, did not necessarily remain stable over the long term, but was affected by changing trends and circumstances far beyond the region.

Salonica was a particularly interesting example of a cosmopolitan port city in these respects. Not only did it have a full complement of traders from around the Mediterranean, but the city itself had a majority Jewish population, having significant populations of Jewish refugees from Spain and Portugal who were expelled by the Catholic regimes there. For centuries, Jews, Muslims, Greeks, Slavs and others lived and worked together in Ottoman Salonica—not always harmoniously, but usually prosperously.

The story of Salonica's cosmopolitan past takes several dramatic and tragic turns after the 19th century. While this unit focuses on the period 1450-1800, it is important to know that context because today much of the readily available information on Thessaloniki treats it as a Greek city with an important Byzantine past, while its Muslim and Jewish communities are overlooked. In 1912, the city was taken from the Ottomans by the Greeks in the Balkan War, and much of the Muslim population was deported to Turkey in exchange for Orthodox

Christians who came from cities like Smyrna/Izmir. In 1917, the city suffered a terrible fire which decimated most of the Jewish quarter; many Jews chose to leave the city then and start a new life elsewhere. But it was the brutal Nazi occupation of Salonica that truly decimated the "Mother of Israel:" 96% of the remaining Jewish population of the city was killed in labor camps and Auschwitz.

Lesson 4.8: Salonica, Cosmopolitan Port City

Lesson Overview:

Students will define and problematize the concept of "cosmopolitan:" diversity didn't always mean that communities lived together in harmony. Students will then review a wide variety of primary and secondary sources that each touch on the cosmopolitan nature of Salonica in the early modern period, ranging from maps to legal documents, songs and poems to images.

Students will work in groups to create graphical representations of the cosmopolitan interactions and interrelationships of the people of Salonica, paying attention to issues of ethnicity, class, gender and occupation. Students should work together to decide what aspects of Salonica on which to focus, what materials from the handout will be most useful, and what further questions they have and how they might research them. They will also decide, within the teacher's guidelines, what form their presentation will take: an annotated map, a website, a video, a Prezi, a play, or some other medium, as long as it allows students to present information in text and image, and perhaps audio and video as well.

Lesson Objectives:

- Students will be able to define and problematize the concept of "cosmopolitan."
- They will identify the different ethnic and religious groups who made up the city of Salonica in the early modern period, and describe how they came to inhabit the city.
- They will identify the main resources and trading goods of Salonica.
- They will analyze primary and secondary sources from a variety of media, including legal documents, poetry, songs, and images.
- They will analyze primary source documents and identify the point of view, goals, main arguments, and evidence used of the writers.
- They will compare the positions and goals of the authors of different primary source documents on a single issue.

Grade Level

World History, Secondary (8-12)

Time:

Four 45-50 minute class periods, plus additional time for extension (may be assigned as homework)

Materials Needed:

- Student Handout 4.8.1: Salonica

Procedure/Activities:

1. Begin by finding Thessaloniki, Greece, on Google Maps or Google Earth. Ask students to describe its geographical characteristics. Why would you want to settle here? Where can you easily get to from here? Note that it is located at the conjunction of trade routes in the

Mediterranean and the Balkans, and that it lies between hills and fertile plains, both of which added to its economic prosperity and strategic location. Discuss with students the importance of each of these geographic features.

2. Divide students into working groups of 4-5. Give students copies of Student Handout 4.8.1: Salonica. Explain that the primary and secondary sources in the handout will be the starting point for a research activity and the creation of a group graphical (or possibly performance) presentation on the following question: *What made Salonica a cosmopolitan city in the early modern period?*

3. Have students read the primary and secondary documents in the handout, and attempt to answer the questions given with each document. Ask students to highlight the information they think is most significant in the documents, and to write down further questions they have about the issues raised.

4. Students should work together to research answers to the questions they have raised, with the teacher working with them to help identify resources and check understanding. The resources given as sources in the handout and in the bibliography at the beginning of this module will be helpful places to start.

5. Each group should work together to propose a project presentation that they think will highlight the most important understandings they have garnered from the project. The teacher should work with each group to refine the plan for their presentation.

6. When presentations are completed, have each group of students give the other presentations constructive feedback, in addition to assessment by the teacher.

Adaptation: (optional)If time is limited or students have limited experience working with historical documents, teachers can choose a smaller number of documents, and work through them with students.

Extension: (optional)Have students find and research individuals from Salonica, writing short biographies that connect them with the ethnic groups, trades, government and class structure of Salonica. Place the biographies on an online timeline program, such as Tiki-Toki, TimeRime, or Dipity.

Assessment: This project is designed to allow students an opportunity to develop 21st century competencies in collaboration, communication, cultural competence and technology. Assessment of the project should be built into each stage, and include assessment of student group work by the teacher as well as by the students in each group. Final presentations should include a self-assessment by the group presenting, as well as peer assessment by other students.

Topic 6: Slavery in Mediterranean Contexts

Topic Overview

When we think of slavery in the period from 1450-1800, the story of trans-Atlantic slavery—the enslavement and forced migration of 12-15 million African people to labor in the plantations and mines of North and South America and the Caribbean—is so overwhelming an event in human history that it can be difficult to focus on other forms of slavery in the world. Slavery, however, existed in a variety of forms for a variety of purposes in the Mediterranean region, just as it had in most human societies. Examining and comparing these different forms of slavery should not

blind us to the fundamental and terrible reality that these systems deprived millions of people of their liberty, the fruits of their labor, and often their lives; however, understanding the different economic, social and ideological functions of slavery in different contexts is a critical historical task.

Lesson 4.9: Slavery in the Mediterranean

Lesson Overview:

Students will examine a variety of primary and secondary sources related to several forms and instances of slavery in the Mediterranean. They will compare the social and economic functions of slavery in different contexts, as well as the impact upon enslaved individuals and their communities.

Lesson Objectives:

- Students will be able to define and distinguish different kinds and contexts of slavery in world history.
- They will be able to analyze the economic, technological, social and ideological underpinnings of slavery in its Mediterranean contexts.
- They will be able to analyze primary and secondary sources from a variety of media.
- They will be able to analyze primary source documents and identify the point of view, goals, main arguments, and evidence used of the writers.
- They will be able to compare the positions and goals of the authors of different primary source documents on a single issue.

Grade Level

World History, Secondary (8-12)

Time:

Two 45-50 minute class periods, plus additional time for extension (may be assigned as homework)

Materials Needed:

- Student Handout 4.9.1: Slavery in Mediterranean Contexts

Procedure/Activities:

1. Introduce the topic of slavery by asking students about examples of slavery in history with which they are familiar. For most students, the image of Africans enslaved to work on plantations in North America is likely to predominate (although there were far more slaves in the Caribbean and South America); they may also come up with other examples from ancient Rome (Spartacus) or the Middle East (the Janissaries). Ask students to describe the experiences of slaves in the examples they bring up, to the best of their knowledge. Teachers might want to extend the discussion by showing a clip from the film "Prince among Slaves," which described the experience of a prince from Futa Jallon in West Africa who is enslaved and brought to work on a plantation in Mississippi.

2. Explain that slavery has existed in most human societies until the modern period, and still exists today. In the early modern Mediterranean there existed a wide variety of conditions and contexts of slavery, which we can examine through primary and secondary sources. Distribute the packets of readings (either on paper or electronically). Have students read

the primary and secondary documents in the handout, and attempt to answer the questions given with each document. Ask students to highlight the information they think is most significant in each text, and to write down further questions they have about the issues raised.

3. Either as students read the documents or afterward, have them mark the location(s) mentioned in each text on a paper or online map. If time permits, one effective way to do this is to create a large-scale map of the Mediterranean (or use one produced for an earlier lesson in this curriculum). Assign each student, or pairs of students, a reading from the packet, and have students in turn to place a map pin(s) or other marker on the map with very brief information from the text on the event or person in question.

4. Referring to the map and to the documents as needed, open a discussion of the texts and the light they shed on the contexts of Mediterranean slavery.

- *What differences and similarities do you see among the different cases presented?*
- *What social, religious, economic, technological or other factors do you think account for the wide variety of conditions of enslavement in the early modern Mediterranean?*
- *What stories or texts interested you the most? What information was most surprising?*
- *How porous were the boundaries of religious identity in the early modern Mediterranean? Give examples of individuals who crossed those boundaries, and of those who insisted on maintaining them. What arguments did each make for their position?*

5. As homework, give students a short writing assignment in which will write from the perspective of one of the enslaved people mentioned in the documents. To prepare, ask students to choose a person whose experience is related in the texts. Pair students up, and ask them to spend a few moments each introducing themselves in character as the person they have chosen. Have them describe how they were enslaved, and what their lives were like before and after. How have they reacted to their new life circumstances? Have students then discuss with one another what gaps in their knowledge made it difficult for them to step into the shoes of the person they chose, and what information they might want to find in order to fill in those gaps to make their story more complete or interesting. What other information would help them to make an informed guess as to what might have shaped their daily experiences?

6. Have students write a letter from the perspective of the enslaved person they have chosen to represent to their relatives back home or to a friend, explaining what has happened to them. They may ask to be ransomed, describe their living conditions, or talk about the prospects in their new life, depending on the person they choose and their own imagination. If students prefer, they may instead compose a poem, song or dramatic scene, or create a visual representation of a significant event in their life as a slave.

Adaptation: (optional) If time is limited or students have limited experience working with historical documents, teachers can choose a smaller number of documents, and work through them with students.

Extension: (optional) Have students research and write a 3-5 page essay on the following topic:

> *In what ways were the experiences of Africans enslaved in the New World different from and similar to the various kinds of slavery practiced in the Mediterranean?*

Assessment: Have students complete a peer evaluation of the final product (letter, poem, song, dramatic scene, or artwork) of at least two of their peers by commenting in the following way:

I like…(favorite elements of the project)

I wonder….(questions or concerns)

What if…(further ideas for exploration)

You might also incorporate this as an intermediate stage in the writing process, so that students can incorporate peer comments in their final product.

Module 4 Bibliography

Abbott, Elena, Soha El Achi, Michael Polczynski, and Chris Gratien. "Slavery in a Global Context: Atlantic/Mediterranean/Black Sea." *Ottoman History Podcast*. Podcast audio. February 6, 2012. http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2012/02/slavery-in-global-context-atlantic.html.

Abeddour, Youness. "http://mrmorocco18.wordpress.com/2011/02/13/samuel-pallaches-journeys/" [Samuel Pallache's Journeys]. Mr. Morocco's Blog. Last modified February 13, 2011. http://mrmorocco18.wordpress.com.

Abbot, Elizabeth. *Sugar: A Bittersweet History.* London: Duckworth Overlook, 2009.

Barclay, Sarah, dir. *Addicted to Pleasure: Sugar*. With Brian Cox, presenter. Episode One of Addicted to Pleasure, BBC Documentary Series, 2012.

Aksan, Virginia, and Daniel Goffman, eds. *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Alavarez-Nogal, Carlos. "Agrarian Institution and Economic Growth: Was the Sale of Baldios Responsible of the Castilian Agrarian Crisis at the End of the Sixteenth Century?" Economic History and Institutions Series. Last modified January 2003. http://docubib.uc3m.es/WORKINGPAPERS/WH/wh030501.pdf.

Allouche, Adel. *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrizi's Ighathah*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994.

Arbel, Benjamin. "Nur Banu (c. 1530-1583): A Venetian Sultana?" *Turcica* 24 (1992): 241-259.

Aronson, Marc and Marina Budhos, *Sugar Changed the World: A Story of Magic, Spice, Slavery, Freedom and Science*. New York: Clarion Books, 2010. http://sugarchangedtheworld.com

Aslanian, Sebouh David. *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*. Berkeley, CA/USA: University of California Press, 2011.

Aydüz, Selim. "Ottoman Contributions to Science and Technology: Examples from Geography and Astronomy," MuslimHeritage.com, accessed at http://www.muslimheritage.com/topics/default.cfm?articleID=982.

Bisaha, Nancy. "New Barbarian or Worthy Adversary? Humanist Constructs of the Ottoman Turks in Fifteen Century Italy." In*Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, edited by Michael Frassetto and Daniel R. Blanks, 185-206. New York, USA: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Blount, Henry. *A Voyage into the Levant*. London, 1634.

Bracewell, Wendy, ed. *Orientations: An Anthology of East European Travel Writing, ca. 1550-2000*. Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press, 2009.

Broadbridge, Anne F. "Sending Home for Mom and Dad: The Extended Family Impulse in Mamluk Politics." *Mamluk Studies Review* XV (2011): 1-18.

Broudy, Eric. *The Book of Looms: A History of the Handloom from Ancient Times to the Present*. UPNE, 1979.

Brummett, Palmira. "Visions of the Mediterranean: A Classification." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 1 (2007): 10-55.

Burke, Edmund, III. "The Sixteenth Century World War and the Roots of the Modern World: A View From the Edge." Working paper, n.d.

de Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin. *The Turkish Letters, 1555-1562.* Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University. http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1555busbecq.asp

Canavaggio, Jean. "Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616): Life and Portrait." Cervantes Project. Last modified July 1997. http://cervantes.tamu.edu/biography/new_english_cerv_bio.html

"Cantino Planisphere, 1502." Map. Biblioteca Universitaria Estense, Modena, Italy. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cantino_planisphere_%281502%29.jpg.

Carboni, Stephano, ed. *Venice and the Islamic World: 828-1797*. New York, New Haven and London, US and UK: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2007.

"Carta Catalana, c. 1452." Map. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1450_%C2%BF_Carta_Catalana_jpeg_copy.jpg.

"Carta Catalana detail of Mediterranean, c. 1452." Map. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1450_%C2%BF_Carta_Catalana_jpeg_copy.A.jpg.

Casale, Giancarlo. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Celebi, Evliya. *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels by Evliya Celebi*. Translated by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim. London: Eland, 2010.

Chandler, Graham. "Sugar, Please." *Saudi Aramco World*, July-Aug 2012. Photographed by George Azar.

Chipman, Donald E. "Estevanico." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Pub. by the Texas State Historical Assn. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fes08

Christine Woodhead. "England, the Ottomans and the Barbary Coast in the Late Sixteenth Century," State Papers Online, 1509–1714, Cengage Learning, Reading, 2009.

Clancy-Smith, Julia A. *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration c. 1800-1900*. Berkeley, CA/USA: University of California Press, 2012.

Colby, Charles W., ed. *Selections from the Sources of English History, BC 55-AD 1832*. London: Longmans, Green, 1920. [Fordham Internet History Sourcebook]

"Commander of the Sultan's Galleys," *Saudi Aramco World* 14, no. 8, (1963): 8-10.

Dankoff, Robert. *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.

Davis, Ralph. *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Macmillan, 1967.

Davis, Robert C. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

———. "Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast," *Past and Present* 172 (2001) :87-124

———. *Holy War and Human Bondage: Tales of Christian-Muslim Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean.* Praeger, 2009.

Drelichman, Mauricio, and Hans Joaquim Voth. "Institutions and the Resource Curse in Early Modern Spain." In *Institutions and Economic Performance*, edited by Elhanan Helpman. Cambridge, MA/USA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Dursteller, Eric R. "Fatima Hatun née Beatrice Michiel: Renegade Women in the Early Modern Mediterranean." *The Medieval History Journal* 12 (2009): 355-382.

Dursteller, Eric R. *Venetians in Constantinople*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Elliott, J. H. "Self-Perception and Decline in Spain." In *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays*, 1-4. New Haven, CT/USA: Yale University Press, 1990.

Ellis, Aytoun. *The Penny University: A History of the Coffee-Houses*. London: Seeker & Warburg, 1956.

Essinger, James. *Jacquard's Web*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004.

"Estevanico." Mediterranean Memory Project documentary. 2M Production, 2009. Video file. http://www.medmem.eu/en/notice/2MT00028.

Evliya Çelebi: Book of Travels.. http://www.thebookoftravels.org.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

———. *Subject of the Sultans: Culture and Everyday Life in the Ottoman Empire from the Middle Ages until the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*. New York, London, USA/UK: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2000.

Forster, C.T., and F. H. B. Daniel, eds. *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*. Vol. I. London: Kegan Paul, 1881.

Galloway, J.H. "The Mediterranean Sugar Industry." *Geographical Review* 67, no. 2 (April 1977): 177-94.

García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Gerard Wiegers. *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*. Translated by Martin Beagles. Baltimore, USA: John Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Goffman, Daniel. *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1990.

Goldish, Matt. *Jewish Questions: Responsa on Sephardic Life in the Early Modern Period.* Princeton University Press, 2008.

Goodwin, Robert. *Crossing the Continent 1527-1540: The Story of the First African-American Explorer of the American South*. New York, USA: Harper Collins, 2008.

Gratien, Chris, and Emrah Safa Gürkan. "?Mediterranean Go-Betweens: Renegades." *Ottoman History Podcast*. Podcast audio. April 4, 2011. http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2011/04/mediterranean-go-betweens-renegades.html.

———. "Corsairs and the Ottoman Mediterranean." *Ottoman History Podcast*. Podcast audio. October 26, 2012. http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2011/04/ottoman-mediterranean-corsairs-with.html.

Greene, Molly. *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010.

———. *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

———. "Trading Identities: The Sixteenth-Century Greek Moment." In *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean 1200-1700, edited by* Adnan A. Husain and K.E. Fleming, 121-148. Oxford: Oneworld, 2007.

Halsall, Paul, ed. "http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1555busbecq.asp" [Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, The Turkish Letters, 1555-1562.] Modern History Sourcebook. http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/index.asp.

———. "http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/16CSidi1.asp" [Medieval Sourcebook: Sidi Ali Reis (16th Century CE): Mirat ul Memalik (The Mirror of Countries), 1557 CE]. Internet History Sourcebooks Project. Last modified September 1998. http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/index.asp.

Hanna, Nelly. *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Middle East Studies Beyond Dominant Paradigms. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003.

———. *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998.

Hattox, Ralph S. *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985.

Havlioglu, Didem, Chris Gratien, and Emrah Safa Gürkan. "Women Literati and Ottoman Intellectual Culture." *Ottoman History Podcast*. Podcast audio. September 24, 2012. http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2012/09/women-literati-and-ottoman-intellectual.html.

Hess, Andrew C. *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Howse, Christopher. "English Pirates Turning Turk." *The Telegraph*, May 12, 2012.

Imber, Colin, trans. *Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition.* Stanford University Press, 1997.

İnalcık, Halil. "A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy: The Agreement Between Innocent VIII and Bayezid II Regarding Djem Sultan." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 3 (1979): 209-223.

–––. "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire." In *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern, edited by* A. Ascher, B. K. Kiraly, and T. Halasi-Kun, 25-43., New York: Brooklyn College, 1979..

İnalcık, Halil and Donald Quataert. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, Vol II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Işın, Mary. *Sherbet and Spice: The Complete Story of Turkish Sweets and Desserts*. New York: IB Taurus, 2013.

Itzkowitz, Norman. *The Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, Princeton University Press, 1972.

Jeffs, Jeremy, dir. "Leo Africanus: A Man Between Worlds." BBC Documentary, 2011.

Kafadar, Cemal. "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima." *Journal of Turkish Studies*, (1986): 191-218.

———. "The Ottomans and Europe." In *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by Thomas A. Brady, Heiko Augustinus Oberman, and James D. Tracy, 607-25. Leiden: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994.

———. "The Question of Ottoman Decline." *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (97-98): 30-75.

Katib Chelebi. *The Balance of Truth*. Transl. G. L. Lewis. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1957.

Koz, M. Sabri, and Kemalettin Kuzucu. *Turkish Coffee*. Translated by Mary P. Isin. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2013.

Lamdan, Ruth. "Jewish Women as Providers in the Generations Following the Expulsion from Spain." *Nashim* (Spring 2007): 49-67.

Lewis, Bernard. *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Leo Africanus: A Man Between Worlds. BBC. First broadcast June 1, 2011. Directed by Jeremy Jeffs.

Lunde, Paul. "Piri Reis and the Columbus Map," *Saudi Aramco World* 43, no. 3 (May-June 1992). Accessed at http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/199203/piri.reis.and.the.columbus.map.htm.

Luttinger, Nina and Gregory Dicum. *The Coffee Book: Anatomy of an Industry from Crop to the Last Drop.* New York: New Press, 2006.

Mack, Rosamond E. *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600*. N.p.: University of California Press, 2001.

Maalouf, Amin. *Leo Africanus*. New York, USA: New Amsterdam Books, 1998.

Macinnis, Peter. *Bittersweet: The Story of Sugar.* Crows Nest, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 2002.

Manners, Ian (with a contribution by M. Pınar Emiralioğlu). *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World 1500-1750: Maps from the Collection of O.J. Sopranos.* Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, 2007.

Masters, Bruce. "Aleppo: The Ottoman Empire's Caravan City." In *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul*, by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and

Bruce Masters, 17-78. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Matar, Nabil. *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

–––. *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

–––. *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Mateus, Susana, and James W.Nelson Novoa. "A Sixteenth Century Voyage of Legitimacy: the Paths of Jacome and António da Fonseca from Lamego to Rome and Beyond." *Hispania Judaica Bulletin*. Last modified 2013. http://www.academia.edu/.

Mazower, Mark. *Salonica: City of Ghosts*. New York: Vintage, 2006.

McCrory, Donald P. *No Ordinary Man: The Life and Times of Miguel de Cervantes*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006.

Mihailovic, Konstantin. *Memoirs of a Janissary*. Ed. Svat Soucek. Tr. Benjamin Stolz. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011.

Morse, Kitty. "Esteban of Azzemour and His New World Adventures." *Saudi Aramco World*, (March/April 2002).

Munroe, Nazanin Hedayat. "Silks from Ottoman Turkey." In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. November 2012. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tott/hd_tott.htm

"Mürsiyeli Ibrahim map of the Mediterranean, 1456." Map. http://www.hgk.msb.gov.tr/ustbanner/turk/ibrahimmursel.htm.

Müller-Kosack, Gerhard. *Book description of Dietrich Rauchenberger's (1999) Johannes Leo der Afrikaner.* Mandara Mountains Homepage. http://www.mandaras.info/RauchenbergerLeoAfricanusCosmographia.rtf

Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1954.

O'Connell, Sanjida. *Sugar: The Grass that Changed the World*. Random House ebook, 2012.

Owens, Roger. "The Middle East in the Eighteenth Century - An Islamic Society in Decline? A Critique of Gibb and Bowen's Islamic Society and the West." *Review of Middle East Studies*, (1975): 101-12.

Payne, Stanley G. *A History of Spain and Portugal*. Vol. 1. The Library of Iberian Resources Online. http://libro.uca.edu/payne1/spainport1.htm.

Peirce, Leslie P. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Pinto, Karen. "The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman Cluster'." *Imago Mundi* 63, no. 2 (2011): 155-179.

"Piri Reis, Kitab al-Bahriye (Book of the Sea), 1521. Map of Europe and the Mediterranean Sea." Map. http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_Reis_map_of_Europe_and_the_Mediterranean_Sea.jpg.

"Piri Reis, Kitab al-Bahriye (Book of the Sea), 1521. Map of Marseilles and Toulon." Map. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Marseilles_and_Toulon_by_Piri_Reis.jpg.

"Piri Reis, Kitab al-Bahriye (Book of the Sea), 1521. Map of Venice." Map. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venice_by_Piri_Reis.jpg.

"Piri Reis World Map fragment, 1513." Map. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_reis_world_map_01.jpg.

Yossef Rapoport. "Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview." *Mamluk Studies Review* XI, no. 2 (2007): 1-47.

Renda, Gunsel. "http://www.muslimheritage.com/uploads/The_Ottoman_Empire_and_Europe1.pdf " [The Ottoman Empire and Europe: Cultural Encounters]. Edited by Mohamed El-Gomati. Muslim Heritage. http://www.muslimheritage.com/.

Robinette, Glenn. *Why Drug Wars Fail: A Study of Prohibitions*. Grafitti Militante, 2012.

Sahillioglu, Halil. "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the late 15th and Early 16th Centuries." *Turcica* 17(1985): 43-112.

Sancar, Asli. *Ottoman Women: Myth and Reality*. Somerset, NJ: The Light, 2007.

Sciaky, Leon. *Farewell to Salonica: City at the Crossroads*. Philadelphia, PA: Paul Dry Books, 2003 (1st copyright 1946).

"Sebastian Munster, Europe as a Queen. 1570." Map. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_As_A_Queen_Sebastian_Munster_1570.jpg.

Smithsonian Freer Gallery of Art. Style and Status: Imperial Costume from Ottoman Turkey, in Connections Curriculum Resource, Smithsonian Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Fall 2005. http://www.asia.si.edu/explore/teacherResources/ConnectionsFall2005.pdf.

"The Star-Studded Cartouche," (video) The Textile Arts, Qantara 2008. Accessed at http://www.qantara-med.org/qantara4/public/show_document.php?do_id=576.

Stone, Caroline. "firstsocialnetwork@coffeehouse.org." *Saudi Aramco World,* (May/June 2013).

"Style and Status: Imperial Costume from Ottoman Turkey," Connections Curriculum Resource, Fall 2005. Smithsonian Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. http://www.asia.si.edu/explore/teacherResources/ConnectionsFall2005.pdf.

Teitze, Andreas, trans. *Mustafa Ali's Counsel for Sultans of 1581: Edition, Translation, Notes.* Vienna, Austria: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademieder Wissenschaften, 1979.

———, ed. and trans. *Mustafa Ali's Description of Cairo of 1599.* Vienna, 1975.

Tezcan, Baki. *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Tolan, John, Gilles Veinstein and Henry Laurens. *Europe and the Islamic World*. Princeton and Oxford; Princeton University Press, 2013.

Ukers, William H. *All About Coffee*. New York, 1922.

Vambéry, A., trans. *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reïs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556. Translated from the Turkish with notes*. South Asia study resources. Last modified September 28, 2005. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00fwp/#fwp.

Vidmar, Polona . "'I Turchi al Solito Crudeli….:' Images of Paolo Erizzo and the Venetian Heroines Anna Erizzo and Belisandra Maraviglia in Historiography and the Visual Arts." Annales 22, no. 2 (2012) :367-384.

Vitkus, Daniel J. "Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century Europe." In *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, edited by Michael Frassetto and Daniel R. Blanks, 207-230. New York, USA: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

———ed. *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. Columbia University Press, 2001. Introduction by Nabil Matar.

Von Hammer, Joseph, tr. *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth Century by Evliya Efendi,* Vol 2. London: Allen and Co, 1850.

"The Waldseemüller map (1507)." Map. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Waldseemuller_map.jpg.

Watt, Melinda. "Textile Production in Europe: Silk, 1600–1800." InHeilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. October 2003. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/txt_s/hd_txt_s.htm.

Werner, Louis. *The Unread Masterpiece of Evliya Celebi. Saudi Aramco World*, (March-April 2011).

Wheat, David, "Mediterranean Slavery, New World Transformations: Galley Slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, 1578-1635." *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 31, no.3 (2010): 327-44.. Special Issue: Maritime Slavery.

"World Map of Henricus Martellus Germanus (Heinrich Hammer) c. 1490." Map. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Martellus_world_map.jpg.

Module 4 Student Handouts by Lesson # Part A 4.4.1 - 4.6.1

Reform Narratives of Ottoman and Spanish Golden Age and Decline

Read each of the selections below. In each one, an observer and reformer is looking at Spain or the Ottoman Empire and critiquing society. As you read each selection, answer the following questions:

1. What society is the writer from, and what society is he critiquing?
2. What are or should be the sources of strength in the society the writer is discussing?
3. What does the writer see as the sources of "decline" in his society?
4. Take notes on specific complaints the writer has about society. What rhetorical devices does he use in pointing these out?

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*, 1555-1562

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, a Fleming, was the ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand to the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Suleyman from 1555-62. He wrote a famous series of letters to a colleague describing the political structures, society, natural resources and other characteristics of the Ottoman domains. Here, he describes the janissary corps, comparing them to Austrian troops at home.

Engraving of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq by Jean François Foppens (1689-1761). Date unknown. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:OG_de_busbecq.jpg

At Buda I made my first acquaintance with the Janissaries; this is the name by which the Turks call the infantry of the royal guard… Janissaries are scattered through every part of the state, either to garrison the forts against the enemy or to protect the Christians and Jews from the violence of the mob. There is no district with any considerable amount of population, no borough or city, which has not a detachment of Janissaries to protect the Christians, Jews, and other helpless people from outrage and wrong…

From this you will see that it is the patience, self-denial and thrift of the Turkish soldier that enable him to face the most trying circumstances and come safely out of' the dangers that surround him. What a contrast to our men! Christian soldiers on a campaign refuse to put up with their ordinary food, and call for thrushes, *becaficos* [a small bird esteemed a dainty, as it feeds on figs and grapes], and suchlike dainty dishes! ... It makes me shudder to think of what the result of a struggle between such different systems must be; one of us must prevail and the other be destroyed, at any rate we cannot both exist in safety. On their side is the vast wealth of their empire, unimpaired resources, experience and practice in arms, a veteran soldiery, an uninterrupted series of victories, readiness to endure hardships, union, order, discipline, thrift and watchfulness. On ours are found an empty exchequer, luxurious habits, exhausted resources, broken spirits, a raw and insubordinate soldiery, and greedy quarrels; there is no regard for discipline, license runs riot, the men indulge in drunkenness and debauchery, and worst of all, the enemy are accustomed to victory, we to defeat. Can we doubt what the result must be? The only obstacle is Persia, whose position on his rear forces the invader to take precautions. The fear of Persia gives us a respite, but it is only for a time.

No distinction is attached to birth among the Turks; the deference to be paid to a man is measured by the position he holds in the public service. There is no fighting for precedence; a man's place is marked out by the duties he discharges. In making his appointments the Sultan pays no regard to any pretensions on the score of wealth or rank, nor does he take into consideration recommendations or popularity,

he considers each case on its own merits, and examines carefully into the character, ability, and disposition of the man whose promotion is in question. It is by merit that men rise in the service, a system which ensures that posts should only be assigned to the competent. Each man in Turkey carries in his own hand his ancestry and his position in life, which he may make or mar as he will. Those who receive the highest offices from the Sultan are for the most part the sons of shepherds or herdsmen, and so far from being ashamed of their parentage, they actually glory in it, and consider it a matter of boasting that they owe nothing to the accident of birth; for they do not believe that high qualities are either natural or hereditary, nor do they think that they can be handed down from father to son, but that they are partly the gift of' God, and partly the result of good training, great industry, and unwearied zeal; arguing that high qualities do not descend from a father to his son or heir, any more than a talent for music, mathematics, or the like; and that the mind does not derive its origin from the father, so that the son should necessarily be like the father in character, but emanates from heaven, and is thence infused into the human body. Among the Turks, therefore, honours, high posts, and judgeships are the rewards of great ability and good service. If a man be dishonest, or lazy, or careless, he remains at the bottom of the ladder, an object of contempt; for such qualities there are no honours in Turkey!

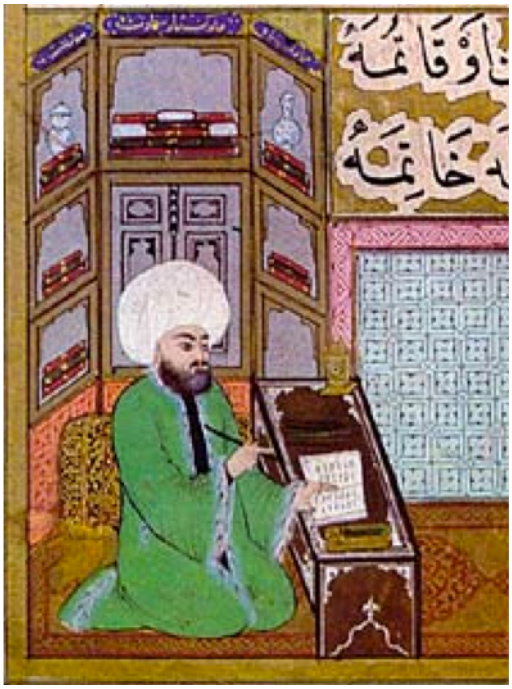
This is the reason that they are successful in their undertakings, that they lord it over others, and are daily extending the bounds of their empire. These are not our ideas, with us there is no opening left for merit; birth is the standard for everything; the prestige of birth is the sole key to advancement in the public service.

(Source: Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters, 1555-1562.* Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1555busbecq.asp)

Mustafa Ali, *Counsel for Sultans,* 1581

Mustafa Ali was one of the most outspoken critics of the state of affairs of the Ottoman Empire in the late sixteenth century, criticizing the sultan, "isolated behind his curtain," for his inability to curtail the greed of officials of the state, and the flagrant promotion of those who are unqualified for their posts because of favoritism, sycophancy, bribery and corruption.

The intrusion of the various classes into the different careers, and the permissiveness and accommodating attitude of the highly-esteemed vezirs for these developments cause a complete disintegration and a dispersal of the people. It unfailingly has the effect that the food on the tables of government *(devlet)·* must become mixed up like the dish called *'ashura* and the nourishment of the tribes of perfect living becomes—God forbid!—disgusting like vomited matter and utterly confused. Under these circumstances there is no demand for the offices; the qualified persons who deserve them lose their peace, the scum begins to gain power by lavishing money [in bribes], and the high classes are disappointed and stunned**...**



Detail from Ottoman miniature painting of the painting workshop of the Sultan. Photographic image of work in Topkapi Saray Palace, Istanbul. (1595-1603) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ottoman_miniature_painters.jpg

...There can be no doubt that if the Sultan whose servants are as many as the stars took a strong interest in the orderly state of affairs of the *'ulema* class, if he would show [them] a straight career, an equitable path blessed with success, each one would withdraw [from the world] and would devote himself to the study of knowledge and the sciences as he should, and would rush to the receptions of the great only on...special days.

For, those illustrious great who are known as the great mollahs never stop showing off vis-à-vis each other merely by putting on the robe and claiming to be philosophers *(feylesuf)* just because they have acquired a woolen garment *(suf)*[this is a pun on the words *suf* and *feylesuf*.] They are always hiding under the robe *(cübbe)*; with their tall turbans and enormous sleeves they are full of [great] words. They never come together with their equals, that is, they never gather because each one claims superiority over the next one. They fear that a conversation on a scholarly topic might take place and that everyone's [lack of] scholarly talents might come to light.

They don't allow those to talk who are by rank inferior to them, that is, who are rank-wise their subordinates, occupying an office of the lower grades, but who might possibly be superior to them in scholarship and would show a high degree of learning, if they were to share in the conversation. If one of them should dare [to open his mouth] when

the conversation turns around a scholarly subject, they silence him with the words "Who are you [to speak in this gathering]?" and they pay no attention to him. In this way their clothes and underclothes are perfect, but their personal erudition is a perfect non-entity. No doubt, the King of the World, the monarch with numerous retinue, should demand works from such ones year by year, and when they come up for a new appointment he should examine them together with their rivals so that each one's degree of learning becomes manifest….

….*In the Ottoman system, advanced students of law and religion were eligible for government subsidies and jobs, so enrollment on the register was a lucrative investment—hence the temptation for heirs to sell the privilege.*

No sooner has one of the mollahs died and set out on the journey from the transitory world to the Palace of Eternity when the register of his advanced students *(danusmend)* becomes an inheritance to the heirs: they enter a thousand rude, uneducated peasants in the register and in this manner enrich themselves significantly from the inheritance of their father who died in the torments of poverty. No doubt, for several years the addition of names [to the list] will furnish them an income, and such a renowned document will provide for their costs and expenses.

….No doubt, a country where the *begs* and a border area where the *begkrbegis* are appointed from men of this kind, namely, from judges, there the victoryboding army will be dejected, the population *(ra<aya)* will lose its peace at their inauspicious arrival, and the officers *(umera)* will be blamed for constantly spreading contempt. Especially those valiant ones who seek these positions, those capable men who have accomplished many excellent services to the throne *(H* 56") will become disaffected with their duties and turn away with disgust and abhorrence from their offices when they see these and look at their positions, and will look for a corner to withdraw and make all efforts to retire [from their activities]. In this manner those who are qualified *(R* 59') quit the sphere of service and those who do not deserve [an appointment] enter the yoke of service. The mistake of this shameful policy becomes evident when a confrontation with the enemies of Faith and Fatherland, a fight with the ill-wishers of kingdom and empire takes place: [then] the men of experience are in the corners of oblivion and isolation, those who have suffered many hardships are hidden in the corners in complete withdrawal, and those who from judgeships have moved up to the emirate [i. e., rank of a. *beg]* and governorship, and who, destroying the prestige of the high offices of the Ottoman [state], have become begs and *beglerbegis* are of no use at the time of war and battle and are unable in the season of fighting to lead their horses onto the battlefield and to storm ahead. They may rather turn the combat into cries and laments.

(Sources: Leslie P. Peirce, The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire. Oxford University Press, 1993; Andreas Teitze, *Mustafa Ali's Counsel for Sultans of 1581: Edition, Translation, Notes*. Vienna, Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademieder Wissenschaften, 1979)

Martin Gonzales de Cellerigo, 1600

Martin Gonzales de Cellerigo was one of the several arbitristas*, people who were actively analyzing the causes of Spain's decline and possible remedies at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.*

"…how our Spain, however fertile and abundant it may be, is subject to the *declinacion* to which all republics are prone."

(Source: Cellerigo, *Memorial de la politica*, fos. 1-4, quoted in J. H. Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Spain," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays.* Yale University Press, 1990.)

"Our republic has come to be an extreme contrast of rich and poor, and there is no means of adjusting them one to another. Our condition is one in which there are rich who loll at ease or poor who beg, and we lack people of the middle sort, whom neither wealth nor poverty prevents from pursuing the rightful kind of business enjoined by Natural Law."

English ships and the Spanish Armada, August 1588. English school, 16th c. Photographic reproduction of work held in Royal Museums, Greenwich. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Invincible_Armada.jpg

(Source: Cellerigo, *Memorial de la politica*, p. 24v., cited in J.H.Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Spain," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays.* Yale University Press, 1990.)

Hence the period of decline was a time of great pomp and display of luxury as aristocrats vied with one another for positions of splendor, particularly during the first four decades of the seventeenth century. As a result, most of the nobility were financially pressed, because despite their incomes, expenses always ran ahead. Aristocratic lands were usually mismanaged and produced only a portion of what they might have, but the landed nobles considered such concerns beneath them. On the one occasion during the century when a sector of the aristocracy was dealt a severe economic blow—the loss of income suffered by the Aragonese and Valencian nobility after expulsion of the Moriscos—they tried to recoup by raising already onerous seigneurial exactions on Christian peasants who remained or were brought in.

The seventeenth century was a time of economic, and to some extent social, decline for the Spanish middle classes, but it is not so clear that their numbers actually diminished proportionately. Rather, the middle classes retreated from enterprise and clung more and more to whatever status they had or could find, especially in government employment or holy orders. The result was an increasingly bureaucratized middle class in the larger towns, for whom fairly broad educational opportunities were a means not of training for creative new skills but of preparing for a static bureaucratic post. There were of course exceptions, but they stood in

contrast to the norm. It was this overriding social emphasis on status and honor, rejecting the risks and pressures of productive enterprise, that led the *arbitrista* (reform writer) González de Cellorigo to remark that "it seems as if one had wished to reduce these kingdoms to a republic of bewitched beings, living outside the natural order of things."

(Source: From Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*. Vol. 1, p. 300-301. http://libro.uca.edu/payne1/payne15.htm)

"Our Spain has set her eyes so strongly on the business of the Indies, from where she obtains gold and silver, that she has forsaken the care of her own kingdoms; and if she could indeed command all the gold and silver that her nationals keep discovering in the New World, this would not render her as rich and powerful as she would have otherwise been."

(Source: Martin Gonzales de Cellerigo, quoted in Mauricio Drelichman and Hans Joaquim Voth, "Institutions and the Resource Curse in Early Modern Spain" in Elhanan Helpman; ed**.,** *Institutions and Economic Performance***,** Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 2008.)

Cellorigo, writing in 1600, called the high cost of renting land the most active cause of peasant misery. Some ministers of the Monarchy also shared the idea that the sale of common lands was one of the worst things that the king had permitted. For instance, La Junta de Reformacion, the commission created by the Crown to find solutions to the economic problems of Castile in the seventeenth century, thought [this about] the sale of baldíos [common land]:

> The sales of baldíos have caused the destruction of many villages and small towns, because the majority of vassals do not have land to sow or any pasture to feed their oxen and mules. Their only way to get land is renting it from landowners. These have bought all the common land because they are rich and now they lease it at the highest prices they can. The poor peasants are so burdened, that even if they pay the first and the second year of rent, they are overwhelmed by the third year, so they give up their work, becoming so poor that they see themselves forced to leave their homes."

(Source: Carlos Alavarez-Nogal, "Agrarian Institutions and Economic Growth: Was the Sale of Baldíos Responsible for the Castilian Agrarian Crisis at the End of the Sixteenth Century?" Open Access publications from Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Jan. 2003 T http://docubib.uc3m.es/WORKINGPAPERS/WH/wh030501.pdf)

Decline Attack Ad Storyboard

Each box represents one scene in your attack ad. Describe in as much detail as possible what will be included for each scene. The more you plan ahead of time, the easier it is to create your ad. Copy as many storyboard boxes as you need.

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

Image *(general or specific, location if known)*:
Design *(background color, font style, special effects)*:
Audio *(music, sound effects)*:
Narration *(the actual text that you would record to accompany this slide)*:

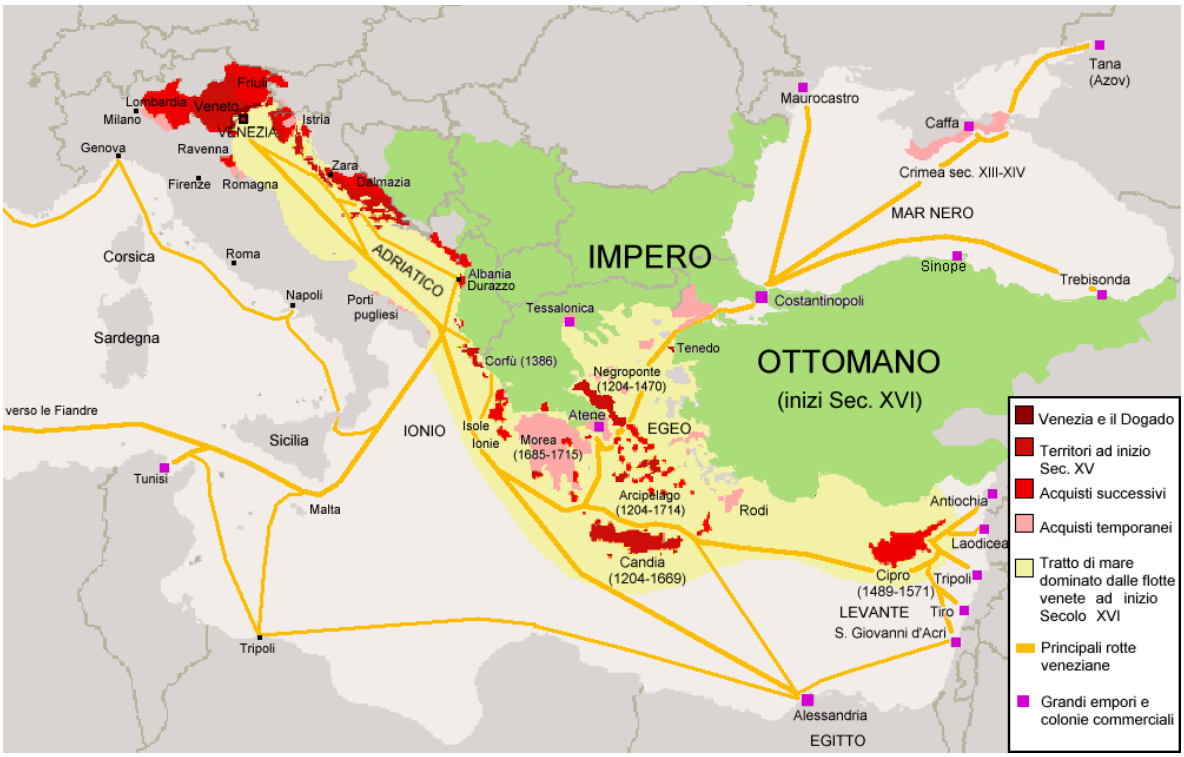
Mapping Imperial Contexts of Trade

I. Who are the Mediterranean Players?

As you examine the maps below of the major players in the Mediterranean from 1450-1800, answer the following questions:

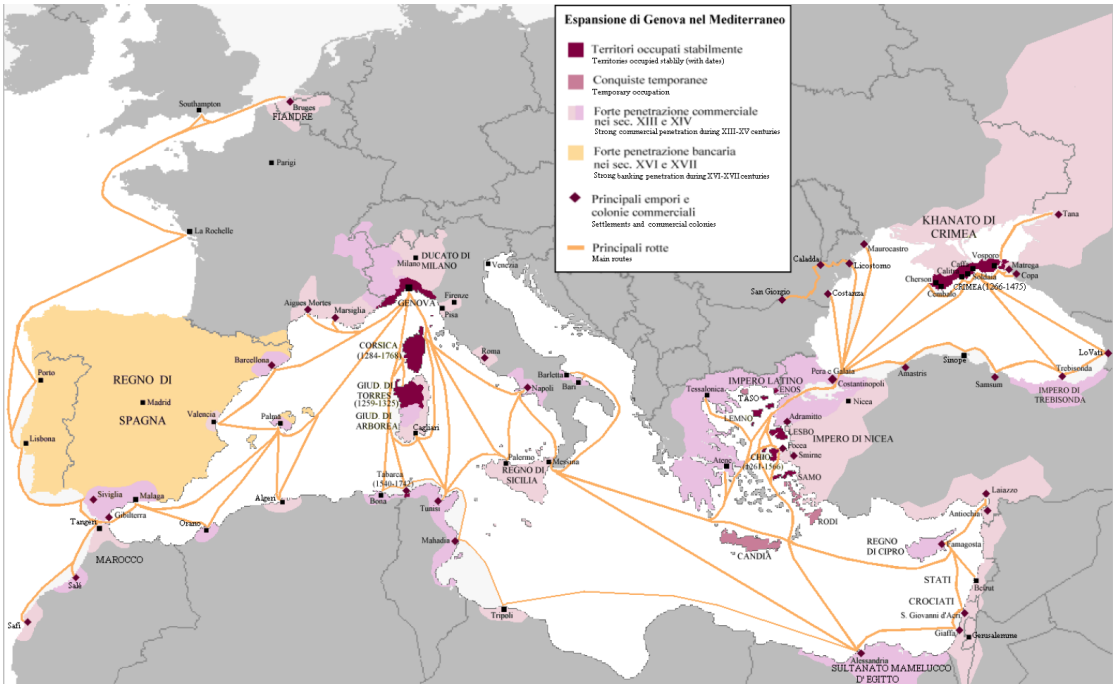
1. What cities (in what states) were most important? Why?
2. Which trading goods were most important? Where did they originate? Who controlled the trade in these goods?
3. How do the maps reflect changes in territory or influence of these states over time?
4. Which states extended their rule beyond the Mediterranean, where and how?

Venice (Republic of Venice, 15th-16th CE)



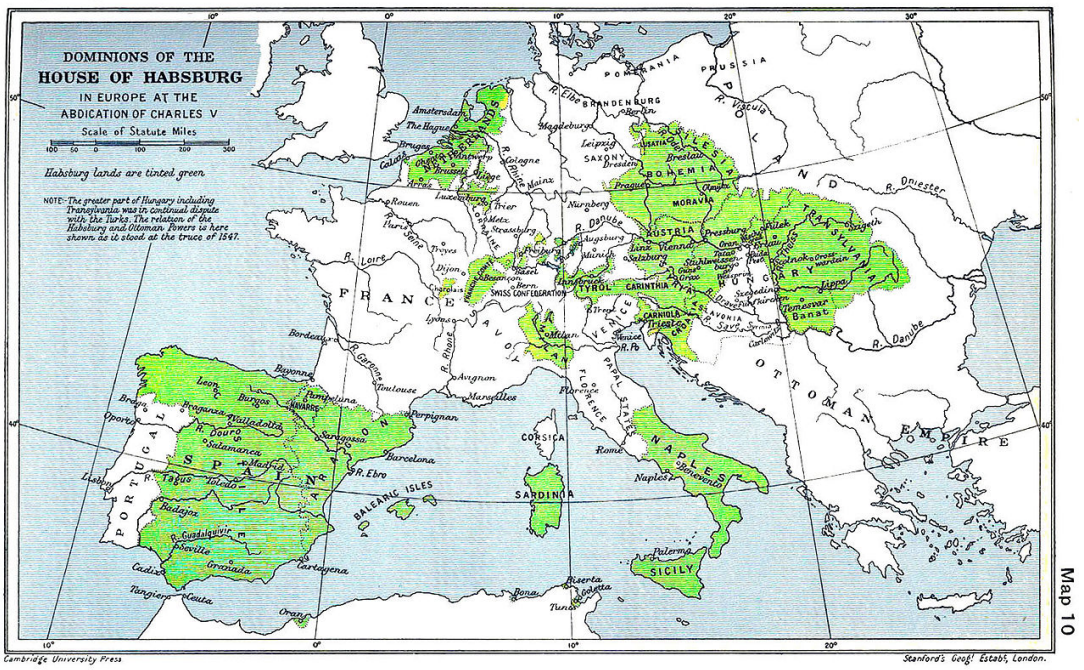
"http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Repubblica_di_Venezia.png G. Benvenuti, *Le Repubbliche Marinare. Amalfi, Pisa, Genova, Venezia*, Roma, Newton & Compton editori, 1989

Genoa



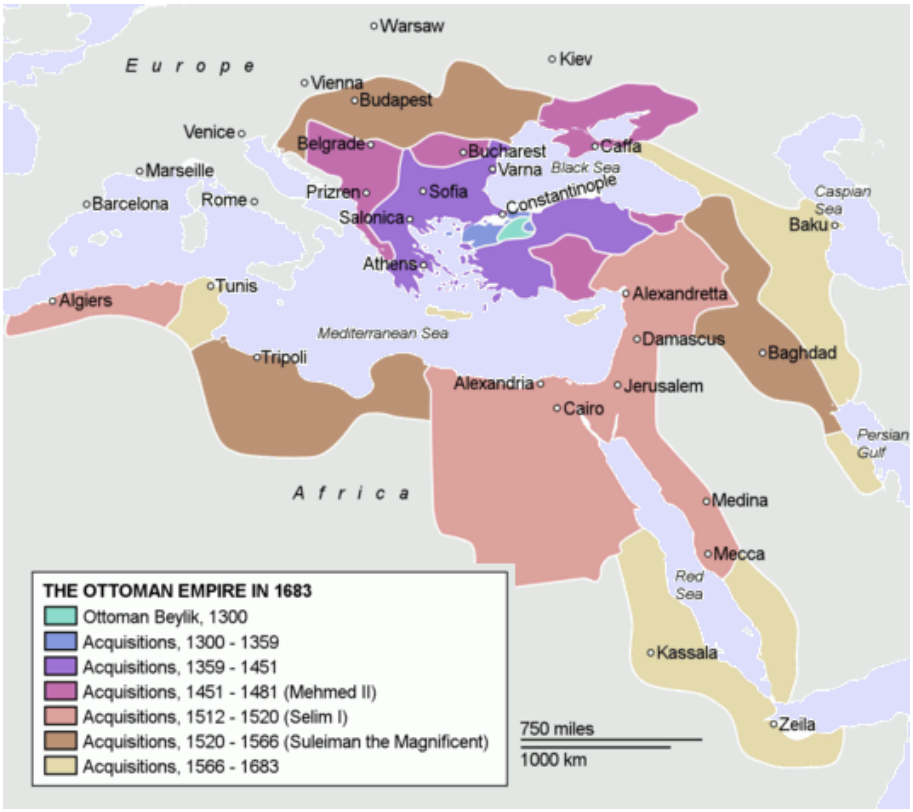
Expansion of Genoa in the Mediterranean. Created by Kayac1971 based on Codex Parisinus latinus (1395) in Ph. Lauer, Catalogue des manuscrits latins, pp.95-6. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Repubblica_di_Genova.png

Hapsburg Empire

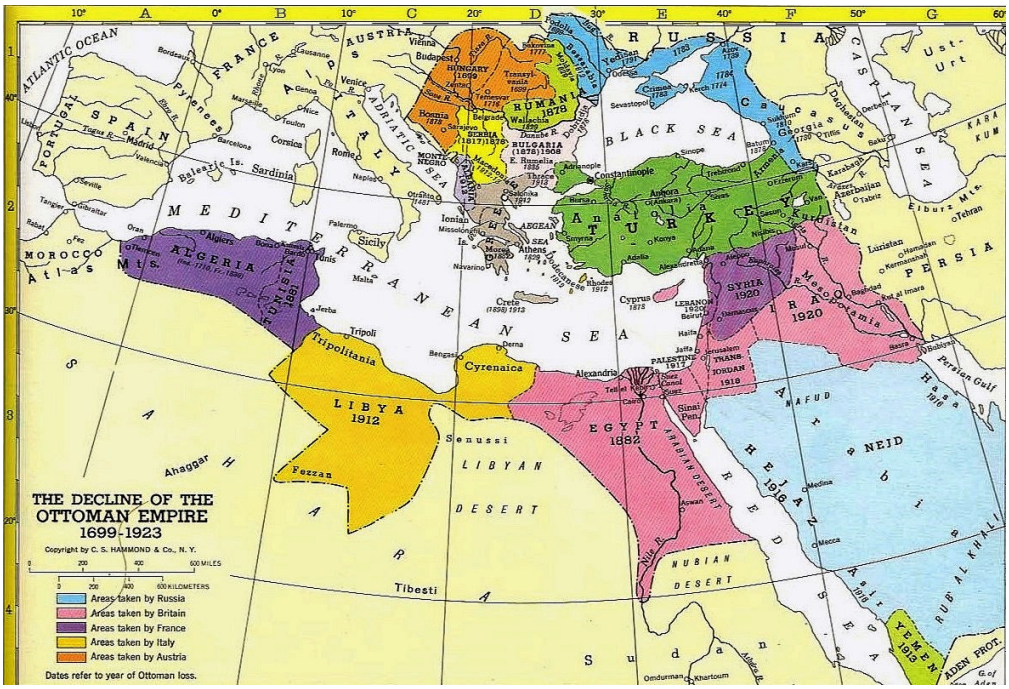


http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/7a/Habsburg_Map_1547.jpg/1280px-Habsburg_Map_1547.jpg English: A map of the dominion of the Habsburgs following the Battle of Mühlberg (1547); Sir Adolphus William Ward, G.W. Prothero, Sir Stanley Mordaunt Leathes, eds. The Cambridge Modern History Atlas. Cambridge University Press: London, 1912. .

Ottoman Empire



http://www.mideastweb.org/Middle-East-Encyclopedia/ottoman.htm

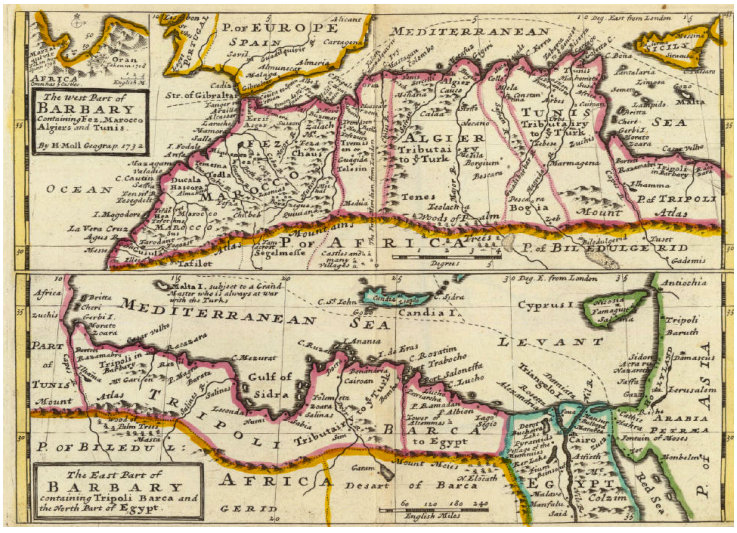


http://home.wlu.edu/~patchw/His_223/images/1878_Ottoman.jpg

Animation: Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KuwanQyGKHw

Barbary Coast



http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3748~430084:The-west-part-of-Barbary-containing

Malta

http://romeartlover.tripod.com/Malta.html

Map of Southern Italy by Emanuel Bowen 1750 ca; (inset) Bowen noted about Malta: "Subject to a Grand Master and the Knights Hospitallers, who are always at War with the Turks."

II.

What Were the Stakes?

Divide into pairs to research the geographical origins and uses of the following trade goods from 1450-1800 (links below go to a variety of external sources). Answer the following questions:

1. Which trade goods were most important?
2. From where did they originate?
3. Who controlled the trade in these goods? How?

- Beaver
- Brazilwood or Dyewood
- Cinnamon
- Cloves
- Cochineal
- Cod
- Coffee
- Ginseng
- Gold
- Hemp
- Indigo
- Ivory
- Mink
- Nutmeg
- Pearls
- Pepper
- Porcelain
- Potato
- Silver
- Sugar
- Tea
- Tobacco
- Tulips
- Wool

Comparison of Historical Maps

Examine the maps given (some have expanded sections or multiple parts).

1. Examine the maps carefully. What areas, cities, and geographic features can you identify? How are features like cities, rivers, mountains, etc. marked on each map? What unique features does each map possess? What areas does each map include and exclude? Why do you think that is?

2. Can you place the maps in chronological order of creation? What rough dates would you give to the maps? What evidence makes you put them in this order and assign these dates?

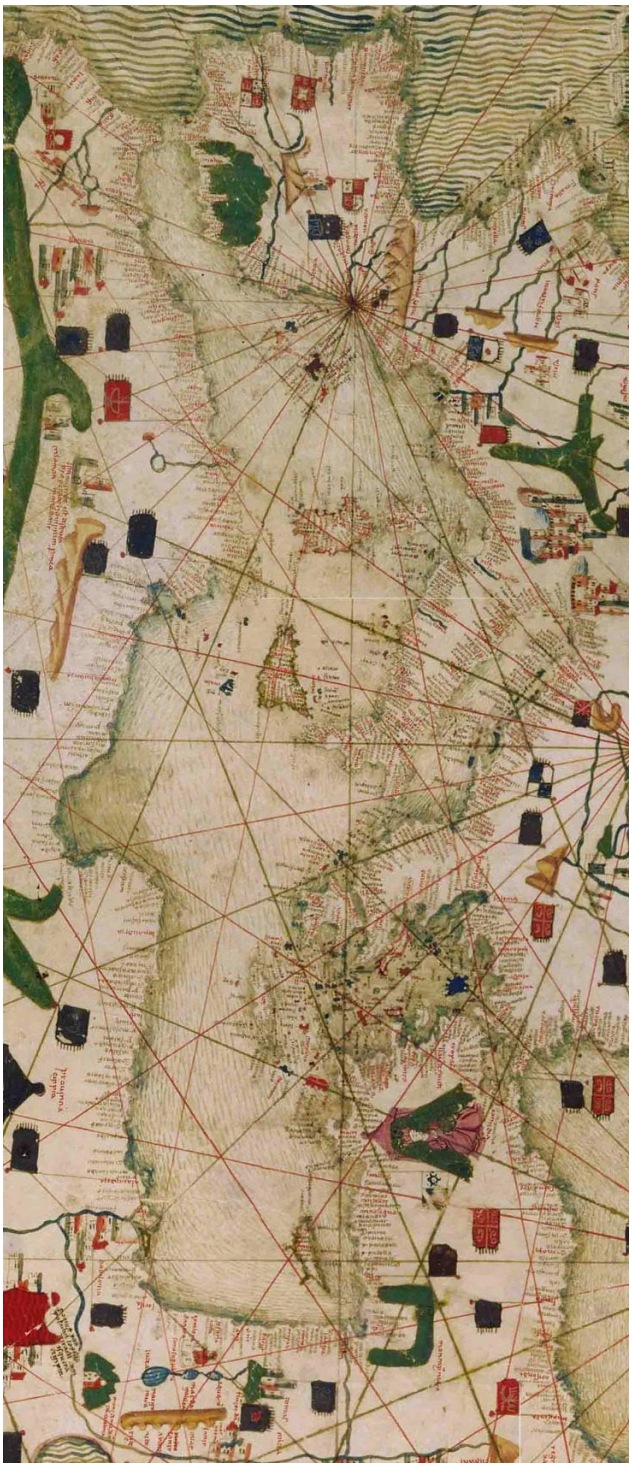
3. Who do you think made each of the maps? From what country or empire do you think they come? What evidence can you use?

4. What technology or discoveries are the maps based upon? Can you follow the expansion of knowledge in each map?

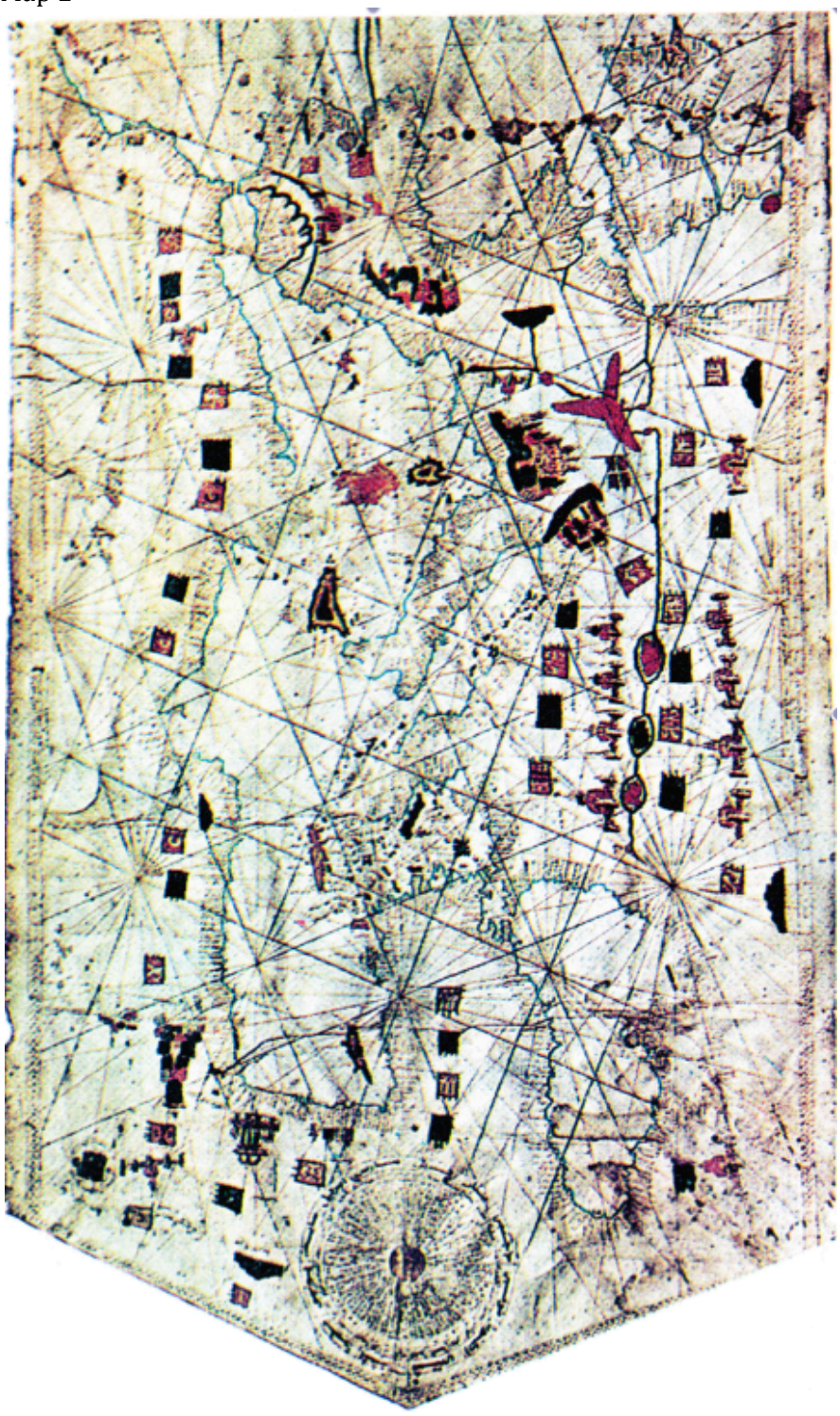
5. What do you think was the purpose of each map or set of maps? Why? What features on each map suggest its purpose? Why do you think the mapmaker thought these features were most important for his purposes?

Map 1a

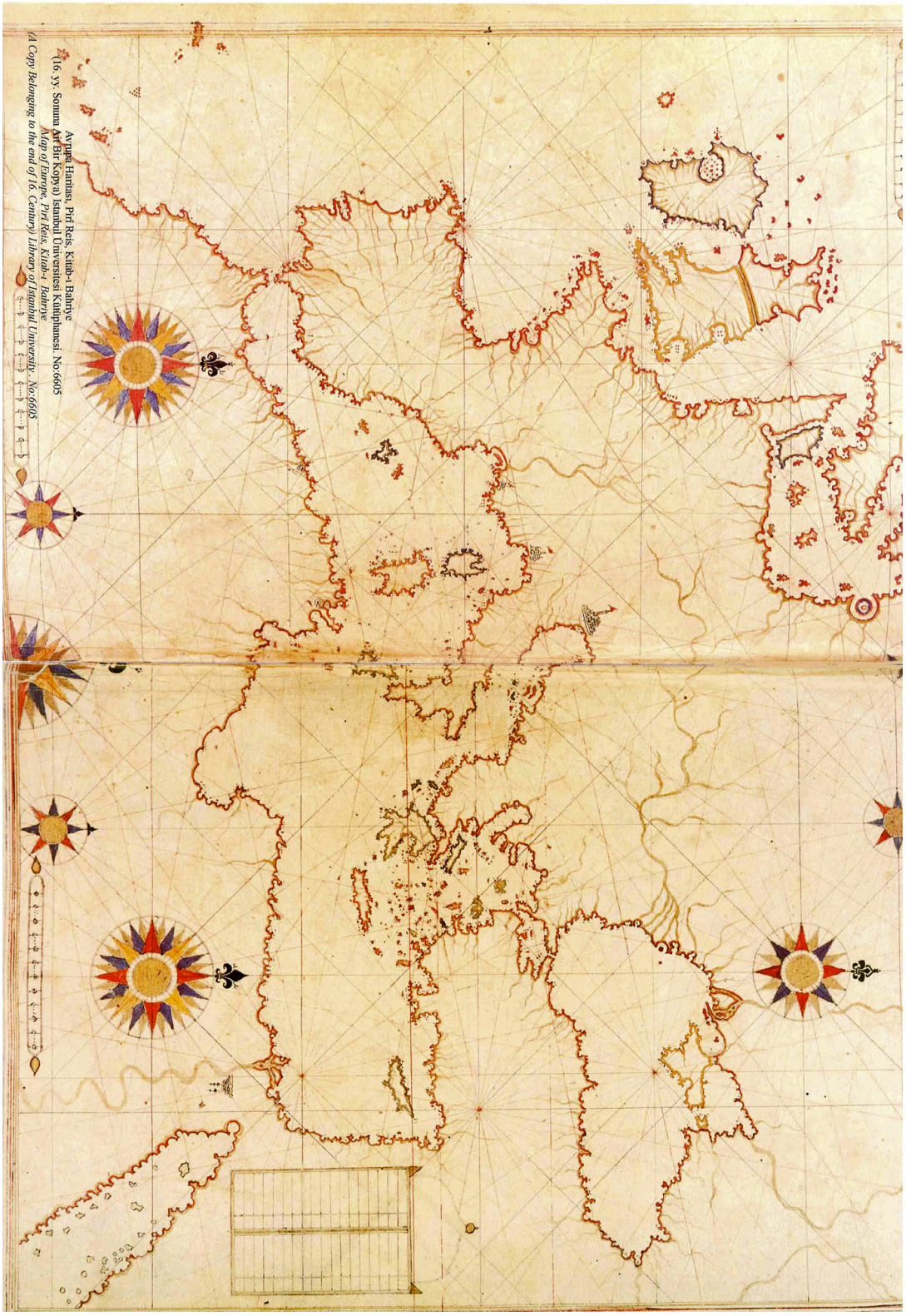
Map 1b



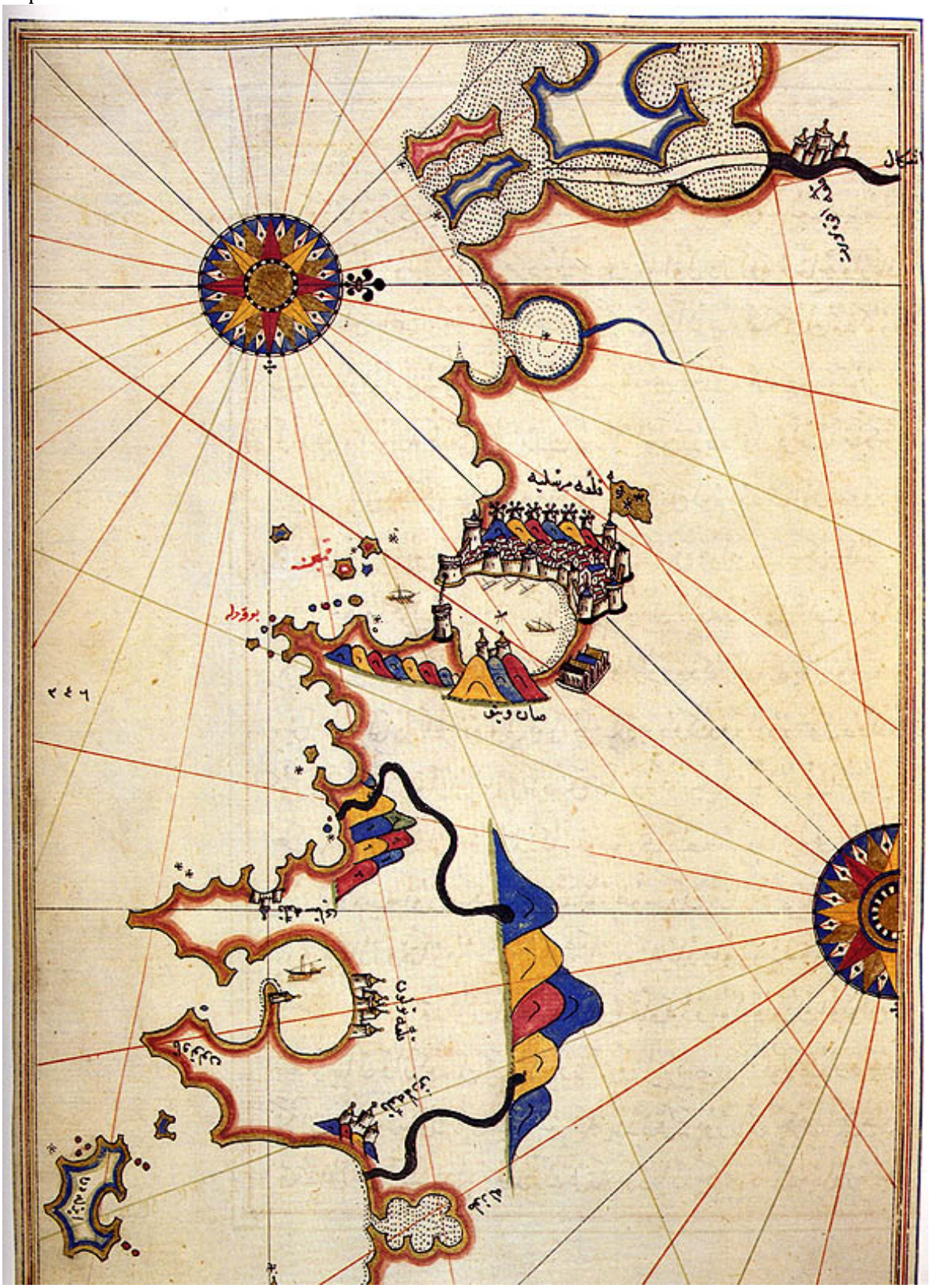
Map 2



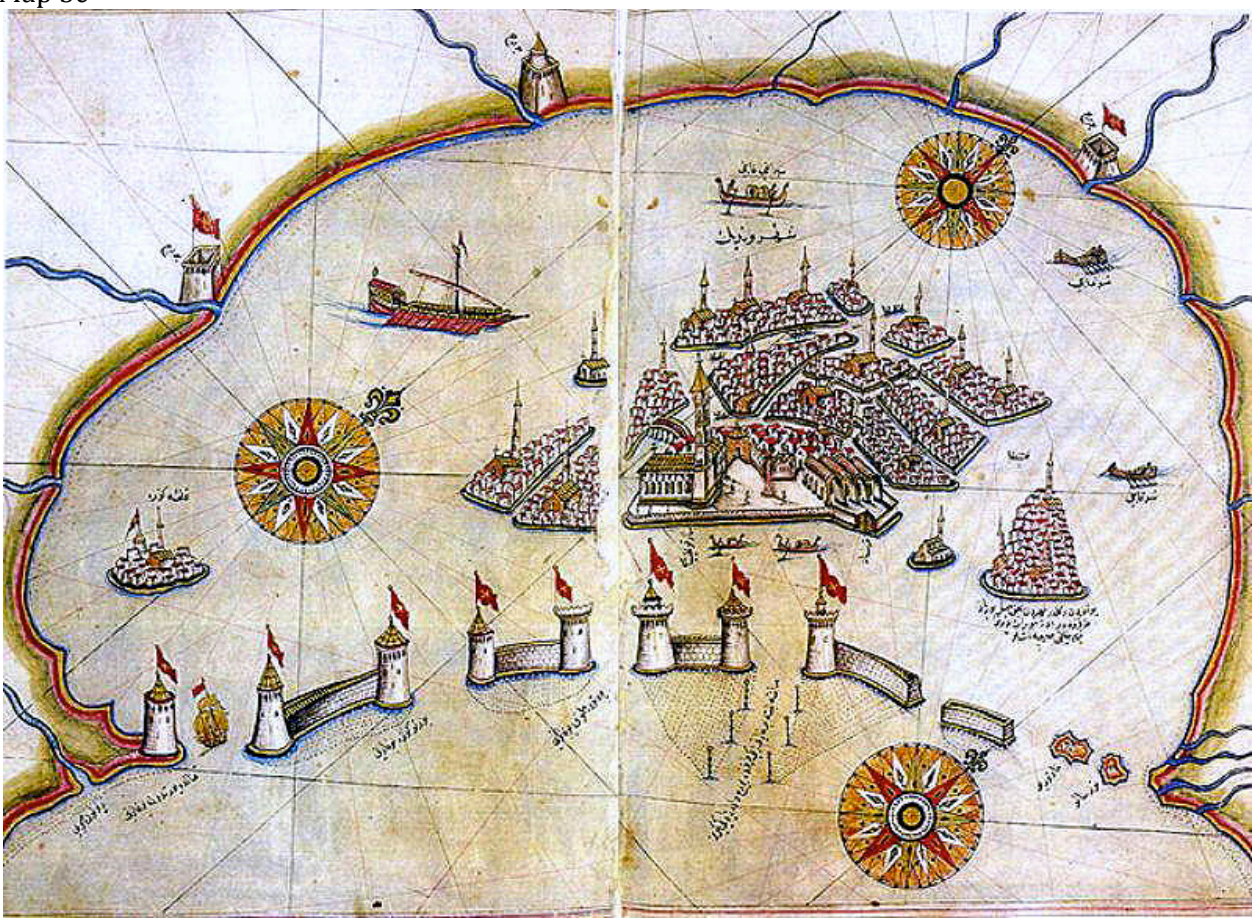
Map 3a


Ayrupa Haritasi. Piri Reis. Kitab-i Bahriye
(16. yy. Sonuna Ait Bir Kopya) Istanbul Universitesi Kutuphanesi. No:6605
Map of Europe, Piri Reis, Kitab-i Bahriye
(A Copy Belonging to the end of 16. Century) Library of Istanbul University. No:6605

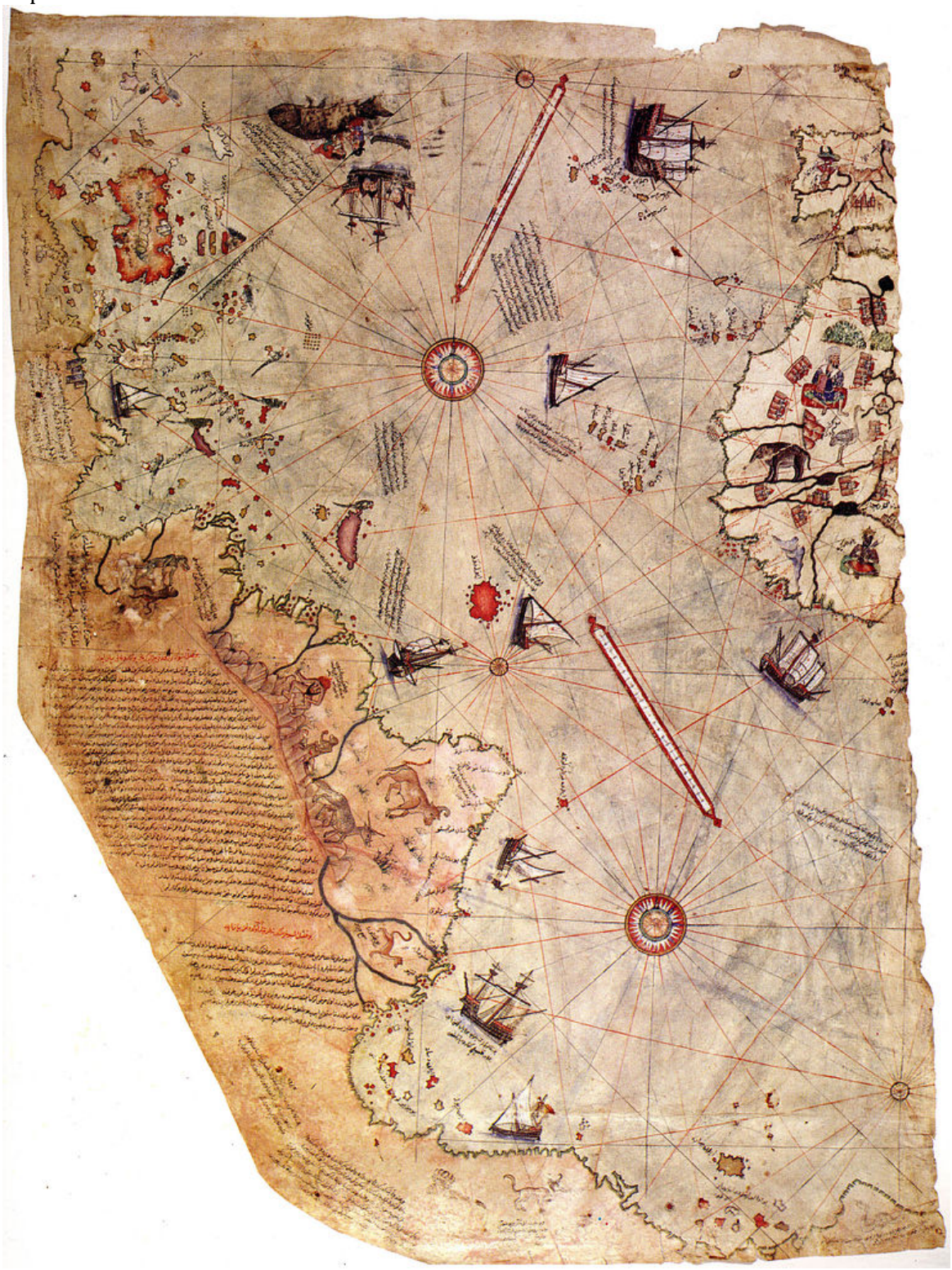
Map 3b



Map 3c



Map 4



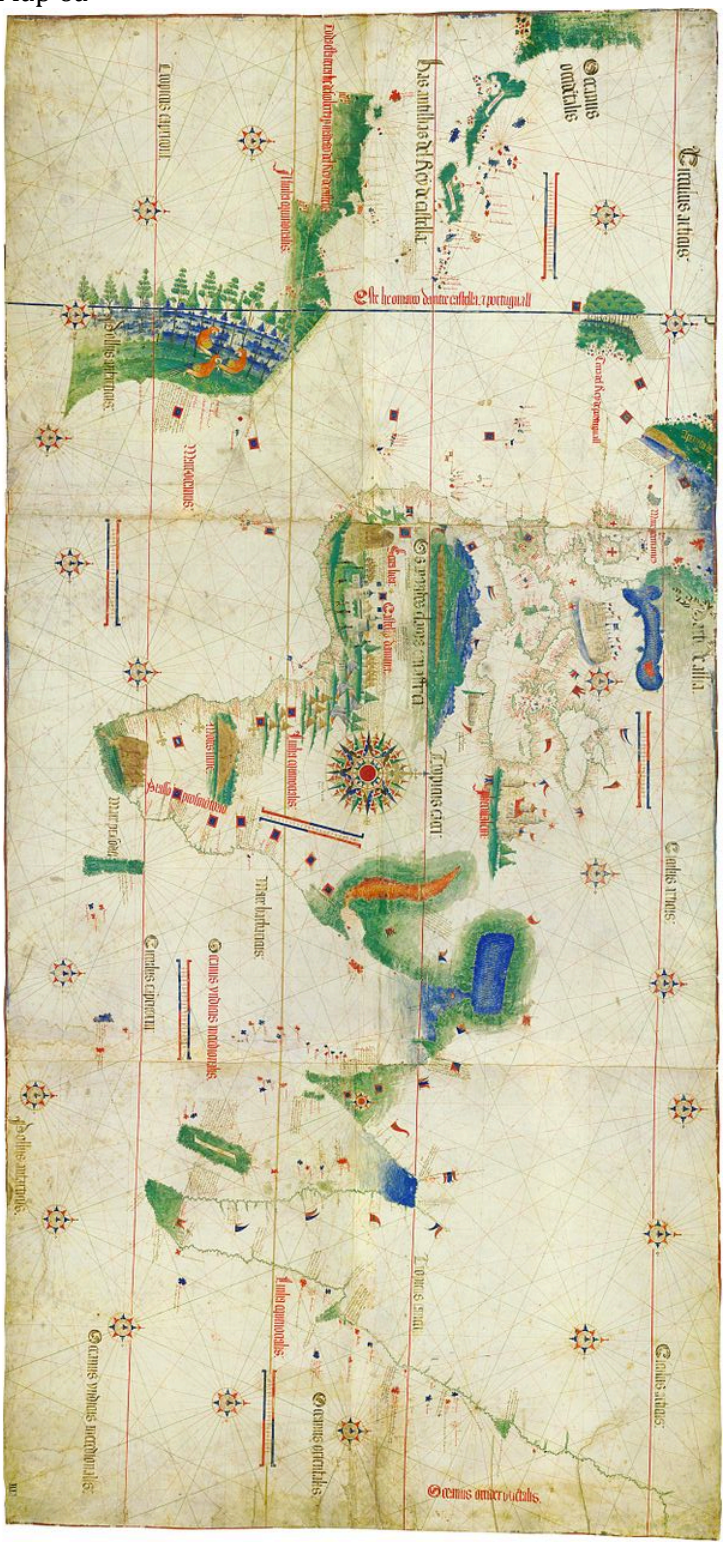
Map 5

zweyen General Tafeln/vnd in der newen Tafel die allein Europam begreifft. Doch wann man ansehen will vnd darzu rechnen die grossen Landschafften die gegen Mitnacht gehn/solt wol die breite Europe vbertreffen die länge. Wie aber Ptolemæus Europam beschrieben hat/ist sein länge gröſſer dann die breite. Das ist ein mal gewiß/daß Europa ist ein trefflich fruchtbar vnd wol erba-

Europa wie fruchtbar es seye.

wen

Map 6a

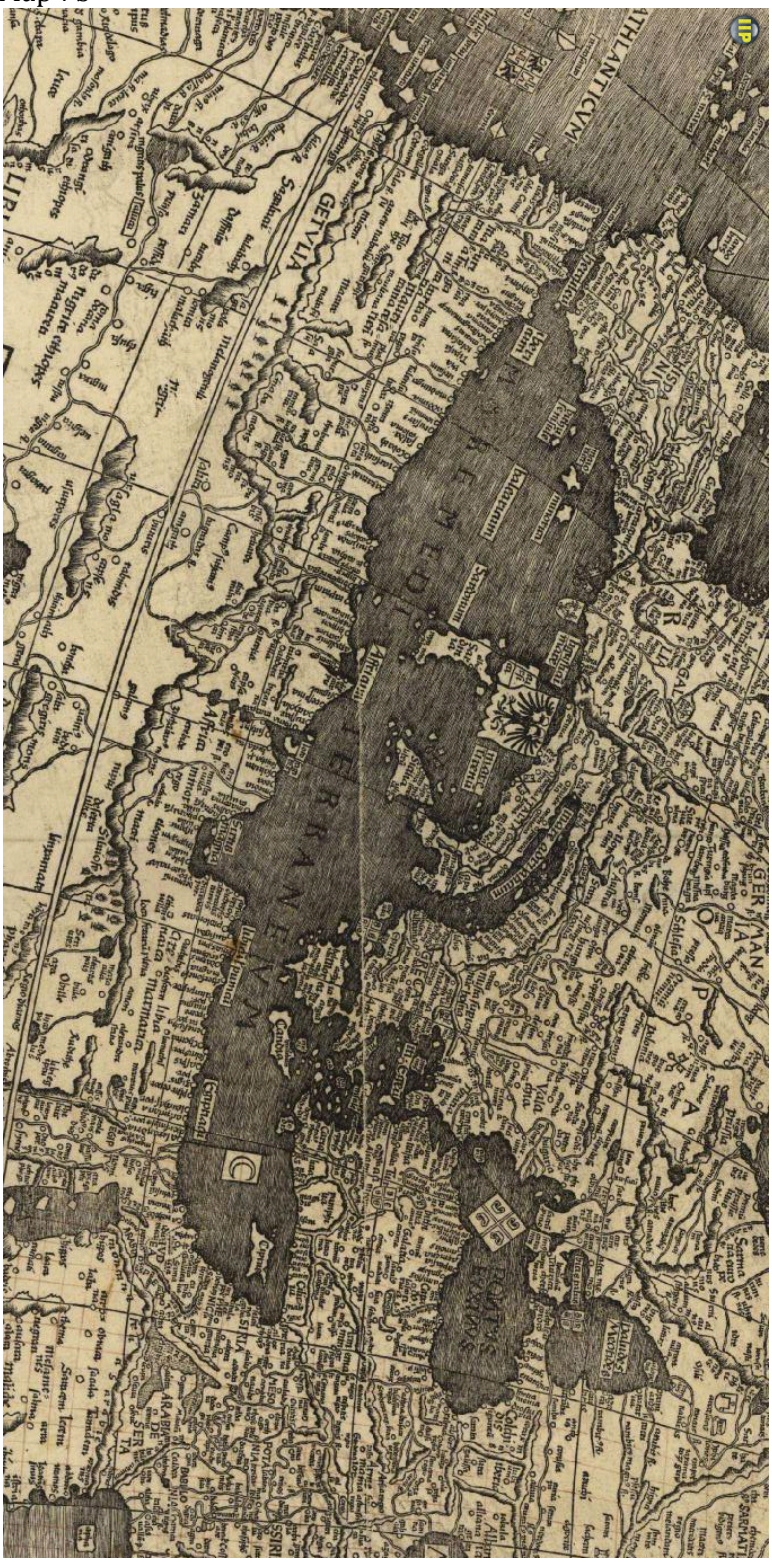


Map 6b

Map 7a


UNIVERSALIS
COSMOGRAPHIA
DITIONEM
AMERICI
VESPUCII
LUSTRATIONES.

Map 7b



Map 8


OCEANVS
OCCIDENTALIS
MARE GERMANICVM
OCEANVS
SEPTENTRIONALIS
OCEANVS
INDICVS
MERIDIONALIS

Comparison of Historical Maps

Examine the maps given (some have expanded sections or multiple parts). You should also examine larger versions of the maps online.

1. Examine the maps carefully. What areas, cities, and geographic features can you identify? How are features like cities, rivers, mountains, etc. marked on each map? What unique features does each map possess? What areas does each map include and exclude? Why do you think that is?

2. Can you place the maps in chronological order of creation? What rough dates would you give to the maps? What evidence makes you put them in this order and assign these dates?

3. Who do you think made each of the maps? From what country or empire do you think they come? What evidence can you use?

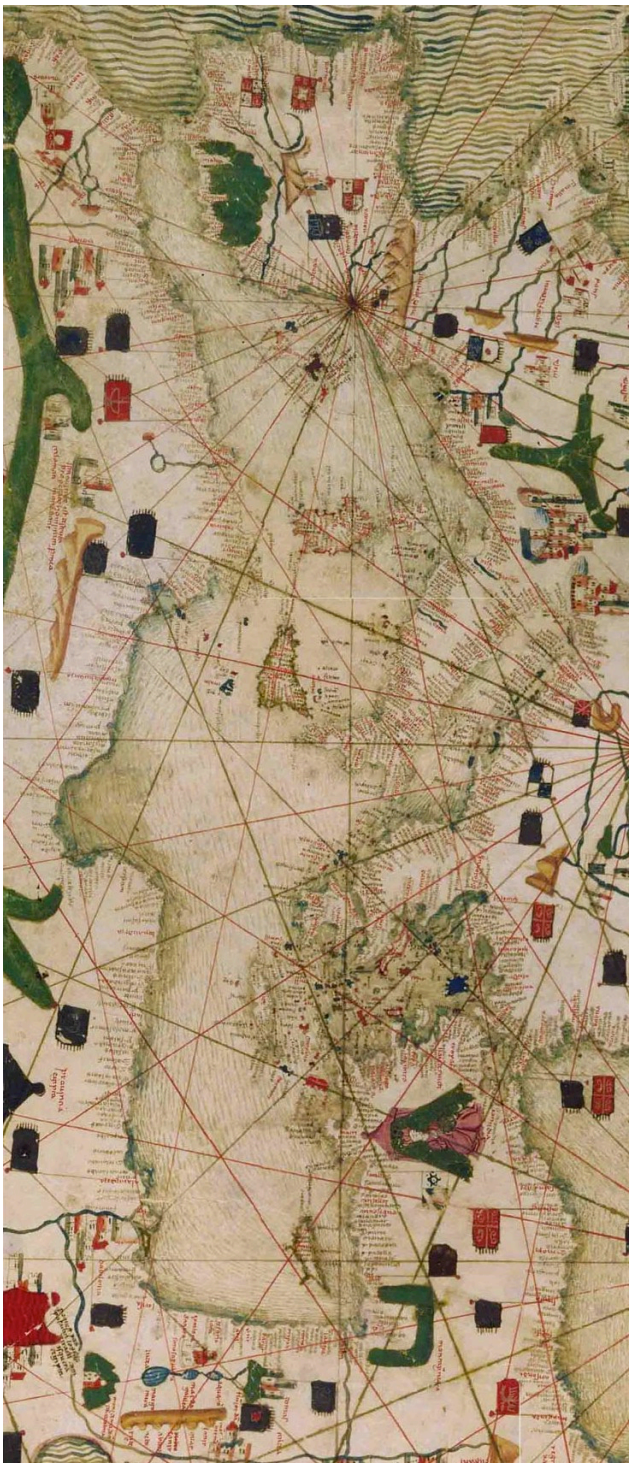
4. What technology or discoveries are the maps based upon? Can you follow the expansion of knowledge in each map?

5. What do you think was the purpose of each map or set of maps? Why? What features on each map suggest its purpose? Why do you think the mapmaker thought these features were most important for his purposes?

Map 1a

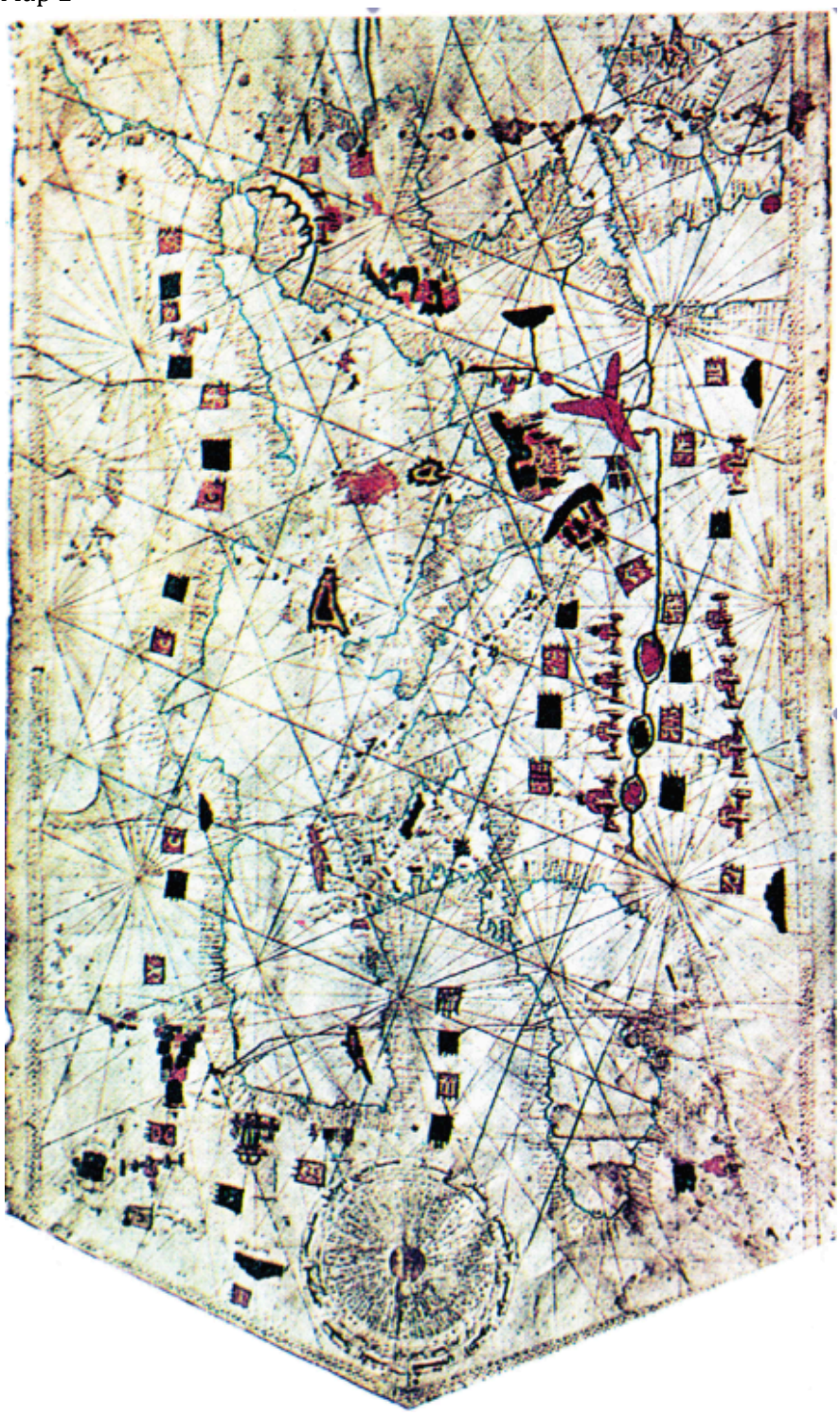
Carta Catalana, c. 1452. . http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1450_%C2%BF_Carta_Catalana_jpeg_copy.jpg

Map 1b



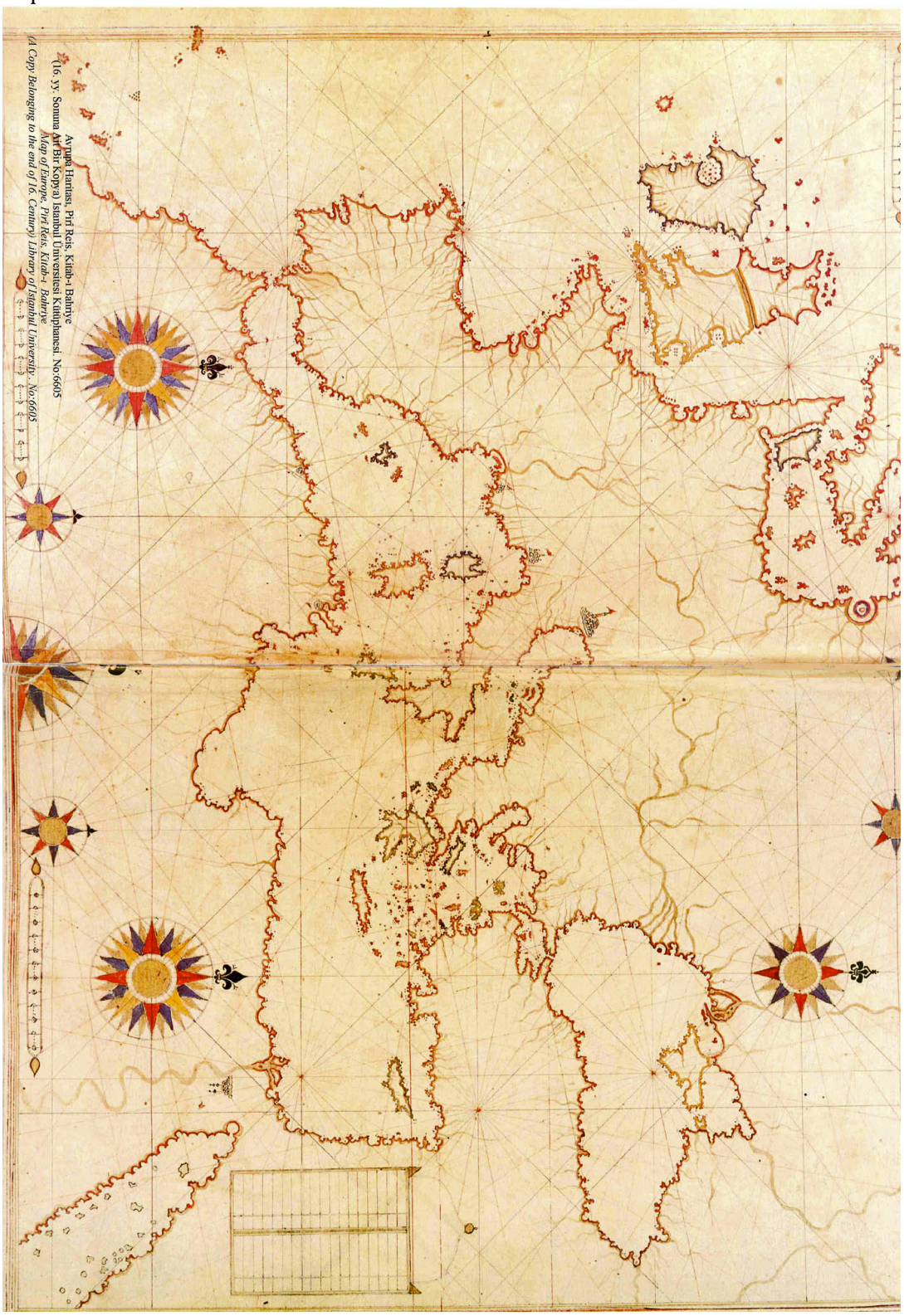
Carta Catalana detail of Mediterranean, c. 1452.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1450_%C2%BF_Carta_Catalana_jpeg_copy.A.jpg

Map 2



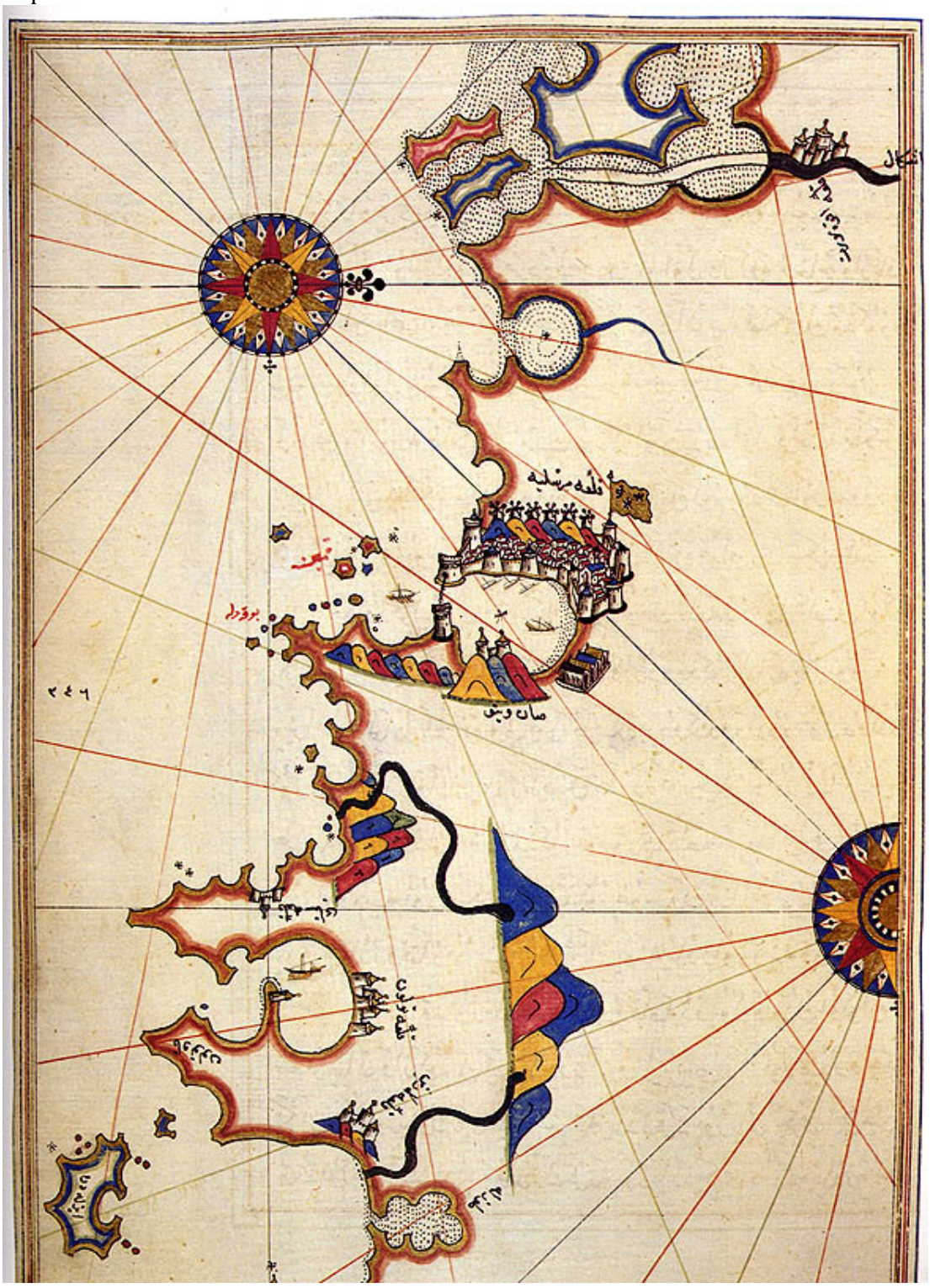
Mürsiyeli İbrahim map of the Mediterranean, 1456. http://www.hgk.msb.gov.tr/ustbanner/turk/ibrahimmursel.htm

Map 3a



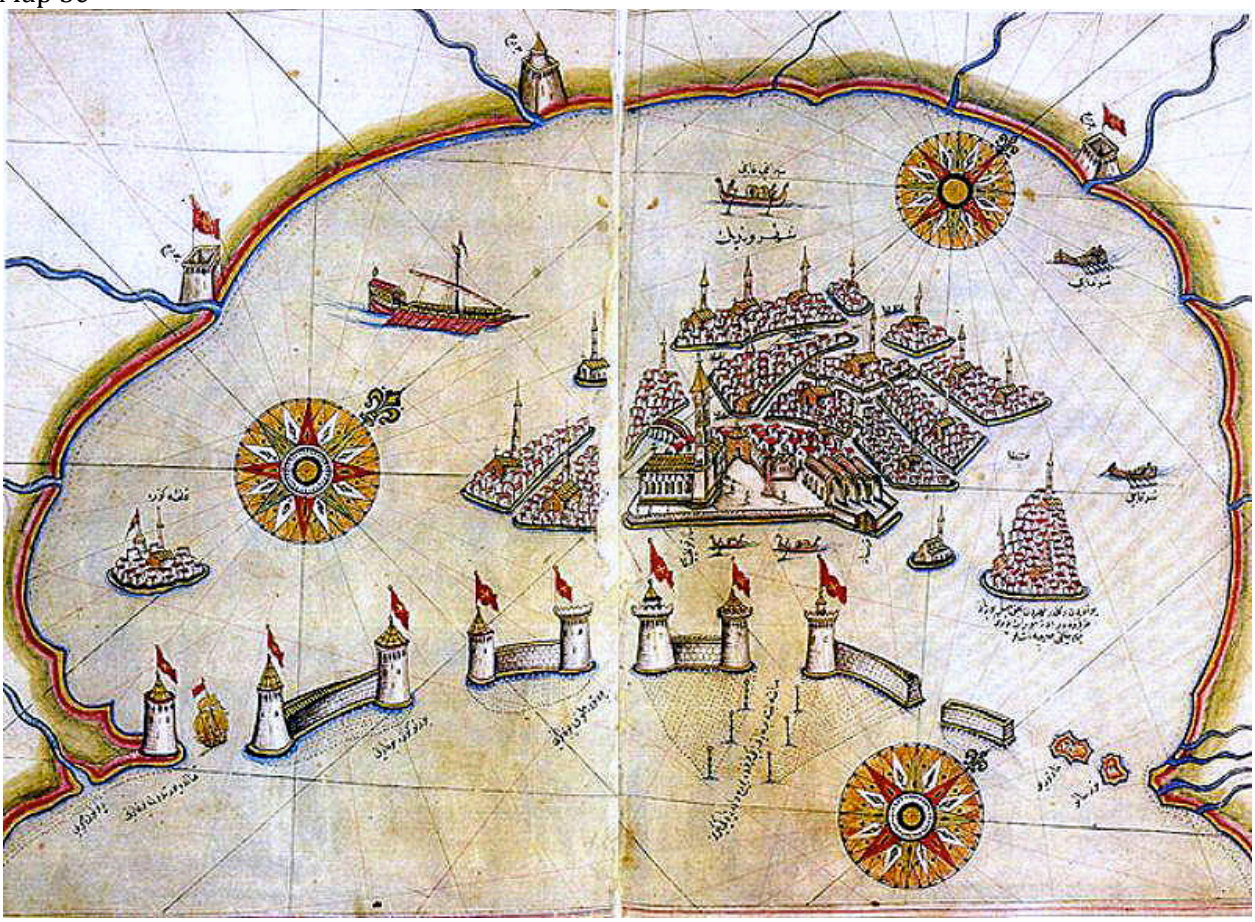
Piri Reis, Kitab al-Bahriye (Book of the Sea), 1521. Map of Europe and the Mediterranean Sea.
http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_Reis_map_of_Europe_and_the_Mediterranean_Sea.jpg

Map 3b



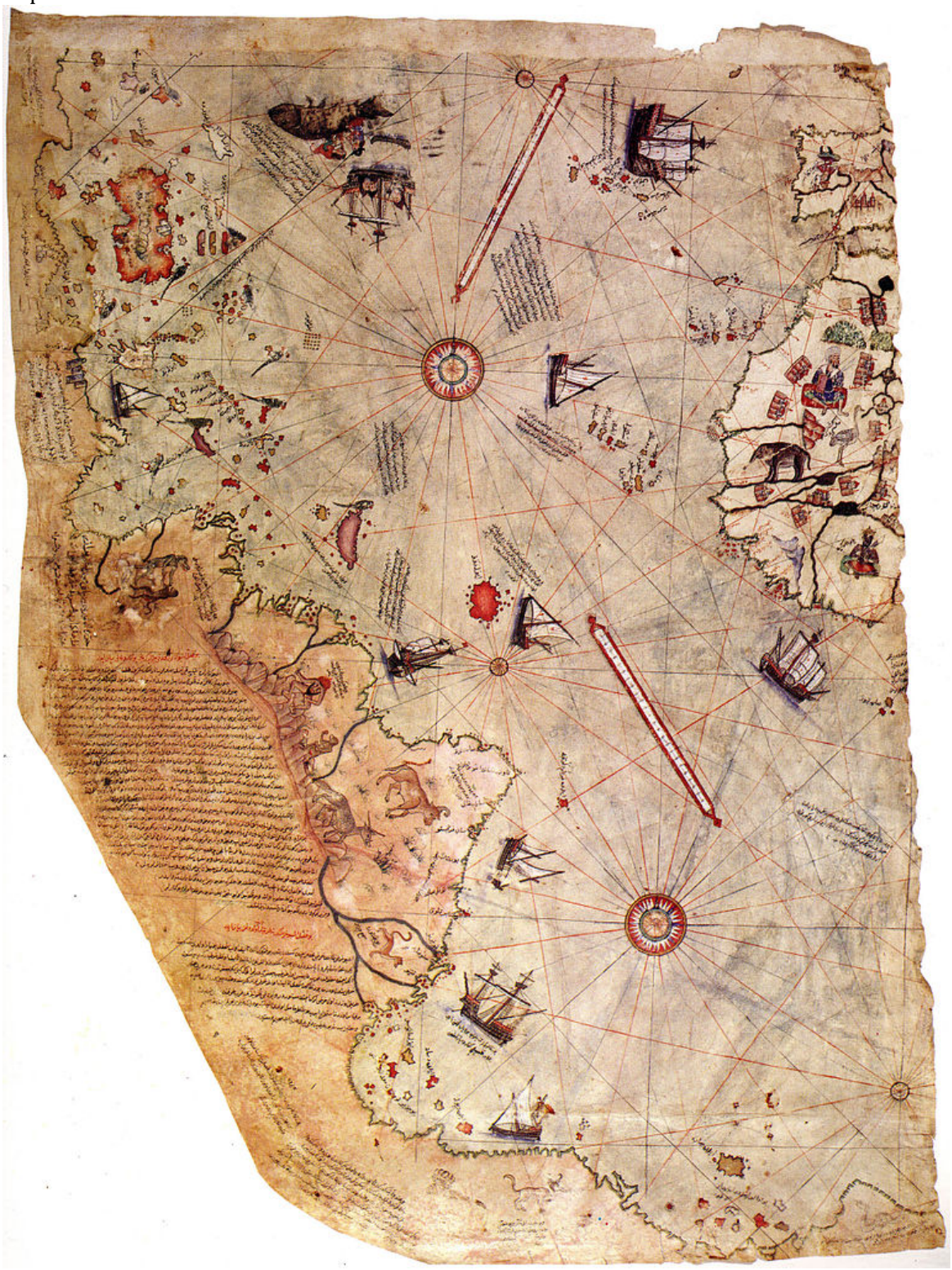
Piri Reis, Kitab al-Bahriye (Book of the Sea), 1521. Map of Marseilles and Toulon.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Marseilles_and_Toulon_by_Piri_Reis.jpg

Map 3c



Piri Reis, Kitab al-Bahriye (Book of the Sea), 1521. Map of Venice.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venice_by_Piri_Reis.jpg

Map 4

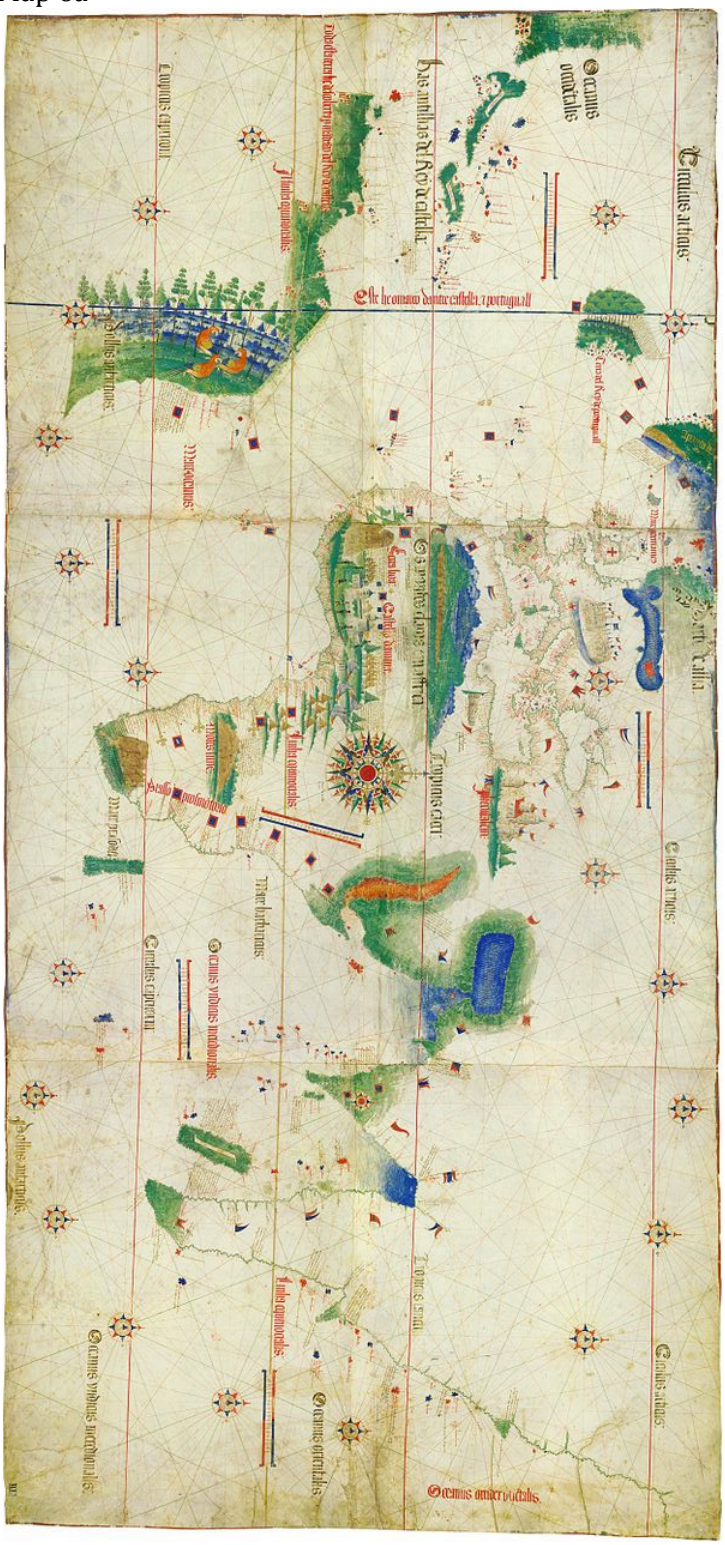


Piri Reis World Map fragment, 1513. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_reis_world_map_01.jpg

Map 5

Sebastian Munster, Europe as a Queen. 1570.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_As_A_Queen_Sebastian_Munster_1570.jpg

Map 6a



Cantino Planisphere, 1502. The Cantino planisphere was made by an unknown Portuguese cartographer in 1502. It shows the expanding world as Europeans saw it after the voyages of exploration of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It is kept in the Biblioteca Universitaria Estense, Modena, Italy.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cantino_planisphere_%281502%29.jpg

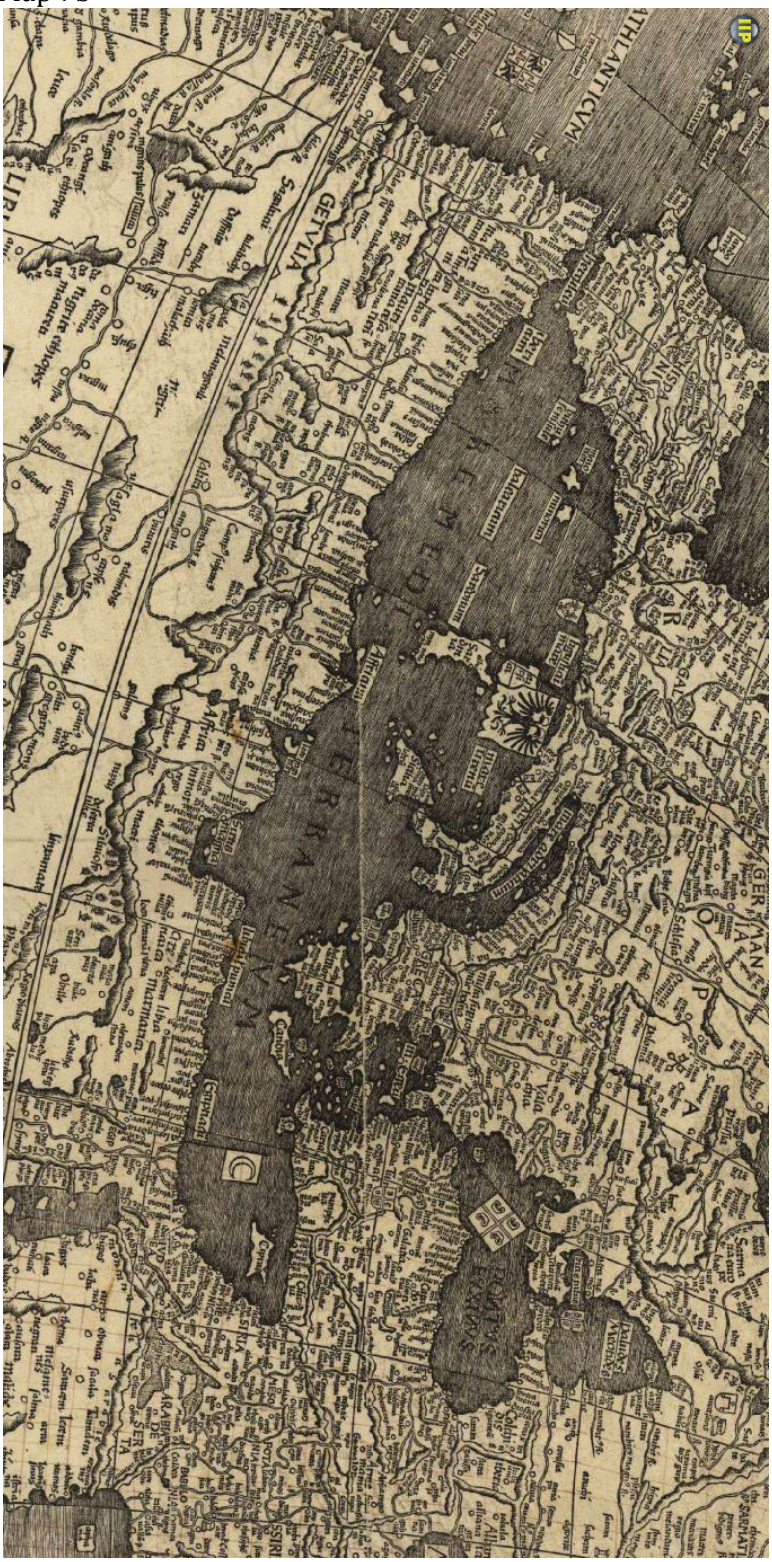
Map 6b

Detail of Cantino Planisphere, 1502.

Map 7a

The Waldseemüller map (1507) is the first map to include the name "America" and the first to depict the Americas as separate from Asia. There is only one surviving copy of the map, which was purchased by the Library of Congress in 2001 for $10 million. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Waldseemuller_map.jpg

Map 7b



Detail of Waldseemuller map.

Map 8

World map of Henricus Martellus Germanus (Heinrich Hammer) c. 1490.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Martellus_world_map.jpg

Module 4 Student Handouts by Lesson # Part B 4.1.1 - 4.3.2

Mapping Mediterranean Movers and Shakers

Your group will be assigned a brief biography of a figure from the Mediterranean world. Your job will be to create a Google Earth tour of that person's travels.

1. As you read the biography, note down each specific place you can identify where that person lived or to which they traveled.

2. Use Google Earth to determine the latitude and longitude of each place.

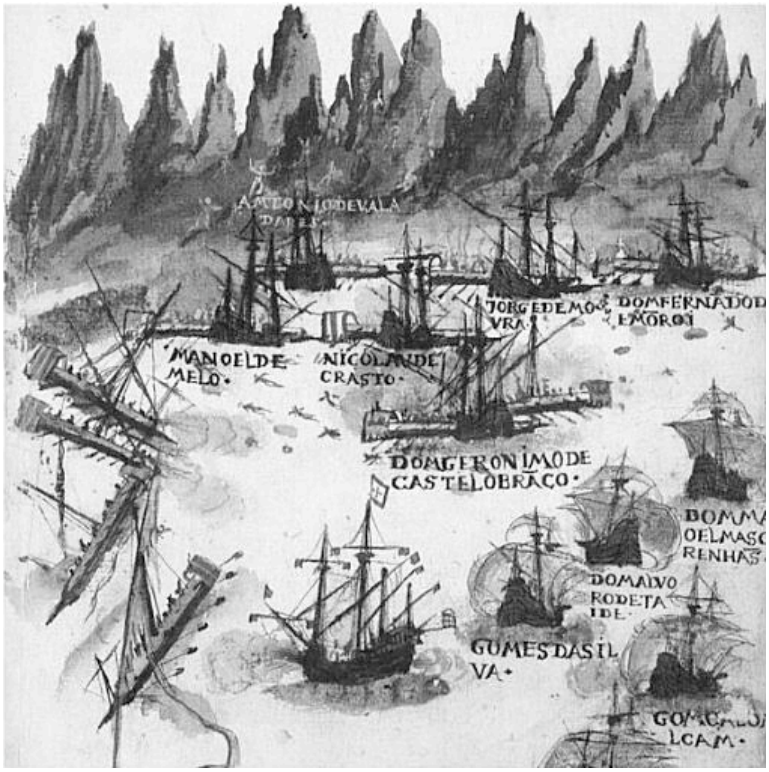
3. Create your tour by creating a waymark marker for each event in your figure's life. You may want to view the video tutorials explaining how to create waymarks and tours in Google Earth. To create your tour, you'll need to give each waymark an expressive title, enter the proper latitude and longitude, and write a sentence or two describing what happened in that person's life in that place. If you'd like to add an image or a video to your waymark, that's great!

4. Arrange the waymarks in chronological order, so that when you play your tour, they appear in the correct order.

5. When you've created your tour, save it as a .kmz file and send it to your teacher. When all the tours your class creates are showcased together, what patterns of movement do you see across the Mediterranean? What places have the most "traffic?" Why do you think that is?

Admiral Seydi Ali Reis

Seydi Ali Reis (1498-1563) was a Turkish native of the Galata district of Constantinople from a naval family. From a young age, he studied geography, mathematics, navigation and astronomy, and began working in the naval arsenal. He participated in the Siege of Rhodes in 1522, and commanded the left wing of the Ottoman fleet under the famous Barbarossa Hayreddin Pasha at the Battle of Preveza in 1538, helping to defeat the Holy League of Charles V under the command of Andrea Doria. He also participated in the conquest of Tripoli, Libya, from the Knights of Malta and Hapsburg Spain in 1551.



Portuguese ambush against the galleys of Seydi Ali Reis as depicted in the Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu, 16th c.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Seydi_Ali-Ambush.png

In 1552, Seydi Ali was appointed to replace Piri Reis as Admiral of the Ottoman Imperial Navy. He was sent to Basra to return 15 galleys from Basra to Egypt. In the event, he was entirely unsuccessful in this mission, losing all the ships in battles with the Portuguese and a subsequent shipwreck. He relates his many adventures in his memoir, *The Mirror of Countries*, which he presented to the sultan on his eventual return to the Ottoman capital.

Seydi Ali Reis left Basra with the galleys, stopping at Bahrain and the island of Kish, but met a Portuguese fleet in battle near the strait of Hormuz. Sinking one of their ships, he proceeded toward Yemen, but was met by a larger Portuguese fleet near Muskat. He lost most of his ships in this battle, and others from bad weather, finally landing with his three remaining damaged ships at Surat on the west coast of India. He sold the ships there, and embarked on a very long and roundabout overland journey back to Istanbul.

From Surat, Seydi Ali traveled to Ahmedabad and thence to Karachi. He made his way to Lahore and stayed in Delhi and Lahore for a long period of time at the insistence of the ruler Humayun, who prevented him from leaving. Humayun even tried to bribe him with a large purse and a local governorship. While Seydi Ali insisted he had to go, weather prevented his departure, and Seydi Ali wrote, “I had no alternative, but to submit to my fate.”

Eventually the ruler permitted him to leave, and he traveled to Kabul via Peshawar. He continued north to Badakhshan and came to Samarkand, which he described as a paradise. He had to pass through a war zone to get through Bukhara, and entered Khorasan in Iran,

visiting Mashad (where he was briefly arrested as a possible spy), Nishapur, Rayy, and Qazvin, where he met with the Iranian Shah. He continued on to Baghdad, and from there to Mosul and Diyarbakir. He reached Sivas, which he calls the first city in Turkey, and passed through Kirshehir and Bolu before finally reaching Constantinople again in 1556, four years after his departure. It turned out that the sultan was in Edirne, so he traveled there and was well received by the Sultan, despite his loss of the ships in the Indian Ocean, and was appointed to serve in the ruler's inner circle of officers.

Vambéry, A., The travels and adventures of the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali Reïs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556. Translated from the Turkish, with notes. London, 1899.

Sources

A. Vambéry, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reïs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556*. Translated from the Turkish with notes. London, 1899.
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/sidialireis/index.html#index

Hassan al-Wazzan, or Leo Africanus

Sebastiano del Piombo (Italian, 1485-1547). Portrait of a Humanist, c. 1520. Believed by biographer Dietrich Rauchenberger to represent Leo Africanus. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leo_africanus.jpg

Johannes Leo Africanus de Medicis, or al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi, was an Amazigh (Berber) writer and diplomat. Born in Granada in 1492 or 1494, he left with his family as a young child under pressure of the new Catholic rulers of Spain and settled in Fes, Morocco. He received an excellent Islamic education, and received the title of *faqih* (a rough equivalent of a doctorate) in 1506/7.

As a young man, he then traveled with his uncle on a diplomatic mission to Timbuktu, as well as to Borno (in today's Nigeria). He later traveled to Constantinople on a mission for the ruler of Fes, Muhammad II, and returned via Egypt, where he witnessed the Ottoman conquest of the region at Rosetta in 1517. He continued his travels through Egypt in Cairo and Aswan, and then crossed the Red Sea to perform the pilgrimage at Mecca. He later claimed to have traveled much farther in his youth—to Persia, Babylonia, Armenia, and the Central Asian "lands of the Tatars," but never wrote about these voyages. Perhaps he exaggerated the breadth of his travels in order to appear even more of an expert.

On his trip home in 1518, he was captured near Crete and taken to Rome by a corsair ship of the Knights of Saint John (known as the Knights of Rhodes, and later the Knights of Malta) under the command of a Spaniard who was the brother of the Bishop of Salamanca. His arrival in Rome was widely noted, and his educated background and high status were deemed exceptional enough that, like other extraordinary or politically valuable slaves, he was presented to Pope Leo X. In 1520 he was baptized and freed in St. Peter's Basilica. He was a valuable tool for the Pope, because of his deep knowledge of the Muslim political players around the Mediterranean and his geographical expertise.

Leo then traveled through Italy using the names Giovanni Leone and Yuhanna al-Asad, visiting both Naples and Florence, and while studying in Bologne wrote both a medical dictionary in Arabic, Hebrew and Latin and a grammar of Arabic. He returned to Rome, where he finished his famous *Description of Africa* in 1526. It served as one of Europe's most important sources on Africa for centuries. He eventually returned to Tunis in North Africa and to Islam, the faith of his birth.

Sources

Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds.* Hill and Wang, 2006.

Jeremy Jeffs, dir. "Leo Africanus: A Man Between Worlds." BBC Documentary, 2011.

Amin Maalouf, *Leo Africanus*. New Amsterdam Book, 1998. (fiction)

Gerhard Müller-Kosack, 2002. *Book description of Dietrich Rauchenberger's (1999) Johannes Leo der Afrikaner.* London: Mandaras Publishing. Accessed at http://www.mandaras.info/RauchenbergerLeoAfricanusCosmographia.rtf.

Estevanico

Estevanico, also known as Mustapha al-Zemmouri, Esteban, and Stephen the Moor, was born in the Atlantic coastal town of Azemmour in Morocco, sometime around the year 1500. Possibly during the drought years of 1520 or 1521, he was sold to Portuguese slavers and was purchased in Castile by Andres de Dorantes, a Spanish aristocrat. In 1528, Dorantes joined an expedition to Florida led by Pamfilo de Narvaez. The three hundred members stopped first at Hispaniola, and finally landed near Tampa Bay.

The expedition, already struck by storms and sickness, failed in its exploration of Florida. The remaining men built rafts to attempt to cross the Gulf of Mexico to reach Spanish-controlled territory. Most of the rafts were lost, but Dorantes, Estevanico, and Alonso Castillo Maldonado survived to reach the mainland at Galveston. There they were enslaved for five years before escaping with a fourth survivor of the expedition, Cabeza de Vaca.

The group traveled through much of what is now Texas and northern Mexico with the help of local tribes, whose languages Estevanico proved adept at learning. He became a scout and interpreter for his companions, along with apparently taking on the role of healer for many of the native groups they encountered—some accounts assert he carried a trademark gourd decorated with feathers. From Galveston they traveled up the Rio Grande and then crossed into Mexico near El Paso; in 1536, they reached the Spanish outpost of San Miguel de Culiacan and in July the four survivors finally arrived in Mexico City.

Estevanico soon joined another expedition under the Franciscan friar Marcos de Niza to search for the fabled golden Seven Cities of Cibola, traveling into Arizona and New Mexico. Because of his linguistic competence and experience, Estavanico was made advance scout. In 1539, he reached what was referred to as Cíbola (probably the pueblo of Hawikuh, fifteen miles south of modern-day Zuni, NM). Despite his alleged peaceful intentions, he was met with distrust, due either to arrogant demands he made of the natives and his tales of an empire of pale-skinned Spaniards being unsupported by his own darker complexion, or because the feathers he carried were a symbol of death among the Zuni people, he was killed by the villagers.

Sources:

Robert Goodwin, *Crossing the Continent 1527-1540: The Story of the First African-American Explorer of the American South*. Harper Collins, 2008.

"Estevanico." MedMem Project documentary, Forgotten Pages. 2M Production, 2009. http://www.medmem.eu/en/notice/2MT00028

Donald E. Chipman, "Estevanico," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fes08). Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

Kitty Morse, "Esteban of Azzemour and His New World Adventures." Saudi Aramco World, March/April 2002.

Miguel de Cervantes

The statue of Miguel de Cervantes at the harbor of Nafpaktos (Lepanto). Photo by Vlahos Vaggelis. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nafpaktos_evlahos.jpg

The Spanish novelist and playwright Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was born in Alcalà de Henares in 1547; little is known of his early life, but as a young man, he studied at a school in nearby Madrid. In 1569, he traveled to Rome to serve an Italian nobleman.

In 1570 he joined up as a soldier in the Spanish army, and was seriously wounded in the chest and left hand in the enormous Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Over the next year, he would fight in campaigns in Navarino and Tunis under Juan of Austria.

In 1575, Cervantes and his brother Rodrigo attempted to return to Spain from Naples, Italy, but while passing near Marseilles they were waylaid by Algerian corsairs. Cervantes spent five years as a prisoner of a Greek renegade and then the ruler in Algiers. He made several unsuccessful attempts to escape, but was finally freed in 1580 after his family paid a ransom hefty enough to cause them enduring financial problems.

Themes of freedom and captivity would appear in Cervantes' writing for the rest of his life, and he wrote at least two plays based on his experiences in Algiers. His first novel was published in 1585, and he attempted to make himself a career as a playwright; however, he was largely unsuccessful, and two years later he left to work as a tax collector in Seville to help provision the Armada (work that he hated). He worked in this position for ten years. In 1597, he was imprisoned briefly in Seville for nonpayment of debts after a colleague embezzled money for which he was help responsible.

Don Quixote, his most famous work, was first published in 1605, while Cervantes was living in Valladolid, then the seat of the Spanish government. Ten years later, he published the second part of *Don Quixote* from Madrid. In 1616, just one year later, he died just three days after finishing his last work, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*. Despite the wide popularity of Don Quixote, Cervantes lived and died a poor man. He was buried in an unmarked grave on the grounds of a Madrid convent.

Sources:

Jean Canavaggio, "Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616): Life and Portrait." 1997. Cervantes Project. Texas A&M University.
http://cervantes.tamu.edu/biography/new_english_cerv_bio.html

Donald P. McCrory, No Ordinary Man: The Life and Times of Miguel de Cervantes. Dover, 2006.

Samuel de Pallache

Man in Oriental Costume, from the workshop of Rembrandt., c. 1635.. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Man_in_Oriental_Costume.jpg

Many of the Jews expelled from Spain after 1492 made their way to Morocco and established a dynamic community in Fez. A number of Jewish families became prominent in commerce and public life there. Among them was Samuel de Pallache (1550-1616), who lived an incredibly adventurous life as a diplomat, merchant, pirate, spy, arms dealer and smuggler, living at times as a Jew, at times as a Catholic, and possibly as a Protestant as well.

Samuel was probably born in Spain but moved with his family to Morocco as a young child. He first appears in the historical record as a merchant when he and his brother traveled from Fez to Spain as representatives of the Moroccan sultan Moulay Zaydan to buy jewels. He and his brother tried to stay in Spain, offering to convert to Catholicism and to trade in information about Morocco. He moved back and forth between Spain and Morocco, apparently spying for both sides, until the Inquisition forced him to flee to southern France.

After an embassy of the Dutch Republic came to Morocco to explore the possibility of a Dutch-Moroccan alliance against the Spanish, in 1608 Moulay Zaydan appointed de Pallache as his agent to the Hague. He continued to represent Moulay Zaydan in Holland in a variety of military, commercial and diplomatic initiatives until 1614. He became an important figure there: the story goes that one day, Pallache's horse-drawn carriage met the carriage of the Spanish ambassador in the Hague. The two carriages were unable to pass one another and, to cheers from onlookers, the Spanish ambassador's carriage had to make way for Pallache's carriage. He also became the head of diplomatic relations for Morocco with the English court. In 1611, he traveled to England with the Moroccan ambassador and the English agent John Harrison to deliver a letter from the sultan to James I.

During these years, he also worked as a privateer, trader and merchant, trading goods between Morocco and Holland. He operated as a privateer, or a pirate operating under the authority of a government, in this case Prince Maurice of Holland. Using Dutch ships and sailors, he attached Spanish merchant ships and sold their cargoes on the Moroccan coast.

Historians believe that de Pallache served as a double agent, passing information about Dutch-Moroccan relations on to the Spanish, while at the same time he was passing information about Spain to the Dutch and Moroccans. When this came to light in 1614, de Pallache was dismissed by both the Dutch and the Moroccan Moulay Zaydan.

At this point, he went out independently and captured two Spanish ships loaded with sugar and leather and an English ship, but was unable to land his goods because of a bad storm and sailed to London instead to sell them there. He was immediately imprisoned, but as

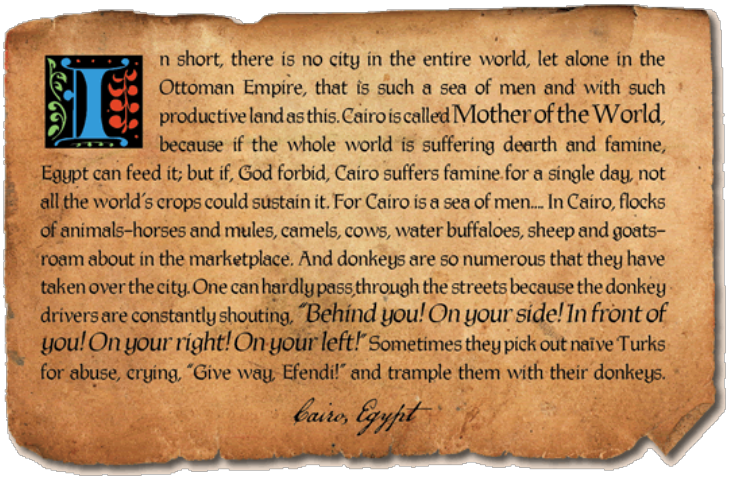
described in a document in the Medici archives in Florence, his old connections somehow came through for him and got him released on bail:

> A Jewish corsair captain [Samuel Pallache] with Dutch ships and sailors took two Spanish ships loaded with sugar and leather. The captain came to London, sending the goods to Holland. The ambassador of Spain complained and had him imprisoned, but the ambassador of the Netherlands and Maurits van Nassau defended the corsair saying he was an agent of their ally the "Re dei Berberi" [Mawlay Zidan Abu Maali]
>
> [Mediceo del Principato 4191: folio not numbered. Avviso from London, January 29, 1615]

He escaped to Holland, and despite his dubious history as a double agent between the Netherlands, Spain, England and Morocco, he resumed his career as diplomat, spy and merchant. But few of his schemes worked out and he lost all his money. He fell ill and died in The Hague in 1616.

Source: Mercedes Garcia-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, A Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Evliya Çelebi


In short, there is no city in the entire world, let alone in the Ottoman Empire, that is such a sea of men and with such productive land as this. Cairo is called Mother of the World, because if the whole world is suffering dearth and famine, Egypt can feed it; but if, God forbid, Cairo suffers famine for a single day, not all the world's crops could sustain it. For Cairo is a sea of men.... In Cairo, flocks of animals–horses and mules, camels, cows, water buffaloes, sheep and goats–roam about in the marketplace. And donkeys are so numerous that they have taken over the city. One can hardly pass through the streets because the donkey drivers are constantly shouting, *"Behind you! On your side! In front of you! On your right! On your left!"* Sometimes they pick out naïve Turks for abuse, crying, "Give way, Efendi!" and trample them with their donkeys.

Cairo, Egypt

Excerpt from Evliya Celebi's Book of Travels from Louis Werner, The Unread Masterpiece of Evliya Celebi, Saudi Aramco World, March-April 2011.

Evliya Çelebi was born in Istanbul in 1611, the son of the Ottoman imperial goldsmith. As a child, he was well educated (he could recite the Quran in its entirety from memory).

According to Evliya, when he was twenty he received a dream in which the prophet Muhammad instructed him to leave his native city, to "travel through the whole world and be a marvel among men."

He certainly accomplished that, recording his lifelong travels (and some probably imaginary ones) throughout the Ottoman Empire in a ten-volume work called the *Seyahatname*, the 'Book of Travels.' He includes an incredibly detailed description of his beloved hometown of Istanbul. He would claim to hear 147 languages and see the lands of 18 monarchs during his travels; he visited tightrope walkers in Ankara, oil wells in Baku, the Kurdish warlord of an Anatolian town called Bitlis, and cat salesmen in Ardabil. He travels most often as a government official or in the retinue of a government official, and during his travels he describes the cities he visits, their peoples, histories, and local mosques and the tombs of holy men. He was a devout Muslim, but opposed fanaticism and was curious about everything he saw. He also told dozens of engaging anecdotes, from his own theory of the European discovery of the new world to a story of a Bulgarian woman who turned herself and her children into chickens. Here we can list only a few of his destinations.

In 1640, on his 30th birthday, Evliya Çelebi started his travels, going to Bursa on a sudden impulse, without even telling his family. The same year he also traveled to Izmit and Trabzon, a seaport on the Black Sea which was a key stop on the Silk Road.

In 1648, Evliya was made the personal imam to the governor of Damascus in Syria. For the next twelve years, he served in the retinue of his kinsman Melek Ahmed Pasha, following him first to Silistre and Sofia in the west, and then to Van and Bitlis in eastern Anatolia. In 1655, when Melek was appointed ambassador to Tabriz, Evilya took the opportunity to visit Baghdad and Kurdistan. In 1660, he participated in the campaigns in Moldovia and Wallachia before rejoining Melek in Sarajevo. Later that same year, Melek sent him to negotiate the release of a Turkish prisoner in Split.

After Melek's death in 1662, Evliya participated in the successful 1663 siege of Uyvar in Hungary. He then claimed to have ridden off with 40,000 Tartars on a raid to Western Europe and even reached Amsterdam and Rotterdam (where he said he talked with Native Americans), although it is more likely that he participated in several other military campaigns in Hungary. In 1664, Evliya again travelled with an ambassador, this time to Vienna, and inspected forts in Transylvania. In 1667, he spent the summer in the Muscovy region.

In 1669 he participated in the final Ottoman conquest of Crete, and finally came home to Istanbul. In 1671, at the age of 60, he was bored of his six-month stay in Istanbul. He wrote that he had another dream, this time a visit from his dead father, who told him to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

So he left Istanbul for the final time, and visited Cos, Rhodes, and Jerusalem, finally reaching Mecca in April of 1672. He wrote an extensive account of the hajj ceremonies. Late in 1672 he arrived in Cairo, where the Ottoman governor gave him an official appointment.

Evliya would spend the last decade of his life in Cairo - of which he wrote yet another detailed account, discussing everything from the smell of the inside of the Great Pyramid to the reactions of Egyptians to a rare snow. He also wrote about his trips down the Nile to places like Sudan, Abyssinia (Ethopia) and the Red Sea coast.

He continued writing until 1683, claiming that he would finally retire. He had spent 51 years of his life travelling throughout the Ottoman Empire, the "Abode of Felicity."

Sources:

Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveler: Selections from the Book of Travels by Evliya Çelebi.* Eland, 2001.

Evliya Çelebi: Book of Travels. Virtual Exhibition. Our Shared Europe. 2010. http://www.thebookoftravels.org/home

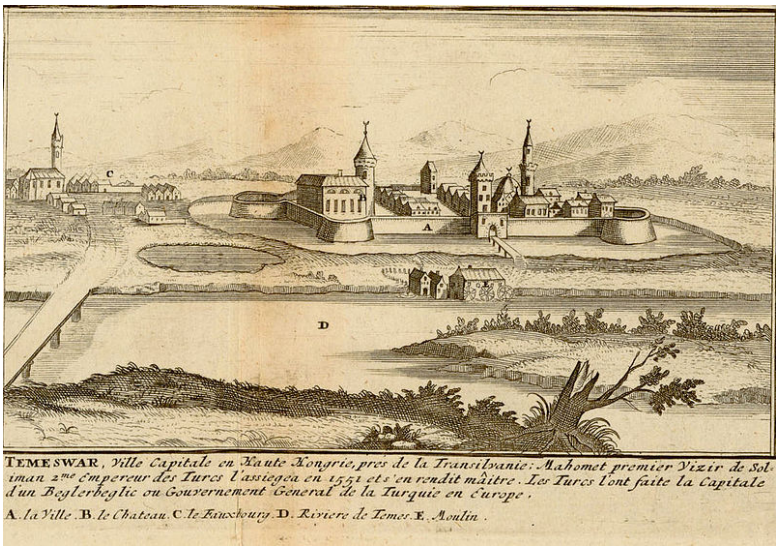
Louis Werner, The Unread Masterpiece of Evliya Celebi, Saudi Aramco World, March-April 2011.

http://www.biristanbulhayali.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Evliya-%C3%87elebi-%C4%B0stanbul.jpg

Osman Aga of Temesvar (Temesvarlı Osman Ağa)

Osman Aga (1670–1725?) was an Ottoman army officer born to a family of Serbian origin in Temesvar (in modern-day Romania). His father was a janissary officer, and he also enrolled in the corps.

Osman Aga wrote an autobiography, *Prisoner of the Infidels* **(**1724), in which he summarizes his time as a prisoner of war between 1688-1700 in Austria. In 1688, his squadron was ordered to deliver the salaries of army officers to Lipova, Arad just to the north of his home town of Temesvar. But while they were in the Arad region, they were attacked by superior Austrian forces and he was taken prisoner when the city council decided to surrender. He was only 18 years old at the time.



From map of Nicolas Sanson, Le Cours du Danube, representing Temesvar, 1656
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Timisoara1656.jpg

Osman was first the prisoner of an Austrian military judge, who asked for ransom, but then did not release him when it was paid. He was then sold to others in Kapfenberg and Vienna, who frequently beat and whipped him and held him in a dungeon for several months at a time. After several years, his skill with horses and his ability to learn German led his captors to treat him less harshly. He worked in the stables but also as a manservant and even a pastry cook. He was once even offered his freedom in exchange for converting to Christianity, but he declined.

After the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, which concluded the Austro-Ottoman war of 1683-1697, he escaped along with a number of other prisoners (including women) and returned to Temesvar in 1700.

The German he learned while he was a prisoner served him well once he returned. He served as the town's official translator and took part in several Ottoman diplomatic missions to Austria.

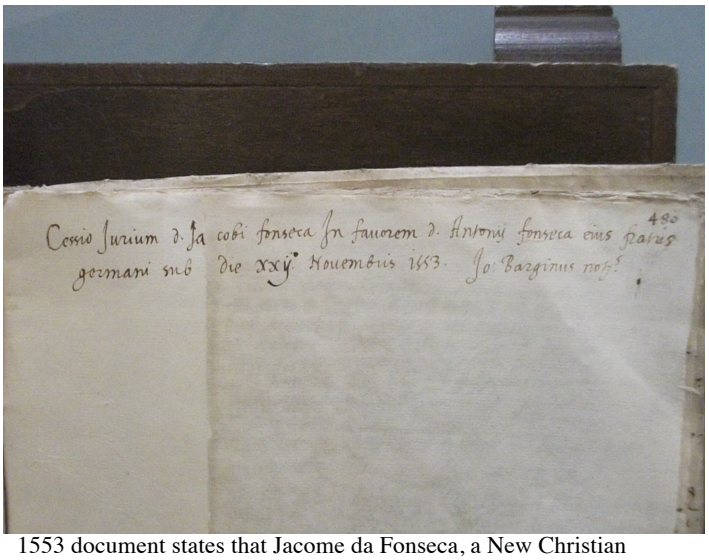
In 1715, the Ottoman Empire and Austria once again were at war. When his home town was captured by the Austrians in 1716, he fled to Belgrade. However, the Austrians followed and attacked the city. Before the final assault, they managed to explode the city's ammunition dump, killing 3000 people, including most of the members of Osman's family.

He then served in Vidin (in modern Bulgaria) and finally in Istanbul, where he continued his civil service as a translator and chronicler until his death in 1725.

Source: Wendy Bracewell, ed. *Orientations: An Anthology of East European Travel Writing, ca. 1550-2000*. Pp. 43-47. Central European University Press, 2009.

Jacome and Antonio da Fonseca

The brothers Jacome and Antonio Fonseca represent a common pattern for Portuguese families of Jewish origin in the 16th century. Their family, which was influential in commerce and tax collection, had converted to Christianity well before the beginning of the trials of the Portuguese Inquisition in their hometown of Lamego in 1531.



1553 document states that Jacome da Fonseca, a New Christian merchant from Lamego and resident in Rome, declares that a sum of money which resulted from his dealings with his brother, Antonio da Fonseca, a merchant in Lisbon, belong to his brother. Centro de Documentação, Catedra de Estudos Sefarditas Alberto Benveniste, University of Lisbon. Notario del'A.C. 523 fols. 481-484. http://www.catedra-alberto-benveniste.org/_fich/15/fol._480_r.jpg

However, members of the family, now New Christians, were still vulnerable to persecution because authorities of the Inquisition doubted that their conversions were sincere. They defended themselves by referring to their early conversion, but it was clear they needed a better strategy to survive and prosper. Antonio moved with his family to Lisbon, and around 1542 Jacome moved to Rome. He was a wealthy and influential merchant and banker, and he was given the important designation as a procurator, or representative for the Portuguese in Rome. The benefit of this was that it made his family exempt from the Inquisition back in Portugal.

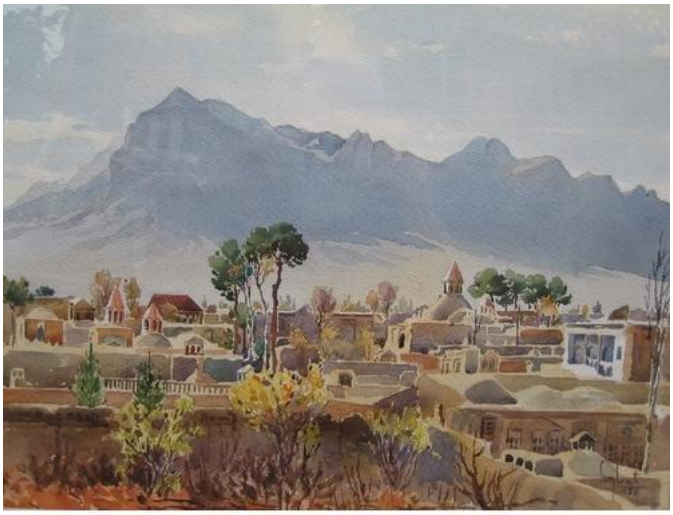
Jacome and his brother Antonio continued to work together in commerce (particularly in the spice and pharmaceutical trade) and to support the New Christian community in Portugal. But in 1555, the political calculus changed. Pope Julius III--who had allowed the New Christians to prosper--was on his deathbed and it became clear that the new Pope was not likely to be as accommodating.

Jacome fled to the Ottoman city of Salonica. There, he openly embraced Judaism. His brother Antonio, on the other hand, moved to Rome. Despite the hostility of Pope Paul IV, who had 25 New Christians burned at the stake in Ancona in 1556, he was able to prosper in banking and business over the next several decades especially after Paul died in 1559, leading to a period of more openness towards both Jews and New Christians on the part of the next five popes. Antonio was elected governor of the national Portuguese church in Rome in 1562, and died there an extremely wealthy and well-respected member of the Catholic community.

Jacome in Salonica and Antonio in Rome remained in close contact with one another over the years.

Source: Susana Bastos Mateus and James W. Nelson Novoa, "A Sixteenth Century Voyage of Legitimacy: The Paths of Jácome and Antonio da Fonséca from Lamego to Rome and Beyond." *Hispania Judaica* 9-5773/2013, pp. 169-92.

Santiago Barrachiel



Panoramic view of New Julfa painted from the roof of Sumbat's home (watercolor, 1958, 35x50 cm)

Sumbat Der Kheureghian, 20th century artist from New Julfa. http://www.sumbat.com/index2.html

Santiago Barrachiel was a member of a community of Armenian silk agents who ran a global trade network in the 17th and early 18th century from New Julfa, near Isfahan, Iran. This community of merchants had a network of commercial enterprise across the world, in cities as diverse as London, Amsterdam, Manila and even Acapulco. They had for some time a near monopoly on the export of Iranian silk, and their networks of trade allowed them to deal in many other commodities.

Surely one of the most well-traveled merchants was Santiago Barrachiel (or Ter Ohannes ordi Barakili as he was called by his fellow New Julfans). Barrachiel was a Julfan *commenda* agent. A commenda, as described by George O'Brien in *An Essay on Mediaeval Economic Teaching,* was "a contract by which merchants who wished to engage in foreign trade, but who did not wish to travel themselves, entrusted their wares to agents or representatives." Whether simply because of the necessities of his trading commissions, or because of a personal wanderlust, Barrachiel's global itinerary was truly mind-boggling.

In 1735, Barrachiel visited the Inquisition office in Manila to secretly convert to Catholicism. Of course, we can't know whether his conversion from the Armenian Gregorian faith was sincere or not, but it is likely that, like many Julfans, he had a very pragmatic notion of religious identity. In this case, he may have converted in order to ease his commercial life in Manila and, like other Julfans, have reconverted to his native faith when he left. The Spanish colonial authorities in Manila were hostile to the Armenian Gregorian church, seeing it as a heretical schism. Thus, they invited schismatic Christians to convert to Catholicism, and recorded their interviews with the Inquisition.

One of the questions the inquisitor asked Barrachiel was, "What places have you visited until the present moment and how long have you lived in each place and what have you studied?" Barrachiel, clearly endowed with a good memory, complied, leaving us with a fascinating log of his voyages:

> He said that at the age of 13, he left Julfa by land for Khanbao [? illegible], and at the same Persian city he remained for five months, and from there in a Russian ship [en un navio de Moscobita] he crossed to Astrakhan, the port of Moscovi, where he resided for three months, and by river he took passage crossing the kingdom of Moscovi to the city of Sanatoc [?], where he stayed for three months. From there he went to the capital of Moscow and resided there for eight months, whence he went to St. Petersburg, also in that kingdom, where he remained for two months; he took passage on a Russian ship to Libau, the port of the kingdom of Sweden, and lived there for about four months. And from there he traveled by land to Rebla [Reval? Now Tallin in Estonia, then in Swedish control?] in the same kingdom of Sweden,

where he resided about six months. And from there he traveled to the Republic of Lubec in a [?] ship and remained there for [?] months, whence by land he traveled to Amsterdam in Holland and remained there for two months. From there he took passage on a [?] ship to Archangel, the port of Moscovi, and resided there for about three months, whence he traveled by land to the capital of Moscow and resided there for about seven months. He left there by land and traveled to the port of Astrakhan, where he resided for about two months. From there he returned to Xanbali [Enzali?], a Persian city, and remained there for [? unclear] months, whence he returned to his homeland [*patria*] of Julfa and remained there for about eight days. From [? illegible] in a Moorish ship he took passage to the port of Surat in the lands of Mughal India [Gran Mogor] and stayed there for two months and took a Moorish ship and headed to the kingdom of Bengal, where he was for about five months. From there he traveled to Tranquebar [Trancambar], a port and Danish factory on the Coromandel, and resided there for five months, and by a Danish ship he crossed over to diverse places on the Coromandel coast and that of Malabar for a period of about four months until he arrived in Ormuz, the port of Persia, and from there he entered Isfahan, where he remained for a year and a half. During this period he got married in Julfa with Isabel of the Armenian nation and schismatic faith. And from there he traveled to the city of Tabriz within the same kingdom and lived there for about two months and traveled from there by land to the city of Yerevan [Araban] on the Turkish frontier and the place where the Catholicos [Catholicon], as they call the patriarch of Armenia, is found, and he stayed there for about two months. And from there by land he traveled to Arazadam [?Arzrum/Arzingan] in the kingdom of Turkey, where he resided for about one month and a half, and traveled from there to C… [Illegible broken words in inner margin: Constantinople?], where he lived for a month and a half before going to the port of Smyrna [i.e., Esmirna], where he stopped for about two months, and from there he traveled to Malta on an English ship and stayed there for about [?] weeks and traveled from there to Livorno; here he was for about one month before crossing from there to Florence and Venice, where he resided for one year. From Venice he went to Germany [Alemania] at Abstendan [?], where he lived for about 11 months, and from there he traveled to the city of Antwerp [Amberes], where he lived for one month, and whence he returned by Brussels [Brusela] to Amsterdam, where he lived for about 20 days, and from there he took passage on a Dutch ship to the Russian port of Archangel and lived there for three months and entered the capital city of Moscow from there and lived in the city for about seven months. From there he traveled to the city of Kazan [Casanca?] in the same kingdom and lived there for two months and embarked for the port of Astrakhan and lived there for two months before taking passage on the Muscovite ship to Shamakhi? [Xambahi?], a Persian city where he lived for two months; from there he returned to Isfahan and lived there for four months, and from there he traveled to the port of Surat in an English ship and stayed there for four years. He took passage on an Armenian ship and travel to Madras and lived there for two months. And from there he traveled to Pondicherry [Policheri?], where he was for two weeks before taking a French ship to the city of Manila where he lived for four months and with the same ship returned to Pondicherry and thence to Madras, for four months and with it the same ship returned the Pondicherry and thence to Madras, where he resided for four months

> before returning to the city of Manila on an Armenian ship, where he lived for five years, and from there he traveled on a Spanish ship to Batavia and stayed there for a month and a half before returning to Manila on the same ship to live for about a year and a half. From here he traveled to Madras on an Armenian ship and lived there for four months and returned to this city on the same Armenian ship, where he has been living for about 18 months until the present moment. And [he said] he hasn't studied any other art but reading and accounting in the language of his homeland and speaks Dutch and a little Italian and reads and writes in Spanish. He has also studied the art of commercial bookkeeping in Spanish here in Manila.

Many other Julfan commenda agents gave similar accounts to the Inquisition, but few could have rivaled the extent of Barrachiel's travels.

Source: Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*. University of California Press, 2011.

Sugar Production and Consumption

For each of the texts and images below, write down what kind of information it provides about sugar. How does each piece expand our understanding of sugar as a plant, a commodity, a driver of social organization (especially slavery), and an influence on culture?

Sugar Cane Plant: *What features of the sugar cane plant pictured at right do you notice? What might be most significant in cultivating and processing it?*
(Source: Sugar cane, or Saccarum officinarum. From Franz Eugen Köhler, *Köhler's Medizinal-Pflanzen*, 1897. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saccharum_officinarum_-_K%C3%B6hler%E2%80%93s_Medizinal-Pflanzen-125.jpg)

Legend of the Sugar Cane

It all began on New Guinea ten thousand years ago on a small island in the South Pacific. The story goes that, once upon a time, two fishermen, To-Kabwana and To-Karvavu, found a piece of sugar cane in their net. They threw it into the sea, but as they hauled their net in on the second day they saw that the same section of sugar cane was tangled in the folds. They cast it into the water, but, at the end of their third day of fishing when they pulled their net in, the cane was again snarled at the bottom. Thinking that this must be an omen, they kept it and planted it. From the stubby knob of cane grew a thick, strong plant. A few weeks later a beautiful young woman stepped from between the dense cluster of leaves. She cooked a meal for the men that night, but as the moon rose she slipped back between the folds of cane. This became routine until one day To-Kabwana caught her before she could retreat into the sugar cane. He asked her to become his wife and she consented. They had children together and these children became the founding members of the whole of the human race.

Or at least, this is what the Polynesians believe. And *to* is their word for sugar cane. The Polynesians have a number of legends like this in which sugar cane and the genesis of humanity are intertwined; they show how important sugar cane is to the people from the lands where sugar cane has its origins.

(Source: from Sanjida O'Connell, *Sugar: The Grass that Changed the World*, 2012.)

- **Why do you think sugar was so important to the people of New Guinea?**

"***The veins of gold ore having been exhausted, the Blacks had to work in sugar.***"

Quote above translated from Theodor de Bry, 1528-1598. *Nigritae exhaustis venis metallicis: conficiendo faccharo operam dare debent* in Girolamo Benzoni's *Americae pars quinta nobilis & admiratione*. (Source: Frankfurt: de Bry, 1623. http://www.historical-museum.org/exhibits/visions/arl/slavery_enlarged.htm)

- **Do you think an eyewitness created the image above? Under what conditions are these Africans working? Can you identify the steps in sugar cane processing shown?**

Extracting Sugar Cane Juice

Extracting sugar cane juice in Tuticorin, India. (Source: Thamizhpparithi Maari, Wikimedia Commons, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_video_of_Sugarcane_juice_extraction.ogv)

- **How much cane does it take to produce a cup of sugar cane juice? How much sugar cane might it take to produce the same amount of granulated sugar?**

Sugar Sculptures in the Ottoman Empire and France

Left: Sugar fancies—gazebos and buildings made of sugar—created to celebrate the circumcision of Sultan Ahmed III's sons in the early 18th century.
(Source: Levni, Surname-I Vehbi. Original in Topkapı Palace Museum)
Right: Design for a pastillage *pièce montée*, from the collection of water colour designs by Prati (1820s). This is actually a sugar paste mobile. The lanterns, parrots and ballettes would have all trembled as the guests touched the table. (Source: Historic Food, © Ivan Day, Bowes Museum at http://www.historicfood.com/Royal-sugar-Sculpture.htm)

- **Why do you think royal and noble households created such sugar sculptures? Whom were they meant to impress? Why were they so impressive to look at?**

William Cowper, *Pity for Poor Africans* (1788)

I own I am shock'd at the purchase of slaves,
And fear those who buy them and sell them are knaves;
What I hear of their hardships, their tortures, and groans,
Is almost enough to draw pity from stones.
I pity them greatly, but I must be mum
For how could we do without sugar and rum?
Especially sugar, so needful we see;
What! Give up our desserts, our coffee and tea?
Besides, if we do, the French, Dutch, and Danes,
Will heartily thank us, no doubt, for our pains;
If we do not buy the poor creatures, they will,
And tortures and groans will be multiplied still.
If foreigners likewise would give up the trade,
Much more in behalf of your wish might be said;
But while they get riches by purchasing blacks,
Pray tell me why we may not also go snacks
Your scruples and arguments bring to my mind
A story so pat, you may think it is coin'd,
On purpose to answer you, out of my mint;
But, I can assure you, I saw it in print.
A youngster at school, more sedate than the rest,
Had once his integrity put to the test;
His comrades had plotted an orchard to rob,
And ask'd him to go and assist in the job.
He was. shock'd,sir, like you, and answer'd -- Oh,no
What! rob our good neighbour! I pray you, don't go;
Besides, the man's poor, his orchard's his bread,
Then think of his children, for they must be fed."
"You speak very fine, and you look very grave,
But apples we want, and apples we'll have;
If you will go with us, you shall have a share,
If not, you shall have neither apple nor pear."
They spoke, and Tom ponder'd -- !I see they will go:
Poor man! what a pity to injure him so
Poor man! I would save him his fruit if I could,
But staying behind will do him no good.
"If the matter depended alone upon me,
His apples might hang till they dropt from the tree;
But, since they will take them, I think I'll go too,
He will lose none by me, though I get a few."
His scruples thus silenc'd, Tom felt more at ease,
And went with his comrades the apples to seize;
He blam'd and protested, but join'd in the plan;
He shar'd in the plunder, but pitied the man.

***Sugar Trade* by James Taylor (1981)**
(Listen to the song online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v3miBzGJ6SI)

Now back when this earth was a silver blue jewel
And back when your grandfather's father was young
Men of these shores made and gave up their lives
Pulling up fish from the sea

While down in the African slavery trade
Stealing young men to cut sugar cane
Rum to New Bedford and codfish from Maine
They were building a wall that will always remain

Oh, the crown and the cross the musket and chain
The white man's religion, the family name
Two hundred years later and who is to blame?
The captain or the cargo or the juice of the sugar cane?

The doryman he knows when the riptides will run
He sets out his nets and he waits in the sun
He thinks of his family and drinks of his rum
And he waits for the codfish to come

It's the same god-damned ocean that keeps them alive
It will swallow you up, it will let you survive
It will heal you and steal you and take you away
Like a note in a bottle with nothing to say

Now back when this earth was a silver blue jewel
And back when your grandfather's fathers were young
Men of these shores made and gave up their lives
Pulling up fish from the sea.

- **What perspective do the poem and song lyrics above respectively present? How do they each express the link between sugar, slavery and their own society?**

Source: Graham Chandler, 'Sugar, Please." *Saudi Aramco World* http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/201204/sugar.please.htm.

The month is October and it's only 9:30 in the morning, but already we're looking for shade. Under an azure sky just south of the Dead Sea in Jordan, there's no hint of a breeze either. The only sound is a distant working tractor and the odd buzzing fly.

It wasn't always so quiet here. As I sit on a weathered stone grinding wheel the size of a tractor tire, my imagination runs back a thousand years to when this place bustled with hundreds of workers cutting, hauling, crushing, stoking, boiling, pouring—producing one of the planet's greatest life-changing foodstuffs: sugar. Along with quinine, potato, cotton and tea, sugar cane has been called one of the five plants that transformed humankind, and Tawahin es-Sukkar was a key location in its first mass production and global commercialization.

This place, along with several others on both sides of the River Jordan, had what sugar needed: fertile and irrigated farmland, labor to harvest and cut the cane, water power to drive the stone wheels to crush it, fuel to stoke the fires to boil it, minerals to clarify it, a ceramic industry to make the pots in which it crystallized and trade networks to market it. But before all that could happen, sugar cane had to be adapted to grow in a climate nature hadn't intended for it.
Probably even in its wild state, sugar attracted humans. "I think the desire for sweetness in humans does have an evolutionary basis," says Sidney Mintz of Johns Hopkins University, author of the seminal 1985 book *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History.* "We are primates, descended from arboreal fruit eaters," he says. "Sweetness may have been a signal of edibility, its taste eventually incorporated into the hominid taste apparatus."

Above: Situated between the lowland fields that grew sugar cane and the highlands that provided water, Tawahin es-Sukkar is the site of excavations that have unearthed walls, aqueducts and, bottom, water chutes whose height lent power to the water that drove the millstone and then flowed out to irrigate fields.

Ten thousand years back, in what is now New Guinea, botanists believe, sugar was first cultivated, and it came to enjoy the humid Melanesian environment. The taste of it caught on fast: Cane fields were soon sprouting in the Philippines, Indonesia, China and India.

All of these societies had honey, but they found sugar cane was different—and more desirable. As it spread, people learned to extract and process the sweet juice from its bamboo-like stems. Of the six known species of sugar cane, it is *Saccharum officinarum* or "apothecaries' sugar" that has followed history to our tables. It grows up to 4½ meters (15') high and about five centimeters (2") around. Give it ample water and sunshine and you can almost watch it grow—a couple of centimeters (¾") a day isn't unheard of.

Early processors, however, learned it was finicky. After taking a year to mature, sugar must be cut at its peak and the juice crushed out within a day, or else it "inverts" (ferments). And the juice must be boiled promptly and poured into pots. As the water content evaporates, the increasingly concentrated sucrose solution can be left to cool. When it's supersaturated, it crystallizes and solidifies into the shape of its container, leaving behind a part of itself that won't crystallize—known to us as molasses, or treacle. Along the way it has to be clarified to be rid of impurities. These techniques became the specialty of the experts at Tawahin es-Sukkar.

Archeologist Richard Jones of the University of Glasgow and his team have chemically analyzed several samples from the site and find direct evidence of sugar elusive. "The biggest puzzle is that we have the building, the mill, the water channels, the thousands of sugar pots—but still we find it very hard to find even traces of sugar cane" because, he explains, "any sugar-containing lump is usually eaten away by microbial action or eventually dissolves away." However, a 2011 botanical analysis, part of the site's most recent excavations under the direction of Konstantinos Politis of the Hellenic Society for Near Eastern Studies, has disclosed evidence of actual sugar cane fragments for the first time, according to the society's Web site. Jones has also discovered calcium-based materials that were used for clarification and has matched them with sediments from the nearby Lisan peninsula of the Dead Sea.

And that place likely supplied more sites than just Tawahin es-Sukkar, because this is just one of the largest and best preserved of several dozen early sugar-production centers known along the Jordan Valley. Ruba AbuDalo investigated 10 of them for her master's thesis at Jordan's Yarmouk University. "The Jordan Valley is the most fertile region of Jordanian territories," she says. Numerous archeological remains connected to sugar have been found all the way to the Mediterranean coast, and she has identified 34 sites in the Jordan Valley.

"The mills were built on the sides of rivers or streams because sugar cane relied on an exploitable water supply to operate the mills," she explains. The leading source of evidence of sugar processing at smaller sites are pots shaped like inverted bells that she says historian Nuwayri, in 1332, called alabaleej, and that were used to drain the sugar solution to the molasses level.

The basic reduction technique of sugar refining has been known for almost as long as the plant. Around 327 BCE, Alexander's general Nearchus, at the Indus River, wrote that "a reed in India brings forth honey without the help of bees, from which an intoxicating drink is made, though the plant bears no fruit." Historians believe northern India was sugar cane's first center of innovation. "Sugar crystallized from the juice of sugar cane 2000 years or more ago was often marked by both medical and religious overtones, as in India," says Mintz. "As such, it was commonly incorporated into life-crisis ceremonies."

The earliest known writings on sugar production come from around 500 CE in a Hindu religious document known as the *Buddhagosa*, which describes a sequence of steps similar to those still known today. Indeed the words *sukkar* in Arabic and *sugar* in English both derive from the Sanskrit *sakara*, meaning "gravel," which at once evokes the granular result of sugar-cane processing.
By that same time, the Chinese, too, were growing sugar cane in their tropical regions. Eager to learn how to process it, Emperor T'ai Tsung sent a mission to India in 647 to learn, and soon sugar was being used as a preservative for shipping fruit and as a seasoning in Chinese cuisine. Indeed, the Indian influence was far-reaching: Byzantine emperor Heraclius, on seizing one of the Persian king Chosroes II's royal dwellings near Baghdad in 627, called the sugar he found an "Indian" luxury.

But just seven years later, Muslim armies defeated Heraclius, and with the Islamic conquests there and throughout the Middle East and North Africa, there also came the Arab agricultural revolution. At the heart of it were crops new to the Islamized regions, and one of them was sugar cane.
It was in Persia that the Arabs discovered the sweet plant, in the mid-600's, following the fall of the Sassanid Empire. Sugar had probably come to the Sassanids by sea from India some time before that, because a Chinese source from the late seventh century mentions Persian sugar, though without making clear whether it was grown there or imported. Nonetheless, cane never really liked the hot, dry climes of Persia, so it was up to the Arabs to figure out how to cultivate it in sufficient

quantity to justify the extraordinary efforts it required to process. Cropping patterns needed transforming, fertilizers needed developing and, importantly, irrigation technology needed a revolution of its own: Growing sugar cane outside its native climate is a challenge.
According to J. H. Galloway, professor of geography at the University of Toronto and author of *The Sugar Cane Industry,* the threshold low temperature for sugar's satisfactory growth is 21 degrees Centigrade (70°F). Below that, growth slows, and at 13 degrees Centigrade (55°F) it stops. The plant thrives between 27°C (81°F) and 38°C (100°F). Most importantly, cane needs copious amounts of water year-round.

Arab lands had been irrigated for millennia, but sugar cane was the first crop that was not seasonal. For most crops, fields could lie fallow in the hot, dry summers. Not so sugar cane, which demanded that water be lifted out of rivers during low-flow periods. Reports from Egypt show that irrigation was needed some 28 times between annual Nile floods. This helped spur improvements to hydrological devices like the *noria*, or water wheel, and by the 11th century, "there was hardly a river, stream, oasis, spring, known aquifer or predictable flood that went unused," says Andrew Watson of the University of Toronto, author of *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World.* New fertilizers were needed too. Watson pored over the dozen or so agricultural manuals that were produced across the Arab world of the time. "The manuals recommended extensive use of all kinds of animal and green manures, as well as urging plowing, digging, hoeing and harrowing," he says. Moreover, they made recommendations on sett spacing and furrow depths, and how to store setts with a light soil covering—techniques still practiced today.

But more than water, fertilizer and tillage were required. Along with the diffusion of other contemporary crops such as sorghum, cotton and coconut palm—all part of the Arab agricultural revolution—sugar's need for new technology and new harvesting cycles spawned political and social changes as they spread from east to west. Irrigation required capital.

Water rights and marketing demanded new laws to ensure dependability. And new tax regimes helped farmers using irrigation-intensive techniques by requiring a mere five percent of their produce in taxes, in contrast to farmers who used traditional gravity-irrigation: They had to pay fifty percent of their produce. New labor, too, which built, operated and maintained the irrigation complexes, worked and harvested in the newly intensified fields. This led to the introduction of sharecropping. "It is the singular contribution of the Arabs to have brought these conditions about in the years following the birth of Islam," writes Galloway.

Watson contrasts the Arab agriculture with Europe's of the time. The Arabs' "economy was monetized and they produced and traded extensively with one another," which enabled large-scale sugar production. But, I ask, what prompted them to go to such lengths to produce sugar? "Money and profits, I suppose," he says. "It was quite unlike Europe at the time, where people were self-sufficient, but there wasn't the same monetized trading economy."

All these changes effected new ways of living, or what today we might call lifestyles. Watson reckons the higher income per unit of land, the availability of new land and the greater demands for labor all encouraged early marriage and larger families and thus broad changes in population. Indeed, the historical record shows villages popping up in newly farmed areas and becoming ever more numerous and populous. And cities grew, too, well fed by the increasing food surpluses.
As part of this agricultural revolution, sugar cane wasn't restricted to the Jordan Valley. References to sugar-cane cultivation appear throughout the Nile Valley and Delta, in Syria, Palestine and across North Africa, as well as in Spain, Cyprus, Malta, Sicily and Crete. As Mintz puts it, sugar "followed

the Qur'an." Neither historians nor archeologists, h however, have pinned down exactly when these industrial-scale sugar mills first appeared, for the record is sparse until the 10th century.

In Europe, by around 1100 CE, sugar was categorized with spices like pepper, nutmeg, mace, ginger and cardamom—exotic and pricey imports used sparingly, even by those who had the cash. Long before that, sugar was both a medicine and a spice in the eastern Mediterranean and across North Africa. Physicians from India to Spain had adopted it, and European doctors first learned uses of sugar through Arab pharmacology. The 11th-century Arabic-language medical manual *Qanun fi'l-Tibb,* by the Persian scholar Ibn Sina (Avicenna), remained a European authority until the late 1500's. "As a medicine, sugar figured prominently in the antidotes—all of them bootless, of course—for the Black Plague," says Mintz. Other uses appear bizarre today: "One prominent medieval medical use involved mixing the finest powdered white sugar with gold dust, then blowing the mixture into the eyes of those afflicted with certain eye maladies," he says.
Medicine wasn't sugar's only use back then. Mintz writes of the 11th-century caliph al-Zahir, who celebrated feast days with table-sized models of palaces built of sugar, and of an Egyptian ruler who in 1040 reportedly used more than 73,000 kilograms (80 tons) of the stuff for a feast following Ramadan.

As such sweet decadence caught on with the European royal courts, it drove new and ever-more efficient production, especially in the nearby lands of the Mediterranean. Eleventh-century Crusaders had noted this commercial sugar boom in the Levant, where sugar was being refined at Tawahin es-Sukkar and elsewhere, and soon they themselves in the thick of the commercial competition.

Nowhere is this more clearly to be seen today than in Cyprus, where remains of sugar production are the best preserved and the most intensively investigated by archeologists. I'm standing beside the A6 highway between Limassol and Paphos, on the rocky southwest coast of Cyprus, looking at a broken-down stone aqueduct cutting its way through an orange grove. Seven centuries ago, it brought water from springs in the Oridhes forest to drive the mills and water the fields at the sugar-producing site of Kouklia.

Kouklia's process paralleled that of Tawahin es-Sukkar. The water was channeled into a narrow sluice down a steep incline into an underground vault, where a stone nozzle focused the stream onto a wooden water wheel. You can stand straight in this huge room and see shoulder-high scrapes on its walls from the wheel that must have been nearly five meters (16') across. In the far corner of the room there's a channel wide enough to walk through where the water would flow off to irrigate the cane fields after doing its work at the wheel, which drove a giant stone grinding wheel above.

This was large-scale industrialization of its era: Enough sweet juice was pressed out to keep eight massive copper cauldrons boiling, and the brick-lined, fire-blackened hearths are still there to see. From the cauldrons, the hot syrup was poured into three sizes of cone-shaped molds, broken shards of which still lie scattered about. Eastward down the scenic coast road past Petra, near the vast antenna networks of the Royal Air Force base at Akrotiri and more fields of orange and grapefruit, lie two more, similar early sugar production sites—Episkopi and Kolossi.
Slim and chic in designer denims and swept-back salt-and-pepper hair, Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou's piercing brown eyes light up when she reveals her enthusiasm for these sugar sites she has excavated over a 17-year stretch. Curator of antiquities at the Cyprus Museum, just outside the Paphos Gate of the old walled city of Nicosia, she says she'd love to be back out there in the field. "There's so much more to do, more puzzles to get into," she says.

At their production peak in the late 1400's, she explains, these were efficient commercial sites. "At Episkopi, the Italian traveler Pietro di Casola in 1494 saw 400 workers there," she says. "There must have been an equal number at Kolossi." Those teams were prodigious. "In 1532 the total production of sugar in Cyprus was 3000 quintals," she says—30,000 kilograms, or 33 tons.
Save for their implied scale of operation, these Cypriot sites are remarkably similar to Tawahin es-Sukkar, demonstrating much of the same technology: The channeling of water through a nozzle driving an underground, horizontal water wheel that drove an above-ground grinding wheel; liquid collection methods; boiling facilities; shards of similarly shaped sugar pots. But historians aren't yet sure where that system was *first* constructed. Startup dates for sites in the Levant haven't been as conclusively determined as for the Cyprus sites, but Solomidou-Ieronymidou reckons the technology originated in the Levant and traveled west. "As the invention of sugar production started in the Levant, I suppose the horizontal water wheel system originates also from that area," she says. "It advanced in Cyprus through the Crusaders when they settled on the island in the late 12th century."

She tells me the majority of the sugar from Cyprus was exported to Venice, and that the well-to-do Cornaro family was a major owner of Cypriot production. With production well under way, by the early 1200's more and more sugar was finding its way into continental Europe. By the early 1300's, the British were some of the first to get hooked. But at two shillings a pound—or about $78 in today's money—using sugar showed you could afford it. So consumption remained largely restricted to royal courts and nobility, much of it carried out with ostentatious swagger. As among the Arabs, elaborate sculptures were created for social events—so much that Marie-Antoine Carême, an 18th-century French chef, once declared sugar sculpting the primary branch of architecture. Dinner guests were regaled with spectacular confectionery renderings of entire castles, people, flowers and animals, all of which they ate. But for the working classes, the first English cookbooks recommended sugar be used in the older ways, as a spice, not a sweetener, in small amounts for meat, fish and vegetable dishes along with ginger, saffron and cinnamon.
What kept sugar prices lofty was that, unlike the Levant, Cyprus and other Mediterranean lands were actually marginal places for cane. Even with irrigation and adherence to the Arab manuals, the cooler winters and occasional frosts meant the sugar cane here was less mature at harvest, and hence lower in sugar content. Moreover, by the time of the Arab conquests, much Mediterranean forest had been over-exploited by other energy-hungry industries like shipbuilding, metallurgy, pottery and glass, resulting in a scarcity of fuel for boiling sugar vats. Bagasse— the residue of the cane after milling—wasn't employed as a fuel until later in tropical America.

And during the 14th and 15th centuries, as war and plague decimated agricultural labor, Mediterranean island estates put more slaves to work—mostly prisoners of war from Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey and the Tatar coasts of the Black Sea. Galloway writes that "the link between sugar production and slavery, which was to last until the 19th century, became firmly forged in Crete, Cyprus and Morocco."

These problems drove production westward, first to the near-Atlantic Madeira Islands, Canary Islands and Azores. By the mid-1400's, Madeira was Europe's leading sugar supplier. Columbus, on his second voyage to the New World in 1493, picked up some cane plants in the Canary Islands and planted them on the island he called Hispaniola.

It was an instant success, as sugar cane there found heat, humidity and rainfall much like its indigenous New Guinea. By 1516, the first commercial sugar shipments were on their way to Europe. Production costs in the Caribbean were low compared to the Levant and the

Mediterranean, as there was no need for irrigation and fuel was abundant. It was the death knell for Old World sugar production.

The only resource in short supply was labor. The Caribbean islands' indigenous Taino were in rapid decline from European diseases and persecution. So it was African slaves, who were already being imported for work in mines, who were forced to toil on the sugar plantations. By the 1530's, Santo Domingo counted 34 mills and 200 slave plantations.

Sugar bloomed similarly on islands like Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Cuba, and Brazil's growth took off thanks to Portuguese experience from Madeira and the Azores. By 1710, there were 528 plantations in Brazil. But it was England, writes Mintz, that fought the most, conquered the most, imported the most slaves and went furthest and fastest in creating a New World plantation system for sugar production.

In fact, it was in the 17th and 18th centuries that sugar became part of the English character, part of the "essence of Britishness." In 1660, England consumed 1000 hogsheads of sugar and exported 2000. Forty years later, imports were 100,000 hogsheads and exports 18,000; by 1753, exports had dropped to just 6000. (One hogshead is about 240 liters, or 63 gallons.) To support this growth, more than a quarter million slaves were landed in Barbados between 1701 and 1810, and 662,400 in Jamaica alone. Sugar had become the biggest single engine of the slave "triangular trade" that linked Britain and Africa to the New World: European cloth, firearms, gunpowder and alcohol were shipped to West Africa to pay for the purchase of slaves, who were sent in chains to the West Indies and sold at the quayside, where the same ships loaded sugar, rum and molasses for the trip back home. The resulting lower prices made sugar popular across the social spectrum, and new tastes developed. Sugar improved chocolate, as well as coffee and tea. These drinks had long been thought bitter by Europeans, but it was cheap sugar that by the late 17th century enabled chocolate drinking, coffeehouses and the custom of afternoon tea to trickle down to the middle classes.
To Mintz, there are yet more connections. "The decisions to sweeten them remain largely hidden from us still," he muses. "All three beverages are bitter, yet none were drunk sweetened in their places of origin." Tea and coffee contain caffeine, and chocolate, too, is a mild stimulant. All became popular in an era of growing industrialization, he points out, when long factory hours, urban life and the lack of a cow were all among the new experiences encountered by proletarian families. "The first pause that refreshed antedated the cola drinks by centuries," Mintz says. Sugar became common in porridge, breads and desserts, and it began to be associated with the milestones of British lives, especially weddings, birthdays and funerals.

But increasingly, all that sugar was taken with more than a few lumps of guilt. That the ratio of slaves employed to sugar produced was 10 times that of other plantation crops like tobacco or cotton, and that three-quarters of all slaves out of Africa were destined for sugar plantations, all made sugar less sweet to the popular palate. A member of parliament reportedly described Jamaica as "a place of great wealth, a den of tyrants, and a dungeon of slaves."

A turning point came in 1801. Britain and France were at war, and France, tired of running the Royal Navy's gauntlet back to Europe, needed a closer source of sugar. That year, the first successful beet sugar production began in France. Chemically identical to cane sugar, beet sugar within 15 years threatened the tropical-sugar trade and by 1830 supplied more than half of the continental market. By 1880 it had overtaken cane in world trade.

Though Britain abolished slavery in 1834, and Cuba and the United States did so in 1865, the sugar-producing lands of the New World were left without schools, major roads, water supplies, sewage

and other critical infrastructures. Newly freed slaves had no other place to go and few new sources of livelihood. As Mintz writes, "Sugar—or rather, the great commodity market which arose demanding it—has been one of the massive demographic forces in world history."
Cane sugar could never have been what it was without Tawahin es-Sukkar and its progeny in the Levant and Mediterranean. The importance of this role is such that the new Jordan Museum, under construction in Amman, has chosen Tawahin es-Sukkar as one of its key permanent diorama exhibits.

"The Ayyubid-Mamluk period is generally connected with war and the Crusades," says the museum's former director general, Faris Nimry. "It is important to show the other face." Tawahin es-Sukkar was picked, he says, because "the sugar industry was a major part of Jordan's economy at the time, and it reveals several aspects of that. They were the first large-scale organized sugar plantations known." It also demonstrates the political capacity for the administration of such a large-scale industry, as well as economic and social impacts, he adds.

Today, sugar is mostly under attack again, accused of enabling if not causing global overindulgence in that peculiarly modern food group, the "junk foods." But not everyone agrees. In Amman, just east of the imposing Arab Bank, past the gold shops on Al-Malek Faisal Street, in a tiny shop—a stall, really—an operator feeds raw-cut sugar cane stalks into an electric crusher while hawking glasses filled with fresh cane juice. His sign proclaims it "enhances virility, improves eyesight and digestion and strengthens body and mind." At half a dinar, that seems like a sweet bargain.

(See more at: http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/201204/sugar.please.htm - sthash.zubqi6PV.dpuf)

Coffee: Good or Evil?

When coffee first began to be used as a beverage in the Middle East in the 16th century, and as it spread from the Arabian peninsula to Cairo and Constantinople and then to cities like Venice, Vienna and London, it was accompanied by a great deal of controversy. Should coffee be legal or forbidden? Was it healthy or harmful? And was the coffeehouse that sprang up everywhere a wonderful new arena for people to gather to socialize and perhaps conduct business, or a pernicious den of gossip, sedition and vice?

Directions: Examine the primary sources below, and use them to answer the questions in bulleted lists after each section.

Religious Debates over the Permissibility of Coffee

While there are debates over the origins of coffee and its use as a drink, it seems clear that some of the earliest users were Sufis, who incorporated the beverage into their ceremonies. Very quickly, others in society began to drink it as well. Some conservative legal scholars were deeply suspicious of this innovation, and tried to ban it as early as 1511 in Makkah. The major argument against it was that it was like *khamr*, or wine, which is forbidden in the Quran:

"O you who believe, indeed khamr *and* maysir *[gambling] and stone idols and arrows of divination are abominable, the work of Satan, so shun them [so that] you might prosper. Verily Satan wishes through* khamr *and* maysir *to sow enmity and hatred among you, and to turn you from mention of God and from prayer. So are you among those who desist?"* (Source: Quran 5:90-91)

Abd al-Qadir al-Jaziri was a 16th-century scholar and jurist who wrote a book defending coffee against the criticism that had sprung up against it. He writes about one version of the origin of coffee:

"At the beginning of this [i.e. 16th] *century, the news reached us in Egypt that a drink, called* qahwa*, had spread in the Yemen and was being used by Sufi shaykhs and others to help them stay awake during their devotional exercises, which they perform according to their well-known Way. Then it reached us, some time later, that its appearance and spread there had been due to the efforts of the learned shaykh, imam, mufti and Sufi Jamal al-Din Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Sa'id, known as al-Dhabhani…We heard that he had been in charge of the critical review of* fatwas *in Aden, which at that time was a job whose holder decided whether* fatwas *were sound or in need of revision, which he would indicate at the bottom of the document in his own hand. The reason for his introducing coffee, according to what we heard, was that some affair had forced him to leave Aden and go to Ethiopia, where he stayed for some time.* [There] *he found the people using* qahwa*, though he knew nothing of its characteristics. After he had returned to Aden, he fell ill, and remembering* [qahwa], *he drank it and benefited by it. He found that among its properties was that it drove away fatigue and lethargy, and brought to the body a certain sprightliness and vigor. In consequence, when he became a Sufi, he and other Sufis in Aden began to use the beverage made from it, as we have*

said. Then the whole people—both the learned and the common—followed [his example] in drinking it, seeking help in study and other vocations and crafts, so that it continued to spread…..Al-Dhabhani died in the year 875 [1470-71 CE]." (Source: Abd al-Qadir al-Jaziri, '*Umdat al-safwa fi hill al-qahwa.* Quoted in Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, pp. 14-15.)

Document-based Questions:

- **According to al-Jaziri, who was responsible for the spread of coffee? What sort of man was he?**
- **In this excerpt, three people or groups of people drink coffee. Who are they and what benefits do they get from it?**
- **How might this excerpt strengthen al-Jaziri's arguments against the prohibition of coffee on religious grounds?**

By the first decade of the 16th century, people in the Hijaz and in Cairo were drinking coffee, not only during religious ceremonies but on other occasions. It was sold on the street and in new establishments called coffeehouses.

"*[After the spread of coffee to Egypt and its brisk consumption in the precincts of the Azhar mosque] the situation continued along these lines: much coffee was drunk in the quarter of the mosque; it was sold openly in a multitude of places. In spite of the long time [that it had been drunk], not a soul gave any thought to interfering with coffee drinkers, nor did anyone find fault with the drink either in itself or because of factors [associated with but] external to it, such as passing the cup around and the like. All this was in spite of the fact that it had also become widespread in Mecca, and was drunk in the Sacred Mosque itself, so that there was scarcely a* dhikr [formula for remembering God's name] *or observance of the Prophet's birthday* [mawlid] *where coffee was not present.*" (Source: Al-Jaziri, quoted in Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, p. 29.)

- **What evidence does al-Jaziri use to argue that coffee should be legal?**

In 1511, Khair Beg, the pasha of the Mamluks and *muhtasib* (market inspector and vice police) in Mecca, discovered a group of men drinking coffee "in the fashion of drinkers swallowing an intoxicant" [i.e., passing a cup from one to the other]. He discovered that this new drink called *qahwa* had become popular throughout the city, and was drunk in places "like taverns." He convened a meeting of religious scholars and doctors the next day. He heard testimony that, while the Prophet allowed that which was not forbidden, if coffee caused *"…harm to the body or the mind, or if it caused drunkenness, pleasure or joy, then it would be illegal even if used by oneself alone in the interior of one's home, but as for this, only doctors can settle the question."*

In the event, Khair Beg closed coffeehouses on the basis of the behavior there (drinking coffee by passing around a cup as though it were wine, mixing of men and women, playing music and playing games for money) and banned coffee, despite opposition from the local mufti. He had all stocks of coffee in the city burned, and sent the following letter to the sultan in Cairo:

"*What is your opinion—may God accord you his satisfaction—of the drink named coffee which has propagated in the noble Mecca and in other places, to the point where it is drunk even within the sacred mosque and elsewhere, the drink circulating from hand to hand among the group in a saucer which one helps oneself by drawing it from a separate receptacle? Some men, who have ceased to take it, are certain that consuming a great deal leads to intoxication, and some doctors, whose testimony is worthy of faith, have said it is harmful to one's health. Among those who have forbidden the consumption of coffee, are some ulemas and some aesthetes in Mecca whose words are esteemed by all. However, there is also here an ignorant witness, who proclaims himself a preacher, and who has rendered a fatwa in favor of the depraved making coffee legal. It was asked of him what he thought of the fact that coffee circulates from hand to hand. He answered that the lawgiver instigated the passing of milk from hand to hand. It was retorted that he diverged from the truth, as the circulation from hand to hand of the milk was not done in the same way as coffee. Is it that its consumption in the manner described is legal or should it be absolutely forbidden from the fact that coffee is intoxicating and harmful to one's health? What should one do with the ignorant who has called its consumption legal? Should the one in authority—may God preserve him—halt this reprehensible thing and forbid its consumption and strongly admonish that ignorant and those who agree with him or not? What is the law in this matter? Give us a fatwa—may God reward you—and show us clearly the answer, may God help you, amen!*" (Source: Farid Khiari, *Licite, illicite? Qui dit le droit en islam?* Aix-en-Provence, France: Edisude, 2005, pp. 48, 53-54. Translated by and quoted in Glenn Robinette, *Why Drug Wars Fail*, p. 371)

- **On what basis does Khair Beg object to coffee? What kind of evidence does he present?**

- **How does Khair Beg use language to influence the sultan?**

- **Those who opposed the use of coffee on religious grounds compared it to wine, which is clearly forbidden. How, for them, is coffee analogous to wine?**

The anonymous author of a 16th-century tract called *Istifa al-safwa fi tasfihat al-qahwa* declares, on the other hand:

"If you draw the analogy between coffee and intoxicants, you are drawing a false one, since it has been made clear to you how it is quite the opposite in nature and effect. One drinks coffee with the name of the Lord on his lips, and stays awake, while the person who seeks wanton delight in intoxicants disregards the Lord, and gets drunk."
(Source: Quoted in Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, p. 59)

- **If you were a Muslim official trying to decide whether to legalize or ban this new substance called coffee, given all the evidence above, what conclusion would you reach? Why?**

Debates over the religious permissibility of drinking coffee were not limited to Muslims. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church banned the use of coffee for centuries, in part because of its use among Muslims and animist communities. In Europe as well, some Christians opposed the introduction of coffee.

For Men and Christians to turn Turks, and think
T'excuse the Crime because 'tis in their drink,
Is more than Magick, and does plainly tell
Coffee's extraction has its heats from hell.
....
Pure English Apes! Ye may, for ought I know,
Would it but mode, learn to eat Spiders too.

(Source: Anon. broadsheet, *A Cup of Coffee: or Coffee in its Colours*, 1663.)

'Tis, methinks, faint defying
Old-Nick and his Works,
To be fond of a Berry,
That comes from the Turks.

(Source: Coffee, A Tale (1727), p. 3 Quoted in Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558-1685*, p. 114.)

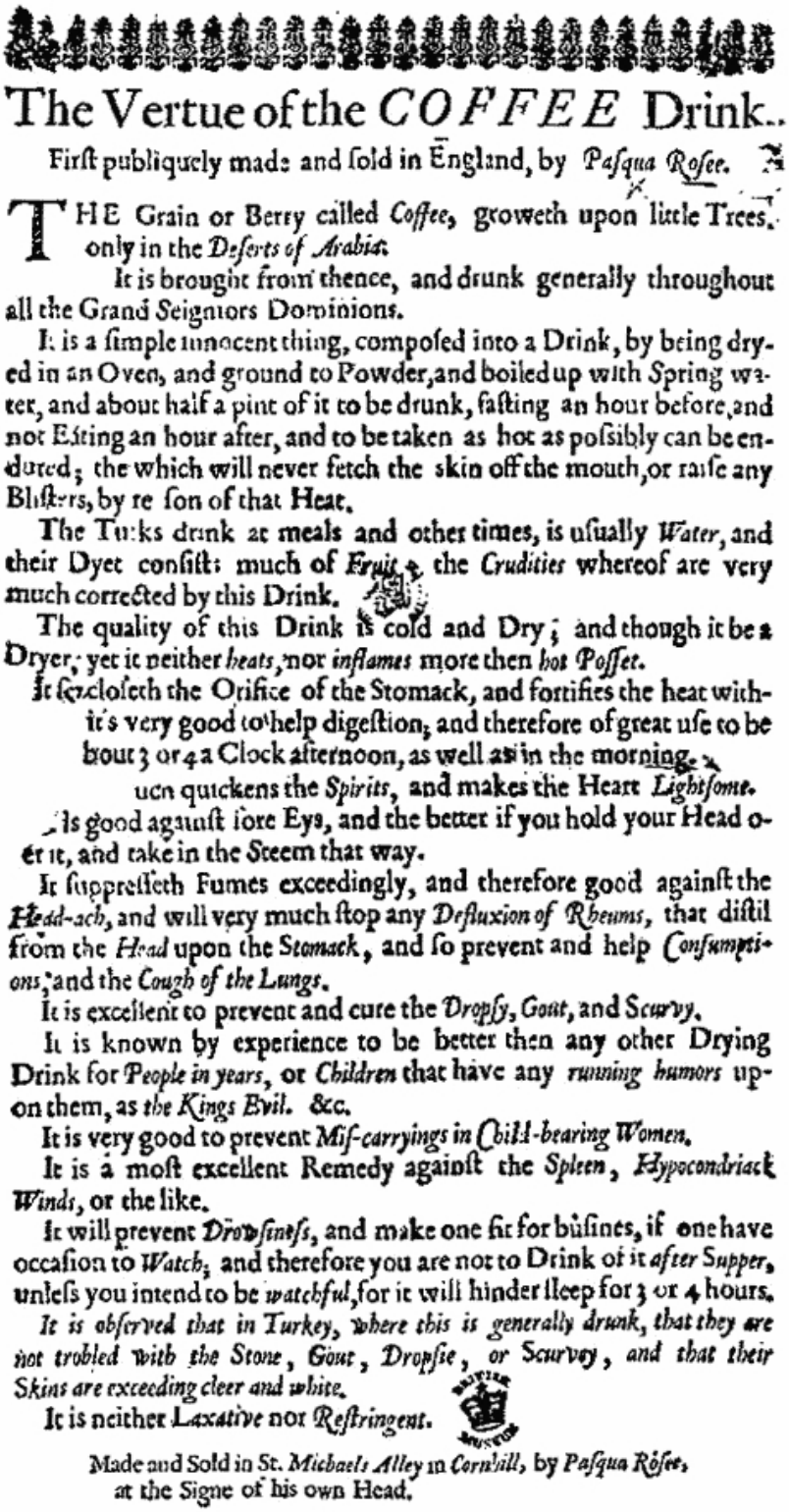
Incensed by the import of coffee by a Venetian merchant in 1600, a number of clergymen approached Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) to ask him to ban the drink from the East lest Christians lose their souls to Islam. Not only was this "bitter invention of Satan" a Muslim innovation, but it would compete with wine, used in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist. In a story that spread widely and in many versions, the Pope bravely tried some, and is said to have declared:

"This devil's drink is so delicious, it would be a pity to let the infidels have exclusive use of it....we shall cheat Satan by baptizing it." (Source: Ukers, p. 26.)

- **What dangers did some people in Christian communities see in coffee? What benefits might others have seen?**

Debates over the Impact of Coffee on Health

It was clear that coffee had a significant physical effect, but people vigorously debated whether coffee was good or bad for health:



The Vertue of the *COFFEE* Drink.

First publiquely made and sold in England, by *Pasqua Rosee*.

THE Grain or Berry called *Coffee*, groweth upon little Trees only in the *Deserts of Arabia*.

It is brought from thence, and drunk generally throughout all the Grand Seignors Dominions.

It is a simple innocent thing, composed into a Drink, by being dryed in an Oven, and ground to Powder, and boiled up with Spring water, and about half a pint of it to be drunk, fasting an hour before, and not Eating an hour after, and to be taken as hot as possibly can be endured; the which will never fetch the skin off the mouth, or raise any Blisters, by reason of that Heat.

The Turks drink at meals and other times, is usually *Water*, and their Dyet consists much of *Fruits*, the *Crudities* whereof are very much corrected by this Drink.

The quality of this Drink is cold and Dry; and though it be a Dryer, yet it neither *heats*, nor *inflames* more then *hot Posset*.

It scloseth the Orifice of the Stomack, and fortifies the heat within it's very good to help digestion, and therefore of great use to be bout 3 or 4 a Clock afternoon, as well as in the morning.

ucn quickens the *Spirits*, and makes the Heart *Lightsome*.

Is good against sore Eys, and the better if you hold your Head over it, and take in the Steem that way.

It suppresseth Fumes exceedingly, and therefore good against the *Head-ach*, and will very much stop any *Defluxion of Rheums*, that distil from the *Head* upon the *Stomack*, and so prevent and help *Consumptions*, and the *Cough of the Lungs*.

It is excellent to prevent and cure the *Dropsy*, *Gout*, and *Scurvy*.

It is known by experience to be better then any other Drying Drink for *People in years*, or *Children* that have any *running humors* upon them, as *the Kings Evil*. &c.

It is very good to prevent *Mis-carryings in Child-bearing Women*.

It is a most excellent Remedy against the *Spleen*, *Hypocondriack Winds*, or the like.

It will prevent *Drowsiness*, and make one fit for business, if one have occasion to *Watch*; and therefore you are not to Drink of it *after Supper*, unless you intend to be *watchful*, for it will hinder sleep for 3 or 4 hours.

It is observed that in Turkey, where this is generally drunk, that they are not troubled with the Stone, Gout, Dropsie, or Scurvey, and that their Skins are exceeding cleer and white.

It is neither *Laxative* nor *Restringent*.

Made and Sold in St. *Michaels Alley* in *Cornhill*, by *Pasqua Rosee*, at the Signe of his own Head.

(Source: Advertisement for (perhaps) the first English coffeehouse, set up by the Greek Pasqua Rosee, the servant of Daniel Edwards, a merchant with the Levant Company who had spent time in the Middle East. From William H. Ukers, *All about Coffee*. New York, 1922. Original © Trustees of the British Museum)

Coffeehouses Vindicated, 1675.

"Though the happy Arabia, nature's spicery, prodigally furnishes the voluptuous world with all kinds of aromatics, and divers other rarities; yet I scarce know whether mankind be not still as much obliged to it for the excellent fruit of the humble coffee-shrub, as for any other of its more specious productions: for, since there is nothing we here enjoy, next to life, valuable beyond health, certainly those things that contribute to preserve us in good plight and eucrasy (such a due mixture of qualities as constitutes health), and fortify our weak bodies against the continual assaults and batteries of disease, deserve our regards much more than those which only gratify a liquorish palate, or otherwise prove subservient to our delights. As for this salutiferous berry, of so general a use through all the regions of the east, it is sufficiently known, when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying attenuating and cleansing quality; whence reason infers, that its decoction must contain many good physical properties, and cannot but be an incomparable remedy to dissolve crudities, comfort the brain, and dry up ill humors in the stomach. In brief, to prevent or redress, in those that frequently drink it, all cold drowsy rheumatic distempers whatsoever, that proceed from excess of moisture, which are so numerous, that but to name them would tire the tongue of a mountebank." (Source: Charles W. Colby, ed., *Selections from the Sources of English History*, *B.C. 55 - A.D. 1832* (London: Longmans, Green, 1920), pp. 208-212. Fordham Internet History Sourcebook.)

Colomb, Whether the Use of Coffee is Harmful to the Inhabitants of Marseilles ,1675:

"We note with horror that this beverage, thanks to the qualities that have been incautiously ascribed to it, has tended almost completely to disaccustom people from the enjoyment of wine—although any candid observer must admit that neither in respect of taste or smell, not yet of colour, nor yet of any of its essential characteristics, is it worthy to be named in the same breath with fermented liquor, with wine! …And why? Because the Arabs had described it as excellent. They had done so because it was one of their own national products, and also because its use had been disclosed to men by goats, by camels, or God knows what beasts!...the burned particles, which it contains in large quantities, have so violent an energy that, when they enter the blood, they attract the lymph and dry the kidneys. Furthermore, they are dangerous to the brain, for, after having dried up the cerebro-spinal fluid and the convolutions, they open the pores of the body, with the results that the somniferous animal forces are overcome. In this way the ashes contained in coffee produce such obstinate wakefulness that the nervous juices are dried up;…the upshot being general exhaustion, paralysis, and impotence…For these reasons, we have to infer that the drinking and the use of coffee would be injurious to the inhabitants of Marseilles." (Source: Quoted in Nina Luttinger and Gregory Dicum, *The Coffee Book: Anatomy of an Industry from Crop to the Last Drop*. The New Press, 2006, p. 21.)

- **What examples of language in the two excerpts above reveal the authors' attitudes toward the "Turks" or Muslims? What does the writer view as dangerous about coffee? Cite evidence of cultural, economic and medical reasoning by the author of the document.**

Debates over Coffeehouses

While the debates about the religious permissibility of coffee and its health benefits or dangers raged on, the coffee-drinking public ignored the scholars and the doctors and flocked to the new institution of the coffeehouse. It is hard to overstate the importance of this new institution: it provided a public gathering place for people (well, men, generally speaking) of all classes, more legitimate than a disreputable tavern. Where previously in Muslim societies, generally people would gather day to day only at the home, the mosque, or in the marketplace, the coffeehouse provided a new place to socialize, to host guests, and to mix with a wide variety of folk.

The coffeehouse stimulated the economy as well as the body, providing a livelihood for café owners and workers, merchants, entertainers and sellers of food and tobacco. However, there was a great deal of suspicion about coffeehouses, both on the part of men of religion who suspected that more than coffee drinking was going in them, and on the part of rulers and their spies, who knew quite definitely that a great deal of seditious talk was going on in them. This was true both in Muslim lands and in western Europe.

Read the passages and examine the images on Coffeehouses below.

- **Why does each author approve or disapprove of coffeehouses?**
- **Describe the people you see in the images. Who do you think they are? What are they doing? Where would you guess the different individuals are from, and what do they represent? How do you think the artist is using the images of the people portrayed to influence his audience about coffee and tobacco?**
- **What differences and similarities do you see in coffeehouses and the debate about them in different countries?**
- **What arguments are most compelling to you? Why?**
- **Why do you think coffeehouses continued to grow in popularity despite the significant opposition to them from religious authorities and governments?**

The Venetian *bailo*, or permanent representative at Istanbul, Gianfrancesco Morosini, 1585:

"All these people are quite base, of low costume and very little industry.... They continually sit about, and for entertainment they are in the habit of drinking, in public, in shops and in the streets, a black liquid, ...[as hot] as they can stand it, which is extracted from a seed they call Caveé.... It is said to have the property of keeping a man awake." (Source: Quoted by Caroline Stone, *firstsocialnetwork@coffeehouse.org*, Saudi Aramco World May/June 2013.)

During the reign of Süleyman the Law-Giver in the late 16th century, the Sheikh ul-Islam Ebussuud decreed,

"The Sultan, the Refuge of Religion, has on many occasions banned coffee-houses. However, a group of ruffians take no notice, but keep coffee-houses for a living [...] The city's rakes, rogues and vagabond boys gather there to consume opium and hashish. On top of this, they drink coffee and, when they are high, engage in games and false sciences, and neglect the prescribed prayers. In law, what should happen to a judge who is able to prevent the said coffee-sellers and drinkers, but does not do so?

Answer : Those who perpetrate these ugly deeds should be prevented and deterred by severe chastisement and long imprisonment. Judges who neglect to deter them should be dismissed."

(Source: Colin Imber, trans., *Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition*, Stanford University Press, 1997, p. 94.)

Ibrahim Pecevi, History, 1635

"Until the year 962 (AH, or 1554-55 CE), in the high, God-guarded capital city of Constantinople, as well as in the Ottoman lands generally, coffee and coffee-houses did not exist. About that year, a fellow called Hakam from Aleppo, and a wag called Shems from Damascus, came to the city; they each opened a large shop in the district called Tahtalkale, and began to purvey coffee. These shops became meeting-places of a circle of pleasure-seekers and idlers, and also of some wits from among the men of letters and literati, and they used to meet in groups of about twenty or thirty. Some read books and fine writings, some were busy with backgammon and chess, some brought new poems and talked of literature. Those who used to spend a good deal of money on giving dinners for the sake of convivial entertainment, found that they could attain the joys of conviviality merely by spending an asper or two on the price of coffee. It reached such a point that all kinds of unemployed officers, judges and professors all seeking preferment, and corner-sitters with nothing to do proclaimed that there was no place like it for pleasure and relaxation, and filled it until there was no room to sit or stand. It became so famous that, besides the holders of high offices, even great men could not refrain from coming there. The Imams and muezzins and pious hypocrites said: "People have become addicts of the coffee house; nobody comes to the mosques!" The ulema said: "It is a house of evil deeds; it is better to go to the wine-tavern than there." The preachers in particular made great efforts to forbid it. The muftis, arguing that anything which is heated to the point of carbonization, that is, becomes charcoal, is unlawful, issues fetvas against it. In the time of Sultan Murad III, may God pardon him and have mercy on him, there were great interdictions and prohibitions, but certain persons made approaches to the chief of police and the captain of the watch about selling coffee from back-doors in side-alleys, in small and unobtrusive shops, and were allowed to do this….After this time, it became so prevalent, that the ban was abandoned. The preachers and muftis now said that it does not get completely carbonized, and to drink it is therefore lawful. Among the ulema, the sheikhs, the viziers and the great, there was nobody left who did not drink it. It even reached such a point that the grand viziers built great coffee houses as investments, and began to rent them out at one or two gold pieces a day…"

After Murad IV had not only banned both coffee and tobacco in 1633 but executed a number of coffeehouse owners, coffee drinkers and smokers, ostensibly to prevent more devastating fires from wreaking havoc on the city, but perhaps also to stifle dissent, Peçevi continues approvingly:

"May Almighty God add increase to the life and might and justice and equity of our sovereign emperor (God strengthens his helpers), who has closed all the coffee houses throughout the divinely guarded realms and caused suitable shops to be opened in their place, and who has commanded that smoking be totally forbidden. By this means he has conferred such great boons and benefactions on the rich and poor alike, that if they thank him until the Day of Judgment, they will not properly discharge their debt of gratitude." (Source: Trans. Bernard Lewis. In *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963, pp. 132-36.)

(Source: *Surname de Murad III,* Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms 439.)

Mustafa Ali, 1599

Also [remarkable] is the multitude of coffee-houses in the city of Cairo, the concentration of coffee-houses at every step, and of perfect places where people can assemble. Early rising worshippers and pious men get up and go [there], drink a cup of coffee adding life to their life. They feel, in a way, that its slight exhilaration strengthens them for their religious observance and worship. From that point of view their coffee-houses are commended and praised. But if one considers the ignorant people that assemble in them it is questionable whether they deserve praise….

To make it short, the coffee-houses of Egypt are filled mostly with dissolute persons and opium-eaters. Many of them are occupied by veteran soldiers, aged officers (chaushan and müteferriqas). When they arrive in the morning rags and rush mats are spread out, and they stay until evening…They are a bunch of parasites…whose work consists of presiding over the coffee-house, of drinking coffee on credit, talking of frugality when the matter comes up…Their talk is mostly lies, …no true word ever crosses over their lips.

…. Some coffee houses are full of madmen, in spite of the fact there are perfectly good lunatic asylums. (Source: Andreas Tietze, ed. and trans., *Mustafa Ali's Description of Cairo of 1599*. Vienna, 1975.)

In 1615 Pierre (Pietro) Delia Valle, author of *Travels in India and Persia*, wrote a letter from Constantinople to his friend Mario Schipano in Venice:

"The Turks have a drink of black color, which during the summer is very cooling, whereas in the winter it heats and warms the body, remaining always the same beverage and not changing its substance. They swallow it hot as it comes from the fire and they drink it in long draughts, not at dinner time, but as a kind of dainty and sipped slowly while talking with one's friends. One cannot find any meetings among them where they drink it not…. With this drink, which they call cahue, they divert themselves in their conversations…. It is made with the grain or fruit of a certain tree called cahue…. When I return I will bring some with me and I will impart the knowledge to the Italians." (Source: William Ukers, *All about Coffee*. New York, Tea and Coffee Trade Company, 1922.)

(Image Source: The Meddah (Storyteller) at a Coffeehouse. 19th century Constantinople at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Meddah_story_teller.png)

Evliya Çelebi on the coffeehouses of Bursa

"There are seventy-five coffee-houses each capable of holding a thousand persons, which are frequented by the most elegant and learned of the inhabitants; and three times a day singers and dancers execute a musical concert in them like those of Hossein Bikara. Their poets are so many Hassans, and their story-tellers (Meddah) so many Abul-mua'ali. The one most famous for relating stories from the Hamzeh-nameh is Kurbani Ali, and Sherif Chelebi enchanted his hearers by those he told from the Shah-nameh….All coffee-houses, and particularly those near the great mosque, abound with men skilled in a thousand arts (Hezar-fenn) dancing and pleasure continue the whole night, and in the morning every body goes to the mosque. These coffee-houses became famous only since those of Constantinople were closed by the express command of Sultan Murad IV." (Source: Translated by Joseph von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth Century by Evliya Efendi*. Vol 2. London: Allen and Co., 1850, p. 13.)

Just as in Istanbul, the coffeehouse in London caught on quickly, but some English observers objected to coffeehouses.

The Character of a Coffee-House, 1673 A.D.

"A coffee-house is a lay conventicle, good-fellowship turned puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade, whither people come, after toping all day, to purchase, at the expense of their last penny, the repute of sober companions: A Rota [i.e., club room], that, like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band, to the hectoring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling [i.e., carping] critics that have only learned to spit and mew; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his pennyworth, draws out into petty parcels, what the merchant receives in bullion: he, that comes often, saves twopence a week in Gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same charge, as at a threepenny ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is an exchange, where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the public, with bottomless stories, and heedless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet cloak takes upon him to transpose affairs both in church and state, to show reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils.
As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too is your company, for each man seems a leveler, and ranks and files himself as he lists, without regard to degrees or order; so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a griping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant pickpocket, a reverend non-conformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose a medley of impertinence."

(Image Source: Josuah Sylvester, Broad-side against coffee, or the marriage of the turk. London, 1672. Folger Shakespeare Library. Used under Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial License, accessed at http://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~31319~102215:Two-broad-sides-against-tobacco--Th.)

"BY THE KING: A PROCLAMATION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF COFFEE HOUSES

Whereas it is most apparent that the multitude of Coffee-houses of late years set up and kept within this Kingdom, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the great resort of Idle and disaffected persons to them, have produced very evil and dangerous effects: as well for that many Tradesmen and others, do therein misspend much of their time, which might and probably would otherwise be imployed in and about their Lawful Callings and Affairs; but also, for that in such Houses...divers False, Salitious and Scandalous Reports are devised and spread abroad, to the Defamation of His Majestie's Government, and to the disturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Realm; His Majesty hath thought it fit and

necessary, That the said Coffee-Houses be (for the future) Put down and Suppressed, and doth...Strictly Charge and Command all manner of persons, That they or any of them do not presume from and after the Tenth Day of January next ensuing, to keep any Publick Coffee-house, or to Utter or sell by retail, in his, her or their house or houses (to be spent or consumed within the same) any Coffee, Chocolet, Sherbett or Tea, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perils...(All licenses formerly granted to be revoked).
Given at our court at Whitehall, this Nine-and-twentieth day of December 1675, in the Seven and twentieth year of Our Reign.
GOD SAVE THE KING" (Source: Aytoun Ellis. *The Penny University: A History of the Coffee-Houses*. London: Seeker & Warburg, 1956, p. 92.)

Coffee-Houses Vindicated, 1675 A.D.:

"It is older than Aristotle, and will be true, when Hobbes is forgot, that man is a sociable creature, and delights in company. Now, whither shall a person, wearied with hard study, or the laborious turmoils of a tedious day, repair to refresh himself? Or where can young gentlemen, or shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageously spend an hour or two in the evening, than at a coffee-house? Where they shall be sure to meet company, and, by the custom of the house, not such as at other places, stingy and reserved to themselves, but free and communicative; where every man may modestly begin his story, and propose to, or answer another, as he thinks fit. Discourse is pabulum animi, cos ingenii; the mind's best diet, and the great whetstone and incentive of ingenuity; by that we come to know men better than by their physiognomy. Loquere, ut te videam, speak, that I may see you, was the philosopher's adage. To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is there a better library for that study, generally, than here, amongst such a variety of humors, all expressing themselves on divers subjects, according to their respective abilities?

In brief, it is undeniable, that, as you have here the most civil, so it is, generally, the most intelligent society; the frequenting whose converse, and observing their discourses and deportment, cannot but civilize our manners, enlarge our understandings, refine our language, teach us a generous confidence and handsome mode of address, and brush off that pudor rubrusticus (as, I remember, Tully somewhere calls it), that clownish kind of modesty frequently incident to the best natures, which renders them sheepish and ridiculous in company.

So that, upon the whole matter, spite of the idle sarcasms and paltry reproaches thrown upon it, we may, with no less truth than plainness, give this brief character of a well-regulated coffee-house (for our pen disdains to be an advocate for any sordid holes, that assume that name to cloak the practice of debauchery), that it is the sanctuary of health, the nursery of temperance, the delight of frugality, an academy of civility, and free-school of ingenuity."

(Source: Charles W. Colby, ed., *Selections from the Sources of English History, B.C. 55 - A.D. 1832*. London: Longmans, Green, 1920, pp. 208-212. This text is part of the Internet Modern History Sourcebook)

Module 4 Student Handouts by Lesson # Part C 4.7.3 a, b, c

Student Handout 4.3.3a Power Dressing with Brocades – Imports, Imitations, and Innovations Across Asia and Europe

Silk brocade is a luxury fabric in which ornamental designs are woven into the fabric using supplementary weft threads. Its creation was extremely labor intensive, and until the 19th century was woven on a complex, two-man drawloom. The drawloom for weaving silk brocade was probably invented where silk weaving began—in China—as early as the 4th century CE. It moved westward across the Silk Road to Persia, India, and into the Mediterranean region to Byzantium, where it was used in imperial silk workshops. After the rise of Islam, caliphal workshops kept up the skill of brocade weaving from Byzantium and Persia. The drawloom and pattern weaving moved to Syria, Egypt, Sicily, and Spain. By the 12th century, brocade silk weaving began in Italian cities like Genoa, Venice and Pisa, and then in southern France.

From the first piece of extraordinary silk brocade that found its way westward along the Silk Road from China, people wanted to have it. However, it was extremely rare and ridiculously expensive. "If there were only a way to make it ourselves," thought merchants and kings alike. Import substitution meant imitating techniques, designs and colors—how did they DO that?! As the technology moved along the trade routes to new manufacturing centers, styles moved along as well.

Fragments of fabrics and images of fabric in paintings, as well as excerpts from art historians, illustrate the history of power dressing. The texts and images below trace some of the many ways in which both technologies and new tastes and fashions in silk textiles moved from one region to others throughout the Mediterranean through both manufacture and trade. They also demonstrate the tension between the "snob value" of wearing expensive luxury fabrics created far away and the accompanying urge toward import substitution, or copying and manufacturing similar items for the local market (and sometimes re-export), that would cost less and create jobs and tax revenues at home.

- Royalty wore the fanciest brocades to set themselves apart. These fabrics took months or even years to create, and were priceless, made in courtly workshops.
- Emperors, kings, and queens gave less fancy brocades as "robes of honor" to people whom they favored. They often carried symbols of the ruler that gifted them.
- Aristocratic elites wore brocades to show their relationship to royalty.
- Church officials wore brocades as vestments and used them in ceremonies to convey majesty.
- Painters clothed holy figures like the Madonna and Christ child in brocades to exalt them by surrounding them with an atmosphere of luxury and beauty.
- Wealthy merchants followed royalty's fashion lead as the technology and imports grew more accessible.
- Inventors and capitalists tried to innovate to meet demand by speeding up production and lowering costs; by doing so, they also created even more demand.
- Today, you can buy a polyester brocade pillow for a few dollars, or send a photo to a mail-order house and they will weave a jacquard throw with that image for your sofa at home.

East-West Connections

"Textiles were the first Italian decorative art that developed to a high standard, and the first to follow Oriental models as these reached their peak period of development. Luxury textiles were staples of the international luxury trade during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the demand for them so universal that they served as a common currency and became the primary agents of artistic transfer, all the more effective because they played parallel roles and bore comparable symbolic meanings in Islamic, Mongol and European cultures." (Source: Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600*, p. 27.)

This piece of silk is a Sassanian Persian brocade with a Simurgh (legendary beast) from the 6th - 7th century, which was used in a French religious object, a reliquary at Saint Len, Paris. (Source: Wikimedia commons at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Textile0001.jpg)

This is a fragment from a Byzantine silk brocade made in Constantinople in the early 8th century, showing a chariot with horses. It was supposedly used as the shroud (burial clothes) of Charlemagne. (Source: Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Shroud_of_Charlemagne_manufactured_in_Constantinople_814.jpg)

"In both East and West, the wearing and display of luxury textiles signified authority and rank and marked religious rituals and milestones in secular life. It was international custom to seize luxury textiles as prizes of war and present them as tokens of honor." (Mack, p.)

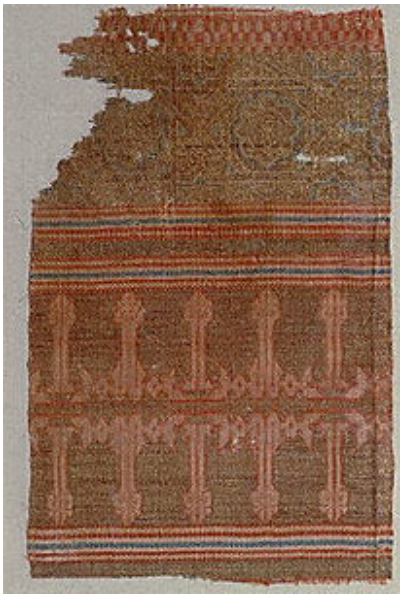
"...Ornamental patterns woven into or embroidered onto luxury fabrics…were highly subject to fashion. Because the finest fabrics had universal prestige, textile fashions were closely watched and imitated all along the routes of trade, conquest, and diplomacy. Europeans readily adapted the essentially ornamental motifs in Asian and Islamic textiles..."

This fragment of an Islamic silk brocade from the 10th century is from Central Asia. It features a new element—Arabic writing called *tiraz*, an inscription blessing the ruler. It reads "Glory and prosperity to Qa'id Abu'l-Mansur Bakht-tegin, may God perpetuate his happiness."

This piece of silk from 12th-century Islamic Spain has two peacocks in mirror image, whose tails form a rounded border design. It also shows trees and other animals, and Arabic writing, or *tiraz*.
(Source of both images: Fragment of a 10th century silk hanging from Khorasan with elephants and camels, and Brocade fragment with peacocks and Kufic script, 12th century Islamic Spain; both at http://home.earthlink.net/~lilinah/Textiles/METextiles.html)

Islamic textiles have been found in the treasuries of churches, including Arabic inscriptions. They were used as altar cloths, to wrap holy relics, and for vestments, or garments worn during church ceremonies. Rosamond Mack cites several examples of imported Islamic textiles used this way:

"An ecclesiastical vestment in the treasury of the cathedral of Fermo illustrates how even textiles whose Islamic imagery and inscription did have meaning were prized and adapted to new uses. Supposedly owned by Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, a chasuble ... was made from worn pieces of a gold-embroidered silk produced in Almería, the principal textile center of Almoravid Spain, in 1116. The fabric probably came from a canopy or tent seized in war and presented as a diplomatic gift....Such was the prestige of the embroidered textile that it was reshaped for Christian use despite the traditional Islamic royal and cosmological imagery in its compartmented design. Moreover, the textile's Arabic inscription invoking Allah's blessing on the owner was turned into an orphrey (an embroidered ornamental band), centered on the back of the vestment, where it would face the congregation during Mass."



This silk fragment from 13th-century Spain was found in the tomb of Don Felipe, a church official. Its design is purely geometric with bands of Arabic writing in mirror image. These rich fabrics were prized for the shrouds of important people, as well as for use in churches, even though they carried Islamic inscriptions of blessing. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Textile Fragment from the Tomb of Don Felipe http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/450725)

In this painting by Giotto di Bondone (1267-1337), the Pope's chamber is shown decorated with Islamic silks featuring Arabic writing. (Source: Basilique Assise, Legend of St Francis, Dream of St Gregory http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giotto_-_Legend_of_St_Francis_-_-25-_-_Dream_of_St_Gregory.jpg)

(Source: Detail from Gentile de Fabriano, *Adoration of the Magi, 1423.* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Gentile_da_Fabriano_Adoration.jpg)

"The most successful Italian Renaissance textile patterns descended from the Oriental ogival and undulating vertical stem designs...[and]... floral motifs. Gentile de Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi*, dated 1423, reflects changing Italian taste: characteristically Islamic banded fabrics with imitation inscriptions appear in several turbans and in the shawls of the Virgin and the female attendant at the far left, but at center stage the Oriental kings wear the new Italian textiles." (Rosamond Mack, p. 46)

Right: Detail of female attendant from Adoration of the Magi painting, shown with *tiraz* (bands of Arabic inscriptions) on her veil and outer garment (Source : Aramco World Magazine at http://www.palestineheritage.org/aramco_world_march_april_1997.htm)

Left: Italian silk weaving began in the 13th or 14th century in Lucca. This brocade with metallic threads shows a fountain with animals, trees, and water. It also has pseudo-(fake) Arabic writing. It is hard to tell if the fabric is actually from a Muslim workshop or an Italian one. (Source: "The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Textile with Architectural Fountain Guarded by Lions." http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/463298)

Demand for Silk: A Complex Market

Quotations from the Letters of Ambassador to the Court of Suleiman the Magnificent in the 16th century. Note his observations on clothing. (From Charles Thornton Forster and F.H. Blackburne Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghisein de Busbecq*. London, Kegan Paul, 1881, p. 155-59. Engraving of Ogier de Busbecq, Wikimedia Commons)

"*For the nonce, take your stand by my side, and look at the sea of turbaned heads, each wrapped in twisted folds of the whitest silk; look at those marvellously handsome dresses of every kind and every colour; time would fail me to tell how all around is glittering with gold, with silver, with purple, with silk, and with velvet; words cannot convey an adequate idea of that strange and wondrous sight: it was the most beautiful spectacle I ever saw*."

"*With all this luxury great simplicity and economy are combined; every man's dress, whatever his position may be, is of the same pattern; no fringes or useless points are sewn on, as is the case with us, appendages which cost a great deal of money, and are worn out in three days. In Turkey the tailor's bill for a silk or velvet dress, even though it be richly embroidered, as most of them are, is only a ducat. They were quite as much surprised at our manner of dressing as we were at theirs. They use long robes reaching down to the ankles, which have a stately effect and add to the wearer's height, while our dress is so short and scanty that it leaves exposed to view more than is comely of the human shape; besides, somehow or other, our fashion of dress seems to take from the wearer's height, and make him look shorter than he really is*."

...

"*I had come to fill the position of ambassador in ordinary; but inasmuch as nothing had been as yet settled as to a peace, the Pashas determined that I should return to my master with Solyman's letter, and bring back an answer, if it pleased the King to send one. Accordingly I had another interview with the Sultan; two embroidered robes of ample size, and reaching down to the ankles, were thrown over my shoulders (they were as much as I could carry). All my people were likewise presented with silk dresses of different colours, which they wore as they marched in my train*."

Contrasting dress of European diplomats and the court of Suleiman the Magnificent, 1566
(Source: Anonymous miniature painting, Les Collections de l'Histoire Les Turcs, October 2009, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Sigismund_of_Hungary_with_Suleiman_the_Magnificient_in_1556.jpg)

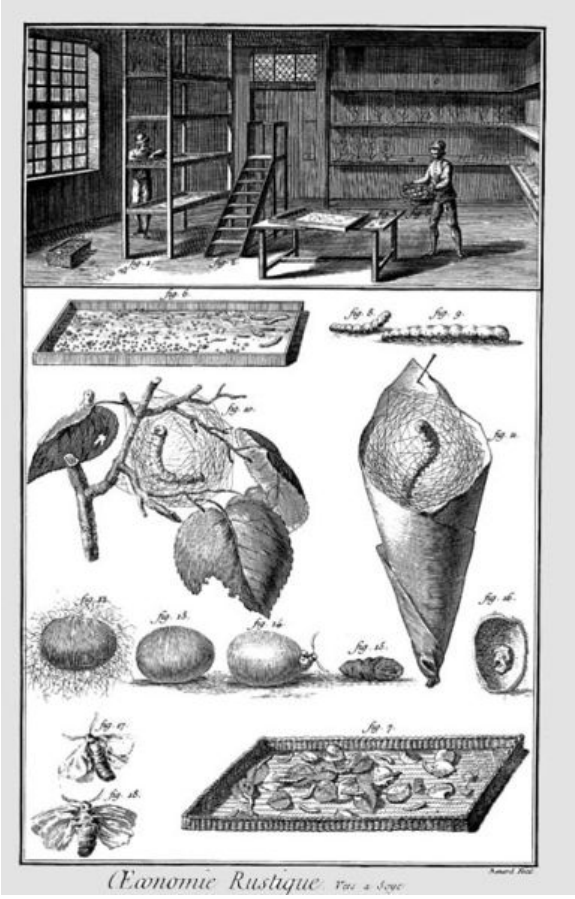
From the 14th century, Italian and French silk manufacturing began to make drawloom brocades based on designs so similar to Spanish and Sicilian models that it is hard to tell them apart. By the 16th century, the center at Lyons was flourishing and had developed its own styles, including influence from silk imported from China.

The following excerpts are from James Essinger, *Jaquard's Web*, pages 14-16:

"Kings, queens and others of noble blood thought linen and cotton perfectly good enough for their lowly-born subjects, but absolutely unacceptable to elevated people such as themselves. For them, what other fabric could be suitable but the king of fabrics: silk? And there was only one way of producing the fabulously ornate damasks, satins, taffetas, brocades, and lampas (a patterned silk that imitated Indian painted and dyed textiles) which France's royalty and aristocracy took for granted much as we take cotton for granted today. Every pick of the deliciously soft, heavy, decorated silks that clothed their privileged forms during the day, kept them warm during the night, blocked out the disruptive sunlight in their bedrooms, or glorified the walls of their palaces, had to be woven laboriously on a drawloom by a master-weaver and an assistant perched precariously on top of the archaic mechanism."

"Why was Louis so eager to create an indigenous silk industry? One reason was selfish: he loved silk and wanted to secure his own supply of it. But he had an altruistic reason, too. The silk industry was the world's first luxury business, and experience showed that silk production and silk-weaving always brought prosperity to any region where they were practised."

"By 1566, at a time when the total population of Lyons was about 120,000, more than one-tenth of these people were silk-weavers. Over the next few decades, the proportion of the weaving population continued to grow relative to the entire population, so that by the end of the sixteenth century, an actual majority of people living in Lyons depended either directly or indirectly on the silk industry for their livelihoods. The decorated silk fabrics woven in Lyons were the envy of the world. Even fabrics woven in China, where silk production and silk-weaving had originated, did not compare in quality, beauty and artistic detail to those produced in Lyons."



(Image source: Page on silk production from the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot & D'Alembert, published from 1751-1777 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Planche_Soie.jpg)

Copying One Another's Designs in Both East and West
(Source: Walter Denny, "Oriental Carpets and Textiles in Venice," in *Venice and the Islamic World 828-1797*. Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, pp. 183-86)

"Unlike the carpet trade, which appears to have moved almost exclusively in an east-to-west direction, textile commerce between Venice and the Islamic Middle East was distinguished by the flow of textile goods in both directions. Venice in the 16th century was a major producer of silk luxury textiles; the raw silk itself was produced in Gilan and Mazandaran on the Caspian shore of northern Persia, and was purchased in the Middle East by Venetian merchants after being transshipped overland through Bursa in Turkey—then the capital of the Ottoman Empire—and later through northern Syria, from whence it was taken by ship to Venice. Venetian luxury silks achieved a high reputation in Europe, and even, as we shall see, enjoyed a flourishing demand in the Ottoman Empire in the early 16th century."

This luxurious silk velvet with brocade and plain silk in red and gold shows that the Italian weaving industry has advanced and incorporated its own styles and techniques. It was made in Venice during the early 16th century, when Italian trade with the eastern Mediterranean involved both imports and exports.
(Source: Civici Musei Veniziani d'Arte e di Storia. Cini Collection, Venice at "A Step Through Time." http://webspace.webring.com/people/lo/oonaghsown/step_through_time/a_step_through_time_textiles.htm)

"The balance between textile imports and exports in the Venetian economy was in fact an indication of growing European dominance in textile production, which encompassed a wide range of qualities. European technical innovations in weaving in the medieval period, including the water-powered loom, the pedal-operated loom, and the spinning wheel, led to a large-scale export to the Middle East of low-quality cloth, described by a leading French economic historian as "*un veritable dumping*." Venetians, in particular, exported to Syria large quantities of Reims linen, and the 15th-century Egyptian historian al-Maqrizi complains of Egyptians dressing themselves in cheap European cloth instead of using higher-quality local products. Venetian textile exports to the Middle East were not confined to lower-quality goods, however. When Barbaro visited Uzun Hasan in Tabriz in 1474, he brought along as gifts fine Venetian silk velvet and brocaded cloth valued at 2,500 ducats. Venetian silk sold in Syria at this time was costly: two ducats per braccio, or around 70 ducats for a bolt. . . .We must remember, however, that the silk itself from which Venetians and Florentines wove these luxurious fabrics originated in Iran.

". . .The large collections of Ottoman dynastic costumes preserved in what is now the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul include over 30 kaftans or ceremonial outer robes executed in silk velvet. Some of these are manifestly foreign products, tailored from French or Italian velvet. Others appeared to be of Ottoman manufacture according to their designs, which used the characteristic Ottoman tulip as a primary element of decoration. A closer examination, however, proved that many of the latter were in fact also Italian—probably Venetian—velvets, several incorporating the distinctive Italian alto basso technique of using both cut and looped velvet pile, that apparently had been woven in Turkish designs for the specific purpose of appealing to Ottoman taste, whether to serve as official diplomatic gifts to the sultan or as items of commerce. The Ottoman city of Bursa was in the 15th and 16th centuries one of the most important producers of velvets in the world; how do we account for the fact that only three of the velvet kaftans today in the Topkapı Palace collections are without a doubt made from Turkish velvet?"

"The answer probably lies in a combination of snobbery and rarity. From the later 15th century onwards, the production of velvet in Bursa [Turkey] resulted in its great popularity as furnishing fabric in the Ottoman Empire as well as a significant Ottoman export to the north and west, and the sultan would have been unlikely to wear a ceremonial kaftan fashioned from a fabric that could be seen in every luxury shop in the bazaar and in every wealthy household in Istanbul. Julian Raby [explained]. . .the preference in the Ottoman imperial court for Iranian and Ottoman court-manufactured carpets in place of the famous and popular rugs of Ushak: 'If you had been Mehmet II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, would you have been content to rest your felicitous derriére on the type of rugs exported to the *donne mobili* [rising merchant classes] of Venice?'"

". . . The Ottoman. . .Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha in the mid-16th century encouraged the development of the Ottoman silk industry for a series of reasons: to produce distinctively Ottoman luxury fabrics for court ceremonial to replace the reliance on expensive foreign—that is, Venetian—silks; to compete with the Venetians for the lucrative luxury markets in central and eastern Europe and particularly in Russia; and to shift Ottoman tax revenues from the precarious reliance on the tax on raw silk . . . to a more dependable and lucrative tax on finished goods, which also brought a higher profit when sold abroad."

Image above shows brocade textiles as furnishings in a wealthy Ottoman household (Source: Museum of Islamic Arts, Jerusalem at http://www.gojerusalem.com/discover/article_1508/The-Museum-of-Islamic-Arts-new-Embroidered-Dreams-exhibit-reveals-the-fabric-of-Ottoman-life)

16th-century caftan with tulip design, tailored in Turkey from imported Italian silk velvet.
(Source: Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul at http://media-cache ak0.pinimg.com/236x/a1/de/a5/a1dea57e9acfdc5ad01e52737456ed77.jpg)

Textile with ogival (pointed, interlaced oval) pattern, Turkish, probably Istanbul.
(Source: Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/49.32.79)

Questions to think about:

- Why were silk brocades so expensive? Why were they so sought after?
- Why do you think silk production was concentrated in cities like Venice, Bursa and Lyons?
- What kinds of cloth were produced in Europe and exported to the Middle East in the 14th and 15th century?
- Why do you think Venetian silk was so expensive in Syria? What added so much value that it made economic sense for Venetians to import silk from Iran via Bursa, weave it into cloth, and then re-export it to Syria, Iran and Anatolia?
- If Venice was making extremely fine silk cloth itself, why do you think they continued to import silk fabrics from Islamic lands like Egypt, Granada, and the Ottoman and Safavid Empires?

- The passages above give examples of how certain designs were transferred between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. Find these examples, and discuss why you think they are important.
- How was Rüstem Pasha's encouragement of a domestic Ottoman luxury silk industry an example of import substitution? How is it an example of a value added product?
- Can you give some examples of products today that are used in power dressing? What makes them special and valuable?
- Are there products or experiences you or your friends and family value because they come from far away? Give examples.

Technology Driven by Demand for Silk Brocade: From Drawlooms to Computers

The passages in this handout are from historians of science who trace the history of brocade or figured pattern weaving in silk, the most expensive fabric in the world. It was worn by emperors and kings, used for the robes of popes and bishops, and covered the altars of churches and temples. The technologies for weaving, which grew more sophisticated with rising demand and exports, led to the drawloom, one of the most sophisticated inventions in human history. A millennium and a half after its invention, the complex task of weaving designs into silk led to an idea for modern computers.

1. **Read the short passages and sketch out a storyboard that traces the steps from hand loom to automated loom to early computers.**
2. **Take notes on the intertwined stories of the weavers and inventors, and the social changes that resulted from these technologies.**
3. **Track the places on a map of the eastern hemisphere that make up the trail of technology and silk brocade design in this lesson.**

The Beginnings of Silk Spinning and Weaving

(Source: Joseph Needham. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1954, pp. 1-4; last quote from Needham, Vol. 4 (Physics and Physical Technology), p. 69.)

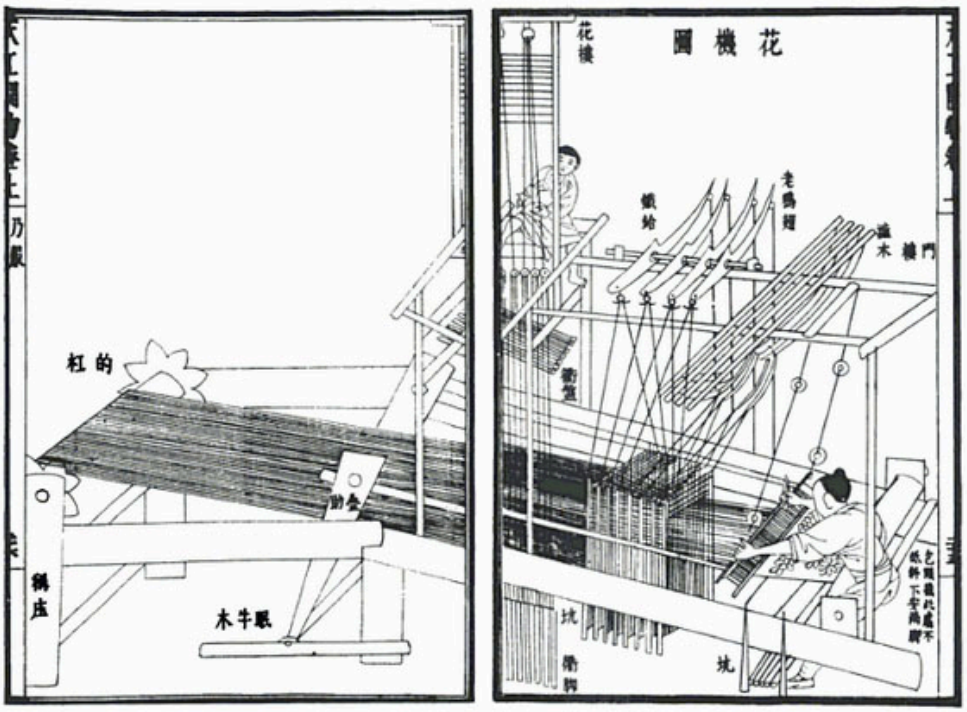
"The discovery of the quality of silk fibres which could be reeled off from the cocoons in continuous lengths of several hundred metres, of practically 'endless' silk threads of almost uniform...strength and elastic structure, led to the invention of a rotary reel, the only device which could wind the silk filaments to their best advantage. Such a reel in the form of a rotary warp-beam and rotary cloth-beam was placed in a horizontal loom made of wood. In this way weavers could produce silk fabric with a length of several metres. The quality of silk determined the structure and function of the loom at least as early as Shang times....In the field of spinning and reeling techniques, the rotary reel constituted the absolute key invention....A treadle [foot pedal-operated] loom was invented to both weave silk cloth faster and to provide more uniform quality than the old loom could do... Weavers...did not build their own looms, but bought them from 'loom-carpenters,' specially trained craftsmen."

"On the one hand, we find peasant households which produced tabby-weave [plain weave] fabrics of a certain standard...in order to be able to pay their tax in kind. On the other, there were private and government-run loom workshops. Setting up various types of loom required a considerable financial investment which had to pay off, and such workshops produced silk fabrics of high quality and of complex structure in countless variety, catering to all tastes and fashions...from 10th century Sung times, female weavers worked and lived in government-run workshops under rather unpleasant working conditions. And in Yuan times artisan status was hereditary, the artisans enjoying...exemption from...corvee [forced labor] conditions. During the Ming supply and demand dictated the working conditions of weavers."

"...the most elaborate use of levers in early times in China was undoubtedly in textile machinery, where levers and connecting rods were united with treadles [foot pedals] to form complicated linkworks. ...the Chinese were far ahead of the West in loom construction—in the 1st century...if not the 4th—they already had the essentials of the draw-loom (*hua-chi*) before Europe or perhaps any other civilization had advanced from the primitive vertical warp-loom to the horizontal warp-loom with its harness of heddles. This...is perhaps symbolized by the fact that the Chinese word for loom, *chi*, implies that it is the machine *par excellence*."

How Drawlooms Led to Digitized Design by Computer

(Source: Broudy, Eric. *The Book of Looms: A History of the Handloom from Ancient Times to the Present*. UPNE, 1979, p. 127; p. 127 Figure 7-6 T'ien-kung K'ai'-wu, 1737)



To see how the finest royal brocades were made at Nanjing, China, where the drawloom was invented, view this 10-minute video from UNESCO's cultural heritage of humankind project "The Craftsmanship of Nanjing Yunjin Brocade" at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xyyQzyvJkgg . This technology spread to the West by the fifth century CE, via Sassanian Persian workshops to Byzantine Imperial workshops, and then from Baghdad's caliphal workshops to Islamic Spain in the 7th or 8th century.

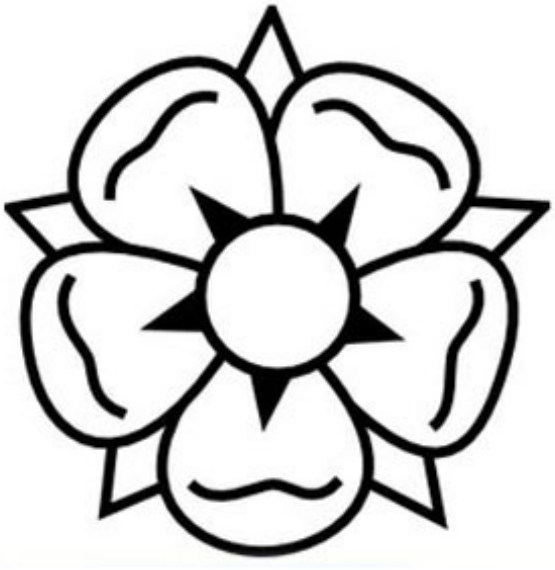
Notice the following:

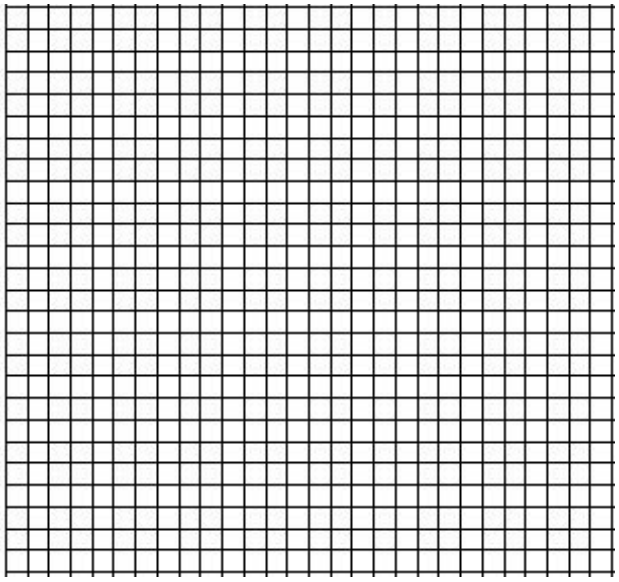
- The comparison with digitization of design with computers
- The rotary silk reels (at 3:40-3:44) mentioned by Needham
- The process of setting up the loom's lengthwise threads (warp) into heddles (harnesses for groups of threads that allow lifting of different warp threads in alternating patterns)
- The drawboy's job is like a keyboard operator, and the weaver is manning the "screen" (4:34-5:10). How long does it take to weave 5 cm of the finest brocade?

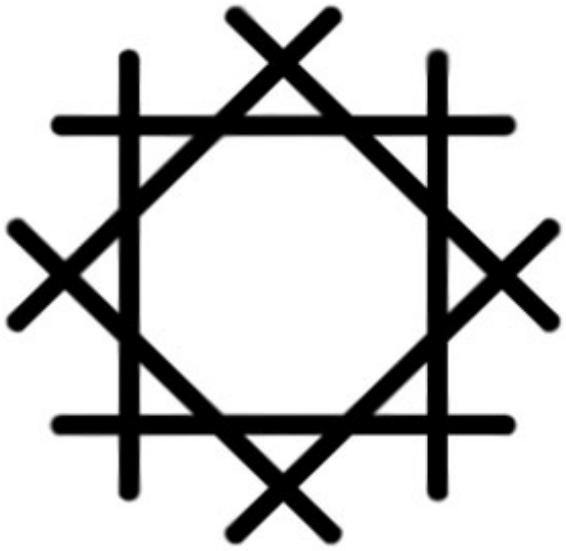
Digitizing Design—a Thousand Years Ago!

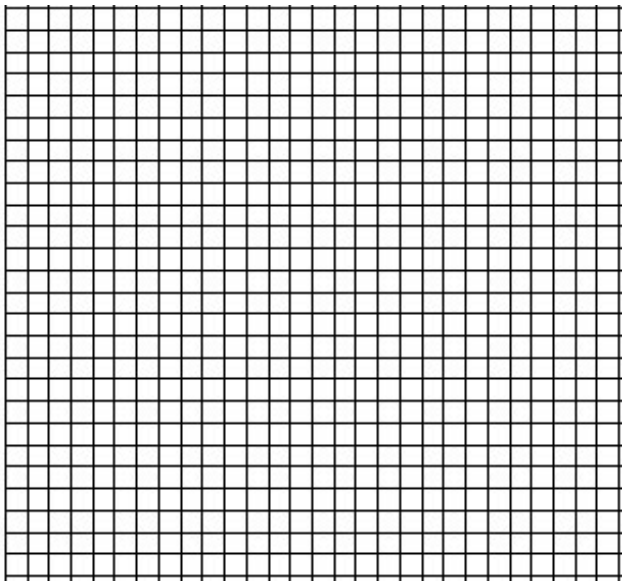
In fact, weaving complex fabrics on the drawloom actually brought the inventions of printing and weaving together! In the following section of this handout, you will see how brocade pattern weaving led to the development of computers, which brought us easy ways to write documents and print them, to create digital designs with pixels on a screen, and to make complex calculations, first mechanically, then electronically.

Try digitizing a design as weavers did long ago to make a brocade pattern. Plot one of the two drawings onto the graph paper next to it. Each square will be black or white ONLY! Each square represents the place on the fabric where horizontal (weft) threads will intersect with lengthwise (warp) threads. *[HINT: try folding the paper between the design and the graph paper so you can see through the paper! It works best against a window.]*









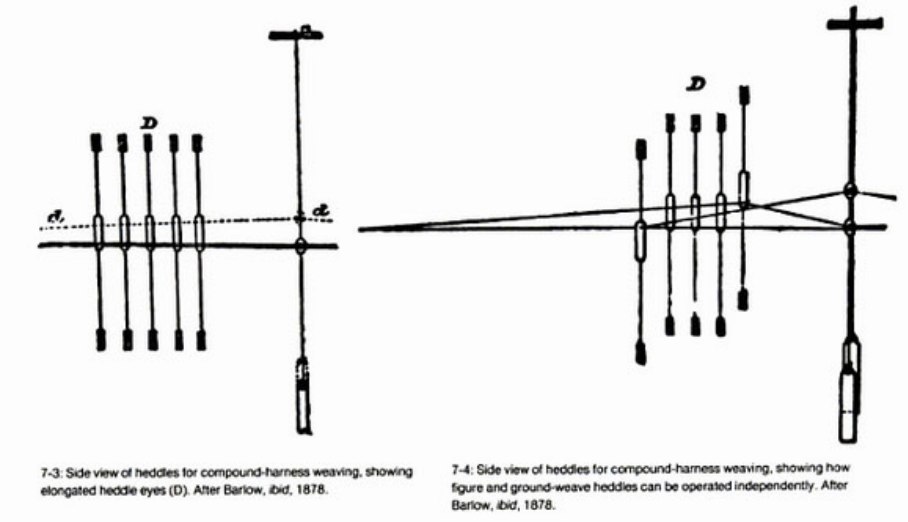
From *The Book of Looms: A History of the Handloom from Ancient Times to the Present* (UPNE, 1979). Author Eric Broudy quotes expert J. F. Flanagan on the importance of the drawloom for brocade weaving:

> *"The invention [of the drawloom] was . . . as great an event in the development of the weaver's art as the printing press in the development of the printer's art."*

How to Weave Brocades and the Travels of the Drawloom
From Eric Broudy, *The Book of Looms,* pp. 124-136.

"The drawloom represents...ingenuity in mastering a tool in pursuit of an art. Prior to its invention...allover pattern weaving...was a tedious, time-consuming process. To produce a free-figured design, a weaver had to...lift individual warp threads or any combination of warp threads at will. One method of manipulating individual warp threads required the use of pattern sticks, which the weaver darned into the warp before beginning to weave. A single pattern repeat might use as many as forty or more sticks, depending on the size of the pattern. Each stick functioned as a pilot for the next insertion of the shed rod [which carried the weft, or crosswise weaving thread]. ...if the pattern were to be repeated, each stick...had to be carefully reinserted in the same way behind the last stick. One can imagine the patience that this must have required of the weaver." (p. 124)

"The invention of the drawloom itself has been variously ascribed to China, Persia, Syria, and Egypt, with dates of the earliest drawloom fabrics ranging from 400 BC in...China to AD 520 in Persia. Most experts favor a Chinese provenance [origin], though evidence from fabric analysis supports a claim for independent invention in Syria. The drawloom was the answer to the weaver's search for a means of weaving complex patterns that exceeded the capabilities of multiple harnesses. [See figure below for a diagram of a harness, a rack with knotted strings that could carry and lift the warp threads in a sequence.] The number of harnesses that could hang in a loom was limited by lack of space...weaving with more than twenty...harnesses was a cumbersome task...figured weaving by harnesses alone might require from three hundred to nine hundred or more—clearly an impossible task...Each harness or combination of harnesses lifted a set of warp threads that contributed to the development of the pattern." (p. 124)



7-3: Side view of heddles for compound-harness weaving, showing elongated heddle eyes (D). After Barlow, *ibid*, 1878.

7-4: Side view of heddles for compound-harness weaving, showing how figure and ground-weave heddles can be operated independently. After Barlow, *ibid*, 1878.

The image from *The Book of Looms,* p. 125 shows how heddles, or strings with a loop for the warp thread, could lift individual threads on the loom. The heddles were attached to a horizontal harness beam which the loom assistant lifted on command from the weaver by pulling a cord attached to the harness beam.

Watch the video *The Handweaving of Silk, Fez, Morocco* at Dar al Tiraz at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Is8Segc6fy8 to see how the assistant and the weaver work together to create the pattern by raising and lowering the harnesses in sequence, using the same basic drawloom technique as in the Chinese example.

The Eastern Drawloom in China and Persia

"The drawloom was not the first loom to require a weaver's assistant, but it was certainly the first loom to require that the assistant sit perched on top of the harnesses. From that vantage, the drawboy (sometimes drawgirl)...lifted the figure heddles in the predetermined order necessary to form the desired pattern. His only problem lay in knowing which drawstring to lift when. As drawlooms developed, various techniques were developed to organize the order of lifting the drawstrings, a process the Chinese called...*pang hua*, "pulling the flowers." On the Persian drawloom the ... drawstrings were...encircled with a loop of string...in sequence [for each set of harnesses] until the drawstrings that formed the complete pattern ad been organized...in a neat row of loops. As the weaving progressed, the drawboy merely removed the loops in order, pulled them at the weaver's command...In China the drawboy followed a printed or written draft of the pattern...but other methods were also used...the drawboy might have sung the pattern, a technique reported in modern India [the Nanjing video says they used a poem]." (p. 126-129)

Transmission of the Drawloom to Europe (Broudy, *The Book of Looms*, pp. 133-135)

"...by the end of the tenth century A.D. silk weaving east of the Dardanelles—from Constantinople to India to China—had reached a peak...in quality of workmanship [and] in beauty [and] ingenuity of design. The mechanism of the drawloom could perform all of the functions that were ever required of it, then or since. ...the modern improvements on the drawloom have been made on the mechanisms...that only accelerate the speed of working, or affect some detail of procedure. They do not touch the principles of the intersection of threads, in which the whole art and mystery of weaving consists. In fact...many textile historians believe that the impulse toward mechanization had a deleterious [negative] effect on the quality of textiles produced. European figured weaving reached a pinnacle during the eighteenth century." (p. 133)

"Silk weaving and the drawloom probably entered Europe through Sicily and Venice in the twelfth century with the Saracens [Muslims]. Although the art of silk weaving...existed in Spain as early as the ninth or tenth century...In Italy, however, eastern design was blended with native elements...Silk techniques may have existed in France by the mid-thirteenth century, but Italy maintained a virtual monopoly on European silk weaving until the late fifteenth century, when a few Italian weavers escaped into France. There, encouraged by French officials, they began weaving silk. Others followed, and before long, a French silk industry had blossomed in Lyons." (p. 134)

Modern Innovations on the Drawloom: the First Programmed Machine

"Throughout [the eighteenth century]...attempts were made to mechanize the operation of the drawloom. It is likely that pressure from the Indian silk trade intensified the thrust toward mechanization. It took a skilled weaver about two weeks just to set up the drawstrings and lashes on a simple drawloom for a single pattern. And each time the pattern was altered, he had to repeat the process. Often as many as three women, working long hours, labored as drawers on a single loom.

...One of the earliest efforts of mechanizing the drawloom was that of Joseph Mason, an Englishman, who patented in 1687 a machine that he described as "an engine by the help of which a weaver may performe the whole work of weaving such stuffe...without the help of a draught-boy..." Despite Mason's claims, his invention was not practical.

The first significant contribution [was by] Basile Bouchon, a Frenchman, who in 1725 invented a device for selecting automatically which simples [harnesses] to pull [using] a perforated cylinder...the cylinder of paper was rotated with each pick of the shuttle, and a new set of holes selected the cords for the next pattern shed...A few years later, M. Falcon improved on Bouchon's invention by...replacing the perforated paper with perforated cards linked edge to edge. Each card represented the selection...for one shot of the weft...In 1745 Jacques do Vaucanson put the selecting box on top of the loom [where the draw-boy had been in earlier looms]...Perforated cards passed around a sliding cylinder and selected the [pattern]...

Whether or not Vaucanson's invention worked is not known. One historian states that he stopped work on it because of hostility from the textile workers of Lyons. Another...notes

that Vaucanson was received in Lyons with showers of stones. This famed inventor of mechanical marvels, such as an automatic flute player, avenged himself by building an automatic weaver in the shape of an ass [donkey]—and it actually worked!" (p.134)

Jacquard's Loom from Broudy, pp. 134

"The task of perfecting Vaucanson's loom fell to Joseph Marie Jacquard (1752-1834), also from Lyons...In 1804 he produced what is commonly but misleadingly called the jacquard loom. It was actually a treadle-operated automatic shedding mechanism that could be mounted on top of any treadle loom with the frame to support it. So successful was his device that by 1812 it was fitted to 18,000 looms in Lyons. Jacquard himself, like others whose inventions had threatened the livelihood of textile workers, was persecuted and died in poverty.

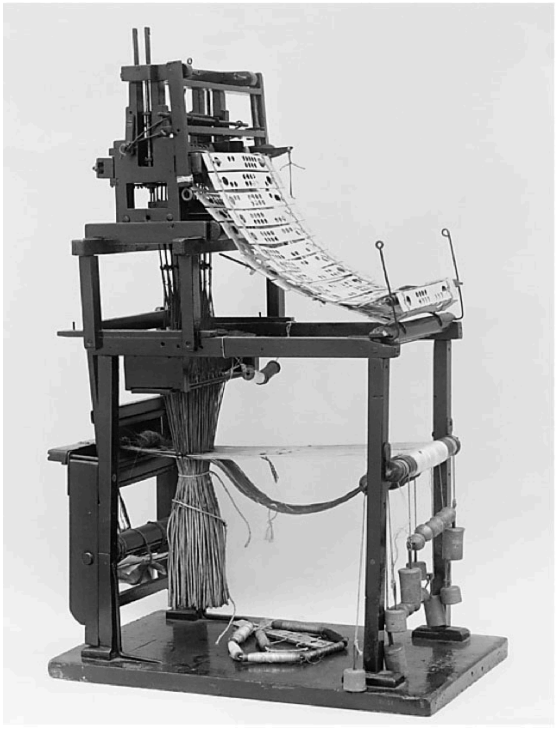
His machine employed a quadrangular "cylinder" that carried an endless chain of cards perforated according to the desired pattern. [Like Vaucanson's machine, it was run by needles rotating on a drum that controlled the harnesses and heddles like the draw-boy had done before]. Only those needles that penetrated the cards and cylinder moved into a position for the hooks above to be lifted by the griffe [that controlled each heddle attached to a warp thread]. The hooks of the needles that did not penetrate were pushed out of the way. When the griffe lifted the hooks of the selected needles, a pattern shed was opened. Depressing and releasing a single treadle [foot pedal] read the pattern card, opened the pattern shed, revolved the cylinder a quarter turn to present the next pattern card, closed the pattern shed, and aligned the card against the head in preparation for the next pattern shed.

And What Did it all Add up to?

"One historian states that prior to Jacquard's invention the children (or women) who operated the draw harnesses in textile factories sat in cramped quarters in rooms with floating dust and fibers and often 'died before living out half their days.' The Jacquard machine put the drawboy out of work—perhaps to his ultimate benefit—and enabled design changes to be made within an hour or so." (p. 136)

Quantity Over Quality?

"The ease with which patterns could be changed liberated the designer, and quantity began to overwhelm quality with a vengeance. The nineteenth century market was flooded with all kinds of designs. Some textile historians believe that the mechanized drawloom was responsible for the constant quest for novelty, the constant competition for the public's attention that still plagues us today." (p. 136)



Jacquard's mechanism for mounting on top of the loom, shown left at the Musée des Arts et Métiers [Museum of the Art of Weaving], photograph by David Monniaux copyright © 2006 under Creative Commons/GNU license at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jacquard_loom_p1040320.jpg. The image at right is a model showing Jacquard's machine mounted on top of a loom, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art at http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/221205?img=1

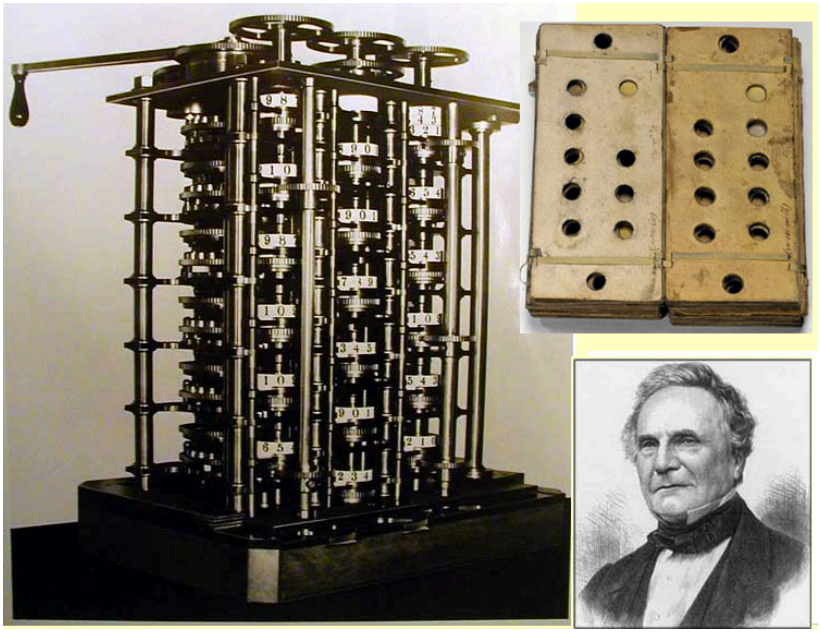
The use of punch-cards and needles was a breakthrough that led to machine calculation and record-keeping. By passing a punched card over a set of needles on a rotating drum, a system of writing letters and representing numbers (something like Braille with dots used to represent letters and numbers) to program information onto a card and translate it into printing, or store and tabulate it.

From Essinger, James. *Jacquard's Web: How a Hand-loom Led to the Birth of the Information Age*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Around 1822, a man named Charles Babbage was toying with ideas for creating a calculation machine he called a "difference engine" or "Analytical Engine." He became familiar with Vaucanson's and Jacquard's work with brocade weaving, and had the idea to work with numbers as weavers did with colored threads. James Essinger writes, "the day when Babbage decided to make use of the Jacquard cards in his design for his Analytical Engine...is, literally, the day when the bridge between the weaving industry and the embryonic information technology industry was created...in essence a computer is merely a special kind of Jacquard loom. Babbage recognized that Jacquard's automatic use of the punched card as the means to control the raising and lowering of the warp threads on a loom for weaving brocade was a development of massive importance." (p. 87)

As we know today, computer calculations are based on binary versions of numbers—consisting only of 0s and 1s. The computer codes these binary numbers by means of tiny electrical switches that are either "on" or "off" (0=off, 1=on). This is very much like weaving—either the thread is raised or not raised for each row of weaving—forming each crossed thread or "pixel" of the design. The punched cards and needles on the cylinder of the Jacquard loom represent these switches that raise or don't raise the heddles of the loom.

Essinger writes, "...the Jacquard card can even be said to constitute the invention of the binary digit or "bit." A bit in computing terms is the smallest and most fundamental element of computerized information. This basically means that a bit is a unit of information expressed as a choice between two equally probable alternatives. Computers can be built because these alternatives can be boiled down to 0 or 1, alternatives that can in turn be represented electronically within the actual physical structure of a computer's circuitry by a tiny electronic switch that is either "off" (for zero) or "on" (for one)." (pp. 88-89)



Babbage created sets of cards—Number Cards that loaded numerical values into the machine, Operations Cards to control the actual operations of the machine, and Variables Cards that directed the machine which stored numbers to fetch for the operations. Babbage himself wrote, "Thus the Analytical Engine first computes and punches on cards its own tabular numbers. These are brought to it by its attendant when demanded. But the engine itself takes care that the right card is brought to it by verifying the number of that card by the number of the card which it demanded. The engine will always reject a wrong card by continually ringing a loud bell and stopping itself until supplied with the precise intellectual food it demands." (Cited in Essinger, p. 91)

Watch this video as a funny take on modern computer scientists' recreation of Babbage's Difference Engine at the Computer History Museum at Mountain View, CA at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PlcSw7zmfF8 [See also "Visual History of Computing" at http://www.unc.edu/~unclng/computing-history.html for a summary of the inventions that led to mathematical computing.]

Silk Trade and Traders in the Levant

The readings in this handout are mostly from letters sent by Levant Company factors, or sales agents, who traded in the eastern Mediterranean city of Aleppo during the 18th century. A few introductory and concluding excerpts are from historian Ralph Davis. All texts are from the book *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Macmillan, 1967.

Find the following scavenger hunt items in the excerpts, and answer the questions related to these items.

1. Find three items related to clothing and three items not related to clothing that Europeans bought from Turkey.
2. Find the names of three European countries that produced silk fabric, and four Asian countries that sold silk or silk fabrics.
3. From what world regions could a merchant buy coffee in the 18th century?
4. Which countries wanted cotton and silk fiber from the Levant? Why couldn't they grow it themselves? [HINT: the answer is not in the text, but think from what you know!]
5. What is barter, and what role did it play for English merchants in the silk trade?
6. If an English merchant wanted to import more than they could export, what did they have to give to get the goods they wanted?
7. Why couldn't English merchants import finished silk cloth and cotton from the Levant? [HINT: what does "politically impossible" mean, and how did countries starting new industries protect them?]
8. What one thing did English merchants have to sell in the Levant? Why was England able to produce this one thing so well?
9. What one thing did the English want from the Levant, and why? Why didn't the Levant markets want anything else from England?
10. In what city was Devonshire Square, and what activity took place in Devonshire Square?
11. How long did it take in the 18th century to travel from London to Aleppo? How long did it take to get a letter from Aleppo to Devonshire Square?
12. What was a factor? What was the original meaning of a "factory?"
13. If you wanted to be a factor in the Turkish trade at Aleppo, when in life would you go? Name two advantages and two disadvantages to becoming a factor overseas.
14. Find evidence in this handout that shows factors tried to fit into their foreign environment, and find evidence that shows that they didn't really fit in.
15. Find seven reasons why Aleppo was a great trading city.

16. What was the *racolta*? Why did it have an Italian name? Why was the *racolta* the biggest event in the factors' lives?
17. Who bought silk cocoons from the farmers who grew the silk?
18. Which Levantine artisans wanted red wool cloth from England?
19. Find three strange things used to dye cloth. Which one made the most beautiful, expensive red color?
20. What were capitulations, and why were they important to foreign traders in the Levant? [Follow-up question: Do foreign companies get special privileges today?]

Background: European Trade with the Levant in the 18th Century (Source: Davis, Aleppo and Devonshire Square, pp. 27-30)

How Did Global Trade Change Everything?

"The principal commodities brought to Europe from Turkey were silk, cotton, mohair yarn and goats' hair for the textile industries; drugs, galls and a few dyestuffs; fruit and coffee; and some quantities of silk and cotton textiles. Levant silk had provided the foundations of European silk industries, but it was rapidly being supplanted in the seventeenth century by better qualities produced in Italy…and after 1700 began to encounter…competition from cheaper silks of China and Bengal. By 1730, if not earlier, European consumption of Levant silk was falling. Similarly the cotton industries of Europe had been established to process Levant cotton, but before 1700 they were being fed with rapidly increasing supplies from the Caribbean…. Mohair yarn, used on a great scale for making buttons, was displaced by a change in fashion to metal buttons in the eighteenth century…. Galls, too, went out of use in dyeing, whilst the Arabian coffee which had come through Egypt …was replaced after about 1730 by West Indian coffee, which soon began to be sold in Egypt itself…No new commodities came forward in any quantity to sustain the trade. All this had its effect on exports to the Levant."

Whose Levant Trade Fell, and Whose Rose?

"It was impossible to trade with Turkey unless the value of goods sent there could be returned in imports, for no considerable amount of money to balance a payments surplus could be brought out of the Turkish Empire, either physically or through exchange transactions. A declining European demand for Levant goods therefore created a growing difficulty in exporting to Turkey, which was felt by Dutch, Venetian and English traders. The French were nevertheless able to maintain their trade with Turkey and increase it rapidly in the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century. Their purchases of silk and certain other commodities fell, as did those of the English. But the French cotton industry took great and rapidly growing amounts of cotton and cotton yarn from the Levant. Until well after mid-century it was much larger than the English industry and was growing faster, and the French West Indies were only able to meet a small part of its needs. In mid-century, therefore, imports of cotton, totaling some thirty million pounds weight each year, accounted for a third of the great total value of French imports from the Levant. Moreover, France imported large quantities of camel- and goat-hair, and rice from Egypt,

and was willing to buy Eastern textiles — which in mid-century accounted for the bulk of its trade with Aleppo. French demand for Levant goods, in fact, was so great that exports could not meet them, and quantities of coin had to be sent to Turkey."

Why Was Silk So Important in the Levant?

"Meanwhile, English imports from Turkey were in sharp decline throughout the middle decades of the century. The English market could not absorb great amounts of cotton, and the import of eastern textiles from the Levant was politically impossible. The import trade in galls and fruit fell away before 1700, and the market for cotton and mohair yarn weakened in the first thirty years of the new century. For a long time the growth in the silk trade very nearly outweighed all this; silk's share of total imports rose from two-fifths in 1663 and 1669 to four-fifths of a rather smaller total in the 1720s and 1730s. But increasing dependence on silk meant that when this commodity, too, began to be driven from the English market after 1730, the total value of the trade moved sharply into decline. A recovery in cotton and fruit imports in mid-century was on too small a scale to compensate for the fall in silk trade."

What Did Levant Traders Want from England?

"In return for all these things the Levant took from Europe— whether from Italy, France, England or Holland — only one European product in quantity—woolen textiles. It had no need of other western manufactures, for its own artisans in Stamboul, Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo and many other cities could meet its need; but since the Middle Ages Eastern countries had been eager for the woollen cloth of the West. English cloth had outstripped its rivals in the Levant by about 1700, but thereafter the recovery of French industry from the effects of decades of political instability enabled it to encroach steadily on the English position. And in the eighteenth century a marked superiority and cheapness in some grades of cloth especially popular in the Levant made it possible for the French to expand their sales rapidly….the Levant trade during most of the eighteenth century was essentially the exchange of English woollens for Levant silk."

The Levant Company and Merchant Houses in London

" *'Devonshire Square (made out of a house called Fisher's Folly, an airy and creditable place, and where the Countess of Devonshire in my Memory dwelt in great repute for her Hospitality). It consisteth of good Buildings, and they well inhabited by Merchants and persons of Wealth [involved in the Levant trade].'*

"Two thousand miles away, two months away by the fastest safe conveyance, unimaginably far from western Europe in its modes of conduct, thought and government, was the city of Aleppo, the principal place of trade of English merchants in the Turkish Empire. Most letters from England, whether by Vienna and Venice, by Marseilles or Leghorn, or by the all-sea route

from England, took two months to get there under ordinary conditions —exceptionally a week or so less, not uncommonly a month or two more. To send goods home in quantity took three months at least, for they had to be loaded on camels and sent over eighty miles of desert and mountain to Aleppo's port of Scanderoon —and there they might lie for months awaiting the infrequent ships. To go home on a visit was a major enterprise, attempted by no more than three or four factors in thirty years, and occupying fifteen months or more; and no London merchant ever came out to see his Aleppo house. The young men who went from London to be factors at Aleppo had no intention of spending their lives there, but so long as they did stay, they accepted a complete break with Europe. But it was no barbarian city in which they settled to serve out their seven, ten or twelve years. Aleppo, wrote Hasselquist after visiting it in 1751, 'is the prettiest town in the Turkish Empire…second to few others, except Damascus, for the beauty and advantage of situation." (Source: Davis, pp. 3-4; Image and Text Source: *John Stowe's Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, by John Strype (1720), i. 109 "Government Art Collection - Devonshire Square by Sutton Nichols for Stowe's Survey 1754." http://www.gac.culture.gov.uk/work.aspx?obj=20742)

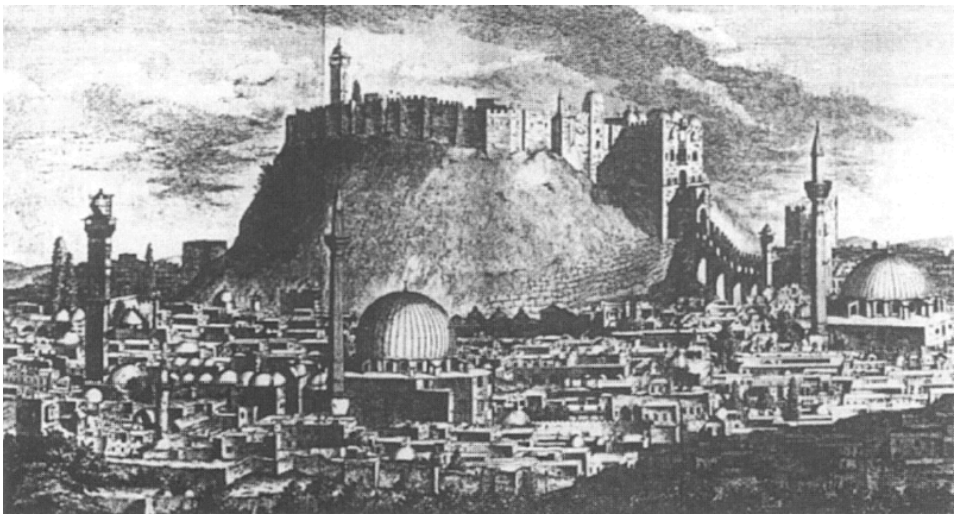
English Factors for the Levant Company in Aleppo—the "Turkey Merchants"

"The Turkey merchants at that time [1744] formed the most opulent and respectable body of men in the City. J. Porter, *Observations on the Religion, Law, Government and Manners of the Turks*, 1771, p. 367, quoted in Davis, p. 60)

"You gentlemen will know that the inducements to a man living abroad and more especially in a country like this, are the hopes and expectations he has of gaining in his earlier days wherewithal to return to his native country to spend the latter part of his life with some comfort." (Letter from Robert Colightly to Edward Radcliffe, 28 April 1745, quoted in Davis, p.75)

The paintings show English factors, or merchants who lived in Aleppo for years at a time, conducting the business of the Levant Company of London. They had their portraits painted in Turkish dress. (Source: Left: M. Levett, Levant Company merchant, and Mlle Glavani in Turkish costume, ca. 1740, by painter Jean Ettienne Liotard, Louvre, Paris http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:M_Levett_et_Mlle_Glavani_en_costume_Turc_Jean_Etienne_Liotard.jpg; Right: Image of David Besonquet, factor in Aleppo 1722-1731, wearing Syrian dress at http://www.leytonpast.info/page210.html)

The City of Aleppo



"Aleppo…was a trading city—but not merely for European trade; it was the great trading centre for the whole area behind the East Mediterranean coast until far to the south it encountered the sphere of influence of its rival Damascus. It commanded the shortest route across the desert to the Euphrates valley, and beyond. It was also a manufacturing city, making silk, cotton, leather and metal goods to serve this wide area, and a great part of its population was made up of the artisans engaged in these industries. On the other hand…the agricultural economy of many parts of the coastal region of Syria was bound up with producing silk [cocoons] most of which was sent to the city for export to Europe; the purchasing power which many cultivators secured by selling silk to Aleppo for Europe must have provided an important market for the products of the city of Aleppo itself…From this city of Aleppo a constant stream of letters flowed to the residences of the English Levant merchants in London. They were written in the Great Khan in Aleppo, the English 'factory' in eighteenth century terminology, that is the place where English factors or agents lived and had their warehouses. Like all khans or caravanserais it was designed as a place where men and beasts could bring their burdens and deposit them in some security. "

(Source: Davis p. 40; 3-4; Image Source: Aleppo, 1754, engraving in Drummond, Alexander (1754), *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates*, London: Printed by W. Strahan for the author, OCLC 1319396; Ottoman Empire map, Frederik de Wit, 1680; both Wikimedia Commons)

How Factors Bought Silk and Sold Wool Cloth

"If we can have no silk we can sell no cloth…for all the other Returns are trifling compared to the silk, neither is there any such thing as a sale of cloth for Ready Money [cash] to any Quantity worth speaking of…without the silk there are no Returns to be had, no Exchange being negotiated there to any part of the world; nor could it be bought in specie [precious metal coin], because of the baseness [low value] of the Grand Seignor's coin." (from *The Turkey Merchants and Their Trade Vindicated*, a pamphlet, 1720 quoted in Davis, p. 32)

"The working life of the Aleppo factor was always geared closely to shipping and the racolta. The time of the racolta* was unchanging; the first silk was passed round in the alleys of the bazaar early in July, and the main supply became available to purchasers during the autumn. So the deadest season was the early summer, when ships were not often seen at Scanderoon, when internal business in Syria slackened in the heat, and when the owners of any remaining silk stocks were holding them, willingly or unwillingly, until the new racolta.* Then, if ever, the factors took a few days away — going up into the hills at Bylan, or occasionally visiting other ports of the silk region, Tripoli or Latakia. Arthur Radcliffe, however, declared in 1731 that he had not slept one night away from Aleppo for several years; and Stratton [the factor] seems to have resorted to stays at Bylan only in his last years at Aleppo." [**Ricolta = the annual collection of the silk cocoons. The Italian word reflects the fact that the silk trade began with the Italians centuries earlier*.] (Davis, p. 76)

"The English factors in Aleppo did not deal with silk producers, but with merchants, many of them in a very large way of business. They came from all the groups in the city — Jews, Maronite Christians, Greeks, Arabs — and in the long roll of the names of those with whom the Radcliffe house traded, no group is clearly seen to predominate. These merchants went out to the producing areas, to Antioch or Byass and the surrounding villages, to buy up the new silk in the late spring. They appear to have bought from the actual producers, for we get no hint of smaller, local merchant intermediaries." (Davis, p. 145)

"The busy time was when the silk bargains had been struck, often in a flurry of business in which a great part of the cloth and silk in the city changed hands in a few days, after weeks or months of haggling. If...the ships were in port and nearing their departure time, there was a great rush of practical work; as Hammond wrote, 'The silk merchant will not sell till the last moment, and let our ships' stay at Scanderoon be forty or eighty days it is still the same, for till the last fifteen or twenty days nothing to matter is done, the hurry will always be the same.' " (Davis, p.77)

"Aleppo was by far the greatest buying for silk—the main market for Persian silk going to Europe, the only large market accessible to English traders for Syrian silk. Secondly, it never had much else to offer; of the other major items of trade, mohair yarn, fruit and cotton were not sold in Aleppo, even in the seventeenth century…The English factor at Aleppo was not interested in the range of choice which money offered; he wanted silk…"

Red Dyes from Mediterranean and American Bugs and European Roots

"Londra [wool broadcloth], like other cloth, was usually sold in ... a variety of colours. But an important share of the londra trade ... consisted of the sale of whole bales containing cloth of a single colour, red; and this trade in reds served an entirely different market and was always described and discussed separately. These reds sold at virtually the same price as other londra, for though red they were dyed cheaply with madder, rather than expensively with cochineal. They...found their market among the fez-makers of Aleppo and other Turkish cities, and the demand for them was therefore relatively stable. They were the only cloths of whose prospects the Aleppo factors never complained...unlike nearly all other cloths they could regularly be sold for cash rather than in barter. To barter reds for silk, wrote Arthur Radcliffe in 1732, was the same as paying money for silk, since reds themselves were so readily convertible into cash." (Davis, p. 102; Image of a fez hat made of wool sewn onto a hat form, Wikimedia Commons)

"…cloth [was] dyed red with substance derived from the Mediterranean insect *Coccus ilicis* (sometimes called kermes, or grain in England), or more often by this time from the Central American *Coccus dactylopius*, the cochineal beetle. These were much the most expensive dyes; crimsons and scarlets dyed with grain or cochineal cost up to £6 a cloth for dyeing, violets £4, pinks £3 and wine colours, according to their intensity, between £2 10s and £4. The colours which made no use of these most expensive red dyes were far cheaper; for example, emeralds cost thirty shillings, and light blues of various kinds twenty or twenty-two shillings. Red londras took their colour from an inferior red dyeing source, madder, and their dyeing cost from eighteen to twenty-two shillings." (Davis, p. 113)

(Images Sources: **Left**-Queen Elizabeth in red with kermes insects at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Elizabeth_I_Steven_Van_Der_Meulen.jpg; **Middle**-Grinding cochineal bugs for dye in Oaxaca, Mexico at http://tripwow.tripadvisor.com/slideshow-photo/grinding-the-cochineal-bugs-for-red-dye-in-weaving-by-travelpod-member-jschmuldt-oaxaca-mexico.html?sid=21589762&fid=tp-6; **Right**, red madder dye plant made from plant root, and wool at http://healthyposts.wordpress.com/2013/05/02/rubia-or-madder-ruby-red-nontoxic-natural-dye/)

England in Hot Competition with France

"If we can't supply your Market/ at the price other silk is sold at, we must not expect to have this trade long, as the rising of the price of our cloth in proportion to the high price of silk only hinders its consumption, and has already done us a very great injury, for the consumer of any goods will always buy that which is cheapest, and our cloth is much beyond its value in proportion to the French cloth." (Letter from Factor Stratton to Arthur Radcliffe, 28 November 1735 in Davis, p. 26)

"Our trade seems to be divided into two branches; that for Damascus and this market requires good cloth of wines and crimsons . . . but for Araroon and Bagdat, Londra and very thin cloth of Persia colours and fancy colours are most esteemed, being for the Persia market where grain colours will not do and make them enter into buying of French cloth, whose lively colours please them." (Letter of August 1723 from Stratton to Arthur Radcliffe in Davis p. 123)

"The French, by this acquired advantage of Spanish wool, have got the better of the natural one we had of working the wool of our growth into cloth for Turkey, not by imitating our cloth, though for the introduction of theirs they borrowed our names, but by producing a new Manufacture, better suited to that Climate, they have given a new Taste to the people." (Pamphlet about the Levant Company quoted in Davis, p. 132)

This brocade is French or Italian, from 1710 – 1730, with metallic silver and silk, an example of their rising silk industries. The flower pattern and surrounding borders resemble lace designs in cream-colored thread, with flowers and leaves arranged geometrically instead of naturally. (Source: http://www.oreillers.com/Textiles%20page%201.htm)

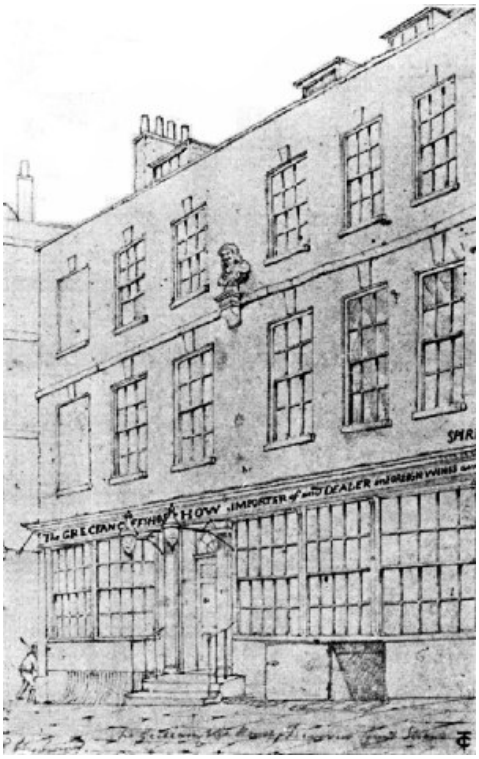
Trade Treaties, or Capitulations, and the Levant Company

"Large-scale trade with the Levant was only made possible, in the beginning, by the foundation of the Levant Company. Turkish governments were not unwilling to allow foreigners to trade within the Sultan's dominions... English, French, Italians, and Dutch were reluctant to put themselves or their goods under the physical control of officials of the Ottoman Empire unless they were assured that they would have some special protection, and would ... be governed on essentially western rather than Turkish terms. The Levant Company was founded to provide a permanent machinery for securing ... such terms, which had just been negotiated with the Ottoman court by a group of merchants. The documents which embodied these grants of rights to the English merchants by the Sultan, known as the *capitulations*, constituted in effect a treaty between the Sultan on the one hand, and on the other the Levant Company acting as commercial and diplomatic agent for the English

Crown. First granted in 1580, the capitulations were last revised and renewed in 1675... Their chief provisions fixed schedules of customs duties on goods imported and exported, and gave a guarantee that no other taxes at all would be imposed on the English; they assured freedom of movement of Englishmen and their goods without molestation, permitted judgment of disputes among themselves by their own consuls rather than by Turkish officials and provided that cases involving Englishmen which did come under Turkish law should be handled at Stamboul rather than by provincial officials." (Davis, p. 44-45)

How Market Information Traveled between London and Aleppo:

"It was perfectly easy to determine what were the current stocks of cloth and silk, and the Radcliffe factors reported on them in nearly every letter to London. European trade, and the greater part of the native wholesale silk business, was in a quite small number of hands, and day-to-day commerce within this small group, constantly visiting one another's warehouses to do business, to gossip and to spy out the land, spread knowledge of what those warehouses held through both communities. Anyone could stroll round the English khan, chat with warehousemen and clerks, watch the camels kneeling in the courtyard to unload their burdens from Scanderoon or Baghdad, look in at the open entrances to warehouses; and the local merchants' warehouses there, or in other khans or in the bazaars, were no less accessible. The English never lacked fairly accurate reports of the size of the coming racolta [season of gathering of the silk cocoons from the countryside], and of conditions in Antioch and other collecting places of silk, from the news their brokers and servants picked up in the city.



As to supplies from England, overland messages via Vienna brought information of ships and goods on the way long before the ships arrived, both in the [Levant] Company's heyday and after its monopoly was broken, and the factors were usually ready to pass on some of this news to their local merchant acquaintances, though they were not always believed. Though there were no Syrian merchants in England, the local traders had their own sources of information, like 'Cogi Andrea Behar who keeps the Greek Coffee House in Covent Garden, the Uncle of Cogi Firral of Aleppo'. If they could not be sure of the quantity of cloth coming out in the ships, the silk men at least knew what ships were coming and tried to hold off selling until they arrived." (Davis, pp. 162-163)

(Image Source: Grecian Coffee House, London, from "The Project Gutenberg eBook of All About Coffee, by William H. Ukers." Accessed October 25, 2013. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28500/28500-h/28500-h.htm#Chapter_XXXII.)

"It has for some time been industriously spread about that we expect six ships with cloth and about 2,000 bales, which has prevented the silk people from sellings but now they are well assured that the whole parcell of cloth will little exceed 800 bales, and a trifling sum of money expected either from Stamboul or Cairo, for which we have upwards of 1,500 bales silk, this must I think enable us to do business on almost our own terms."(Letter from Richard Stratton to E. and A. Radcliffe, 1 November 1746, quoted in Davis, p. 147)

"In 1760 the English factors agreed, 'That all advices from England or any part of Europe arriving in Aleppo, by letter or other ways relating to the rise of silk in London, shall as much as possible be kept secret from the Natives of the Country, warehousemen or French brokers'. It is hard to believe this could have been effective. On news of the leap in European silk prices in the summer of 1749 Hamond wrote, 'Since we have news of the great sale of silk and the appearance of it keeping up another year, unheard of prices have been given every day both in barter and for money. . . . Our last advices from your place so elated the silkmen that they bid up the prices abroad [i.e. in the silk-producing areas that served Aleppo] beyond anything ever known, and in manner gave us to understand that they cared not to what lengths went, as we only should feel the effects.'" (Letter from a factor to London, quoted in Davis, p. 150)

Silk as an Article of Global Trade

"Should you be able to raise your silk a shilling, as Messrs Radcliffe is resolved on, it will a good deal help last year's engagements, but I am afraid will induce people here to bid higher for this year's silk, and will in the end occasion a less consumption in the markets and enable the Spanish and Indian silk traders to supply it on better terms than they other wise do was you to sell at a moderate price, and our gains in the end would be the same, for when the silk bears a high price it will always have an effect on this market, and the only gains by it will be the people who have silk gardens here, and are already so much used to a good price and profit for their silk and the richer they grow the more idle and hard to deal with." (Davis, p. 153)

'The Importation of Silk an Article of home Consumption, grown up now to a prodigious Height, and is the more profitable to this Nation, in that it is all manufactured within our selves; and as it is grown up to such a Magnitude as was never known before, employs abundance of our Poor, who, by Decay of other Branches of Commerce, began to be threatened with want of Employment.' The widening range of English manufacture created a demand for new types of silk, and before the end of the century a clear differentiation had appeared in the English silk market. Italian thrown silk (known in the trade as organzine) came to be the only material used for the warp of broad silk fabrics. Persian silk (sherbassee), Turkish white silk (known in the trade as bellandine) and Bengal and China silk were suitable only for the shute or weft. These were all imported raw and thrown in England. Some fabrics, indeed, were made entirely of organzine, which was much superior to any thrown silk that could be produced in England. (Daniel Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce*, 1728, quoted in Davis, p. 136)

Module 4 Student Handouts by Lesson # Part D 4.8.1 & 4.9.1

The Cosmopolitan City: Salonica

Salonica (also spelled Salonika, and today known as Thessaloniki) is city located in a strategic position at the northern end of the Aegean Sea, where a natural land route toward the northern Balkans region meets the sea. It sits between hills and fertile plains with an excellent natural harbor. These natural advantages have brought a variety of peoples to the city to take advantage of its local resources and its location on trade routes.

City of Many Peoples: Greeks, Slavs, Turks, Jews and More

Founded by a general of Alexander the Great, Salonica became an important Roman city, and then in Byzantine times, a well-known center of Greek Orthodox learning and art. It was often attacked by outsiders who sought to control its resources, including Slavs coming down from the north. While the Slavs were unable to conquer the city, many of them settled in the countryside around Salonica to till the soil. The Ottomans laid siege to Salonica and captured it in 1387; the city was retaken by the Byzantines during the Ottoman interregnum from 1402-21 and was recaptured by the Sultan Murad II in 1430. Because the city leaders had rebelled, returning to the Byzantine fold, and then refused to yield, the second Ottoman conquest was much more brutal, and a large proportion of the Greek population was enslaved after the city's fall.

Wishing to repopulate and reenergize the city after the devastating siege, Murad first resettled Muslims from other areas, and then encouraged Jewish refugees from Spain who were expelled after 1492 to resettle in Salonica (later the city also welcomed Jews expelled from Portugal and Italy). The Spanish-speaking Jewish population was talented in both manufacturing and trade, and became the core of the city's population and prosperity.

The Greeks, Slavs, Turks and Jews of Salonica lived together for centuries—not always peacefully, but in general productively. Salonica became not only an important strategic point, but also a center for trade and for the production of wool (they supplied the wool for the uniforms of the Janissary Corps) and other goods.

Your Task: Represent the Cosmopolitan City of Salonica

The primary and secondary sources below will give you a sense of the people and activity of Salonica between about 1450 and 1800. Your task will be to present this information graphically to tell the story of Salonica's cosmopolitan past. Answer the question:

- *What made Salonica a cosmopolitan city in the early modern period?*

You may use the sources below and conduct your own research to supplement them. Your presentation might take the form of an annotated map, a website, a video, a Prezi, a play, or some other medium, as long as it allows you to present information in text and image, and perhaps audio and video as well. You might like to include a voiceover to tell Salonica's story.

Review of *Salonica: City of Ghosts*

Salonica's layered history is marked by periodic discontinuities that have cut off the city from its own past more than once. Long a center of Orthodox learning and monasticism, the Byzantine city fell to Sultan Murad II in 1430, inaugurating over five hundred years of Ottoman rule. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and violent conflict between Greece and a nascent Turkey led to forced population exchange in 1923 and to Hellenization of the city. The Sephardic Jewish community in Salonica, offered asylum by the Ottoman sultan after their expulsion from Spain in 1492, flourished until it was erased by German occupation and genocide in 1943. Today a Greek university hospital sits on what had been the Jewish cemetery, silencing even the dead.

According to Mazower, professor of European history at Columbia University, standard histories of the region are highly selective, exclusive, and one-dimensional. The imagined Orthodox Christian city as "home of Saint Dimitrios," a third century Roman martyr, is empty of Jews; and the Sephardic city as "Mother of Israel" has no place in its narrative for Greeks. Muslims, not surprisingly, have been airbrushed from both versions. Mazower offers a clue to why the city has deliberately eradicated traces of its own past. Each community, he tentatively proposes, is now blinkered by its adherence to modern nationalism and entanglement in ethnic politics. Nowhere in these accounts do we see the cosmopolitan, polyglot city that thrived during the Ottoman centuries, an era when boot blacks would routinely speak five or six languages.

.....Hellenistic in origin, Salonica derives its original name of Thessalonike from the daughter of Philip II of Macedon, also half-sister of Alexander and wife of dynast Cassander. Both the daughter and the city commemorated Cassander's Macedonian victory (nike) over Thessaly in northern Greece. The Greek-speaking city prospered under Roman imperial rule, was visited by St. Paul , and later became a bastion of Christian Orthodoxy. When the Byzantine city submitted to Ottoman rule, Sultan Murad II soon recognized its great economic potential. Perched at the edge of the northern Aegean Sea, poised between Europe and the Middle East, Salonica would long thrive as an Eastern Mediterranean center of Ottoman trade. Murad colonized the city, acquired a sheikh who acted as mufti, and directed pious charitable foundations (wakfs) to finance public services and building projects. As Salonica was transformed from a Byzantine into an Ottoman city, mosques outstripped churches and altered the city's skyline. Ottoman authorities changed the physiognomy of Salonica again when they exploited the Spanish enemy's anti-Jewish measures and invited these enterprising "people of the Book" to enrich the empire as well as themselves. Ottoman sultans belonged to the Hanafi school, the most tolerant and flexible in its attitudes toward non-Muslims. They married Greek and Serbian princesses, built new synagogues, and governed their multi-confessional city lightly so long as tax collectors were regularly paid.

Mazower does not romanticize the mingling of ethnic and religious communities in Salonica. Greeks grew resentful at Jewish newcomers who by 1520 made up over half of the city's population and formed its economic elite. Real hostilities across religious divides could be seen in Jews mocking Christian worshippers during holy festivals, Orthodox burning effigies of Judas on Easter, and the Janissary who beat a Christian arms merchant to death as he shouted, "Why are you an unbeliever?" Christians were not permitted to ring church bells, a reminder that theirs was a lesser religion. Mazower reports that one group of Greeks appealed to the Ottoman authorities to stop their Jewish neighbors from emptying their rubbish into the churchyard. And, although it is true that Ottoman authorities were not interested in policing private beliefs, they did issue a dress code (e.g., colored turbans) that classified their subjects by religious affiliation.

But Mazower is also quick to distinguish imperial regulations from the porous boundaries of everyday life. The fluidity of religious belief and practice can be seen in the experience of Jews expelled from Iberia. Although they retained the language of Ladino—Spanish with Hebrew orthography—as a

conduit of culture, some became Marranos who converted to Catholicism while secretly practicing Judaism; others converted to Catholicism; and, among the latter, some were "ships with two rudders" who converted back to Judaism (67). Sabbatei Zevi, perhaps the most fascinating figure discussed in the book, was a 17th century rabbi who proclaimed himself the Messiah and declared his intention to topple the sultan and usher in the day of redemption. Rather than having him killed and turned into a martyr, Sultan Murad IV gave the rabbi a chance to convert, an offer he surprisingly accepted. Even more unexpected was the decision of many followers to join him after concluding that apostasy was a test of faith in their God. This community of converts to Islam, known as the Faithful (ma'mim), eventually lost any connection with their ancestral faith.

Mazower adds that at the level of popular religious culture, a shared sense of the sacred united the city's diverse faiths. In "an atmosphere of overlapping devotion," Christian women visited Jewish cemeteries and Muslim mausoleums where they would collect earth from graves to guard against evil spirits; and Muslim children would have prayers read over them in church. Heterodox Sufi sects played a particularly important part in bridging religious divides (76). For example, the Bektashi order assimilated Christian practices including the use of bread and wine into their rituals. After all, as one observer remarked, "... all men [are] equal in the eyes of God" (79).

The second section of Mazower's book, titled "Under Europe's Shadow," analyzes the European impact on the city as the Ottoman state faced growing challenges to its authority. Although the early Ottomans had built towers and sea walls to fortify the city against attack, threats to security and order arose mainly from within the empire. Rustic Albanians...were recruited to serve in militias only to turn on their former masters (101). Waves of plague and high levels of street violence strained the resources and will of the Ottoman authorities who granted substantial power to local elites and religious officials. Through the 18th century, Salonica was a chaotic city, but a "chaos of vitality" nevertheless (113).

- What different groups that lived in Salonica can you identify from Goldberg's review of Mazower's Salonica: City of Ghosts?
- What examples can you find of communities living together peacefully and productively? What examples can you find of inter-communal tension or violence?
- What do you think caused these tensions? What do you think enabled the periods of peaceful coexistence?

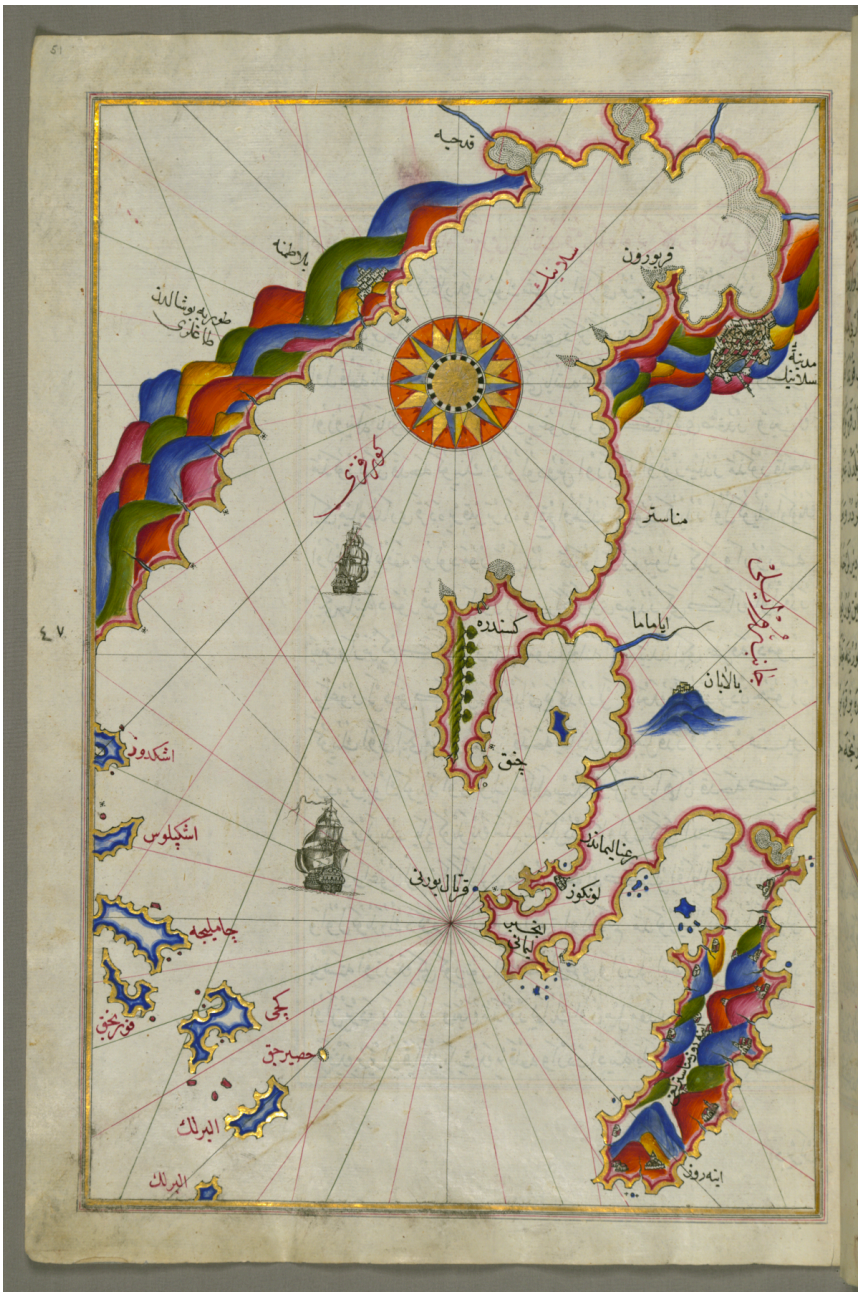
(Source: Excerpt from Steven Goldberg's review of Mark Mazowar, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430–1950.* New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2004. http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/6.3/br_goldberg.html. **Steven Goldberg** teaches history and philosophy at Oak Park and River Forest High School.)

Ethnographic Map of Balkans

- Locate Salonica (spelled Salonique here) and examine the area around it. What different ethnic groups are in its "neighborhood?" What do you think might explain the patterns of settlement of different groups?
- How many cities can you see that have a Jewish population of more than 50%? More than 10%? What do you think might account for the patterns of settlement of these populations?

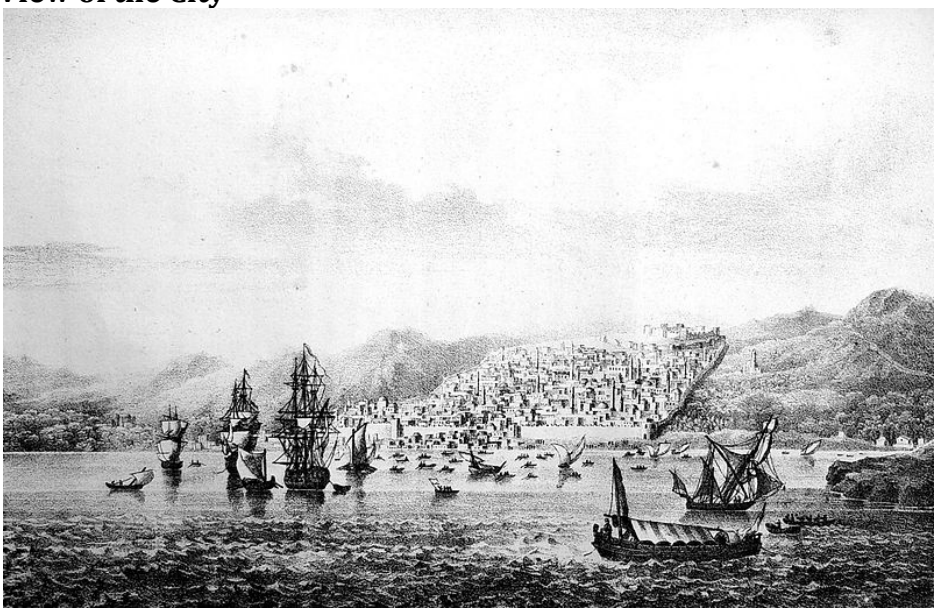
(Source: *Histoire Et Géographie - Atlas Général Vidal-Lablache*, Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1898. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Balkans-ethnique.jpg)

Piri Reis Map of Salonica



- Compare Piri Reis' map of Salonica Bay to the previous map.
- Can you find Salonica? What features of the surrounding environment does Piri Reis show? What do you think is the purpose of this map?

View of the City



- Looking at this view of Salonica from across the bay, what features of its geographical location do you notice?
- What features of the city itself can you make out? Compare the images to a map of Salonica—can you find features that correspond to elements on the map?
- What aspects of the city do you think the artist is trying to capture? What details make you think so?

(Source: Vue générale de Thessalonique depuis le golfe thermaïque. E. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine : contenant des recherches sur l'histoire, la géographie, les antiquités de ce pays*, Fauvel et Serrieu, Paris, 1831. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thessaloniki_overview_Cousinery.jpg)

Religious Geography of Salonica

You may examine this map in more detail in an interactive, large-scale version at http://siger.org/jewish-history-on-the-map/en/diaspora-4/map

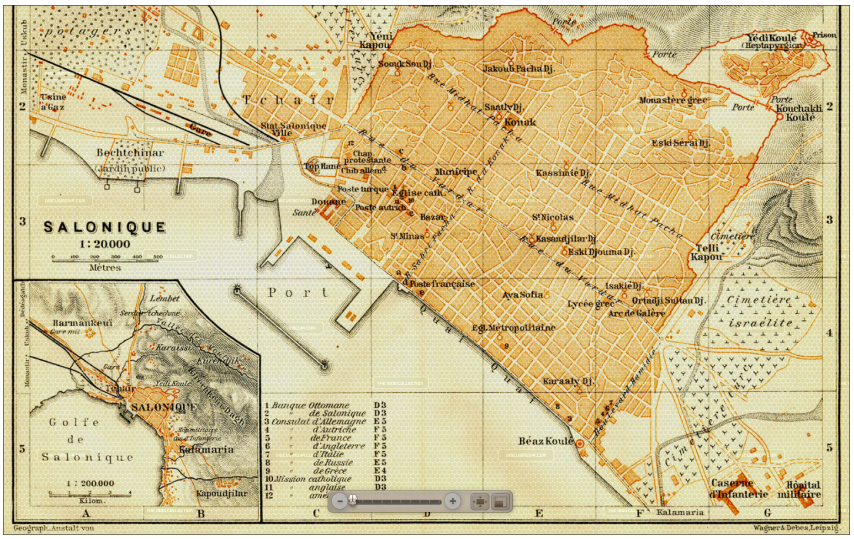
This dynamic port city was known as the Jerusalem of the Balkans. Since the time that Jews and Marranos from Spain, Spanish southern Italy and Portugal sought refuge here, the majority of the population has been Jewish. The names of the synagogues on the city plan reveal this history. A census taken in 1883 shows that 56% of the 85,000 inhabitants were Jewish. Of the rest 23% were Turkish-Islamic and 19% Greek Orthodox. Many Slavic-speaking subjects of the sultan lived in the city's hinterland. About the year 1900 the city had 32 synagogues, 32 mosques and 18 churches.

The names of the synagogues are as follows: **1**. Nevee tsedek (Dwelling of justice, from Calabria), **2**. Kiana (from Calabria), **3**. Ishmaël (from Calabria), **4**. Mayor shenie (Second Majorca), **5**. Sicilia chadash (New Sicily), **6**. Lisbon yasyan (Old Lisbon), **7**. Mayor rishon (First Majorca), **8**. Mograbish (from the Maghreb), **9**. Yahia (from Portugal), **10**. Talmud Tora (the central synagogue), **11**. Gerush Sefarad (Expulsion from Spain), **12**. Estrug (from Apulia), **13**. Bet Aharon (House of Aaron, from Sicily), **14**. Nevee shalom (Dwelling of peace, from Calabria), **15**. Lisbon chadash (New Lisbon), **16**. Ets-ha-chayim (Tree of Life, from Byzantium), **17**. Castillia, **18**. Ashkenaz (from central Europe), **19**. Catalan yasyan (Old Catalonia), **20**. Sicilia yasyan (Old Sicily), **21**. Aragon, **22**. Italia yasyan (Old Italy), **23**. Portugal, **24**. Shalom (mixed), **25**. Italia chadash (New Italy), **26**. Italia shalom, **27**. Pulia (Apulia), **28**. Har gavoa (High mountain, from Apulia), **29**. Provencia (Provence), **30**. Otranto, **31**. Catalan chadash (New Catalonia), **32**. Evora (from Portugal).

- Compare this map to the other maps of Salonica. Assuming that communities lived near their religious structures, who was concentrated near the economic activity of the port?
- What community tended to live up on the hillside looking over the town? What conclusions might you draw about these locations?

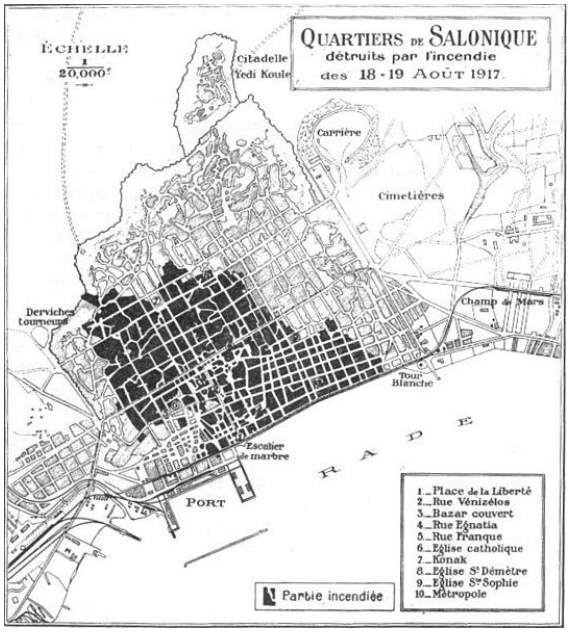
(Sources: Wernieski, A., Plan de Salonique (Copy on a reduced scale of a 1903 French/Ottoman plan of Thessalonica, showing all the synagogues, churches and mosques [marked by red stars, red crosses and green crescents, respectively], Leiden 2003. Jewish History on the Map, http://siger.org/jewish-history-on-the-map)

Thessaloniki, city map, 1905. Environs of Thessaloniki



- What differences do you note between this map and the map above? Why do you think that Jewish synagogues are not marked, but churches and mosques are?
- Who made this map? What do you think the audience and purpose might have been?

Later Map of Salonica, showing portions of the city destroyed by fire in 1917



This map shows the layout of Salonica and the location of some of the more important landmarks. Go to a zoom-in map version at http://www.discusmedia.com/authors.php?id=16595.

- Where was the Ottoman citadel located? Why do you think it was located there?
- What do you think the Tour Blanche might be? Where is the port?

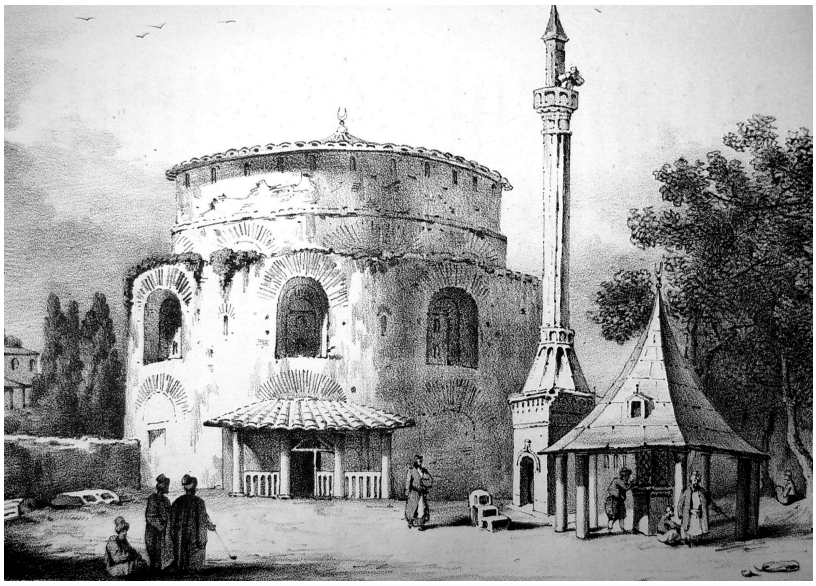
Most of the part of the city that was destroyed in this early 20th-century fire was inhabited by the Jewish community.

- Compare this map to the map locating religious buildings above. How many synagogues were likely burned during the fire?
- What effect do you think this might have had on the Jewish community of Salonica?

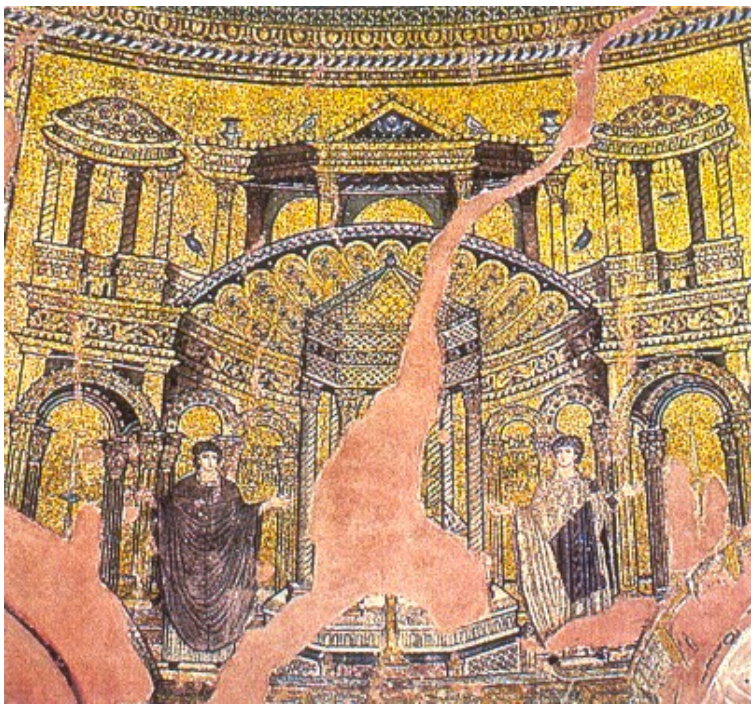
(Source: http://www.discusmedia.com/authors.php?id=16595. This historical map picture is royalty-free within our general terms of use as well as all historical antique maps displayed here in our cartographic collections. Map of Great Fire of Thessaloniki 1917. Author unknown. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thessaloniki_Fire_1917_Map.jpg)

The Rotonda

The Rotonda was built by the Roman emperor Galenius in the early 4th century, probably as a mausoleum, but no one is buried there. In the last 4th century, it became a church called Agios Geogios (St. George) known for its early mosaics. It became the mosque of Suleyman Hortaci Effendi under the Ottomans, and now has Salonica's only surviving minaret.



- What elements of the structure are Roman? Christian? Muslim?
- How does the Rotonda exemplify the cosmopolitan nature of Salonica?
- Do you think the Rotonda is a symbol of peaceful coexistence or of antagonism between communities? Why?

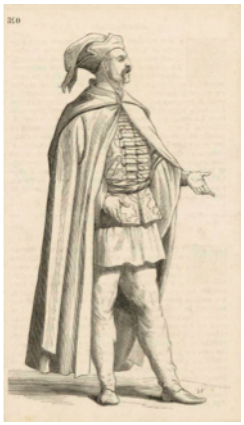


(Sources: Lithograph by Joseph Langlume in E. Cousinéry, Voyage dans la Macédoine : contenant des recherches sur l'histoire, la géographie, les antiquités de ce pays. Paris, 1831. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thessaloniki_Rotunda_Langlume.jpg
Saints Onesiphoros and Porphyrios, mosaic in St. George's Rotunda http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ThessHagGeorgOnesiphPorphMos.jpg)

People of Salonica







- How do these images reflect the different ethnicities, classes and power relationships in the city of Salonica?
- What markers of difference can you identify?

(Sources: 16th-century Ottomans: (top row) Pasha Janizary Officer, Janizary, Turkish Noble, Greek Beylerbeyi (2nd row) , Turkish Bravo, Turkish Corsair. From Cesare Vecellio, Habiti Antichi (ca. 1521-1601). Published in Venice, Combi & LaNou, 1664. (http://archive.org/stream/habitiantichi00vece#page/n9/mode/2up) Macedonian Woman, 17th c. [NYPL]. Ottoman seamen, from album by Bartolemeo von Pezzen, ambassador to Constantinople from 1586 to 1591. *I Turchi, Codex Vindobonensis 8626*. Turkish Cultural Foundation. Nurhan Atasoy Archive. A Jew at Constantinople, from Peter Mundy's Album, *A briefe relation of the Turckes, their kings, Emperors, or Grandsigneurs, their conquests, religion, customes, habbits, etc.* Istanbul, 1618 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mundy-Jew_at_Constantinople.jpg)

Trade

"*Vakfs* [Islamic endowments] fostered trade too. In addition to Bayazid's central market building, and quarters for flour, textiles, spices, furs, cloth and leather goods, there was the so-called "Egyptian market" just outside the gate to the harbour, which (according to one later traveler) contained "all the produce of Egypt, linen, sugar, rice, coffee." Nearby were the city's tanneries, which were already flourishing by the late 15th century. Ship's biscuit was produced here, and later on coffee-houses and taverns sprang up to cater to the needs of sailors, travelers, camel-drivers, porters and day-laborers. At the heart of this bustling district lay the Abdur-Reouf mosque—"a beautiful and most lovely sanctuary, a place of devotion, respite and recovery"—founded by a *mollah* of the city, who built it to serve the traders, since there was none other outside the walls, endowing this too as a *vakf*. "Day and night," reports a seventeenth-century visitor, "the faithful are present there, because Muslim traders from the four corners of the globe and god-fearing sailors and sea-captains make their prayers in that place, enjoying the view of the ships in the harbour."

….Robert de Dreux, a seventeenth-century French priest, was impressed by the khans, hostelries as large as churches, "which the Bachas and other Turkish *signors* build superbly to lodge travelers, without care for their station in life or religion, each one being made welcome, without being obliged to pay anything in return."

Beratlis

In the 18th century, Ottomans from the minority Christian and Jewish communities acting as go-betweens for European merchants were sometimes able to obtain *berats*, or licenses which brought them under the jurisdiction of their European partners and exempted them from Ottoman taxes and law.

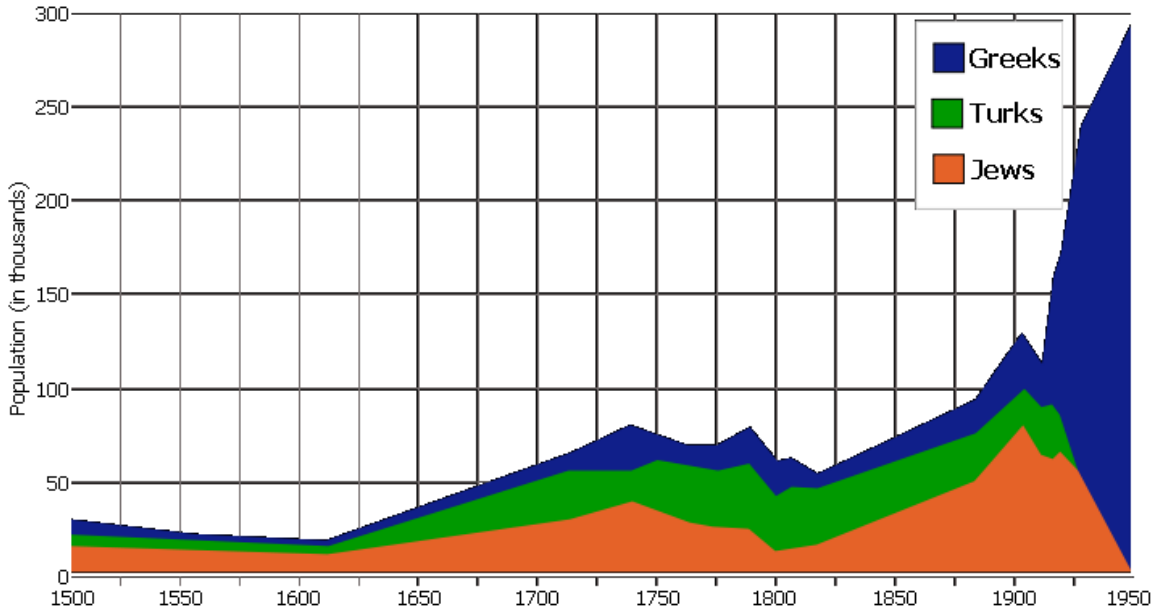
In the longer run, however, the beratli were unstoppable for they had the prestige of Europe behind them. They were a new power in the city, middle-men between the local Jews and Frankish traders, and soon they were not only assisting European merchants but giving them a run for their money. Among the Jews, it was chiefly the Livornese who profited from the expansion of trade after 1718…..

Yet the rise of the Greeks threatened to put even the Livornese in the shade. After nearly three centuries on the margins, Salonica's Greek community was reasserting itself. Greeks were rising to high positions in the Ottoman service, where the most successful became voivodes of Wallachia, or interpreters (drogomans) to the Imperial Fleet; others were powerful tax-collectors around Salonica itself….With unrivalled connections with Leipzig, the Danubian Principalities and Russia, what one historian once called the "all-conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant" was quick to seek out new opportunities. Russia's rise under Catherine the Great brought a powerful new protector, interested in the Balkans as never before. "Humble, crafty, intriguing and bold" as the French consul described them, the Greeks became an unrivalled force in Salonican commerce.

- What do these passages tell you about trade in Salonica?
- How did trade change over time?
- What evidence can you cite?

(Source: Mark Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. New York, Vintage Books, 2004, pp. 40-41, 121.)

Population Trends



- What does this graph tell you about the population of Salonica?
- What do you think might have happened to affect the population around 1800?
- What do you think might have happened between 1900 and 1925? In the 1940s? How could you find out?

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Saloniki_population_graph.png Work in public domain by Kimdime69.)

Salonica, The Mother City

Samuel Usque, Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel, 1553, on Salonica: "There is a city in the Turkish kingdom which formerly belonged to the Greeks, and in our days is a true mother-city in Judaism. For it is established on the very deep foundations of the Law. And it is filled with the choicest plants and most fruitful trees, presently known anywhere on the face of our globe. These fruits are divine, because they are watered by an abundant stream of charities. The city's walls are made of holy deeds of the greatest worth….Come and join us in Turkey and you will live, as we do, in peace and liberty….The Jews of Europe and other countries, persecuted and banished, have come there to find a refuge, and this city has received them with love and affection, as if she were Jerusalem, that old and pious mother of ours."

- How does Usque link the learning, piety and prosperity of Salonica?

(Source: Mark Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. New York, Vintage Books, 2004, pp. 50.)

The Great Fire of Saloniki, 1620

Salonica, like many other cities of the early modern period, suffered several catastrophic fires. This tragic story brings one case to life. The petitioner, a merchant from Lepanto, needs to establish the death of his son in the Salonica fire so that his widow can remarry.

"Before us, the rabbinic court signed below, came the fine and wise Mr. Yohanan ben Samuel, may God preserve him, and recounted for us all the events and misfortunes that had befallen him, in our multitude of sins, in the city of Saloniki.

He reported that when he saw that the evil was inevitable, in our multitude of sins, and that the fire had taken a strong hold around the inn in which we were staying, he called out to his son, "My son, my son! We do not have the luxury to save our property. It would be good if perchance we can save even our lives! Blessed is He who decrees. Therefore, my son, look--I am going. Follow me, because from here on out I will not be able to speak to you any more because of the flames and fire that have grown up to the heavens."

Then, he told us, he wrapped himself in a cloak and told his son that he too should wrap up in his cloak so that the fire not overcome him; and that he should follow him….He then went, with four other Jews following him, until he got to the entrance of the inn. There the fire closed in around them, for the flames had completely engulfed the inn. They ran right into the fire and through it, burning the cloak he was wearing, but saving himself and the Jews who passed through with him.

However, apparently his son, who had been following him, looked at the flames which had stretched up to the heavens and concluded in his mind that they must have burned up his father. He feared to pass through the flames, and it seems that he returned back into the inn because the fire had not yet inundated the inside of the inn. Evidently he heard the sounds of talking, because there were some Turks there, and he supposed that he would take refuge with those Turks. This is why his father did not see him following behind him.

In the morning of the day of Tish'a be-Av the father went all around the city seeking him--had he been seen? Had he taken refuge somewhere? Or had he been burned up? He cried out bitterly for his son, but the Turks and everyone else responded to him, "If an old man like you escaped, is there any doubt that your son, who is a youth like a cedar tree and a tough fighter, managed to flee?"

….when the fire had cooled down some, he went to investigate and saw three burned bodies, but he could recognize nothing to identify them. Then he saw another body in a corner standing on its haunches with its arms on its head. It was completely burned, and he could see no identifying feature on it, until he spotted where one of its legs had been covered by something and protected a little so that it had not burned. Even the shoe on it had not burned. The father recognized his shoe, made of black leather, which the two of them had bought together in the city of Constantinople. When he saw the shoe he recognized with certainty that this was his son; he rent his clothing and did everything necessary….

We have written and signed our names today, Monday, 25 Menahem [Av] 5380 [1620], here, Lepanto. It is all true, confirmed and established.

Response: [Hakham Melamed expresses his grief over the fire and its consequences. He permits the widow to remarry. Hakham Meir ben Shemtov Melamed, Mishpat Tzedek, 3/35]"

- What does this story tell you about relations between Muslim Turks and Jews in Salonica? What evidence can you show for this interpretation?

(Source: Matt Goldish, *Jewish Questions: Responsa on Sephardic Life in the Early Modern Period*. Princeton University Press, 2008.)

Sabbatai Zvi

Sabbatai Zvi was a charismatic Jewish preacher who declared himself the Messiah in the mid-17th century. He had visited the Jewish community in Salonika and had many followers there. When he converted to Islam after his arrest by the Ottoman authorities in 1666, a portion of the Jews in Salonica followed his example, and were known as dönmes or mumins.

- How do you think the messianic movement of Sabbatai Zvi affected the Jewish community in Salonica?

(Sources: (left) From Coenen's "Shabbethai Ẓebi," Amsterdam, 1669; (right) Shabbatai Tzvi enthroned as the messiah, title page of *Tikkun*, Amsterdam, 1666.)

Ladino Songs

"…Essentially, the spoken and written language of the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire developed from Old Castilian, Hebrew and Aramaic, and depending on the community, could contain elements of Arabic, Greek and Turkish. The term *Judezmo* literally means "Judaism" or a "Jewish language for the Sephardim;" this language is also called Ladino, Spanyol, and Judeo-Español (Espanyol). Until the middle of the nineteenth century, literary compositions in Ladino were religious or traditional and did not reflect popular spoken language. Just as Hebrew was the universal Jewish language that provided men with access to study and prayer, Judezmo, recorded in the early years in Rashi script, also belonged to the male domain.…

At the same time, a spoken and more popular language developed, encompassing a rich oral tradition that included romances and *canciones* that reflected the Iberian culture and heritage the exiles brought with them, but somehow still left leeway for post-Expulsion creativity. As it turned out, women were active in the oral transmission of these songs and tales."

Two coplas by Boena Sarfatty, 20th c.

191. Mme. Levy came to visit grandmother,
Crying that in her house there is a defect.
Her daughter became a Sabbatean.
The nuns sent her to a church
So the relatives won't see her and won't change her mind.
Let us drink to the health of those
Who don't send their children to the nuns' school.

67. The Sabbateans are Jews at home and Muslims in the market.
I learned now that they went to Turkey; I bought the house of a believer.
I found a synagogue in the attic.
Let us drink to the health of Rafael Medina.

- While these poems are from the 20th century, they reflect earlier attitudes. How do you think these poems reflect the relationship between Salonican Jews and Sabbateans? What evidence shows this?

Romanceros

Only a few romances have a function among the songs related to the wedding. The next example fulfills a very special social function in Saloniki. It belongs to the corpus of wedding songs, performed by the women of the bride's family, friends and neighbors, when they gather on what is known as *"dí a del lavado de lana"* [washing the wool used to fill the mattresses and pillows for the new couple].

This romance belongs to the category of stories about faithful wives, and its title in Armistead's Catalogue is "*La vuelta del marido* "(The husband's return), a well known

medieval subject: the faithful wife is put to the test by her husband, who has just returned from the wars. The test is set in a scenario in which she is washing, when a knight - her own husband, whom she does not recognize after many years of absence—tries to convince her that her husband is dead and that she should marry him, an offer she refuses, thus proving her fidelity. The relevance of the two themes: faithful wife and washing, may account for the function of this romance (9).

Lavaba la blanca niña (*The husband's return*) Renée Bivas-Sevy (Saloniki, Greece), Tel Aviv, 31.1.1996, NSA Y7951/4

Lavaba la blanca niña, lavaba y espandía,
con lágrimas la lavaba , con suspiros la 'spandía.
Por ahí pasó un caballero, 'n copo d'agua le demandó,
de lágrimas de sus ojos siete cantaricas le hinchó.
- ¿Por qué lloras, blanca niña? mi siñora, ¿por qué lloras?
- Todos vienen de la guerra, al qu'aspero non hay tornar.
- Dáme siñal, mi siñora, siñal del vuestro balabay.
- Alto, alto como'l pino, derecho como es la flecha,
su barbica roya tiene, empezándol' a despuntar.
- Ya lo vide yo, mi siñora, a la guerra matado sta,
una hora antes que muriera tres palavricas me habló:
mujer hermosa yo tengo, hijicos como es el sol,
y la de tres, mi siñora, que me casara yo con vos.
- Onde siet'años l'asperí, otros siete lo vo 'sperar,
si al de ocho non viene, bivdica quedara ella.
- Non llores más, blanca niña, non llores ni queres llorar:
yo s'el vuestro marido, el qu' asperas de la guerra.
- Si sos el mío marido siñal de mi puerpo daras.
En el pecho de ezquiedro ahí tenes un buen lunar.

- These poems and songs written and performed by women played an important role in the Jewish community. What do they tell you about women's lives and their roles in society?
- What do they tell about the stories of these people in the Mediterranean region?

(Sources: Renee Levine Melammed, *An Ode to Salonica: The Ladino Verses of Bouena Sarfatty*. Indiana Series in Sephardi and Mizrahi Studies. Indiana University Press, 2013, pp. 11-12, 169; Susana Weich-Shahak, Romancero, Coplas and Cancionero: Typology of the Judeo-Spanish repertoire, National Library of Israel Music Center http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/music/Compilations/Pages/Judeo-Spanish.aspx; **Video link for song:** http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EsRQr8OJA4c)

Jewish Women in Commerce

There are many testimonies regarding Jewish women who were active in trade and commercial transactions. In Istanbul, Salonica, Cairo, Jerusalem and Safed, they traded both indoors and in the public markets, mainly in silk, wool and linen fabrics, jewelry, needlework, spices, olive oil, wine, vegetables, and various other items. Their outdoor appearances were reported by European travelers.

Some detailed information can be drawn from one of Rabbi Shemuel di Medina's responses, in which, quite exceptionally, the real names of the involved parties were not omitted. It tells about Mrs. Sisabonna, wife of Israel Rogat, who personally guaranteed all her husband's debts. When her husband fled Salonica in fear of his creditors, and they threatened to sue Sisabonna in a gentile court—where she would no doubt have been sent to jail—she handed over to them a store and a stock of textiles that she had in her possession, thus covering a large portion of the debt. After a while, when her husband returned to Salonica, he demanded to cancel the deal on the grounds that his wife, who was under pressure, had acted independently, and according to Jewish law a wife cannot conclude a business transaction without her husband's consent. In his response, R. Shemuel not only justified the wife's actions but also praised her for the settlement she achieved with the creditors: "Whatever she has done is valid, as would do any other partner who is acting for the benefit of a partnership, even without his partner's consent." He considered her the equal of her husband in their textile and fabrics business and concluded that Sisabonna could have taken any decisions concerning it, exactly as the other partner—her husband—could.

We also hear of a woman from Salonica who left town for a while and deposited a chest of metal tools with her neighbor. The purpose of these tools is not clear, but they were probably connected with the wool industry, in which Jewish women played a considerable role in Salonica, Safed, and other centers, as dyers, weavers, embroiderers and so forth. These crafts surely required a lot of training. Some women were trained by working with their husbands, but—though the sources on childhood are very scarce—it may be assumed that girls were trained at home from a very young age to do some types of handiwork.[26] Thus, in a case brought before R. Shemuel di Medina, the age of an orphan girl was discussed: If it could be proved that she was under twelve when betrothed, she had the prerogative of 'refusal' (*mi'un*), and her marriage could be annulled retroactively. According to the witnesses' testimony, "it was about eight years ago that they have seen her embroidering [. . .] and there is no doubt that in our time [a girl] should be [at least] four or five years of age in order to hold a needle in her hand." Another maiden from Salonica, on her death-bed, bequeathed all her products to her kind stepfather, and we are also told of two young sisters who were allowed to keep in their possession "a lot of handiwork" that they had done in their brothers' house.

- What do these sources tell us about the economic and legal status of Jewish women in Salonica? What evidence can you cite?

Source: Ruth Lamdan, "Jewish Women as Providers in the Generations Following the Expulsion from Spain." *Nashim* (Spring 2007), pp. 49-67.

From *Farewell to Salonica*

Ever since the capture of Salonica by the Turks in 1430, the Moslems had lived on the slopes of Chaoush Monastir, the hill overlooking the sea. The Greeks had remained in what had formerly been the center of the city. It was near the site of the ancient hippodrome, southeast of the triumphal arch of Galerius and not far from the Cassandra Gate. When the Spanish Jews arrived in 1492, they occupied the quarter between the sea wall and the street of the Vardar, the Via Egnatia of the Romans which crossed the city from the Cassandra Gate on the east to the Golden Gate on the west.

Again, tradition in the family holds that because of his official position and his close business relations with the Turks, Harebi Salamonatchi chose to live in the Moslem neighborhood, on what was to become more than half a century later Sabri Pasha Djadesi.

The Little House, as we called it, was in fact a three-story building, the ground floor of which had been turned into storage space with a separate entrance after Nono acquired the more spacious home farther north on the avenue. In that house the family had resided continuously for five generations. here sons and daughters had been born and had grown to adulthood. In this living room betrothals and marriages had been celebrated, and deaths had been mourned. In this house the family had known joys and sorrows, lean years and years of plenty, placid times when life flowed unrippled and days of political turmoil when it was unsafe to venture out.

****

To this office came daily visitors as heterogeneous and as polyglot as Macedonia itself: Turkish *beys*, Albanians from the region of Monastir and Skopje, Hellenizing Kutzo-Vlachs from Seres, Bulgarians from Kilkish, Greeks from Drama, and Spanish Jews from the city.

It might be that Hussein Agha, the old *bey* of Seslovo, was in town. Father's office would then become his. On the old couch with the broken springs, in the far corner, he would sit cross-legged, alternating between taking snuff from a delicately carved silver box and smoking the tall narghile ordered for him from the coffee man of the block. For every visitor, the rope connected to the jingle of the coffee man down the street would be pulled, and the order shouted from the door. How could business be transacted without extending the hospitality of coffee?

Hussein Agha was a man of few words. He would sit for a long while, puffing dreamily on his gurgling water pipe before stating his business.

"Salumon Effendi," he'd say at length. "I need two hundred *liras* before harvest time." And that was all he would say.

"Your wish is on my head, Hussein Agha," Father would answer, and without more ado the money would be counted and handed him. By and by he would take his leave and amble out.

At harvest time the bey would return, after the usual greetings, resume his place on the couch. He would smoke his narghile and sip his coffee in silence. Then, taking a small cloth bag from his sash, he would count the *liras* and places them carefully in piles of ten on the desk. "May Allah give you riches, Salumon Effendi. The harvest has been good this year."

With Djemal Effendi, the son of Hadji Ibrahim, it would be different. Here was a dapper young man with pince-nez, who brought the news from the hinterland. The gossip of his village, rumors of marriages, and news of births intermingled gaily with business matters.

"Here's the sample of our barley, friend Salumon," he would say, producing a bandanna handkerchief plump with grain. "See how much it will fetch in the market. I have two carloads of it; that's what Petco, our headman at the farm, says we have. His wife gave him a new daughter this

past week. A daughter, poor soul! He wanted a son. Look how clean the grain is, Salumon, not a stone in it!"

..Sometime in early spring, when the activity in the Ishtira was at its ebb, the rotund figure of Petroush was sure to appear at the door of the office.

"*Kak'se*, Salomon!" He would shout. "How are you, friend? Are you making ready for a bumper crop? We'll give it to you! And where is Yudeco? I didn't see him in Kilkish this week."

The Bulgarian flour merchant would settle himself and his loud voice and explosive laughter would fill the room.

- Can you tell which communities the different characters in this memoir are from? How? How does this excerpt describe the relationships between merchants and farmers from various communities?

(Source: Leon Sciaky, *Farewell to Salonica: City at the Crossroads*. Philadelphia, PA: Paul Dry Books, 2003 (1st copyright 1946), pp. 42-43, 56-58.)

Turkish cafe in Thessaloniki

- In 1913, Salonica was captured by the Greeks in the Balkan War. What effects do you think this might have had on the cosmopolitan character of the city? Why?

(Sources: Papagiannopoulos A., *History of Thessaloniki*, ed.Rekos, Thessaloniki 1993; Map: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/balkan_belligerants_1914.jpg)

Slavery in Mediterranean Contexts

Slavery was endemic in the early modern Mediterranean (as in most human societies of the time), and was a complicated phenomenon. Slaves were taken on all sides, by a variety of actors: by states, by privateers acting under the loose authority of states, and by pirates acting on their own. Slaves were taken as prisoners of war or captured at sea to become military slaves, galley rowers, labor in a wide variety of other capacities—as domestic servants, concubines, or as an investment commodity, to be ransomed back to their country or family for as high a price as they could get.

It should not be taken as any sort of diminution of the horrific nature of slavery and the deprivation of someone's fundamental right to life and liberty to recognize that slaves in the region faced a broad diversity of possible fates. They might serve a short and brutal period as a galley slave before perishing of exhaustion, ill treatment, disease, or in battle, or they might become a valued artisan producing luxury goods, or they might rise to one of the most important positions of authority in society.

In addition to this intra-Mediterranean diversity, it is important to make a distinction between the practice of slavery in the Mediterranean and the transatlantic slave trade in which Europeans forcibly brought Africans to the New World as slaves to work in extremely harsh conditions in plantations and mines. In the Mediterranean context, one was susceptible to enslavement not because of race, as in the transatlantic slave trade, but because of religious identity. Generally speaking, those who captured slaves could not enslave those of their own religious community, but members of other religious groups, especially those of their political enemies, were "fair game." It is important to remember in this context that Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox Christians often did not consider one another co-religionists.

Galley slavery was a particularly important part of Mediterranean slavery, since there was a chronic shortage of labor in the region. While states would hire rowers for their ships if they could find them, they often felt that they had to make up the huge numbers needed with slaves. Historian Molly Greene argues that "servile labor was the linchpin of the maritime system. Muslim slaves powered the galleys of the Maltese, Genoese, and Papal fleets, while Christians were the drudges in [Ottoman ships]."

Primary Source Activity

The sources on the following pages describe a variety of conditions of slavery in the port cities of the Mediterranean, in both Christian and Muslim states. Directions: Using either a paper map or an online map like Google Maps, pinpoint the location of each of the texts below. Mark each point with the event or person connected with it.

- What differences and similarities do you see among the different cases presented?
- What social, religious, economic, technological or other factors do you think account for the wide variety of conditions of enslavement in the early modern Mediterranean?
- What stories or texts interested you the most? What information was most surprising?
- How porous were the boundaries of religious identity in the early modern Mediterranean? Give examples of individuals who crossed those boundaries, and of those who insisted on maintaining them. What arguments did each make for their position?
- In what ways were the experiences of Africans enslaved in the New World different from and similar to the various kinds of slavery practiced in the Mediterranean?

Writing Activity:

- Choose a person whose experience is related in the texts. Put yourself in their shoes. What kind of changes did enslavement make in their life? How might they have reacted to their circumstances? Can you describe what their life might have been like? What other information would help you to make an informed guess as to what might have shaped their daily experiences?
- Write a letter from the perspective of the enslaved person you have chosen to your relatives back home or to a friend, explaining what has happened to you. You may ask to be ransomed, or describe your living conditions, or talk about your prospects in your new life, depending on the person you choose and your own imagination. What more do you need to know about the society from which your figure comes and in which s/he currently lives to write a convincing letter? How can you find out what you need to know?

Konstantin Mihailovic *was a Serb who was captured by the Ottomans in 1455 and sent to Anatolia for training as a janissary. He joined several Ottoman military campaigns in the Balkans (including against Vlad III of Wallachia, the inspiration for Bram Stoker's Dracula) and also gave a number of intriguing descriptions of the court and of janissary life. He was recaptured by the Hungarians in a siege in 1463 and repatriated.*

Memoirs of a Janissary [Konstantin Mihailovic]

Turkish or heathen expansion is like the sea, which never increases nor decreases, and it is of such nature: it never has peace but always rolls. If it falls calm in one region, in another it crashes against the shores. Sea water is dense and salty, so that in some regions they make salt of it; nevertheless, without adding a portion of fresh water to the salt water, salt cannot be made. Likewise all the streams which flow about the world wind here and there: the waters are fresh and good and useful for all things, but when they fall into the sea and are mixed with the sea water, all their freshness and goodness are lost and they become dense and salty like the sea water. The Turks are also of such a nature as the sea: they never have peace, but always carry on a struggle from year to year from some lands to others. If they make a truce somewhere, it is better for them, and in other regions they perpetrate evils: they take people into bondage, and whoever cannot walk they kill. And this happens many times every year: they round up and bring several thousand good Christians among the heathens; having been mixed they are spoiled, like the above-mentioned water. Having forgotten their good Christian faith they accept and extol the heathen faith. And such heathenized Christians are much worse than true-born heathens. This, then, adds to the expansion of the Turks. Some have served their terms, others are serving, while a third group is newly brought in and they ride [out] for a fourth time, striving so that their number would never diminish, in accordance with the word of Mohammed…

And thus the heathens expand, as was said of the above-mentioned sea. And this you can know yourselves, that the Turks capture people and not livestock. Who then can prevent them? Having taken [captives] they swiftly ride them away with them….

- **In this segment, what is Mihailovic's view of the Turks?**
- **In the early Ottoman period, many Janissaries were, like Mihailovic, "recruited" through being prisoners of war. How does Mihailovic see those captives who convert to Islam?**

And when we were in Nikopolis on the bank of the Danube, and also on the far side of the Danube Voivode [Slavic word for military commander or governor] Dracula was encamped with his army so that he guarded against a crossing, Emperor Machomet spoke to his Janissaries, saying: "My sweet lambs, what is mine is also yours, and especially my treasures. Give me advice, for it depends upon you. How could I cross to the other side against my enemy?" They answered the Emperor: "Fortunate Lord, order boats prepared or made ready and immediately in the night we will risk our necks and cross to the other side."

Then the Emperor immediately ordered that they be given eighty large and well-rigged boats and other necessities for shooting: guns, mortars, field-pieces, and pistols. And when

it was already night we boarded the boats and shoved off downstream in the river so that oars and men would not be heard. And we reached the other side some furlongs below where the Voivode's army lay, and there we dug in, having emplaced the cannon and having encircled ourselves with shields and having placed stakes around ourselves so that cavalry could do nothing to us. Then the boats went to the other side until the Janissaries had all crossed to us.

Then having fallen into formation we moved a little toward the army, keeping the stakes, shields and cannon. And when we had approached quite close to them, having halted we emplaced the cannon, for they killed two hundred and fifty Janissaries with cannon fire. And the Emperor himself must have been very sad, seeing such a battle on the other side and not being able to do anything about it himself. And he was greatly afraid, fearing that all his Janissaries would be killed. Then, seeing that so many of us were dying, he quickly prepared, and having one hundred twenty cannon, immediately began to fire them heavily and thus we drove all the army from the battlefield and established and fortified ourselves. Then the Emperor released the other infantry, which is called the *azapi*, like our footsoldiers, to come to us as quickly as possible. And Dracula, seeing that he could not prevent the crossing, moved away from us. Then the Emperor himself with all his might crossed the Danube and there gave us thirty thousand gold pieces to divide among ourselves; and, in addition, all the Janissaries who were not free he made free to leave their property after death to whomever they wished.

(Source: Konstantin Mihailovic. *Memoirs of a Janissary*. Ed. Svat Soucek., tr. Benjamin Stolz. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011.

- **Reading this passage, how do you interpret Mihailovic's sense of identity? How do you think he feels about the Ottoman sultan? Why do you think that is so?**

The following fictionalized account of ***the enslavement of an Ottoman admiral*** *shows not only the brutal work that galley slaves were forced to do in the service of the enemy navy, but also that important captives on both sides could be ransomed and returned to their homelands.*

A Turkish Galley Slave

When the flagship of the Imperial Spanish Fleet, the powerful galley *Mora,* pulled up to its moorings in the harbor of Genoa on a November day of the year 1544, most of the rowers collapsed across their oars. It was a mass concession to the weariness that came from pulling the big vessel—fifty-six oars, five men to a bench—over the Mediterranean from Majorca.

One galleyman who did not collapse sat in the front row on the right, a muscular figure whose tawny skin, black beard and eyes proclaimed that he was not a European. The headsman of his oar, that is, the one on the inside from whom the other four took their cue as they cut the water with their heavy wooden blade, he had survived four years of the brutal toil that kept sixteenth-century navies operating at sea.

Now, as the shackles were stricken off and the rowers filed ashore, he expected to be incarcerated and put to other strenuous work until the next naval campaign. Instead, the

boatswain tapped him on the shoulder and said in the Mediterranean patois that galleymen understood from Barcelona to Constantinople: "Signor Dragut, the Admiral wishes to see you."

"What, the invincible Andrea Doria himself?" There was a mocking note in the question.

"Yes, come with me."

They mounted the dock and advanced toward the admiral who, flanked by his officers, was watching the rest of the galleys of his fleet cast anchor. Andrea Doria spoke first, and to the point. "Signor Dragut, you are a free man. Your Sultan has ransomed you. He considers you worth the three thousand gold ducats we demanded."

Dragut smiled. "Lord Admiral, the mighty Suleiman, whom you call the Magnificent, has always placed too high a value on my services."

It was Doria's turn to smile. "Suleiman the Magnificent knows, as we Genoese know, that without you he cannot hope to hold control of the waters beyond Sicily against the King of Spain."

"You are flattering," replied Dragut. "But why, then, do you not keep me as your prisoner?" The words were velvet, for Dragut knew what the answer would be.

"I do not fear you," said Doria sharply. "I have defeated you in the past, and I will defeat you in the future—should our paths cross again."

"That they will surely do," Dragut replied, almost smiling.

"In Tripoli?"

"In Naples."

Nothing more needed to be said. Bowing an adieu, the erstwhile galley slave disappeared into Genoa to begin his search for a passage back to the nearest seaport in the dominions of Suleiman the Magnificent.

The name of Dragut—corrupted by the European tongue from the original Torghud Reis—was as famous as that of Andrea Doria, Europe's foremost naval commander. An Anatolian, born in what is now Turkey and was then the Turkish territory of the Ottoman Empire, Dragut took to the sea aboard ships plying the Bosphorous below the Golden Horn. He became a fighting sailor during the duel for power that extended from the Riviera to the Levant.

(Source: "Commander of the Sultan's Galleys," *Saudi Aramco World* 14(8), October 1963, pp. 8-10.)

- **Are you surprised that the commander of the Ottoman fleet would be enslaved *and forced to serve in the galleys?***
- ***Are you surprised that the Genoese commander would let him go for a significant ransom? What does this tell you about Mediterranean slavery?***

Miguel de Cervantes, the author of Don Quixote, *was a soldier long before his writing career. He was injured at the famous Battle of Lepanto in 1570, losing the use of one arm, and*

captured and enslaved on his way home and held for years in Algiers. He wrote about his experience and that of other enslaved Christians in Don Quixote and other works, as here in the Captive's Tale:

…[O]n that day, I say, on which the Ottoman pride and arrogance were broken, among all that were there made happy (for the Christians who died that day were happier than those who remained alive and victorious) I alone was miserable; for, instead of some naval crown that I might have expected had it been in Roman times, on the night that followed that famous day I found myself with fetters on my feet and manacles on my hands.

It happened in this way: El Uchali [Uluç Ali], the king of Algiers, a daring and successful corsair, having attacked and taken the leading Maltese galley (only three knights being left alive in it, and they badly wounded), the chief galley of John Andrea, on board of which I and my company were placed, came to its relief, and doing as was bound to do in such a case, I leaped on board the enemy's galley, which, sheering off from that which had attacked it, prevented my men from following me, and so I found myself alone in the midst of my enemies, who were in such numbers that I was unable to resist; in short I was taken, covered with wounds; El Uchali, as you know, sirs, made his escape with his entire squadron, and I was left a prisoner in his power, the only sad being among so many filled with joy, and the only captive among so many free; for there were fifteen thousand Christians, all at the oar in the Turkish fleet, that regained their longed-for liberty that day.

They carried me to Constantinople, where the Grand Turk, Selim, made my master general at sea for having done his duty in the battle and carried off as evidence of his bravery the standard of the Order of Malta. The following year, which was the year seventy-two, I found myself at Navarino rowing in the leading galley with the three lanterns.

….On this expedition was taken the galley called the Prize, whose captain was a son of the famous corsair Barbarossa. It was taken by the chief Neapolitan galley called the She-wolf, commanded by that thunderbolt of war, that father of his men, that successful and unconquered captain Don Alvaro de Bazan, Marquis of Santa Cruz; and I cannot help telling you what took place at the capture of the Prize.

The son of Barbarossa was so cruel, and treated his slaves so badly, that, when those who were at the oars saw that the She-wolf galley was bearing down upon them and gaining upon them, they all at once dropped their oars and seized their captain who stood on the stage at the end of the gangway shouting to them to row lustily; and passing him on from bench to bench, from the poop to the prow, they so bit him that before he had got much past the mast his soul had already got to hell; so great, as I said, was the cruelty with which he treated them, and the hatred with which they hated him.

…. While all these events were occurring, I was labouring at the oar without any hope of freedom; at least I had no hope of obtaining it by ransom, for I was firmly resolved not to write to my father telling him of my misfortunes.

(Source: Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, chapt. 39. (accessed at LiteratureConnection.com)

- **How does Cervantes characterize the Christian galley slaves in this tale, both in terms of how they are treated and their response?**
- **Mamluk Egypt was a society fundamentally based on slavery—in fact, the word**

"mamluk" means "owned." The ruling class was made up of men who had been enslaved as young men and trained in military skills in one of the elite households. Only those who began their careers as slaves were supposed to be able to rule (although there were some exceptions)—the Mamluks were a one-generation, self-replicating slave state.

Persistent Family Ties in Mamluk Egypt

Although Salar began his career as a mamluk after the battle of Abulustayn, and although mamluks are assumed to lose all family ties upon the commencement of their careers, Salar had biological brothers, whom he left behind in Anatolia when he went to Egypt to work for al-Salih 'Ali. During those many years in Egypt when Salar rose from a mamluk to a commander to the position of viceregent, he had no contact with the relatives he had left behind.

But he must either have wanted contact all along and been unable to establish it, or developed an interest in seeing his family again once he had achieved success, because eventually Salar felt confident enough to send messengers to Anatolia to find his family and invite them to Mamluk territory…in late fall 704/1204 two of Salar's brothers….along with Salar's mother and about 200 other Mongol men and their families, arrived in Mamluk territory from Anatolia….

Salar was apparently overjoyed to see his siblings and his mother, as he had not laid eyes on them since the battle of Abulustayn nearly thirty earlier. He celebrated the occasion by having his brothers appointed…second-tier commanders rating their own military bands, and by building a house for his mother.

(Source: Anne F. Broadbridge, "Sending Home for Mom and Dad: The Extended Family Impulse in Mamluk Politics," Mamluk Studies Review XV (2011), pp. 1-18.)

- **The author talks about Salar's "career" as a mamluk beginning with his capture and enslavement in battle. How does it change our perception of slavery to speak of it as a career?**
- **In what ways do you think this might be an appropriate or inappropriate way to think about Mamluk Egypt? Why?**

Mamluk Slave Women

The recruitment of slave-girls in general, and of concubines in particular, was integral to the structure of Mamluk military households. There are good indications that the number of female slaves in elite households was always at least as high as, and probably much higher than, the number of male slaves, and it would make sense to view Mamluk slavery as a primarily female phenomenon. Just as a select group of male slaves was trained in the military profession, a select group of slave-girls was trained to become courtesans. Tankis, governor of Damascus for most of the first half of the fourteenth century, employed an agent in the lands of the Mongols who sought beautiful slave-girls for him. After their arrival in Damascus, some were placed in the care of Ibrahim Sarim, a famous musician,

who taught the girls to play the lute. These slaves were probably later enlisted in the households musical band, since during the fourteenth century every leading amir kept a band of ten to fifteen slave-girls. The other slave-girls, presumably, had become concubines. Tankiz had at some point as many as nine slave concubines, each with her private retinue.

The military elite regarded concubines, first and foremost, as a means to overcome the high rates of child mortality.

It should also be emphasized that not all slave-girls were concubines. In fact, concubines must have formed only a minority among the thousands of slave-girls that were sold on the markets of Cairo and Damascus. Many slave-girls served as personal attendants to female mistresses. Others were employed as domestics…Some were skilled professionals. Among the hundreds of slave-girls in the possession of Fakhr al-Din Majid ibn Khasib (d. 1360), two were famous chefs.

Source: Yossef Rapoport, Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview, Mamluk Studies Review XI 2(2007), pp. 9-12.

- **What possibilities were there for enslaved women in Mamluk Egypt? What skills and attributes were most highly valued?**

To understand slavery in the pre-modern Mediterranean port cities, we have to look at the economy as well as the ideology of the corso*, or pirate/privateering raid. As you read the texts below, look for information on the economics of slavery as well as how slaves formed part of the societies of the Mediterranean rim.*

The Four Moors, Livorno

Like Ancona and Venice, [Livorno] the Tuscan port was eager to attract merchants from around the Mediterranean and beyond. But fundamental differences distinguished Livorno from its sixteenth-century predecessors. First, its relationship to the Ottoman Empire was distinctly more hostile. Second, it was a city that was deeply implicated in the corsairing economy that developed in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean. It boasted a corsairing order of its own, the Knights of St. Stephen, which routinely cruised the eastern Mediterranean in search of infidels and their goods. It was also a market for the booty the North African corsairs seized from Christian ships. Merchants operating out of Livorno sailed to Tripoli or Algiers to buy up the stolen goods, then returned to Livorno to sell them for a handsome profit.

Despite this willingness to do business (or perhaps because of it), the city's ideological stance toward the Muslim world was deeply antagonistic. The first thing travelers saw when they sailed into the port was a representation of enslaved Muslims. This large

sculpture, dedicated to Ferdinand I, was known popularly as the Monumento dei Quattro Mori, or Monument of the Four Moors. It was built by one Giovanni Bandini in 1595. The bronze figures of the Moors were added by Pietro Tacca between 1623 and 1626 to commemorate Ferdinand's success in routing North African pirates. Merchants of the time often remarked on the statue. The English merchant John Evelyn sailed into Livorno in 1640 and exclaimed,

Just before the sea is an ample Piazza for the Market, where are erected those incomparable Statues, with the fowre slaves of Copper much exceeding the life for proportion; and in the judgement of most Artists are one of the best pieces of modern Worke that was ever don.

- **How are the enslaved Moors in the Livorno sculpture represented? How is the figure of Ferdinand represented? (You may wish to find other views of the monument online.)**
- **How well do you think these representations reflect the ideology and the vitality of trade in Livorno?**

Muslim Slaves in Malta

Despite its commitment to corsairing, Livorno had something of a split personality. The Medici dukes eagerly threw themselves into the great game of religiously justified violence at sea, but at the same time they were famously tolerant of the Jews, and they sheltered the Greek community, more or less, from the power of the Inquisition.

No such ambiguity prevailed at Malta. The knights, of course, never made any attempt to establish diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire; that would have been antithetical to their raison d'etre. As it was, the island's very name was synonymous with the horrors of slavery for Muslims across the Mediterranean world; Malta had the highest number of Muslim slaves, as a percentage of the population, of any country in Europe. For two long centuries, a huge community of about 10,000 Muslim slaves suffered through slavery in the *bagni* of Malta. When on occasion it was decided to permit Muslim or Jewish merchants to stop on the island—for reasons of public good, such as a famine—the Inquisitor had to give his permission, and that only after a pledge that while in Malta they would wear a sign to distinguish themselves from Christians. If they arrived on the island by accident, without prior permission, they were promptly enslaved.

…The relationship between the knights and the Greek world was a complicated one, and the Greeks appear in the historical record in every possible permutation: as captives but also as merchants ransoming slaves; as victims of the knights but also as participants in corsairing ventures; as allies, as enemies, and as something in between. Nevertheless, their experience was distinct from that of Muslims and Jews, who could expect only unremitting hostility from the knights.

(Sources: Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean.* Princeton University Press, 2010. Image: The Four Moors, Monumento dei quattro mori to Ferdinando I de'Medici by Pietro Tacca (1623), Livorno. Photo by Giovanni Dall'Orto, 2006. http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Livorno,_Monumento_dei_quattro_mori_a_Ferdinando_II_%281626%29_-_Foto_Giovanni_Dall%27Orto,_13-4-2006_01.jpg)

- **From this passage, what can you infer about the relationship between the Knights**

of Malta and the Inquisition?

- **Why do you think the relationship between the Knights of Malta and Greeks was so complicated?**

Muslims and Magic in Malta

In early modern Malta, 'popular magic' was generally practiced by women and Muslim slaves, whereas learned magic was practiced by clerics, Hospitallers [Knights Templar] and members of the professional classes. Nevertheless, popular and learned superstitious practices overlapped significantly. The large number of Muslim slaves in Malta had a particularly significant effect on religious, magical and superstitious beliefs. Muslim men and women recur regularly in Inquisitorial documents as people the Hospitallers would turn to for various incantations….

The use of love magic also led to complex love entanglements: the Knight Fra Vincenzo lo Monte was in love with a Christian slave called Francesca; in order to make Francesca love him, he sought to ingratiate himself with her friend, the Muslim slave Aixa, by helping Aixa to make her master, the Commander Fra Staitti fall even more in love with her by procuring for Aixa the magical services of an old woman...

- **How does this source help us understand the relationship between religion and belief in magic in the early modern Mediterranean?**
- **Why do you think magic was able to cross religious divides so easily?**

Enslaved Women in Malta

In 1607, Fra de Frascinet, the French captain of a galleon, was accused by fellow Hospitallers and by the chaplain of the galleon of having sold about 20 Russian and Hungarian women taken from a Turkish vessel at the slave market in Messina. The chaplain argued that the women had been Christians, but Fra Frascinet said they were prostitutes, infidels and Turks. Ignoring advice such as that of Fra Castiglione, who warned that money should be both earned and spent wisely by a true Christian man, Frascinet placed monetary gains above his religious duties.

Source: Emanuel Buttigieg, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c. 1580-c.1700*. Continuum, 2011.

- **What does this passage imply about the role of ideology and religious motivation in the slave trade?**
- **How does it agree with or contrast with other passages?**

Christian Slaves of the Corsairs

Father Pierre Dan, a Trinitarian priest, went to Algiers and Tunis to ransom European slaves in 1634, and wrote of his experiences in his *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsairs*:

> As to the slaves of both sexes that are in Barbary today, there are a quantity of them

> from all the Christian nations, such as France, Italy, Spain, England, Germany, Flanders, Holland, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Russia and so forth. The number of these poor captives reaches about thirty-six thousand, according to the enumeration that I have carried out on the spot and to the records that have been furnished and sent to me by the Christian Consuls who live in the Corsair Cities.

Joseph Pitts and Other Renegades

One day, on his pilgrimage to Mecca, Joseph Pitts sat down, then after a while lay, with his feet towards the Kaaba .... A Turk beside him asked what country he was from. From the West, he replied. How far west? From Algiers. "Have you taken so much pains and been at so much cost," the Turk said, "and now be guilty of this irreverent posture before the House of God?"

That was in 1684. Pitts was the first Englishman to give a reliable account of the hajj to Mecca, in his *Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans* (1704). ...

Among the myths that Pitts dispelled was that the tomb of Mohammed floated above the ground by the power of a lodestone or magnet. He was able to give eyewitness details because he was there as a Muslim, by his account having embraced the religion after a good deal of beating. His third owner treated him more kindly, granting his freedom on their return from Mecca.

But Pitts was pining for his native Exeter, having been taken prisoner as a teenager by Barbary pirates 15 years earlier. I had not realised the scale of abductions by the corsairs who used Algiers as their base. Between 1616 and 1642, England lost about 400 ships and 8,000 people to the pirates. They attacked Iceland in 1627, carrying off captives, and took hundreds more from Baltimore in Ireland in 1631. During the 17th century, Trinitarian and Mercedarian priests ransomed 15,573 slaves from them in 77 years.

In their heyday, the galleys of the pirate fleets of Algiers and Tunis required 10,000 or 15,000 rowers. On land, the slaves lodged in compounds known as *bagni*, which shared features of labour camps and of debtors' prisons (as they were open for free citizens to visit). There was much terrible treatment, but some slaves managed to make money selling tobacco to fellow-slaves, and some even to open wine shops, despite the Islamic prohibition. William Okeley, a slave whose account appeared in 1676, told how an English "minister of the gospel" came to preach and pray with up to 80 captives three times a week. Trinitarian priests even set up hospitals.

Not all Englishmen took to Islam under duress. After James I made peace with Spain in 1603, some English seafarers who had won rich prizes were at a loss for prey. Sir Francis Verney, an Oxford graduate knighted in 1604, at the age of 19, had turned Turk (as the phrase was) by 1610, when he captured two ships bound for Italy from Lisbon. Fortune did not favour Verney for long, and he was taken captive at sea and enslaved himself in 1613. He died in 1615 at the hospital of St Mary of Pity in Messina, Sicily, having been ransomed by a Jesuit priest.

Verney was not the only sea-captain to apostasise (or become a "renegade" in the language of the day) to suit his ambitions. John Ward, who did not sound an ideal convert ("Almost

always swearing. Drunk from morn till night. Most prodigal and plucky," in the words of a contemporary), became a Muslim in 1610 and was celebrated in a play by Robert Daborne, A Christian Turn'd Turke (1612). Ward lived in a marble palace in Tunis and died, probably of plague, in 1623.

Joseph Pitts repeatedly asserted in his book that he had not embraced Islam in his heart. He had, though, some admiration for Muslim habits of prayer: "It is a matter of sorrowful reflection to compare the indifference of many Christians with this zeal of those poor, blind Mahometans," he declared.

He was struck by a letter that his father in Exeter got to him, saying he would rather hear of his death than his apostasy. Eventually, despite offers of a wife and inheritance, he made his escape with ingenuity and perseverance, making the last lap across Europe, from Leghorn, in Italy, on foot.

Source: Christopher Howse, "English Pirates Turning Turk." The Telegraph, May 12, 2012.

- **According to this passage, why did some Englishmen convert to Islam?**
- **What influences might push someone towards conversion, and what might prevent it?**

Many slaves captured on both sides were not put to hard labor, but were held for ransom. The ransoming of captives could be a significant source of income; on the other hand, captives who did not have wealthy patrons or relatives might languish for years. They might be put to the oar, or if they had other useful skills, could be put to work building the infrastructure of the enemies' cities.

English Captives in Barbary

It is no wonder that thousands of British captives languished in North African slavery. As D'Aranda noted, among all the captives in the bagnios, Britons were the least provided for. Catholic Spain and France, which had dealt diplomatically and commercially with North Africans since the medieval period, had established religious orders that regularly negotiated for the release of captives. Britain, "All Nations," wrote Mr. Meggison to his wife on September 18 [1716], "is provided for but the poore English have noe assistance from their Nation but a parcel of Lyes & storys to come to clear & none will come."

While such "poore" men languished in slavery, others with court or commercial connections were speedily ransomed. Wealthy captives frequently negotiated their own ransoms and "avoid[ed] the hardships that others endure[d]": soon after their capture, the master and the owner of the ship on which John Fox served "were redeemed" by their friends, "the rest abiding still by the misery."

(Source: Nabil Matar, "Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704," in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed. *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. Columbia University Press, 2001, pp. 27-28.)

British Slaves as Skilled Labor

There was such social anxiety about the captivity of large groups of men, especially seamen, that from the 1620s on thousands of destitute wives and dependents repeatedly took to the streets with petitions on behalf of their captured kinsmen. In 1653 commercial and naval overseers unsuccessfully attempted to ransom all the captives in North Africa because "the country wants their services." Other professions and crafts suffered, too: a 1694 list of ransomed captives from Algiers mentions carpenters, gunners, gunsmiths, coopers, sailmakers, and surgeons; there were also cabinboys and "grommets" (youths ranking between adult seamen and cabinboys), along with traders, fishermen, and priests. The historian al-Zayani (1734-1809) reported that the Moroccan ruler Mulay Ismail (r. 1672-1727) had "more than 25,000 captives from among the infidels, who served in building his palaces. Some were marble cutters, decorators, stone cutters, ironsmiths, builders, carpenters, architects, astrologers, doctors, and many others." Ismail confirmed to the English ambassador on October 28, 1699, that some of the English captives "cutt marble, having none that cutt it but them, and they set up the pillars which none but them understand, and they serve in all the great works we have." There were so many captives in Meknes, Ismail's capital, that the inner part of the city, al-Qunaytara, became their exclusive living quarters, with separate residences designated for the various nationalities—British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish—and for women, clergy, and the wealthy. Captivity brought an intermixing of peoples, races, and religions that was rarely seen during this period of history. In cities such as Meknes and Marrakesh, Tunis and Algiers, captivity introduced a unique element of internationalism. The presence of peoples from outside the Mediterranean basin—Britons, Russians, Slavs, Poles, and Armenians—shows the diversity that prevailed among the captive population.

(Source: Nabil Matar, "Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704," in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed. *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. Columbia University Press, 2001, pp. 5-6.)

Turning Turk

No Britons became better acquainted with the inhabitants of the Barbary Coast than the seamen, traders, travelers, and soldiers who were captured by the Barbary privateers and hauled to the slave markets located in a territory ranging from Alexandria to Sallee (Salé) and from Tunis to Meknes. Some of these captives never returned to their homes; instead, they converted to Islam and settled permanently in the Muslim world. At a time when "every major European town and city" had "thousands" of poor, many viewed conversion to Islam and emigration to the Muslim dominions as the only way to start new lives. After learning of the large number of Christian converts who had risen in power and prominence in Algeria and Tunisia, Robert Burton concluded that the Christian who "will turn Turk…shall be entertained as a brother;" derisively, Samuel Hartlib confirmed in his "Remonstrance" of 1644 that poverty made "many that would live honestly to cheat, lie, steal, kill, turn Turk, or anything." Whether because North Africa was under-populated (after numerous bouts of plague), or because the converts to Islam practiced professions and crafts that were in high demand, or because the Qur'an urged Muslims to convert nonbelievers, Europeans converted to Islam in large numbers…."A Turkish garment will

become me as well as a Spanish petticoat," retorted a woman when she was reprimanded for converting to Islam. In the period under study, the allure of Islam was powerful, and the borders between Christian Europe and Muslim North Africa were porous.

(Source: Nabil Matar, "Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704," in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed. *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 2.)

Galley Slaves

While some of the land slaves fared relatively well, the galley slaves had a harsher time. The accounts by Thomas Sanders, Edward Webbe, Richard Hasleton, John Rawlins, Robert Ellyatt, and Francis Knight provide a glimpse of the grim life in the galleys: bread and water for sustenance, the brutal labor of rowing, and the despair of enslavement, conditions similar to those experienced by Arab galley slaves at the hands of Christian captors. Slavery in the galleys, wrote Knight, "is most inhumane & diabolical," and an anonymous poet wrote in 1664:

> For those poor captives, that for many years,
>
> Serv'd him [the Turk] 'gainst their will
>
> With sighs and tears,
>
> And in his galleys taken uncessant pains,
>
> Rowing along their coasts in iron chains,
>
> Enduring many a blow upon their back.
>
> When their sad hearts were ready for to crack;
>
> And with their bastinadoes on their feet,
>
> Blow after blow most cruelly doth meet.
>
> Their prayers and tears ere long will soar on high,
>
> To ruin him and his conspiracy.

(Source: Nabil Matar, "Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704," in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed. *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 20.)

While many Britons were enslaved by Muslim corsairs, the British also traded and carried on diplomatic relationships with Muslim states in the Mediterranean. This sometimes meant that they could be taken captive by other Christians fighting those same rulers. As the author here points out, we have very few narratives of enslaved Muslims, but this gives us a sense of what their experience might have been like as well.

The Tale of William Davies

William Davies, naval barber-surgeon by trade, was enslaved in the late summer of 1597.

His ship, the Francis of Saltash, William Lewellyn master, had sailed out of Cornwall early that year, "laden with Fish and Herrings, and such like commodities." After stopping at various ports in Italy and North Africa, it was attacked by corsairs just a few miles off the coast of Tunis, while bound for Chios in the Aegean. The English crew put up some stout resistance, but the fight was terribly one-sided, and eventually, as Davies recalled, "our Ship [was] torne downe to the water with their Ordinance…which spit fire like divels." Their main-mast "shot up by the boord" and their sails trailing in the sea, Davies and his comrades gave up the struggle. Their ship was quickly boarded, and they were made slaves--not by Muslim corsairs, as it happened, but by soldiers of the Grand Duke of Florence.

It might be surprising to hear of a crew of Christians enslaved by other Christians, but this was commonplace in the Mediterranean, where attacks at sea were guided as often by holy profit as by holy war. Anyway, the Francis of Saltash was a plausible target on both counts. Davies conceded as much, admitting at the outset of his tale that the ship was "freighted with Turkish goods by Turks, and some Turks aboard with us, for we traded as well with the Turke as the Christian."

….Davies' account of his "eight yeares and ten moneths in this slaverie"… offers a rare glimpse into what it was like to be enslaved in Christian hands during the time of the corsairs. Certainly a great many Muslims felt the lash of a Christian overseer in those years, but few if any lived to write about it, or, if they did, their stories have yet to emerge. In that sense, Davies' tale, sketchy as it is, will have to stand in for those that could have been told by tens of thousands of Turks and Moors.

What is most striking about Davies' experience is how similar it was to Christian enslavement in Barbary. In particular, what Davies had to go through rowing in the Florentine galleys and working in the Tuscan port city of Livorno reveals a world of forced labor that was virtually identical with what awaited those Europeans who were chosen by a pasha or *dey* to serve as state slaves. The similarities began at the first moment, when the knights and their minions came on board "and stript every man starke naked," ordering that "we had as many Irons knocked upon us, and more, than we were able to beare." Abused and degraded by their captors, the captives were broken to slavery long before any authority back in Tuscany ever formally declared that to be their status.

Once it was mended, the Francis of Saltash was sent back to Livorno, to be sold off as a fair prize. The captives, Turks and Englishmen alike, were distributed among the several galleys of the Florentine flotilla, which then continued on the *corso* for another month. Whether the captives were put to the oar immediately or chained in a hold is unclear, since Davies had nothing further to say about the voyage. He did note, however, that conditions were such that, in the course of the month, there resulted "the losse of many of our lives."

Once returned to Livorno, Davies reported, "we were all shaven both head and beard, and every man had given him a red coate and a red cap, telling of us that the Duke had made us all Slaves, to our great woe and griefe." This is the only sign Davies gave of the process of his enslavement--he said nothing of passing through any prize court or formal judgment. Nor was he sold in anything like an actual slave market, though he noted that they did exist in Livorno, observing how the Knights attacked Ottoman ships and villages, taking "Men,

Women, and children, and selling them in Markets, like to Horses, Cowes, or Sheepe, reserving the strongest for [their] own slavery."

….In the beginning, he wrote, he was set to work "chained in a Cart like a horse," although receiving more blowes than any Cart-horse in England." Together with 40 or 50 other cart-men, "from Sunne rising to Sunne set," he was made to haul "Sand, or Lyme, or Bricke, or some such like, and to draw it whither the Officers appointed us, for their buildings." The men were given as little to eat as any state slaves in Barbary--"our diet being Bread and Water, and not so much Bread in three daies as we might have eaten at once."

One of the buildings that Davies worked on must have been his own prison--the records indicate that soon after he arrived in Livorno construction was begun on the city's Bagno dei forzati, or Bath of the Convicts. The structure was also known by the identical name as slave pens in Algiers and Tunis, the Bagno delle galere, or Bath of the Galleys, for this was the prison dormitory of Florence's galeotti. Finished in 1602, the immense structure, right in the heart of Livorno, would house most of the thousands of galley slaves brought to the city by the Knights of St. Stephan.

[Davies wrote:]"….the extreamitie of miserie causeth many a slave to kill themselves or else to seeke to kill their Officers."…Davies' experiences in bondage, the sufferings and emotions, were presumably shared by all the slaves in Livorno, though he never mentioned the Muslims who must have labored alongside him He was, perhaps, both sensitive to their plight, both in Catholic bondage--he wrote that his forced participation in sacking Turkish towns and ships was "sore against my will." Mostly, however, he complained about his own misfortunes. What little he said about his fellow Englishmen tells us only how massively they died in captivity--after nine years' enslavement, 24 of the 37 British seamen taken in the Francis of Saltash had perished. When Davies finally won his release in 1604, two more were freed with him, "whereof tenne [others] continued in chaines," probably to die in their turn.

Figure 11.1 "Turkish" slaves in Christian captivity. Courtesy of the Museo Correr, Venice.

(Source: Robert C. Davis, *Holy War and Human Bondage: Tales of Christian-Muslim Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Praeger, 2009, pp. 173-79.)

- **Do you find it surprising that Christians would enslave other Christians?**
- **Do you think that it was the differences between Catholic and Protestant that justified Davies' enslavement and ill treatment in the minds of his captors, his trading with Turks, or both?**

Rule Britannia

Just between July, 1677, and October, 1680, according to the 18th-century Orientalist Joseph Morgan, the Algerians took no fewer than 160 British ships, presumably netting between 1,500 and 3,000 slaves. The Moroccans, under their new sultan, Moulay Ismail, would soon make those totals go much higher.

….Well into the 1710s, lists and petitions circulated in London enumerating the hundreds of Britons enslaved in Sale and Moulay Ismail's capital at Meknes. Not until 1713, when Great Britain took over Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Majorca, as rewards for the War of Spanish Succession, could the British establish naval bases close enough to Morocco to have some effect. Before long, the actual risk of enslavement had largely receded for Britain's subjects on the high seas. The corsairs learned to find their victims among the less well-defended Italians and Greeks.

Still, it took the British several more generations to put this difficult and somewhat embarrassing chapter of their history behind them and to forget about the years when their coasts were plundered, their neighbors enslaved, and fleets of odd-looking ships with odder crews made themselves right at home in the Channel and the Irish Sea. Two centuries after the last Salé rover had been chased off from the Cornish coast, parents there were still threatening their misbehaving children that the "Sallyman" would come and carry them away. A good, carousing song was needed to push those troubled times and evil memories into the background and out of mind. And so, when "Rule, Britannia" came on the scene, the British were ready for it, prepared not to dwell any longer on their somewhat pusillanimous past, but to shake their fists at any "Sallyman" who might dare the threaten the new United Kingdom in years to come. And so they sang of Britannia:

The haughty tyrants ne'er shall tame:

All their attempts to bend thee down,

Will but arouse thy generous flame,

But work their woe, and thy renown.

Rule, Britannia! Britannia rule the waves!

Britons never never never will be slaves!

(Source: Robert C. Davis, *Holy War and Human Bondage: Tales of Christian-Muslim Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Praeger, 2009, pp. 35-36.)

- ***How does the author link the British experience of enslavement with imperial* British ideology with the patriotic song Rule Britannia (set to music in 1740)?**
- **The British were not only enslaved in the Mediterranean, however, but were active slavers as well.**

British Soldiers, Pirates and Traders

Between 1580 and 1615, according to Alberto Tenenti, the English "showed themselves to be pirates more ruthless and dangerous than any others" in the Mediterranean. It is no wonder that the Arabic and Turkish words for pirate or corsair, qursan and corsar, entered

the two languages through Western Christendom. In the same way that many Britons knew Muslims only as Barbary Corsairs, so did many Muslims know Britons only as infidel pirates.

Britons were involved not only in piracy, but in the slave trade too. Although they were more successful in their sub-Saharan African trade with the Americas…they did not hesitate to profit from North African slaves. In 1623, Sir Thomas Roe recorded the complaint of the Tunisians that English ships were capturing and selling Muslim "subjects and passengers"; a year later a "Mr. Madox, of London" captured a Salee ship and sold its crew of one hundred fifty Moors and Andalusians into slavery. In October 1631, Harrison confirmed that Salee captives had been sold by the English to the Spaniards; and in June 1639, a "Mr. Marriot, master of the Blessing" sold eleven Turks in Spain and made over a hundred pounds in profit, which he offered to share with the King. In 1658, the ruler of Algeria complained that English ships were selling "Mussulmans" as slaves to Venetians and other Christians; in 1663, "Capt. Chichley gave consent with the rest of the Capts that Tauries, a Turk, should be sold for 100 dollars to the Consul, Don Juan Vincent Raby"; by 1669 the enslavement and sale of Muslims was a common practice among English sea commanders.

While some Britons attacked and captured Muslims, others settled in sea towns and served in Algerian, Tunisian or Moroccan navies. After James I criminalized piracy, and after he suspended his warfare against Spain and the Netherlands, hordes of seamen found themselves without employment—except as pirates (no longer could they claim to be privateers attacking England's Catholic enemy). Their search for harbors in which to dock and safely sell their loot coincided with the need of North African navies to learn maritime technology from the Europeans, and with the willingness of the North African rulers to accommodate the British (and other Christian) pirates in their harbors on condition of sharing with them in the profit. The result of this cooperation between Britons (and other Christians) on the one hand, and the Barbary Corsairs on the other, was the proliferation of piracy committed by Christians and Muslims together….Five years later Captain John Smith lamented that his countrymen were more eager to join Mediterranean piracy than to colonize New England: "our mindes" are so set "vpon spoile, piracie, and such villany, as to serue the Portugall, Spanyard, Dutch, French, or Turke (as to the cost of Europe too many dooe)." Britons were more interested in the Mediterranean than in America, and more zealous to join "Turkish" pirates than to colonize Virginia.

(Source: Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors & Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 57-58.)

- **What was the attraction for British sailors of becoming privateers or pirates in the Mediterranean, and why do you think it outweighed the call to colonize the New World?**

Slave-taking was an important part of the Mediterranean economy. It not only filled the need for labor in certain areas, particularly galley rowers and construction, but could be lucrative as a source of ready cash when slaves were ransomed. On the other hand, sometimes slaves themselves became a currency of exchange for other slaves.

Ransom and Exchange of Slaves

On many occasions, captives were freed by exchange. When there was no money available to pay ransom, the best alternative was to capture opponents and then exchange them for compatriots. Neither military commanders nor writers seem to have had any moral or religious qualms about such actions. After Robert Ellyatt became the slave of Mustaf Agha in Tunis, he tried in January 1613 to arrange for Ramadan, a captive in Malta, to be exchanged for him. In the 1621 expedition against Algiers, Sir Robert Mansel, who commanded the fleet, was commissioned to capture Muslims and "redeem them head for head by his Majesty's subjects captives in Tétouan; and, in case they could not be so redeemed, that, then, we should ransom them for money, and, with the money raised by that means, we should redeem, as far as the money would go, those of our nation captives. Exchanges had been used to free Britons captured by their Christian enemies: now they were used to free Britons from Muslim captivity. In July 1621 John Duppa concluded with the *mokaddam* (chieftain) of Tétouan an exchange of the Muslims captured by Mansel for "eight English." In 1631 King Charles proposed to Mulay al-Walid that Moroccan captives in Spain be ransomed and then exchanged for English captives in Morocco. Exchange was repeatedly seen as the best way to free compatriots, so much so that the Mediterranean basin became a scene of extensive slave exchange throughout the early modern period. From Portugal to Egypt and from Italy to Greece and Morocco, slaves were bartered and exchanged, Christian "tete pour [Muslim] tete," (head for head), although on some occasions one Moor was exchanged for two Britons. As late as 1714 English ships sailed to Spain to purchase Moors to exchange for English captives, "at very reasonable rates, such as are aged, blind or lame. Its no matter, all will pass, so they have life."

(Source: Nabil Matar, "Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704," in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed. *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 25-26.)

- **In the passage above, Muslim slaves are sometimes worth more than Christian ones. Why do you think that might be so?**
- **How do these exchanges of slaves help to create a self-replicating system of slavery in the Mediterranean?**

Muslim Slaves in the New World

Beginning in the 1570s, the Spanish Crown dispatched approximately 20 to 25 Mediterranean galleys to the Caribbean in order to protect the empire's maritime lifelines. In addition to convict rowers of widely varied origins, the galleys employed relatively small numbers of skilled oarsmen drawn from the Islamic Mediterranean, particularly North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. While Spain's Caribbean galley squadrons existed for only 60 years, their reliance on 'Turkish' and 'Moorish' galley slaves provides evidence of an overlooked, intermediate stage in the evolution of slavery within the early modern Iberian Atlantic world.

(Source: David Wheat, "Mediterranean Slavery, New World Transformations: Galley Slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, 1578-1635." *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 31(3), 2010. Special Issue: Maritime Slavery, pp. 327-44.)

- **What questions might this intersection between Mediterranean galley slavery**

and the New World prompt?

The enslavement of Christian women of course caused enormous anguish in western Europe. In the following two passages, we have very different perspectives on the enslavement of European women.

This following legend of the Cypriot Lady was popular in Venice, where the virtue and chastity of the heroine was much celebrated. The story goes that after putting up a valiant defense of Famagusta in Cyprus, the Venetians were defeated in 1570 and Belisandra and 400 others were captured. Rather than submit, Belisandra martyred herself and all the other slaves. What ideas does the story reflect? How does the image reflect the Venetian conception of the heroine?

The Legend of the Virtuous Belisandra Maraviglia, the Heroine Martyr

Le Moyne describes extensively how the Cypriot lady, accompanied by an angel and inspired by God, secretly followed the guard into the powder magazine and set alight a barrel of gunpowder. Le Moyne tries to convince the reader of the joy of the four hundred liberated innocent souls, who rose with the fire and smoke from that grand 'holocaust' and applauded their 'Liberatrice' during their ascent (Le Moyne, 1947, 330). He was also well-informed about the extensive booty captured in Nicosia and, probably also from De Thou, knew the name of the Ottoman commander Mustafa (actually Lala Mustafa Pasha), whom he accused of vanity and avarice. According to Le Moyne, the luxurious booty was gathered on the ships along with Christian slaves by Mustafa himself, who wanted to send them as presents to Sultan Selim and his sultanas as a sign of his victory and personal wealth (Le Moyne, 1647).

The Cypriot lady is depicted with a burning torch in her right hand and broken chains on her left wrist. In the background, on the right-hand side, are the fortified walls of Nicosia and the burning ships in its harbour. Lala Mustafa Pasha and his soldiers as well as the parents of the enslaved Christians have gathered to observe the burning ships. We can assume that no previous depictions of the Cypriot lady existed that Claude Vignon could have used as his iconographic source; therefore, he had to invent her image. His composition features a beautiful young lady with long curly hair, dressed her in a kind of oriental attire and adorned her with pearls and jewels. To indicate her heroism through visual means, Vignon uses the well-known image of ancient Victory Goddesses.

(Source: Polona Vidmar, "'I Turchi al Solito Crudeli….:' Images of Paolo Erizzo and the Venetian Heroines Anna

Erizzo and Belisandra Maraviglia in Historiography and the Visual Arts." *Annales* 22(2012) 2**,** pp. 380-81. Franz Steinpichler (?): The Cypriot Lady, Ptuj Regional Museum.)

Another female captive of the Ottomans was Kalé Kartánou, who was taken in a raid on a village on the island of Corfu and ended up in the imperial harem as the Sultana Nur Banu.

Greek Peasant to Ottoman Sultana

Report by the Venetian bailo, Giacomo Soranzo, from 26 October 1566, containing the following text of Regina Kartánou's letter to her daughter (the Sultana Nur Banu):

"My mistress and daughter, I send you a thousand salutations. I have not ceased thinking about you for twenty-nine years, asking myself time and again whether you were still alive. All I desired was to see you once more. And behold, I find out that you are Sultan Selim's consort, and that your son's name is Sultan Murad. God bless you. Since your infancy there were signs that you were destined for high places. As for myself--I have been captive for twenty-seven years and have suffered a lot, but finally, with the help of God I have been released and returned to Corfu, where I live in our old house. When I was told about you I wrote this letter to you, and gave it to your uncle to transmit it. My name is Regina, your father's name was Nicholas, and your own name is Kalé. You had two brothers and one sister: George, Manóles and Phóteiné. You were seven years old when you were taken into slavery. Your father died in a galley, your brothers are lost. If you have any doubts, your uncle can confirm the story. Our only surviving relative is your paternal uncle Anthony, who had been a pupil at St. George's church, and later converted to Islam like you. The village where you were taken prisoner is called Asoumété near the town of Corfu. The name of your father's sister is Francesca…You often told me, 'Mother, Mother, the Turks will come and take me. Khair-ad-Din Pasha will come…' And we said: 'our daughter will eventually be a Muslim' -- as it finally happened." Concluding the letter, Regina expressed her wish to meet her daughter.

Source: Benjamin Arbel, "Nur Banu (c. 1530-1583): A Venetian Sultana?" *Turcica* 24 (1992): pp. 250-51.

Slaves were not only used in military capacities and for hard labor, but were also prized for their skills, or simply because they were expensive. Slaves brought into domestic and artisanal labor might have a very different experience than did Cervantes' Captive.

Slaves in the Ottoman City

…In the cities slaves were encountered in every branch of social and economic life. However, when it was necessary to choose between the use of slaves and of free hired labor, it will be seen that the situation did not always favor the use of slaves. Slaves were a means of display for wealthy families and the leading men of state. They constituted the swarms of servants, guards and other attendants, who by their presence enhanced the importance of their masters. In this case the value of the slave was not reckoned in terms of the job he was to do. It is clear, however, that in the use of slaves by inhabitants of the Empire engaged in commerce or manufacture, the economic function of the slave was taken into account.

Source: Halil Sahillioglu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the late 15th and early 16th

Centuries," *Turcica* 17(1985), pp. 43-112.

- **How were slaves used to enhance the prestige of the Ottoman elite?**

Slavery was regulated by the Islamic court system, and in some cases—particularly the use of slaves in some kinds of industry—resembled indentured servitude, where the term of slavery was set in advance or agreed upon by master and slave.

Slavery in the Silk Industry in Bursa

Concerning the slave labor employed by the crafts in the cities we have valuable evidence from the records of the estates of the deceased kept by the judges, *kadis*, in the Ottoman cities. The following observations are based on such records of 721 estates from the second half of the fifteenth century in Bursa.

It was an exceptional case for the rich not to have slaves either in domestic occupations or employed as labor in certain crafts. (The rich composed 15.9 of the cases studied.) Slaves formed the third most important component of the estates, in value, after cash and properties. In the estates of the silk weavers slaves frequently represented the most important part since slave labor was extensively employed in the weaving of gold brocades, velvets, or fine cottons in Bursa.

Slave labor was organized under the system of limited service contract known as mukataba in Islamic jurisprudence. Here are two examples of such a contract:
"In our presence Mahmud b. Seyyidi Ahmed, weaver of taffeta, asserted that he agreed to emancipate his slave Iskender, of Circassian origin (with the described features) upon the completion of one hundred pieces of taffeta equivalent in value to ten thousand akces, and the said slave accepted the contract."

"Khwadje Sinan had previously agreed to emancipate his slave Shirmerd son of 'Abdallah (a convert), of Slavonian origin, upon the completion of the weaving for him of ten brocades known as kemkha-i glistani. Now that he has completed the work he has become free."

Here is a case of a slave weaver who was emancipated and rewarded by his master upon his death:

"Yusuf B. 'Abdallah (a convert) previously slave of Al-Hadj Tannvermish, asserted in our presence one day before his death to the effect that he emancipated his slave Ayas b. 'Abdallah (a convert) of Russian origin, weaver of velvet; and declared in his will that Ayas be given in his possession the loom of velvet with silk and other pertinent things."
This kind of mukataba meant actually to allow the slave to exercise certain rights such as to work independently and to own his earnings so that he would be capable of ransoming himself. Another kind allowed emancipation upon work for a certain period of time without specifying the work. Example:

"Mawlana Seyyid Mehmed of Konya asserted in our presence that he agreed to set free Lutfi b. 'Abdallah (a convert) of Bosnia (of the described features) upon service for him for four consecutive years; and the slave accepted the terms."

Mukataba was widely practiced in the Ottoman Empire, as demonstrated by the kadi records. It is recommended by the Coran. It consisted in the master's granting his slave his freedom in return for the payment of mutually agreed upon sums of money. According to some legists it was ransom by the slave of his own person. As an interesting historical example, mention can be made of Mehmed the Conqueror's allowing the Greek prisoners of war to work at the repair of the walls of Istanbul to ransom their freedom. The person subject to mukataba is set free only when his payments are completed. Toward the end a rebate was normally accorded.
Mukataba was a contract binding both sides so that the owner could not change its conditions at the expense of the slave. Since emancipation was considered a charitable act, the owner might make modifications favorable to the slave, such as to shorten the period of service or to give up the work due. Of course at the same time the owner derived certain advantages from mukataba. It guaranteed good and profitable service for a certain period of time since, as a rule, lifetime slaves tended to run away or to be indolent. It was particularly profitable in the silk industry as this required continuously careful expert work especially in brocade and velvet weaving. Wage laborers were not really suited for this kind of work, which demanded a long period of time on the loom for the production of a single piece.
Noteworthy also is the fact that the silk industry in Bursa had developed to such a point that it exported its costly gold brocades and velvets, not only to meet the growing demand of the upper class in the empire, but also to meet orders from Italy, Poland, Russia and other European countries. There were silk weavers in Bursa having forty or more looms at one time who can rightly be considered as capitalist entrepreneurs, organizing a domestic silk industry for export with slave labor: Al-Hadj Ahmed with five looms and fifteen slaves, Hadjdjl Badr al-Din Ishak with seven looms and eight female slaves, al-Khadje Sinan with six looms and twelve male and three female slaves, were all active in the middle of the fifteenth century. Twelve of the slaves of Al-Hadj Ahmed had a value estimated at 36,000 akces, median price for a slave being 2,000 akces or 50 gold ducats, a rate equal to or below contemporary average prices of slaves in Italy or Egypt. Since slave labor was not cheap it was only in the crafts making high-priced luxury goods in great quantity that slaves were employed. Our Bursa documents refer to no slaves in other crafts. In the weaving of cheap cotton goods, another Ottoman export item, peasant labor in the countryside and widows and children in the towns were used throughout Anatolia as the cheapest labor available.

Finally, hiring out slaves was legal. H. Dernschwam, a German visitor to Turkey in 1555, relates the widespread practice in Istanbul of hiring out slaves: Many people made a livelihood out of hiring out their slaves for 7 or 12 akces a day as day laborers (then 60 akces equalled one gold ducat; a slave's daily expense was estimated at 1 1/2 or 2 akces).

Bursa documents of the fifteenth century also tell us how the freed slaves, 'atik or ma'tuk, occupied an unusually important place in the economic life of Bursa as rich silk manufacturers and merchants engaged in distant caravan trade, in money exchange, in

usury and in tax-farming. In that city in 1477, 61 out of 402 persons whose estates were recorded in the kadi registers after death (34 male and 27 female) were freed slaves.

Slaves and freed slaves were often employed as commercial agents by merchants in distant trade ventures. Special guarantees under the stipulations of Islamic law of toal, patronage rights of the former master, must be emphasized in this connection. The following is an interesting instance: In 1480 Balikcizade of Bursa and Khvadje Mehmed, freed slave of Khadjadj Koci, made a partnership investing equal shares with capital in the amount of 545,000 akces (approximately 60,000 gold ducats) for the purpose of an import-export trade with Egypt and Syria. The operation was conducted mainly through their slaves who made several trips via Antalya (Satalia) between Bursa and Egyptian and Syrian cities. In his will Balikcizade emancipated upon his death three of his slaves whom he had used as commercial agents. In addition one eunuch and one female slave were to be emancipated with grants of money, while three female slaves with children, *umm al-walad*, from him were to be freed automatically at his death.

(Source: Halil Inalcik, "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire" in A. Ascher, B. K. Kiraly, and T. Halasi-Kun (eds), *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, Brooklyn College, 1979, pp. 25-43.)

It should be noted that slaves weren't always given their rights under these sorts of agreements. The slave turned to the court to secure his rights.

Nikola's Complaint to the Court

Concerning a slave who complained that his owner had not carried out the terms of the agreement, an order was given to the Cadi of Ermeni (Pazarı) as follows:

A blond slave named Nikola appeared and stated: "My master and I agreed on a term of seven years. Now the seven years are fulfilled. He is oppressing me and does not let me have my letter of emancipation." It is necessary now that an order be given for him to carry out the agreement. (February 16, 1456)

(Source: Halil Sahillioglu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the late 15th and early 16th Centuries," *Turcica* 17(1985), p. 53.)

- **How might the fact that slaves were able to sue their masters in court in some cases change our conception of slavery?**