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tu ništa*

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**Trade and
Communications**

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Preface

I'm not sure what was the original motto of the first ISHA, established in, by now, distant 1990, but I don't think it could have changed much. People change but the spirit of ISHA always remains- association, association and association. On that basis, the branch of Pula was established a couple of years ago, founders wanting to put together business and pleasure. That came into practice and, as a product of continuous work, came the organization of the 15th ISHA conference, in Pula. It resulted in publishing of this journal, the second publication of our branch, beside our, by now standard, "Epulon" whose 3rd issue is waiting for its publication.

"Trade and communication" is theme made up by one of our oldest members, Mladen Brščić, in euphoria that reigned the bus on the return from 14th ISHA conference, held in April 2003 in Helsinki. Because everything regarding our organization was spontaneous, the theme also became alive spontaneously between us, and on the first meeting regarding the organization of the conference was unanimously accepted. More about the conference and the theme you will see on the pages of this journal that holds ten of the works of the participants of the conference.

Not to drag this anymore, I will only say our motto that became the guiding star of this generation- VIVA ISHA.

Ivan Žagar

Impressions from the 15th Annual ISHA Conference in Pula

by Marlena Lakić

For the members of the Club of students of history ISHA Pula, the time around Easter, besides the usual meaning of the holiday, has special value. Why? The thing is that every year international conferences of history students are held. So, a few times a year students from cities across Europe get together, and, students from other world cities join, finances permitting. It is extraordinary chance for them to meet foreign colleagues and future historians. Different questions are raised, discussions are held, friendships and pleasant memories made.

Not to be modest, members of our Club can be proud for being the organizers of the 15th ISHA conference, held April 5-11 2004. Although it was our fifth attendance on such a meeting of students, ISHA Pula was a great host. We welcomed around eighty students, mostly from Macedonia, Finland, Netherlands, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Germany, Romania, Switzerland, Croatia and accommodated them in youth hostel on Valsaline. First day was the busiest because of the checking in, showing the students the mode of workshops, introducing students to each other but that was followed by more than pleasant association in the workshops and in the evening.

The theme of the conference was "Trade and Communication" and all eight workshops touched upon it, although on the different subjects. There was talk about spreading of religion by ways of trade, about Mediterranean, about the culture itself as a mean of communication of different nations, about ways of communication, about conflicts tied to the trade and of slave trade. Mornings were reserved for dynamic discussions about presented papers and the building was full of sound of eloquence of young intellectuals. No less dynamic were afternoons, reserved for organizes trips to Negzakcij and to Brijuni and for tours of Pula's culture institutions and monuments, with expert guidance of our professors Igor Duda and Maurizio Levak, who helped on trips around Istra, too, when Euphrasian Basilica was visited, along with Istrian historical towns, Grožnjan and Motovun. We are sincerely thanking them.

Meeting with foreign students carried on till early morning hours. Relaxed atmosphere and joy were completed by tour of the Pula's coffe houses such as Cabahia, Rock Caffé, E & D and others, karaoke and student party were organized, leaving everybody in good spirits before leaving. The last evening we spend in the konoba Franko, with national Croatian dishes, especially Istrian, and introducing national drinks of foreign students, as a way of experiencing their cultures. Well, the pictures speak for themselves.

All in all, the parting was nostalgic, but not final because we are looking forward to next meeting at some other ISHA destination. We are looking forward to new pleasant experiences and memories and experiencing another country as guests and not hosts . With little luck and little bit more money, ten to fifteen our members are going to next ISHA conference, to be held in Macedonia, returning full of impressions and anecdotes, retelling them days, weeks, months to come, with pictures on the bulletin board of the Philosophy University, giving at least a little bit of atmosphere of the so expected conference.

At the end, we must also Philosophy University in Pula, to dean Robert Matijašić, Ministry of Science, education and sport, Istrian region, city of Pula, and the others not mentioned here that unselfishly helped us.

Na ovu stranicu treba posložiti 6 fotografija

Trade and Communications

*by Mladen Majušević
ISHA Pula - Croatia*

To talk about history of human kind is impossible without looking back to two important things that make said history – trade and communications. On the other hand, studying trade and communications can bring us to very interesting and useful data regarding the complex story that is the history of mankind. That exactly was the guiding thought that brought us to give the 15th Annual ISHA Conference in Pula said theme.

People were trading since beginning of time- there is no point talking much about it- either as simple exchange in the beginning of civilization, sleepy littler middle ages' trade or present day frantic inter-corporation commercial dealings. Trade has always needed communication of the interested parties, not caring if it was mumbling of the two Neanderthals trading axe for spear or complicated law and trade contracts that are today one of the means of the communication. In other words, the development of trade is accompanied by parallel development of communication and these developments have always followed the evolution of man. So, the man has always traded/communicated and it is right here that lays priceless value of historiographical studying of trade and communication as a part of history because only by complete processing of past events we can understand it completely.

For development of more organized trade, on a larger scale, man had to provide some conditions, such as:

- the development of society, i.e. formation of hierarchal established societies/states
- reinforced production that makes surpluses for selling
- the need for products and raw materials that some societies/states weren't able to produce or get
- finding of trade ways and means to travel by which communication and trade with other states/societies is made
- business sense, determination and bravery for trade and communication with other, not so friendly societies/states

Also, there are many important events and processes that determined development of trade. Some of them developed slower, following evolution but some of them were revolutionary fast. But all of them left their mark in history. So, let's count them:

- appearance of coin money. Man understood that mutual exchange is much simpler and more productible if something worthy and rare enough is found, that everybody will accept as the mean of payment; that was the money made of precious metals (similar reaction gets latter appearance of paper money, bonds, stocks and banking business in general)
- strengthening of European town in the begging of the second millennium; town becomes the center of life, fair places are getting bigger, the crafts are getting stronger under protection of guilds, getting production that makes surpluses and selling. The man is slowly getting up from middle ages' material sleepiness, he's relying more and more to himself, making foundation for latter capitalistic point of view
- the discovery of sea way to India and America, exploring and conquering of the world seas and countries- events and processes that made trade faster and reinforced

- the intensity of trade and spread it all around the world¹ – Spanish silver from South America was paying for Dutch spices from India, French lace, African slaves
- anxiety of the Cold War that the whole world ("made" mostly of non-aligned countries) brings to massive hysteria and arms race – the weapons are sophisticated and extraordinarily expensive but still much in demand so arms trade is taking important place in the trade exchange of many countries

Additional explanations of the importance of trade and communication for the history of mankind would be pointless and unnecessary – particular confirmations you can find in this Journal. In the end, let's ask ourselves, did, through the centuries, trade conditioned communication or was it the other way around? Then, isn't it like that eternal question, "What came first, the chicken or the egg?"

Workshops

1. THE SPREADING OF THE RELIGION BY TRADE WAYS

Workshop leaders: Jelena Costantini, Luka Tidić, Matija Prepušt

2. THE MEDITERRANEAN

Workshop leaders: Marlena Lakić, Ivan Žagar, Vladimir Papić

¹ This remark refer to only Euro centric view of things

3. CULTURE

Workshop leaders: Slavica Tobok, Martina Batel, Marijana Korlević

4. THE WAR AGAINST AND BECAUSE OF THE TRADE

Workshop leaders: Mladen Brščić, Aleksandar Žigant, Vana Dominis

5. COMMUNICATION WAYS

Workshop leaders: Milan Radošević, Aleksandra Radovanović

6. MARITIME TRADE

Workshop leaders: Saša Ergotić, Nevena Radović

7. THE TRADE OF SLAVES

Workshop leaders: Mladen Majušević, Luka Godina, Dragan Živković

8. COMMUNICATION RESOURCES

Workshop leaders: Romina Jagar, Marija Vuković, Ivana Damijanić

XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No1. "The spreading of religion by trade ways"

Catholic Book Censorship in the 16th century Netherlands

by Eelco Jansen
ISHA Nijmegen - Netherland

Preface

This paper will deal with Catholic Book censorship in the Netherlands for the period prior to its independence struggle with the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century. One of the most visible differences between the Dutch and the Spanish was related to religion. The Emperor stood in the tradition of 'most Catholic king and defender of the Church', while a lot of inhabitants of the Netherlands tended more in the direction of the recently started reformation.

One of the workshops of this conferention deals with 'spreading religion by trade ways'. My paper will deal with just the opposite; the prevention of this spreading. How far were governments able to restrict people's thoughts or control the spreading of ideas they didn't think were desirable? Especially in a period with few and difficult communication possibilities.

Introduction

The reformation and the invention of the printing press are obviously closely related. Through the expanding production of books, ideas were able to obtain a greater diffusion than ever before, geographically as well as socially, since books were becoming cheaper and affordable for a wider public. The ruling classes identified the potential hazard of these developments and tried to get the new medium under its control. The sixteenth century showed an ever-increasing supervision of the printing business, by the nobility as well as the Church. The success of the reformation points in the direction that their efforts were all in vain.

Censorship by the Church was nothing new in the sixteenth century. As early as the fifth century the pope published his first 'index', the *Decretum Gelasianum*, which in a general sense prohibited Pelagian and Manichean authors. Within the Church there have always been heretical sects, which the pope tried to marginalize, even before the reformation. The book production of these sects, however, was never of a substantial proportion, due to the time-consuming practice of manual copying. This limited their spread and thus their danger to the Church. The advent of the printing press posed a considerably increased threat to the pope. This resulted in papal guidelines trying to bond the freedom of the press. Already in 1487, well before the traditional start of the reformation, the Church declared that every single book that was to be printed would have to be checked on its religious purity by a bishop. This decree however was never translated into Dutch, nor was it brought under the attention of the governments of the Netherlands, so it hadn't much currency there. Only in 1521 the censorship took on a more systematic approach because of the influence of emperor Karel V.²

In the first part, I will deal with the imperial policy on book censorship. The official decrees, the 'plakkaten', through which the policy was made public, are a good indication of what the government tried to achieve. The second part will deal with the implementation of the policy; the practical and tangible side of the story. Did people actually got to know what a monarch hundreds of miles away declared? In the conclusion, I will try to answer the question about the effectiveness of the censorship policy.

² This is Emperor Charles V, aka King Charles I of Spain

The Censorship Policy

The twentieth of March 1521 was the first time the production of books was actually put under restraint in the Netherlands. That was the date the first imperial 'placard' on book censorship has gone forth. It was stated in French and ordered the Council of Flanders to really act upon all the earlier papal edicts on censorship. As already mentioned, the Church banned heretical books quite regularly since the fifth century. It missed however the worldly power to effectively enforce these 'indices' in the Netherlands. The censorship usually came down to the individual morality of the believing subjects. The immanent danger that the reformation posed made this no longer sufficient. Therefore the pope sent an envoy, nuntius Hieronymus Aleander, to the Netherlands to persuade Karel V to implement his bull *Exsurge Domine*. This bull was explicitly directed against Luther and his followers.

After the Reichstag of Worms Karel V had no problems with granting the popes requests. The emperor had seen Luther in action and they didn't hit it off on a personal note. As a result Karel V promulgated the Edict of Worms. This forbade the printing, selling and buying of Lutheran writings or writings in which a monarch or the Church was insulted. On top of this it was also no longer legal to publish new translations of the Bible, without prior consent and an issued 'octrooi' of the theological faculty of the Leuven University. Any breaking of the edict would be seen as high treason and was punishable with death. In the next decade there would be issued six more placards, each one further limiting the freedom of the press. The first three consecutively added more checks before a book could obtain a 'privilege' (permission to be printed). Since 1526 a book needed to be approved by a bishop, than by the State Counsel and lastly by the provincial Counsel. A printer who did not comply with these rules would loose a third of his belongings and would be eternally exiled. Additionally from 1528 onwards every printed work had to have a 'printers mark', making it possible to trace a book back to its creator. The amount of forbidden books rose steeply as well. Every single reformer was sternly censored. Breaking these rules could lead to severe penalties: brand marking, poking eyes out, high fines or eternal exile. In the fifteen forties the censorship has taken another step forward. The Leuven University had to publish a list of books that were officially deemed heretical. This proved to be very difficult; some obviously reformationary books were overlooked and other perfectly Catholic books found themselves on the index. Since 1544 it was punishable with death if you didn't have your book checked before you printed it. If, after careful reading by the authorities, it proved to be harmless, you would only be banned for life and so heavily fined that you would end up in the gutter. Every six months the inventories of all the bookshops in the Netherlands would be inspected as well and random inspections were possible, too. Over every forbidden book that would be found, a fine of fifty Karolusgulden (a very high fine) had to be paid.

The publication of these placards meant the culmination of the censorship policy in the Netherlands. Until 1570 no major changes occurred. Phillips II took over the reign of his father in 1555, but his decrees didn't differ much from the earlier ones. The only really new developments came from the Tridentate Convention. There, people tried to make a single index for the entire Catholic world, but it wasn't until 1564 that the first results were made public in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. However, the political situation in the Netherlands changed drastically in those years. It seemed increasingly obvious that a religious confrontation would take place, and it did. In 1566 the Netherlands were drowned in a wave of civil disorder - an iconoclastic movement called the 'beeldenstorm' swept through the country as proof of the discontent with the government. In an angered reaction Phillips II sent his ablest - and very ruthless - general, the duke of Alva, to restore the authority of the

Spanish emperor. Alva tried forcefully to get the country under control again. He instated a cruel 'Blood counsel', which with Catholic zeal tried to route the burdensome heretics in a very unfriendly way. After the year 1575 it became increasingly obvious that Alva's quest for the 'hearts and minds' of the Dutch was lost and that their break with Spain might become definitive. This process found its completion in the seventeenth century with the advent of the 'Republic of the Seven United Provinces'.

Implementation

To determine what was and wasn't allowed to be printed, and which punishments were to be given, was, of course, only the first step in restricting the reformation to spread any further. Rules on paper do not sort any effect without the public being aware of them. How could a sixteen-century government get all her subjects to get acquainted with the new rules, and abide by them, without the modern means of mass-communication? The above-mentioned nuntius Aleander, envoy of the pope, wanted to help (and stimulate) the worldly authorities with everything in his power. I already mentioned that he incited the emperor to the Edict of Worms, but he also personally took care of the first book burning in the Netherlands, a first drastic measure in the application of the censorship edicts. In October 1520 he collected and burned eighty heretical books in the city of Leuven. Soon after that he organized similar events in the cities of Gent, Utrecht, Brugge, Antwerp and Den Bosch en Deventer as well.

These book burnings were carefully orchestrated. For example, the nuntius advised to sound trumpets while the books were burning, to create a more 'dramatic' appearance and give the audience a real feeling of divine interference. The 1521 book burning in the city of Antwerp left us with a detailed description of the event by Aleander.³ He describes it as a very solemn ceremony, with as much as 50 000 people present. Such a large crowd would imply that practically all the inhabitants of the medieval city, as well as many of the surrounding country-folk were present at the event. The first three hours of the gathering were spent proclaiming the entire Edict. After that the fires were lit, and more than 400 books went up in flames under constant cheering from the crowd. A different source states however that the general opinion in the crowd was one of 'unified discontent, that such a serious business was treated in such a ridiculous way'. That source does agree with the amount of people present however, so apparently the government was able to reach most inhabitants in a certain region.

These sources provide us with valuable descriptions on how the decrees and placards could be made public in a time without mass-communication. The inhabitants of the city, and a proportional segment of the people living in the surroundings, were called to the city (and apparently they listened). In front of this gigantic crowd the edict would be read, without any amplification, and for three hours on end the crowd would listen. After this the decrees would be posted on church doors and other public places for the public to read. Bailiffs, scouts, mayors, burgomasters, gate watchers and other lower imperial officers were to perform these tasks. Much depended on local officials, but apparently it was possible to get a message across.

The dependency on local officials is a serious weak spot in this system however. I will illustrate this with a few examples. The government of Amsterdam had to be repeatedly asked by the Provincial Counsel to be firmer on heresy. The scout – a high-ranking, local official, who was supposed to hunt down heretics – was even charged with actively

³ Letter by Aleander to the vice-chancellor of Rome, 16 July 1521.

undermining the actions against disbelievers. He was suspected of giving people advanced warnings when he was supposed to search their houses. This didn't stay unnoticed and after a while he was caught reading work of the reformer Melancthon, which could explain his subversive behavior.⁴ It was also quite commonplace for town councils to complain to the Provincial Counsels about the severity of the punishments. It was for example deemed 'exorbitant' by local magnates to put a person to death simply for reading banned works⁵. This reluctance of the magistrates, to prosecute the readers and printers of outlawed books, can be better understood if you realize that by 1550 probably all the judges must have read at least one illicit book themselves. It would be flagrantly hypocrite to burn the person at the stake who printed the book, that you have read yourself.⁶

The magistrates who did decide to actively seek out prohibited literature - and their manufacturers had a limited array of possible means. The best way was to try to find 'tell tales', who were willing to denounce perpetrators. The 'squealer' would receive a third of the fine the perpetrator had to pay. This could amount to a considerable fee, so misuse for personal gains was rare.⁷ We know for example of a case in Antwerp, where a book merchant tried to ruin his neighbor, who was far more successful than he. He simply hid some reformation books in the shop of his neighbor and called the city-watch. Unfortunately he was seen while hiding the works, so his plan backfired. The 'evil' book salesman was thrown in a moist cellar for quite some time.⁸

A different possibility for a zealous magistrate was to actively track down the heretical books or their printers. From 1528 onwards every produced book needed to have a 'printers mark', which had to include the year of printing and the name and address of the printer. The manufacturer, however, were not daft and they tried to avoid the rules wherever possible. Often printers would simply use a false or a foreign imprint in their works. It is also known in some cases that printers put in the printers mark of a competitor or – ideally – the name of a printer who was collaborating with the Spaniards. Also, the 'printers mark' wasn't waterproof. It was best to catch people in actual possession of indexed books. So, for example, in 1543 there was held a 'razzia' in the city of Leuven. Soldiers would search the houses of suspect residents for any evidence of subversive literature. The entire house would be turned upside-down and every suspect book was impounded. In 1569 the duke of Alva used an even bigger scheme. On the sixteenth of March his soldiers raked through every single bookstore in the Netherlands! The inventories of all shops were sealed and in the weeks following a censor would come by and read through all the books.

This shift in strategy – from hunting down printers to strictly controlling vendors – might be explained by the fact that most printers had left the Netherlands from 1533 onwards. Thus, most of the illegitimate literature in the Netherlands had to be imported from abroad. This happened mainly by boat, the books were hidden in casks and smuggled into the country. So it becomes clear that the books, and thus the religious ideas, did, in fact, spread by trade ways. The smugglers would namely follow the main Rhine and North Sea trade routes.

Conclusion

⁴ Weekhout, I., *Boekcensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, 33.

⁵ Nierop, H.F.K. van, 'Censorship, Illicit Printing and the Revolt of the Netherlands', 35.

⁶ Nierop, H.F.K. van, 'Censorship, Illicit Printing and the Revolt of the Netherlands', 39.

⁷ Kronenberg, M.E., *Verboden Boeken*, 17.

⁸ Nierop, H.F.K. van, 'Censorship, Illicit Printing and the Revolt of the Netherlands', 34.

This leaves us of course with the question in how far the imperial censorship policy sorted any effect. It seems very obvious to say that it was a complete failure, since the Netherlands would grow independent of Spain and would be lost for the Catholic Church as well. This would however paint too simple a picture. Mainly because the independence was a product of far more than only the 'struggle for the minds of the people'; military successes and the geopolitical situation were far more important. On top of this comes that the southern part of the Netherlands, the part where the religious tensions first became immanent, returned to the Catholic faith after the Spanish military reconquest. So it seems that in the southern Netherlands the policy indeed sorted good effect.

For the northern Netherlands it seems useful to make a separation between the effect of the rules on the printing of books, and the effect of the reading of the prohibited literature. Against the producers the policy seems far more effective than I had ever dared to consider likely in a time with such difficult communication possibilities. The entire illicit printing business disappeared out of the country (it simply relocated to a different country, but still...) The effect of the censorship on the readers of the reformation writings might be called practically 'zip'. You couldn't – and still can't today – decide what people are allowed to read. Moreover, if you were told not to read a certain book, you would naturally inclined to be more interested in reading it. Generally, people regard 'the forbidden' as exciting and want to know what all the fuss is about. Therefore, the restrictions on allowed reading can be considered 'counterproductive'. This completely overshadowed the success of the censorship on book production.

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XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No1. "The spreading of religion by trade ways"

The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in the Middle

Ages, linking central to western Europe

by Michael Brupbacher
ISHA Fribourg - Switzerland

Introduction

Some information beforehand: the name of Santiago will be of major importance in this text, so I will explain it here: Santiago is the Spanish name of the apostle St. James, Heiliger Jakobus (in German), St. Jacques (in French), he is supposed to have been brother of the evangelist John.

Why did I choose this topic?

I chose this topic because I used to live in Fribourg, where I also study at the university. The historic City of Fribourg is situated on the pilgrim route between another important place of pilgrimage, which is Einsiedeln in Switzerland, and the St. James route that leads to Santiago. So the city of Fribourg has always been a stopover for pilgrims and it has always been, and still is, a major centre of Swiss Catholicism. It also hosts a lot of monasteries. So the pilgrimage of St. James to Santiago de Compostela has always been present in Fribourg and the region. Today the ancient pilgrim route is even a tourist attraction. I, personally, up until now have never walked the St. James way and I have not yet been in Santiago de Compostela. This is how I came to choose this topic.

The grave of St. James

The following paragraph, that shows the reason for the later pilgrimage, must be put under the title of legend rather than historical evidence. The apostle St. James is supposed to have preached in Spain after the death of Jesus. He then went back to the Holy Land, where the King Herodes killed him. His followers brought his dead body in a seven day journey to the north-east coast of Spain, where they brought the dead body on to the land at a place at that time called Iria Flavia, nowadays known under the name of El pardon. This place used to be seen as the end of the world at that time. His followers then buried the body in the place that is today called Santiago de Compostela. The grave is supposed to have been forgotten, because at that time the population of Spain has not yet been truly christianised. According to the legend it was Karl the Great (768-814) who rediscovered the grave of St. James in the 9th century.

A historical view on this legend

In the year 711 the Islamic invasion in Spain began. The Muslims occupied the biggest part of the Iberian Peninsula. It was at that time that the legend of St. James came up. The north of Spain became the Christian wall against the Muslims in Western Europe. The so-called "Reconquista", the Christian fight against the Muslims in Spain, lasted

throughout the Middle Ages and ended only in 1492. During that time St. James and his grave became the symbol of this fight between the cultures. The cry "Santiago" became common among the Christian fighters in the battles against the Muslims. Later St. James became the national Saint of Spain. During the time the Muslims were in southern Spain, the city of Oviedo became the cultural centre of Christian Spain, before that it had been Toledo. From a historical point of view, there are big doubts if these are really the remains of St. James found in the grave in Santiago de Compostela. Historians are almost sure, that it cannot be St. James that lies in the grave. But this question is not the topic of this paper, because it is a question of belief.

The influence of the monastery of Cluny (France)

The monastery of Cluny, established in 910, led to a religious renewal in Western Europe, which led to various new foundations of monasteries in France and other parts of Western Europe. One of their main purposes was to support the pilgrims. So many new monasteries and hospices emerged along the St. James way, which had mainly the purpose to nourish and accommodate the pilgrims. Not only the monks of Cluny, but all kinds of orders got involved along the St. James way. There were also a lot of hospitals to treat pilgrims who became sick or injured during their journey. Without these institutions established by religious orders the pilgrimage would not have been possible in the way it used to.

The search for relics

Relics are a reason for the pilgrimage. The term relics mean the remains of the body of a Saint. The people in the Middle Ages were very keen about relics (mainly bones) and they wanted to be close to them or even touch them. This was supposed to provide luck and health. The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela can also be looked at under that perspective. To be close to the relics of a saint, this was the main motivation for the person of the Middle Ages to go on a pilgrimage.

The "Liber Sancti Jacobi", a pilgrim guide

There is historical book from the 12th century, the so-called "Liber Sancti Jacobi", the book of St. James, which provides a lot of information. The fifth part of this book contains a guide for pilgrims. This guide is an important source for today historians. It tells us a lot about the more practical aspects of a pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. Most of what is mentioned about the practical aspects of the pilgrimage in this paper is known because of this fifth part of the St. James book.

Geographical aspects

There have been four major routes through France, which came together near the Pyrenees and then continued as one to Santiago de Compostela. The four ways are named after their starting points. The "Via Podienensis" was named after the city of Le Puy, the "Via Lemovicensis" after Limoges; The "Via Turonensis" came from Tours and was the most used way by the pilgrims from the region of Paris. "Via Arletanensis" was named after the city of Arles. These four main ways often followed old Roman streets made of cobblestone pavement. The part that leads from the Pyrenees to Santiago is sometimes also

called "Camino Francés" which means "the French way". And every small part of the way had its own name. Of course, the exact course used to change throughout the centuries for various reasons.

But it is important to mention, that along the way to Santiago de Compostela there were a lot of smaller pilgrimage places that had to be visited, too. Some of the churches hosted the relicts of local saints, others places were visited because of the famous religious statues or the religious feasts. So the pilgrimage was not only a rush to Santiago de Compostela but also included several stopovers.

There have also been pilgrims that made the journey by ship, especially those coming from England and Ireland, landing with boats in Santander and La Coruna. But still the biggest part of the pilgrims chose the journey on the land on foot or on the horseback. A lot of the English pilgrims also came this way. The aspect of walking was a major characteristic of the Santiago pilgrimage. The pilgrim should not take the easier way by sea, but suffer the pains of a long walking journey.

In 1198 pope Innocence II declared the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela as equal of importance to those pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem. These were the three important pilgrimages in the Middle Ages. There is a citation that shows well the importance of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. It says that St. James way used to be "a vein of faith". It took a very important place in the Middle Ages Christian culture.

Who were these pilgrims, and how did they travel?

At the beginning there were mainly Spanish clerics, noblemen and monks that went on a pilgrimage to the grave of St. James. From the 11th century on the number of pilgrims increased and the pilgrimage became a European phenomenon. French, Germans, Dutch, English and Italians began to come to Santiago. The 12th century brought a first peak in the number of pilgrims. And by then the pilgrims were of all social classes. Of women that went on the pilgrimage there is estimation from England, which says, that about 30 per cent of all pilgrims of English origin in the Middle Ages were females.⁹

Some of the pilgrims made their journey alone, some went as a couple, there were small groups but also groups of hundreds of pilgrims that travelled together. Noblemen travelled with their servants and in a luxurious manner.

The question about the number of pilgrims is a very difficult one, one which will never be truly solved. As historians we know how difficult it is to make exact statements about numbers, especially for a period as far back as the Middle Ages. Nevertheless there is an estimation that speaks of about one hundred pilgrims that stayed at Santiago every day during the Middle Ages.¹⁰ This is a number, which doesn't seem very high for us today. Other historians speak about 200 000 to half a million pilgrims that travelled to Santiago de Compostela every year.¹¹

Not all the pilgrims that came to Santiago de Compostela returned to their home countries, some of them also stayed in Spain and settled along the St. James way. Not all the pilgrims went on the pilgrimage voluntarily, some of them were also forced to do the journey to Santiago de Compostela. Religious but also secular judges forced criminals to do a pilgrimage to Santiago as a punishment for small offences. This practice was very common in the late Middle Ages. These people who were forced to go on the pilgrimage

⁹ Köster 1983, pages 151/152

¹⁰ Miecz 1978, page 490

¹¹ Hauf 2002, page 24

often did not behave very well and some of these criminals continued to commit crimes on the St. James way and so the reputation of the pilgrims suffered a lot. Which was also a reason why the pilgrimage to Santiago became less important in the 15th and 16th century.

Economical aspects

A pilgrim should have done the whole journey without any money taking with him or her. But as the guide mentioned above pointed out there were a lot of things that had to be paid, and it is thought, that most pilgrims took money with them. Which had the following consequence:

On the 800 kilometres of the St. James Way in northern Spain, there have been at least three hundred villages and cities, which to a big amount lived from the pilgrims during the Middle Ages. The pilgrimage used to be a mayor economical factor. An example: the shoemakers of the region along the St. James way were allowed by the church to work on Sundays, because there were so many pilgrims with torn shoes. Although a lot of the poorer pilgrims were also nourished and accommodated for free; this because it was said that if someone was doing something good to a pilgrim it would be the same like doing something good to Jesus. And this supposed to have lead to a release of sins.

Another consequence was also that there were bridges and new streets build because of the pilgrims. Also the passages over the Pyrenees were maintained regularly. This altogether led to an improvement of the infrastructure in northern Spain. Two of the most important architects of bridges along the St. James way were Domingo de la Calzada and Juan de Ortega. These two devoted their whole work, their whole lives to the St. James way. Of course there are bridges named after them and the two were made to saints later.

Interesting to see is, that a lot of churches along the St. James way have been build in a similar style, so there has been a lot of cultural transfer along the St. James way.

Of course the streets used by the pilgrims were never only used for the pilgrimage. They were multifunctional streets and ways used by tradesmen, soldiers and the local population. In general said: the difference between religious and secular was not maid in the intensity like today. So there were also a lot of so-called merchant pilgrim-traders, they combined their pilgrimage with trade of all kinds.

The pilgrims far a away from home, not speaking the language and with no idea about the prices were often cheated. The pilgrims guide "Liber Sancti Jacobi" mentions and warns against certain practices that often occurred on the St. James way. There have been a lot of people who made a fortune by cheating the pilgrims. High prices were asked and for that bad nutrition and products of low quality were sold. An example for such products were candles, widely used and bought by the pilgrims. But often they were of such bad quality, that they could not been used.

Also a big issue used to be the change of money during the pilgrimage. There used to be a lot of complaints by pilgrims that say that they have been cheated by changing money, what had to be done couple of times during the journey.

Also false priests occurred on the St. James way and tried to steal money from the pilgrims. Customs tariffs were another problem during the pilgrimage. Pilgrims usually did not have to pay any customs tariffs. But often they were charged nevertheless. If they had only a few goods with them they were no longer looked at as real pilgrims by the customs officers and had to pay. Especially the customs over the Pyrenees was known for such practices. It has to be said, that also tradesmen used to try to cheat the customs by wearing pilgrims clothing.

The shell as a sign

The pilgrims to Santiago used to wear a shell, which was the sign of the Santiago pilgrimage. In the 11th and 12th century the shell used to be pinned on the bag of the pilgrim. Later there used to be numerous shells, which were fixed also on the coat and hat of the pilgrims.

There was a certain clothing which every pilgrim was wearing, and which gave him or her certain privileges along the way. The clothing consisted of a wide hat, a cape, the mentioned bag, a bottle made out of a hollow pumpkin and a stick. A priest often blessed the pilgrim's bag and stick before starting the journey.

After the Middle Ages

With the reformation in the 16th century and the period of enlightenment the numbers of pilgrims fell dramatically and the pilgrimage became less and less important. A minimum level was reached in the 19th century. It was then dictator Franco in the 1930's that renewed the memory of St. James and the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela became a national symbol.

In 1987 the European community has declared the Pilgrims Way to Santiago de Compostela as the so called "First European Cultural Route", which gives it a certain importance and points out, that it is in the interest of whole Europe that the heritage of the St. James way should be preserved and looked after.

Today the pilgrimage is again as vital as it used to be in its most important times in the Middle Ages. Today the pilgrimage is done out of many different motivations like sports, culture nature, religion.

Historical research about the St. James way

There are some historians that point out, that the pilgrimage to Santiago produced a certain European consciousness. At an early stage of history quite a lot of people went abroad and came in contact with other people from other parts of Europe.

There are also historians that point out, that a pilgrimage like the one to Santiago had also a tourist dimension

There has been a lot of historical research done in the last couple of years. This has been done under the term of "camino", what means way in Spanish. Historians speak about "caminologie" and it brings together historians, theologians, art historians, architects and others.

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Furor Teutonicus

The View of the 'Germans' in Italy during the Reign of Emperor Frederick I, 'Barbarossa' (1152-90)

by Alan Götz
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Introduction

Since the days of Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombards in northern Italy in 774, the so-called Kingdom of Italy had non-native kings. These kings were Charlemagne's Frankish successors and later the kings of what was to become Germany, who, beginning with Otto I in 962, generally had to journey to Rome to receive Imperial coronation at the hands of the pope.

In the summer of 2003, the then Italian tourism minister and Lega Nord politician Stefano Stefani managed to create quite a stir in the German media by attacking my countrymen in his party newspaper, *La Padania*, as "stereotyped blondes with ultra-nationalist pride" whose many bad characteristics include behaving in an arrogant manner, rowdily invading Italian beaches and engaging in "noisy belching contests after gargantuan beer drinking sessions and huge helpings of fried potatoes".¹² While this kind of stereotypical allusion to a long tradition of Germanic invasions and barbarian behaviour is far from new, it certainly upset a significant part of the German public.¹³ Mediaevalists may have found themselves reminded of a time in the history of Italy, when an alliance of wealthy northern Italian cities organised in the Lombard League against the German emperor Frederick I, 'Barbarossa', to wage a war for the liberties they had grown accustomed to during the absence of assertive German rulers on the peninsula.¹⁴ This military confrontation, which coincided largely with the emperor's conflict with papacy over the papal schism of 1159, was accompanied by a bitter propaganda war in which the ancient Latin phrase *furor teutonicus* was readily employed to denote the German 'national' character of the times. The period of Barbarossa's six Italian Expeditions is therefore a veritable goldmine of mediaeval Italian¹⁵ Germanophobia.

Negative views on the Germans were by no means limited to the Apennine Peninsula or, more specifically, the conflicts that the Lombards and other Italian cities had with the Imperial authorities. This is illustrated by J. W. Thompson's quote of 1928:

¹² "Excerpts: Italian minister's tourist attack", taken from the BBC News web site, accessed 16/12/2003.

¹³ ...who may have thought up to that point that the Northern League preferred to reserve the voicing of its disapproval for the national government in Rome, its southern Italian compatriots and of course immigrants from less affluent countries, instead of 'foreigners' in general.

¹⁴ Not surprisingly, freedom from Imperial taxation ranged highly on the list of liberties the Lombards had in mind.

¹⁵ I use the term 'Italian' solely as a mark of geographic origin, not in a modern national sense.

"Medieval Europe did not love the Germans. The Italians hated them, the French admitted their courage, but detested their manners, the English were jealous of them, the Slavs both feared and hated them, while the Germans despised and contemned the Slavs."¹⁶ But it is the Italian side I would like to concentrate on in this paper. Further, I do not wish to examine the reasons for the conflicts between 'Germans' and 'Italians' in this era, nor the events surrounding them. I will try to focus strictly on the views that were expressed about Germans in mediaeval Italy in general and during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa in particular.

Furor Teutonicus

The phrase that seemed to sum up the German 'national' character well¹⁷ is best known from the lines in Lucan's (b.39-d.65 AD) historical epic *Pharsalia sive de bello civile*, "...Nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrumque ruentem / Vidimus et Martem Libyae cursumque furoris / Teutonici..." In the Middle Ages, the name of the ancient Germanic Teutons, sounding more dignified than the Latinised *theodiscus* that came from the Germanic **þeudisk* ('belonging to the people'), was used by the Latin-speaking world to refer to the Germanic peoples living to the east of the Rhine in the 'Empire'. Falling back on ancient authorities worked both ways, however. Soon after the adjective *teutonicus* had become associated with the mediaeval Germans, those wishing to criticise them recognised the utility of the ancient phrase *furor teutonicus* for casting them in a bad light, even though they had little in common with the barbarians that had threatened the Roman Republic between 120 and 102 BC.

Wolfgang Giese has observed that the number of instances the phrase occurs in mediaeval Italian sources peaks in the mid-1100s, in the context of Emperor Frederick I's Italian expeditions.¹⁸ This is hardly surprising, considering the circumstances. It would have been far more noteworthy if the Italian scholars employing the term had reintroduced it for the sole purpose of denouncing the emperor's policies from the 1150s on, but in fact *furor teutonicus*, and the characteristics it implies, at the same time also circulated in other parts of Europe (France and England, e.g.) and had already been doing so before Frederick's accession to the German throne in 1152.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the actions of Frederick Barbarossa in Italy did provoke a large amount of verbal attacks against his own person as well as his countrymen and in this situation it is understandable that certain educated Italians wishing to express their anger turned to the ancient phrase *furor teutonicus* to depict the aggressive emperor as the ruler of an uncultured race of irrational barbarians.

The actually rather pro-Imperial *Carmen de gestis Friderici I. imperatoris* in Lombardia mentions a confrontation between the troops of Milan and Barbarossa's army on the banks of the river Adda in July 1158. When Frederick tries to cross the river his opponents taunt him with the words "*Non datur hic transire tibi, rex ruffe, furoris Teutonici ductor...*"²⁰

¹⁶ James Westfall THOMPSON, *Feudal Germany* (1928), 2 vols., reprint New York 1962, 360.

¹⁷ Apparently not only foreigners thought that the term described the Germans well. Time and again it was used by Germans themselves who were proud of what they saw as a reputation for manly virtues.

¹⁸ Wolfgang GIESE: "Rex Ruffe, furoris Teutonici ductor! Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas Kriegsführung in Italien – eine Wiederauferstehung des furor teutonicus?", in: Uta Lindgren et al. (ed.), *Sine ira et studio. Militärhistorische Studien zur Erinnerung an Hans Schmidt*, Kallmünz/Opf. 2001, 41-50.

¹⁹ In France, for example, Abbot Suger of St-Denis (1081-1151) used the words "*furor teutonicus frendens debacchatur*" to describe Emperor Henry V imprisoning Pope Pascal II in 1111. In England William of Malmesbury (1090-1143) used the phrase in the 1140s. In Italy the synonym *rabies Teutonica* occurs in the *Vita Anselmi* by Bishop Rangerius of Lucca, written between 1097 and 1099.

²⁰ *Carmen de gestis Friderici I. imperatoris* in Lombardia, ed. I. Schmale-Ott, MGH SS rer. Germ., 1965, 69 v. 2086f.

The formula is used next in the direct context of the papal schism of 1159. In the *Carmina ad schisma Alexandrinum pertinentia* the anti-pope Victor IV, the emperor's candidate, is told in no uncertain terms that he lacks legitimacy, because "Erigit in statuam te cursus et ira furoris Teutonici".²¹

In his account of the siege of Rome in the summer of 1167, Cardinal Boso refers to "illa Teutonicorum seva barbaries,"²² as well as the furor that possessed the imperial troops attacking St Peter's.

When, finally, a peace treaty was about to be arranged between the Pope, the Emperor and emissaries of the Lombard League in 1177, these parties convened at Ferrara. In the account of Archbishop Romuald of Salerno of the meeting both the Pope and the Lombards make use of the notorious phrase. The fact that Pope Alexander III ('the aged and unarmed priest') was able to get the Emperor to relent (and 'resist the fury of the Teutons') is presented as nothing less than an example of divine intervention: "Non ab homine, sed a Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris, quod senex presbyter et inermis furori Theutonico potuit propugnare et sine bello imperatoris potentiam potuit debellare."²³

In the *Liber de obsidione Ancone*, which deals with the siege of the strategically important maritime city of Ancona by the troops of Archbishop Christian of Mainz in 1173, Boncompagno da Signa informs us that a number of women offered themselves as a source of food to the nearly starved soldiers defending the city, "quia minus malum credimus esse mori, quam in illorum pervenire potestatem, qui furorem pro lege habent..."²⁴

So far Giese's list of examples of Italian usage of the phrase in the context of Barbarossa's policy towards Italy. He concludes that the number is in itself modest but at the same time no quantité négligeable. If a term like *furor teutonicus* suddenly reappears with such frequency after centuries of near disuse and then almost exclusively referring to the subject of the emperor wanting to subject Italy then there must be a reason.²⁵

Peter Amelung would see the transfer of the phrase *furor teutonicus* to the Germans as a good example of the mediaeval Italians' habit of transferring what was known of antiquity's verdict on the ancient Germanic tribes to the Germans of the day.²⁶ These venerated ancient verdicts generally supported the ideas the Italians had on who were culturally superior to whom.²⁷

But there are other considerations. Ludwig Schmugge has noted that the 12th century was in general a time of proliferation for 'national' stereotypes in Europe.²⁸ Although the ancient stereotypes and generalisations would not have been totally replaced, the 12th century nonetheless appears to have featured a new trend leading to an abundance of subjective firsthand experiences in the sources. In Schmugge's opinion, this development is a direct consequence of an increase in popular mobility in this period. As examples he cites the prejudices that arose in the context of the Crusades, pilgrimages and the renaissance of

²¹ Cit. Giese 45.

²² Cit. Giese 46.

²³ Romoald, Speech of Alexanders III in Ferrara, *Chronik des Erzbischofs Romoalds von Salerno*, 315.

²⁴ Cit. Giese 47.

²⁵ Giese 48.

²⁶ Tacitus' Germania was largely unknown in the Middle Ages, which means that the ancient stereotypes of the Germanic world and all the subsequent notions of ferocity, rapacity and a terrifying language are likely to have reached Italy through the early mediaeval encyclopaedist St Isidore of Seville.

²⁷ Peter AMELUNG, *Das Bild des Deutschen in der Literatur der italienischen Renaissance (1400-1559)*, München 1964, 34.

²⁸ Ludwig SCHMUGGE, "Über 'nationale' Vorurteile im Mittelalter", *DA*, 38 (1982), 456.

scholarship that brought young men from all over western Europe to Paris.²⁹ 12th century Italy could draw on both sources of prejudice for its verdict on the Germans trying to enforce Imperial rule on the peninsula, and the actions of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his subjects certainly provided ample provocation to do so.

After all, the Germans' violent reputation in mediaeval Italy is probably understandable in the context of Barbarossa's Italian expeditions. Many a city was besieged and destroyed with the help of new siege engines, and huge armies and bands of cruel mercenaries roamed the land as the emperor tried to assert his authority with the use of violence. For the mediaeval inhabitants of Italy who were confronted with this brutality, 'Teutonic fury' probably was the most salient feature of German behaviour.

Whether this was in itself a valid reason to elevate *furor teutonicus* to the defining German 'national' characteristic is another question. In addition to being a very broad generalisation, this case of ascribing excessive brutality to another people neglects that, according to Ferdinand Opll, the Italian communes themselves had been just as rigorous in their confrontations with their rivals as the Imperial troops had been, and these measures a general expression of the times.³⁰

Subsequently, Giese claims that the accusations of *furor teutonicus* stemmed from the subjective perceptions of those affected experiencing "traditional disciplinary measures" as

²⁹ Cf. Schmugge 448: The Crusades were not entirely a harmonious united effort by western Christendom but also a hotbed of mutual dislike and a breeding ground for negative 'national' stereotypes. This is particularly obvious in those sources in which individual peoples were given a bad press, for instance when the Germans are depicted as dim-witted broadswords, the English as perfidious alcoholics and the French as proud and arrogant. Cf. *ibid.* 455f. cit. Jacob of Vitry: "Not only because of different scholarly orientations or on the occasion of disputations did the scholars at Paris clash and argue. Being at odds, envious and deprecatory with regard to the respective regional characteristics, they also brazenly uttered many insults and curses. The English they called drunkards and claimed they had tails (*caudati*), the French arrogant, soft and effeminate, the Germans they described as irascible and indecent during their drinking bouts, the Normans as hollow and boastful, [...]. The Lombards as avaricious, vicious and un-warlike, the Romans as seditious and violent, as people who would rob visitors to their city even of the dirt under their fingernails. [...] And because of insults like these they often came to blows."

³⁰ Ferdinand OPLL, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 3rd ed. Darmstadt 1998, 38. Cf. Hagen KELLER (*Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalem Horizont. Deutschland im Imperium der Salier und Staufer 1024 bis 1250*, Frankfurt a. M./Berlin 1986, 405), who observes that in 1158 the city of Cremona offered the emperor 15,000 marks silver for the privilege of destroying its rival, Crema. The people of Crema, knowing what they could expect, stressed that they had not fought the emperor but rather their mortal enemies, the Cremonese. They would surrender themselves to the mercy of the emperor, but if he were to deliver their city to the hands of the Cremonese they would rather fight until their death. Four years later, the destruction of Milan was carried out with particular vigour by the emperor's allies from Cremona, Pavia, Lodi and Como. The German chronicler Rahewin in turn was appalled by the way the Milanese acted against Cremona and Pavia and disgusted by the fact that relatives should fight each other with such cruelty: "*Et tale quidem Conlatinorum inter se commercium fuit*" (cit. Günter CERWINKA, "Völkercharakteristiken in historiographischen Quellen der Salier- und Stauferzeit", in: *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann*, Herwig Ebner (ed.), Graz 1977, 59-79, 63).

expressions of raging fury because they lacked the awareness of being a dependent constituent part of the Empire.³¹

Nevertheless, it probably did make a difference in the perception of the native population that those dispensing the violence were foreign to northern Italy and therefore not subject to the customary pattern of strike and retaliation, action and reaction marking the enmities between the communes at least since the previous century.

Beyond the furor

The barbarian image of the Germans so effectively conveyed by the phrase *furor teutonicus* is complemented by a number of further accusations in mediaeval Italian sources. For instance, Donizo (died after 1136), considered the Alemanni as intemperate drunkards.³² According to Peter Amelung, in the Italians' view the 'national' characteristics of the Germans also included gluttony³³ and dipsomania, the latter of which was not reserved for the "Teutons", but also attributed to the English, Bohemians and Normans.³⁴ Add to that the reputation for bad table manners and you basically have Stefani's "noisy belching contests after gargantuan beer drinking sessions and huge helpings of fried potatoes" in a nutshell. These negative traits were topped by a general lack of hygiene. Salimbene of Parma, for instance, tells us of a Podestà of Cremona appointed by Barbarossa's grandson Frederick II who was suffering from such a revolting disease that nobody would stay with him "except for a German girl" (*"excepta juvencula theutonica"*) who was used to dirt.³⁵

It appears as though these characterisations were at least in part an expression of political powerlessness on the part of the Italians, suffering from a succession of invasions until the Lombard League succeeded in providing an efficient resistance which culminated in victory at the battle of Legnano in 1176. The victims of constant invasion comforted themselves with the thought that their enemies were a race of uncultured barbarians against whose cruelty (*furor*, *rabies*) resistance was high futile.³⁶ It certainly seems as though such "barbarians", as Bishop William of Pavia called the Germans in 1167,³⁷ were not credited with possessing much more in the way of higher mental faculties than was necessary to burn and pillage a civilised town. Correspondingly, Fuhrmann observes that the populace of

³¹ Giese 49f.

³² Horst FUHRMANN, "'Wer hat die Deutschen zu Richtern über die Völker bestellt?' Die Deutschen als Ärgernis im Mittelalter", in: id., *Überall ist Mittelalter*, München 1996, 65-81, 66.

³³ Here Amelung (31) only cites examples from Dante and the 14th century respectively.

³⁴ Amelung 31f. A. notes that the ancient testimonies regarding the Germanic tribes as mentioned by Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus were unknown in the Middle Ages but that there were nonetheless allusions to the Germans' drunkenness in mediaeval Italian literature, mostly in connection with the Germans' supposed gluttony.

³⁵ Cit. Amelung 32.

³⁶ Cf. Amelung 18.

³⁷ Thompson 383. In this context it might be interesting to note who was likely to be referred to as 'barbarians' by whom in mediaeval Europe. The Greeks of Byzantium routinely used this derogatory term to encompass all "Latins", while the Germans were certainly depicted as barbarians in Italy as well as in France and England. According to Cerwinka (78) the Germans in turn never referred to either the Romance peoples, the English or Greeks as 'barbari' or 'pagani' although these terms were generally used to describe Slavic peoples as well as the Magyars and Normans.

mediaeval Rome liked to refer to these much-maligned people as *stulti Alemanni*, or 'the stupid Germans'.³⁸

But was the mediaeval Italian view of the Germans exclusively negative? If Amelung is to be believed the answer is yes. According to him the Italians attached no noticeably positive characteristics to their northern neighbours.³⁹ Unlike the French, in whose eyes German loyalty was one of their few redeeming features,⁴⁰ the Italians had no time for the Germans' reputed obedience and loyalty towards their authorities since these qualities made them the blind tools of their lords.

Outside of the urban context of the northern and central regions of the peninsula (the 'Kingdom of Italy', as it were), the Germans apparently were none too popular either. According to the *Historia Pontificalis*, in the days of Barbarossa's predecessor Conrad III (1139-52) many Germans sought refuge at the court of the Norman King Roger of Sicily, "who might have received more of them' [...] except that the Germans were a race whose barbarism he could not endure".⁴¹ When Barbarossa's son Henry VI was about to inherit the Sicilian-Norman throne in 1189 due to his marriage with the late king's aunt, those favouring the native pretender, Count Tankred of Lecce, claimed German rule would result in Henry's barbarian hordes bringing destruction to the island's prospering towns and robbery, violence, rape and slavery to the populace.⁴²

Conclusion

Anti-German stereotypes obviously already had existed in Italy before the massive intervention under Frederick I, Barbarossa but were nonetheless increasingly widespread in this period. Some of these stereotypes were merely lifted from ancient sources, some may have been the products of personal experience, but all of them had a political edge to them in the struggles taking place in Italy in this time. All these negative traits ascribed to the Germans seem to be neatly encapsulated in the proverbial *furor teutonicus*.

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³⁸ Fuhrmann 66.

³⁹ Amelung 33.

⁴⁰ Cf. Karl Ludwig ZIMMERMANN, "Die Beurteilung der Deutschen in der französischen Literatur des Mittelalters mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der chansons de geste", in: *Romanische Forschungen* (29), 1910, Bd.1, 222-316, 299.

⁴¹ Thompson 374.

⁴² Cit. Giese 42: „Nec enim aut rationis ordine regi, aut miseratione deflecti, aut religione terreri teutonica novit insania, quam innatus furor exagitat, et rapacitas stimulat, et libido precipitat.“

The sea republic of Genoa and the conquest of Black Sea in 1261

by Sandra Sulmoni
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Introduction

In these research I will speak about one of the famous Italian Sea Republic, which had ruled the trade in Mediterranean Sea till the fifteenth century: Genoa. Actually, I'm going to explain how Genoa conquered the Black Sea in 1261, which was the most important, or better, only road to Asia. I will proceed this way:

1. Genoa: from its rise to the popular revolution and consequently third republic of Guglielmo Boccanegra

- 1.1 The very first centuries and Charles the Great
- 1.2 The first Republic
- 1.3 The second Republic and the popular revolution

2. The Mediterranean situation in the 13th century

- 2.1 Venice and the Fourth Crusade (the importance of Black Sea)

3. Genoa gets in fight with the Greeks against Venice

- 3.1 Problems that stop Genoa from hinder Venice in 1204
- 3.2 The new situation in 1261 and the Ninfes's agreement.
- 3.3 Genoa rules the whole Mediterranean's business...but Boccanegra must disappear.

1. Genoa: from its rise to the third republic of Guglielmo Boccanegra

Genoa's history was signed by the big changing in its government. In fact, it knew five different Republic form till the 15th century: the first one was the Republic of Consuls, the second one the Republic of "Podestà" (foreign governor), the third was of people's Captains and then a fourth and a fifth Republic, one of the "Dogi" (a kind of counsel's president) to lifetime and the other of Dogi for two years. In the year that Genoa decided to take over the Black Sea, she had been in the third Republic for a few years.

Genoa finds its origin before the arising of Roman Empire, as the Gallian and Etruscan people invaded Italy. The little village was placed in a very strategic position for the Latins, between the "Via Postuma" (the main street from west to the east side of Italy) and the "Via Aurelia" (from the south of Italy to the north) in a (montagnosa and paludosa zone). Therefore, Genoa has always been the maritime door of Padane plane. By this consideration

it becomes clear why the city is called Genoa: from the Latin "Janua", this word, in fact, means door and an inscription on the cities walls says: "Those man, that bring peace, will pass uninjured and safe through this door. The other will go back defeated."

As the occidental Roman Empire fell down after IV century A.D. Genoa was strongly hit by barbarian invasions, but in 773 A.D. Charles the Great reconquered the region helping Pope Adrian I. Under French Empire north Italy received the name of "Regnum Italy" and was ruled by French Viscounts.

1.2 The first Republic

After Charles the Great's death at the end of 10th century Genoa was able to free itself and put the control of the city directly under the new nobles class. So started the first Republic of Genoa. That new class was composed by four elements: the rich merchants, the educated middle class, the sea knights and the Viscount. Let's take a look at those elements:

- The trade component: in the 10th century the Genoa's navy and her trade had an important increase and became one of the power of sea.
- The war component: in year from 934 to 936 A.D. Italy lived through the first attack from Islam and the sea became empty of pirates. Genoa build a fast fleet for fight and could win against the Moors pirates. Thanks to the pride of xaptains and generally to the Sea Knights the expansion's trend from Islam to Europe changed into the one from Europe to Islam, which allowed the European kingdoms to start the first Crusade.

People from Genoa accepted this new leader class and divided themselves in eight big fellowships.

1.3 The second republic and the popular revolution

In the XI century began the fight between the Pope and the German emperor Fredrik II and the people of Italian states divided themselves in the two factions: "Welf" (on Pope's side) and "Weiblingen". In Genoa the Welf families dominated the city. They fought from 1239 till 1250 and won against Fredrik, who was in accordance with the Republic of Pisa.

But the disagreement between the two factions inside the Genoa's republic made necessary control from the outside. So, it began the second Republic with French or English Podestà. Just after the war against Fredrik began a good time for Genoa's trade: the oligarchy felt down and every single person could do his own trade. There was so an enrichment of people. But then began a crises and people, that accused the Podestà, revenged the politic power. So in year 1257 began a revolution, in which the Weiblingen faction helped and armed the citizens and prepared a ghost government with the election of the first people's captain, Guglielmo Boccanegra, alone with dictatorial power.

2. The Mediterranean situation in the 13th century

The Mediterranean Sea, which represents one of the cradles of European's culture, had, for long time, been a very important junction of mark trades and of cultural exchanges too. In the centuries from the beginning of Middle Ages to the Modern one, his waves saw a lot of battles for the monopoly of these trades.

The main Characters of those fights had been the four sea Republic in Italy: Venice, Pisa, Genoa and Amalfi, and also the people of Islam. After the battles of 12th century the situation in Mediterranean Sea was like that:

- Amalfi, the smallest and the least known sea republic, ruled the commercial transactions of all of Mediterranean till 1131, when she was submitted to the arms of king Roger of Sicily. Few years after, this little port near Naples was almost entirely destroyed by the Pisanis.

- Pisa was surely bigger than Amalfi, but she never rose to the power and splendour of Genoa and Venice. Pisa operated most of her undertaking to contrast Islam in Europe and she did it with Genoa or in competition with her. The crucial points were in Sardinia, in Corsica, in the Baleari Islands, in Spain and on the north coast of Africa. Genoa defeated Pisa definitely in Battle of Meloria in 1284.

- So Genoa was, in the 13th century, the leader of trade in Mediterranean Sea.

- But the lagoons city of Venice controlled all the straits at this time. At the beginning of the 6th century she fitted out a small fleet to purge the Adriatic pirates and then by a prudent course of policy she rendered herself indispensable to the Byzantine court and acquired great privileges in Constantinople.

2.1 Venice and the fourth crusade. (the importance of Black Sea)

As Boccanegra got to power in Genoa, Venice had already had the control on all the port in Black Sea for fifty years. This sea was the only way for trade with East in 13th century. On her coast arrived all the caravans of dealers from Russia and from Asia with all the main products of those lands (silk, spices, etc.), in which Genoa had interest too, since she had lost the way to Palestine because of Pisa and Venice in Syria battle in 1258.

But how could Venice take the straits without coming into a conflict with the great rival? Venice's undertaking was called the fourth Crusade operation. What happened?

In the year 1204, as the whole Europe started for the fourth Crusade in Jerusalem, Venice decided to point her strong fleet to Greece instead of going with the other army. There she threw down the orthodox dynasty of "Angeli" and put on the throne a monarch of Fiandre, Baldovino, actually unknown but Christian. Therefore Venice could profit of two important things: first she received a part of Baldovino's earn and second and most important the Pope gave a great benediction to her dominion on Greece and Constantinople.

3. Genoa gets in fight with the Greeks against Venice

3.1 Problems that stop Genoa from hinder Venice

One of the reasons that Genoa didn't even try to stop Venice in 1204 was her involvement in the war against the German emperor Fredrik II and Pisa in Sicily and Corsica. Venice avoided this problem with a good diplomatic move. In fact the lagoon's city gave to Genoa her flags to put them on their ship. So appeared that Venice was on Church's side without spending any resources or money.

The second element, which obstructed Genoa, was Church's interest in that new Christian kingdom. If Genoa attacked Constantinople, she surely would have received some ecclesiastic condemnation, because she had no excuse to justify a military intervention and the Gueff faction, which was still important in the city, she didn't wish something like that at all!

3.2 The new situation in 1261 and the Ninfes's agreement.

After fifty years of French government the weak points came forward. The worst was that kingdom of Bardolino didn't help Venice people to colonize the region. Both the Orthodox Church and the Greek people didn't like the new dynasty.

Then the Venetian colonialism system gave problems too; the land was too far and large to allow an optimal control. Instead of keeping some bases near the sea, they were interfering into a territorial conquer. This was one of the point, that made Genoa the best colonial power between the Sea Republics: like the Fenicians she kept faith to the principle to concentrate herself to maritime call, without territorial involvement or worst, religious one. As a rule Genoa people had tried never to offend the local independence of colonies and to use weapons just in defence. This quite modern form of colonialism could maybe find its roots in the political system of these Republic. Everyone of the Genoa "elites" was born from the fall of an absolute power, so it was quite clear that they refused any form of imposition.

In year 1261 Genoa's opportunity is ripe: the Greeks dynasty "Paleologhi of Nicea" had stood the French for two generations and claimed the throne. But just like Baldovino's case had been, "Paleologhi" needed great maritime forces too. And to contrast the Venetian fleet they obviously asked Genoa for the help.

The Ninfeo's according was done on March the 13th in the year 1261. One day in last week of July the general Alessio Strategopulo took over Bisanzio and the French emperor Baldovino II escaped with the Venetian. But as Michele I (he was supposed to become the future emperor) took the throne, the situation was not sure yet. He finally could take a breath of relief when on July the 25th doze of battle came slowly out of the morning mist. That was the fleet of admiral Marino Boccanegra, the brother of Genoa people's captain, which ment that Genoans had kept their word. If they hadn't it's quite probably that Greek's coupe d'étate would have last few days because of the Venetians.

So Genoa came to insure the victory and, of course, to claim the according reward! It meant the passage of the city of Smirne (an important terminal for the access to the Silk road) in Genoa's hands. They also received the islands of Scio and Taxes and other little countries.

3.3 Genoa rules the whole Mediterranean's business - but Boccanegra must disappear

We have seen the battles and the mechanism, which brought primacy of Genoa in Mediterranean Sea. But there is one more question that needs an answer. How could this tactics allow Genoa not to come in a conflict with the Church of Rome?

Actually they had quite a perfect plane: Boccanegra's ships arrived just after the coupe d'étate by Strategopulo, so that they formally didn't take part at it. The republic pretended to know nothing about the political change and to fight Venetian fleet, cause they already had haven a problem with them because of the battle of Syria; they begged Pope's pardon "but it was a conflict between Sea Republics.

Conclusion

So Genoa owned the control of Black See and (although the Paleologo family tried to free herself from that economic monopoly) she was going to keep it until the 15th century. The tragic ending of the episode for Genoan citizens was the infidelity of Weiblings families: to give another excuse to Church they accused the first Captain of people Guglielmo Boccanegra to have committed a tactical error and they just exiled him. And that was how Genoa Republic punished the man, who brought them to the victory on Welfs and later on Venicians.

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XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No2. "The Mediterranean"

The Mediterranean World

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Introduction

The people who inhabited the semi-arid shores of the Mediterranean were united in a common worldview - as the name suggests, they saw themselves as living at the center of the world. The region, similar in size to that of the Caribbean, had seen the rise and fall of several civilizations and, in the late 15th century, was again in flux. Prosperous city-states were on the rise amidst the decline of medieval feudal society.

Renewed interest in Greek and Roman cultures fostered humanistic studies in art and science. New, stimulating ideas were spread with the advent of printing. Out of the doomsday mentality caused by the Black Death, civil wars, and economic uncertainties emerged expansionism, cohesion, and a sense of prosperity.

As the eastern Mediterranean reeled before the expanding Ottoman Empire, and Muslim rule ended in Iberia, western Mediterranean traders and mariners looked beyond the Straits of Gibraltar for alternative routes to the riches of the East.

The Setting

The Mediterranean Sea linked three continents -- Europe, Asia, and Africa. Surrounding that sea was a world of diverse peoples, languages, and religions. Even its northern shores, largely united by Christianity, exhibited a remarkable variety of tongues, customs, currencies, and political economies.

In the absence of nations, city-states dominated economic, political, and cultural activities in the late 15th century. Vibrant cities and ports, such as Rome, Florence, Venice, Genova, Seville and Lisbon, were engaged in a variety of cultural and economic activities. They traded with each other and with merchants in other important centers like Constantinople, Alexandria, and Tunis. Traders followed the routes taken by thousands of pilgrims and crusaders during the Middle Ages on their way to the Holy Land.

Iberia: Cultural Diversity

The Christians, Muslims and Jews of the Iberian kingdoms -- modern-day Spain and Portugal -- had coexisted throughout most of the Middle Ages in considerable harmony, despite periods of war and conflict. Close contact and currents of influence among these

groups fostered a diverse culture and flourishing intellectual life more advanced than anywhere else in Europe.

Ancient Roman military

From early times right down to the 3rd century A.D, the Roman army was based on its legions. A legion varied in strength from 4,000 to 6,000 men, and was subdivided onto ten cohorts. Its leader used the title of legatus. His staff officers were called tribuni. Senior non-commissioned officers were called centurions, who varied greatly in rank. The soldiers of the legion were picked men: they were all Roman citizens and received a higher pay than the auxiliary troops - that is, foreigners who served with the Roman army. A legion consisted of heavily armored infantry (foot soldiers). The Roman infantry became a feared force, well disciplined and well trained. Their weapons were two pila or javelins each and a short thrusting gladius or sword. Cavalry was supplied by the auxiliaries (second line troops) and was organized mainly in units of 500. When it was on campaigns, the army was accompanied by a number of specialists. One was the camp commandant, who was responsible for the organization of the camp. The Romans were very careful about their camps - no Roman army halted for a single night without digging trenches and fortifying its camp. Each soldier took his share in establishing the camp and striking the camp the next day. Another specialist was the quaestor, whose duty was to look after all the money matter. Then there were the engineers and all kinds of craftsmen and artisans.

They were responsible for siege operations and for the rather primitive Roman³ artillery", which consisted of big catapults and complicated machines resembling crossbows. These were mainly used for hurling big rocks and stones at the walls of a defense place. The engineers also had to build moveable towers that were used in sieges - the Roman soldiers went up inside these towers so that they could see over the walls of a fortified place and shoot their stones and arrows into it. The engineers also made the scaling ladders that were used for getting over walls. The Roman soldiers won their battles just as much from their staying - power as by their courage. They had to be strong and fit, for, in addition to his weapons, each soldier had to carry provisions for two weeks and tools for pitching camp.

When the soldiers went into line of battle to fight, the formation was called acies; when they were marching in column it was called agmen. If during a battle the legion were hard pressed the soldiers formed an orbis, which was very like the square that the British army formed in the 18th and 19th centuries if it was in difficulties. The standard of a legion was the aquila, or eagle - made of silver or bronze and showing the bird with outstretched wings. It was the greatest disgrace if the eagle was captured. At its finest period the Roman army was almost unconquerable. There were three main reasons for this: discipline, hard and efficient training and speed at which they learnt new tactics. It is interesting to note that most Roman armor probably did not shine. They used a lot of chain mail (a sort of cloth made of circular links), which doesn't shine. They also made scale armor (metal plates about 3 inches long and about an inch wide, sewn together on a linen/leather backing); scale armor shines a little, but not much. And, they made leather armor, with the metal on the inside, or at least under the leather, probably again on a backing of linen, to make three layers. So, although the ancient Romans loved the ornate and glittery, their armor most probably did not shine!

Timeline

- 238BC - Conquest of Sardinia
- 229-228BC - First Illyrian War (Balkans)
- 219BC - Second Illyrian War
- 218-201BC - Second Punic War (Hannibal crossed the Alps)
- 215-205BC - First Macedonian War

200-197BC - Second Macedonian War
200-191BC - Gaul invasion of northern Italy
192-189BC - Syrian War
171-168 - Third Macedonian War
149-148BC - Fourth (and final) Macedonian War
149-146BC - Third Punic War and final defeat of Carthage

Punic wars

Punic war was fought to establish control over the strategic islands of Corsica and Sicily. In 264 the Carthaginians intervened in a dispute between the two principal cities on the Sicilian west coast, Messina and Syracuse, and so established a presence on the island. Rome, responding to this challenge, attacked Messina and forced the Carthaginians to withdraw. In 260 a Roman fleet failed to gain complete control of Sicily but opened the way to Corsica, from which the Carthaginians were expelled. A second Roman fleet sailed in 256 and established a beachhead on the African continent. Carthage was prepared to surrender, but the terms offered by Rome were too severe, and in 255 Carthage attacked with a new army built around cavalry and elephants and drove the invaders to the sea. The battle for Sicily resumed in 254 but was largely stalemated until 241, when a fleet of 200 warships gave the Romans undisputed control of the sea-lanes and assured the collapse of the Punic stronghold in Sicily. One year later Carthage surrendered, ceding Sicily and the Lipari Islands to Rome and agreeing to pay an indemnity. Punic War, Second (218-201 BC), also called Second Carthaginian war, was second in a series of wars between the Roman Republic and the Carthaginian (Punic) Empire that resulted in Roman hegemony over the western Mediterranean.

In the years after the First Punic War, Rome wrested Corsica and Sardinia from Carthage and forced Carthaginians to pay an even greater indemnity than the payment exacted immediately following the war. Eventually, however, under the leadership of Hamilcar Barca, his son Hannibal, and his son-in-law Hasdrubal, Carthage acquired a new base in Spain, where they could renew the war against Rome. In 219 Hannibal captured Saguntum (Sagunto) on the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula. Rome demanded his withdrawal, but Carthage refused to recall him, and Rome declared war. Because Rome controlled the sea, Hannibal led his army overland through Spain and Gaul and across the Alps, arriving in the plain of the Po River valley in 218 BC with 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry.

Roman troops tried to bar his advance but were outmatched, and Hannibal's hold over northern Italy was established. In 217 Hannibal, reinforced by Gallic tribesmen, marched south. Rather than attack Rome directly, he marched on Capua, the second largest town in Italy, hoping to incite the populace to rebel. He won several battles but still refrained from attacking the city of Rome, even after annihilating a huge Roman army at Cannae in 216. The defeat galvanized Roman resistance. A brilliant defensive strategy conducted by Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator harried the Carthaginians without offering battle. Thus, the two armies remained deadlocked on the Italian peninsula until 211 BC, when Rome recaptured the city of Capua. In 207 Hasdrubal, following Hannibal's route across the Alps, reached northern Italy with another large army supported by legions of Ligurians and Gauls. Hasdrubal marched down the peninsula to join Hannibal for an assault on Rome. Rome, exhausted by war, nevertheless raised and dispatched an army to check Hasdrubal. Gaius Nero, commander of the southern Roman army, slipped away north also and defeated Hasdrubal on the banks of the Metauros River. Hannibal maintained his position in southern Italy until 203, when he was ordered to return to Africa; Italy was free of enemy troops for the first time in 15 years. During the long mainland campaign, fighting had continued as well on Sardinia and Sicily, which had become Rome's chief sources of food. Aided by internal upheaval in Syracuse, Carthage reestablished its presence on the island in 215 and maintained it until 210. Meanwhile, in Spain, Roman forces

maintained pressure on Carthaginian strongholds. The Roman general Publius Scipio won a decisive battle at Ilipa in 206 and forced the Carthaginians out of Spain.

After his Spanish victory Scipio determined to invade the Carthaginian homeland. He sailed for Africa in 204 and established a beachhead. The Carthaginian council offered terms of surrender but reneged at the last minute, pinning its hopes on one last battle. The massive Carthaginian army, led by Hannibal, was defeated at Zama. The Carthaginians accepted Scipio's terms for peace: Carthage was forced to pay an indemnity and surrender its navy, and Spain and the Mediterranean islands were ceded to Rome.

population, and Roman hegemony over the western Mediterranean. The first and second Punic wars (264-241 BC and 218-201 BC) had effectively deprived Carthage of its political power. Nevertheless, its commercial enterprises expanded rapidly in the 2nd century BC, exciting the envy of Rome's growing mercantile community. When the Carthaginians in 150 resisted Masinissa's aggressions by force of arms, thus formally breaking the treaty with Rome, a Roman army was dispatched to Africa. Although the Carthaginians consented to make reparation by giving hostages and surrendering their weapons, they were goaded into revolt by the further stipulation that they must emigrate to some inland site, where commerce by sea would no longer be possible. Carthage resisted the Roman siege for two years. In 147, however, the command was given to Scipio Aemilianus, the adopted grandson of the former conqueror of Carthage.

Conclusion

an entrance in the face of a determined and ingenious resistance. House by house he captured the streets that led up to the citadel. Of a city population that may have exceeded a quarter of a million, only 50,000 remained at the final surrender. The survivors were sold into slavery; the city was razed, and the territory was made a Roman province under the name of Africa.

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XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No4. " Culture"

Marco Polo (1254–1324)

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Introduction

Marco Polo (1254-1324) is probably the most famous Westerner that traveled on the Silk Road. According to one authority, the Polo family was great nobles originating on the coast of Dalmatia. Niccolo and Maffeo had established a trading outpost on the island of Curzola, off the coast of Dalmatia; it is not certain whether Marco Polo was born there or in Venice in 1254. The place Marco Polo grew up, Venice, was the center for commerce in the Mediterranean. Marco had the usual education of a young gentleman of his time. He had learned much of the classical authors, understood the texts of the Bible, and knew the basic theology of the Latin Church. He had a sound knowledge of commercial French as well as Italian. From his later history we can be sure of his interest in natural resources, in the ways of people, as well as strange and interesting plants and animals.

Marco Polo was only 6 years old when his father and uncle set out eastward on their first trip to Cathay (China). He was 15 years old when his father and uncle returned to Venice and his mother had already passed away. He remained in Venice with his father and uncle for two more years and then the three of them embarked on the most courageous journey to Cathay for the second time.

The Long and Difficult Journey to Cathay

At the end of year 1271, receiving letters and valuable gifts for the Great Khan from the new Pope Tedaldo (Gregory X), the Polos once more set out from Venice on their journey to the east. They took with them 17-year-old Marco Polo and two friars. The two friars hastily turned back after reaching a war zone, but the Polos carried on. They passed through Armenia, Persia, and Afghanistan, over the Pamirs, and all along the Silk Road to China. Avoiding travel on the same route they did 10 years ago, they made a wide swing to the north, first arriving to the southern Caucasus and the kingdom of Georgia. Then they journeyed along the regions parallel to the western shores of the Caspian Sea, reaching Tabriz and made their way south to Hormuz on the Persian Gulf. They intended to take sea route to the Chinese port. From Hormuz, however, finding the ships "wretched affairs.... only stitched together with twine made from the husk of the Indian nut", they decided to go overland to Cathay and continued eastwards. From Homurz to Kerman, passing Herat,

Balkh, they arrived to Badakhshan, where Marco Polo convalesced from an illness and stayed there for a year. On the move again, they found themselves on "the highest place in the world, the Pamirs", its name appearing in the history for the first time.

This time, when the Polos arrived to the Taklamakan desert (or Taim Basin), they skirted around the desert on the southern route, passing through Yarkand, Khotan, Cherchen, and Lop-Nor. Marco's keen eye picked out the most notable peculiarities of each. At Yarkand, he described that the locals were extremely prone to goiter, which Marco blamed on the local drinking water. In the rivers of Pem province were found "stones called jasper and chalcedony in plenty" - a reference to jade. At Pem, "when a woman's husband leaves her to go on a journey of more than 20 days, as soon as he has left, she takes another husband, and this she is fully entitled to do by local usage. And the men, wherever they go, take wives in the same way." Cherchen was also a noted jade source.

It is the Gobi desert (Right Fig.) where Marco Polo gave us the feeling of awe for the vastness of desert and its effects on those hardy enough to penetrate it: "This desert is reported to be so long that it would take a year to go from end to end; and at the narrowest point it takes a month to cross it. It consists entirely of mountains and sands and valleys. There is nothing at all to eat." Despite the dangers encountered during the Gobi crossing, Marco's account suggests that the route was safe and well established during Mongol's reign. After they left Gobi, the first major city they passed was Suchow (Dunhuang), in Tangut province, where Marco stayed for a year. Marco also noted the center of the asbestos industry in Uighuristan, with its capital Karakhoja; he added that the way to clean asbestos cloth was to throw it into a fire, and that a specimen was brought back from Cathay by the Polos and presented to the Pope.

The fact that Marco was not a historian did not stop him offering a long history about the Mongols. He provided a detailed account of the rise of Mongol and Great Khan's life and empire. He described the ceremonial of a Great Khan's funeral - anyone unfortunate enough to encounter the funeral cortege was put to death to serve their lord in the next world, Mangu Khan's corpse scored over twenty thousand victims in that way. He told of life on the steppes, of the felt-covered yurt drawn by oxen and camels, and of the household customs. What impressed Marco most was the way in which the women got on with the lion's share of the work:» the men do not bother themselves about anything but hunting and warfare and falconry." In term of marriage, Marco described that the Mongols practiced polygamy. A Mongol man could take as many wives as he liked. On the death of the head of the house the eldest son married his father's wives, but not his own mother. A man could also take on his brother's wives if they were widowed. Marco rounded off his account of Mongol's home life by mentioning that alcoholic standby which had impressed Rubrouck before him:» They drink mare's milk subjected to a process that makes it like white wine and very good to drink. It is called koumiss".

Marco's account of the Mongol's life is particularly interesting when compared to the tale of many wonders of Chinese civilization, which he was soon to see for himself. Kublai Khan, though ruling with all the spender of an Emperor of China, never forgot where he had come from: it is said that he had had seeds of steppe grass sown in the courtyard of the Imperial Palace so that he could always be reminded of his Mongol homeland. During his long stay in Cathay Marco had many conversations with Kublai. Marco must have come to appreciate the Great Khan's awareness of his Mongol origins, and the detail in which the Mongols are described in his book suggests that he was moved to make a close study of their ways.

Finally the long journey was nearly over and the Great Khan had been told of their approach. He sent out a royal escort to bring the travelers to his presence. In May 1275 the

Polos arrived to the original capital of Kublai Khan at Shang-tu (then the summer residence), subsequently his winter palace at his capital, Cambaluc (Beijing). By then it had been three and a half years since they left Venice and they had traveled total of 5600 miles. Marco recalled in detail of the greatest moment when he first met the Great Khan (Left Fig).

Years Serviced in Khan's Court

Marco, a gifted linguist and master of four languages, became a favorite with the khan and was appointed to high posts in his administration. He served at the Khan's court and was sent on a number of special missions in China, Burma and India. Many places, which Marco saw, were not seen again by Europeans until last century. Marco went on great length to describe Kublia's capital, ceremonies, hunting and public assistance, and they were all to be found on a much smaller scale in Europe. Marco Polo fell in love with the capital, which later became part of Beijing, then called Cambaluc or Khanbalig, meant 'city of the Khan.' This new city, built because astrologers predicted rebellion in the old one, was described as the most magnificent city in the world. He marveled the summer palace in particular. He described "the greatest palace that ever was". The walls were covered with gold and silver and the Hall was so large that it could easily dine 6,000 people. The palace was made of cane supported by 200 silk cords, which could be taken to pieces and transported easily when the Emperor moved. There too, the Khan kept a stud of 10,000 speckles white horses, whose milk was reserved for his family and for a tribe that had won a victory for Genghis Khan. "... fine marble Palace, the rooms of which are all gilt and painted with figures of men and beasts.... all executed with such exquisite art that you regard them with delight and astonishment." This description later inspired the English poet Coleridge to write his famous poem about Kublai Khan's "stately pleasure-dome" in Xanadu (or Shang-du). However there were some phenomena that were totally new to him. The first we have already met, asbestos, but the other three beggared his imagination; paper currency, coal and the imperial post.

The idea of paper substituting gold and silver was a total surprise even to the mercantile Polos. Marco attributed the success of paper money to Kublai stature as a ruler. "With these pieces of paper they can buy anything and pay for anything. And I can tell you that the papers that reckon as ten bezants do not weight one." Marco's expressions of wonder at "stones that burn like logs" show us how ignorant even a man of a leading Mediterranean Sea power could be in the 13th century. Coal was by no means unknown in Europe but was new to Marco. Marco was equally impressed with the efficient communication system in the Mongol world. There were three main grades of dispatch, which may be rendered in modern terms as 'second class', 'first class', and 'On His Imperial Majesty's Service: Top Priority'. 'Second class' messages were carried by foot-runners, who had relay stations three miles apart. Each messenger wore a special belt hung with small bells to announce his approach and ensure that his relief was out on the road and ready for a smooth takeover. This system enabled a message to cover the distance of a normal ten-day journey in 24 hours. At each three miles station a log was kept on the flow of messages and inspectors patrolled all the routes. 'First class' business was conveyed on horseback, with relay-stages of 25 miles. But the really important business of Kublai Empire was carried by non-stop dispatch riders carrying the special tablet with the sign of the gerfalcon. At the approach to each post-house the messenger would sound his horn; the ostlers would bring out a ready-saddled fresh horse, the messenger would transfer to it and gallop straight off. Marco affirmed that those courier horsemen could travel 250 or 300 miles in a day.

Marco Polo traveled a great deal in China. He was amazed with China's enormous power, great wealth, and complex social structure. China under the Yuan (The Mongol Empire) dynasty was a huge empire whose internal economy dwarfed that of Europe. He reported that iron manufacture was around 125,000 tons a year (a level not reached in Europe before the 18th century) and salt production was on a prodigious scale: 30,000 tons a year in one province alone. A canal-based transportation system linked China's huge cities and markets in a vast internal communication network in which paper money and credit facilities were highly developed. The citizens could purchase paperback books with paper money, eat rice from fine porcelain bowls and wear silk garments, lived in prosperous city that no European town could match. Kublai Khan appointed Marco Polo as an official of the Privy Council in 1277 and for 3 years he was a tax inspector in Yanzhou, a city on the Grand Canal, northeast of Nanking. He also visited Karakorum and part of Siberia. Meanwhile his father and uncle took part in the assault on the town of Siang Yang Fou, for which they designed and constructed siege engines. He frequently visited Hangzhou, another city very near Yangzhou. At one time Hangzhou was the capital of the Song dynasty and had beautiful lakes and many canals, like Marco's hometown, Venice. Marco fell in love with it.

Coming Home

The Polos stayed in Khan's court for 17 years, acquiring great wealth in jewels and gold. They were anxious to be on the move since they feared that if Kublai - now in his late seventies - were to die, they might not be able to get their considerable fortune out of the country. The Kublai Khan reluctantly agreed to let them return after they escorted a Mongol princess Kokachin to marry to a Persian prince, Arghun. Marco did not provide full account of his long journey home. The sea journey took 2 years during which 600 of passengers and crew died. Marco did not give much clue as to what went wrong on the trip, but there are some theories. Some think they may have died from scurvy, cholera or by drowning; others suggest the losses were caused by the hostile natives and pirate attacks. This dreadful sea voyage passed through the South China Sea to Sumatra and the Indian Ocean, and finally docked at Hormuz. There they learned that Arghun had died two years previously so the princess married to his son, prince Ghazan, instead. In Persia they also learned of the death of Kublai Khan. However his protection outlived him, for it was only by showing his golden tablet of authority that they were able to travel safely through the bandit-ridden land. Marco admitted that the passports of golden tablets were powerful: from Trebizond on the Black Sea coast they went by sea, by way of Constantinople, to Venice, arriving home in the winter of 1295.

The Book, Life in Venice and Controversies

Three years after Marco returned to Venice, he commanded a galley in a war against the rival city of Genoa. He was captured during the fighting and spent a year in a Genoese prison - where one of his fellow-prisoners was a writer of romances named Rustichello of Pisa. It was only when prompted by Rustichello that Marco Polo dictated the story of his travels, known in his time as *The Description of the World* or *The Travels of Marco Polo*. His account of the wealth of Cathay (China), the might of the Mongol empire, and the exotic customs of India and Africa made his book the bestseller soon after. The book became one of the most popular books in medieval Europe and the impact of his book on the contemporary Europe was tremendous. It was known as *Il Milione*, *The Million Lies* and Marco earned the nickname of *Marco Milione* because few believed that his stories were true and most Europeans dismissed the book as mere fable. In the summer of 1299 a peace was concluded between Venice and Genoa, and after a year of captivity, Marco Polo was released.

from the prison and returned to Venice. He was married to Donata Badoer and had three daughters. He remained in Venice until his death in 1324, aged 70. At his deathbed, he left the famous epitaph for the world: "I have only told the half of what I saw!" On Marco's will, he left his wife and three daughters substantial amount of money, though not an enormous fortune as Marco boasted. He also mentioned his servant, Peter, who came from the Mongols, was to be set free. We also learned that 30 years after his return home, Marco still owned a quantity of cloths, valuable pieces, coverings, brocades of silk and gold, exactly like those mentioned several times in his book, together with other precious objects. Among them there was "golden tablet of command" that had been given him by the Great Khan on his departure from the Mongol capital.

Many people took his accounts with a grain of salt and some skeptics question the authenticity of his account. Many of his stories have been considered as fairytales: the strange oil in Baku and the monstrous birds that dropped elephants from a height and devoured their broken carcasses. His Travels made no mention about the Great Wall. While traveled extensively in China, Marco Polo never learned the Chinese language nor mentioned a number of articles that are part of everyday life, such as women's foot binding, calligraphy, or tea. In addition, Marco Polo's name was never occurred in the Annals of the Empire (Yuan Shih), which recorded the names of foreign visitors far less important and illustrious than the three Venetians. So did Marco Polo ever go to China?

Conclusion

Fiction or not, his Travels has captured readers through the centuries. Manuscript editions of his work ran into the hundreds within a century after his death. The book was recognized as the most important account of the world outside Europe that was available at the time. Today there are more than 80 manuscript copies in various versions and several languages around the world.

He was quite capable of comprehending cultures completely alien in spirit to his own. Traversing thousands of miles, on horseback mostly, through uncharted deserts, over steep mountain passes, exposed to extreme weathers, to wild animals and very uncivilized tribesmen, Marco's book has become the most influential travelogue on the Silk Road ever written in a European language, and it paved the way for the arrivals of thousands of Westerners in the centuries to come.

18th and 19th centuries Marco Polo is receiving deeper respect than before because these marvelous characters and countries he described did actually exist. What's more interesting is that his book became great value to Chinese historians, as it helps them understand better some of the most important events of the 13th century, such as the siege of Hsiangyang, the massacre of Ch'angchou, and the attempted conquests of Japan. The extant Chinese sources on these events are not as comprehensive as Marco's book.

XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No5. "The spreading of religion by trade ways"

A Special Reference to the Correspondence between England and the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt 1585- 1587

**Diplomatic Communication in the Early Modern
Europe**

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Introduction

Diplomatic correspondence formed one of the most significant ways to communicate in the Early Modern Europe. The princes informed each other about the current political affairs by sending letters directly and indirectly. The direct correspondence was carried out by special messengers, who brought sealed letters to the courts of receiving princes, read them aloud there and travelled back home with responses to the original letters. As can be imagined, this kind of an arrangement was painstakingly slow and demanding. This might be the reason for the fact that the princes gradually started to prefer the indirect correspondence carried out by the representatives of the princes temporarily located to the courts of the other states. These representatives can be seen as the early diplomats or agents of their time.

In my presentation, I will illustrate the diplomatic correspondence that was carried over the English Channel between England and the Dutch Republic in the years 1585-1587. This correspondence is connected to a situation when England formed an alliance with the Low Countries. In 1585, Queen Elizabeth I had appointed her favourite, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, as a commander of an expedition to the Low Countries to assist the Dutch Revolt against Spain. However, soon, in 1587, Leicester's government ended in failure.

A significant part of this Leicesterian correspondence has been preserved to our days, and it offers an excellent case study of the diplomatic communication in the Early Modern times. The original letters are located in the various archives of the Netherlands, Great Britain and France. In addition, many of them are printed in collections. By examining this correspondence, it is perhaps possible to trace the broader conventions of communication in the Early Modern Europe.

The authors and language of the letters

The Leicesterian correspondence consists of sent and received letters of various parties. In addition to the letters of Leicester and his advisors in the Low Countries, there are also letters written on behalf of Elizabeth I and members of her Privy Council, like Lord Treasurer Burgley and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and the Dutch governing bodies, the States General and the Provincial States. The first question in my presentation concerns the authors of these letters. Who actually wrote them?

In Elizabethan times, writing was often produced in collaboration after a consultation with advisors or officials. Many letters were dictated and signed afterwards. The letters could also be drafted by others, based on the information given from the signatory or his/her advisors. For example, the letters signed by Elizabeth I were often written by her Privy Councillors, like Lord Burghley. On the other hand, many of the letters were written personally by the signatory. In the original letters, a clear indicator of this is the personal handwriting. However, proofs and traces can also be found from the printed collections:

- Letter LXXVI, Mr. Secretary Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester on 1st April 1586:

And, so praying your lordships to excuse thes scrybled lynes written with bothe a tyred head and hande, I most humbly take my leave... (Bruce 1844, 208).

- Letter CXLII, the Earl of Leicester to Mr. Secretary Walsingham on 10th August 1586:

Well! I must be short, I have made a great blert, thorow sudden dropps of rayne falling, as you may see... (Bruce 1844, 395).

As can be seen from these quotations, the authors often revealed whether or not the letter was written by their own hand. In these cases, the author confirms himself as the writer of the letter by apologizing his bad handwriting and blurred ink.

Also, the choice of a language tells us something about the writer. The Leicesterian correspondence is written by using three different languages: English, French and Dutch. For example, Leicester could not speak or write any French. So, the letters of Leicester in French are clearly not written by his own hand. Leicester usually dictated his response to ambassador Davison, who translated and wrote it down. Queen Elizabeth I, instead, was fluent in both French and Latin.

The language also reflects the style and purpose of the letters. French was the language of diplomacy and foreign relations in the Early Modern Europe. For example, the letters of Queen Elizabeth I to the Dutch governing bodies were all written in French. These letters were often official declarations and treaties. The correspondence between the Dutch Provincial States was naturally written in Dutch. Even some of their letters addressed to

Leicester were in Dutch. This indicates well the language barrier of that time. English was used in the correspondence of the English officers and soldiers in the Low Countries. In their more personal writing, Leicester and his friends and advisors, even Queen Elizabeth I, corresponded in English. These letters are written in more informal style and their content also deals with more personal matters.

Difficulties in the correspondence

There were quite a many difficulties in sending and receiving letters in the Early Modern times. There were relatively many letters written and sent every week. For example, during his stay in the Low Countries, Leicester sent every week 3-4 letters to England. It took approximately two weeks for a letter to arrive in its destination if everything went well during the journey. Unfortunately, there were often delays and disappearances:

- Letter XXX, the Earl of Leicester to Mr. Secretary Walsingham on 3rd February 1585-6:
I besech ye lett me hear oftener from you... (Bruce 1844, 87).
- Letter XXXV, the Earl of Leicester to the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, the Vice Chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Walsingham on 8th February 1585-6:
Was I here xliii dayes before I did once heare worde out of Englande... (Bruce 1844, 96).
- Letter LXXX, the Earl of Leicester to Mr. Secretary Walsingham on 5th April 1586:
Mr. Secretary, this vth of Aprill I received your three letters, one of the 20th of March, and two of the one and twentieth of the same; in answeere whereof... (Bruce 1844, 219).

These delays and disappearances were often noted in the letters, and they could effectively block information going from one country to another. For example, Leicester spent 43 days in the Low Countries without hearing a word from England. This was crucial because he had to take important decisions there, and was then without assistance. From the last quotation, we can note that often, when the letters at last arrived, they were all received at once.

What were the reasons for these delays then? Most of the delays were due to the political and geographical circumstances in the Early Modern Europe. The letters needed to be shipped over the English Channel. This was a difficult task since the weather conditions were often too demanding for the sailing boats of the time:

- Letter XXIV, Lord Burgley to the Earl of Leicester on 7th February 1585-6:
My very good lord, Your last letters come to my hands war by your lordship written at the Hage the 29. of Janvary, by which I was glad to perceave [you] had received my letters sent by Mr. Atye and my son which war made old letters by the contrary wynd, which of the late hath bene so constant to hang long in on cost, as ether your lordship there have cause, or we heare, to wish it, for it holdeth strongly ether west, which pleseth vs to send, but not to heare; or els in the est, which discontenteth ether of vs in contrary manner. By your lordships letter I fynd many things of my letters answered, and so I shall be hable to satisfye hir majesty... (Bruce 1844, 103).

The contrary winds always kept one side in the shadow. If the wind blew from the west, Leicester could receive letters from England but he could not send any there. If the wind blew from the east, the situation would be the same, only the receiving parties reversed. Bad weather and storms were also a problem. Especially in wintertime, messengers were forced to wait on the shore for weeks.

There were also political reasons for the letters having been delayed or disappeared. The political situation in Europe was very intense. Even if England was officially supporting the Dutch Revolt against Spain, Elizabeth I had launched secret peace negotiations with Philip II of Spain. However, these negotiations did not remain a secret too long. In order to be updated, English, Spanish or Dutch agents were hijacking letters of their rivals. Usually these hijacked letters were published and used against the persons behind them. For example, Leicester was very frustrated in autumn 1587 because the Dutch agents had again hijacked his letter to Elizabeth:

- Letter, the Earl of Leicester to Mr. Secretary Walsingham on 7th September 1587:

They [the States General] have, by some means, got knowledge of the contents thereof, and have intimated the same secretly to the provinces, intending thereby to draw me into hatred and suspicion of the people, as though this dealing for peace were procured for me...this [is] treacherous usage of her Majesty's secrets... (Brugmans III 1931, 95).

Sometimes it seems to have been even tactful not to send letters. This we can note from the following quotation:

- Letter XXXVIII, Instructions of Sir Thomas Heneage sent by the Queen to the Earl of Leicester on 10th February 1585-6:

We fynde it very strange, that, in all this tyme of his aboade there, we heare yet nothing thereof, concideringe how often he hath otherwise written hether since his aryvall there, and that he cannot be ignorant how muche it importeth us to have knowledge of thes thinges, which maketh the fault of his slacknes therein so much the greater... (Bruce 1844, 109).

Leicester, indeed, postponed sending his letters to Elizabeth I in order to gain more power to his own hands during his early stay in the Low Countries.

The correspondents also attempted to avoid and compensate the delays and disappearances of the letters. One way to cope with the problem was to send many letters. To be sure that at least few reached their destination, a letter was sent or received almost every day. Sometimes the correspondents were even apologizing the amount of letters sent on their behalf:

- Letter XXIV, Lord Burgley to the Earl of Leicester on 17th January 1585-6:

My very good lord, as matters do rise so I am bold to wryte unto yow, and yet I se so many misaventures in savety of arrayvall of letters, as I se it necessary to repete thynges in second letters, wherewith your lordship may be troubled by readyng, but I had rather, so woole your lordship, than leave it undoone. In my former letters I have shewed yow that... (Bruce 1844, 66).

Another way to cope with the delays and disappearances was to repeat the matters discussed already in the earlier letters. The receivers usually announced in their responses to which letters they were answering. Since the correspondents usually also made a copy of the letter they sent, the correspondents could easily go back to the original letter even if it was weeks ago when they had sent it at first place. However, sometimes these copies were not made, and then the receivers were asked to pay careful attention to their response:

- Letter XLVII, the Earl of Leicester to Mr. Secretary Walsingham on 24th February 1585-6:

I pray you remember that I may receive answer to the partes of my letters, for I have no copy of my requestes. (Bruce 1844, 137).

The correspondents also tried to protect the letters from falling into the hands of rivals. Occasionally, the messengers were escorted by soldiers and war vessels. The letters were not only sealed but also protected in different ways:

- Letter XXXIV, the Earl of Leicester to Mr. Secretary Walsingham on 7th February 1585-6:

This vij of February I received your letter, with a pece of lead in yt lyke a patern of a booke; I know not what yt meanes, nether have ye written any word of yt. (Bruce 1844, 92)

The lead was probably enclosed to the letter in order to ensure the sinking of the letter, in case the messenger was taken at sea and had to throw the letter overboard, which was, as we have seen, not at all an uncommon occurrence.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the diplomatic correspondence between England and the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt in 1585-1587 was the most significant way of communication. The letter writing followed the conventions of its time concerning the authors and language of the letters. There were also many problems in the correspondence. The delays and disappearances were mostly due to the geographical and political circumstances of the countries. Occasionally, these delays and disappearances were even taken as an advantage. However, the correspondents also found different ways to cope with these problems.

The purpose of this case study was also to analyse the primary source itself. There are interesting traces present even in the printed letters. The letters often reveal us more than we perceive at the first sight. By examining the correspondence, we can trace not only the personal motives and historical events but also the communication ways in the Early Modern Europe.

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XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No7. "The trade of slaves"

Indentured servitude - a step towards slavery

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Abstract

Indenture servitude is a form of unfree labor, widely practiced in the colonies of the British empire in the 17th and 18th century. European immigrants who couldn't afford to pay their passage to America would bound out their labor for a limited period of time under a contract called indentures. With his debt fully paid servant would become a free man. The whole Colonial economies were built by indentured servants and other bonded laborers.

Key words: bonded labor, colonies, indentures, master-servant, white servitude

Introduction

As I couldn't find almost any books about this topic I had to rely on Internet as a main source for my paper. News topics such as trafficking, workers demonstration and globalization made me think about unfree labour. Even today we often witness workers being mistreated. Regular paycheques, social and health benefices_sometimes seem as a twentieth century utopia. So how was it in the past?

Indentured servitude has existed in many societies through the ages. It was also a main labour force in the European colonies of the New World, where was soon replaced by black slavery but never ceased to exist. In this paper I have concentrated only on the area of North American colonies due to information accessibility.

Roots

Vast and virgin lands of the New world required a massive flux of workers. As there never was a sufficient number of free labor, early colonists had to turn to binded workers to fulfill their needs. Neither native Indians or African slaves were not ideal solution at the beggining. It took nearly two century for African slaves to completely _replace white servants as the dominant labor force.

Indentured servitude originated from English system of agricultural servitude⁴³, where a servant (between age of 13-25) lived in the master's house under a contract norm lasting one year. Such system was some kind of apprenticeship.

In the 17th century England, there were many people displaced from farming due to a series of 10 crop failures and political dislocation. These people fled to big cities thus forming a mass of casual workers, drifters and often criminals. From them came a labor supply for the colonies.

Development

London Company of Virginia first initiated indentured servitude as a labor system for the colonies by the 1620. Soon the transportation of human labor from Europe to the English colonies became a very proffitable enterprise. It involved merchants, ship captains, immigrant brokers, recruiting agents, joined in delivering human cargo to America⁴⁴.

Most of this servants came from England, but also from Ireland, Scotland, Germany. The task of recruting agent (newlander, neulander, soul sellers) was to fill ships with human cargo by any means necessary, sometimes those methods even included kidnapping. Offcourse the majority of indentured servants came volonteraly, persuaded by clever lies of agents or to save themselves from starvation. Probably none of them knew what kind of conditions awaited them in the Promised land. In 18th.century a lucrative buisness of gathering and trans-shipping emigrants had spread to the European continent- from Holland and Rhenish provinces of Germany to the Switzerland.

Sea voyage (according to the report from 1750 written by one of the passengers Gottlieb Mittelberger) from Rotterdam to Philadelphia took fifteen weeks. Conditions on board were miserable indeed. Few hundred people crowded together, exposed to various diseases like scurvy, dysentary, boils, smallpox, all due to lack of hygiene and insufficient and inappropriate nourishment. Besides bad living conditions, people could perish in the storms or by the pirates. Those who survived excruciating passage from Europe to America were soled after landing to the highest bidder. But troubles of the newcomers haven't ended by their arrival to the colonies. The system was very exploitive towards the servants. Shippers often svindled them and their temporary masters had tryed to extract as much use from them as they could. Mortality rate of the emigrants was very high, especially in the early days. Almost half of them haven't survived their term of indenture⁴⁵. The position of indentured servants depended largely on their education and skills. Colonies were in great need of agricultural workers, household servants and artisans. As there were many more men than women , the situation of maidservant was both full of oportunities and hazards.

At the beginning of the 18th century another kind of immigrants appeared – the so called redemptioners. In most cases redemptioners originated from the Continent often emigrating with a family and some property. They were able to partialy pay their passage and

⁴³ Deanna Barker, *Indentured servitude in Colonial America*

⁴⁴ Richard Hofstadter, *White servitude*

⁴⁵ Richard Hofstadter, *White servitude*

arranged to pay the rest of the fare shortly after landing. If failed to do so, they would be sold to redeem their debt, thus becoming indentured servants.

Since 1717 and until American Revolution, England has imported convicts to its colonies. Around 30 000 felons were transported, mainly to southern colonies to serve out their punishment for seven years. During passage they were kept below deck and in chains, so on average one in six or seven would die on the way.

Between 1675-99 there was abrupt decline of new immigrants from Europe⁴⁶. It seems that conditions in Europe have somewhat improved and there weren't many people interested in emigrating to America. To meet the latest challenges, in 1672 the Royal African Company was formed. As the number of black slaves increased, position of white servants has improved. Soon indentured servants became privileged labor group, performing only skilled work. With the beginning of 19th century indentured servants have been completely replaced by slaves.

Legal status

So, what is the difference between slavery and indentured servitude? Slaves were bound for life and indentured servants only for limited period of time (at least in theory).

However transport and working conditions of both categories were quite similar. During indenture servant was a property of his or her master and so servants contract was a commodity that could be traded. Actually, position of indentured servant was often worse than of a slave, because servants were expendable and slaves were expensive investment. A servant costed one third to one half of the price of a slave⁴⁷. Also indentures were negotiable commodities. Servants were used as means of paying their masters debts or could have been inherited by a will. Also, owner would often receive a headright for every imported servant.

In law an indenture was a contract in which the servant promised faithful service for a specified period of time in return for his housing and keep out, and at the end of his term of work a freedom dues -usually a new set of suit or 50 acres of land. Only the terminability of their contracts and the presence of certain legal rights stood between indentured servants and slavery.

Here are some of examples of servant rights and limitations: a servant could own property, although he was forbidden to engage in trade. He could sue and be sued (this right of court appeal was widely used by servants), but he couldn't vote⁴⁸. Corporal punishment was allowed but master could lose his servant on a court order for merciless or disfiguring beating. Marriage without the consent of the master was illegal as well as fornication and bastardy. Also there was a possibility of military enlistment that turned up useful in French and Indian wars of the 1750's and during the revolution. The most common punishments for every crime were either whipping or prolonging servants term. This possibility was often abused by masters, especially for running away - a frequent offence.

Conclusion

For the greater part of 17th and 18th century the colonists relied on the obvious source for their labor: other Europeans. They were virtual slaves during their periods of indenture. According to most estimations one half to two thirds of all immigrants to colonial

⁴⁶ Peter Kolcher, Unfree labor

⁴⁷ Peter Kolcher, Unfree labor

⁴⁸ Richard Hofstadter, White servitude

America arrived as indentured servants. So this labor system was as massive as African slavery. It seems that indentured servitude anticipates slavery where ever it appears. Sadly, unfree labour never ceased to exist - from the earliest civilization to the present day. Let us remember child slave work during Industrial revolution, or todays sweatshops. TNCs (Transnational corporations) all over the world are exploiting workers desperate to get any job. Globalization process stimulate labor migrations. How often through mass media we hear about illegal immigrants who became indentured servants to repay their transport to prosperous countries or girls forced to prostitution by their captives or parents so poor that they had to sell their children to slavery to survive. The question is being raised wheter human societies can survive without usage of unfree labour? Well it seems to me that the similar parameters that inticed unfree labour in the past still exist.

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XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No7. "The trade of slaves"

Slavery today

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Introduction

Slavery is not history, it occurs also today's world. Even though slavery was ended in the Western world in the middle of the 19th century, even though it is now illegal in all the countries around the world, there are still some 27 million people living in slavery today. Slavery occurs in all the continents around the world.

Forms of current slavery

To divide current slavery in different sections is somewhat artificial, for many of the so-called "forms" are overlapping, closely related to each other.

1. Chattel slavery, trafficking inside the country-borders

This is the "traditional" kind of slavery, where slaves are sold and bought. They are kept in control by the use or threat of violence.

2. Debt bondage

Debt bondage is the most common form of slavery today, especially in the southern Asia. In Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan there are 15-20 million people paying the loans they or their ancestors have taken. They receive basic food and shelter, but may never pay off the loan, which can be passed down through generations.

3. Forced labour, often related to trafficking of people

The flow directs usually from the developing nations to the West. Each year estimated 800 000-900 000 men, women and children are trafficked and forced to work.

Individual are forced to work, often lured by promises of a good job. Instead they end up in actual slave work, most often in the sex trade, as domestic servants or labour for

factories or agriculture. In debt-bondage they work to pay for their traffickers and employers for the transit costs and overpriced rents and food.

Migrant workers are especially vulnerable. Because they often don't know the language and their documents are taken from them, they're under the control of their traffickers and employers. It's easy for the employers to threaten these illegal immigrants, who in many countries are treated as criminals.

4. Sex slavery

Sex slavery is the most common form of slavery, especially in southern Asia. Girls or women are forced to prostitution, often by their male relatives. Often poor families may sell their children for sex slaves or the girls are lured by promises of a good job. Sex slavery also relates closely to trafficking of people, while women are in high amounts trafficked for sex business all over the world.

Some more detailed examples of slavery today *Africa*

In Africa children are often expected to work as domestic servants or in mines, factories or farms. The children may be sold to pay a debt, kidnapped or the parents may be lured to believe they're sending their children to a safe environment, which combines work and schooling. UNICEF estimates 200 000 children every year are victims of child trafficking in West Africa (2001) Child trafficking routes involve Benin, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Togo, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Niger. Children may be shifted many times between various workplaces to make the officials lose the tracks.

In West, south and Central Africa mainly girls are trafficked for domestic servants, boys to work in agriculture. Child soldiers, the use of which has increased, are often kidnapped and made slaves, girls often sex slaves. This has been a problem in some African countries, where civil wars between many different parties are taking place.

Asia

South Asia people in all ages are trafficked to in carpet and garment factories, for street hawking and begging, construction projects and tea plantations. In Pakistan people are trafficked to brick kilns.

Middle East and North Africa

In the Middle East and North Africa women are trafficked for domestic service and Asian men for construction sites. Illegal Afro-Asian migrant workers are used in Lebanon. Boys are trafficked to the United Arab Emirates to be used as camel jockeys.

Europe

From Eastern Europe and North Africa women are trafficked to Western Europe to serve in the sex trade, men for construction sites, in factories and farms. In our workshop we had also a presentation about Russian women, who are transmitted to Netherlands for wives. Where there are lots of immigrant, also legal, there they may also be misused in the grey sector of the economy.

North- and South-America

CIA estimates that 50 000 women and children are brought every year to US as slaves for illegal workers for example to factories and domestic household. They're also used in

agricultural sector, especially in the Southern states. Many Central American countries are involved either as sending, receiving or transit point countries. Especially in Guatemala prostitution is seen as a problem. In Brazil occurs forced labour in remote areas.

The slave work: what do they do, where, what can I do?

Slave work is known to use, or its use is highly suspected for example in the production of following products: cocoa (Ivory Coast), cotton, steel, diamonds (the slaves working in the mines), oriental rugs (child labour). At the moment the only slave work-free trade mark is the Fair Trade-mark.

Sources:

- UN Report of the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. (2003) www.un.org
- IPEC (Elimination of Child labour) www.ilo.org
- The Lancet, 19 June 2003: "Slavery today" (Editorial). www.sciencedirect.com
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The internet pages have been visited last time 29 March 2004.

XVth Annual ISHA Conference: Trade and Communications

Workshop No8. "Communication resources"

(Future) Life with Digital Interfaces: Mixed Reality

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Introduction

With the invention of the computers, in combination with Internet, a new era arose. A whole range of new possibilities emerged. At the moment we notice tele-working, video meetings and net-offices are getting more and more popular. Information was never sent so fast across the world. The Virtual World has become a tool for everyday work. But we're not using it yet to its full potential. Just recently features became possible which were until recently only material for science fiction stories.

What if we would extrapolate the possibilities of the "virtual" to future uses? What if we integrate the physical world with the virtual one? Just like in a movie a digital effect is added (like a gollem figure), so can we "upgrade" our senses. 3D computer graphics images and animations are merged with the real world in real time. This technology is called Mixed Reality, and it's probably going to change the way of communications in the future.

The technology of mixed reality extends the virtual world into the physical one. In basic it works like this. Users wear a pair of glasses in with a display that can be overlaid with information they receive from computer. A computer generates images or information and transmits it real-time to a user.

A camera in the glasses captures the user's vision and sends it back to a computer. Now, imagine this computer tracking the movement of objects and transforming this into digital information. This technology is available. The computer can now detect. It's environment.

Now imagine this computer connected to several large network databases, which enable the computer to interact with other computers and enable access to huge sources of information.

How far have we come yet? Big companies already have meetings where people from different places all over the world, they come virtually together and discuss their business. Mails are sent around the world, providing instant information. People are chatting. A new era of communication has begun. This was possible by the development of strong computers and the internet. But we're not yet using it at its full potential. Just recently features become possible which were until recently only material for science fiction stories.

"Using mixed reality the digital world can be extended into the user's physical world. This is made possible through the use of head-mounted see through displays where the user's real-world view can be overlaid with 3D computer graphics. We are bringing developing new systems to implement mixed reality in order to develop an almost magical environment where the virtual world, such as 3D computer graphics images and animations are merged with the real world as seamlessly as possible in real time. For example architects could work on a realistic virtual 3D model on their desk, and then enter the model together to explore the inside of the virtual buildings, surgeons could "see" the inside of a patient's body before operating, children could see animals from exotic lands, and play with them in their real physical space, and people could play games with each other together with virtual characters or creatures that appear in their real environment.

The mixed reality project will allow humans to interact with each other in ways that now can only be imagined, and will allow humans to interact with computers in a way that goes beyond the desktop computers we have now. It will allow us to create a mystical world that man has never experienced before. There will be applications in a great variety of areas such as education, entertainment computing, architecture, military, medicine, and human welfare".

Explanation by Department of Electrical and computer Engineering, University of Singapore

If you think of it, there are quite some possible uses for M-R. Still most of the technology is in construction. But within 10 years it will be part of everyday life. There are several places around the world where they are working on the development. Mostly it are universities and joined forces of hobbying technicians and artists. They are supported by government and military, who are very eager so make use of mixed reality. I haven't heard of really big companies who are actively taking part in it, but I guess it is an enormous investment and they haven't discovered the potential yet. Or they are just researching it secretly. I do sense a growing interest, especially now, when the first results are being released. It's still in an early state, but that makes it even more interesting. The progress is very fast and new discoveries are made every day.

Examples of future uses:

Like I mentioned we almost have all the technology necessary to enable the following examples. Maybe it may still sound like science fiction, it looks indeed very promising.

M-R creates a lot of new possibilities for the communication sector. Already people are having virtual meetings, either with video or avatars. MR enables to actually experience

being together in the same room. The glasses will project the other people in the room he's in. Imagine virtual bars, or a special MR room in the house, where a custom room can be projected together with people. It will increase the possibilities of tele-working In Isaacs Asimov's book *The Robot Murders* there's a planet where people only communicate in this way.

There are these (children's) books, which pop up when opened. The same can be done with MR, only then to the extreme. When you read about medics, a giant heart will appear from the book, explaining how it works. You will be able to rotate it and zoom in. Soldiers can project 3d maps on a piece of paper or a rock. The troops position can be placed on it real-time, together with the suspected position of the enemy. This is one of the reasons why military is so eager to have MR researched.

Mechanics who look at machinery can have a computer detect certain parts and display necessary information while the engineer performs his task. Digital connected experts can give advice and point out spots of interest. The same applies for surgeons. A lot of operations can become more efficient. Technical simulations can be projected or extra info can be overlaid on the subject.

The Games industry is going to be revolutionized. People will be able to actually enter a game. Special buildings can become an arena while the user experiences the building with several layers of computer effects. Also the player will actually walk and perform actions instead of using a keyboard to simulate walking. Shooting games, adventure games, even Pacman can be used with MR. People can run through shopping malls trying to catch each other as the Ghosts try to catch Pacman. The players will see a street covered with yellow balls which packman has to catch. The city becomes a huge playground. Mixed Reality is going to revolutionize the current interfaces we have with computers and machines. Why build complicated menu's on machines which are getting smaller and smaller, leaving no space for a display. MR can visualize them all around you; an unlimited number of screens floating in front of you. It'll also change the way we communicate with computers. We have the techniques for motion detection, so why risk RSI and other computer related illnesses if you can just wave your arms instead, for instance a designer or architect who is visualizing his ideas by molding the air. The computer projects a digital model of the shapes he is making. Not only does the design method change, I think it will also change the shape of things to be designed. Enabling shapes that weren't possible before.

Your house can become something you never imagined to be possible. You can really customize your house. There is a basic structure in the house with some walls. For the rest you can decide how it looks like. Do you want to see the sea? No problem. Do you want classical features on the walls or like to see the sky at night. You can have it. Even more if your house is modular based. Then you can adjust virtual and physical world. Besides you can have overlapping rooms in your house, rooms connected to rooms of other people. You can "share" these spaces.

My last example will also be in the entertaining sector. We have these huge parties when people come together to experience the music a DJ provides. At the moment the sounds are accompanied by images provided by a VJ. Unfortunately there is always a distance between the images and the music. In the future it might be possible to have this VJ present you a world, an environment that reacts to music. Ravers can surrender to the experience of the music combined with the discovery of worlds.

Is this good?

I personally think that this technology is going to be used on a wider scale. I wouldn't be surprised if within 10 years mixed reality will be a part of everyday life. This may sound a bit scary. Not for the least that changes always come with fear, but even more, this is a science fiction scenario. Probably a lot of people had thought about a virtual world integrated into the physical one, but this vision never came so close in becoming true as today.

For those who experience this world as one of the layers of hell, and can't bear the thought of having it combined with computers, I got some good news. The first place where this mixed reality is going to change a lot is the entertainment sector. It will actually help them shape their reality. Computer games and movies will become integrated with MR.

Conclusion

In the other sections of society it will only be an addition, an enhancement. And because people are getting more fed with an impersonal, digital approach, I guess that future consumers can have the choice whether or not they want to use M-R. Simply because a certain percentage of the population will not accept the overdigitilization of their everyday lives, society will correct itself and provide the choice of integrating MR. Then there is of course the fear that people will like MR too much. They will spend too much time on/in it. This will become a new addiction. People can lose social contacts because they are literary in another world. They have to be careful not to get isolated. But these are problems, which can be solved by providing sufficient education.

Links:

- <http://mixedreality.nus.edu.sg>
Advanced M-R Research Singapore University
- <http://www.mlab.uiah.fi/~kkallio/mr-pong/>
M-R Pong Computer game research project
- <http://www.crg.computer-science.nottingham.ac.uk/>
Mixed Reality Laboratory Nottingham
- <http://www.mic.atr.co.jp/~poup/research/index.html>
Mixed Reality Research
- <http://hci.rsc.rockwell.com/AugmentedReality/ismar/>
Symposium on mixed reality
- <http://www.lmr.khm.de/>
German M-R institute

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