Christopher Paolella

Human Trafficking in Medieval Europe

Slavery, Sexual Exploitation, and Prostitution

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in Medieval Europe

Social Worlds of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

The Late Antiquity experienced profound cultural and social change: the political disintegration of the Roman Empire in the West, contrasted by its continuation and transformation in the East; the arrival of 'barbarian' newcomers and the establishment of new polities; a renewed militarization and Christianization of society; as well as crucial changes in Judaism and Christianity, together with the emergence of Islam and the end of classical paganism. This series focuses on the resulting diversity within Late Antique society, emphasizing cultural connections and exchanges; questions of unity and inclusion, alienation and conflict; and the processes of syncretism and change. By drawing upon a number of disciplines and approaches, this series sheds light on the cultural and social history of Late Antiquity and the greater Mediterranean world.

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Cover illustration: A Carolingian scribe illustrates captivity and bondage. Utrecht University Library, MS 32, fol. 83r.

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I would like to dedicate this work to my family both living and deceased, and especially to the tireless and endless support, love, and care of my wife, Elizabeth, during these many years. This would not have been possible without you. I love you.

I would also like to dedicate this work to the survivors, volunteers, and advocates of the Central Missouri Stop Human Trafficking Coalition, and to all those who have dedicated their lives to fighting human trafficking at home and around the world. Your dedication, determination, and commitment to justice are inspirational. Thank you for all that you do.

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Introduction

Human trafficking has become a global humanitarian concern over the last 20 years, yet its coercion and violence have affected victims across the centuries. The purpose of this work is to expand our knowledge of human trafficking activity beyond the modern world by extending its study into the ancient and medieval periods. While the slave trade of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages is perhaps the most obvious form of human trafficking, it is not the only form. Under the rubric of human trafficking, the medieval sex trade must also be included because it involved traffickers, purchasers, clients, middlemen, and both secular and ecclesiastical authorities in a commercial enterprise that relied upon abduction, coercion, violence, deception, and exploitation to procure laborers for the commercial sex industry.

Before we proceed any further, we must define our terms. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) defines 'human trafficking' as:

> the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.[1]

We must consider the modern definition of *human trafficking*, since the term did not exist in the Middle Ages. Indeed, human trafficking lacked an internationally agreed upon definition even up to the year 2000.[2] Therefore, we are effectively and necessarily reading a modern definition backwards into a different age. Although the label 'human trafficking' is anachronistic, primary sources from the period nevertheless record activity that mostly fits the modern definition.

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1   Article 3, paragraph (a), *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons*; online at https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CTOC/index.html. Last accessed on 5 February 2020.
2   Anthony M. DeStefano, *The War on Human Trafficking: US Policy Assessed* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), xvi.

In a sense, we are at an advantage when we speak of 'human trafficking' as opposed to 'slavery,' because we currently have an internationally accepted definition of the former concept. The latter, however, has proven notoriously difficult to define with precision: as a social relationship and as a social institution, slavery has different legal definitions and cultural stigmas, and thus different socioeconomic implications for the enslaved depending on the time and the place in question. For example, slavery in antebellum America, in classical Rome, and in fifteenth-century Sub-Saharan West Africa all differed markedly from one another in terms of legal treatment, racial relations, expectations for manumission, and the potential for a slave's integration into the dominant culture. For this study, I have found the social definitions of slavery espoused by Orlando Patterson and Jennifer Glancy particularly useful. In *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*, Orlando Patterson views the crux of slavery as a personal relationship involving the master's utter domination of the slave.[3] While some masters may be benign, they are under no compulsion to be so. The enslaved are thus defined by their social and legal helplessness, by their legal definition as property, and by their social isolation outside of the kinship networks of the dominant society. Going one step further than Patterson, Jennifer Glancy argues that not only is the dominance of the master over the slave complete, but that gender also influences this relationship of domination. Her works, *Corporal Knowledge* and *Slavery in Early Christianity,* focus on the physical bodies of slaves in early Christianity. She demonstrates the differences in the experiences of exploitation between those of women and children and those of adult men in the brutal, visceral accounts of daily life among the enslaved. Because of their social isolation and vulnerability, slave bodies were universally susceptible to violent abuse, but women and children were also vulnerable to sexual violation to an extent that adult men were generally not.[4] Taken together, these definitions have the advantage of recognizing intimate relationships of gendered domination that may exist even in societies that do not officially acknowledge or institutionalize slavery. This recognition is crucial to understanding the conditions of servitude for those caught in late medieval sex trafficking webs. Although late medieval trafficking victims and survivors were not necessarily slaves by the strict legal definition, nevertheless they all experienced enslavement in those intimate relationships of utter and complete gendered domination of their

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3   Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1982).

4   Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1, 9.

daily lives. Furthermore, as one may expect, a history of human trafficking is also a history of both movement and trade. By necessity then, I am concerned primarily with chattel slaves, those people who were transported, traded, bought, and sold, whose bodies were commodified like so many inert objects.

This study focuses on human trafficking activities and patterns, rather than only considering the slave trade or relegating the slave trade and sex trafficking to secondary consideration in the wider topics of medieval slavery and medieval prostitution. I have shifted the 'wider topic' from the institution of slavery to the activity of human trafficking, of which the slave trade and sex trafficking are major interrelated components. I argue that, while slavery as a means of compelling agricultural production had declined across much of Western Europe by the end of the twelfth century, commercial sex developed into an industry that grew in tandem with the urbanization of medieval Europe. As agricultural slavery died out, the long-distance slave trade withered across Western Europe and gradually reoriented itself around the Mediterranean basin. Yet attenuated human trafficking networks remained in place in Western Europe by adapting to supply a smaller, but no less persistent, labor demand that was now fueled by brothels and prostitution rings instead of agriculture.

I agree with Jennifer Glancy's position that slavery was (and still is), above all, a relationship of domination, and one that was (and still is) inherently gendered; I further contend that the experiences of women and children link the slave trade of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages with the sex trafficking networks of the late Middle Ages and early modern period. For women and children, the experience of sexualized violence was a perpetual and predictable threat in the slave trade and the defining characteristic of later sex trafficking networks. However, for adult men the experiences of human trafficking and sex trafficking never merged. Throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, adult male slaves supplied heavy and skilled labor, and although male slaves could certainly be sexually exploited or experience sexualized violence, and although young freeborn and enslaved male prostitutes worked in the late antique sex industry, there is little evidence to suggest that adult male slavery and male prostitution ever became widely conflated. In other words: these relationships were defined by domination and inherently gendered.

Finally, I argue that the shift in emphasis in human trafficking – from slave trading to sex trafficking – was caused by the socioeconomic developments of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These centuries are pivotal because, as they progressed, both urban life and the monetary economy expanded across Western Europe, and the growth of both encouraged

the evolution of commercial sex into a commercial sex industry. To meet a growing demand for its services, the medieval sex industry needed a steady supply of labor, which human traffickers across Western Europe were willing and able to provide.

In the study of medieval slavery, the social, economic, and legal aspects of the institution have been robustly debated; however, the mechanisms of the slave trade itself, as opposed to slavery *per se*, remain tangential to the debate. The slave trade frequently appears in historiography as one part of a wider study of medieval slavery and is often presented as an explanation for the sources of slaves, through activities such as war, raiding, abduction, personal sale, debt and penal slavery, and so on. Although studies of the slave trade exist, most focus on particular areas such as the Mediterranean, England and Wales, Francia, Iberia, Byzantium, Bavaria, or the North and Baltic Seas. In the Mediterranean basin, Michael McCormick's magisterial work *Origins of the European Economy* considers slave-trading networks through a novel approach that draws on the study of communications networks.[5] He argues against Henri Pirenne's thesis that the expansion of Islam in the seventh century closed the Mediterranean to commercial shipping and effectively confined seventh- and eighth-century Europe to an agrarian existence, which now was reoriented away from the Mediterranean and towards the north.[6] Instead, McCormick contends that, rather than destroying the late antique Mediterranean economy, the establishment of the Caliphate allowed for the emergence of a new European economy, which was fueled by the mass export of European slaves to the cities, markets, palaces, and armies of the Muslim world. McCormick's study has shown that the slave trade persisted longer and was more fundamental to the early European economy than had been previously understood. He synthesizes archaeology, numismatics, and primary sources in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Old Church Slavonic. McCormick's methodology casts a wide net for evidence and sources, and his pioneering approach has greatly influenced the present study. As one might imagine, human trafficking is not always easy to detect, particularly in the scattered and incomplete sources of the early Middle Ages. Following McCormick's methods, I have cast as wide a net as possible for source material and evidence, and the results and analyses are presented in the following chapters. Yet although his work is detailed and convincing, McCormick ends his study in the tenth century, and we are left to wonder: what happened next?

5   Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
6   See *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (Paris: Alcan, 1937).

In his two-volume work *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, Charles Verlinden argues for integrated slaving networks that spanned the Mediterranean basin from classical antiquity to the sixteenth century, using then-unpublished records – such as late medieval Italian notarial acts – from archives across southern Europe, Byzantium, and the Levant. The first volume examines the Iberian Peninsula, the Balearic Islands, and France, and the second volume extends his study to Italy, the Italian outposts in the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Byzantine Empire. Although Verlinden had intended to complete a study of the Germanic and Slavic lands as well as the British Isles, he never completed his third volume. Nonetheless, Verlinden's two major studies remain the starting point for any study of medieval slavery and the medieval slave trade. However, his work focuses on the Mediterranean, and both Northern Europe and sex trafficking remain unaddressed; these significant gaps I intend to address.[7]

Studies of slavery and the slave trade with the breadth and scope of McCormick's and Verlinden's are few: far more numerous are regional surveys of slavery. Although these studies have the advantage of depth and are sensitive to regional socioeconomic variation, their limited scope means that they tend to focus on slavery as a social institution and thus relegate human trafficking activities to secondary status. Regarding Francia, for example, Marc Bloch treats the slave trade in Gaul and Francia only insofar as it fed the institution of slavery through war and trade (in *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages*, a collection of his essays); he argues for the long-term transition of slavery into serfdom from the Late Roman Empire until about 1300 or so. In a classic essay, 'Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique,' Bloch posits that the decline of the latifundia across Italy and Gaul in turn led to a decline in slavery across the classical West. He contends that evolving Germanic law codes, the ambivalence of the Church towards the institution of slavery, the shifting legal definitions of 'serf' and 'slave,' the methods and means of manumission, and the economic necessity for agricultural labor all served to transform slavery over the course of the early Middle Ages into what would be called 'serfdom' by the end of the Carolingian period.[8]

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7   Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I. Péninsule Ibérique-France* (Bruges: Tempel, 1955) and *Tome II: Italie; Colonies italiennes du Levant; Levant latin; Empire byzantin* (Ghent: Royal University of Ghent, 1977).

8   Marc Bloch, *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages*, trans. William R. Beer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

Meanwhile, Alice Rio's *Slavery after Rome, 500–1100* examines several regions of the former Roman Empire but is primarily concerned with Western Carolingian Europe as it compares to the central Slavic regions, the British Isles, and southern Europe. Rio argues against the existence of slave trading on a large scale, challenging Michael McCormick, and concludes that the slave trade was primarily local in nature, even at its height between the eighth and tenth centuries. Her emphasis on the local medieval slave trade is an important influence on this study, because in many ways regional and long-distance networks are the most visible trafficking patterns in narrative sources and personal correspondences. Rio's work therefore reminds us that much of human trafficking took place at the local level within the European agricultural economy, beneath the notice of chroniclers and social commentators. Nevertheless, Rio pays little attention to larger economic issues such as forms of exchange, the positions of chattel slaves within the medieval economy, and the comparative social and economic values of male and female slave labor.[9]

Despite the shortcomings of regional and local studies, together these works have provided me with valuable insight into areas with which I am less familiar. I have relied on the expertise of numerous scholars to build a picture of slave trading in the Eastern Mediterranean across the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The work of David Coleman considering the effects of corsair raiding activities on the early modern slave trade, Robert C. Davis's and Ellen Friedman's studies of the plight of Christian slaves held in the Maghreb between 1500 and 1800, and finally William D. Phillips Jr's research on the continuity of slavery as a legal category – from antiquity to the early modern transatlantic trade, through the survival of Roman jurisprudence in Western European law – have all elucidated the complex relationships between Christian and Muslim interests across Iberia and the Maghreb during the late Middle Ages and the early modern period.[10] Additionally, Youval Rotman's detailed study of the slave trade in the Eastern Mediterranean between the reign of Justinian I (r. 527–565) and the onset of the Crusades, and the essays in *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* (*c.1000–1500 CE*), edited by Reuven Amitai and Christoph

9   Alice Rio, *Slavery After Rome: 500–1100* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

10   David Coleman, 'Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades: Forms and Functions of Coastal Raiding on Both Sides of the Far Western Mediterranean, 1490–1540,' in *Medieval Encounters* 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 167–192; Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004); William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1985).

Cluse, illustrate the shifting patterns of political alliances, influences, and religious identities among Latin, Byzantine, and Muslim interests in this region. Together, they help complete the picture of late medieval and early modern human trafficking in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea regions.[11]

Although my study stresses the continuity of human trafficking from slave trading to sex trafficking, multiple German studies have demonstrated the continuity of slavery both as a legal category and as a social institution in Central Europe, from the Late Roman Empire through the early Middle Ages. Carl I. Hammer contends that early medieval Bavaria was as much a slave society as ancient Greece and Rome, at least in terms of the importance of slave labor to the region's economy.[12] He has also elucidated the pattern of two-way slave trading between Christian Bavaria and the pagan Slavic lands during the eighth and ninth centuries along the Danube by examining hagiography and legal documents such as property deeds, polyptychs, formularies, and charters.

Hammer is not alone in viewing Bavaria as a slave society. Analysing Germanic law codes, Hermann Nehlson argues that the enslaved were of critical importance in defining the structure of early Germanic society, the eventual stratification of which came about in part from a fusion with Roman legal traditions. Influenced by Roman law and custom, early medieval Germanic society came to view enslavement as a foil to freedom, and thus the slave as a foil to the legally competent German man. Like William D. Phillips Jr., Nehlson also contends that the influence of Roman jurisprudence on Germanic law allowed for the continuity of slavery from antiquity into the Middle Ages.[13] In a similar vein, historians such as Eckhard Müller-Mertens and Hannelore Lehmann contend that domestic slaves (*mancipia infra domum*) were most concentrated on the lands of the nobility, particularly in areas east of the Rhine, and that, in effect, the presence of these demesne slaves became an important visual marker of nobility.[14]

11   Youvel Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. Jane Todd Marie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* (*c. 1000–1500 CE*) eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).

12   Carl I. Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages: Slaves and Their Families in Early Medieval Bavaria* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

13   Hermann Nehlsen, *Sklavenrecht zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Germanisches und römisches Recht in den Germanischen Rechtsaufzeichnungen I: Ostgoten, Westgoten, Franken, Langobarden* (Göttingen/Frankfurt/ Zürich: Musterschmidt, 1972).

14   Eckhard Müller-Mertens, 'Die Genesis der Feudalgesellschaft im Lichte schriftlicher Quellen,' *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 12 (1964), 1384–1402; Hannelore Lehmann, 'Bemerkungen

I must acknowledge that the debate over slavery's continuity from Late Antiquity into the early Middle Ages is by no means settled among historians. Harmut Hoffman, for example, argues that ecclesiastical efforts in the early Middle Ages to improve the lot of slaves – such as prohibiting their arbitrary killing and ill-treatment, the recognition of their marriages, and the bans on sales of Christian slaves among pagans – in effect made slavery more akin to 'serfdom' than classical 'slavery.' The legal recognition of the basic humanity of the early medieval unfree was the critical difference between the former and the latter.[15] Although we may question to what degree these advances in the legal standing of the enslaved actually improved their living conditions, what is more important for this study is that medieval regulations on human trafficking were mainly honored in the breach. Furthermore, bans on the sale of Christians to pagans in no way prevented their legal sale to other Christians, which refutes the contention that the early medieval unfree were more akin to serfs because they were functionally kept in place on the land as a result of the bans on sales to pagans.

Eike Hamann also approaches slavery from a legal perspective and refutes both Bloch and Hoffman by arguing first that medieval slavery and serfdom were legally distinct and had coexisted since at least the sixth century, and second that the one did not evolve into the other.[16] Hamann contends that between 300 and 700 CE slavery in the transalpine region underwent significant changes, which were connected to the collapse of Roman authority in the western provinces. With the decline of urban life and the withering of the monetary economy, social mobility decreased, and as a result the lower classes were reduced to a 'villein' status that resembled the *colonus* of the Late Empire. Their collective identity, and thus their collective social status, was tied inextricably to the land upon which they lived and worked, and although they were not equated with chattel slaves, the lower classes nevertheless worked alongside them and were subject to the authority of the latter's Romano-Germanic landowners. Hamann's contention that the experience of domination and exploitation ran parallel for chattel slaves and the lower classes –brought about through legal enslavement for the former and through economic pressure for the latter – is important to this

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zur Sklaverei im fruhmittelterlichen Bayern und zu den Forschungsmethoden auf dem Gebiet germanischer Sozialgeschichte,' *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 13, no.8 (1965), 1378–1387.

15   Harmut Hoffmann, 'Kirche und Sklaverei im frühen Mittelalter,' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 1–24, 42.

16   Eike Hamann *Die Begründung des Sklavenstatus bei den Postglossatoren. Die Frage nach der Rezeption römischen Sklavenrechts* (Hamburg, 2011).

study because economic duress was (and continues to be) a primary cause of vulnerability and exploitation, which affect both the poor legally free and the enslaved.

In the study of medieval European agricultural production, the place of slavery remains contentious. Sally McKee argues that slavery 'as a mode of production ended everywhere in the West before 400 CE, well before the shift to unfree tenant labor on estates. At no time thereafter did slaves play more than a minimal role in agriculture'; Chris Wickham contends that the slave mode of production was, 'certainly restricted, indeed hardly used at all' after 300 CE in Italy. Both authors instead consider the place of slaves in non-agricultural positions, such as in domestic service, or in the *gynaecea*, the textile workshops, of the Carolingian period.[17] This view that enslaved agricultural labor was marginal to Europe's early medieval economy is unconvincing, in my opinion, when we consider the extent, volume, and patterns of human trafficking activity across Western Europe north of the Alps and Pyrenees. Beginning in the eighth century, the *Dhar al-Islam* partly explains European slave exports, owing to its robust demand for domestic slaves and its extensive monetary economy. However, Muslim demand for European slaves cannot account for Europe's internal slave trade in the sixth and seventh centuries, which we will consider in detail in this book. Moreover, how do we explain Europe's internal slave trade or account for slave imports into Western Europe (north of the Alps and Pyrenees) during the ninth and tenth centuries? Because they were moved as chattel, the victims and survivors of the early medieval slave trade cannot be regarded as 'unfree tenant labor,' nor does their labor in domestic service alone adequately explain the volume or patterns of human trafficking activity into and within the Continent, which will also be explored over the course of this study.

I believe that we cannot accept the predominance of agriculture in Europe's medieval economy on the one hand, and then on the other hand argue that the slaves sold into that agricultural economy were unrelated to its production. A slave may not toil in the fields, but nevertheless her work in processing the bounty of those fields – through spinning, food processing,

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17   Sally McKee, 'Slavery,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, eds. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 283; Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 276–277. However, Wickham does concede that 'the raw material for the productive relations of the slave mode [was] readily available in every period,' that is to say, there existed the reoccurring potential for the renewal of plantation forms of agricultural production throughout the early Middle Ages.

small animal husbandry, and other forms of labor – integrates her into agricultural production and thus into the wider rural economy. Furthermore, her enslaved status means that her body could act as a surrogate currency, as a gift, or as a good to be bought, traded, or sold to facilitate greater rural exchange. In other words, the people who were continuously trafficked into and within the rural European economy must have fulfilled vital socioeconomic roles, and the mutability of those roles, which will be considered later in this Introduction, does not diminish their place or importance in Europe's agricultural production. In my view, then, persistent agricultural slavery, in all its varied forms and capacities, accounts for the patterns of human trafficking into and within rural Western Europe north of the Alps and Pyrenees during the early Middle Ages, and its later gradual decline partly accounts for systemic changes in late medieval trafficking patterns.

Turning to prostitution and sex trafficking, Jennifer Glancy's work is foundational for this study. She argues throughout both *Slavery in Early Christianity* and *Corporal Knowledge* that slavery was an inherently physical, gendered relationship of domination, and I accept her position and build upon it. I am convinced that this physical, gendered relationship of domination made (and continues to make) the sexual exploitation of women and children an inherent and perpetual threat in slave trading and the defining characteristic of sex trafficking; this same gendered dynamic thus links slaving and sex trafficking through the visceral, lived experiences of the victims and survivors.[18]

As I trace the growth of prostitution from a social phenomenon to a socioeconomic industry over the course of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the studies of Leah Otis, Ruth Mazo Karras, Jacques Rossiaud, and Bronisław Geremek are crucial in illustrating not only the similarities between English and French prostitution, but also their significant differences, all of which shaped the commercial sex industry's demand for labor that human traffickers supplied.[19] The surveys of medieval prostitution in France by Leah Otis and Jacques Rossiaud demonstrate the considerable extent to which prostitution became institutionalized in medieval French

18   Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* and *Corporal Knowledge* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010).

19   Leah Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in the Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia C. Cohrane (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1996); Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

society between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, yet Bronisław Geremek's study reminds us that integration does not necessarily mean esteem; his work places prostitutes at the edges of society along with other marginalized social groups. This complex relationship between society and prostitution helps explain the lived experiences of trafficking victims and survivors, because socially, prostitution was institutionalized and integrated into medieval urban life for the profit of the elite, who often participated in the commercial sex industry as traffickers, pimps, and brothel-keepers; yet at the same time, the marginalization of prostitutes exposed sex workers to the constant danger of violence from their traffickers, pimps, and clients, as well as from secular and religious authorities.

Ruth Mazo Karras's study of prostitution in medieval England further refines our understanding of the growth of the commercial sex industry by showing that although commercial sex had organized in a few places in England, such as London, Southwark, Southampton, and Sandwich, in most places commercial sex still remained an unorganized and local socioeconomic activity, and semi-professional sex work remained the rule in England to a greater degree than in France. Karras's work in illustrating the varied nature of sex work in England has enabled me to highlight not only common patterns in prostitution between England and France, but also important differences between the two in order to demonstrate the flexibility of trafficking patterns in adapting to local circumstances.

When surveying the historiography of slavery, the slave trade, and prostitution, we are left with significant gaps in our understanding of the history of human trafficking. Slave trading and sex trafficking activities remain of secondary importance to the primary concerns of slavery or prostitution as social institutions in many works. The subjects of medieval slavery and the medieval slave trade also remain separate from the subjects of medieval prostitution and sex trafficking. Many works on medieval slavery and the slave trade are regional studies, which are detailed and sensitive to local variation but do not give us breadth and scope. In this study, therefore, I have several aims. First, I seek to shift the focus from slavery as a social institution, with all the attendant legal, economic, and cultural implications, to the slave trade itself from Late Antiquity to the early modern period. Second, I seek to transcend regional studies by incorporating and synthesizing their findings into a coherent whole that in effect spans Northern Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Eurasian Steppe. Third, in this study I bring together medieval slavery and medieval prostitution by linking the former with the latter through the experiences of women and children, and by emphasizing the continuity of human

trafficking activities from the late antique slave trade to late medieval sex trafficking networks.

Chapter One, 'Early Medieval Slave Trading,' focuses primarily on slave trading from Late Antiquity through the early Middle Ages to the beginning of the ninth century. It argues that human trafficking networks adapted and mutated to fit the socioeconomic and political environments in which they operated. Local, regional, and long-distance networks could function independently of each other or link together as circumstances warranted, and thus trafficking networks could expand and contract or converge and diverge depending on time and place. While Roman and medieval authorities made attempts to regulate, restrict, or suppress human trafficking networks, those efforts were hampered and ultimately undermined by corruption and political decentralization.

Chapter Two, 'Stuffing the Beaches,' traces the growth of long-distance trafficking networks, which emerged from interlinking regional trafficking activities over the course of the ninth century and would eventually expand to cover the distances from Iceland to the Russian interior and from Iberia to China. This chapter also considers the tenuous relationships of cooperation and competition between long-distance and regional operations and demonstrates the adaptations of trafficking activities and the evolution of trafficking patterns in order to survive in the ever-changing sociopolitical landscape of the medieval world. It compares the radically different responses of authorities to the slave trade in the Latin West and Byzantium, and finally it takes the reader forward into the twelfth century, when slavery, as a means of compelling agricultural production, had finally declined across much of Western Europe.

Chapter Three, 'Gendered Differences,' considers the links between slavery and sexual exploitation, slavery and prostitution, and trafficking and sexual exploitation in the ancient and early medieval worlds, and it demonstrates gendered differences in the experiences of adult men and those of women and children caught in human trafficking networks. It puts forward a simple argument: both men and women could expect violence and abuse in trafficking networks, but women and children could further expect sexual exploitation. The experiences of women and children link the slave trade of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages with sex trafficking in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, because for these victims and survivors the slave trade has always involved the looming threat of sex trafficking.

Chapter Four, 'The High Medieval Pivot,' traces the social and economic changes of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that permanently

altered human trafficking patterns. The growth of both Western European urbanization and its monetary economy, the widespread internalization of Latin Christian identity, and the increasing importance of religious identity vis-à-vis local or ethnic identities in European society, all contributed to the decline of slavery as a means of compelling agricultural production in Western Europe. However, this chapter does not argue for the disappearance of all forms of slavery or for the disappearance of servitude in general. It discusses the response of the long-distance slave trade as it fractured across Northern Europe and redirected away from the heart of Western Europe, towards the Mediterranean. Finally, this chapter explains the growth and development of the commercial sex industry in Western European urban areas and the roles of sex traffickers within the emerging industry.

The final chapter, 'The Late Medieval Sex Trade,' considers the socioeconomic pressures that created populations vulnerable to exploitation in late medieval Western Europe. As well as the victims and survivors, this chapter discusses the identities and roles of traffickers, clients, and authorities. It also emphasizes the role of violence in both sex trafficking and the sex industry, and scrutinizes the socioeconomic conditions surrounding the industry that encouraged and normalized the use of violence to gain and to compel labor.

Finally, on a personal note, my research into the history of human trafficking has exposed me to the wider world of modern global human trafficking activity. In the course of my work, I have had the honor and the privilege to meet and collaborate with survivors, advocates, volunteers, and professionals from all walks of life, who have devoted their time and energy to fighting modern human trafficking at the local, regional, and global levels. Speaking with survivors, I was struck by the haunting similarities of their stories to those of survivors from centuries past. Where appropriate, then, and with their permission, I will share the stories of several survivors in the Introduction as we consider the typologies of economic exchange and trafficking networks, and then later again in Chapter Five when we consider late medieval sex trafficking. To maintain some measure of privacy, I will only use their first names, and I will keep their locations to general areas of the United States; we will meet Anne, Joy, and Kris, and learn a little of their experiences with modern human trafficking. By setting the past alongside the present, I hope to highlight some of the patterns and conditions that have led and continue to lead to vulnerability and exploitation, and we shall see that although history does not repeat, it certainly rhymes.

Human Trafficking and Economic Exchange

Trafficking is first and foremost an activity of exchange. This basic observation is crucial in its simplicity because exchange takes different forms, and commercial exchange is merely one of those forms. Scholars have discerned three general types of exchange in early medieval Europe: gift exchange, exchange in kind or barter, and commercial or monetary exchange.[20] Human trafficking is nothing if not adaptive to the parameters of transaction within the society in which it occurs, and the roles of trafficked human beings mutate to conform to the system of exchange used in the moment. Owing to this mutability, in medieval exchange networks trafficking victims served as the goods, the services, and the currency.

Gift exchange occurred at all levels of society, and its primary function was the establishment and maintenance of social relationships. Reciprocity is key to this type of exchange; however, the transaction may not necessarily be equivalent between parties. A party that can give more than it receives may garner prestige and status within that society; we see this, for example, in the case of early medieval rulers, who were expected to dispense largesse.[21]

Exchange in kind, or barter, is a dominant form of transaction in areas with restricted access to currency, or where the practice of using currency is limited, or in cases where inflation makes the currency essentially worthless. Barter allows for a direct exchange of goods and services between parties without the complications associated with an intervening medium of currency, but its transactions can be difficult to negotiate, and this difficulty discourages regional and interregional exchange. Exactly how much of product or service X is worth product or service Y, and in what areas and in what times?

Finally, there is monetary or commercial exchange. Commerce never died out in medieval Europe, even if the local currency was debased and its use shrank to the urban areas around the Mediterranean and along major rivers. Currency itself was used to quantify the value of a product or service,

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20   For a detailed explanation of medieval exchange systems, see Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* 537–539, 694–700; N.J.G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe: Second Edition* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1994); Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Howard B. Clarke (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

21   For a detailed explanation of gift exchange, see Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 537–539, and 694–700; Florin Curta, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving,' *Speculum*, Vol. 81, No. 3 (Jul., 2006), 671–699.

as well as to store or hoard wealth, but has always been subject to differing exchange rates between currencies, differing values between species (such as gold and silver), and differences in the purity of the currency in terms of the percentage of precious metal present in each coin.[22]

The differences between the exchange systems in this typology are admittedly simplified and artificially sharpened to explain the shape of medieval human trafficking networks. We must bear in mind a few caveats: first, these systems were not mutually exclusive. Monetary exchange may be predominant in a local market, whereas exchange in kind may frequently occur in daily life or in rural areas where coin is scarce, and family and kinship networks are reinforced through gift exchange. For example, the slate texts of Diego Alvaro, about 31 miles south of Salamanca on the edge of the central mountains in Iberia, detail estate transactions from the Visigothic period between the years 560 and 700. Sales and debt receipts are all expressed in monetary values, but rents are expressed in kind owed to the estate owner.[23] As another example, a fragment of a mid-sixth-century estate description from Padua, *Papyri Italia 3*, is a list of rents presumably owed to the Church of Ravenna that expresses rents in currency, kind, and labor services.[24] Second, individual transactions may blur the lines between systems. For example, as Chris Wickham explains, if a vendor sells a product to a friend at a discount, is the transaction then an example of monetary or gift exchange? Because coinage is the medium of exchange, we may argue that the transaction is in fact commercial. However, we could also argue that the discount represents a gift to a friend or family member intended to maintain social relationships.[25] Last, not every monetary exchange is commercial. Government requisitions of supplies bought at arbitrary prices set by officials, such as the *annona* grain shipments to Rome and Constantinople, as well as taxes, tolls, and customs duties levied on goods, represent an exchange of currency and kind but not any commercial activity in the formal sense. As another example, while currency stores wealth and, as such, can be exchanged in a market for goods and services, coins may also be given as gifts in their own right as objects of beauty to be displayed or incorporated into personal ornamentation, again blurring the lines between gift and monetary exchange.

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22   Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, 100.
23   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* 224.
24   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* 278–279; see also Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, 63.
25   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 695–696.

If trafficking is essentially an activity of exchange, and medieval exchange took different forms, then what part did human trafficking victims play in these socioeconomic transactions? The role of victims mutated to adapt to the system of exchange of the moment, and thus they represented more than mere sources of labor. They also had transactional value. As gifts, slaves were trafficked as a means of establishing and maintaining social relationships between other parties. For example, in Visigothic Spain during the seventh century, King Chindiswinth (r. 642–653) promulgated a dower law that prohibited husbands from gifting more than ten percent of their property to their brides; however, a notable exception was made in the case of the nobility (*primates vel seniores*) who were allowed to add 1000 *solidi*, 20 horses, and 20 slave boys and girls.[26] In Anglo-Saxon England, the Winchester Manuscript, MS A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, written between the late ninth century and the middle of the tenth, notes that in 661, Wulfhere of Mercia (r. 658–675), son of Penda, raided the Isle of Wight and gave the inhabitants over to the King of Sussex, Aethelwald (fl. 660–685), because Wulfhere had received Aethelwald as a godson at the latter's baptism.[27] In seventh-century Merovingian Francia, Erchinoald, Mayor of the Palace of Neustria (d. 658), gave his Anglo-Saxon (*ex genere Saxonum*) slave girl Balthild (c. 626–680) to his lord, the Merovingian King Clovis II (c. 634–657), presumably to maintain his good standing in the eyes of the king.[28] On 18 August 841, King Louis II

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26 *Leges Visigothorum: Liber Iudicorum*, III.1.5, ed. Karl Zeumer, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges nationum Germanicarum (Hanover, 1902).

27 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (New York: Routledge, 1998), 32.

28 *Vitae Sanctae Balthildis,* III, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 2 (Hanover, 1888), 475–508, trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 99. Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding argue that Balthild's low standing was perhaps exaggerated in order to make her rise to the throne seem all the more dramatic and thus divinely guided. They contend that the *Liber Historiae Francorum* suggests that Balthild was of royal or noble birth among her people (*de genere Saxonorum*), and that because of her noble birth, her presence in the household of Erchinoald, Mayor of the Palace of Neustria, served to strengthen the social and political ties between the Anglo-Saxons and the Merovingian Franks. However, this interpretation appears to me to be a stretch. The passage Fouracre refers to in *LHF* reads, '[After Dagobert I died] Chlodovechum, filium eius, Franci super se regem statuunt; accepitque uxorem de genere Saxonorum nomine Balthilde, pulchra, omnique ingenio strenua.' The authors translate this passage as, 'The Neustrians placed his [Dagobert's] son, Clovis, over them as their king and he took as his wife a girl *from the Saxon nobility* [italics added for emphasis] named Balthild. She was beautiful and forceful in her slyness.' Yet the Latin does not give the impression of noble lineage found in their translation. It is possible that Balthild might have been a servant or a slave of an Anglo-Saxon aristocratic family, which would then explain how she later came to be in the service of Erchinoald (as a gift exchanged between aristocratic families), but this possibility is as far as I am willing to conjecture regarding her standing in Anglo-Saxon society. A noble lineage would

(r. 843–876) gifted to Abbot Gozbald of the monastery Niederaltaich 'certain goods from our property, which are located in the village of Ingolstadt,' including 22 slaves already present upon the manor in Ingolstadt. The gift was 'on account of his [Abbot Gozbald] most devoted obedience.'[29] In a charter of King Arnulf of Passau (d. 899), dated 23 June 893, Arnulf granted 'certain slaves belonging to us into the possession of the Blessed Martyrs Sts. Stephan and Valentine of the Church of Passau where our esteemed and faithful Engilmar is bishop and pastor.'[30] In the above examples, only the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight and Balthild appear to have clearly been physically moved to new geographical locations. The charters of Louis and Arnulf specify that ownership of the slaves and their duties and obligations had been transferred from royal to ecclesiastical possession, but do not indicate any physical movement of the slaves or their families, who were most likely *casati servi*, or 'hutted slaves' who lived and worked on the land that they were assigned, and who owed labor services and rents to their lords that were paid in currency and kind at the end of the harvest. Nevertheless, as property they held value in their bodies and labor, and the rights to that valuable property could be exchanged between socially superior parties to maintain and reinforce the relationships of the social elites.

In many ways, exchange in kind is the most straightforward and simple transaction involving slaves, in that it is a direct exchange of human beings for other products. The major question is exactly how many slaves for how much product? It is little wonder then that the barter of slaves is found across the ancient and medieval world, unencumbered by the shifting variables of currency supply and exchange rates or the vagaries of social relationships. Slaves were goods to be traded directly for other products. For example, Ammianus Marcellinus and Jordanes tell us that in the late 370s, when the Goths on the banks of the Danube 'had grown so weak by lack of food that they came into the Empire, the detestable [Roman] generals [Lucipinus and Maximus] thought up a most disgusting deal, and in their greed, they gathered as many dogs as possible from everywhere. For each

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not necessarily have been a prerequisite for her rise in Frankish society. In fact, her elevation from low social status to royalty is in line with other lowborn women who also rose to power among the Merovingians, as the authors also consider; see *Liber Historiae Francorum*, XLIII, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 2 (Hanover, 1888), 215–328, and Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 88, 97–98; see note 9 on 98 for other lowborn Frankish queens.

29   See Charter No. 30, ed. Paul Kehr, MGH: *Diplomata Regum Germaniae ex Stirpe Karolinorum 1* (Ludwig the German) (Berlin, 1934), as cited in Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 129.

30   See Charter No. 117, ed. Paul Kehr, MGH: *Diplomata Regum Germaniae ex Stirpe Karolinorum 3* (Arnulf) (Berlin, 1955), as cited in Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 129.

dog they traded a Goth, one dog for one slave, taking even some of their nobility into servitude.'[31] Later, in a ninth-century deed of the monastery at St. Gall, a serf granted five of his own slaves to the monastery in exchange for his own freedom and that of his wife and children.[32] When Roland, the Archbishop of Arles, was captured by Muslims in the Camargue region of southern France in 869, his ransomers agreed to exchange '150 pounds of silver, 150 cloaks, 150 swords, and 150 slaves' in return for his freedom.[33] In a deed of the diocese of Freising, dated 899, the noble widow Irmburc exchanged her lands in Mauern and a single property on the River Isar, which included 20 slaves, to the bishop of Freising for lands held by the bishopric in Berghofen, as well as rights to neighboring meadows, eight slaves, two mills, and one miller.[34] In the bishopric of Salzburg, the *Codex Odalberti* details an exchange of lands between the bishop of Salzburg and the local magnate Rahwin and his sons. Rahwin agreed to exchange two properties in the Salzburg district and 106 slaves, which had been granted to him by Duke Arnulf, in return for rights and benefices the bishop had held in Nordgau that included lands, buildings, and an equal amount of slaves.[35] In western Iberia in 995, a couple named Rodrigo Guimiriz and Bassilissa had received a slave named Adosinda via an inheritance. The couple gave Adosinda, then a three-year-old child, to their relatives, a couple named Donnan Zalamiz and Trudilo, in exchange for a share in familial property. However, the family appears to have exchanged property rights and slaves on several occasions, and Alice Rio contends that these transactions represent more than just barter; they were a means of securing and reinforcing familial ties, which blurred the line between barter and gift exchange.[36]

31   'Cum traducti barbari victus inopia vexarentur, turpe commercium duces invisissimi cogitarunt, et quantos undique insatiabilitas colligere potuit canes, pro singulis dederunt mancipiis, inter quae et filii ducti sunt optimatum.' Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri*, XXXI.4.11, trans. J.C. Rolfe, *History, Volume III: Books 27–31 Excerpta Valesiana* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939); Jordanes, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, XXVI ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH: Scriptores: Auctores antiquissimi 5.1 (Berlin, 1882).

32   *St. Gall*, I.210, as cited in Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, 160.

33   *Annales Bertiniani*, 869 ed. Georg Waitz, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim edititi 5 (Hanover, 1883), trans. Janet L. Nelson, *The Annals of St. Bertin: Ninth-Century Histories Volume 1* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 163.

34   See Deed No. 1031, *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. T. Bitterauf, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, New Series, Vols. 4 and 5 (Munich: Rieger'sche Univeritätsbuchhandlung [in Kommission], 1905/1909), as cited in Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 112.

35   Deed No. 85, 12 October 930, as cited in Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 122.

36   No. 174 (995), ed. A.H. De Carvalho e Araujo and J. Da Silva Mendes Leal, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum, Volume 1: Diplomata*

In monetary exchanges, slaves held value in their bodies because of their skills and labor potential, and they could therefore serve as a surrogate medium of exchange when hard currency was scarce. For example, in Freising and Salzburg, deeds of exchange show transfers of property between the bishoprics and neighboring lay nobility in which outstanding balances were paid through the transfer of slaves, along with other moveable wealth including livestock and tools. A Friesing deed covering a contract period between the years 859 and 875 tells us that Bishop Anno of Freising exchanged lands with a local magnate named Deotmar 'for their mutual benefit and advantage.' However, the land values were not equivalent, and Deotmar had agreed to trade more or better land than the bishop was willing or able to match. As a result, Anno agreed to pay the balance owed to Deotmar in coin. Yet while the amount owed was expressed monetarily, the balance was actually paid in moveable goods: 'four slaves, two horses, and one pound of silver.'[37] In Lombardy, a deed from 804 in the archives of the Abbey of Farfa provides payment in kind from Italian landowners to their creditors, but specifically says that their slaves are to be excepted from this payment, 'excepto mobilio, servos et ancillas manuales.'[38] In other words, just as coins store accrued wealth in their specie, slaves embodied accrued wealth in their persons that could be exchanged in lieu of currency, which was in chronically short supply in the rural areas of early medieval Europe.

As products, slaves became the objects that currency purchased in markets across Europe. For example, Balthild was brought from the lands of the Anglo-Saxons and sold in Neustria to Erchinoald for a 'cheap price' (*vili pretio*), before she became a gift to the king.[39] Nor does she appear to have been exceptional in her journey from Anglo-Saxon lands into West Francia. The roughly contemporaneous *Life of Eligius* gives the impression that there was a robust trade between the lands of the Franks and Anglo-Saxons in slaves, which we will examine in detail in Chapter One.[40]

Bishop Rimbert (830–888) tells us that during the conversion of the Danes in the middle of the ninth century, his predecessor, Bishop Anskar (801–865),

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et Chartae (Lisbon: 1867–1873), 107–108; see also Rio, *Slavery After Rome,* 147–148.

37   Deed No. 847 in Bitterauf, *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, as cited in Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 111.

38   *Registrum Farfense #175*, as cited in Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West* trans. Cynthia Postan (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), 38 (see note).

39   *Vitae Sanctae Balthildis,* II, trans. Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France,* 99, 119–120.

40   *Vitae Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis* I.10 and I.14, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 4 (Hanover, 1902), 634–741.

used the traffic in slaves to bolster the ranks of secular and regular clergy in West Francia through purchase. 'He [Anskar] also began to purchase Danish and Slav boys and to redeem some of them from captivity in order to train them in God's service. Of these, he kept some with him, while others he sent to be trained at the monastery of Turholt.'[41]

Slaves were so much more than chattel goods to be bought and sold on a whim. Certainly, their bodies and labor were well-represented on the manors of Europe, as many of the preceding examples demonstrate, but slaves might also constitute goods and services for barter, or the objects for sale on beaches or in the markets. Furthermore, they might become the method of payment for other goods, services, and benefices, or the gifts exchanged between parties in order to establish and maintain the social relationships of elites. The roles of slaves changed to suit the transactional needs of the moment. Indeed, it was this adaptability that allowed medieval European human trafficking to flourish in so many different political, economic, and social conditions.

Today, human trafficking survivors and victims continue to experience these mutable roles of exchange as they become the goods to be sold, gifted, or bartered among other parties. Joy grew up in Missouri, and her abuse started when she was an infant. At the age of three, her father exchanged her for a night with the young daughters of a local pest controller. He also brought her to auctions around the local community, and along with other children she was put up on the block and sold to the highest bidders. She did not understand that this was wrong; she thought that her experiences were normal.

Human Trafficking Networks: Long-Distance, Regional, and Local

These forms of exchange provide the socioeconomic structures that trade routes supplied with products, and human traffickers largely followed established trade routes whenever possible. Broadly speaking, I propose that we can discern three types of trafficking networks in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: long-distance, regional, and local. My typology is admittedly simplified, and we must consider how we define these categories.

41   'Coepit quoque ex gente Danorum atque Slavorum nonnullos emere pueros, aliquos etiam ex captivitate redimere, quos ad servitium Dei educaret.' *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto: Accedit Vita Rimberti*, XV ed. Georg Waitz, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 55 (Hanover, 1884). Turholt is located in Flanders between Bruges and Ypres and was built by Amandus in the seventh century; see Charles H. Robinson, *Anskar: The Apostle of the North 801–865* (London: 1921), 52; for Turholt, see ibid., 52 (note).

Geographical distance, while it may appear an obvious criterion, is neither the only nor the most important consideration in defining long-distance, regional, and local trafficking. Distance is first and foremost a relative concept. For example, 'long-distance' in terms of overland travel will generally cover much less geographical distance between termini than sea routes. Yet distance is also a question of perception. Consider, for example, that from the perspective of seafaring human traffickers, geography and distance are inverted: the world of the sea is the interior familiar space and the land is the unknown fringe; terrestrial marginality increases with distance from the shore. In other words, places linked by the sea are considered 'close,' while inland regions may seem quite distant in terms of the depth and frequency of social interaction.[42] Ergo, geographical distance alone does not define 'local,' 'regional,' or 'long-distance' routes; other factors must be included, particularly in the case of regional and local networks.

In particular, 'regional' and 'local' as definitions are contingent on the ease of travel, the distances covered, and the cultural practices, religious beliefs, languages, etc. that give rise to cultural identity within locales and regions. For example, the region of 'Francia' is much larger in area than the regions of Wessex or Mercia. Yet within any given region, local identities will also be expressed and may be more important to local societies than any greater identity of 'Frank,' 'West Saxon,' or 'Angle.'[43] The questions of identity and geographical distance are important because in many societies the enslavement of members of the community is taboo in most circumstances, and because distance is necessary to isolate the enslaved and hinder their escape. Yet if identity and distance are not quantifiable terms, how then are we to make sense of these variables that are so important to human trafficking? I propose that the distinctions between local, regional, and long-distance trafficking routes are primarily social and linguistic in nature. These sociolinguistic differences measure the 'cultural distance'

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42   Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 133. Michael McCormick argues for six factors that condition human movement. First are the locations along the journeys involved, and the second factor, closely related to the first, is the size of human populations or material resources that such movements connect. Third is the geography and ecology of the space to be traversed, and fourth is the technology available to traverse those spaces, which ties into the fifth factor, the things that need transportation. 'Self-propelling' goods, such as livestock or slaves, require different forms of transportation than, say, grain or wine shipments. The sixth and final factor concerns the cultural attitudes that condition travel, such as concepts of pilgrimage, linguistic and cultural familiarity or hostility on the part of travelers, and political necessities; see McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 65.

43   For example, see the range of immigration and business dealings between cities and their hinterlands and local identity in Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe,* 269.

that trafficking victims traverse, although geographical distance still plays an important role in isolating the enslaved, since geographical distance and unfamiliar terrain will certainly hamper slaves' ability to return to their own kinship networks.[44] However, if extensive geographical distance were the primary criterion for ensuring successful human trafficking, then local and regional trafficking networks would be much less successful and therefore less present in the sources, and this is not the case. When measuring 'cultural distance,' I choose to measure such 'distance' from the perspective of the trafficking victim, since it is the distance from her kinship groups, her homeland, and her culture that ensures her escape will be difficult and her purchase made more secure.[45]

'Long-distance' is admittedly a poor choice of phrasing, since we have already established that geographical distance is neither the only nor the most important criterion for defining trafficking routes. Yet here we are confronted with the limits of language, and, lacking a better alternative, we are consigned to using this phrase. For the purposes of this study, 'long-distance' means *both* relatively extensive geographical distance (as measured by the sea and overland standards of periods in question) *and*, importantly, extensive cultural distance relative to the victim between her community of origin and her new community. Long-distance routes reveal sharp cultural differences between the slave's original community and her new one. Differences in physical appearance serve to immediately identify her as an outsider, while cultural and language barriers ensure that the enslaved is isolated socially within an alien environment. Geographical and cultural distances are thus greatest in long-distance trafficking routes.

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44   Keith Bradley gives an apt description of the isolation that increases with geographical and cultural distance in his hypothetical picture of enslaved Britons on the way to the markets of Rome during Caesar's campaigns in 55–54 BCE; see '"The Regular, Daily Traffic in Slaves": Roman History and Contemporary History,' *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (Dec., 1991 – Jan., 1992), 130–131.

45   In fact, this 'cultural distance' may have played a key role in the process of cultural change within slave societies. As foreigners, women especially were introduced into the dominant society and, in some cases, as part of massive influxes. These captives introduced new languages, customs, and cultural practices that diffused throughout the dominant culture; see Catherine M. Cameron, 'Captives and Culture Change,' *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (April 2011), 169–209. The ability to secure their captives was (and is) a matter of economic survival for traffickers, and for purchasers it ensured a safe investment. Cultural and geographical isolation were (and are) the primary means of militating against escape, but other methods were also used including shackles, brandings, and iron and bronze collars; see for example Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), 127; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 13; Sandra R. Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 90, 94.

On the Mediterranean Sea, prevailing winds and major currents influenced long-distance trafficking routes. In summer and in winter, the prevailing winds blow from the northwest and northeast towards the south, with the major exception of the *scirocco*, which are tumultuous and hazardous for sailing. The major currents generally flow anticlockwise around the Mediterranean basin, the result of the inflow from the Atlantic Ocean through the Straits of Gibraltar and the prevailing wind patterns. Historically, eastbound and southbound voyages thus generally depended on the direction of the prevailing winds and currents, while northbound and westbound voyages required mariners to sail along the coast in order to take advantage of local coastal breezes to make headway against the prevailing winds. The routes from west to east and north to south, aided by both wind and current, usually proved faster and more direct than routes in the opposite directions.[46] These east- and southbound routes were also the primary trafficking routes that funneled slaves out of Western Europe into Byzantium, North Africa, Egypt, and the Levant. However, traffickers had other concerns besides winds and currents. Political tension and warfare on the high seas, as well as piracy, and the local socioeconomic conditions of their ports of call were all factors in determining the routes traffickers opted to take.[47]

'Regional trafficking' is defined here as trafficking routes that cross neighboring cultural border zones.[48] Generally these neighboring cultural regions will be close enough, geographically speaking, to ensure regular contact and economic interaction among neighboring regions. For example, Paul the Deacon (d. 799), in his *History of the Lombards*, tells us that during a war between the Lombards and the Avars, the Avars captured two Lombard noblewomen and sold them 'throughout various regions and [the women] secured worthy marriages on account of their noble birth; for one is said to have wedded a king of the Alamanni, and another, a prince of the Bavarians.'[49]

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46 Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 137–138; see also McCormick, 'Time Under Way,' in *Origins of the European Economy*, 469–500.

47 Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 139.

48 Peter Heather considers regional differences as the major fault lines in European socioeconomic organizations. Although these differences within socioeconomic organizations are a useful delineation of regional zones of economic activity, I prefer 'cultural' as opposed to 'regional' to underscore the point that socioeconomic organizations are also riven by cultural differences, which serve as important identifiers between groups that still may organize themselves similarly based upon common economic practices; see *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History* (London: Macmillan, 2005), 57.

49 'Quae postea per diversas regiones venundatae, iuxta nobilitatem suam dignis sunt nuptiis potitae. Nam una earum Alamannorum regi, alia vero dicitur Baioraiorum principi nupsisse.'
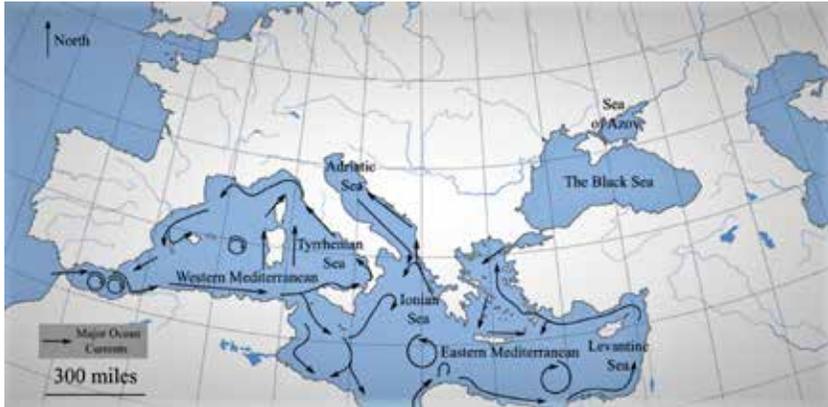
Map 0.1: Major Mediterranean Sea Currents

The crossing of cultural border zones isolates the enslaved, which reinforces their dependency upon their owners. Particularly in areas where differences in physical characteristics may be too subtle to serve as meaningful identifiers, cultural practices and patterns of speech, such as dialects, accents, and colloquialisms, help to identify enslaved individuals as outsiders and to delineate them from the wider community. Yet despite these cultural markers, escape is not impossible. The proximity of neighboring regions, especially in the case of terrestrial border zones, means that flight is always a possibility; a source of hope for the enslaved and of fear for their new owners. In the *Vita Sancti Emmerami*, 'a certain pious and wise old man' (*religioso et prudente ... senex*) was kidnapped on the road as he went to worship at the Church of St. Emmeram in Ratisbon (Regensburg). 'He came upon bandits who robbed him and having tied his hands and gagged his mouth so that he was unable to utter a word, took him over the frontier and sold him among the Franks. And the one who bought him then sold him to someone living in the northern territories of the Thuringians.'[50] The newly enslaved old man proved profitable to his new

Paul mentions that Romilda, their mother, had four daughters, of whom only two are named, Appo and Gaila. These may be the same two who were sold, but Paul does not provide any specifics. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, IV.XXXVII ed. L. Bethmann and Georg Waitz, MGH: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum 1 (Hanover, 1878), 12–187, trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 184.

50   'Incidit in latrones, qui eum expoliaverunt, vinctisque manibus, concatinato ore, ut verba exprimere non quievisset, extra terminum eicientes, eum genti Francorum venundati sunt. Quidam ex his qui eum pretio redimerat in partibus aquilonis Duringorum genti cuidam eum venundavit in coniacente confino Porathanorum genti quae ignorant Deum.' Arbeonis, *Vita vel*

owner because he was an accomplished craftsman who could also operate a mill. However, the geographical proximity as well as the cultural and linguistic similarities between Bavaria and Thuringia were sufficient for flight to be a possibility even for a victim who was considered 'old' by the standards of the day. His master pressured him to marry the widow of one of his former slaves. 'His master shrewdly rebuked him with harsh words saying, "If you do not take her [the widow] may the Lord hold me accountable if I do not turn you over to the Saxon people who are all idol worshippers. For I know from experience that if you refuse to receive a wife from me, you do not intend to remain, but, rather, are planning to escape, and I shall be cheated out of your purchase price."'[51] In this story, the problems with regional trafficking become clear. The old man, while a Bavarian, is close enough culturally to the new community in which he is enslaved and is close enough geographically to his homeland that escape becomes a real possibility. The master attempts to tie him to his new community through marriage, and moreover threatens to sell him into the Saxon community, which would remove the old man farther from Bavaria physically and isolate him further from Bavaria socially through differences in cultural and religious practices.

On the Mediterranean Sea, due to the prevailing winds regional traffic moved along the coast, taking advantage of coastal breezes. In the Eastern Mediterranean, the major ocean currents allowed for easier northbound sailing among the islands of the Aegean and the coast of the Levant. Landmarks and seamarks guided regional traders along the coast in 'chains of perceptibility' created by looking from one land- or seamark to the next, which created relationships between the visible horizon and what lay beyond, in effect making sense of a wider world beyond the immediately perceptible.[52] As an example of these regional movements, we can consider the *Hodoeporicon* or the 'Relation of a Voyage' of Saint Willibald (d. 781), composed by the Anglo-Saxon nun Huneberc of Heidenheim Abbey (fl. 760–780).

Passio Haimhrammi Espiscopi et Martyris Ratibonensis, II, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 13 (Hanover, 1920), 1–99, trans. Carl I. Hammer, in *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 133–134.

51   'Unde suusque dominus sagacissimis atque asperrimis sermonibus subiunxit, dicens: "Si eam non acciperis, haec addat mihi Dominus faciat, si non tradidero te genti Saxonorum, quae tot idolorum cultores existunt. Scio enim, si uxorem apud me recipere recusas, experimento rei fateor ut commorare minime debeas sed fugire magis adoptas, et ego ex tuoque pretio fraudatus frustra remaneam."' Arbeonis*, Vita vel Passio Haimhrammi Espiscopi et Martyris Ratibonensis*, II, trans. Carl I. Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 133–134.

52   Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea,* 125.

Willibald, as Huneberc relates, spent several years in the 720s traversing the Central and Eastern Mediterranean by island-hopping across the sea, using well-established routes that ensured the saint could find passage without much difficulty. Despite the relatively short travel legs, dangers still lurked on the open sea; Huneberc makes clear that Muslim pirates were an ever-present threat to the travelers.[53]

That such traffic was common and that human traffickers followed similar patterns of movement are demonstrated in the *Rhodian Sea Law*, which probably originates in the eighth century, roughly contemporary with Willibald and his journey. The *Sea Law* aimed to regulate behavior aboard ship, and its provisions assumed that ships would carry passengers, such as merchants who contracted ships' captains to carry their merchandise, including slaves. The captain of the ship was responsible for the value of his human cargo during transit, and that responsibility even applied in the event of escape, which distinguished slaves from the rest of his commercial cargo.[54] However, slaves were not necessarily ancillary to more important commodities such as grain or wine. They could comprise the main cargo of a ship. For example, Dorotheus of Gaza (d. 620), writing in the latter half of the sixth century, observed that a woman from the hinterlands of Gaza wanted to buy a slave girl, and waited in town until a 'ship of slaves' came in.[55] Saint Elias the Younger (823–903) was enslaved as a youth and transported to Africa around 835, among 220 other Italian captives in a vessel that must have been large for the time (although not implausibly so).[56] In 867, the Frankish monk Bernard (fl. 865–871) booked passage for

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53   *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eischstetensis et vita Wynnebaldi abbatis Heidenheimensis auctore sanctimoniale Heidenheimensis,* ed. Oswald Holder-Egger and Wilhelm Levison, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 57 (Hanover, 1905), 1–58, trans. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 151–153; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 129–134.

54   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 788; Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, 69.

55   Dorotheus of Gaza, *Doctrinae diversa I-XVII*, SC 92, VI.73, ed. J. de Preville and L. Regnault (Paris: Le Cerf, 1964).

56   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy,* 415–416. Thietmar of Merseburg describes a tenth-century Byzantine ship of war, a *salandria*, during the reign of Basileus Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) as 'a ship of marvelous length and speed, having two banks of oars on each side with space for 150 sailors.' ('Haec est, ut praefatus sum, navis mirae longitudinis et alacritatis, et utroque latere duos tenens remorum ordines, ac centum quinquaginta nautas'). Considering the Byzantine navy's role in human trafficking over the course of the early Middle Ages, it would stand to reason that many slaves would have been transported in ships of this type; see Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon,* III.23, *Patrologia Latina* 139: 1240, trans.

himself and his party aboard a slave transport and paid their fares when they disembarked in Alexandria.[57]

'Local trafficking' within a community or between neighboring communities, might entail the sale of a slave to a third party, but private sales that directly linked buyer and seller without a middleman were also common. I do not suggest that every instance of direct exchange between slaveholders is an example of local trafficking, but rather that local trafficking was much less dependent than regional or long-distance trafficking on middlemen to traverse the intervening geographic space between locales or parties. Nevertheless, local traffickers could still act as middlemen within a community to set up buyers and sellers, or as vendors of local abductees to regional and long-distance traffickers for future sale in distant markets. In some cases, the victim and the trafficker might be well acquainted, such as in cases where family members sold other family members into servitude.[58] The sale of members of the community into slavery may be taboo, but taboos are not ironclad.

On the sea, the position of local mariners in human trafficking is difficult to ascertain because sources for their activities are scarce. In many ways, local mariners were ideally suited to their environment. With small vessels and knowledge of local waters, they could remain close to shore to take advantage of landward breezes in order to sail counter to the prevailing currents, while island-hopping to ensure safety and ease in navigation. Local knowledge allowed them to be flexible in choosing their routes, and because their routes were mutable, they were difficult for local authorities to anticipate and intercept, assuming those authorities were even inclined to do so. We know that local mariners helped transport travelers and pilgrims to local sites of interest, so taking on passengers would not be extraordinary

David A. Warner, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 145.

57   *Itinerarium*, V, ed. and trans. Rev. J.H. Bernard D.D. (London: The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1897); see also McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 429.

58   Several instances will be cited of this practice, including parents selling children, husbands selling wives, and families selling their daughters. As an immediate example, the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon *Poenitentiale Theodori* (now extant in only two tenth-century texts) observes that a father was permitted to sell a son under seven years of age into slavery, but after that he needed the son's permission. At age of fourteen, the son could voluntarily enter servitude; see *Poenitentiale Theodori*, 11.12.20–24 and 11.13.1–2 in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland Vol. 3*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), 176–203, trans. John Thomas McNeill and Helena Margaret Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 179–215.

for these sailors, and their vessels could handle extra bodies, but of course, pilgrims and travelers do not need to be secured and guarded. Some local crews engaged in petty piracy during which captives could be taken, as illustrated by the dangers Willibald faced, but ultimately, local mariners-turned-traffickers had to contend with the limits of their means. Their boats were small, their crews were light, and because they made frequent overnight stops ashore, securing victims en route was problematic. Local mariners probably contributed the most to human trafficking networks as contracted transporters along local and regional coastal trade routes, and inland along rivers, canals, and in delta plains.[59]

Joy's father trafficked her as a child locally within the community, but Anne experienced regional trafficking across the midwestern United States. Anne was an adult in her forties when she was first trafficked. She lived in a small town in Missouri, where she owned her own home, her own vehicle, and had worked for fourteen years in a local factory. She met her trafficker, a trucker, on blind date arranged by a coworker. Early on in what appeared to be a normal relationship to Anne, he suggested that she quit her job and come on the road with him where she could make more money. After several months of wooing and cajoling her, he convinced her to join him on the road.

After a week and a half, once they were far away from Missouri, his demeanor changed dramatically. He became overbearing and violent. At a truck stop in Colorado, he sold Anne for rape for the first time. Thereafter, he sold her across the Midwest. Texas was the worst state for Anne, because her trafficker had friends and connections there; Texas served as his 'key state,' as she describes it. At truck stops across the state, her trafficker sold her on Craig's List. He justified her trafficking as her 'contribution,' her way to pay for the fuel and food.

Unfamiliar with the land, isolated from her family and friends, weak from malnutrition, and in fear for her life, Anne had little choice but to remain in the truck. He hid her in empty spaces beneath the bunk during routine inspections. Her toilet was a Kool-Aid pitcher; her showers were wet wipes and the monthly visit to the shower facilities at a truck stop. Yet even at the truck stop, her trafficker never left her. 'He was with me 24/7; there was no leaving his side.'

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59   Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II Vol. 1* (London: Harper and Row, 1966), 105, 296. See also Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 140, 150; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 422–425.

Having briefly outlined the shifting roles of slaves within the different types of medieval economic exchange, as well as the types of trade – long-distance, regional, and local – that funneled people into those systems of exchange, we now turn to a broad overview of human trafficking patterns across Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, which adapted to political and economic changes as they developed. In some periods long-distance trafficking abated, while local and regional trafficking intensified, and in other periods long-distance trafficking intensified, while local and regional trafficking patterns waned. Simply put, trafficking networks could operate independently from one another or cooperate with one another as circumstances permitted. Authorities might either aid or attempt to suppress traffickers, but what will become clear is that, although human trafficking is not dependent upon either decentralized political authority or strong centralized authority, and can adapt to either political climate, the suppression of human trafficking is in fact dependent upon strong centralized authority.

We will also leave Joy and Anne behind for the next several chapters as we turn to the slave trade of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. We will return to their stories when we consider late medieval sex trafficking patterns and networks later in Chapter Five. There we will also meet Kris and learn a little of her story, as we confront the uncomfortable parallels in the experiences of medieval and modern human trafficking.

1. Early Medieval Slave Trading

The image of the early medieval slave trade evokes the violence and terror of sudden raids, of slavers dealing in men, women, and children on Mediterranean beaches, and of the rancorous noise and abject humiliation of the market and the auction block. The commercial and communications networks that allowed human trafficking to flourish in Late Antiquity spanned the Mediterranean and Black Seas, but eventually fractured and regionalized over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries. This chapter will examine these trends in human trafficking patterns in detail, but before we begin, I propose two arguments. First, I argue that human trafficking is adaptive, allowing it to persist in many different socioeconomic and political environments. This adaptability is demonstrated in a number of ways. Human trafficking activity conforms to the socioeconomic systems and political environments in which it takes place, and historically traffickers were both raiders and merchants, which meant that raiding, trading, and trafficking blended and were difficult to disentangle. As the roles of raider, merchant, and trafficker merged, so too did trade routes and trafficking routes, and thus medieval efforts to suppress trafficking also meant the suppression of wider economic activity. Finally, although trafficking networks connected with one another to create wider and more intricate webs of operation, these networks could also operate independently of each other. For example, long-distance trafficking routes abated while local and regional routes persisted or even grew over the course of time, as I will demonstrate.

Second, I argue that centralized political authority is necessary to suppress trafficking; however, that centralized authority must actively commit to and maintain suppression efforts. Centralized political authority may actively engage in human trafficking activities, such as the Byzantine Empire between the eighth and eleventh centuries (which will be discussed at length in Chapter Two), or encourage human trafficking by sanctioning the slave trade, institutionalizing markets, regulating the trade to protect buyers, and by authorizing the support of bureaucratic, religious, and financial institutions for human traffickers, as the Roman Empire did at the height of its power. Conversely, a centralized political authority may encourage human trafficking by ignoring the problem or through passive acceptance, which might take the form of legislative inaction or of bureaucratic corruption or incompetence, as

demonstrated by the Late Roman Empire in the fifth century. Finally, political decentralization allows human trafficking to flourish by fracturing political authority and thus suppression efforts, a dynamic we see in the post-Roman West. The fragmentation of society along political, cultural, and religious lines creates numerous 'others' who are considered outside of one's own community and thus fair game for abduction and enslavement. The suppression of traffickers in a politically decentralized area becomes much more difficult because all polities must first agree to suppress traffickers, and then they must commit to suppression through sustained and coordinated effort.

In the Introduction, I outlined the different systems of medieval exchange and the mutable roles of chattel slaves within those different exchange systems; I also outlined a general typology of trade networks: long-distance, regional, and local. I now turn to a broad overview of human trafficking patterns across Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In some periods, long-distance trafficking abated, while local and regional trafficking intensified. In other periods, long-distance trafficking intensified, while local and regional trafficking patterns remained robust and active. Trafficking networks, whether long-distance, regional, or local, may operate independently or cooperate with one another as circumstances permit. Authorities may alternatively aid and attempt to suppress traffickers, but it will become clear that human trafficking is dependent upon neither decentralized political authority nor strong centralized authority, but rather can adapt to either political climate. However, the suppression of human trafficking is in fact dependent upon a strong centralized authority.

For the sake of clarity, I have broken our timeframe – from Late Antiquity to the twelfth century – into periods in which trafficking networks follow similar patterns. Thus we have a period of intense long-distance trafficking in the Late Empire, an abatement of long-distance trafficking and an intensification of local and regional trafficking networks from the sixth century through the eighth centuries, followed by a renewed period of intensification in long-distance trafficking operating, in conjunction with robust local and regional trafficking, from the ninth century through the first half of the eleventh. We then can observe a gradual decline in long-distance trafficking across Western Europe beginning in roughly the second half of the eleventh century that continues into the twelfth, when long-distance human trafficking patterns reoriented towards the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, local and regional trafficking networks persisted, albeit in attenuated form, across Western Europe.

The Late Empire: Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

The Roman Empire was rare in the history of ancient human civilization in that it represented a coherent political and economic system, although the degree to which that coherence affected everyday life differed in its many provinces. The Empire in the fourth century was characterized by integrated economies, long-distance exchange, and commercial production. As Kyle Harper observes, 'it was a world built around money.'[1] In general, the Roman political and economic system permeated everyday life in areas closely tied to the Mediterranean Sea, while outlying areas, such as northern Gaul, the high plateau of Anatolia, and inland Iberia, experienced Roman political power and the allure of its culture but maintained some cultural and economic autonomy from the distant capitals.[2] Long-distance human trafficking networks in Late Antiquity involved local and regional trafficking networks, as well as long-distance trafficking that piggybacked on other long-distance trade routes and well-known sea lanes that supplied Rome (and later Constantinople) and the legions with regular grain and olive oil shipments.[3] These long-distance grain shipments, known collectively as *annona*, supported long-distance trade because *annona* merchants and their contracted ship captains could use the extra storage space in their ships for goods destined for foreign markets. Laws governing imperial contracts with shippers stipulated that captains had to return to their home berths within two years of making their *annona* shipments in order to resupply for the next run.[4]

The long-distance sea lanes were thus established and maintained by these institutionalized supply runs, creating an integrated Mediterranean

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[1]   Kyle Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World: AD 275–425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13.

[2]   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 10.

[3]   Direct long-distance sea routes were not the only way to reach Rome. Textual evidence, archaeological deposits, and shipwrecks dated to the fourth and early fifth centuries indicate that secondary routes through muddy coastal waters were also options for mariners, who included former slaves; see Geoffrey E. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 142; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 83–95. For the regionalization of the military, see Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 77–80, 127, 709–711. Kyle Harper calls the *annona* shipments 'the lynchpin' of Roman Mediterranean trade networks: *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 14. See also Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire: Second Edition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 133–134, and Averil Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: AD 395–700 Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2012), 101–102, 172.

[4]   *Theodosii Imperatoris Codex*, XIII.5.26, ed. Paul M. Meyer and Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1904–1905).

economy. For example, the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, written in the fourth century by an anonymous merchant, serves as a practical guide to the best markets for cheese, wine, oils, grains, textiles, and slaves, all of which were interwoven seamlessly into wider Mediterranean trade networks.[5] The intensity of circulation, once cemented by the needs of the state, created its own patterns of commercial exchange.[6] In the West, the *annona* shipments established the main commercial routes that then continued to operate between Rome and North Africa for some two centuries after the Vandal conquests cut off the grain shipments themselves.

Long-Distance, Regional, and Local Trafficking Networks

Long-distance trade and long-distance trafficking networks were indistinguishable at this time, as evidenced by Christian diatribes against the slave trade in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. For example, John Chrysostom (349–407) presumed that slavers lived in fear of being discovered and so sold their captives in distant markets, in order to minimize the chances of the victim finding a member of her kinship network.[7] Cyril of Alexandria (376–444) excoriated not just slave traders but also their buyers, who he claimed simply feigned ignorance in order to buy foreign children whom they knew to be free.[8] In 428, Augustine (354–430) bemoaned the plight of those abducted and channeled into long-distance trafficking networks in a pained letter to his friend Bishop Alypius of Tegaste (d. 430), in modern-day Algeria: 'Many [trafficking victims] are bought back from the barbarians, but, transported to provinces across the sea, these [trafficking victims] have scant possibility of such a form of rescue.'[9]

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5   The markets of Pannonia and Mauretania were particularly fertile grounds for slavers, according to the guide. *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ed. and trans. (French) Jean Rouge (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1966); Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 14.

6   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 717–718, 819.

7   John Chrysostom, *De mutatione nominum*, *Patrologia Graeca* 51: 115; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 80–81.

8   Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, *PG* 68: 537f; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 80–81.

9   'A barbaris enim plurimi redimuntur, transporti vero in provincias transmarinas nec auxilium redemptionis inveniunt.' Augustine, *Epistle* 10.5, ed. Johnnes Divjak, *Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera: Epistolae ex Duobus Codicibus Nuper in Lucem Prolatae* (Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky KG, 1981), trans. Robert B. Eno S.S., *The Fathers of the Church: St. Augustine Letters 1*-29** (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1989), 78–79.

Hippo had to contend with more than long-distance slavers. Even as the Vandals were conquering North Africa in the 420s, Augustine wrote that regional slave traders, displaced by unrest in their usual haunts on the frontiers of the Empire near Mauritania, had then descended onto his province to purchase slaves captured in the confusion of the Vandal invasions, who were marched down to the harbor, 'like a neverending stream' (*perpetuo quasi fluvio*).[10] Regional traffickers may have been displaced from the southwest Mediterranean and the Balearic Islands, but they quickly adapted by moving farther eastwards towards Numidia. Now operating deeper inside the Empire, regional slavers turned from trafficking victims from outside the Empire to trafficking Roman citizens themselves. In effect, the Roman Empire's slave trade had begun to cannibalize its own citizens instead of feeding on others from beyond the frontier.[11] In his letter, Augustine observed with alarm the innumerable crowds of enslaved Africans waiting in the port of Hippo to be transported into the trade networks of the Empire. He gave a detailed account of the organization and violence inherent in human trafficking by describing how the demand of long-distance traffickers encouraged local suppliers. He writes,

> There are so many of those in Africa who are commonly called, 'slave dealers' [*mangones*], that they seem to be draining Africa of much of its human population and transferring their 'merchandise' to the provinces across the [Mediterranean] sea [...] Now from this bunch of merchants has grown up a multitude of pillaging and corrupting 'dealers' so that in herds, shouting in frightening military or barbarian attire, they invade sparsely populated and remote rural areas and they violently carry off those whom they would sell to these merchants.[12]

10   Augustine, *Epistle* 10.5, author's translation.

11   Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 94. Proving that abductees were Roman citizens was a difficult task in and of itself. Jennifer Glancy observes that in 307 CE a petitioner sought the release of his wife and children, who in his opinion had been abducted. The opposing party, however, claimed that the woman and children were in fact slaves whom they legally owned; see *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 79.

12   'Tanta est eorum qui vulgo mangones vocantur in Africa multitudo, ut eam ex magna parte humano genere exhauriant transferendo quo mercantur in provincias transmarinas et paene omnes liberos [...] Porro ex hac multitudne mercatorum ita insolevit seducentium et depraedantium multitudo, ita ut gregatim ululantes habitu terribili vel militari vel barbaro [et] egrestia quaedam loca, in quibus pauci sunt homines, perhibeantur invadere et quos istis mercatoribus vendant violenter abductere.' Augustine, *Epistle* 10.2, trans. Eno, *The Fathers of the Church,* 76–77.

Regional and long-distance traffickers here played a pivotal role in supplying the Roman slave trade with bodies, by acting as middlemen who purchased these bodies from local raiders and then transported those victims to slave markets across the Empire, with a commensurate increase in price.[13] More importantly, from a structural perspective, long-distance and regional trafficking networks depended upon (and thus inspired and encouraged) the activities of 'homegrown' sets of local traffickers, who used their local knowledge to determine the most vulnerable populations for abduction and exploitation. Local traffickers – those responsible for the actual home invasions and abductions – then sold their victims to regional and long-distance traders on the shores of the Mediterranean in ports such as Hippo. Augustine recognized the violent dynamics of supply and demand among local, regional, and long-distance traffickers, and he contended that regional and long-distance slavers from across the Empire created a demand for bodies that local traffickers then supplied by committing acts of aggression on isolated free peoples: 'If there were not traders such as these [regional and long-distance traffickers], things like this [kidnapping, home invasion, and murder] would not be done. I don't believe in the least that this evil that goes on in Africa is entirely unknown where you [Alypius] are.'[14]

Although trafficking networks increasingly relied on illegally abducted Roman citizens to supply the demand for slave labor in the late fourth and fifth centuries, regional traffickers continued to funnel human beings who were captured on the frontiers and in areas of instability into the more stable interior of the Empire. In order to expedite the sale of their victims, regional and long-distance traffickers worked in partnerships with local agents in provincial markets, who were more knowledgeable about the immediate political and economic conditions, the local demand for slaves, as well as the potential local supplies of slaves. These agents were thus well positioned to distribute their partners' human cargo among vendors, buyers, and markets before the slave ships even arrived in port.[15]

Regional trafficking networks linked together in order to move slaves captured on the borders of the Empire into its vast web of regional and long-distance trade networks, which were linked by markets at Constantinople, Delos, Ephesus, Puteoli, and of course Rome itself.[16] Ammianus Marcellinus

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13   Moses I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 85.
14   'Mercatores autem si non essent, illa non fierent. Nec sane arbitror hoc Africae malum etiam illic ubi estis famam tacere.' Augustine, *Epistle* 10.3, trans. Eno, *The Fathers of the Church,* 77–78.
15   Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World*, 89–90.
16   Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World*, 89.

(c. 330–395) reported that the Galatians were a major group of regional slavers on the northern borders of the Empire, operating along border-crossing zones between the Empire and Thrace. He writes that during the reign of Julian (r. 361–363), 'Galatian merchants were equal to the Goths, by whom they were sold everywhere with no regard for their condition.'[17] Augustine later named them as major players in the long-distance networks operating from North Africa.[18] The Galatians were not the only regional and long-distance traffickers in the later Empire, however: as Ammianus records, in 372 a Roman officer under the Emperor Valentinian happened upon unidentified traffickers in Germanic territory, across the River Rhine. According to Ammianus, 'because he [the officer] did not trust the guards [the traffickers] he happened to find there leading slaves to sale, who might quickly flee to report what they had seen, he, having seized their merchandise [the slaves], slaughtered them all.'[19]

Although numerous examples of regional and long-distance trafficking can be found in annals, sermons, and letters, local trafficking also features abundantly in transactions preserved on papyri across the Mediterranean basin. Widespread ownership of slaves, as well as natural reproduction, meant that owners did not necessarily need a middleman to find or to sell people, but could instead engage in direct transactions with other parties as household needs changed over time.[20] Direct sale and exchange were so common within local urban economies or within wealthy social circles in the Empire that all extant sales records were transfers of one or a few slaves by private owners; slave traders are barely visible in the papyri.[21] A middleman was unnecessary when slaves were born directly into households.

The Role of the Imperial Authorities

Human traffickers may operate within strong centralized states or politically unstable areas. A strong centralized state may actively aid traffickers

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17   'Illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas, per quos ubique sine condicionis discrimine venundantur.' Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri*, XXII.7.8, trans. J.C. Rolfe, *History, Volume II: Books 20–26* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940).
18   For Augustine's indictment of the Galatians, see note 32 on page 50.
19   The officer notably kept the slaves whom he had seized from the traffickers, although whether he later sold them, divided them among his men, or kept them for himself, Ammianus does not say. 'Et quia suspicabatur venalia ducentes mancipia scurras, casu illic repertos, id quod viderant, excursu celeri nuntiare, cunctos mercibus direptis occidit.' Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri*, XXIX.4.4.
20   Wells, *The Roman Empire*, 198.
21   Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 73; Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World*, 149–150.

through state-sanctioned social, legal, and commercial structures. For example, like the wine markets of Ostia, the slave markets of Rome had their own protective spirit; the Roman state religion recognized the *genius venalicii*, the spirit of the slave dealer to whom vendors made regular dedications, which gave the markets legitimacy through divine sanction. Religious festivals were prime opportunities to purchase slaves. Cassiodorus (490–585) remarked that during the Leukothea festival in southern Italy, the countryside became like a city because of the number of boys and girls of all ages who were for sale.[22]

The *Edict of the Aediles*, mentioned in extant sales contracts of the period, regulated the slave markets by stipulating information that the vendor was required to provide the buyer prior to purchase, protected the buyer against potential fraud, and set the conditions for return policies for purchased slaves.[23] Financial institutions, such as the state bank of Rhodes, directly sponsored slave auctions or operated in conjunction with them, and offered credit and debit services for vendors and buyers who held accounts with the bank. For example, a papyrus document in the Oxyrhinchus collection details the sale of a North African girl by a certain Aurelius Quintus of Caesarea, in a slave auction at Rhodes sponsored by the bank. Kyle Harper interprets the document as evidence of institutional financial support of long-distance trafficking networks. In his view, Quintus is a trafficker from Mauritanian Caesarea who sold the girl at Rhodes, an important slave market in the Eastern Mediterranean. An Egyptian slave dealer bought the girl in Rhodes, and then sold her in Egypt.[24] The state further legitimized the sale of human beings through a system of panels made up of minor bureaucrats who certified a person's enslaved status and helped the new owner complete the paperwork necessary to finalize ownership.[25]

Particularly in cases where a centralized government encourages trafficking, or where local officials are corrupt, or in areas of political instability and decentralization, human trafficking flourishes. Rather than attempt to quash trafficking, Rome sought to regulate it and ensure that legally free

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22   Cassiodorus, *Variarum Libri*, 8.33.4, ed. A.J. Fridh (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1973). See also Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 432–433; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 98.

23   Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World*, 95–96; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 86; Bradley, "'The Regular, Daily Traffic in Slaves,'" 127–129.

24   *Papyri Oxyrinchus* 50.3593 (AD 238–244); on the web at www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk. Last accessed on 2 February 2020. See also Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 87.

25   Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 357.

Romans were not caught up in trade.[26] However, as Moses I. Finley, Jacques Ramin, and Paul Veyne have all noted, there is a profound difference between regulations in theory and in practice. Corruption and poor access to the legal system helped insulate the trade from legal repercussions by ensuring that, once enslaved, the victims had little recourse to remedy their plight.[27] For example, the slave himself, rather than an advocate for the slave, had to file suit in the case of wrongful enslavement, otherwise the state would not intervene; yet gaining access to the legal system and avoiding the wrath of the owner made legal relief for the enslaved difficult to obtain.[28] Moreover, there was a layer of insulation between the illegal sources of slavery (such as the abduction of free citizens) and the slaveholder who purchased the slave. The slave trader acted as a middleman and was technically at fault, if the purchaser had made the transaction in good faith.[29]

However, bringing charges against slave traders who operated across the Empire was challenging, because even when the state acted to regulate the trade, its success ebbed and flowed with the political fortunes of the imperial authorities. For example, Augustine waxed nostalgic about the ability of imperial efforts to curb illegal trafficking networks in earlier times. 'It was infinitely less serious earlier, when Emperor Honorius sent a decree to Prefect Hadrian, repressing traffic of this sort [the abduction and sale of free persons into slavery], sentencing such wicked 'businessmen' to be flogged with leaden thongs, proscribed, and sent into perpetual exile.'[30] 'Less serious' is a relative term, and trafficking had been a problem even at the height of imperial power, but as centralized control over the Empire weakened, the effort to regulate traffickers became ever more dependent upon local officials who, because of their local roots and connections, were

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26   Harper, 'Citizenship and civil conflict: slave status after the Antonine Constitution,' in *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 367–390; see also ibid., 364–369.

27   Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 187; Jacques Ramin and Paul Veyne, 'Droit romain et société: les hommes libres qui passent pour esclaves et l'esclavage volontaire,' *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 30, H. 4 (4th Qtr., 1981), 471.

28   Rahmin and Veyne, 'Droit romain et société,' 475.

29   *Codex Justinianus*, 8.44.18, 24–25; 3.15.2 edited by Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, Rudolf Schoell, and Wilhelm Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 3 Volumes (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928–1929).

30   'Quod incomparabiliter longe minus fuit, quando tamen imperator Honorius ad praefectum Hadrianum legem dedit huiusmodi cohibens mercaturas talisque impietatis negotiatores plumbo cohercendos et proscribendos et in exilium perpetuum censuit esse mittendos.' Augustine, *Epistle* 10.3, trans. Eno, *The Fathers of the Church*, 77–78. Finley observes that we have no other reference to this law; however, he notes that the multiple prohibitions against the sale of free children into slavery, while already lacking enforcement, were being further undermined by frequent official exemptions. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 188.

likely to know local traffickers and were thus susceptible to bribery, if they did not participate in the trade themselves. Augustine observed that the political conditions surrounding the regulation of human trafficking had deteriorated and that widespread corruption among local officials necessitated episcopal intervention to combat the slave trade. He continues in his letter to Alypius, 'Now, if we do nothing for them [trafficking victims], who can easily be found (if he has some authority in coastal areas) who does not sell them more advantageously for the cruelest sea voyages, rather than take even one of these unfortunates off a ship or even not allow them to be put on a ship in the first place?'[31] He then describes a clash of competing interests that resulted when local prelates intervened to protect their congregations from traffickers by jointly issuing a letter to the slavers, ordering a cessation of their activities against members of the Church of Hippo. Episcopal authority without firm imperial backing meant little, however, and the slavers apparently had their own official support from local administrative officials. Faced with intransigence among local slavers and corrupt officials, the Church of Hippo then organized a vigilante raid and freed 120 slaves in the immediate environs of the city. However, the slavers immediately counterattacked to recapture their chattel. Augustine writes,

> For these Galatians do not lack advocates, with whose support they demand back from us those whom the Lord has freed, restored through the action of the Church, even those already restored to their own families who had been seeking them and who came to us with letters from bishops [...] Despite the fact that a letter has come from an authority whom they should fear [i.e. episcopal authority], they have in no way halted their efforts to retrieve their captives.[32]

Official corruption was a problem across the Empire, not just in Numidia. In a panegyric to Emperor Valens (364–378) delivered before the Senate, Themistius (c. 317–388) observed that along the Danube, 'The Goths could

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31   'Quoniam nobis nihil illis agentibus quis facile inveniri potest qui non, si habet aliquam in litoribus potestatem, eis navigationes crudelissimas vendat quam de navi quemquam miserorum christiana vel humana miseratione deponat vel in navi non permittat imponi.' Augustine, *Epistle* 10.4, trans. Eno, *The Fathers of the Church*, 78.

32   'Non enim desunt patroni Galatis, per quos a nobis repetant quos dominus per ecclesiam liberavit etiam suis iam quaerentibus et nos cum litteris episcoporum propterea venientibus redditos [...] si litteris a potestate quam timere poterant supervenientibus [illegible] nec tamen omnimodo ab ista repetitione cessarunt.' Augustine, *Epistle* 10.8, trans. Eno, *The Fathers of the Church*, 80.

see that our fort commanders and garrison leaders were actually merchants and slave dealers, since this is essentially their only occupation, to buy and sell as much as they could.'[33] In the aforementioned accounts of Ammianus Marcellinus we may recall that, according to the author, Roman generals were responsible for the deal in which Goth children were exchanged for dog meat, and that Julian's officer assumed custody of the murdered traffickers' captives. Whether these Roman officers were actually guilty of the charges Ammianus puts forth is not as important as the fact that this sort of local corruption was apparently so endemic that such behavior was considered perfectly believable by the author and his audience.

Rome never managed to exert complete control over all areas of its empire at any one time, and the danger of abduction was ever-present. Nearly all of the individual slaves whose origins are specified in literary or epigraphical sources were either from Italy or from provinces within the Empire.[34] The Greek words for 'kidnapper' and 'slave trader' are semantically equivalent,[35] and Church fathers railed against slave traders who lured children away with sweets and dice games, a constant worry of vigilant fathers. Athanasius (d. 373) observed that slavers waited for parents to leave their children alone in order to snatch them away.[36] Augustine feared for runaway children who fled their parents in anger only to fall into the hands of slave traders, as well as for isolated village communities whose men were murdered in slavers' search for women and children.[37] While the language was meant to be rhetorical and proverbial, it nevertheless spoke clearly to the anxiety of the age, or such rhetoric would have failed to sway parental behavior.[38]

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33   Themistius, *Orationes*, 10.135c-6, ed. Guilielmo Dindorfio, *Orationes ex Codice Mediolanensi* (Leipzig: C. Cnobloch, 1832); see also Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 85.

34   Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, 128. We must also bear in mind that slave 'origins' may reflect their last location of sale before their final destination on the market auction block, not necessarily their place of birth. For demographic estimates on endogenous and exogenous slave origins relative to imperial citizenship, see Walter Scheidel, 'Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire,' *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 87 (1997), 164.

35   Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 80; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 87.

36   Athanasius, *Epistola ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, PG 25: 540; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 80.

37   Augustine, *In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus, PL* 35: 2033; *Epistle* 10.3, trans. Eno, *The Fathers of the Church*, 77–8.

38   Jennifer Glancy, Kyle Harper, and Walter Scheidel suspect that child abandonment and natural birth were probably much greater sources of slaves than kidnapping, despite the rhetoric. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 79–80; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 25, Scheidel, 'Quantifying the Sources of Slaves,' 156–169. For Roman anxiety over free children abandoned and then wrongly enslaved, see John Boswell, 'Rome: The Historical Skeleton,' in *The Kindness*

However, if the dangers of abduction were real and immediate within the Empire, the scale of the sale of children and infants is nevertheless difficult to determine since such activities have left little evidence in the extant records. Romans viewed the sale of children as barbaric, a crime against decency that demarcated Roman civilization from the 'barbarian other' beyond the frontiers. Nevertheless, Roman rescripts demonstrate that the sale of children within the Empire did in fact produce court cases, even if Roman literary references regarding the sale of youths appear to be indictments against foreign peoples in general, as opposed to concrete individual cases. As John Boswell has observed, there was an inherent tension between official imperial policy, which refused to allow for the reduction of free Romans into slavery, and the reality that parents could and did sell their children into servitude as circumstances dictated.[39] As time went on, in the fourth century a growing focus on the plight of the poor by prominent Christians such as John Chrysostom, Augustine, and Cyril of Alexandria thrust the sale of children into the public discourse.[40] In sermons and letters from this period, some culprits were Roman parents rather than barbarians. As Augustine observed, 'Only a few are found to have been sold by their parents and these people buy them, not as Roman laws permit, as indentured servants for a period of 25 years, but in fact they buy them as slaves and sell them across the sea as slaves.'[41] Roman law seems to have followed public concern over the practice of child sale, but it struggled to accommodate the practice in the legal structures of the Empire.[42]

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of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 53–94; for social anxiety over abduction and sale into prostitution in the Late Empire, see ibid., 95–97.

39   Harper, Slavery in the Late Roman World, 80–81. The papyri that preserve the sale of children generally do not acknowledge the mother and never acknowledge the father, which suggests that these were children born into slavery to slave mothers by free fathers; see Glancy, Slavery in Early Christianity, 5. Although the practice of child sale appears relatively uncommon, nevertheless, sales of children into slavery by parents were frequent enough to warrant legal regulations; see Boswell, The Kindness of Strangers, 65, 68.

40   For more information on Church Fathers and slavery, see Peter Garnsey, Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Glancy, Corporal Knowledge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) and Slavery in Early Christianity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); John Francis Maxwell, Slavery and the Catholic Church: The History of Catholic Teaching Concerning the Moral Legitimacy of the Institution of Slavery (Chichester and London: Barry Rose Publishers, 1975).

41   'Nam vix pauci reperiunter a parentibus venditi quos tamen non ut leges Romanae sinunt, operas viginti quinque annorum emunt isti, sed prorsus sic emunt ut servos et vendunt trans mare ut servos.' Augustine, Epistle 10.2, trans. Eno, The Fathers of the Church, 76–77.

42   Harper, Slavery in the Late Roman World, 80, 395–396.

From Centralization to Decentralization

Long-distance trafficking may have flourished in the first decades of the fifth century, but the *annona* shipments, the lynchpin for long-distance trade that also facilitated long-distance human trafficking, could only be maintained as long as Rome perpetuated its hegemony over the Mediterranean Sea and its surrounding provinces. Long-distance patterns of trade were already shifting gradually in the fourth and fifth centuries as the legions regionalized in the West and were increasingly supplied from their own hinterlands.[43] The first blow to pan-Mediterranean commerce came in 439 CE with the Vandal conquest of Carthage in North Africa. From then on, the *annona* shipments to Rome ceased,[44] but while the overall intensity of trade appears to dwindle over the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, by the end of the fifth century African wares were again growing in proportion to Eastern wares in excavation sites such as the port of Marseilles.[45] North Africa seems to have re-established trade connections across the Western Mediterranean, even if the volume of that trade had diminished over the course of Vandal rule. Consequently, we may say that although the engine of long-distance trade in the Western Mediterranean was cut in 439, long-distance trade across the Mediterranean continued to coast for two centuries thereafter, a testament to the endurance of the trade routes the Empire had established and perpetuated.

For the city of Rome, however, this century – between Carthage falling to the Vandals and Carthage subsequently falling again to Justinian's forces in 533– witnessed the continuing depopulation of the Eternal City. Economically, the West was characterized by growing regionalization of commercial activity. Long-distance trade still occurred in the former western provinces

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43   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 77–80, 127.

44   Based upon archaeological evidence of African Red Slipware pottery distribution, it appears that North African trade with Rome was already in decline before the Vandal invasions. The archaeological record also shows an increase in Eastern pottery over the course of the fifth century, which suggests that traffic from the Eastern Mediterranean branched off for a short time into the Western Mediterranean to fill the vacuum left in the wake of the Vandal conquests. For a detailed discussion of the shift towards east–west long-distance Mediterranean trade and of local and regional trade within the Western Mediterranean, see Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 110–117; Cameron, *The Mediterranean World*, 101–102; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 113–117; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 79.

45   For discussions on late antique and early medieval Mediterranean pottery circulation, see Cameron, *The Mediterranean World*, 101–102, 156; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 101; Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, 104–109.

of the Empire, but more and more frequently such activity now involved a relay of merchants operating within interlinking commercial zones. The earlier age of exchange involving massive, centralized, and regularized shipments of goods between major ports across the Mediterranean was over. Long-distance trade moved one way: from east to west. Yet local and regional traffic within the Western Mediterranean, which connected smaller centers of consumption and production and had never disappeared even at the height of Roman imperial power, continued; the importance of this traffic intensified as long-distance trade with the Eastern Mediterranean abated, as demonstrated by the increasing amount of local and regional pottery wares present in the archaeological record of the sixth and seventh centuries.

With the demise of Roman political hegemony in the West, the socioeconomic contours of change broadly follow a pattern of decentralization. The economic integration of the peripheral Western Roman provinces and the Mediterranean, as well as the widespread use of common currencies and a uniform law code, were all lost over the course of the late fifth and sixth centuries.[46] The volume and geographical scale of trade, state-subsidized movements of goods, and taxation all contracted and regionalized. This regionalization affected different areas in different ways but, broadly speaking, areas most closely tied into the Mediterranean economy were most affected, with the major exception being southern Italy, which was still tied into the trade routes of Byzantium. Areas that were less tied into the Mediterranean world were less affected, thanks to localized exchange networks that had remained integral to local economic life. However, there were major exceptions: these included inland Iberia (outside of Byzantine control) and Britain, where the collapse of Roman culture was swift and nearly complete.[47]

This understanding of the Roman economic trajectory from integration and centralization to regionalization and decentralization is key to understanding human trafficking networks during the transition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. With decentralization and regionalization, the rates of consumption and market production had diminished, and as they went so, too, did the Roman slave system. Endemic warfare meant that enslaved peoples still periodically flooded the markets, even as political instability weakened the very economy that created the demand for slave labor in the first place, and this led to crashes in prices. Writing after an

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46   Wells, *The Roman Empire*, 220; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 15.
47   Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, 110–117; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 719, 725, 772, 827.

attempted coup by Goth *foederati*, Synesius of Cyrene (c. 370–413) expressed his fear of Roman dependency upon Goth slaves and the danger of revolt in Constantinople and in the provinces. 'Every house, however humble, has a Scythian [Goth] for slave. The butler, the cook, the water-carrier, all are Scythians, and as to retinue, the slaves who bend under the burden of the low couches on their shoulders that their masters may recline in the streets, these are all Scythians also.'[48] Rhetorical embellishment and Synesius' intense personal disdain for the Goths aside, the passage nevertheless suggests that upheaval along the frontier had created a buyer's market for Goth slaves by the beginning of the fifth century. Herwig Wolfram makes a similar observation about the state of the slave market following the 406 defeat of the rebel Radagaius, a Goth and aspiring king, by the Roman general Flavius Stilicho (d. 408). He writes, 'When the captured Radagaius Goths were sold into slavery, the slave market collapsed.'[49] Simply put, the supply of slaves overwhelmed the demand for bodies and the ability of the market to absorb such a sudden glut. This dynamic only intensified over the course of the fifth century as the increasing political instability decreased the demand for slaves, since 'both the consumption power of the middling classes and the elite's ability to control market-oriented production were eroded in the early medieval world in which there was far less exchange.' Thus the political and economic conditions changed across the Roman Empire over the course of the fifth century to such an extent that the fourth and early fifth centuries represents the last phase of a politically united and economically integrated Mediterranean.[50]

The Post-Roman West: Britain in the Sixth through the Eighth Centuries

With the exception perhaps of inland Iberia, no region of the Roman Empire in the West appears to have suffered as swift and as complete a collapse

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48 Synesius of Cyrene, *De Regno*, XV, *PG* 66: 1093. See also Alan Cameron and Jacqueline Long, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 109–111.

49 Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 170. Wolfram based his observations on Paulus Orosius' comments in *Historiarum Libri Septem*, VII.37.16, *PL* 31: 1161, 'Tanta vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuisse fertur, ut, villissimarum pecudum modo, singulis aureis passim greges hominum venderentur.' See also Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, 32.

50 Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 16, 30–31.

of Roman culture as Britain. Within the span of 60 years, from the 360s to the 420s, Roman life in the province disintegrated. Britain had a modest production economy and organized industry under the Empire, but its economic vitality was founded upon mass commercial exchange of low-value agricultural and manufactured goods. This exchange was only viable so long as there was a dense network of small towns that provided access to wider imperial trade networks through their local markets.

As it happened, a series of internal political disasters (themselves tied into larger imperial political upheavals) befell the province at the same time as pressure from external raids and incursions was increasing. The combination of internal and external pressures fractured the political peace and stability of the province in the latter half of the fourth century and required more resources to repair than either Britain or the Empire could afford.[51] Robin Fleming argues that at some point in the 360s or early 370s, the gradual socioeconomic erosion of Britain – ongoing since the 340s – passed a tipping point. Roman social and economic life unraveled completely before the end of the 420s. The household economies of Roman villas began to collapse the 360s; urban life disappeared, towns and villages ceased to exist in the early decades of the fifth century.[52] Old Roman fortifications and Bronze and Iron Age earthenwork structures were reoccupied; cities and towns of stone and tile withered, while small villages of timber houses with packed earthen floors grew at the junctions of overland local and regional trade routes, as well as at the confluences and fording points of major rivers and streams.[53] As in the Mediterranean basin, in Britain, too, herders and their animals had already established these overland routes long before the Romans had arrived, and in some cases these became the main arteries of transport and communications and remained in use for centuries.[54] The arrival of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes into England was clearly not the cause of Britain's collapse, and their settlement was marked by local warfare in some areas, cooperation and assimilation in other areas, and by reoccupation of abandoned lands in still other places.[55]

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51   Robin Fleming, *Britain After Rome: The Fall and Rise 400–1070* (London: Penguin Group, 2010), 22–23.

52   H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962), 16–17.

53   Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20–22; Fleming, *Britain After Rome,* 32–39.

54   Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 63.

55   For a discussion of Anglo-Saxon migrations to England, see Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 39–42, Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13–15, 47, and James Campbell et al. *Anglo-Saxon England*
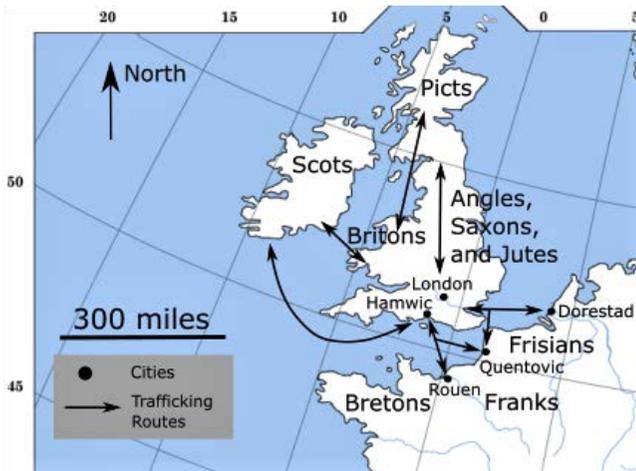
Map 1.1: Insular Trafficking Patterns from the Fifth through the Seventh Century CE

Regional and Long-Distance Trafficking Networks in Britain

The late fifth and sixth centuries are almost devoid of sources for Britain, but not entirely: we may yet glimpse some activity regarding regional trade and, in turn, regional human trafficking. For example, in the latter half of the sixth century, Germanus of Paris (c. 496–576) attempted to redeem enslaved Picts (among others) in France, indicating that cross-channel trafficking had not disappeared even as Britain's links with other former Roman provinces withered.[56]

Similar details of regional trafficking across the English Channel emerge in the mid-sixth-century *De Exicidio Britanniae*, roughly contemporary with the life of Germanus of Paris. Authored by the monk Gildas (c. 500–570), probably in the 540s, it describes the coming of the pagan Angles and Saxons and their conflicts with the native Britons. *De Excidio Britanniae* is a scathing polemic against the native Britons: Gildas repeatedly accuses them of forsaking their Christian faith, to the ruin of their island at the hands of the pagans, who by the 540s were expanding into Roman Briton territory once more after a period of relative peace in the early sixth century. He writes,

(London: Penguin Group, 1991) against Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) for migration, assimilation, and reoccupation against invasion.

56   'Unde sunt contiguae gentes in testimonium, Hispanus, Scottus, Britto, Wasco, Saxo, Burgundio, cum ad nomen beati concurrerent, undique liberandi iugo servitii.' Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Germani*, LXXII ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH: Scriptores: Auctores antiquissimi 4.2 (Berlin, 1885).

> Some [Britons], therefore, of the miserable remnant, being taken in the mountains, were murdered in great numbers; others, constrained by famine, came and yielded themselves to be slaves for ever to their foes, running the risk of being instantly slain, which truly was the greatest favor that could be offered them: some others passed beyond the seas with loud lamentations instead of the voice of exhortation.[57]

Although Gildas was mainly concerned with demonstrating the punishments of neglecting one's Christian faith, as a warning to readers in his own day (particularly as greater numbers of Angles and Saxons settled in Britain), nevertheless the picture of peoples being carried off into captivity 'beyond the seas' is certainly plausible. Saxon raiders had repeatedly attacked Roman Britain in the late fourth century, and they had been harrying its coasts and taking captives since the fifth century, as Sidonius Apollinarius (d. 489) makes clear in his letter to Namatius, a Gallo-Roman naval officer under the Visigothic King Euric (d. 484).[58] We may presume that travel – and thus trade – between settlers in Britain and their kinship networks in northern Germany and Denmark had remained constant enough for news of current events in Britain to return to those areas and encourage further emigration to the island.

Only 50 years after Gildas wrote, the Angles themselves had become victims of cross-channel trafficking networks between Britain and the Continent, possibly via Bordeaux, Quentovic, or Frisia.[59] In a letter dated to September 595, Pope Gregory I (r. 590–604) instructed his representative, a priest named Candidus, to buy Angle boys (*pueri Angli*) who were for sale in southern Gaul.[60] David Pelteret suspects the likely market was Marseilles, which was still an important commercial center for the slave trade.[61] Regardless of where the boys were sold, Gregory's letter confirms that knowledge of Angle slaves available for purchase deep within the Continent had reached as far as Rome by the end of the sixth century.

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57   'Nonnulli miserarum reliquiarum in montibus deprehensi acervatim iugulabantur: alii fame confecti accedentes manus hostibus dabant in aevum servituri.' *De Excidio Britanniae*, XXV, ed. and trans. John A. Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), 312.
58   Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistle* VIII.VI, ed. and trans. W.B. Anderson, *Letters 3–9* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 429–433.
59   Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 65.
60   *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 1*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), 5.
61   David Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading in Early England,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 9 (1980), 104; see also Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I*, 270.

Moreover, the traffic in Angle youths within southern Gaul was apparently so consistent that not only could word of it reach Rome, but also that Gregory could reasonably assume that his representative would be able to journey to the slave markets after having received his letter and would still be able to find some children available for purchase. Furthermore, this letter allows us to view the famous anecdote of Gregory in the Roman slave markets as more than just a whimsical tale spun by Bede (c. 672–735).[62] The story itself may be apocryphal, but the pope was nonetheless aware that Angle children were being trafficked into Mediterranean markets. These few scraps of information available to us for the fifth and sixth centuries, paltry although they are, nevertheless indicate that regional human trafficking networks between Britain and the Continent were not ad hoc exchanges occurring as chance dictated. Instead, they were a part of regular cultural and economic cross-channel exchange taking place by the middle of the sixth century.[63]

In the late fifth century and throughout the sixth, insular trafficking networks appeared to have run north into Pict territory and west across the Irish Sea, as Adomnan of Iona (c. 628–704) relates much later in his seventh-century *Life of Saint Columba*.[64] The early life of Saint Patrick (died c. 460) sheds light on these insular trafficking networks. Patrick tells us in his *Confessio* of his capture in Britain by Irish raiders in the early fifth century:

> My name is Patrick [...] My father was Calpurnius. He was a deacon; his father was Potitus, a priest, who lived at Bannavem Taburniae. His home was near there, and that is where I was taken prisoner. I was about sixteen at the time [...] I was taken into captivity in Ireland, along with thousands of others [...] The Lord brought his strong anger upon us and

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62   Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, II.I, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: 1888).

63   Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 41. Narrative sources indicate that cultural and economic exchange between Britain and the Continent had become so integrated by the late sixth century that the Merovingian rulers Charibert and Ingobertha were willing to marry their daughter, Bertha, to King Aethelbert of Kent, although the exact date of the wedding is unknown; see Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, IV.26, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum (Hanover, 1951); Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, 1.25, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (NY: Dorset Press, 1968), 69. For a discussion of cross-channel connections present in the archaeological record, see in Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 46–58.

64   For Pict slaveholders, see Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 398–405; for the Irish, ibid., 422–428.

scattered us among many nations even to the ends of the earth. It was among foreigners that it was seen how little I was.[65]

Muirchu's *Vita sancti Patricii*, a seventh-century hagiographical work based upon Patrick's *Confessio*, gives further details of the slave trade between Ireland and England. The *vita* likely reflects more accurately the reality of Muirchu's own century than that of the fifth, but generally Muirchu follows the contours of the *Confessio* while emphasizing the religious divides within society that promoted mass enslavement and trafficking:

Patrick, also named Sochet, a Briton by race, was born in Britain. His father was Cualfarnus, a deacon, the son (as Patrick himself says) of a priest, Potitus, who hailed from Bannauem Thaburniae, a place not far from our sea [...] As a boy of sixteen he was taken captive together with others, was brought to this barbarian island, and was held in servitude by a harsh pagan king [...] After many hardships that he endured in that country[...] he left the pagan ruler [...] and [...] at the age of 23, sailed in the ship that was awaiting him, together with strangers – aliens and pagans, who worshipped many false gods – to Britain.[66]

The *Confessio* of Patrick and his later seventh-century *vita* provide a fair amount of information about insular trafficking patterns. We know that Patrick grew up near the old Roman road known as Watling Street, and his community was therefore vulnerable to domestic and foreign raiders, who do not appear to have operated in isolation among the Isles of Britain and

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65 'Ego Patricius [...] patrem habui Calpornium diaconum filium quendam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit vico bannauem taburniae villulam enim prope habuit, ubi ego capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim [...] Hiberione incaptivitate adductus sum cum tot milia hominum [...] et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suae et dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad ultimum terrae, ubi nunc parvitas mea esse videtur inter alienigenas.' *Confessio*, I, ed. Ludwig Bieler and trans. Padraig McCarthy (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies and the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2011).

66 'Patricius, qui et Sochet uocabatur, Brito natione in Britannís natus, patre Cualfarni diacono ortus, filio, ut ipse ait, Potiti presbiteri, qui fuit uico Bannauem Thaburniae, chaut procul a mari nostro [...] Annorum sedecim puer cum ceteris captus in hanc barbarorum insulam aduectus est et apud quendam gentilem immitemque regem ii seruitute detentus [...] Post multas ibi tribulationes [...] cum ignotis barbaris gentilibusque hominibus multos et falsos deos adorantibus iam in naui sibi parata deserto tiranno gentilique homine cum actibus suis et accepto caelesti eternoque Deo in comitatu sancto ex praecepto diuino aetatis suae anno uigesimo tertio ad Britannias nauigauit.' Muirchu, *Vita sancti Patricii*, I.1, ed. and trans. Ludwig Bieler (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies and the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2011).

Ireland. Roman transportation arteries allowed traffickers to strike inland communities quickly and move their captives to the shore with ease. The passage, 'The Lord brought his strong anger upon us, and scattered us among many nations even to the ends of the earth. It was among foreigners that it was seen how little I was,' suggests that these seaborne raids were part of much larger regional trafficking webs across northwest Europe.

As a teenager, Patrick was a prime target for raiders because he could fetch a high price; slaveholders could put adolescents immediately to work, unlike children who had to be raised to a certain age before their labor could turn a profit. Patrick was part of a large group of individuals who had been acquired by the raiders, but we do not know if these others were captured in the same raid as Patrick or in previous raids during the same expedition, or if the raiders had purchased them from former owners or other dealers. Nevertheless, the fact that there were several large groups of captives indicates that Patrick's capture was a part of wider patterns of mass abduction. We may reasonably conclude that the demand for slave labor was great enough in Ireland and elsewhere to absorb groups of people periodically flooding the market. During his escape six years later, Patrick was able to find passage back across to Britain along with many other 'aliens' and 'strangers,' suggesting that insular commerce was widespread and regular; overall then, Patrick's experiences do not appear in any way extraordinary.

The fact that the *vita* mentions 'aliens' and 'pagans' in the same breath suggests that the religious divide was a major fault line in seventh-century insular society and helped define the 'other' for the purposes of enslavement. Yet the religious divide was not insurmountable when it came to enslavement, because Christian religious identity was not strong enough to create a sense of taboo in enslaving members of one's own community of faith. Patrick himself gives us evidence for Christians trafficking fellow Christians between Wales and the Picts in a harshly worded letter to a Romano-British king named Coroticus, who had allowed his Christian subjects to raid the coasts of Ireland and to then sell captured and newly baptized coreligionists to the Picts. As for the enslaved Irish Christians, the men were destined for hard labor and the women for sexual exploitation as well as for labor.[67]

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67   Walter Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 Volumes (London: Whiting and Co., 1885–1893), I.3–7; John Skinner, *The Confession of Saint Patrick and Letter to Coroticus* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), xviii. A tombstone belonging to 'Caesar Coro[ti]ca,' exists from the fifth century in Caerleon, South Wales, which has been identified as the Coroticus whom Patrick addressed in his letters; see Roger S.O. Tomlin, 'Inscriptions,' *Britannia* 44 (2013), 395.

Moreover, by demonstrating the differences in perceived religious solidarity between the Isles and the Continent, Patrick also demonstrates, through his knowledge of continental trafficking activity and ecclesiastical redemption efforts, that the Isles were by no means isolated from trafficking networks on the Continent. He writes, 'The Roman Christians in Gaul behave quite differently [than you, Coroticus]: it is their custom to send holy, capable men to the Franks and other nations with several thousand *solidi* to redeem Christian prisoners.'[68]

By the seventh century, the beginnings of urban development were underway in Britain, after a century and a half of absence. London, Hamwic (part of modern-day Southampton), Ipswich, and York show evidence of expanding populations, year-round craft and artisan production, regional trade, and the presence of foreign merchants in both written and archaeological records.[69] It is also in the middle of the seventh century that regional human trafficking networks become increasingly clear. Bede tells us that during the conversions of the Anglo-Saxons, Bishop Aidan (d. 651) used the wealth he received from pious donations to 'ransom any who had been unjustly sold into slavery,' whom he met in his wandering throughout northern and central England.[70] The ransoming of slaves is a trope in medieval hagiography, and as such, this behavior was expected of saints by their cults. Nevertheless, the fact that these manumissions occurred as Aidan wandered England suggests that the slave trade as well as both barter and monetary exchange were all widespread across Anglo-Saxon England, since Aidan ransomed captives using the wealth he had received as pious donations from patrons.

In one of his most famous passages, Bede relates that in 679, during a battle between Ecfrith of Northumbria (r. 664–685) and Elfwin of Mercia, Imma, a young thane under Elfwin, was struck in the melee and, falling unconscious, was mistaken for the dead upon the battlefield. After he had regained consciousness and then his strength, he sought out his allies but was discovered by the Northumbrian forces and taken prisoner by one of their nobles. When the Northumbrian discovered that Imma was in fact a thane and a noble of Elfwin, he then sold him to a Frisian merchant in London.[71] This story yields some detail of regional trafficking during the late seventh century in England. We can discern that London was already

68   'Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum mittunt viros sanctos idoneos ad Francos et ceteras gentes cum tot milia solidorum ad redimendos captivos baptizat.' Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum I*, 5, trans. Skinner, *The Confession of Saint Patrick and Letter to Coroticus*, 14.

69   Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 189–199.

70   Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III.5, trans. Leo Sherley-Price, 149.

71   Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.22.

not just an important administrative and economic center, but also a hub of regional slave trading between England and the Continent. The fact that a Northumbrian was aware of foreign merchants in London and opted to bring Imma there, as opposed to York, suggests that London had apparently already acquired a reputation within the Heptarchy as a trading center, and as a town in which this young noble captive's full value in currency and in kind might be obtained.[72]

Let us turn from London to Hamwic in Sussex, another center for trade and trafficking in seventh-century England. Bede relates that after Bishop Wilfrid (c. 634–709) had received a substantial holding of land in Selsey from King Aethelwalh of Sussex, sometime in the 660s, the bishop manumitted 250 men and women from slavery: 'Wilfrid instructed and baptized them all in the Faith of Christ. Among them were 250 male and female slaves, all of whom he released from the slavery of Satan by baptism, and by granting their freedom, released them from the yoke of human slavery as well.'[73] Selsey is on the southern shores of England, approximately 40 miles to the southeast of modern-day Southampton (known as Hamwic in the seventh century), and is known from archaeological records to have been an important and growing emporium for regional trade and craft production.[74] It is not certain that the slaves manumitted by Wilfrid were chattel slaves bought in Hamwic's market, nor is it certain, in fact, that 250 slaves were even to be found in the area of Selsey. Nevertheless, we should not be surprised to find a relatively

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72   These commercial contacts between east and southeast England and Frisia in the late seventh and early eighth centuries were well established, because when, in 716, Boniface determined to make a voyage to Frisia in order to support a dwindling Christian population there, he first went to the market at London in order to find passage to the Frisian port of Dorestad. *Vita Bonifatii auctore Willibaldo*, IV, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 57 (Hanover, 1905), 1–58, trans. Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 117. Coin deposits indicate a volume of trade running overland from Italy and Germany into Frisia, and from Frisia into Kent and East Anglia in Britain; see Howard L. Adelson, 'Early Medieval Trade Routes,' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Jan., 1960), 272, 279–280. Frisians had a trade colony within York by the middle of the eighth century; see Dirk Jellema, 'Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages,' *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 31. For more information on the Anglo-Frisian connection, see William D. Phillips Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 60–61; R. Hodges, *Dark-Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, A.D. 600–1000* (London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 1982), 44–46; and David Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding,' 105, notes 54–55.

73   Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.13, trans. Sherley-Price, 229.

74   Willibald embarked from a smaller port near Hamwic on his way to Francia, eventually sailing to Rouen where there was another market, which reflects the commercial contacts between the south coast of England and the Continent; see Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 148.

large number of slaves within several days' travel of one of the four most important ports of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England.

The growth of Hamwic as a center for regional trade had important socioeconomic consequences for those who lived in its hinterlands, since the inhabitants of the surrounding area had convenient access to the emporium's market and hence to regional trade and trafficking routes, which thus encouraged local human trafficking activities. For example, according to Stephanus, the hagiographer of Bishop Wilfrid, the bishop was blown off course during a storm as he left Gaul on his way to visit the Archbishop of York. When they were beached by the waves, they found themselves in Sussex, where the local inhabitants attacked the bishop and his party, 'intending to seize the vessel, loot it, *carry off captives*, and slay without more ado all who resisted.'[75] Through divine intervention, the bishop and his party were saved and eventually made their way back to Sandwich in Kent.

From Continental sources, we find corroborating evidence for brisk seventh-century regional trade and trafficking. The importance of Frisian merchants as middlemen and traders appears in two letters sent from Pope Gregory I in 599 to Queen Brunichild (r. 575–613) and to the Merovingian kings Theuderic II (r. 587–613) and Theudebert II (586–612).[76] Amandus (c. 584–675), a missionary bishop from the region of Anjou, reportedly 'redeemed captives and even youths from across the sea' in the course of his work in Frisia; we may assume these captives were from England because of the proximity and close socioeconomic and cultural exchange between the two regions.[77] There is reference, furthermore, to slavery among the Frisians themselves. The ninth-century *Miracula Sancti Goaris*, authored by the monk Wandalbert of Prüm, contains a scene in which slaves pull the boat of a Frisian merchant upstream along the Rhine from its banks.[78] More concretely, the Frisian law code specifically addresses the export of human beings from Frisia (*extra patria vendere*): 'If someone sells a man

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75 'Gentiles autem cum ingenti exercitu venientes, navem arripere, praedam sibi pecuniae dividere, captivos subiugatos deducere resistentesque gladio occidere incunctanter proposuerunt.' *Vita Wilfridi I. Episcopi Eboracensis Auctore Stephano*, XIII, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 6 (Hanover, 1913), 163–263, trans. J.F. Webb, *Age of Bede* (London: Penguin Group, 2004), 121; italics added for emphasis.

76 *Gregorius Brunichildae Reginae Francorum*, IX.213 and *Gregorius Theoderico et Theoberto Regibus Francorum,* IX.215 ed. Ludwig M. Hartmann, MGH: Epistolae (in quart) 2 (Berlin, 1899), 198–203.

77 'Si quos etiam captivos vel pueros transmarinos invenisset, dato pretio redimebat.' *Vita Amandi Episcopi*, I.9, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH: Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum 5 (Hanover, 1910), 395–483; Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding,' 105.

78 Wandalbert, *Miracula Sancti Goaris*, XXVIII, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH: Scriptores (in Folio) 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), 361–373.

abroad, whether a noble man selling a noble man or freeman, or a freeman a freeman, or a freeman a noble man, he pays for him, as if he had killed him, or he must attempt to get him back from his exile.'[79]

The aforementioned Frankish queen, Balthild, an Anglo-Saxon 'from lands across the seas' (*de partibus transmarinis*), had been sold to Erchinoald, Mayor of the Palace of Neustria, before she was given as a gift from Erchinoald to King Clovis II.[80] The Frankish Bishop of Noyon, Eligius (588–660), according to his biographer, Dado, the Bishop of Rouen (c. 610–684), made it a point to purchase and free slaves he found in Neustria, and native Britons were included among the diverse lot to be found for sale there.[81] Dado's biography sheds light on the extent of human trafficking activity in seventh-century Merovingian Francia, which will be explored in the next section. He writes, 'He [Eligius] freed all alike, Romans certainly, Gauls and also Britons, as well as Moors, but especially Saxons who were as numerous as sheep at that time, expelled from their own land and scattered everywhere.'[82]

Exchange assumes two-way traffic, and indeed we find evidence for slaves from the Continent for sale in English markets in the seventh century. For example, in the first half of century, Richarius (d. 645) attempted to redeem Frankish captives when he was in England, and Filibert (d. 684), Abbot of Jumieges and Noirmoutier, sent monks from his monasteries to England to do likewise in the latter half.[83]

The Role of the Authorities in Britain

Anglo-Saxon law codes and the decrees of church councils promulgated in the late seventh and early eighth centuries began to confront the problem

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79   'Si quis hominem, vel nobilis nobilem aut liberum, vel liber liberum, vel liber nobilem extra patriam vendiderit, componat eum ac si ab ipso fuisset interfectus, aut eum ab exilio revocare studeat.' *Lex Frisionum,* 21.1, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Leges (in Folio) 3 (Hanover, 1883), 631–711.

80   *Vitae Sanctae Balthildis,* II.

81   'vernaculus eius ex genere Saxonico.' *Vitae Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis,* I.10.

82   'Pariter liberabat, Romanorum scilicet, Gallorum atque Brittanorum, necnon et Maurorum, sed praecipuae ex genere Saxonorum, qui abunde eo tempore veluti greges a sedibus propriis evulsi in diversa distrahebantur.' *Vitae Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis,* I.10. Whether 'ex genere Saxonorum' refers to Continental Saxons or Anglo-Saxons is unclear.

83   *Vita Filiberti Abbatis Gemeticensis et Heriensis*, XXIII, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 5 (Hanover, 1910), 568–604; *Vita Richarii Sacerdotis Centulensis Primigenia*, VII, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 7 (Hanover, 1920), 438–453.

of human trafficking directly. The laws of Aethelbert (r. 560–616), written at the beginning of the seventh century, make no mention of kidnapping and sale, but by the last two decades of the century the laws of the kings of Kent and Wessex reference the 'stealing' of other human beings. For example, in the laws of Hlothere (d. 685) and Eadric (d. 686), kings of Kent, dated to between 673 and 685 roughly, subsection 5 stipulates that, 'If a freeman steals a man, if the latter is able to return as informer, he is to accuse him to his face,' at which point the trial proceedings could begin.[84] The law does not tell us anything about whether the victim was sold or kept by the perpetrator, but the wording acknowledges the possibility of return, which suggests that the law was envisioned to cover circumstances involving distant transport and sale. The laws of Ine, King of Wessex (r. 688–726), drafted sometime between 688 and 694, specifically address abduction and cross-channel human trafficking in subsection 11: 'If anyone sells his own countryman, bond or free, even if he is guilty, across the sea, he is to pay for him with his [own] wergild.'[85] However, the law is quite limited in its scope. Although it specifically protects both legally free and unfree, it makes no mention of any foreign-born persons, an example of a general social taboo observed across societies against enslaving members of one's own community, however that community is defined.

The Church in some instances encouraged human trafficking by using overseas trafficking networks as a means of maintaining law and order, or by intervening in the market in order to protect purchasers from fraud in the case of local trafficking. For example, the English Synod of Berkhampstead in 697 sanctioned transmarine trafficking in specific cases, decreeing that if a slave had been stolen, then his master, at the discretion of the king, was to either pay a fine of 70 solidi as compensation or else sell the slave beyond the sea.[86] The 'master' in this context is the thief or the new owner of the slave, and the decree uses regional trafficking to punish the thief by depriving him of his new property.

In the seventh-century church councils of Wales, ecclesiastical officials set down regulations by which purchasers could return their slaves to the former masters. 'If a man has bought a male or female slave, and within the

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84   Hlothere and Eadric V, in *English Historical Documents: Volume 1 c. 500–1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 360.

85   Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 365.

86   Synod of Berkhampstead (697), XXVII, ed. Giovanni Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Concili-orum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio* 31 Volumes (Florence and Venice, 1758–1798), XII.114; see also Frederik Pijper, 'The Christian Church and Slavery in the Middle Ages,' in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 14 No. 4 (July, 1909), 680.

year some unsoundness is found in them, we order the slave to be handed back to the former master; but if a year has elapsed, whatever defect may be found in the slave, the buyer has no claim.'[87] Yet beyond regulating return policies of faulty merchandise, the Church rarely intervened in the slave trade except to protect the bonds of marriage. For example, if a man married his female slave and then later attempted to sell her, the woman was to come under the protection of the Church and the man faced eternal perdition.[88]

In these Welsh decrees the scope of the rulings is narrow and immediate. The regulations involving purchasers and former masters, or the sales of wives by husbands, refer primarily to small-scale local trafficking between parties that could easily be accomplished without a middleman such as a trader. The church councils made no claim to wider authority over regional trading, probably because enforcing return policies on transmarine traffickers would have been highly problematic in politically decentralized seventh-century Wales. Instead, the church councils, when they did intervene in the slave trade, did so at a level where they could reasonably expect their authority to be respected in the lands under their jurisdiction. These rules applied not to itinerant traders, but instead to local inhabitants of the communities under the authority of local prelates and their representatives.

Local Trafficking Networks

The decrees of seventh-century Welsh church councils provide an excellent opportunity to shift our focus from regional to local human trafficking within the islands. Local trafficking is generally more challenging to illuminate because of the fragmentary nature of early medieval sources. References to slave sales are scattered and laconic, and when they do appear, regional human trafficking is referenced most frequently. Slave origins are mentioned when the enslaved are foreigners, but not when they are local people. Nevertheless, we can glimpse trafficking activity, presumably local,

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87 *Canones Wallici,* Canons 54 and 55, 'Si quis ancellam out servum emerit et ante impletum annum vitium in eum apparverit, priori domino reddi iubemus. Quodsi annus transierit, quicquid in mancipium vitii fuerit, nullam venditor habeat causam.' Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Vol. 1*, 135, trans. Bromberg, 'Wales and the Mediaeval Slave Trade,' 267.
88 *Canones Wallici*, Canon 60, 'Si quis ancillam suam sibi in matrimonio habere voluerit et de rebus suis habet potestam, si voluerit postea venundare eam, no conceditur. Quodsi eam venundare voluerit, eum damnari iubemus et ancillam illam in sacerdotis ponimus voluntatem.' Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Vol. 1*, 137, trans. Bromberg, 'Wales and the Mediaeval Slave Trade,' 267.

from several of the examples previously mentioned. The gifting of island inhabitants after Wulfhere's raid on the Isle of Wight, noted in the Introduction, take on monetary implications when we consider the importance of Hamwic as a regional commercial hub. The inhabitants of the hinterlands of Hamwic attacked Wilfrid and his party intending to capture victims, presumably to enslave. While it is possible that, had the assailants been successful, they would have kept their victims as their own property, their proximity to Hamwic suggests that these local raiders had regional markets in mind. The wording of the law of Hlothere and Eadric suggests that a victim might be either kept or sold to buyers within the kingdom, and hence there was greater potential for the victim to return. In the case of Imma, the unfortunate Mercian youth was in the hands of a noble from neighboring Northumbria before he was sold to Frisian merchants in London.

These examples, tenuous although they are, suggest a couple of characteristics of local traffickers. First, many local traffickers in early medieval England do not appear as professionals but rather as opportunists who capture or abduct as circumstances permit, unlike the local traffickers Augustine observed, who meticulously planned their systematic mass abductions with the intention of supplying regional and long-distance traffickers in the port of Hippo. Nevertheless, even in medieval England I suspect that local trafficking in aggregate was brisk and steady enough to account for the volume of Anglo-Saxon slaves regularly available for purchase on the Continent. This hypothesis leads us to our second observation regarding the extended relationship between regional trade and trafficking networks and local traffickers: regional trade encouraged regional trafficking, and regional trafficking encouraged local trafficking, similar to Augustine's observations of the attacks and abductions in the hinterlands of Hippo. At least some local slave raiders and traders in Anglo-Saxon England were aware of regional trade networks and actively sought to connect to those networks through contacts with established regional traffickers in the markets, as the stories of Bishop Wilfrid and Imma suggest.

The Post-Roman West: Continental Western Europe in the Sixth through the Eighth Centuries

Across Western Europe, the great river systems of the Rhône, Saone and Meuse, Rhine, and Danube bustled with traffic in the fourth and fifth centuries, and they served as transport arteries for commerce as much as physical barriers to invasion. These river systems connected with Roman road

networks and together formed networks of communication, transportation, and trade that spanned the length and breadth of Western Europe, while farther east the Rhine and Danube connected the imperial centers at Cologne and Constantinople. Long-distance trade continued to move into and out of Western Europe through ports on the north shore of the Western Mediterranean, such as Arles and especially Marseilles, which connected with the fluvial and overland routes of the interior. Seated at the confluence of the Rhône and Saone river systems, Lyon was considered a port with 'direct' access to Mediterranean commercial networks. The Rhône was such an important artery for traffic that Arles was considered the port of landlocked Trier in the middle of the fourth century.[89] Overland routes linked the Rhine to the Saone and Rhône river systems, which continued to supply Merovingian Gaul and Visigothic Septimania with a dwindling supply of goods from across the Mediterranean and simultaneously increased in importance as arteries for local and regional travel. For example, circa 471 Bishop Sidonius praised his fellow ecclesiastic, Patiens, Bishop of Lyon (475–491), for sending a substantial load of supplies down the Rhône to cities in Provence after the area's trade networks had been disrupted by war. The *Vita Caesarii* describes the Burgundian kings doing likewise around 510.[90] As time went on, however, river systems such as the Rhône and the Danube lost their importance as the territories through which they flowed became increasingly hostile. Peter Spufford and other scholars observe that the main axis of communications between Gaul and the Mediterranean shifted eastwards away from the Rhône and towards the Alps between the sixth and eighth centuries, and Bavaria and the Rhine gained in importance as Provence and the Rhône lost it.[91]

Beginning in the middle of the sixth century, overland routes between Western and Eastern Europe – particularly between Merovingian Francia and Constantinople – were disrupted, initially because of the Avars and later, in the seventh century, because of the Bulgars, both of whom occupied the middle and lower Danube regions and cut off access to Constantinople via

89   *Expositio totius mundi*, LVIII.

90   Sidonius, *Epistle* VI.12, trans. Anderson, *Letters 3–9*, 281; Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, II.24; *Vitae Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis Libri Duo*, II.9, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 3 (Hanover, 1896), 433–501; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 103.

91   Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 12. The Rhône by the late sixth century was an unreliable artery of transportation to towns such as Lyon. By the seventh century, the abbey of Corbie recognized the difficulties associated with travel on the waterway when, according to a royal grant to the abbey, goods destined for consumption in northern Francia were to be taken from the Rhône delta along overland routes via wagon, avoiding the river entirely. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 79.

Map 1.2: Continental Western European Trafficking Patterns from the Fifth to the Seventh Century CE

land routes. In the Balkans, major thoroughfares such as the *Via Egnatia* fell out of use between 550 and 650, possibly because of Slavic settlement in the area. Although sea routes were still available to carry communications, goods, and people between the eastern and western portions of the former Roman Empire, the rapid closure of fluvial and overland transportation arteries nevertheless exacerbated the regionalization of the period.[92]

Regional Trafficking Networks

Endemic warfare on the Continent during the Merovingian and early Carolingian periods ensured the consistent traffic of human bodies in

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92 Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 36; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 71–78.

local and regional trade networks, and there has been a fair amount of research on the trade routes that human traffickers used.[93] According to medieval authors, oftentimes the source of bodies came from the dramatic wholesale reduction of populations to captivity by conquering armies. Generally, mass enslavements that involved regional trafficking activity occurred in the border zones of major ethnic groups such as the Franks,[94] Lombards,[95] Aquitani,[96] Danes,[97] Bretons,[98] Burgundians,[99] Visigoths,[100] and Avars[101] in the sixth and seventh centuries, and later the Slavs and Muslims in the eighth.[102] Yet what became of these people is difficult to say, because our sources often describe their capture in a litany of other tribulations including rapine, wholesale murder, the destruction of fields, and so on. Some of these victims of war were surely ransomed, but those who could not afford their ransom or who were unable to escape faced the prospect of enslavement for the foreseeable future. In a telling confrontation in the early 580s between King Childebert II (570–596) and the men mustered for his army from the ranks of the peasantry, the 'lower ranks' (*minor populus*) shouted (*vociferare* and *proclamare*) at the king to 'dismiss those [the royal advisors] who are betraying his [Childebert's] kingdom.' They continued to shout, 'Down with those who are handing his cities over to an enemy power! Down with those who are selling Childebert's subjects into foreign slavery!'[103] From these protests we can glimpse a likely future for many who

93 Charles Verlinden's works on early medieval Mediterranean slave routes, *Esclavage dans L'Europe médiévale. Tome I* and *II,* remain a bedrock study of early medieval human trafficking. Recently, Michael McCormick has traced the evolution of trade routes across Europe and the Mediterranean using communication networks as a means of tracing human movement in his work, *Origins of the European Economy*, while William D Phillips Jr. outlines the broad movements of slavers across the Early Middle Ages in *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade*, 60–65.

94 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III.XXXI.

95 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III.XXIX, VI.XXVII, VI.LIV.

96 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, IX.17.

97 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, III.3; G. Storms, 'The Significance of Hygelac's Raid,' *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, Vol. XIV (1970), 3–26.

98 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, IX.18, IX.24.

99 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, III.10.

100 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, VIII.30, VIII.35, IX.7; Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae Regis*, XXVII, ed. Joaquin Martinez Pizarro, *The Story of Wamba: Julian of Toledo's Historia Wambae regis* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

101 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, IV.XXXVII.

102 *Annales Regni Francorum*, 798, ed. Frederick Kurze and Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 6 (Hanover, 1895).

103 'Tollantur a faciae regis, qui regnum eius venundant, civitates illius dominatione alteri subdunt, populus ipsius principis alterius dicionibus tradunt.' Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, VI.31, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London, Penguin Group, 1974), 361.

could not afford to pay for their release, since the protesters were from the lower ranks of Childebert's army: the very peasants who were most likely to suffer the fate of mass enslavement in the endemic warfare of the period, and who were acutely aware of their own vulnerability to depredation.

The mass enslavements described in narrative sources thus give us the context surrounding the passage in the seventh-century *Life of Eligius*, cited above and repeated here: 'He [Eligius] freed all alike, Romans certainly, Gauls and also Britons, as well as Moors, but especially Saxons who were as numerous as sheep at that time.'[104] While Britons and Anglo-Saxons, such as Balthild, were trafficked into Francia from the northwest, from the southeast came native Italians in the wake of the Lombard conquests. In 595, Pope Gregory I related to the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (r. 582–602) how the Lombards under Agiulf (r. 590–616) had enslaved natives in the environs of Rome to be transported to markets in Francia. He says that, after the arrival of Agiulf, 'thus I saw with my own eyes Romans, bound with ropes around their necks like dogs, being led to sale in Francia.'[105] Simply put, mass enslavement of different ethnic groups was an expected consequence of defeat in the chronic warfare in early medieval Western Europe.[106]

Long-Distance Trafficking Networks

Regional trafficking brought these enslaved groups of people into market towns like Noyon from across the ethnic and political divides of the region, yet Merovingian Francia by all accounts did not possess a strong enough economy to absorb all those enslaved. The remainder were trafficked, as William D. Phillips Jr. contends, along the broad contours of trade routes that passed from the borders that divided these ethnic groups and moved through Francia towards the Mediterranean basin via overland,

104 *Vitae Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis*, I.10.

105 'adventus fuit Agilulfi, ita ut oculis meis cernerem Romanos more canum in collis funibus ligatos, qui ad Franciam ducebantur venales.' Gregory I, *Registrum Epistolarum*, V.36 ed. Paul Ewald and Ludwig M. Hartmann, MGH: Epistolae (in quart) I (Berlin, 1891). For their part, the Lombards in some circumstances punished the sale of their own out of Italy through enforcing the payment of the victim's wergild to the family of the victim, *Leges Langobardorum*, 48, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Leges (in Folio) 4 (Hanover, 1868).

106 Stories of mass enslavement abound in seventh- and eighth-century accounts of Byzantium as well, for example imperial raids on Dyrrachium produced abundant slaves for the Byzantine army, which were then divvied out among the soldiery. Byzantium gained further influxes of slaves from raids on mainland Greece. Byzantium's slaving activities will be discussed at length in Chapter Two.

river, and shoreline transportation networks. Marseilles was the most important nexus of the Western European slave trade in the sixth and seventh centuries due to its access to regional marine trade routes,[107] which were probably the source for the Moorish slaves in the account of Eligius, and to fluvial routes that led into the interior of Merovingian Francia. Overland routes running north to south across the Merovingian heartland, through Arras and Tournai, also terminated in Marseilles.[108] The life of Bishop Bonitus of Clermont (c. 623–710) demonstrates the central position of Marseilles in early medieval trafficking. Before his episcopal career, Bonitus had served as a royal Merovingian administrator for Marseilles and later all of Provence. According to his *vita*, 'Men were being sold into exile as was the custom there [Marseilles], so he [Bonitus] condemned that this penalty ever be given, but rather those they could find who had been sold, as he had always been accustomed to do, he redeemed and sent them home.'[109]

By the latter half of the eighth century, Frankish traffickers were expanding eastwards into Central Europe, once again following fluvial routes such as the Danube as well as overland routes that started in Slavic lands and ran west through Bavaria. In Bavaria, the routes forked. North and west, traffickers crossed Germany and entered France, following the river valleys of the Moselle and Meuse to Verdun, a slaving hub and a center for castration. From Verdun, traffickers moved their cargo down the river valleys of the Saone and the Rhône to Arles and Marseilles for shipment to Muslim North Africa, and to Iberia via transmarine or overland routes across the Pyrenees. In Iberia, slaves were imported and exported in markets in Barcelona, Tarragona, Palma, and Toledo, either for domestic labor or for resale farther into Muslim lands in North Africa and Egypt.[110]

The southern fork in Bavaria crossed the Alps at major passes that conducted trade through arteries such as the old Roman mule track connecting Lake Leman to the Great St. Bernard Pass, or the wagon route that crossed the Alps along the Little St. Bernard. Near the source of the Rhine in the Alps, another mule road ran over the Spulgen Pass (although it was an ancillary route in the eighth century), while wagon routes led to Italy via the Septimer

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107 Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I*, 269–271.

108 Phillips Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade*, 60.

109 'Non multo post inibi, ut moris erat, homines uenundari atque exulitatis. Captiuitatisque pena damnari, suo nusquam fieri praecepit esse decreto; sed magis eos quos repperire potuisset uenditos, sicut semper agere consueuerat, redimendo ad propria reducebat.' *Vita Boniti episcopi Arverni*, 3, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH: Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum 6 (Hanover, 1913).

110 Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I*, 269–271.
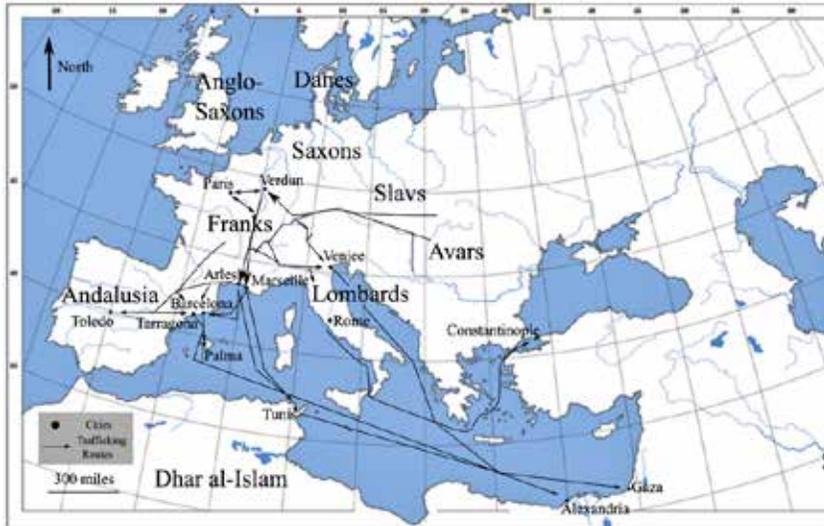
Map 1.3: Trafficking Routes in the Eighth Century

and Julier–Maloja passes.[111] Once across the Alps, trade routes again forked, turning south towards Rome and southeast towards Venice; the Venetians transported their captives by sea down the Adriatic towards Byzantium and the Muslim markets of the Levant, particularly to ports like Gaza and Alexandria. While Byzantium maintained some degree of control over the Italian coast of the Adriatic, emperors like Leo V (r. 813–820) were neverthe-less unable to prevent the Venetians from trafficking people across the Mediterranean into the Abbasid Caliphate, the enemy of Constantinople.[112]

The Role of the Authorities in Continental Western Europe

In sixth-century Western Europe, the vulnerability of peasants to mass enslavement via conquest was exacerbated by the Merovingian kings' need for political support. Captives were a recognized part of the spoils of war, and as such the promise of taking captives – and the wealth they represented in their bodies – served to secure the loyalty of a king's retainers and retinues,

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111   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 77–78. Passes were as economically important to inland trade networks as ports were to maritime networks, so much so that Horden and Purcell argue that, for all intents and purposes, these passes were in fact ports, even if they did not abut land and sea; see *The Corrupting Sea*, 392.

112   Phillips Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade*, 61–62; see also Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I*, 269–271.

which were the bases of his power.[113] Authorities in sixth-century Meroving-ian Francia thus offered the promise of wholesale enslavement as a reward for steadfast loyalty and support, and they encouraged the practice among their retinues. For example, when Lothar I (c. 497–561) and Childebert I (c. 498–558) decided to attack the Burgundians, their brother Theuderic I (c. 487–534) declined their invitation, hoping instead to attack the inhabitants of Clermont-Ferrand, whom he suspected of treason. His men threatened to depose him if he declined the Burgundian campaign, unaware, as they were, of his ulterior motives. Theuderic is reported to have said to them, 'Follow me, and I will lead you to a land [his own Clermont-Ferrand] where you will be able to lay your hands on so much gold and silver that even your lust for loot will be satisfied. If only you agree not to go off [into Burgundy] after my brothers, in this *other* land you may capture as many cattle and slaves and seize as much clothing as you wish.' Theuderic succeeded in convincing his men to remain loyal to him, and on the border of Clermont-Ferrand he again reminded them that, 'they had his permission to bring home with them not only every single thing they could steal in the entire region that they were about to attack, but also the entire population.'[114] Such was the price of betrayal, real or imagined. The population of Clermont-Ferrand became the 'other' to Theuderic and thus fair game for mass enslavement, as well as a gift from the king to his retainers in order to secure their loyalty at a time when he felt vulnerable and threatened by the possibility of revolt.

Even if sixth-century rulers did not openly encourage mass abduction, at times they were powerless to stop the practice among their own men or their more powerful retainers. For example, during a particularly brutal period of civil war among Sigibert I (d. 575), Chilperic I (c. 539–584), and Theudebert I (d. 547), the armies of King Sigibert pillaged the Île de France despite his protestations, which resulted in the mass enslavement of the local peasant population.[115] In a later period of war between Guntram (c. 532–593) and Chilperic I, Chilperic's forces besieged Bourges and 'stole so

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113 See, for example, the behavior of the Saxons in predetermining how Swabian women would be divvied up among their own number before battle, in Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, V.15 and Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III.VII.

114 'Me sequimini, et ego vos inducam in patriam, ubi aurum et argentum accipiatis, quantum vestra potest desiderare cupiditas, de qua pecora, de qua mancipia, de qua vestimenta in abundantiam adsumatis. Tantum hos ne sequamini! [...] Ille vero illuc transire disponsit, promittens iterum atque iterum exercitu cuncta regionis praedam cum hominibus in suis regionibus transferre permittere.' Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, III.11, trans. Lewis Thorpe, 171; italics added for emphasis.

115 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, IV.49.

much booty that, as they evacuated it, the entire area seemed empty of inhabitants and cattle.'[116] The patrician Mummolus attempted to carry off the inhabitants of Albi, but the bishop Salvius (r. 574–584) persuaded him to release them.[117]

As time went on, over the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, Western Europe became increasingly concerned about the sale of Christians to non-Christians.[118] Christian religious identity appears to have taken on greater importance in relation to local or ethnic identities, at least within the upper echelons of society, but this transition did not represent a complete substitution of one identity for another, and local identity remained strong enough that successive church councils repeatedly found it necessary to issue decrees against the sale of Christians by Christians to heathens and Jews. There were, of course, periodic exceptions to this ecclesiastical trend. For example, the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 reiterated earlier decrees that the concubine of a priest was to be enslaved and sold beyond the sea as a means of ensuring clerical discipline and morality,[119] and we can cite the previously mentioned English synod of Berkhampstead in 697 as another notable exception. Nevertheless, over time the Church generally inclined towards regulating and restricting the sale of Christians by their coreligionists to members of other ethnic and religious groups. For example, the Tenth Council of Toledo in 656 decreed

116 'Ad isti qui Bitoricas obsedebant, accepto mandato, ut reverterentur ad propriam, tantas praedas secum sustulerunt, ut omnes regio illa, unde egressi sunt, valde potaretur evacuata vel de hominibus vel de ipsis pecoribus.' Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, VI.31, trans. Lewis Thorpe, 360.

117 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, VII.1.

118 Although it should be noted that Pope Gregory I was already anticipating this renewed concern for Christian slaves among unbelievers in May 593, in a letter addressed to Libertinus the Praetor of Sicily. In this letter, the pope denounces the sale of Christian slaves to Jews and then specifically to a certain Nasas, 'one of the most wicked of the Jews'; see Gregory I, *Registrum espistularum*, III.37, trans. John R.C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great: Vol.1 Books 1–4* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2004), 260.

119 The decree served to reinforce rather than to restrict and regulate regional trafficking networks; see Canon 42, ed. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Vol. X*, 630; Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church*, 37. This decree is also found in numerous other Visigothic church councils, including Toledo (589), Canon 5; Seville (590), Canon 3; and Toledo (653), Canon 5; see David Nirenberg, 'The Third Council of Toledo, Sixty-Two Bishops Attending, in Which the Arian Heresy was Condemned in Spain (589),' in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources Second Edition*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 15; Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, 63 note 72. For a general overview of church councils and their concerns over Christian sales to unbelievers, see also Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I*, 672–677.

that Christian slaves were not to be sold to Jews, as part of the wider concern among late Visigothic rulers about the potential conversion of Christians to the Judaism of their masters.[120] In Merovingian Francia, the Council of Chalons in 644 restricted the sale of Christians to the domestic market only and prohibited their sale beyond the dominions of Clovis II, in order to prevent the sale of Christians to Jewish owners.[121] After the death of Clovis, Queen Balthild, acting as regent, reissued the council's decree as a royal edict. According to her *vita*, 'She [Balthild] forbade Christian men to become captives, and she issued precepts throughout each region that absolutely no one ought to transfer a captive Christian in the kingdom of the Neustrians.'[122] The queen took the Council of Chalons edict a step further, clamping down on the enslavement of Christians in general by forbidding their sale within the kingdom as well, despite the impossibility of enforcement.

However, Balthild seems to be extraordinary among seventh-century authorities in her determination to suppress human trafficking. Most proclamations only prohibited the sale of Christians to non-Christians or to foreigners. Other rulers perpetuated human trafficking in order to enforce the social order, regardless of the victim's religious identity. For example, under the *Lex Rothari* of 643, a body of Lombard laws promulgated by Balthild's contemporary King Rothair (r. 636–652), a woman who had married her slave was to be enslaved herself by her family members, who were then allowed to kill her or sell her overseas with no regard for where or among whom she might be sold.[123] Rothair used regional and long-distance human trafficking as a means to discourage interclass mixing among the Lombards, but he disregarded the fact that the woman in question was likely Christian and her sale overseas would potentially be among unbelievers.

Balthild may have been unique among seventh-century rulers, but by the middle of the eighth century the inclination towards regulation and restriction appears to have been more widely held among rulers and

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120 Tenth Synod of Toledo (656), Canon 7, ed. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Vol. XI*, 37. See Pizarro, *The Story of Wamba*, 60–63, 160–161, especially note 180 on page 160, for Visigothic fears of Jewish proselytism.

121 Synod of Chalons (644), Canon 9, ed. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Vol. X*, 1191.

122 'Et illud commemorandum est, quia, captivos homines christianos ire prohibuit, datasque praeceptiones per singulas regiones, ut nullus in regno Francorum captivum hominem christianum penitus transmitteret.' *Vita Sanctae Balthildis*, IX, trans. Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 125–126.

123 *Leges Langobardonum: Rothari*, 221.

ecclesiastical officials than it had been earlier. For example, in 743 a church council at Liftina, presided over by Boniface (c. 675–754), decreed it unlawful for a trafficker to sell a Christian to the heathens, presumably the Slavs and Saxons.[124] Pope Zacharias (r. 741–752) in 748 attempted to halt sale of Christians to unbelievers by banning the Venetian sale of Christians to North African Muslim slavers in the Roman slave markets, and by redeeming the captives there in Rome.[125] By 772, the Duke of Bavaria, Tassilo III (r. 748–788), had decreed, with the endorsement of major prelates, that the sale of slaves beyond the boundaries of the province was henceforth illegal, regardless of whether the slave was purchased as property or had been taken during a flight from justice.[126] Six years later in 778, Pope Hadrian I (r. 772–795) defended himself and the city of Rome against charges of selling Christian captives to Muslim slave traders in the Roman markets in a letter addressed to Charlemagne (742–814). The pope vigorously denied the allegations, but notably he did not deny that Christians in Italy were in fact being sold to Muslims. He instead placed the fault for such activities on the Byzantines, whom he claimed had made a treaty with the ruling Lombard families of northern and central Italy, and had thus procured their human cargo through these official connections.[127] Charles himself forbade the sale overseas among pagans of those who had voluntarily sold themselves into slavery because of debt or poverty, and he found it necessary to explicitly emphasize the freedom of any of their family members in order to ensure that they were not also sold into slavery to cover the debts of their kin.[128]

The change in attitude among rulers over the course of the sixth to eighth centuries is noteworthy. In the sixth century, rulers such as Theuderic treated mass abduction as a matter of political expediency, to be used as a means of securing the loyalty of their armed retinues; in other cases, they were simply unable or unwilling to effectively ban the practice. By the middle of the eighth century, however, both rulers and ecclesiastical bodies generally sought to limit human trafficking, however minimally,

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124 Synod of Liftina (743), Canon 3, ed. Albertus Werminghoff, *Concilia Aevi Karolini: Tome 1 Part 1*, MGH: Leges Concilia 2.1 (Hanover, 1906), 5–7.

125 *Liber Pontificalis*, I.433.14–19; 93.22, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH: Scriptores: Gesta pontificum Romanorum 1 (Berlin, 1898).

126 Synod of Neuching (772), Canon 1, ed. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Vol. XII*, 853.

127 Henry R. Loyn and John Percival, eds., *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 129.

128 *Capitularia*, II.273.34, ed. Alfred Boreti, *Karoli Magni Capitularia*, MGH: Leges: Capitularia regum Francorum 1.4 (Hanover, 1883).

rather than to encourage it for political gain, motivated as they were by a fear of losing coreligionists to conversion among the Muslims, Jews, and pagans.[129] The process was slow, taking over two centuries, and as the Synod of Berkhampstead, the laws of Rothair, and the Visigothic Church councils all demonstrate, it was neither inexorable nor uniform.

Local Trafficking and the Authorities

If regional and long-distance trafficking came more and more under the scrutiny of secular and ecclesiastical authorities, local trafficking seems at best overlooked and at worst tolerated. Local trafficking took less dramatic forms than the wholesale enslavement of entire populations, and (as had been the case in the Late Roman Empire) it often did not require an intermediary, such as a slave trader, to facilitate the transaction. Local trafficking of abandoned children was apparently so consistent in northwestern Francia that it necessitated legal standardization. A sixth-century formulary from Anjou, written in the colloquial Latin of the day,

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129 An argument may be made that the need to conserve agricultural labor motivated early medieval rulers to ban the trafficking of Christians beyond the borders of their realms. H.J. Nieboer proposed this dynamic in *Slavery as an Industrial System: Ethnological Researches* (The Hague, 1900), in which he argues that a high land to labor ratio was the primary catalyst in the formation of slave societies. Moses Finley in *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* critiques this view, contending that rural slavery was driven by three major factors: first, private ownership of property; second, the consistent circulation of goods that makes slave labor profitable; and third, the unavailability of an alternate labor supply. Walter Scheidel builds upon Finley's model in 'The Comparative Economics of Slavery in the Graeco-Roman World,' and argues that where both the demand for goods and the wages of free labor are high there will then be a shortage of labor. However, the accumulation of wealth and the physical access to enslavable people create an additional labor supply, which then alleviates the shortage of labor. If slave labor remains profitable, then the benefits of owning slaves outweigh the costs, and the slave system will persist. It is important to note that all three models pertain to ancient slavery in Greece and Rome, which means that these models do not necessarily fit slavery across Western Europe during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Furthermore, Nieboer's high land to labor ratio theory does not adequately explain the fact that monarchs prohibited the export of Christian slaves only. If the preservation of the labor supply was the primary motivation behind these royal bans, then we would expect that the export of pagan slaves would also be banned, because at a time when the Christian conversion of Western Europe was ongoing, the substantial numbers of pagan slaves trafficked out of a kingdom would theoretically represent a significant loss of agricultural labor for a realm. See Walter Scheidel, 'The Comparative Economics of Slavery in the Graeco-Roman World,' in *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern*, eds. Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 105–126.

regularizes the sale of abandoned children by their finders as well as the expected remuneration:

> In the name of God. Whereas, I, brother _____, one of the dependents of the parish of St. _____, whom Almighty God sustains there through the offerings of Christians, found there a newborn infant, not yet named, and was unable to find relatives of his among any of the populace, it was agreed to and permitted by the priest _____, that I could sell the child to _____, which I have done. And I have received for him, as is our custom, a third plus food.[130]

Gregory of Tours (c. 538–594) relates that a certain young nobleman named Attalus, from the family of Bishop Gregory of Langres (c. 450–539), had been exchanged as a hostage to ensure peace between kings Childebert I and Theuderic I in the late 530s. When the peace failed, Attalus was enslaved and sent to Trier to groom horses. His family rescued their son and heir with the help of the family cook, a man named Leo, who allowed the family to sell him into slavery to the family who owned Attalus. Over the course of time, Leo earned his new master's trust, and with the help of divine intervention, he was eventually able to escape with the boy.[131]

Even as attitudes towards regional trafficking changed over the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, local leaders did not address the problem of local trafficking within their own borders. They may not have openly encouraged such activity, but their silence implies a tacit acceptance of the practice, or at least of their inability to suppress it. Only the proclamation of Balthild appears to have targeted local trafficking activity in any way. Church councils and official edicts, such as that of Duke Tassilo in 772, only banned trafficking beyond religious or territorial boundaries, and did not address traffic within the borders of kingdoms or bishoprics. The sale of Christians to pagan and Jewish buyers was restricted, but the sale of unbelievers does not appear in any of the edicts, nor does the traffic of Christians among

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130 'Incipit carta de sanguinolento, quem de matricola suscipi. Cum in Dei nomen nos vero fratris, qui ad matricola sancti illius resedire videmur, quos nobis ibidem omnipotens Deus de conlata christiannorum pascere videtur, invenimus ibidem infantolo sanguinolento, qui adhuc vocabulum non habetur, et de cumpto populo parentes eius invenire non potuemus: ideo convenit nobis unianimiter consenscientes et per voluntate marterario nomen illo presbitero ut ipso infantolo ad homine nomen illo venumdare deberemus; quod ita et fecimus. Et accipimus pro ipso, sicut aput nos consuetudo est, treanto uno cum nostro pasto.' *Formulae Andecavenses* 49, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH: Leges, Formulas Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Hanover, 1886), 21–22.
131 Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, III.15.

fellow Christians. I suggest that the primary reason why local trafficking remained outside the scope of ecclesiastical and royal decrees was not so much an oversight on the part of local and regional authorities as it was a lack of concern. In areas that were relatively Christianized, the dangers of Christians falling into the hands of unbelievers were minimal. The community of faith was threatened by the sale of enslaved coreligionists abroad, because it was impossible to ensure the victim would be purchased by a coreligionist, which thus presented the possibility of conversion to their new owner's faith. Royal and ecclesiastical suppression efforts were motivated by concern over the losses of Christians to competing religions, not over the sales of human beings.

The sixth through the eighth centuries was a period of active local and regional trafficking, even as long-distance trafficking dwindled in comparison to the activity of Late Antiquity. However, while the volume of long-distance trafficking may have dropped, it never died out completely in Western Europe. During the latter half of the eighth century long-distance trafficking between Italy and Byzantium and the Abbasid Caliphate was growing again, and over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries it would intensify greatly in two major zones of activity: one centered on the North and Baltic Seas, and the other centered on the Mediterranean basin.

2.   'Stuffing the Beaches'

The Northern and Southern Arcs: The Ninth through the Eleventh Centuries

In 905, Bertha, Margravine of Tuscany (c. 863–925) sent her regards to Al-Muktafi, the Abbasid Caliph (r. 902–908) in Baghdad. She sent him '50 swords, 50 shields, and 50 lances of the type used by the Franks, 20 garments woven with gold, 20 Slav eunuchs, 20 beautiful and elegant Slav slave girls,' as well as birds of prey, silks, and other impressive gifts.[1] If the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries witnessed contraction, regionalization, and abatement in long-distance trade networks, then the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries witnessed an expansion and intensification of long-distance trade; the resultant intensification of long-distance trafficking is the focus of this section. Michael McCormick has found patterns of communication and trade routes that broadly follow a Northern Arc and a Southern Arc in the ninth century. I have found similar patterns in human trafficking activity between the ninth and eleventh centuries, which is not surprising because traffickers followed trade routes wherever possible. In this chapter, therefore, I have borrowed McCormick's model of a Northern and a Southern Arc and adapted it to the study of human trafficking patterns. I do not mean to suggest that local and regional trafficking were absent. Regional networks were the links in the chains of long-distance trade, the building blocks of the long-distance trafficking networks that we will examine, and local trafficking was certainly common, as the ninth-century deeds explored in the Introduction make clear.

Although the period between the ninth and the eleventh centuries is the subject of this chapter, we must bear in mind that trade among the regions of the Latin West, the Muslim world, and Byzantium already had showed signs of intensifying from the latter half of the eighth century. However, it was in the ninth century that new overland, fluvial, and marine trade routes became firmly established and interlinked. These trends have been recognized by scholars such as Alice Rio, who argues that the peak of medieval slave-trading *systems* came during the ninth and tenth centuries, rather than during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Webs of long-distance trade expanded across the breadth of Europe but were particularly concentrated along the waterways of the North Atlantic, North, and Baltic Seas into the Russian

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1   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 733 note 26.

river systems, and across the Mediterranean and Black Seas regions. The reasons for this intensification are many, and they differ for each arc.

Even as long-distance trafficking intensified, regional trafficking through the lands of the Carolingians continued unabated during this time, supplied by the endemic warfare of the ninth and tenth centuries and fueled by the demand of Byzantium, the Abbasid Caliphate, Andalusia, and – to a lesser degree – the Scandinavian settlements, and supported by connections to long-distance trafficking networks centered in Italy and Scandinavia. New trade routes established by Muslims and Vikings combined with a widespread demand for slaves to create an environment in which large-scale expeditions intent on procuring bodies became a permanent feature of medieval Europe. Interconnected regional markets created better opportunities for sale, which were as important as opportunities for organized large-scale slave raids, and those interconnected regional markets grew into international markets over the course of the early Middle Ages.[2] It is not my intention to relate every recorded instance of raiding, sale, and gift exchange between Andalusia and the Black Sea or between Iceland and the Volga River, but rather to briefly survey the main contours of human trafficking networks in order to provide a sense of their scope and breadth.

The Southern Arc

The Southern Arc through the Mediterranean and Black Seas, like its northerly counterpart, was a complex web of overlapping regional spheres of economic activity that were steadily expanding. In general, the western and eastern halves of the Mediterranean each experienced decline following the breakup of the Roman Empire. Yet while the Western Mediterranean experienced a longer and deeper decline, the Eastern remained economically vibrant throughout the sixth century. In time, however, economic decline set in in the East as well, and during the seventh century this decline occurred much faster than it had in the West. The wars between Byzantium and Persia, which were then followed by the Arab conquests, broke apart long-distance eastern Mediterranean trade networks.[3] Byzantium lost much of its land and tax base, and decentralization and regionalization in former imperial territories followed in the wake of the Umayyad conquests, even as the areas

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2   Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, 23, 37.
3   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 716–718; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 507–508.

of the Empire that Constantinople still controlled were bound ever tighter to the capital.[4] With the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty (661–750) by the Abbasids (750–1258) in 750, a greater emphasis was placed on centralized control in the *Dhar al-Islam* by the caliphal administration. Significantly, this greater centralized control in Byzantium and in the Caliphate meant that, although the Eastern Mediterranean might have crashed later and faster than the West, it also rebounded more quickly in the last half of the eighth century.[5]

By the ninth century, long-distance trade networks had reemerged across the Mediterranean, connecting Muslim, Byzantine, and Latin Christian economies despite the ongoing (albeit geographically limited) warfare among the various factions. Italy was at the center of the Mediterranean world and, not surprisingly, at the heart of these regional spheres of commercial activity. The ancient route between Italy and the Aegean, which had served as a major *annona* route providing grain to Rome from Alexandria, continued to function as the critical link for communications and trade between Constantinople and the West during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Although other sea and land routes began to open in the ninth and tenth centuries, this route nevertheless remained an important artery of travel. The Italy–Aegean route extended from Rome down the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy and crossed the Straits of Messina before emptying into the Ionian Sea. From there, sea routes rounded Peloponnesus and then forked northwards into the Aegean towards Constantinople and the Black Sea, and eastwards towards Cyprus and the Levant. These Eastern Mediterranean branches were later supported and supplemented by the opening of overland corridors linking Western Europe to the East through the Danube River valley, and also through the Balkan Peninsula in the middle of the ninth century. Running in the opposite direction from east to west, the Italy–Aegean route took travelers north and west from Rome towards Sardinia, Corsica, and Marseilles.[6]

Meanwhile, in the *Dhar al-Islam*, major caravan routes ran along the North African coast linking Andalusia via the Straits of Gibraltar to the Maghreb, and thence to Egypt, the Levant, and the Tigris and Euphrates river systems. The caravan routes, marked across the oftentimes featureless desert using artificial landmarks such as cisterns for navigation, served the needs of

4   Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 15; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 97, 185–187, 206–208.
5   Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 157.
6   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 502–508, 548–569.
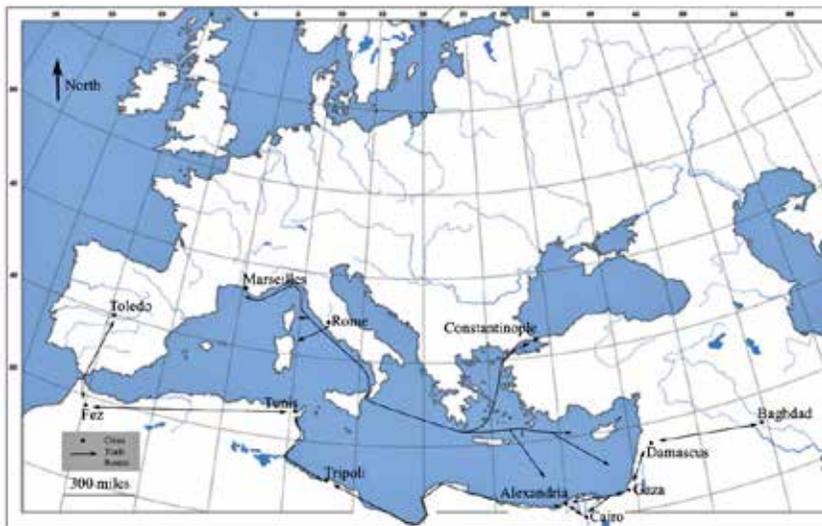
Map 2.1: Italy–Aegean Trade Routes

pilgrims and officials, as well as traders – and thus traffickers – across the Muslim world.[7]

While trade across the Western Mediterranean declined over the late sixth and seventh centuries and reached its nadir around 700, by the ninth century trade between North Africa, Sicily, and the eastern coast of Andalusia was once again bustling. Western Mediterranean trade networks were encouraged by intensification in the volume and frequency of trade along the Italy–Aegean route – which had in turn spurred economic activity both in southern Italy and in the Aegean – as well as by pilgrims and European officials who availed themselves of expanding Muslim travel infrastructure. As a result of the intensification of trade networks in the Western Mediterranean overall, and their connections to the East via Italy and the Aegean, the ninth century can be characterized as a period of renewed long-distance trade across the Mediterranean.[8] Yet these networks differed from the old imperial networks of the Late Empire in that these new routes crossed zones controlled by different polities, including the Latin West, the Caliphates, and Byzantium, and thus warfare and piracy on the high seas were ever-present dangers. Nevertheless, the risks of piracy and war were

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7   Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 71; Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 81–88; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 502–508.

8   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 568–569.
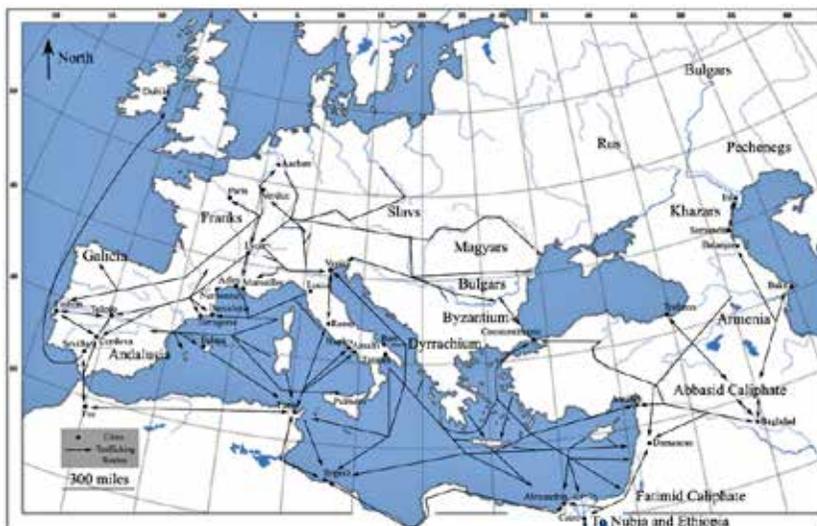
Map 2.2: The Southern Arc from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century CE

intermittent enough to make the risk of long-distance trade worth the effort. If anything, the combination of intensifying long-distance trade and political instability made the Mediterranean ripe for a robust traffic in human bodies.

Andalusia

Andalusia participated in a brisk slave trade that extended east towards the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea, south into Africa, and north into Carolingian Francia and Scandinavian Britain and Ireland.[9] At the beginning of the conquest of Visigothic Iberia, the Muslims brought with them across North Africa slaves from Armenia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nubia.[10] According to a sixteenth-century Muslim author, al-Maqqari, who McCormick suspects had access to earlier source material now lost, the conquest of the Visigoths in 711 ended with 30,000 enslaved captives

9 For a detailed study of the slave trade between the Umayyads of Andalusia and the Vikings and Carolingians, as well as the slave trade across Africa and the Mediterranean, see Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I*, 181–247; Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles 850–880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 155–168.

10 William D. Phillips Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 56; Roger Collins, *Kings and Caliphs: Spain 796–1031* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 182–187.

being led off into the heart of the Umayyad Caliphate in Syria.[11] During the eighth and ninth centuries, Andalusia bought large numbers of Christian Europeans captured in Francia and on the Tyrrhenian islands, but over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, Andalusian supply networks expanded farther into the Eastern Mediterranean, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Central Europe. The Umayyad Caliphate of Andalusia and its *taifa* successor-states purchased Italians captured by North Africans, as well as Byzantines captured in the Eastern Mediterranean and Slavic peoples whom Frankish and Muslim merchants brought through Francia into Andalusia via Verdun, a major center for castration. William D. Phillips Jr. has estimated that the number of slaves in Cordoba alone in the middle of the tenth century under Abd al-Rahman III (r. 929–961) may have reached 14,000, in a total population of perhaps a quarter of a million people.[12]

The fighting between Muslim and Christian forces in northern Iberia and in southern Francia resulted in a steady supply of captives; in particular, the fall of Narbonne in 721 and successful raids into Septimania in 793 produced massive hauls of captives, although it is impossible to determine an exact number. Primary sources suggest that the figure of the Septimanian raids was perhaps 225,000, but modern scholars have concluded that such numbers of captives are impossible.[13]

Less dramatically, regional and long-distance traffickers ensured a steady supply of bodies between the markets of Iberia and Europe using a combination of overland and fluvial routes. Abraham of Saragossa, a Jewish merchant from Muslim Saragossa, was licensed by Louis the Pious (778–840) in 828 to buy slaves and to sell them anywhere in Francia.[14] The fact that he was also exempted from Frankish customs and tolls implies that many of his slaves were either foreign-born or were purchased outside Francia and then imported into Frankish lands. Traffickers like Abraham of Saragossa exported slaves from Francia into Andalusia via established routes that ran south along the Rhône River from Lyon to Arles and then southwest towards Muslim Cordoba, according to Agobard of Lyon (d. 840). Acknowledging Agobard's unabashed anti-Jewish polemics, we can nevertheless discern the broad outline of these slaving routes in his account of a young Christian

11   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 745.

12   Phillips Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, 56.

13   Collins, *Kings and Caliphs*, 183; Evariste Levi-Provencal, *History of Muslim Spain, vol. I: The Conquest and the Emirate Hispano-Umiayade (710–912)* (Paris: Maisonnneuve & Larose, 1999), 145–147; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 768.

14   McCormick, *Origins of the Euopean Economy*, 675.

man who had supposedly been kidnapped as a boy by a Jewish slaver in Lyon, who then trafficked him into Andalusia.[15]

Andalusian slaving activities also extended eastward into the Western and Central Mediterranean, and raiders struck the islands repeatedly. For example, the *Royal Frankish Annals* tell us that as the Muslims were raiding the Balearic Islands, Christian forces from Galicia and Asturias in turn raided Lisbon in 798. After the raid on Lisbon, King Alfonso II of Asturias (c. 760–842) sent coats of mail, mules, and captive Muslims north to Charlemagne as a token of his victory.[16] According to the *Royal Frankish Annals*, in 807, Arab raiders from Spain struck the monastery of Pantelleria off the Sicilian coast and carried off 60 Greek monks. Charlemagne was able to redeem some of their number and return them to the monastery, but the others presumably were sold.[17] An unnamed town on Corsica was struck in 809, and all the inhabitants were abducted except the bishop, the elderly, and the infirm.[18] The raids grew in regularity and intensity such that the *Annals* tell us that a certain Irmingarius, Count of Ampurias, was able to plan and set an ambush on slavers returning to Iberia from Corsica that recovered 500 captives destined for the slave markets in 813.[19] According to the *Annals of St. Bertin*, in 838, Muslims attacking Marseilles carried off all the men and all the nuns in the city, as well as much of its treasure, in a particularly successful expedition.[20] In 869, they struck the Camargue region of southern France. They then ransomed Roland, the Archbishop of Arles, for '150 pounds silver, 150 swords, 150 cloaks, and 150 slaves,' as noted earlier in the Introduction.[21]

By the tenth century, Iberian human trafficking networks had grown to encompass the Black Sea region, the whole of the Mediterranean basin, and Eastern and Central Europe. In the middle of the tenth century, Ibn Hawqal (d. 978) described trafficking networks that linked Andalusia to Slav (*Saqaliba*) and Bulgar territories, as well as to Byzantium and to the lands of the Khazars on the Caspian Sea. Closer to home, Andalusia

15 'Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia, Opusculum XI,' trans. W.L. North in *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 52*, ed. L. Van Acker (Turnholt: Brepols, 1981), 195.

16 *Annales Regni Francorum,* 798, trans. Bernard Walter Scholz and Barbara Rogers, *The Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 77.

17 *Annales regni Francorum,* 807, trans. Scholz and Rogers, *The Carolingian Chronicles*, 87.

18 *Annales regni Francorum,* 809, trans. Scholz and Rogers, *The Carolingian Chronicles*, 90.

19 *Annales regni Francorum*, 813, trans. Scholz and Rogers, *The Carolingian Chronicles*, 96.

20 *Annales Bertiniani*, 838, trans. Nelson, *The Annals of St. Bertin*, 39.

21 *Annales Bertiniani*, 869, trans. Nelson, *The Annals of St. Bertin*, 163.

imported slaves through raids on Christian territory in France, Italy, and northern Iberia, and also through commercial connections with Khorasan raiders who preyed upon Slavic communities in Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, Andalusia also served as a collection hub for eunuchs who were castrated in Francia and the Balearic Islands and then brought to Andalusia for export across the Mediterranean to Byzantium and the Caliphate. He writes,

> A well-known export from Al-Andalus is slaves, boys and girls captured in Francia and Galicia, as well as eunuchs from the *Saqaliba*. All the *Saqaliba* eunuchs in the world come from Al-Andalus, they are castrated near this country. The operation is performed by Jewish merchants [...] Raiders from Khorasan reach them [the Slavs] through the territory of the Bulghars. They are led in captivity to that province, their manhood left intact, their bodies unmutilated. [The southern half of Slavic territory] is raided throughout all its length, by the warriors of Khorasan, who live on its borders, while the northern regions are invaded by raiders from Al-Andalus via Galicia, Francia, Lombardy, and Calabria. Captives from these regions are still plentiful.[22]

While Central Europeans feature prominently in Ibn Hawqal's account, Africa and the Levant were also major suppliers of Andalusian slave markets, whose human chattel were driven to market via North African caravan routes that crisscrossed the Sahara.[23] As late as 1067, the Iberian Christian

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22   Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North* (London: Penguin Group, 2012), 173–174. Ibn Hawqal noted that Khorasan was especially known for regional and long-distance slave trading, saying the region had 'no gold mines, silver deposits, or precious gems in their country. The wealth of the inhabitants comes from trade with the Turks and buying herd animals, and above all, slaves from the lands of the *Saqaliba* and the Khazars, and Turkish slaves from the borderlands, and furs, such as mink [fanak], sable, fox, grey squirrel and other kinds of pelts. They are stored up by them, and the slaves are housed there as well.' Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness*, 177.

23   North African slave routes extended the breadth of the Sahara northwest into Iberia and northeast into the Levant and Anatolia. Michael the Syrian tells us that the Nubians were sending 300 black slaves, ten monkeys, and one giraffe as an annual tribute to the Turks in the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus (r. 829–842); see *Theophilus*, 152, ed. and trans. Robert Bedrosian, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great: Patriarch of the Syrians* (1871); reprinted (Long Branch, NJ: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2013). Later in Fatimid Egypt (969–1171), Nubian and Sub-Saharan victims, as the surviving bills of sale indicate, represented a greater proportion of Egyptian domestic slaves than from all other regions of the world combined; see Craig Perry, 'Historicizing Slavery in the Medieval Islamic World,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 49 (2017), 134. According to the eleventh-century traveler and poet Nasir-i

Arnallus Mironis and his wife Arsendis gifted ten Sub-Saharan slaves to Pope Alexander II (r. 1061–1073).[24]

Meanwhile in the Eastern Mediterranean, Muslim bases for raiding activities expanded beyond the North African shore. Although Alexandria remained an important staging ground for Muslim raids on Byzantium, over the course of the ninth century Crete increasingly became a launch point – starting when it fell to Muslim forces in 828 – and remained so until the Empire recaptured the island in the middle of the tenth century. While raiding was an unorganized, yet common, activity among the Muslims during the eighth century, it became increasingly organized and involved trained infantries more frequently over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries.[25]

Italy

Italy was a major crossroads for human trafficking networks spanning the Mediterranean basin and Continental Europe. Because the Lombards never managed to completely conquer the peninsula, Italy remained politically fragmented and the Lombards, Franks, Byzantines, and later Muslims all claimed Italian and Sicilian territory, which then allowed each to use their landed holdings as staging grounds for raids against the others, both on the peninsula and on the surrounding seas.[26] Because of increases in regional and long-distance trade, Italy experienced rapid urban growth in places such as Naples, Lucca, Bari, Taranto, and especially

Khusraw, slaves were brought down the Nile from Christian Nubia, who had been sold in Nubia by their coreligionists 'for beads, combs, and trinkets' in 1047. Nasir also noted that both black Nubian and Greek Christians were sold in Egyptian markets; in other words, according to Nasir, religious identity more than skin tone identified enslavable peoples in northeast Africa. See Nasir-i Khusraw, *Book of Travels*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2001), 52.

24   Phillips Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, 57–59; Collins, *Kings and Caliphs*, 184–187.

25   Raiders from North Africa staged repeated attacks between 700 and 710 on Pantelleria, Sicily, and Sardinia. A two-decade lull in the attacks was broken by renewed aggression between 727 and 753. A period of relative peace followed in the next half century, but early ninth-century North African raiders were again targeting Sicily and southern Italy; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 510, 923–925. After the fall of Palermo, they raided as far Rome in 846, and by 849 Muslim raiders were attacking Provence, sailing up the Rhône in 850 to assault Arles; see Nelson, *The Annals of St. Bertin*, 66–9. Muslims staged raids from Crete beginning after 826, and in 904, Muslims from Alexandria sacked Thessalonika; Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 46–47.

26   Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, 39–40.

Amalfi and later Venice from the latter half of the eighth century and into the ninth.[27]

Long-distance trafficking routes followed major trade routes that extended to all points of the compass. Northwards, across the numerous Alpine passes, traffickers drove their human chattel from the lands of the Franks and the Slavs via the Rhine and Danube river systems into northern Italy towards Venice. Westwards, Italian, Byzantine, and Muslim forces all raided the coasts of Italy, North Africa, and the Tyrrhenian islands, creating tangled webs of shifting alliances. Eastwards, Venetians sold Christians and pagans in the Empire, in the markets of Alexandria and later Cairo, and in the markets of Baghdad. Southwards, traffickers moved captives between Italy and the ports of North Africa including Tunis, Tripoli, and Alexandria.

Although the Byzantine emperors had placed a trade embargo on the Muslim world, in practice it was nearly impossible to enforce. Local trade continued along the coasts, and even long-distance Italian convoys flouted the embargo. Venice, under the control of Byzantium, enjoyed privileged trading rights with the Empire, but nevertheless found ways to skirt imperial bans on commerce with Muslim lands. For example, in the *Translation of the Relics of Saint Mark*, a convoy of ten Venetian ships was supposedly blown off course by a sudden storm, and coincidentally landed in Alexandria, the largest Mediterranean port under Muslim control. Ostensibly stranded in Alexandria, the Venetians sold their wares to earn enough money to repair their ships and to prepare for the voyage home. During their time in Alexandria, they were persuaded to steal the relics of Saint Mark in order to bring them back to Christian lands; however, the Venetians initially hesitated, fearing that they 'would be led away just like slaves to a land we have never seen' if they were caught in the act of theft.[28]

Like the north, southern Italy, too, was enmeshed in webs of human trafficking. During the eighth and ninth centuries the region saw continual fighting among Lombard, Byzantine, and Muslim interests that resulted in widespread social upheaval. Political instability, constant warfare, and a favorable location at the center of growing Mediterranean commercial networks ensured fertile ground for human traffickers. As early as the first

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27   For the growth of Venice, see John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York: Vintage Publishing, 1989); McCormick, 'Venetian Breakthrough: European Communications in the Central Mediterranean;' in *Origins of the European Economy*, 523–547; for the growth of other Italian port cities in the ninth and tenth centuries, see Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 737–739.

28   'Translatio Marci,' *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina,* 5283–5284, as quoted in McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 238–239.

decades of the eighth century in Campania, John I of Naples (r. 711–719), the local duke under the protection of the Empire, reportedly carried off some 500 Lombard captives into the city at a time when Naples' slave markets were flourishing.[29] Over a century later, a treaty from 836 between Campania and Benevento prohibited the purchase, transport, and sale of Lombards across the seas by Campanians. This treaty also reaffirmed the Campanians' access to the Beneventan port of Taranto, provided that their merchants paid the customs and duties on goods including cattle, horses, and men.[30] The Frankish monk Bernard witnessed six ships being loaded with enslaved Christians in Taranto, during his travels in the 860s. Although the monk put the number of enslaved at 9000, it is difficult to imagine such a throng being loaded into six early medieval ships. Nevertheless, we can reasonably accept that Bernard witnessed a large group of slaves headed towards distant shores: two of the ships were bound for North Africa, two specifically for Tripoli, and two specifically for Alexandria.[31]

As warfare among Muslim, Byzantine, and Latin interests intensified in southern Italy during the latter half of the ninth century, the city of Naples broke with its coreligionists, switched sides, and allied with the Muslims. Naples gave its new allies safe harbor in its port, and allowed them to sell enslaved Christians in its slave markets.[32] The late ninth-century chronicler Erchempert of Monte Cassino tells us that the Byzantines and the Italians under their authority hunted for Christian slaves or bought them from Muslim raiders who were active in the Italian countryside. They then either kept the slaves for themselves or drove their chattel down to the coast, where they 'stuffed the beaches' (*oceani litora farciebant*) with the enslaved during the first half of the ninth century. In 879, the Byzantines sold off most of the population of Taranto in the wake of their victory over the Muslims.[33]

Still farther south on Sicily, according to the *Vita Eliae Iunioris,* the future saint Elias and his family moved from their home in Enna to a fortified stronghold, known as the Castle of Saint Mary, to escape Muslim attacks

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29   *Liber Pontificalis*, I.400.20–21.

30   *Sicardi principis pactio cum Neapolitanis*, 13.220.17–27, 5.219.7–12, 15.220.36–221.5, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Leges (in Folio) 4 (Hanover, 1868).

31   *Itinerarium,* IV.

32   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 629.

33   'Hii videlicet et per se fidelium omnes predabant et Saracenis emebant, et ex his alios venales oceani litora farciebant, alios vera in famulos et famulas reservabant.' Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventarnorum*, LXXXI, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH: Scriptores: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum 1 (Hanover, 1878); McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 770 note 145.

upon the island that had grown more frequent and sustained over the course of the early decades of the ninth century, culminating in the fall of Palermo in 831. When he was eight years old, Elias dreamed that he would be enslaved and sold in Africa. Four years later, while the boy was at play outside the walls of the castle, Muslim raiders abducted him. They carried him down to the beach where they sold him to an African Christian slave trader, who put him on a ship to be taken to North Africa for resale. While en route, however, the Byzantine navy attacked the ship. In this instance, the Byzantines opted to return the boy to his family rather than resell him. Three years later however, when Elias was fifteen, the boy was again abducted outside the walls of the castle, sold to a Christian trafficker on the beach, and was shipped to Africa along with 220 other abductees. There in North Africa, a wealthy Christian tanner purchased him.[34]

The preeminence of North Africa in our sources as a destination for slavers and slaves, as in the examples above, is unsurprising. North African raiders were highly active in the slave trade, and trade networks spanned the Mediterranean coast of Africa linking Andalusia, Egypt, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Levant, and Mesopotamia, to Provence, Italy, Byzantium, and the islands of the Western Mediterranean. According to the tenth-century author Muhammed ibn 'Umar ibn Yusuf, slaves (whether Muslim or infidel) were part of the typical cargo one might hire a ship to transport from Sicily to North Africa.[35] Cities with permanent slave markets, such as Tunis, Tripoli, and Alexandria, provided ports of call for human traffickers across the Mediterranean. We have already seen how Muslim slavers cooperated with Christians in Venice, Naples, Rome, Taranto, and on Italian beaches to traffic captives into the *Dhar al-Islam*, yet their attacks upon those same Christian territories also provided periodic windfalls of bodies destined for the North African markets.

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34 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 245–248, 416; Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, 36.

35 *The Book of Chartering Ships*; see Vassilos Christides, 'Raid and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Treaty by Muhammed bn. Umar, the Faqih from Occupied Moslem Crete and the Rhodian Sea Law, Two Parallel Texts,' in *Graeco-Arabica* vol. 5 (1993), 87, 92. William D. Phillips Jr. has traced slaving routes across North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa that eventually linked with Mediterranean routes in ports like Tripoli and Alexandria. For the early medieval African slave trade, see Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 81–88; for the medieval and early modern African trade, see Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Medieval Africa: 1250–1800*. Cambridge (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001); David Coleman, 'Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades: Forms and Functions of Coastal Raiding on Both Sides of the Far Western Mediterranean, 1490–1540,' in *Medieval Encounters* 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 167–192; Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Toby Green, *The Rise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa: 1300–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

The Role of the Authorities in the Southern Arc

The role of the authorities in human trafficking activity differed greatly between Western Europe and Byzantium. In Western Europe, ninth-century rulers and prelates generally continued the eighth-century trend of attempting to curtail the sale of Christians to unbelievers. And, like their eighth-century predecessors, ninth-century rulers had few qualms about enslaving non-Christians. In 849, for example, after the Battle of Ostia, Pope Leo IV (r. 847–855) enslaved Muslim sailors who had survived the battle and set them to work building the Leonine Wall to surround the Vatican.[36] Nevertheless, the pontifical efforts to restrict the traffic of Christians in Rome were surprisingly successful considering that the Roman slave market appears to have withered by the early ninth century, even as slave markets in Naples, Amalfi, Taranto, and Venice thrived.[37]

If the demise of the Roman slave markets was a noteworthy success story in the suppression of human trafficking, it was an exception to the rule of expanding networks and volume. Following the death of Louis the Pious in 840, authorities between the ninth and the eleventh centuries contended with political decentralization that limited the extent of their power and influence, and those limitations directly affected efforts to regulate human trafficking activity. As an example, let us consider the case of ninth-century Venice. The Venetians dealt not only with the consternation of popes and Byzantine emperors who sought to extinguish their slave trade – or at the very least to restrict and regulate it – but also with the anxiety of Frankish rulers to their north. Emperor Lothar I (795–855), son of Louis the Pious, was quite vocal about his concern that his subjects were being abducted from his lands in order to supply the Venetian demand for slave exports. In 840, his imperial envoys concluded a treaty with Venice by which Venetian authorities vowed to prohibit the sale and transport of Christians into foreign enslavement.[38] The Venetians attempted to qualify the arrangement, adding that the agreement pertained only to subjects of Lothar himself. The envoys were suspicious of this caveat, and so they pressured the Venetians into promising that they would not transport any Christian under any circumstance that would lead to their sale among unbelievers. Furthermore,

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36 *Liber Pontificalis,* II.117.17–25, 2.118.22–119.4.

37 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 626.

38 *Pactum Lotharii: Praefatio ad Pacta et Praecepta Venetica,* III.31.18–25, ed. Alfred Boreti, MGH: Leges: Capitularia regum Francorum 2 (Hanover, 1897). For more information of the Carolingian–Venetian treaties, see Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, 20–21; Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 72; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 764–765.

the Venetians promised to hand over to imperial authorities any trafficker who brought Christians into the duchy for sale. These traffickers were understood to be foreigners and not Venetian citizens, because the Venetian who apprehended the trafficker received the guilty party's moveable goods as payment. If Christian slaves were discovered in the duchy, their captors were to be handed over to imperial authorities along with all their property and dependents before claiming payment. Finally, the duchy vowed to end the practice of castration, and castrators would suffer castration themselves as punishment unless they proved their innocence with twelve oath-helpers.

The treaty failed to stop the Venetian sale of Christians overseas. In 876 the doge, Urso Participacio I (r. 864–881), discovered that Venetian merchants had made black market contacts with raiders and were illicitly buying captives destined for foreign markets. Slave trading was again outlawed in the duchy.[39] Yet only four years later in 880, the Venetians were again negotiating the terms of their slave trading activities. They renewed the treaty of 840 with the current emperor, Charles III, which was copied verbatim from the original agreement except for one notable qualification. The Venetians would refrain from buying, selling, or transporting Charles's Christian subjects, provided that the victims in question were free persons (*qui liberi sunt*). Eight years later, in 888, the treaty was reaffirmed yet again; however, this time it was added that the penalty of castration would not be enforced retroactively (*ab hoc die inantea*) for those found guilty of the crime. Apparently, the earlier ban on castration from 840 had failed to stop the practice.[40]

The treaties between the Venetians and the Carolingian monarchs shed light on Venetian human trafficking in the latter half of the ninth century. The slave trade was a mainstay of the Venetian economy, and therefore its prohibition proved ineffectual, as the continual bans demonstrate. Corruption was rife and made enforcement difficult if not impossible.[41] Moreover, the attempts to alter the wording of the treaties with exceptions, qualifications, and caveats strongly imply that the Venetians never had any real intentions of honoring the treaties from the beginning.

At the same time, Carolingian monarchs were hampered in their attempts to curb Venetian human traffickers, because during the ninth century Venice was still under the aegis of the Byzantine Empire. Thus the Franks could use the treaties to recover prominent Frankish Christians who had been abducted or captured during the ongoing wars in Western Europe at

39   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 72.
40   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 765.
41   Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome I*, 731.

the time, but imperial protection of Venice meant that reclaiming ordinary Frankish Christians from Venetian traders would have been problematic from a diplomatic perspective. The Venetians would remain major players in human trafficking even as competition from rival Italian city-states, Muslims, Byzantines, and Jews grew during the ninth and tenth centuries. By 960, the Venetian trade remained so lucrative that the doge attempted to regulate it and bring it under the auspices of ducal authority.[42] Attempts to regulate the slave trade particularly through Venice continued unsuccessfully into the eleventh century. For example, in 1006, Henry II, King of Germany (1002) and of Italy (1004), outlawed the sale of Christians to pagans on pain of anathema and excommunication.[43]

The role of the authorities differed markedly in Byzantium from Western Europe. Despite its diminished geographical extent, Byzantium was still arguably the single most powerful state in the Mediterranean region, and in the ninth century the Empire had begun to reconquer territories it had lost long ago.

Byzantium represented a state and a geographic area of tight centralized authority, but that centralized authority itself both facilitated and actively participated in systematic human trafficking activities. In 776, Pope Hadrian I argued in his letter to Charlemagne that a long-standing treaty between the Empire and the Lombards allowed Byzantine slavers to purchase Christians on the shores of Lombardy, whom they then sold to the Muslims in North Africa.[44] As an official institution, the formidable Byzantine military engaged in regular slave-hunting expeditions, prowling the high seas of the Mediterranean and venturing inland into Slav, Bulgar, and Muslim territories.[45] Eighth-century attacks on Dyrrachium and then mainland Greece were noteworthy for the volume of captives they produced, who were then absorbed by the imperial slave markets.[46] The wars between the Bulgars and the Byzantines continued despite the conversion of the Bulgars to Christianity in 864, and even after the Bulgarian Church came under the auspices of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The number of slaves produced in these wars eventually necessitated a revision of the imperial tax code. The *Novella* of John Tzimisces I (r. 969–976), dated to between 972 and 975, fixed a tax that soldiers had to pay when they sold their enslaved prisoners

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42 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 80–81; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 768.

43 Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon*, VI.21, *PL* 139: 1321.

44 Loyn and Percival, eds., *The Reign of Charlemagne,* 129; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 877–878.

45 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 59.

46 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 745.

of war, but these taxes only applied to sales involving civilian buyers. The enslaved prisoners were specifically noted as Bulgars. Yet slaving went both ways, as the *Life of Luke the Younger* makes clear. During the Bulgar attacks on the border, many were killed and captured, and those who survived were forced to flee towards Byzantine lands along the Gulf of Corinth.[47]

The Levant and North Africa constituted a third important source of slaves for Byzantium. However, the Empire experienced less military success against the Muslims than it did against the Bulgars. Byzantine slave raids were conducted throughout the eighth century. Later during the reign of Theophilus (r. 829–842), Michael the Syrian (1126–1199) relates that the Romans (Byzantines) pillaged Antioch, carried captives off to their ships, and then departed.[48] In an exchange of prisoners in 845, the number of Muslims under Byzantine enslavement was far greater than those of the Byzantines under Muslim enslavement, so much so that the Abbasid Caliph al-Wathiq (r. 842–847) ordered those Byzantines who had been sold in Baghdad and Raqqa to be ransomed as well, and he even released Byzantine women from his own harem. The Muslim author Ibn Hawqal tells us in 988 that the Byzantines were 'relentless' in their raids on Syria and Egypt, and that they captured Muslims 'everywhere.' Jews were also caught up in these raids and were then sold as slaves within the Empire or redeemed by their coreligionists, as the eleventh-century documents in the Cairo Genizah indicate.

The major goal of the raiding expeditions, whether Byzantine or Muslim, was the capture and sale of the enemy population.[49] However, because the Byzantines and the Muslims competed for the same supplies of Slavic and Bulgar slaves, the Empire also actively seized slave traders moving between Andalusia and Iraq via the Levant or between the Black Sea and Alexandria. Muslim traffickers responded accordingly by circumnavigating Constantinople entirely, moving instead northeast from Alexandria to Baghdad. From Baghdad, their routes split, running northeast towards the Caspian Sea and northwest towards the Black Sea. Westbound Muslim traffickers bypassed Byzantine-controlled lands in order to reach Raffelstaffen by river and overland routes, and so they came to Andalusia via Francia.[50]

Byzantine slaving was already well established in the Black Sea in the eighth century, and it was expanding into the Russian interior during the ninth and tenth centuries. For example, during the second reign of Justinian II (r. 705–711)

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47   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 45, 48.
48   Bedrosian, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Theophilus*, 153.
49   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 47–49.
50   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 61, 74.

in the early eighth century, an imperial expedition against Cherson in the Crimea resulted in the deaths of all those captured, except for the children who were then sold into slavery by the Byzantine army. According to the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes the Confessor (c. 758–818), the enslavement of children outraged the Emperor, who had commanded the military to execute all of the city's inhabitants; the monk considered the enslavement and sale of Cherson's youths an act of mercy for sparing their lives. In central Anatolia, The Byzantines launched raids between 942 and 943 that captured many of the residents of Diyarbakir, before they raided as far as Arzen.[51]

By the tenth century, slaving activities in the Russian interior had become so robust that official regulations were necessary to avoid conflict. According to the *Laurentian Chronicle*, two agreements were struck between the Rus and the Byzantines in 911 and in 944. In the treaty of 911, Byzantines agreed to return runaway slaves to the Rus traders. In 944, the conditions of the 911 treaty were made mutual, and the Rus agreed to return any escaped slave to Byzantine traffickers.[52]

Much can be said about Mediterranean human trafficking networks in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. Perhaps the most obvious is the increase in expanse and volume compared with the preceding centuries. While Eligius ransomed groups that ranged between 20 and 100 individuals in seventh-century Noyon,[53] by the ninth and tenth centuries we find group numbers ranging from the hundreds to the thousands. Although the actual numbers are difficult to accept, the unmistakable trend is towards greater numbers of people being transported to farther places in more directions across the Mediterranean than at any time since the end of Roman hegemony.[54]

The overall impression is one of a buyer's market. The extensive trade networks established between the Latin West, Andalusia, North Africa, Byzantium, and the Levant combined with chronic interregional political instability and periodic outbreaks of violence to ensure that more people were captured and trafficked to more places than in the latter half of the seventh and eighth centuries. Formal markets across the Mediterranean were certainly flourishing at this time, as Charles Verlinden so painstakingly demonstrated, but we must also bear in mind the ad hoc markets that arose on the beaches of Italy, North Africa, and on the shores of Mediterranean islands – wherever goods, coins, and bodies met in ample supply.

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51 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery,* 55, 49.
52 *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, eds. and trans. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 2012), 68.
53 *Vitae Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis*, I.10.
54 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 716–720.

Raids often appear as the principal methods of gaining slaves. Over the course of the ninth century, opportunistic raiding increasingly took on greater institutional organization as infantries became involved and forays moved beyond littoral communities to strike deeper inland, as legal frameworks were developed, and as international agreements were concluded to handle the ever-increasing numbers of slaves flooding the markets. Alice Rio notes that slave raiding and slave trading are not necessarily the same thing, and that raids do not always lead to captives being sold on the block. This is true in part; captives taken in raids might be rescued, released, ransomed, or retained as personal servants and attendants. However, we nonetheless must recognize that many, if not most, of these captives did in fact end up in institutionalized slave markets such as in Naples, Alexandria, and Constantinople, or in informal markets that sprang up on the shores, as so many of the preceding examples demonstrate.[55]

Perhaps one anecdote truly encapsulates the volume of trade, shifting alliances, and long-distance networks of the Southern Arc. In 873, Muslim raiders struck the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy and carried off dozens of Lombard Christians, who were destined for the slave markets of North Africa. The Byzantine fleet intervened and attacked the ship, killed the Muslims, but they then kept the Lombard captives. After the attack, the Byzantines sold their captives to slave traders on Sardinia, who in turn resold many of the Lombards back to the Muslims, despite the protestations of Pope John VIII.[56] As the Middle Ages progressed, slaving activity across the Southern Arc would eventually grow to encompass India and China, and would ensure that slavery never completely died out in Europe.

The Northern Arc

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries witnessed the 'Scandinavian Diaspora,' a time of widespread raiding, trading, and settlement by Scandinavian explorers, political refugees, and raiders, who were driven onto the high seas primarily by increasing population pressure, political consolidation, and social unrest.[57] Settlements along the northern Atlantic rim of Europe

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55   Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, 19.
56   Philip Jaffe, ed., *Regesta pontificum romanorum: ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII* (Berlin, 1851), 289 (2581); McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 520, 771, 948.
57   Poul Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin: ninth to twelfth centuries,' *Peritia* 6 (1986), 324.
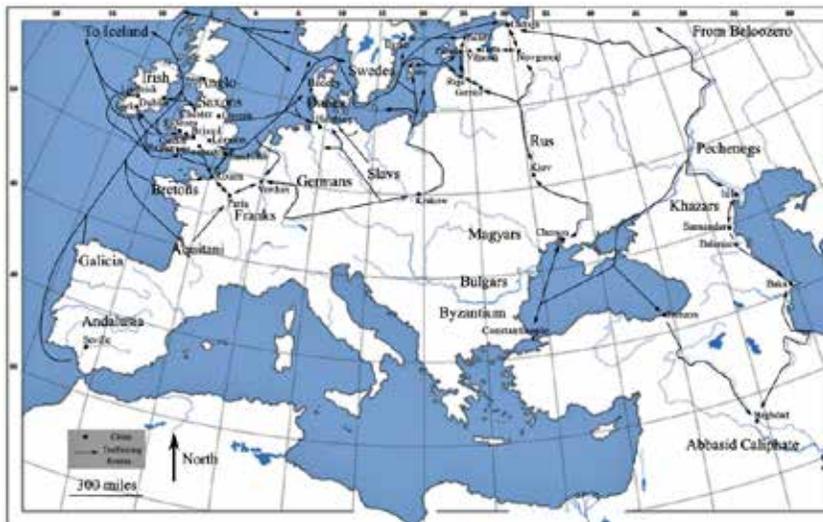
Map 2.3: The Northern Arc from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century CE

in Iceland, Ireland, England, the Orkneys, and Normandy were gradually connected by ever-expanding trade networks that reached deep into Eurasia to other Scandinavian settlements in the environs of Kiev, which in turn connected to trade routes that linked to Constantinople, the Caliphate, and the lands of Khazars. This Northern Arc of trade consisted of overlapping spheres of regional economic activity that revolved around Dublin, Bristol, the Danelaw, Iceland, Rouen, Denmark, Sweden, Riga, and Kiev.

In general, the late eighth century and the first half of the ninth were a time of small, localized raids that primarily followed the coasts and major rivers of Europe and the islands of the North Atlantic. As time went on, the raids increased in size, intensity, and duration, and slave-hunting expeditions became more routine and successful.

The British Isles

According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Vikings had raided Ireland's coast since at least 795 before a lull began in 814.[58] Raids disappear from the *Annals*

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58   *Annals of Ulster*, 795 (795.3), eds. William M. Hennessy and Bartholomew MacCarthy, *Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat: a chronicle of Irish affairs from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1540* 4 Volumes (Dublin, 1887–1901). Subsequent raids are noted on Inis Patraic in 798 (798.2), in 802 on Iona (802.9), on Iona again in 806, (806.8), and in 807 on Inis Muiredaig

between 814 and 820, possibly owing to internal strife among the Scandina-
vians themselves during these years. In the year 821, however, a Viking attack
on Howth (Etar) resulted in the abduction of 'a great number of women.'[59] The
Annals give the impression that early ninth-century Viking attacks in Ireland
were concentrated in certain areas of the country, and that Vikings usually
selected targets of high value. For example, a fifteen-year stretch between
830 and 845 saw intense raids on monasteries; Donnchadh Ó Corráin notes
that 50 monasteries are named as victims of specifically Viking raids, and
on nine occasions the annalists comment further on extended territorial
raids 'on peoples and churches' in the regions surrounding Dublin, such as
Leinster and Brega. However, at the same time the Viking raids also became
more intense in England and in mainland Europe as the Vikings grew more
familiar with the local terrain and pushed farther inland. Therefore, it seems
unlikely that these extended raids were specific to Irish environmental and
sociopolitical conditions, and more likely that they were symptomatic of
the Vikings' increasing comfort and confidence in foreign lands. After 836,
major territorial attacks in Ireland began in earnest. The *Annals* report: 'The
first prey was taken by the heathens from southern Brega; and they carried
off many prisoners, and killed many, and led away very many as captives.'[60]

   Major territorial attacks gradually increased in size and scope, and their
focus shifted over the middle decades of the ninth century from looting and
rapine to slave raiding. Larger, organized slave-raiding expeditions against
major monasteries occurred by the latter half of the ninth century, but these
prolonged large-scale raids should be seen in the wider context of overall
increased organization and cooperation among Viking bands during this
time.[61] Amlaíb Conung, the first Norse King of Dublin (d. 874), plundered
Armagh in 869 and is reported to have killed or captured 1000 people in

and an invasion of Ros Comáin (807.8). The native Irish were not passive, and the inhabitants of
Ulster successfully launched a counterattack against the Norse in 811 (811.6). Subsequent Irish
attacks against the Norse increased the following year in 812, during a botched Viking raid
in western Ireland at Umall and Munster, while Vikings successfully attacked Connemara in
Western Ireland in the same year (812.8 and 11). The Vikings successfully attacked Umall again
the following year in 813, killing the local king, Dunadach, in the process (813.4)

59   *Annals of Ulster* 821 (821.3).

60   *Annals of Ulster* 836 (836.7); Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in
the ninth century,' *Peritia* 12 (1998), 12, 22–25.

61   For example, the 'great heathen army' operating in England during the 860s and the Viking
consolidations at the mouth of the Seine near Rouen during the 860s and 870s. For the establish-
ment and consolidation of Norse control over the area of Rouen, see Eleanor Searle, *Predatory
Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power: 840–1066* (Berkeley: University of California Press,
1988).

retaliation for the death of his son in battle against the king of Tara and protector of Armagh, as well as for the loss of his fortresses at Clondalkin and Dublin in 867. Other major slave raids on monastic towns are recorded in 881 on Ciannan, on Duleek (where 'many people were taken'), on Kildare in 886, when 280 captives were taken, including the prior of the monastery,[62] and again on Armagh in 895, when 710 captives were taken.[63]

By 921, Dublin was ruled by Godfrid (r. 921–934), who had made his fortune as a raider and slaver in Armagh, and the settlement became the heart of slaving activities in eastern Ireland and occasionally beyond, as evidenced by a raid on the Aran Islands in 1015.[64] Yet although raids were a major source of slaves for the Scandinavians, the slave trade between their merchants and local Irish warriors was equally important.[65] Supplied with silver, Vikings bought Irish slaves from local native warbands and raiding parties, and thus encouraged native raids upon their neighbors. The presence of Irish kings and chieftains in those raids between the tenth and twelfth centuries indicates that the profits to be gained from the slave trade in Ireland remained great enough to attract royal attention. Once again, the local economic connections to wider regional and long-distance networks served as 'a catalyst' for local slave raiding.[66]

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62 For the attack on Kildare, see *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 870, trans. Conell Mageoghagan and ed. Rev. Denis Murphy (Dublin: University Press, 1896). There is a dating discrepancy for this event in comparison with the *Annals of Ulster* (885.10), the *Chronicon Scotorum* (886), and the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* (883.11).

63 *Annals of Ulster*, (895.6). This increase in the number of slave raids parallels the increased frequency of slave raiding among Vikings in other parts of Europe. For example, the various Frankish chronicles list a total of 26 raids in which captives were taken between 834 and 896. Moreover, as in Ireland, the Frankish slave raiding increased in intensity over the latter half of the ninth century, with fifteen of the 26 raids occurring between 873 and 896. When the victims are specified, they are most often women and children. Men were taken when they had valuable skills. Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin,' 323.

64 Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin,' 318.

65 To say nothing of Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, which as John R. Maddicott notes, were closer to southwest England than Dublin; see Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' *Past & Present*, No. 123 (May, 1989), 42. For an extensive study of the role of Dublin in the slave trade see Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, 154–168; Peter H. Sawyer, 'The Vikings and the Irish Sea,' in Donald Moore, *The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History* (Cardiff: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1970), especially 87–88.

66 'Catalyst' as David R. Wyatt describes the Viking influence on indigenous slave raiding in Ireland in *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland: 800–1200* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 338–342. Wyatt also argues for the strong indigenous practices of slave raiding among the Irish present during the Norse occupations, and cites examples for Irish slave raiding on Norse settlements; see 'Slavery, Power, and Cultural Identity in the Irish Sea Region, 1067–1171' in *Celtic Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800–1200*, eds. Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and

The line between raiding and trading was not so clear in medieval Europe in general, and Ireland was no exception. Once the victims were handed over to their Norse purchasers in exchange for silver and goods, they were caught in wider trafficking webs that connected Ireland to Iceland and Scandinavia in the north, Chester, Exeter, and Bristol in the east of England, Swansea and Cardiff in Wales, and the Atlantic seaboard of Europe to the south, all via the Irish Sea. The *vita* of Fintan of Rheinau (c. 804–878) offers a detailed glimpse of slave trading out of Ireland and into the Scandinavian trafficking networks. Although the events of Fintan's abduction and enslavement occurred in the first half of the ninth century, his life was only recorded on the Continent later in the century as trafficking networks across the Irish, North, and Baltic Seas were growing. Thus we may expect that the details of the story reflect the reality of late ninth-century slaving activities more than those of the early ninth century. According to his *vita*, Fintan was betrayed by his fellow Irish and fell into the hands of Scandinavian raiders; although he was of noble lineage – his father being in the service of the *princeps* of Leinster –Fintan was nevertheless carried off by the Scandinavians sometime around 843. His traffickers took him northwards on the Irish Sea before turning eastwards into the North Atlantic. During his time as a captive he was sold four times aboard ship from trader to trader, his last purchaser being bound for Norway. However, before reaching Scandinavia, Fintan escaped his captors with divine aid and fled to a deserted island in the Orkneys.[67]

The story presents a scene of active, if haphazard, slave trading across the Irish Sea and North Atlantic. Other captives accompanied Fintan in multiple ships, which suggests that his experiences as chattel were hardly unique or extraordinary; thus, although the image of people being passed across the gunwales of clinker ships does not give the impression of structured, institutionalized slave trading, nevertheless it was probably an effective method of exchange. We may presume that deep water militated against escape and such confidence in security encouraged traffickers to conduct their business as opportunities allowed, even on the open seas.

Although many Irish were exported to England, Scandinavia, and the Continent via Viking trade routes, other peoples were trafficked *into* Ireland via these same regional and long-distance routes. For example, in Spain

Timothy Bolton (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 97–102. For England's connection with Hiberno-Norse trade via the Irish Sea and Dublin, see Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' 24 and 28.

67   *Vita Findani,* ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH: Scriptores 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), 503–504; Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, 157–158.

in 844, and again after the prolonged Viking expedition along the Iberian coast between 859 and 861, led by Hasting and the sons of Ragnar Lothbrok, the Vikings brought some of their unredeemed captives to Ireland. These Iberian raids were described by the tenth-century chronicler Ibn Hayyan, in his compilation of earlier ninth-century authors entitled *Muqtabis*: 'The Norsemen, may God curse them, had arrived, ship after ship, and occupied the city of Seville. They spent seven days there, killing the men and enslaving the women and children.'[68] The founding of Dublin and other trading centers along the coasts of Ireland provided the Vikings with strongholds from which they launched further raids across Britain and Scotland. For example, in 871, Olaf the White and Ivar the Boneless (d. 873) returned to Dublin, 'and a great multitude of men, English, Britons, and Picts, were brought by them into Ireland in captivity.'[69]

This insular trade between England and Ireland thrived even into the eleventh century, according to later twelfth-century sources. In his *Vita Wulfstani*, William of Malmesbury (1095–1143) asserts that eleventh-century trafficking networks between England and Ireland had ensnared people from all over England, who were then brought to Bristol for transport to and eventual sale in Ireland.

> For [the English] would buy men from all over England and sell them off into Ireland in the hope of profit, even putting up for sale girls who were now pregnant. You might well groan to see the long rows of young men and maidens whose beauty and youth might move the pity of the savage, bound together with cords, and brought daily to market to be prostituted, to be sold.[70]

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68   Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness*, 106, 108.

69   'et preda maxima hominum Anglorum et Britonum et Pictorum deducta est secum ad Hiberniam in captivitate.' Hennessy, *Annals of Ulster*, 384–385; Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading,' 106.

70   'Homines enim ex omni Angli coemptos maioris spe questus, in Hiberniam distrahebat; ancillasque prius ludibrio lecti habitas, iamque pregnantesl venum [venales] proponebant. Videres et gemeres concathenatos funibus miserorum ordines, et utriusque sexus adolescentes; qui liberali forma, etate integra, barbaris miserationi essent, cotidie prostitui, cotidie venditari.' *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, II.20, ed. Reginald R. Darlington (London: Royal Historical Society, 1928), 43–44, trans. James H.F. Peile, *Life of St Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1934), 64–65; Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading,' 113. We will explore in detail the theme of sexual assault in human trafficking networks in Chapter Three.

William was not alone in noting the flow of English slaves to Ireland. Geraldus Cambrensis (1146–1223) makes a similar claim in his highly partisan work *Expugnatio Hibernica*, in which he claims that Ireland was a major market for English slaves during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[71] Although Geraldus was an unabashed Norman apologist, his observations nevertheless fit the contours of insular trafficking patterns outlined so far. Therefore, in this specific instance, it seems unlikely that Geraldus was being inaccurate or intentionally misleading in order to create justification for the Norman Conquest of Ireland during the reign of Henry II (1154–1189); reality served his aims nicely. The Irish memory of three and a half centuries of human trafficking across the Northern Arc was perhaps most poetically and poignantly expressed in the twelfth-century composition *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*:

> Many were the blooming, lively women; and the modest, mild, comely maidens; and the gentle, well-reared youths, and the intelligent, brave warriors, whom they carried off into oppression and bondage over the broad green sea. Alas! Many were the bright eyes filled with tears and dimmed with grief and despair at the separation of father from son and mother from daughter, brother from brother and kindred from race and tribe.[72]

Across the Irish Sea in England and Wales, the slave trade thrived within the island of Britain, driven in part by political decentralization not unlike circumstances on the Continent. The various peoples of Britain – the Welsh and Cornish in the west, the Scots and Picts of the north country, the Anglo-Saxons in the south and midlands, and later the Norse settlement of northern and eastern England – created numerous 'others' who were each susceptible to enslavement through raiding and conquest. The political consolidation across the island necessary to suppress traffickers would be a centuries-long process.[73]

Generally, we find that some sections of the island, such as the West Country and northern and eastern Britain, experienced economic growth and expansion as a result of exchanges with the Norse settlements in Ireland

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71   *Expugnatio Hibernica*, I.18, ed. James F. Dimock, *Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, Vol. V* (London, 1867), 258.

72   *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*, ed. and trans. James H. Todd (London: Rolls Series, 1867), 42–43.

73   David Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1995), 77.

and later with the establishment of the Danelaw in the middle of the ninth century. At the same time other areas of the island, such as the prosperous south and Kent, underwent decline as a result of the violence, economic insecurity, and political instability. Centers of economic activity on the south coast, such as Hamwic, were eventually superseded by other towns farther north such as London, Lincoln, and York, and by new commercial centers in the west such as Bristol, Exeter, and Chester.

In the West Country, local and regional trafficking activities were the result of not only Viking attacks but also internal political turmoil among the different peoples of Britain. The early ninth century witnessed the final subjugation of the Cornish by Wessex, under King Egbert (r. 802–839). However, the political integration of Cornwall into Wessex would nevertheless take nearly a century to complete, and during the process of consolidation Wessex enslaved many of the Cornish. As David Pelteret notes, from the tenth century on, West Saxon texts unambiguously use the term *wealh* to denote servitude, while previously the term had meant 'Celt.' It is difficult to imagine that opportunistic enslavement of individuals or small communities could have caused such a shift in definition from ethnic identity to legal status. More likely, as Pelteret argues, wholesale enslavement resulting from the conquest and subjugation of the Cornish peoples appears to be the reason for the change in meaning.[74] We have further evidence for the widespread enslavement of Cornish peoples in multiple manumissions from Bodmin in Cornwall, beginning in the 920s and running into the early eleventh century, which record high numbers of both Anglo-Saxon and Welsh names among the slaves to be freed.[75]

To the north of Cornwall, Wales was also active in the slave trade, but the details are murky. We know that, as early as the middle of the fifth century, the Welsh were trading in slaves with the Picts to their north, as evidenced by Patrick's letter to Coroticus. Local raiding between the Cornish and Welsh peoples was probably regular over the seventh and eighth centuries, and we can reasonably assume that these raids led to the enslavement of the conquered among the conquerors or to later sale among the West Saxons, as the canons from seventh-century Welsh councils and synods strongly suggest.[76] However, the slave trade in Wales appears to have grown concomitantly with the growth in regional and long-distance

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74   Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading,' 107.

75   Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 561–564.

76   Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 428–430.

Scandinavian trade, as the Vikings consolidated their control over the Irish Sea during the ninth century and established commercial relations with Ireland, England, and Scotland. Southern Welsh ports such as Swansea and Cardiff lay along the major sea routes that linked England to Dublin, and they hosted significant Scandinavian populations, which provided the Welsh with contacts in local, regional, and long-distance trade networks. Meanwhile, northern Wales was close enough to Chester to attract westbound Mercian, Scottish, and Northumbrian slave trading via the port.

For most of the tenth century, English imports of Irish slaves and exports of native slaves ran through the port of Chester, which handled the bulk of Dublin's trade to England. In 980, however, the Vikings attacked and ravaged the port and its hinterlands, and following this incursion the prosperity of Chester declined rapidly, as did its prominence in the slave trade.[77] Exeter rose to prominence when Chester's position collapsed after the Viking attacks, since it was well positioned to accommodate displaced Irish and Norse traders, and quickly became a major hub of trade and, presumably, trafficking. The rapid increase in the productivity of its local mint after 980 suggests that it became the main port in western Britain for Hiberno-Norse trade during that short timespan between the raids on Cheshire in 980 and the rise of economic development in the Severn river system during the second reign of Aethelred II (1014–1016): a window of opportunity that would only last a little over 30 years. During that time, new economic development in Bristol and Gloucester led to these communities rapidly becoming major gateways to Ireland, and as a result they began to challenge Exeter's dominance. Towards the end of Aethelred's reign, Bristol supplanted Exeter as the main port to Ireland and the main English hub for human trafficking into the Northern Arc. By the reign of Canute (1016–1035), Exeter had begun to decline in the face of stiff competition; besides Bristol and Gloucester, Chester was recovering from the devastation, and the Welsh ports of Swansea and Cardiff were also on the rise.[78] The rise and fall of Exeter should not obscure the startlingly rapid growth of the West Country over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries; minting spread across western Britain, and Exeter and Chester remained prosperous towns.[79] Bristol, Gloucester,

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77   Maddicott argues for the rise and fall of western port towns partially based on mint activity, output, and the overall shares of local mints in circulation. For Chester and Exeter, see 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' 28.

78   Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' 28–31.

79   Henry R. Loyn, 'Boroughs and Mints, A.D. 900–1066,' in *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies presented to F. M. Stanton on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, ed. Reginald H.M. Dolley (London: Methuen, 1961), 122–136.

Swansea, and Cardiff quickly developed into ports of call for traders and traffickers from Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork.

Despite the rapid growth of commercial slave markets in western ports, raids continued to plague the West Country throughout the eleventh century, supplying local and transmarine markets with captives. For example, when Harold Godwinson (1022–1066) landed near Porlock from Ireland in 1052, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that 'he seized for himself whatever came his way in cattle, men, and property.'[80] Later, in 1055, the Welsh King Gruffydd ap Llewelyn (r. 1055–1063) joined with the outlawed Earl Aelfgar in a raid on Hereford and after looting and burning, the two 'led some [of the inhabitants of Hereford] away.'[81] In the early years of the Norman Conquest, the biography of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1055–1137) tells how Hugh, Earl of Chester, fooled a Danish band of slave raiders:

> Then, moreover, the perjured traitors of Danes who betrayed Gruffyd were expecting the promises which Hugh had promised them, and captives of men, women, youths, and maidens; and he paid them like a faithful man to the unfaithful, confirming the divine ordinance, for he had succeeded in collecting all the toothless; deformed, lame, one-eyed, troublesome, feeble hags and offered them in return for their treachery. When they saw this, they loosened their fleet and made for the deep toward Ireland.[82]

While the western regions were booming with trade across the Irish Sea, the southern regions were in a decline that had begun in the first half of the ninth century, but human trafficking in the region adapted and persisted nonetheless. The economic life of Hamwic had been deteriorating since the 830s, but after Danish raids in 840, which were successfully repelled, and again in 842, during which the town was plundered, Hamwic experienced a sharp decline. Furthermore, Viking raids on Dorestad in Frisia, Quentovic in Francia, and Rouen on the Seine exacerbated the withering of Hamwic by attacking the major Anglo-Frisian and Anglo-Frankish commercial connections, and thereby cutting the port's economic lifeline to the Continent. Dorestad and Quentovic were ravaged as completely as their English counterpart; Dorestad experienced frequent attacks roughly between 830 and 863 that included the enslavement of its inhabitants and began to fade

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80 Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *E* 1052, 178.
81 Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *C* 1055, 186.
82 *The History of Gruffyd ap Cynan*, trans. Arthur Jones (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1910), 149.

in tandem with Hamwic around 840; by 875, its prolific mint had shut down. Rouen was sacked in 841 and lost a substantial portion of its population to enslavement in the raid. Quentovic was raided the following year in 842, and the emporium vanished from the textual record after 864, although it was not entirely abandoned until the turn of the tenth century.[83]

In southeast England, particularly Kent, economic disruption was also widespread. Like Hamwic, Dorestad, and Quentovic, Kentish trading centers were raided at Sheppey in 835 and 841, and Canterbury and Rochester in 842, along with London in Middlesex that same year. By the 850s, Viking raids were becoming increasingly prolonged. Canterbury was raided again in 851, before the Vikings opted to winter at Thanet rather than to depart for Scandinavia. In 855, they wintered again in England, this time at Sheppey. The 860s saw increasing cooperation between Viking warbands, culminating in the formation of the 'great heathen raiding-army' as opportunistic raids steadily transitioned into settlement in northern and eastern England, and Kent was scoured repeatedly in 865, 885, and 892–893.[84] During the upheaval, Kentish trading towns such as Minster-in-Thanet and Sarre fell into terminal decline; Sandwich was the only port in Kent to survive into the tenth century as a major settlement. Although the raids were sudden and local, the atmosphere of insecurity, the damage to infrastructure, and the social dislocation they created meant reductions in economic vitality across the south of England during the ninth century.

Yet by the beginnings of the tenth century, some economic growth can be seen again in the south of England; north of Hamwic, Winchester became the site of a new mint.[85] As Peter Spufford argues, in tenth-century Wessex, the administration of mints was thoroughly centralized. Every town with a mint was to also have a permanent market,[86] and we know that Winchester's market participated in the slave trade, thanks to a passage in the *Translatio et Miracula S. Swithuni*, a work composed by the monk Lantfred of Winchester circa 1000. According to the *vita*, a thief stole a slave girl from a north-country man of *ceorl* origin and took her to Winchester, where he sold her 'very

83   For Dorestad, see *Annales Bertiniani* 834, 835, 836, 837, 847, 863; the raids in 834 and 863 specifically note that the Vikings took large numbers of captives from Dorestad; see also Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 53. For Rouen, see *Annales Bertiniani* 840; for Quentovic, see *Annales Bertiniani* 841; see also Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' 10–12.
84   Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A 866 [865], and E 865, 866 [865], 68–69; see also A 885 [884] 78, and E 885 [884–85], 79; A 893 [892], 84, and E 892, 85; A 894 [893], 86–88.
85   After approximately 895 CE; see Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' 8–11.
86   Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 24, 92.

quickly' to a native of the town. After the sale, 'The slave trader returned home; the girl remained in servitude, separated from her native land.'[87] We do not know where the slave trader went when he 'returned home,' nor do we know where in the north the girl was kidnapped or anything about her new owner, the native of Winchester. Yet from this episode we can observe a few details about intra-island trafficking in Britain in the tenth century. First, we can reasonably presume that commercial activity in the south continued even in the face of Viking aggression, albeit in attenuated form and displaced to centers farther north and inland from Hamwic. Second, we can observe by the speed of the sale that the demand for slaves had not abated, at least not in Winchester, despite the general economic instability of the region. This picture of an economically vibrant Winchester fits its small but growing profile in the south after the abandonment of Hamwic in the 880s, as its impressive tenth-century mint production suggests.[88] Third, trafficking patterns followed these larger trade contours and human trafficking networks remained well represented in local markets, considering that the trader chose to bring his abducted slave girl to Winchester to begin with and quickly located a buyer there for her. Traffickers took advantage of institutional markets whenever and wherever they were available, and they compensated for the loss of established markets such as Hamwic by expanding into new markets such as Winchester. Fourth, we can glimpse late tenth- and early eleventh-century mentalities regarding local identity. A woman from the north was considered isolated from her 'native land' in the south of Britain. Geographically, this is not an extensive move; although we do not know how far north she was when she was kidnapped, we may surmise that she was in or near Anglo-Saxon lands and not deep into Wales or Scotland, because her former owner was a *ceorl*. Yet the differences in local dialects and accents, and in cultural and religious practices and points of reference between the north and south, as well as the unfamiliar terrain, were all enough to effectively isolate the woman 'through many seasons' – that is, regional trafficking measured primarily by cultural, rather than geographical, distance.

The east and the north saw the settlement of Danish communities in England, and with those communities came a figurative reorientation of Britain's eastern coast towards Scandinavia. Close cultural, political, and economic connections between the Danelaw and Scandinavia, as

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87　Lantfred of Winchester, *Translatio et Miracula S. Swithuni*, trans. Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of Swithun* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 497.

88　Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' 11–12, 17.

well as the relatively close geographical distance between England and Scandinavia via the North Sea, all served to shift the trade routes of eastern and northern England away from Frisia and towards Denmark, Norway, and Sweden over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries. Yet the Danish settlements in Britain also created new cultural border zones that isolated enslaved Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian captives, and they created new vulnerable populations and communities from which cross-border raiders could draw captives.

By the closing decades of the ninth century, the stalemate between the Danes and the Anglo-Saxons had reached the point where peace was in the best interests of the various parties. Alfred of Wessex (r. 871–899) and the Viking Guthrum (d. 890) concluded a treaty after the Anglo-Saxons recaptured London from the Scandinavians in 886. The treaty is terse and direct, and concerns the boundaries between Anglo-Saxon and Danish peoples, trade between the different peoples, the establishment of commensurate wergilds between the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, and in the fifth and final clause, the issue of harboring fugitive slaves. The parties agreed that neither camp would accept the slaves of the other, except if a slave wished to conduct trade with the opposing side, whereupon any transaction would occur only after hostages had been exchanged to ensure that the slave did not remain in the camp. We can read a couple of concerns that this clause addressed. First, slaves might use the opportunity of a neighboring army to seek liberation by joining with the opposing side, and thus remain beyond the reach of their former masters while bolstering enemy ranks. Second, the exchange of hostages was meant to ensure that the opposing forces did not abduct slaves during the course of trading activities.[89] The treaty did not stop the fighting, and major raids occurred regularly across England and Wales from 892 until the fall of Erik Bloodaxe (c. 885–954) in Northumbria in 954.[90]

Despite the ongoing hostilities, the violence was sufficiently sporadic and localized that economic growth could occur in areas that maintained wider regional and long-distance commercial connections. Although the Straits of Dover ceased to be the major artery of commerce and trafficking over the latter half of the ninth century, new trade networks between England and Scandinavia encouraged the rapid growth of ports in the

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89   Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 380.
90   Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *A* 892 [893] and *E* 892, *A* 893 [894], *A* 894 [895], *A* 895 [896], *A* 896 [897], *C* 902, *A* 904 [905] and *D* 905, *D* 909, *A* 910 [911], *D* 910 [911], and *E* 910, *D* 914, *D* 915, *A* 916 [917], *A* 917 [918], *A* 920 [921], *A* 937, *A* 942 and *D* 942, *D* 943, *D* 948; see 84–112.

north and east of England such as at York on the Ouse River, Lincoln on the Witham River, and London on the Thames, over the course of the tenth and early eleventh centuries.[91] These port towns anchored the regional and long-distance trade and trafficking networks that linked England into the wider Northern Arc.

Farther south, despite the devastation of the ninth century in northwest Francia and Flanders, there is once again evidence of human trafficking between England and this region in the early eleventh century; in fact, during the reign of Aethelred II, slaving across the English Channel appears to have rebounded. While Dorestad and Quentovic were no longer the main Continental termini for trans-channel commerce, Rouen remained an important destination for regional traffickers, which we will turn to later when we consider Continental Western Francia.

Scandinavia

As captives moved into the wider Scandinavian regional and long-distance trafficking networks from Ireland, Britain, and Wales, many went north through the English Channel or the Irish Sea into the North Atlantic. From there, the routes diverged: east towards Scandinavia or northwest towards Iceland. There were certainly ready markets for Irish slaves in Iceland. As the population of the island expanded during the last quarter of the ninth century, perhaps to as many as 20,000 by 930, there would have been an equally growing demand for slaves in the new settlements.[92]

Slaves, and Irish slaves especially, are well represented in the Icelandic sagas. For example, in *Njal's Saga*, Hallgerd convinced an Irish slave, Melkolf, to steal food during a prolonged famine that engulfed the island.[93] In *Egil's Saga*, the Irish slaves of Ketil Gufa abandoned their farmstead after burning and looting the local area.[94] In *Landnamabok*, the Norwegian Leif raided across Ireland and brought back to Norway ten Irish slaves. The following summer, he and several of his companions settled in Iceland to avoid the political upheaval caused by Harold Finehair's consolidation of power in Norway during the 860s and 870s. They took with them several of the Irish slaves they had captured the previous year, who then rebelled against their

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91   Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred,' 11–12.
92   Holm, 'The Slave Trade of Dublin: Ninth to Twelfth Centuries,' 323.
93   *Njal's Saga,* 47–49, trans. Robert Cook (London: Penguin Group, 2001), 79–83.
94   *Egil's Saga*, 78, trans. Bernard Scudder (London: Penguin Group, 2002), 167–168.

owners in Iceland, murdered them, and then stole their goods, boats, and wives before they were hunted down by the kin of the victims.[95]

The story of Melkorka from *Laxdaela Saga* is of interest because of the details of her purchase. Her owner, Hoskuld Dala-Kolsson, arrived for a gathering of Scandinavian political leaders from Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark on the Brenn Islands in Sweden at the mouth of the Göta älv River.[96] At the gathering were a fair and a market where Hoskuld met a Russian trader (although the label tells us little of the trader's ethnic origins) named Gilli, and Hoskuld asked the merchant if he had any bondswomen for sale. Gilli appeared to be slighted by the question, and in turn opened a curtain to display a dozen female captives. Hoskuld selected Melkorka and, having paid three times the average price for her, he made her his mistress. He returned to Iceland with Melkorka, much to the chagrin of his wife, Jorunn. Later it was discovered that Melkorka was in fact an Irish princess, who had been captured in war and then sold abroad when she was fifteen years of age.[97]

While there is much doubt over the historicity of the story, nevertheless the tale contains quite a bit of information on slave trafficking across the Northern Arc.[98] Based on the combined travels of buyer and seller – that is, Hoskuld and Gilli – their personal connections spanned nearly the entirety of the Northern Arc, from Russia to Iceland. Ireland was also woven into their trafficking patterns, much like the examples from *Landnamabok* and the sagas, although in the case of *Laxdaela Saga* we do not know how or where Gilli acquired Melkorka. Let us also note that traffickers were not necessarily expected to be specialists, as Hoskuld's doubts over Gilli's inventory demonstrate. Traffickers thus continued to carry a variety of goods, including slaves, and trade networks and trafficking networks

95 *Landnamabok,* 6–8, trans. Hermann Palsson and Paul Edwards (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba, 2012), 18–21.

96 The Brenn Islands of Sweden have traditionally been associated with high Scandinavian politics. Siguart Sorensen contends that the Brenn Islands off Sweden were the site of the peace settlement reached by Magnus and Harthacanute along with minor magnates in his English summary of *Heimskringla*; see Sorensen, *Nations of the World: Norway* (New York: Peter, Fenlon, Collier, 1899), 110.

97 *Laxdaela Saga*, 12–13, trans. Muriel A.C. Press (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1899), 16–20.

98 Ruth Mazo Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 58. While the story of the enslaved Irish princess Melkorka might be fanciful, the idea is not so far-fetched; *Landnamabok* tells us that Earl Sigurd Eysteinsson took Muirgeal, a daughter of an Irish chieftain Gljomal, as a captive and enslaved her. As a bondmaid, she became his concubine and his wife's servant before being sold on to Aud the Deep-Minded; see *Landnamabok*, 96.

remained indistinguishable across the Northern Arc between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Although in all of the aforementioned examples Irish slaves were purchased off the island and then imported, nevertheless, I suspect that the Icelandic domestic slave trade made use of general markets (instead of specialized slave markets) to supply the demands for heavy labor to clear and cultivate new fields, for domestic labor to found and maintain a successful farmstead, and for personal relationships in remote settlements.

The volume of migration among Iceland, Norway, and the British Isles is impressive in aggregate. Proximity certainly made exchange convenient and relatively fast; from southern Iceland to western Ireland by sea took roughly five days and from Norway to Iceland took a week.[99] *Landnamabok* gives the origins of 270 men, of which ten percent are Gaelic, and these represent mostly people of high socioeconomic status. We may suspect a higher, although unreported, proportion of Gaelic peoples among the lower strata of Icelandic society that would include slaves, particularly among the women. Of the Norwegians in Iceland, according to *Landnamabok*, a quarter of their population is reported to have settled first in the British Isles before moving to Iceland.[100] While the percentages apply to both free and servile individuals, the high proportion of individuals who lived in the British Isles before moving to Iceland attest to substantial continuous social, economic, and political exchange among Norwegian, Icelandic, English, and Irish communities.

The Northern Arc hinged on Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Their central locations at the meeting of the North and Baltic Seas made the region a crossroads for trafficking networks moving eastwards into Russia, westwards towards the British Isles and Iceland, and southward into Continental Europe. Bishop Anskar, upon arriving in Birka, found that 'there were also many Christians who were held captive among them [the pagans of Birka], and who rejoiced that now at last they were able to participate in the divine mysteries.' We do not know the origins of these Christian captives, but we may suspect that they were regional trafficking victims from the Continent or the British Isles because this episode is early in the conversion process of Scandinavia, and as such it is unlikely that there would have been 'many' native Scandinavian

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99   *Landnamabok*, 2.
100   Preben Meulengracht Sorensen, *Saga and Society,* trans. John Tucker (Copenhagen: University of Southern Denmark Press, 1993), 17–18; see also Holm, 'The Slave Trade of Dublin,' 323 note 19. For a discussion of Gaelic genetics in modern Icelandic populations and genetic testing, see Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia,* 49.

Christians to enslave in the first place.[101] The fact that they 'rejoiced that now at last they were able to participate in the divine mysteries' vividly demonstrates the cultural isolation of captives in foreign lands.

Among Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, local and regional trafficking abounded. For example, Chapter XIX of the *Vita Anskarii* relates how the residents of Birka, faced with a Danish invasion led by a returning Swedish political outcast named Anoundus, fled to the neighboring town of Sigtuna for refuge even as they bought off Anoundus with 100 pounds of silver. The Danes, expecting more loot, were angered by the deal between Anoundus and the residents of Birka and decided to attack the latter in Sigtuna. Herigar, the Christian prefect of Birka, articulated the anxiety of Sigtuna's inhabitants saying, 'You have made many offerings and have given a hundred pounds of silver. What benefit has it been for you? See, your enemies are coming to destroy all that you have. They will lead away your wives and sons as captives, they will burn your city and town, and will destroy you with the sword,' as he exhorted the people to abandon their idols and sacrifices and to pray to the Christian god for deliverance.[102]

The slave trade in Denmark connected with routes that passed across Sweden, but they also extended farther south into Central and Western Europe than did Swedish trafficking routes, which pushed farther eastwards into Russia.[103] Danish traffickers reached into the depths of Slavic lands; Rimbert tells us that in the lands of the Danes (*in partibus Danorum*) Anskar was able to purchase Danish and Slavic boys (*ex gente Danorum atque Slavorum*) for ecclesiastical training at Turholt.[104] According to his own *vita*,

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101 'Multi etiam apud eos captivi habebantur christiani, qui gaudebant iam tandem se mysteriis divinis posse participari.' *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto*, XI, trans. Robinson, *Anskar: the Apostle of the North*, 48–49. In Chapter XI of the *Vita Anskarii*, Rimbert tells us that Anskar was greeted by the King of Sweden, Bjorn, in Birka ('rege eorum, qui Bern vocabatur'), and Charles Robinson has identified this king as Bjorn II, son of Eric I, in his note on page 48, but this appears to be an error. Bjorn II assumed the throne in 882 well after Anskar had died in 865; however, Bjorn I 'Ironsides,' a semi-legendary king of Sweden and son of legendary Ragnar Lothbrok, if he existed, would have ruled Sweden at the time of Anskar's missionary activity in the region and seems to me the more likely reference.

102 'Ecce multa obtulistis et ampliora vovistis. Insuper et centum libras argenti dedistis. Quid profuit vobis? Ecce omnia quae habetis veniunt diripere. Uxores vestras et filios ducent captivos, civitatem et vicum igni succendent, et vos gladio peribitis.' *Vita Anskarii,* XIX, trans. Robinson, *Anskar: the Apostle of the North*, 66.

103 Ruth Mazo Karras has argued that Slavic slaves were not common in medieval Sweden, certainly not enough to form an agricultural labor force, and Slavs are in general absent from the medieval Swedish historical record. Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*, 47.

104 *Vita Anskarii*, XV; see also in Chapter XXXVI, 'pueros ex Nordmannis vel Slavis.'

Archbishop Rimbert began to pray and to sing psalms aloud after seeing a multitude of Christians of unknown origins being led away north into captivity in Danish lands. In a demonstration of piety, the bishop reportedly paid for the redemption of a captive Christian woman with Church treasure and his own horse, and after he had secured her release, he then allowed the woman to return home.[105]

We know that the trade networks between the Franks and the Danes were a vital economic interest for both peoples in the later decades of the ninth century, because according to the to the *Annals of Fulda* in 873, the Danish King Sigifrid (r. 873–891), sent envoys to Louis II, as Louis dealt with judicial matters in Burstadt, near Worms. Sigifrid had charged his envoys with establishing peace between his kingdom and that of the East Franks under Louis by resolving border disputes between the two kingdoms, in order that merchants from both lands might be able to travel freely across the border and build greater commercial ties between the two peoples. Trade was apparently more important to Louis than territorial gain, because Louis promised the envoys that he would keep the peace and agreed to Sigifrid's terms.[106]

Beyond Sweden and Denmark, long-distance and regional Scandinavian trafficking routes passed through Baltic ports and then penetrated the Russian interior. According to the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, Vikings operating out of Estonia captured Olaf Tryggvason (c. 964–1000), the future King of Norway, then a child aged three, and his mother, Astrid, from their ship as they sailed eastbound for Novgorod. Astrid was purchased as a slave and later married her owner, a wealthy merchant named Lodin, who eventually freed her. Olaf remained in Estonia for six years under three different masters before his uncle, Sigurd, redeemed the then nine-year-old youth. Sigurd, who had commercial contacts both in Novgorod and among the Estonians, first met his nephew in an Estonian marketplace, but because the saga does not name the market in which Olaf and Astrid were sold, we are left with several possibilities for the location of the enslaved mother and child. Tallinn, for example, was a major trading center and a trafficking hub between the Baltic Sea and Russian terrestrial and fluvial trade networks, particularly on the outskirts of Reväla. However, there were other possible markets in which wealthy captives could be sold at a high price, particularly along the

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105 *Rembertus Hamburgensis Episcopus- Vita Operaque* XVII, XVIII, XX. *PL* 126, 991–1010B.
106 *Annales Fuldenses*, 873, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Scriptores (in Folio) 1 (Hanover, 1826), trans. Timothy Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda: Ninth-Century Histories, Volume II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 70.

Volga trade routes, such as the port of Pärnu in southeast Estonia, or farther inland, the market towns of Viljandi and Tartu that were located along the Pärnu-Pleskau trade route that linked Novgorod with the Baltic.[107]

South from Finland, Viking trafficking routes passed through Tallinn and the Gulf of Finland, through Ladoga (modern day St. Petersburg) on Lake Ladoga, and then split south and southeast.[108] The southern route took slaves through Novgorod, Cherson in the Crimea via Kiev, and thence across the Black Sea towards Constantinople. By the first decades of the tenth century, the trade was brisk enough to require regulation. As noted previously, the *Laurentian Chronicle* informs us of the formal treaties struck between the Rus and the Byzantine Empire, in which each side promised to return escaped slaves of the other party. The southeastern route continued east beyond Ladoga, where a major branch ran northeast towards Beloozero while the main trunk ran southeast towards the Volga river system and then followed the river south towards Itil, just north of the Caspian Sea. From Itil, trafficking routes hugged the western shores of the Caspian through the market towns of Samandar, Balanjar, and Baku, before entering the Abbasid Caliphate.[109]

Circa 885, Ibn Khordadbeh (c. 820–912), in his work entitled *On Roads and Kingdoms*, described the extensive trade routes that Viking and Jewish (*Radaniya*) traders operating in the region of the Black and Caspian Seas used in commerce with the Southwest Asian powers including the Byzantine Empire, the Caliphate, Khorasan, and the Slavic peoples:

> [The Rus] transport beaver hides, the pelts of the black fox, and swords from the farthest reaches of the *Saqaliba* to the Sea of Rum [The Black Sea]. The ruler of Rum [Byzantium] takes a tithe of them. If they wish,

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107 Snorri Sturluson, *Saga of Olaf Tryggvasson*, 6–8, in *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, ed. and trans. Lee Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 147–149. For more information on the Volga trade routes, see Thomas Schaub, 'When Did Rus/Rus' Merchants First Visit Khazaria and Baghdad?' *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 7 (1987–1991), 213–219, Johannes Bronsted, *The Vikings* trans. Kalle Skov (London: Penguin Books, 1965), 64–65.

108 Jukka Korpela has traced trafficking routes that crossed the Gulf of Finland and brought Finnic peoples into trafficking networks that moved southeast towards the Crimea, Constantinople and the Eastern Mediterranean islands, and Central Asia. Blonde Finnic women were in particularly high demand owing to their 'exotic' features. The Russian medieval chronicles record roughly 90 Viking raids into southern Lapland, Central Finland, Häme, the Karelian Isthmus and Karelia, and further raids into northern areas east of Lake Onega, with Vikings often taking prisoners from among the local population. See 'The Baltic Finnic People in the Medieval and Pre-Modern Eastern European Slave Trade,' *Russian History* 41 (1), 85–117.

109 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 563.

they go to the *Tnys* river [The Tanais, or Don], *Yitil* [The Itil, or Volga], or *Tin* [possibly the Don], the River of the *Saqaliba*. They travel to Kamlij the city of the Khazars whose ruler takes a tithe of them. Then they betake themselves to the Sea of Jurjan [Caspian Sea] and they alight on whichever of its shores they wish. [...] Sometimes, they carry their goods from Jurjan by camel to Baghdad. *Saqlab* [Slavic] slaves translate for them. They claim that they are Christians and pay the *jizya*.[110]

At the beginning of the tenth century, Ahmad Ibn Rustah Isfahani observed Rus settlers along the banks of the Volga River. He noted that the economies of these settlements were primarily based upon raiding and trading rather than agriculture and craft production (Ibn Hawqal made similar observations of the Khazars in the same region).[111] In fact, the Vikings and Khazars appear to have shared close economic relations, and Viking raids upon the neighboring peoples were conducted with the goal of abduction for the regional slave trade with the Bulgars and the Khazars. Slaves were present within these Rus riverine communities, not just as wares but also as inhabitants. He writes,

> They sail their ships to ravage the *Saqaliba* [the surrounding Slavs], and bring back captives whom they sell at Khazaran and Bolghar [...] They have no estates, villages, or fields; their only business is to trade in sable, squirrel, and other furs, and the money they take in these transactions they stow in their belts. Their clothes are clean, and the men decorate themselves with gold armlets. They treat their slaves well, and they wear exquisite clothes since they pursue trade with great energy.[112]

However, Slavic peoples were certainly not the only peoples who supplied Vikings with human chattel. In some cases, the very peoples with whom

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110   Omeljan Pritzak, 'An Arabic Text on the Trade Route of the Corporation of Ar-Rus in the Second Half of the Ninth Century,' *Folia Orientalia* 12 (1970), 241–259, especially 243–244; see also Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 563, 668, 688–693. For a translation of Ibn Khordadbeh, see Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness*, 111–112. For more information on Jewish slave traders, see Charles Verlinden, 'Les Radaniya et Verdun: à propos de la traité des esclaves slaves vers l'Espagne Musulmane aux IXe et Xe siècles' in *Estudios en Homenaje a don Claudio Sanchez Albornoz II* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1983), 105–132.

111   See above, note 212.

112   Bronsted, *The Vikings*, 268.

the Rus traded became the victims of their raids and the chattel that they then sold to other peoples. In 913, for example, the Arab historian and geographer Al-Mas'udi (896–956) described widespread Viking raids across the Caspian Sea, writing, 'The Rus spilled rivers of blood, seized women and children and property, raided and everywhere destroyed and burned.'[113]

Between 920 and 921, Ahmad Ibn Fadlan (877–960) was on an embassy for the Abbasid Caliph to the Bulgars, and during his travels he encountered Viking slave traders on the banks of the Volga. Like Ibn Khordadbeh and Ahmad Ibn Rustah Isfahani, Ibn Fadlan took notice of the varied goods of Viking merchants, which together with Hoskuld's interaction with Gilli in *Laxdaela Saga* indicates that slaving was not a specialty among the Scandinavians so much as a part of their broader commercial exchange. Ibn Fadlan also noted the long distances the Rus had traversed and the concerns of merchants over limited supplies of currency, as he paraphrased the prayers of Viking merchants to their gods beseeching good fortune:

> Each of them [Viking traders] prostrates himself before the great idol, saying to it, 'Oh my lord, I have come from such a far country and I have with me such and such a number of young slave girls, and such and such a number of sable skins,' and so on until he has listed all the trade goods he has brought. [The trader continues] 'I would like you [the gods] to do me the favor of sending me a merchant who has large quantities of dinars and dirhams and who will buy everything that I want and not haggle with me over my price.'[114]

The Role of the Authorities in the Northern Arc

Generally speaking, authority figures across the Northern Arc actively participated in human trafficking activities or did little to suppress them. In the east, the Rus concluded treaties with Byzantium to regulate the slave trade through the Russian interior. In the west, Irish kings and chieftains participated in raids on their neighbors to supply Viking traders with captives, and Viking leaders such Godfrid of Dublin made their fortunes from the sale of those captives.

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113   Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness*, 145. The Viking raids in the Caspian would reach their peak in 965 with the destruction of Itil at the mouth of the Volga.
114   Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness*, 47–48.

Welsh ports straddled the east-west trafficking networks across the Irish Sea, and although it is difficult to know precisely the volume of chattel moving through those ports during the ninth century, we can presume that it must have remained steady and lucrative enough for authorities to have occasionally made efforts to regulate it. By the tenth century, Welsh rulers were intervening in the market. For example, the *Laws of Hywel Dda* set a higher value on foreign slaves from 'across the sea,' which we can reasonably assume to mean Ireland or possibly Cornwall, than on locally enslaved peoples, while also considering the health and age of the victim:

> The worth of a bondman, if of this island, is one pound; if from beyond the sea, one pound and sixscore pence. One pound and a half is the worth of a bondman from beyond the sea; if he be a native of this island, a pound is his worth; and so also, if he be maimed; or too old; or too young, that is, less than 20 years of age; a pound is his worth.[115]

Welsh law further confirmed the presence of both foreign born and native slaves and distinguished between them in its reaffirmation of social isolation, 'Conventional bondmen and foreigners [*alltuds*] can be sold by their lords, and given by law; and amends are not to be made for them, if they be unlawfully killed; because they have no kindred who can demand it.'[116]

Meanwhile, English authorities were either powerless to stop the traffic in human beings because of political decentralization, as was the case for King Alfred, or openly profited from the sales, like Harold Godwinson and William I of Normandy, as we shall see. English ecclesiastical authorities were not blind to the massive trade in captives or to the role of English rulers in regulating that trade. In the early eleventh century, Wulfstan I (d. 1023), also known as 'The Wolf,' held several prominent episcopal offices in the English Church including the Bishopric of London (996–1002), and the Archbishopric of York (1002–1023) in plurality with the Bishopric of Worcester (1002–1016). His lofty positions in the English ecclesiastical hierarchy gave him access to and influence over successive English kings. From the pulpit, he excoriated human trafficking in his sermons delivered to his English audiences; his most famous work, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, probably delivered sometime in 1014, touches on a number of themes including regional and long-distance slave trading, the reduction of children into slavery as the legal penalty for

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115 III.I.33, ed. Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Vol. I* (1841), 239; Bromberg, 'Wales and the Mediaeval Slave Trade,' 267 note 5; and Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, 338 note 5.
116 XI.III.2, ed. Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Vol. II* (1841), 403.

theft by their parents, the sexual abuse of enslaved women and children, and the sale of family members into slavery. He writes,

> And poor men are sorely deceived and cruelly defrauded and sold far and wide out of this country into the power of foreigners, although quite innocent; and the children in the cradle are enslaved for petty theft [of their parents] by cruel injustice widely throughout this people, and the rights of freemen are withdrawn and the rights of slaves are restricted and charitable obligations are curtailed [...] And too many Christian people have been sold out of this country now all the time; and all this is hateful to God [...] Also we know well where that miserable deed has occurred that a father has sold his son for a price, and a son his mother, and one brother has sold another into the power of strangers [...] Alas for the misery, and alas for the public shame which the English now have, all through God's anger. Often two seamen or maybe three, drive droves of Christian men from sea to sea, out through this people, huddled together, as a public shame to us all.[117]

Wulfstan was most concerned about the sale of Christians abroad in non-Christian lands because of the danger of conversion and the loss of coreligionists, but nevertheless the sermon gives us a detailed view of human trafficking in England at the turn of the first millennium. The references to curtailed charitable obligations, fraud, and deception suggest that poverty and destitution were the main reasons why families sold off their own members into foreign enslavement. It is unclear how often infants and toddlers were actually enslaved for the crimes of their parents; it may well be that such penalties were rarely applied, but that they occurred at all was nevertheless a source of despair and outrage for the churchman and his audience.

In the last passage, the image that Wulfstan evokes is of a highly organized slave trade leading from the markets to the beaches for transmarine passage aboard ships. Whether only two or three sailors could have handled 'droves of Christians' cannot be said with any certainty, but it is notable that, by the eleventh century, relatively few men were necessary for security in proportion to the numbers of enslaved in their entourage. One would imagine that those who were enslaved, who were still on dry land, who spoke the language, who blended in physically, and who greatly outnumbered

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117   Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 854–859. The theme of sexual abuse in slavery, which is present in the sermon, will be examined in detail in Chapter Three.

the traffickers would have multiple opportunities to escape. Yet Wulfstan observes that these people were effectively isolated from their kinship networks, driven 'through these [the English] people,' towards the shore. The passage suggests that powerful interests supported traffickers, which ensured that kin did not attempt to recover their family members and friends, and that those who were enslaved understood the futility of flight. William of Malmesbury implicates the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy in the sale of their fellow Anglo-Saxon Christians into foreign lands as a justification for the Norman invasion of 1066, and he also accuses King Canute's sister of being a major player operating a lucrative Anglo-Scandinavian trafficking network across the North Sea during the 1020s.[118]

In order to stem the flow of people out of England west towards Ireland, north towards Scandinavia, and east towards Rouen, Wulfstan and his successors applied heavy pressure on English monarchs to prohibit regional and long-distance trafficking. Under the influence of the archbishop, Aethelred II banned the sale of Christians outside of England, and in particular into pagan lands, in subsection 2 of his 1008 law code (V Aethelred): 'And it is the decree of our lord and his councilors that no Christian and uncondemned men are to be sold out of the country, and especially not among the heathen people, but care is earnestly to be taken that those souls be not destroyed which God bought with his own life.'[119] This clause was repeated in VI Aethelred 9, VII Aethelred 5, and II Canute 3, all of which were influenced by Wulfstan. Initially, V and VI Aethelred allowed for the possibility that criminals could be sold out of the country, but this exception was struck from the later codes of Aethelred and Canute. Moreover, the issue of children being enslaved for the crimes of their parents, noted in Wulfstan's sermon, was addressed in II Canute 76.2 and 76.3 (between 1020 and 1023), in which the practice was abolished.[120]

Despite royal proclamations, English trafficking from the east, north, and south into Bristol in the west persisted to such a degree that Wulfstan's successor, Wulfstan II (1008–1095), Bishop of Worcester, devoted his energies to eradicating the slave trade specifically in that city during the middle of the eleventh century. While he seems to have been largely successful in

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118   William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* III.245, *PL* 179:1229, II.200, *PL* 179:1182, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Rolls Series 90.1, 1889), 245.

119   Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 406.

120   Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 406, 430. For more information on Wulfstan and his influence over the law codes of Aethelred and Canute, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut,' *English Historical Review* 63, No. 249 (Oct., 1948), 433–452, and 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws,' *English Historical Review* 70, No. 274 (Jan., 1955), 72–85.

haranguing the merchants of Bristol into ending the slave trade there, its reputation as a trafficking center lived on. The monk Hermann of Tournai (1095–1147) recalled that during his travels in Bristol in the early twelfth century, he was warned to be wary of boarding the ships of Irish traders, who were rumored to suddenly weigh anchor and depart the port with their guests (now turned prisoners), whom they would then 'sell abroad to the barbarians.'[121]

Ecclesiastical thunder and royal decrees could not end the cross-border slave raids of the eleventh century, because in many cases the royal, noble, and local authorities needed to enforce the bans on trafficking were in fact the traffickers. When the fleet of nine ships commanded by Earl Harold Godwinson (1022–1066) landed in the West Country, the earl and his entourage seized men and property.[122] In 1065, a Northumbrian force went south to Northampton in Mercia to seek royal dispensation for their choice of earl, Morcar of Northumbria. Although Edward granted the request, in the time it took for communications to travel between the Northumbrian and royal factions, the thegns of Northumberland and Yorkshire had ravaged the area around Northampton: '[they] captured many hundreds of men and led them north with them, so that that shire and other shires which were near there were for many years the worse.'[123]

Moreover, English royal decrees held no sway farther north. King Malcolm III of Scotland (r. 1058–1093), 'killed many hundreds of men, and led home [to Scotland] much money and treasure, and men in captivity,' after a raid in 1079.[124] While we cannot say that every captive taken in these raids was enslaved and sold, since some were surely ransomed, nevertheless we can presume that many would find themselves on the auction block, unable to pay for redemption. In fact, the *vita* of Malcolm's wife, Queen Margaret (1045–1093), which was authored in the early twelfth century at the behest of her daughter, Queen Matilda of England (c. 1080–118), supports this presumption. Margaret's hagiographer – likely Prior Turgot of Durham (c. 1050–1115), a close personal confidant of Queen Margaret – asks rhetorically, 'Who, moreover, would be able to calculate the numbers of those captives from the Anglo-Saxon nation for whom she paid for ransom? How often and how freely she would restore to liberty those who had been reduced

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121   'barbaris vendebant.' *Hermanni Monachi De Miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, II.21, *PL* 156: 985–986; Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England*, 79.
122   *E* 1052; Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 178.
123   *E* 1064 [1065]; see Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 192.
124   *E* 1079; see Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 213–214.

to slavery by the violence of the enemy!'[125] As noted earlier, the ransoming of captives was a trope of medieval hagiography. However, in this case the text's reference to large numbers of Anglo-Saxons who had been enslaved through violence 'by the enemy' (likely the Scots, since Turgot notes in his prologue that Queen Matilda of England had commissioned the *vita*) both neatly supports the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s account of Malcolm's cross-border slaving activities between England and Scotland in the late eleventh century, and further demonstrates the practical and political limits of English royal authority in enforcing bans on slaving in frontier zones.

With the Norman Conquest of England, Wulfstan II, possibly in collaboration with Lanfranc (1005–1089), managed to browbeat William the Conqueror (1028–1087) into outlawing the Anglo-Hiberno slave trade sometime between 1070 and 1087.[126] William was probably reluctant to commit to the extermination of the slave trade considering that he was making a sizable income from it, according to the Doomsday Book. For example, fourpence was paid to the crown as a toll on every slave sold in Lewes alone.[127] Yet even when William eventually outlawed the foreign slave trade in *Willelmi I, articuli* X.9, decreeing, 'I prohibit the sale of any man by another outside the country on pain of a fine to be paid in full to me,'[128] noticeably, the penalty incurred from the sale was paid in full to the crown. The tax had effectively become a fine, and there is no indication that the 'penalty' did anything to halt trafficking activities, because the slave trade was once again outlawed in England at the beginning of the twelfth century. Thus we may interpret the fines levied on the sales of individuals, when they were collected, as simply part of the cost of doing business in England.

It was only in 1102 that the Council of Westminster decreed 'that no one is henceforth to presume to carry on that shameful trading whereby heretofore men in England used to be sold like brute beasts.'[129] Slavery *itself* was not banned in this canon, only the foreign and domestic sales and trafficking

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125 *Vita Sanctae Margaretae*, III.19, as cited in Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2003), 172.

126 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* III.269.

127 Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading,' 113.

128 'Ego prohibeo ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam super plenam forisfacturam meam.' Felix Lieberman ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen: Herausgegebem Im Auftrage Der Savigny-Stiftung: Vol. 1 Text und Ubersetzung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 488, trans. David Charles Douglas and George W. Greenaway, *English Historical Documents: Second Edition, Vol. 2 1042–1189* (London: Routledge, 1981), 424.

129 'Nequis illud nefarium negotium quo hactenus homines in Anglia solebant velut bruta animalia venundari deinceps ullatenus facere praesumat.' Westminster (1102), Canon 28, *Eadmeri*

in human beings, and while the proclamation was an important legal step towards the suppression of traffickers, proscription nevertheless requires strong, centralized authority dedicated to its enforcement. During the Anarchy, when civil war erupted between Stephen and Matilda (1135–1153), centralized political authority fractured once again, and traffickers took advantage of the political upheaval to launch slave raids. In 1136, the Worcester Chronicler described the violence during a period of upheaval between the Welsh and the Normans, during which, 'besides those men taken into captivity there remained 10,000 captive women whose husbands with numberless children were drowned, consumed by flames, or put to the sword.'[130] In 1138, Richard of Hexham (fl. 1141) tells us, in lurid detail, that after the battle of Clitheroe between the English and the Scots, the Scots took captive widows and maidens back with them north into Scotland. Some of the captives were divvied up as slaves, while others were sold or traded for cattle. He writes,

> These bestial men, who regard as nothing adultery and incest and other crimes, after they were weary of abusing these most hapless creatures [widows and maidens] after a manner of brute beasts, either made them their slaves or sold them to other barbarians for cows.[131]

In the same year, the *Annals of Loch Ce* record that an Irish raiding party scoured the area near Westmorland and took countless captives.[132] Finally, during the reign of Henry II there appears to be a dwindling of trafficking across England and Ireland. The Synod of Armagh in 1170 supposedly outlawed slavery in Ireland and redeemed any English enslaved there. However, the historical account of this synod is opaque. Only Geraldus Cambrensis mentions it, in his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, and there is no other

Historia novorum in Anglia, ed. Martin Rule (London: Rolls Series 81, 1884), 143, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (London: Cresset Press, 1964), 152.

130 '[E]xceptis viris in captivitatem abductis, de mulieribus captivitatis decies centum decime remanerent, maritis earum cum parvulis innumeris, partim aqua demersis, partim flamma consumtis, partim gladio trucidatis.' *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume 3*, eds. Reginald R. Darlington and P. McGurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 220–221; Wyatt, 'Slavery, Power, and Cultural Identity in the Irish Sea Region, 1067–1171,' 103.

131 'Denique illi bestiales homines, adulterium et incestum ac cetera scelera pro nichilo ducentes, postquam more brutorum animalium illis miserrimis abuti pertaesi sunt, eas vel sibi ancillas fecerunt, vel pro vaccis aliis barbaris vendiderunt.' *De Gestis Regis Stephani, Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (London: Rolls Series 82.3, 1884), 156; see also Wyatt, 'Slavery, Power, and Cultural Identity in the Irish Sea Region, 1067–1171,' 103.

132 Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading,' 113, and *Slavery in Early Medieval England*, 77–79.

reference to the synod in any other source.[133] Regardless of the historicity of the 1170 Synod of Armagh, it would appear that even by the late twelfth century there were still substantial numbers of enslaved foreigners on Irish soil, or the anecdote would have made little sense to Geraldus' audience. If we consider that major raids took place in 1138 according to the *Annals of Loch Ce*, then it seems likely that the children caught up in those incursions, or the future children of those victims, might well have been among the enslaved some 32 years later, regardless of whether a synod in 1170 freed them or not.

Like the Southern Arc, the Northern Arc was an extensive chain of overlapping spheres of regional economic activity that altogether spanned the distance between Iceland and the Caspian Sea. Viking raiding and trading fed the Northern Arc, but the Scandinavians were not alone in their trafficking activities. Local and regional traffickers operated in every link of this economic chain, encouraged by the possibilities for immense profit offered in distant markets that were connected by Scandinavian ships plying the rivers and seas of Northern and Eastern Europe. Unlike the Southern Arc, the Northern Arc would not outlast the Middle Ages. By the end of the thirteenth century, it had fractured and regionalized in the face of economic pressure from the decline of slavery across Western Europe. Considering the participation of rulers and local officials in the slave trade, it is worth noting that the demise of the Northern Arc came not from political will or concerted action among different polities, but instead from sustained long-term socioeconomic changes across Western Europe.

Central and Western Europe

Central and Western Europe north of the Alps and Pyrenees fed both the Southern and Northern Arcs as local and regional traffickers connected with wider trade networks via Denmark, northern Italy, and Andalusia. The north–south flow of captives from Central Europe to the Mediterranean did not go unnoticed by contemporary observers. Echoing Tacitus, both Paul the Deacon in the eighth century and Regino of Prüm (d. 915) in the ninth contended that overpopulation in Germany was the reason why so many northern Europeans were sold into slavery around the Mediterranean,

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133 For a discussion on the problems of the Synod of Armagh, see James Dimock, *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages: Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), xxxii.

where a robust commercial economy offered consistent access to hard currency. Paul the Deacon observes that, 'from this teeming Germany then, innumerable troops of captives are often led away and sold for gain to the people of the south.' Regino quotes Tacitus in his own explanation of north-south trafficking patterns, 'because Germany is so populous, innumerable groups of captives are often taken from there and sold to southern peoples for money.'[134] The volume of the trade was made possible by a broad pattern of political decentralization over the course of the ninth century following the death of Louis the Pious in 840. The Ottonians in East Francia would eventually consolidate their political power in the tenth century, but part of that process involved protracted warfare against the Slavs and the Magyars, which in turn led to the enslavement of war captives and the reduction of whole populations to servitude.

Central and Western Francia had been fragmented politically since the Treaty of Verdun in 843. Carolingian royalty as a matter of course dealt with powerful aristocrats as individuals, rather than with 'the aristocracy' as a whole, and their rule remained supervisory rather than directive in that they appointed officials to rule locales in the name of the king or emperor. The late Carolingian Empire was not as politically centralized in either space or person as it had been under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious; instead, by the 890s, it was a collection of sub-kingdoms that were conscious of their own local cultural and political traditions. These sub-kingdoms were not arbitrary administrative units but rather coherent peoples with their own leaders and cultural reference points, who had had traditions of semi-autonomous rule before the eighth century and who would return to such rule later in the tenth century.[135]

134 'Ab hoc ergo populosa Germania saepe innumerabiles captivorum turmae abductae, meridianis populis pretio distrahuntur.' Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, I.1., trans. Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, 2. 'Ab hoc ergo populosa Germania sepe innumerabiles captivorum turmae abductae, meridianis populis precio distrahuntur.' Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, 889, ed. Frederick Kurze, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim edititi 50 (Hanover, 1890), trans. Simon MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 204.

135 Simon Maclean*, Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 77–82. For the construction of new comital families and the marriages between older and newer political families, particularly in the tenth century, see also Constance Bouchard, *Those of My Blood: Creating Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). For a detailed study of local identity in Lotharingia, see Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Regnum und Ducatus. Identitat und Integration in der lothringischen Geschichte des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts,' *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 51 (1987), 81–114; Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im*

Regional trafficking dominates the annals and chronicles of the period, while local traffickers are primarily found in deeds of exchange such as those already noted, for example, in Passau, Friesing, and Salzburg discussed in the Introduction. Yet as the *Life of Saint Emmeram* reminds us, local traffickers could connect with regional operators to unload their captives quickly and funnel them into wider regional and long-distance trafficking networks. Raids appear most often in hagiography and chronicles as the principal means of obtaining captives for sale. The violence, destruction, and unpredictability of raids made them memorable for the abject terror they inflicted in the minds of their victims. Like the raids of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, continental large-scale raids for the purpose of taking captives in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries generally crossed cultural borders that demarcated major ethnic groups, such as the East Franks, West Franks, Aquitani, Slavs, Magyars, Bretons, and Scandinavians. Yet this was not always the case, and mass enslavement also remained a means of subjugating rivals in the internecine conflicts of major ethnic groups, even if such episodes appear relatively rarely in the sources.

Besides the north–south flow of captives commented upon by Paul the Deacon and Regino of Prüm, major trunks of regional and long-distance trafficking routes in Germany also ran east–west among the Slavic, Magyar, and Germanic peoples. The Danube river system was an especially important east–west artery of travel, trade, and trafficking, as the *Life of Saint Naum* and the *Raffelstaffen Inquest* make clear. East–west trafficking routes continued westward into West Francia, or they branched northward towards Denmark where they linked with the Northern Arc, or they branched southward, crossed the Alps along the major passes, and eventually continued southeast towards Venice. In West Francia, long-distance trafficking routes ran northeast towards Scandinavia with several routes branching off to the northwest towards Rouen and Frisia, or south towards Andalusia and the Mediterranean. North and southbound trafficking corridors followed the Meuse, Saone, and Rhône river systems between Verdun and Marseilles.

East Francia

East–west trafficking routes crossed a cultural border zone that surrounded the Elbe river system. Generally, Slavic peoples were predominant

east of the Elbe, and Germanic and Frankish peoples west of the river; however, ethnic relations were disturbed in the 860s with the arrival of the Magyars, who raided Louis II's lands in 862.[136] Yet despite the entrance of the Magyars into the volatile mix of ninth- and tenth-century East Frankish political and ethnic relations, the complicated relations among the German and Frankish peoples of East Francia and the Slavic peoples farther to the east remained the principal sources of antagonism, conflict, and thus of cross-border raids and wholesale enslavement. For example, in 869, according to the *Annals of Fulda*, the Slavic Bohemians raided across the border into Bavaria, setting fire to homes and carrying Bavarian women off into captivity.[137] Three years later, in 872, while the East Franks were busy raiding the Slavs of Moravia, the Moravians in turn raided the Frankish supply lines. In that raid, some Bavarians were killed, some drowned, and some were led away as captives in Slavic lands.[138]

The *Life of Saint Naum* gives an excellent opportunity to observe regional trafficking networks linking up with long-distance networks as captives passed from the territories of the Slavs, through Frankish lands and the duchy of Venice, before finally being sold into Byzantium. The Christian missionary Methodius (815–884) had established an active cathedral school in the middle of the ninth century possibly in Moravia or farther southeast in Sirmium. After he died in 884, the political enemies of the Moravian Church attacked the cathedral school, which housed some 200 disciples. The older men who had no value on the market were led out into the wilderness and then left to the elements. The younger boys, however, could command a fair price in Venice, especially after castration. According to the tenth-century hagiographer, after attacking the cathedral school:

> The heretics [the Franks] tortured these men sorely, and the others, priests and deacons, they sold to the Jews at a price. And the Jews took them and led them to Venice, and they sold them in accordance with Divine Providence. Then came the Emperor's man from Constantinople to Venice on imperial business. And when he heard of the men, he bought some of them, and others he took also, and led them to Constantinople and told the emperor Basil of them.[139]

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136 *Annales Bertiani*, 862.
137 *Annales Fuldenses*, 869.
138 *Annales Fuldenses*, 872.
139 As cited in McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 766. See also Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery,* 56, 73.

This sale of Moravian churchmen into captivity could have been difficult to justify without simply ignoring the 880 agreement between Charles and the Venetians. The treaty stipulated that the Venetians would not transport or sell free Christians into the hands of unbelievers, and the churchmen were obviously Christians. However, it would have been challenging for the Moravians to prove that they were also free persons as long as the Venetian slavers did not ask too many questions about the captives' origins and maintained plausible deniability. If the Moravian captives could not prove that they were legally free, then the Venetians could sell them into captivity among the Christian Byzantines without violating the terms of the 880 treaty.

The sale of the Moravian ecclesiastics into captivity in Venice follows broader east–west trafficking patterns within East Francia and between Slavic lands and the Latin West. We know that a major northern east–west trade route ran between the Rhine and the Elbe, because it is mentioned in a royal grant to the convent of Gandersheim, originally issued by Louis II and confirmed by Otto I (r. 936–973) in 956, for a toll on all merchants traveling from the Rhine to the Elbe and the Saale.[140] A second major overland thoroughfare ran southwest–northeast from Mainz to Erfurt in Thuringia by way of a crossing over the River Fulda, which then connected to Magdeburg, as Eigil notes in his comments on merchant traffic along the route in his *Vita Sancti Sturmi*.[141] Farther south still, the traffic between the eastern Slavs and the western Franks and Germans across the border zone was so great that merchants operating along the border petitioned Louis III for a formal set of policies to regulate tolls, customs, and duties along the Danube corridor and for a return to the taxation rates and practices of Louis III's ancestors, Louis II and Karlomann, King of Bavaria (r. 876–880). The *Raffelsteffen Inquest Concerning Tolls* (903–906) describes trade policies around the turn of the tenth century that greatly encouraged exports out of East Francia and Bavaria towards Slavic lands farther to the east. Subsection 1 stipulates,

> Boats coming from western regions, which after they have passed out
> of the Forest of Passau, wish to land at Rosdorf or wherever and hold

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140 Henry Mayer-Harting, 'The Church of Magdeburg,' in *Church and City 1000–1500: Essays in Honor of Christopher Brooke,* eds. David Abulafia, Michael Franklin, and Miri Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 139.

141 Eigil, *Vita Sancti Sturmi*, VII, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Scriptores (in Folio) 2, (Hanover, 1829), trans. Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 171–172.

a market shall render a semidragmam in toll, that is, one scot. If they intend to proceed farther downstream to Linz, they shall render three half-measures, that is, three bushels of salt per boat. With regards to slaves and other goods, they shall pay nothing more there. Rather, afterwards, they shall have permission to land and to sell wherever they wish, right up to the Bohemian Forest.[142]

Trade concessions to German and Frankish merchants continue in subsection 4: 'If, moreover, Bavarians or those Slavs who live with this country [Bavaria] should enter those same parts to buy provisions using slaves or horses or cattle or their other possessions in payment, let them buy whatever is needed without tolls wherever they wish within that territory.'[143]

Traders moving upstream along the Danube (that is, from east to west) into East Francia were subject to heavier tolls and duties. According to subsection 6,

Slavs coming from among the Russians and the Bohemians, in order to trade, wherever they may set up trading posts, whether along the shores of the Danube or among the inhabitant of the Rotthal or Ried […] if he intends to sell slaves or horses, let him pay one tremissis [one-third of a shilling] for a female slave and the same amount for a stallion, but one 'saiga' [one twelfth of a shilling] for a male slave or a mare.[144]

Finally, subsection 9 draws a distinction between professional traders and those farmers and craftsmen who occasionally participated in the markets, as well as directly connects Jews and professional trading. 'Professional merchants, that is, Jews and all other professional merchants, wherever they may come from, whether from this country or from other countries, shall pay all the lawful tolls, both for slaves and for other goods, as was always the case under the kings in earlier times.'[145]

The *Raffelsteffen Inquest* tells us a great deal about trafficking across the southern border zone between Bavaria and Bohemia. Markets were apparently regular enough for the crown to be able to levy customs and tolls upon merchants, and for the inquest to reference 'trading-posts,' yet these permanent markets also competed with informal temporary markets,

142 Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 90–91.
143 Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 91.
144 Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 91.
145 Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 91.

which are mentioned in subsection 1 in reference to the toll of one scot on merchants wishing to land, 'wherever and hold a market,' as well as later in the same subsection that grants merchants the right to 'land and sell wherever they wish.'

Trade was conducted both in currency and in kind, as the tolls indicate. Subsection 1 decrees a toll of one scot for domestic markets held within East Francia, but for merchants who wished to export, the toll was three bushels of salt per boat. Subsection 4 specifically refers to the barter of slaves for other goods and services with no associated tax on subjects of Louis III. Foreign merchants and Jews were expected to have coin, since Slavs who had done business with Russians or Bohemian Slavs prior to entry into East Francia, and Jews in general, were to be charged one third of a shilling per female slave and stallion, while only a twelfth of a shilling per male slave and mare. The tolls themselves also indicate that female slaves were in higher demand and could fetch a higher price than male slaves.

Despite brisk business across the border zone, the tense political and ethnic relations meant that trade was a risky endeavor between East Francia and the Slavic lands. Interregional commerce in no way guaranteed peace, particularly when the business of human trafficking was predicated upon, and therefore encouraged, organized large-scale raids to secure its captive merchandise. In the 920s Henry I (r. 919–936) led a raid on the Hevelli Slavs, part of the Weleti Confederation of Slavic peoples in southern Saxony, attacking and capturing the fortresses at Brandenburg and Gana. When Gana fell, Henry had the men and women executed while the maidens and children were led off as slaves.[146] Henry succeeded in subduing many of the Slavic peoples on the border with Saxony, but one group, the Redarii, rebelled and captured several fortresses, including Lenzen on the east bank of the Elbe River, circa 929. The Saxons, under the command of Counts Bernhard and Thietmar, put down the rebellion and recaptured the fortress. They allowed the rebels to return home, but the Saxons kept the wives, children, and slaves of the rebel leaders who were also in the fortress and led them off into captivity into Saxon lands.[147]

In some cases, the political border was more important than the ethnic border regarding wholesale enslavement of populations. In 923, a pair

146 Widukindi Monachi Corbeiensis, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum Libri Tres*, I.35, eds. Georg Waitz and Karl A. Kehr, MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 60 (Hanover, 1935), trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 50.

147 Many of those captured were later beheaded in retribution for the rebellion, but it is unclear who exactly were executed. Widukindi, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, I.36.

of prominent West Frankish lords, Count Gislebert of Lotharingia (c. 890–939) and Archbishop Rudgar of Trier (r. 915–930), invited Henry I to invade and raid West Francia during the civil war between Charles III (r. 898–922) and Robert I (r. 922–923). Henry accepted their offer but took to raiding Lotharingia instead and carried off the Frankish inhabitants.[148] In 954, during the civil war between Otto I and his son Liudolf, Otto's armies scattered the rebel forces of Liudolf. Widukind tells us that the imperial forces then spread across Franconia, raiding and pillaging along the way, and took many people captive, including 1000 dependents of a certain Ernst, possibly the count of Sualafeld, who was part of the rebellion.[149]

Franks and Germans were not alone in enslaving their own when it was politically expedient. Slavs, for example, sometimes raided other Slavic peoples on the borders of Saxony. In 954, the Slavs took advantage of the political turmoil to raid East Saxony. The Cocarescemi peoples of the area, who were Slavs living under Ottonian rule, fled to an unidentified fortress. When the Slavic raiders surrounded the fortress, the Saxon commander decided against pitched battle since he was outnumbered and advised the Cocarescemi inside the fortress to seek the best possible terms of surrender they could from the raiders. The terms agreed upon stipulated that the men should lay down their arms, and the men, women, and children were to climb the walls, leaving their slaves and goods in middle of the fort for the raiders to claim. However, as the raiders entered the fort, one of them apparently identified, mistakenly or otherwise, a woman as his runaway slave. When he reached out to seize her, her husband struck the raider, and the raider shouted that the terms had then been broken. The raiders killed the men and led the women and children away as captives.[150]

Politics again trumped ethnic identity in 977, but this time to the benefit of the enslaved. The Polish King, Mieszko I (r. 960–992), raided in Saxony just west of the Elbe, and during the campaign his Slavic forces attacked the convent of St. Lawrence in Calbe. Oda, the eldest daughter of the Margrave of North March of Saxony (c. 955–1023), was removed from the convent by Mieszko's forces. She later married the King of Poland, much to the consternation of the Church. However, Oda seems to have had a positive influence over her new husband, because she convinced him to release

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148 Flodoard, *Annals*, 5L, *PL* 135: 430.

149 Widukindi, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, III.30; see Bachrach and Bachrach (2014), 116 note 89 for the identification of Ernst.

150 Widukindi, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, III.51.

political prisoners and to allow enslaved captives in Poland to return to their homelands.[151]

Slave raids among the Franks, Germans, and Slavs continued unabated into the eleventh century, in some cases with dramatic success for the invaders. In 1003, Boleslav III, Duke of Bohemia (r. 999–1003), raided the Elbe region of Saxony and abducted the inhabitants of Lommatzch. Thietmar of Merseburg reports that the Slavic campaign of 1003 netted some 3000 captives for the Bohemians.[152] During the Slav rebellion between 1011 and 1013, the Germans and Danes united to crush the rebellion. The Slavs were defeated, and the captives were presumably led back into German and Danish lands.[153] In 1015, Ulrich, Duke of Bohemia (r. 1012–1034), led the Bavarians in a raid on the Slavs in his own lands. The Bavarians captured all the women and children and 1000 men in the environs of the fortress of Biesnitz.[154] In 1017, the future King of Poland, Mieszko II (r. 1025–1031), raided Bohemia and after two days of plundering he brought back 'innumerable multitudes of captives' to Poland, to the 'joy of his father,' Boleslav I.[155] The warfare between the German and Slavic peoples would continue to produce captives for slave markets across Central and Eastern Europe well into the eleventh century.[156]

The conflicts with the Magyars arguably had a smaller impact than the conflicts among the Franks, Germans, and Slavs on human trafficking networks in Central Europe, if only because the Magyars arrived late on the scene in 862 and were effectively crushed in 955 at the Battle of Lechfeld by Emperor Otto I. Nevertheless, for nearly a century the Magyars conducted territorial raids on the Latin West and became both active participants in and victims of the slave trade. Magyar raids on Bremen between 915 and 917 resulted in the enslavement of clerics and laity throughout the bishopric according to Adam of Bremen (c. 1040–1081/1085). Between 930 and 931, and again in 933, the Saxons and Thuringians skirmished with the Magyars, which led to the Germans taking Magyar captives. In the skirmishes of 933, the Saxons and Thuringians captured the camp of the Magyars and freed all the German captives

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151 Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon*, IV.36, *PL* 139: 1272.

152 Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon*, V.22, *PL* 139: 1301.

153 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, III.22.

154 Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon*, VII.12, *PL* 139: 1372.

155 Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon*, VII.44, *PL* 139: 1395.

156 For example, Adam of Bremen notes Slav raids on German peoples and their allies that produced mass enslavements around 1057 (III.26), 1066 (III.51), and 1072 (III.64); see *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*.

they found.[157] A similar situation occurred at the Battle of Lechfeld in 955. Captives were taken on both sides over the course of the battle, but Otto I inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Magyars, and as a result not only brought Magyar captives back to Germany, but also recovered Germans captives from the Magyar camp who would have been destined for sale in the east.[158]

While much of the fighting between Central Europeans and the Magyars took place on the eastern borders of the former Carolingian lands, Magyar raids could occasionally penetrate much farther west into the heart of West Frankish territory. In the environs of Rheims in 937, a Magyar raid resulted in a large number of Frankish captives being led off to the east.[159] In 954, Duke Conrad of Lotharingia (r. 944–953) conspired with Magyars against his political rivals in West Francia, and led a joint raiding party through the lands of Hainault, Cologne, and then into West Francia, capturing many along the way. Although his own lands in Lotharingia were spared mass abduction and enslavement, once in the lands of his political opponents Conrad showed no compunction about the abduction and enslavement of his fellow Franks and Christians at the hands of his Magyar allies.[160] Yet despite the spectacular success of some Magyar raids, it is difficult to argue that the Magyars had a lasting impact on the slave trade as a result of these raids, because they were sporadic and relatively isolated. They do not appear to have been frequent or sustained enough to have added to the regular traffic in bodies, even if their immediate victories provided periodic windfalls of captives.

In addition to the well-established regional trafficking networks between East Francia and the territories of the Slavs farther to the east, regional trafficking branch networks running north and south remained active and robust throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. We have already seen how Anskar and Rimbert purchased Danish and Slav boys in Denmark for ecclesiastical training, how Rimbert's prayers miraculously broke the manacles of Christian slaves he found in Denmark being led off into the trade networks of the Northern Arc, and how Sigifrid and Louis concluded peace to foster trade relations between the Danish and Frankish peoples. The *Vita Anskarii* provides more information on trafficking networks on the

157 Widukindi, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, I.38; Flodoard of Rheims, *Annals*, 15A, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and Steven Fanning (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

158 Widukindi, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, III.44 and 46; Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon*, II.4 *PL* 139: 1205.

159 Flodoard of Rheims, *Annals*, 19C, *PL* 135: 449.

160 Flodoard of Rheims, *Annals*, 36A, *PL* 135: 480.

rim of the North and Baltic Seas. Rimbert tells us that in the 850s or early 860s, Bishop Anskar was greatly concerned over news of regional traffickers operating in northwest Germany in an area inhabited by Saxons whom Rimbert calls 'Northalbingians' (*gens Nordalbingorum*). Pagans had taken Christians there,[161] but some of these Christian captives later escaped to Christian lands in Northalbingia, where the local Christians then captured them. Rimbert makes it clear that these Northalbingian Christians lived next to the pagans (*qui proximi noscuntur esse paganis*), and they sold their captive coreligionists once more into slavery across the religious border among their pagan neighbors.[162]

In 882, Charles III concluded a peace treaty with a local Frankish magnate, Godafrid, who was an ally of Viking bands then raiding farther west in Frisia. After the treaty was concluded and the spoils of peace were divvied out among Godafrid and his allies, the *Annals of Fulda* report that the Scandinavians 'sent ships back to their country, loaded with treasure and captives, 200 in number.'[163] As late as the first decades of the eleventh century, captives were still moving between Germany and Scandinavia. The Danes raided Hamburg probably sometime around 1018, and the inhabitants of the bishopric were led off into captivity, presumably into Denmark, given the identity of the raiders and the proximity of Hamburg to the Danish border zone.[164]

A major north–south corridor connected northern Francia to the Mediterranean via Verdun and the Meuse, Saone, and Rhône river systems. Verdun's central position in northern Francia, situated on the Meuse with easy access to the Saone and Rhône river systems, made it a popular slaving hub and castration center into the tenth century, as Bishop Liutprand of Cremona (c. 920–972) makes clear. In 949, Liutprand gifted four child-eunuchs, *carzimasia*, to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. 913–959), on behalf of his lord, Marquis Berengar II of Ivrea (c. 900–966). The bishop writes, 'The merchants of Verdun do this [castration] on account of the immense profit they can make, and they are accustomed to bring them [eunuch slaves] to Spain.'[165] This description of the traffic in eunuchs

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161 It is unclear if 'terras barbarorum' refers to lands of the Scandinavians or the Slavs.

162 *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto*, XXXVIII.

163 'Normanni vero de thesauris et numero captivorum 200 naves onustas miserunt in patriam.' *Annales Fuldenses*, 882; it is unclear whether '200' refers to the number of ships or to the number of captives – see Reuter, *Annals of Fulda*, 93.

164 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, II.43.

165 'Verdunenses mercatores ob inmensum lucrum facere et in Hispaniam ducere solent.' Liutprandi Episcopi Cremonensis, *Antapodosis*, VI.6, ed. Joseph Becker, MGH: Scriptores rerum

from Verdun southwards towards Andalusia certainly fits well with Ibn Hawqal's description of tenth-century Andalusia as a collection point for eunuchs who were then exported and distributed across the Mediterranean to Byzantium and the Caliphate.

West Francia

Political decentralization following the Treaty of Verdun in 843 created a situation in which raids and large-scale abduction across major ethnic and political divides occurred with regularity. As in previous centuries, raiding generally took place across the frontiers of the Franks, Bretons, and Aquitani, while Viking and Muslim attacks, as well as the occasional Magyar raid, across West Francia and Lotharingia added to the political tumult and confusion. These raids supplied bodies for the regional and long-distance trafficking networks that funneled Europeans north towards ports in Scandinavia, Frisia, and northwest Francia, or southwards towards Andalusia and Venice.

The ethnic divides, primarily cultural in nature, were major fault-lines in Western European society and provided Western Europeans with conveniently located 'others' who could be sold into wider regional and long-distance trafficking networks. The Frankish–Breton border was one such ethnic divide in Western Europe during the ninth and tenth centuries, which produced occasional large hauls of captives destined for the auction block. For example, in 843, the Bretons under their duke, Nominoe (d. 851), allied with the political rivals of Charles II (823–877), and killed Duke Rainald of Nantes, and then took many of the local inhabitants captive.[166] In southwest Francia, the border between the Aquitani and the Franks also provided fertile ground for mass abduction, particularly during the mid-ninth-century struggles of Charles, Lothar, and Louis. The *Annals of St. Bertin* tell us that in 854, after the Aquitani requested aid from Louis II, Charles quickly moved his troops into Aquitaine, presumably provoked by the military threat that his nephew, Louis the Younger, presented to his southern borders. His troops, meanwhile, raided and burned the countryside of Aquitaine throughout the spring, taking many inhabitants captive.[167]

Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 41 (Hanover, 1915), trans. Paolo Squatriti, *The Complete Works of Liutprand of Cremona* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 199.
166 *Annales Bertiani*, 843.
167 *Annales Bertiani*, 854; see also *Annales Fuldensis*, 854.

The Vikings crossed ethnic and religious borders throughout West Francia and actively raided for slaves in the region, as they did elsewhere. In 862 Charles II managed to corner the Vikings on the Marne near Meaux, pinning them between Frankish divisions along each bank and upon a bridge that spanned the river. The Vikings, recognizing that their position was hopeless, sued for peace. Part of the agreement between Charles and the Scandinavians involved the return of captives they had taken along Marne over the course of their raiding activities.[168] In 892, according to Regino of Prüm, a Viking attack on the abbey of Prüm resulted in the plundering of the monastery, the widespread murder of clerics and lay people, and the enslavement of the survivors. After a stint of pillaging in the Ardennes, the Vikings, 'went back to their fleet with great booty and, in their heavily laden ships, they returned to the lands across the sea with all their forces.'[169] In 919, the Vikings launched a prolonged raid on the Bretons. Flodoard of Rheims (c. 893–966) tells us, 'the Northmen ravaged, destroyed, and annihilated all of Brittany in Cournouaille, which is located on the seashore. The Bretons were abducted and sold, while those who escaped were driven out.'[170] According to Flodoard, Viking incursions into West Francia from Rouen prompted retaliation from local Frankish magnates in 923; Count Heribert II of Vermandois (r. 907–943) joined forces with the local Frankish nobility against Rognvald, a Viking war leader. The Franks overcame the Scandinavians and reportedly liberated 1000 prisoners from captivity within the environs of the city.[171] One thousand captives freed in a single military encounter seems exaggerated, yet nevertheless speaks to the size and importance of Rouen, its port, and its markets to the Northern slave trade.[172] The city, unsurprisingly, features prominently in the works of the satirist Warner of Rouen (c. 996–1026) who wrote of the trials, travels, and 'tribulations' of an abducted Irish poet named Moriuht. In Warner's stories,

168 *Annales Bertiani*, 862.

169 'reliquos captivos duxerunt [...] cum ingenti preda ad classem redeunt oneratisque navibus cum omnibus copiis transmarinas repetunt regiones.' Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, 892, trans. Maclean, *History and Politics*, 212.

170 'Normanni omnem Britanniam in Cornu-Galliae, in ora scilicet maritima, sitam depopulantur, proterunt atque delent, abductis, venditis, ceterisque cunctis ejectis Brittonibus.' Flodoard, *Annals*, 1, *PL* 135: 423.

171 '[C]aptivi mille ibidem liberati sunt.' *Annals* 5H, *PL* 135: 428.

172 Lucien Musset suspects that Rouen was one of the biggest and most important slave markets in Western Europe; see 'La Seine normande et le commerce maritime du III au XI siècle,' *Revue des Societes Savantes de Haute-Normandie, Lettres et Sciences Humaines* 53 (1969), 9; see also Lauren W. Breese, 'The Persistence of Scandinavian Connections in Normandy in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries,' *Viator* 8 (1977), 47–61.

Norse raiders captured Moriuht and his wife, and the poet was then sold at a market called 'Corbric,' which may refer to Corbridge, Northumbria, the site of a royal residence and a hub of regional exchange among the Scots, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians in the Kingdom of York. Moriuht was forced to flee his new owners, a monastery of women, after his 'charms' became known throughout the religious community, and during his flight he was recaptured by the Danes and sold again, this time overseas in an anonymous market among the Saxons. He eventually fled his new owner, a wealthy widow, after another tryst, before making his way west through Francia. In a village near Rouen, he found his wife enslaved to a poor man, from whom he redeemed her and took her into the town.[173]

At the outset of Chapter One, I put forward two arguments. First, human trafficking adapts to the socioeconomic and political environments in which it takes place. The Introduction has already demonstrated the mutable roles of human chattel in different economic systems, but traffickers themselves also adapted to the circumstances of the moment. Traffickers may be opportunists who abduct when moments present themselves, such as the kidnappers in the *Life of Saint Emmeram* or the local slavers that Bishop Wilfrid met on the shores of Sussex; they may be raiders who abduct as part of larger raiding expeditions, such as the Viking raids throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, or they may be raiders who specialize in large-scale slaving expeditions, as the Muslim and Byzantine attacks on Italy and Dyrrhachium demonstrate. Traffickers may specialize in slave trading, such as the Galatians of Late Antiquity or the crews of the slave ships mentioned by Dorotheus of Gaza in the sixth century or in the *Itinerary* of the monk Bernard in the ninth century, but they may also be non-specialists, such as Gilli the Russian in *Laxdaela Saga* or the Rus merchants on the Volga River described by Ibn Fadlan in the tenth century.

Furthermore, trafficking networks themselves adapt as needs and opportunities arise. Augustine observed that traffickers operating in the Western Mediterranean had been driven from their usual places into Numidia by the Vandal invasions, where they continued their activity in the environs of Hippo. When Byzantium began raiding Muslim traffickers for their Slavic captives in the ninth and tenth centuries, traffickers responded by circumnavigating Constantinople entirely, and relied instead on eastbound routes that crossed the Levant and the Caliphate towards Black and Caspian

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173 Lucien Musset, 'Le Satiriste Gamier de Rouen et son milieu (debut de XI siècle),' *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 10 (1954), 237–258; Pelteret, 'Slave raiding and Slave Trading,' 108–109.

seaports, and westbound routes towards Andalusia, using the Danube and Frankish river systems.

Regional trafficking networks could interlink to create long-distance networks across the North Atlantic, North and Baltic Seas, or across the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and could thus encourage and foster the growth of local traffickers, such as the local raiders who pillaged the countryside of Hippo in Augustine's letter to Alypius, or those near Hamwic of whom Bishop Wilfrid writes in the seventh century. Yet trafficking routes could also operate independently of each other. Thus we see intense local, regional, and long-distance trafficking during the Late Empire, but in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries we find a reduction in long-distance trafficking and a continuation of local and regional trafficking networks across Western Europe. Over the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, we witness an intensification of long-distance trafficking networks in addition to an intensification of local and regional trafficking. The mutable roles of slaves in socioeconomic systems, the mutable identities of traffickers, and the flexibility of trafficking patterns all ensure that human trafficking adapts quickly to ever-changing socioeconomic and political conditions. This adaptability is the key to its historical success and the crucial reason why it has proven so difficult to eradicate.

Second, I argued that, because human trafficking is so adaptable, centralized political authority is necessary to suppress trafficking activities, but that authority must actively commit to and maintain suppression efforts, since political authorities – as we saw with the Merovingian King Theuderic and Byzantium in general – may also actively encourage human trafficking. In the case of Theuderic, mass abduction and enslavement served to ensure political support among his retainers and to punish those whom he suspected of treachery. Byzantine institutions such as the imperial military raided in Italy, the Balkans, the Levant, and in the Black Sea. Centralized political authority, such as that represented by Rome and later Byzantium, may actively encourage human trafficking by sanctioning it through legal codes that regularize the slave trade, by institutionalizing permanent markets, by giving the slave trade religious sanction through festivals and rituals, or by authorizing the financial support of human trafficking activities, such as the services offered by the state bank of Rhodes to auctioneers, vendors, and customers who attended slave auctions.

Conversely, a centralized political authority may encourage human trafficking by ignoring or passively accepting the problem, for example through legislative inaction or through bureaucratic corruption or incompetence. Consider, for instance, the Roman generals Lucipinus and Maximus

in Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the Goths on the Danube, or the behavior of Roman army officials in the observations of Themistius, or Augustine's sweeping indictments of local North African Roman authorities who participated in the trade or profited from it through bribery.

Finally, political decentralization allows human trafficking to flourish by fracturing political authority and thus suppression efforts, as was the case in early medieval Britain, Italy, or Merovingian and late Carolingian Francia. Without political centralization, the fragmentation of society creates numerous 'others' who are considered beyond the borders of one's own community and therefore legitimate targets for abduction and enslavement.

Local and regional authorities did periodically attempt to regulate and limit the slave trade, but without the sustained cooperation and coordination of neighboring polities and authorities, such regulation and suppression efforts were doomed to failure. The suppression of trafficking in Western Europe would be incomplete even after the twelfth century. It would require sustained economic pressure from medieval urbanization and both the widespread internalization of Latin Christian identity and its prioritization over other identities to create the socioeconomic conditions in which slavery, as a means of compelling agricultural production, would decline across Western Europe. However, even as agricultural slavery slowly faded and the long-distance slave trade adapted by reorienting itself towards the Mediterranean basin, local and regional trafficking networks persisted in Western Europe, now by supplying the growing commercial sex industry. In short, slavery may have declined, but human trafficking nevertheless survived.

Having examined the broad contours of human trafficking patterns and the responses of authorities to those patterns from Late Antiquity to the twelfth century, I now turn the experiences of trafficking victims. Men and women and children caught in the webs of traffickers had very different experiences and, as I will demonstrate, the experiences of women and children linked the early medieval slave trade and the sex trafficking networks of the late Middle Ages. For women and children, slave trading and sex trafficking were inextricably bound together to a degree that men did not experience. With the addition of a gendered perspective, I will set the stage for the high medieval pivot, when human trafficking patterns in Western Europe north of the Alps changed irrevocably from slave trading to sex trafficking.

3. Gendered Differences

Men, women, and children were all trafficked in Late Antiquity and throughout the early Middle Ages. Although the experiences of trafficking and enslavement were similar for all in that victims, regardless of their sex, met with violence, intimidation, coercion, and deception as a result of the dehumanization and commodification of abductees, the conditions of those experiences were nevertheless gendered. Sexualized violence against women and children remained a looming and perpetual threat in late antique and early medieval human trafficking activities that adult men generally did not face. While this fact should come as no surprise to anyone, the importance of this observation lies in continuity; the dangers of exploitation and violation for trafficked women and children remained a predictable constant that linked the slave trade of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages to the sex trafficking networks of the late Middle Ages and the early modern period.

As enslaved prepubescent children, both boys and girls commonly experienced sexual exploitation. In Antiquity, Jasper Griffin contends that relations with young boys, provided they were not freeborn, was quite common considering the Roman literary references, inscriptional evidence at Pompeii, and the regular accusations and scandals of the Late Republic. The Augustan state calendar recorded that boys employed in male prostitution (*pueri lenoniorum*) had their own official holiday on 25 April.[1] In the *Declamationes* of the orator, Quintilian (c. 35–100), a foster father berates a man who abandoned his son, claiming that, 'If it had been up to you [...] beasts would have torn him [the abandoned son] apart, or birds would have carried him away, or, much worse, the pimp or the gladiator trainer would have gotten him.'[2] Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) urged Christian parents to never abandon their children, 'because we have observed that nearly all such [abandoned] children, boys as well as girls, will be used as prostitutes.'[3] Lactantius (c. 250–325) decried the practice of child abandonment, claiming that exposed boys and girls ended up 'either

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1   'Festus est puerorum lenoniorum quia proximus superior meretricum est.' As cited in Jasper Griffin, 'Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury,' *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 66 (1976), 101–103.

2   *Declamationes*, 278, ed. Michael Winterbottom, *The Minor declamations ascribed to Quintilian* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984), 87; as cited in Boswell, *Kindness of Strangers,* 88.

3   1 *Apology* 27, *PG* 6.639, trans. John Kaye, 1783–1853 (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1889).

in slavery or the brothel.[4] Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215) observed that enslaved boys were 'beautified' prior to display in the markets in order to attract potential buyers, and pondered, 'How many fathers, forgetting the children they have abandoned, unknowingly have relations with a son who is a prostitute or a daughter who has become a harlot?'[5]

However, with the maturation process came sharply pronounced gendered differences in the experiences of enslavement and exploitation. As boys developed into men, they generally lost their sexual appeal to their male owners. As an example of cultural attitudes towards the sexual exploitation of adult male slaves, let us consider the *Satyrica*, a satire composed in the second half of the first century CE, and generally credited to Petronius (c. 27–66). The character Trimalchio, a wealthy former slave, now a slaveholder, imitates the opulent lifestyle of the Roman elite in part by owning a male slave for sexual exploitation. However, his 'favorite' (*deliciae*, literally 'delights') slave is too old (*puer vetulus*) and too ugly (*lippus* and *deformus*) for sexual exploitation according to contemporary social standards, and Trimalchio's ignorance of these standards, along with his numerous other social faux pas, all serve to clearly and comically identify him as an outsider and an imposter.[6]

Late antique cultural standards of beauty dictated that sexual exploitation of male slaves generally tapered off as they matured, and so for adult men enslavement and sexual exploitation remained separate conditions. Under the threat of violence, adult male slaves supplied heavy, skilled, and occasionally sexual labor, and young male prostitutes (including slaves) worked in the sex industry, but there is little evidence suggesting a widespread, sustained cultural merger of adult male slavery and male prostitution. This is not to say that maturity made male slaves immune to sexualized violence. Slaves of either sex did not legally own their bodies, and therefore male slaves were always vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violence in the form of castration – the so-called 'slave-dealer's art' (*ars mangonis*).[7] The male

4   *De Institutiones*, 6.20.22, ed. Samuel Brandt, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, 19.1 (Vienna, 1890).

5   *Paedagogus* 3.3, *PG* 5.585; Boswell, *Kindness of Strangers*, 113.

6   *Satyrica*, 28.4, ed. Michael Heseltine (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913).

7   For example, a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus records a threat from two men, Apion and Epimas, to a certain Epaphroditus, a name commonly associated with male slaves and freedmen, in which 'Apion and Epimas proclaim to their best-loved Epaphroditus that if you will allow us to bugger you, it will go well for you, and we will not thrash you any longer.' The options for the young slave or freedman are quite clear: choose rape or further beatings; see Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 53. Seneca the Elder wrote of widespread homosexuality between masters and their slaves and former slaves, 'Unchastity (*impudicitia*) is a crime for the freeborn, a necessity

slave was referred to as *puer* 'boy,' denoting not only legal helplessness similar to a child's, but also a child's physical helplessness, an inability to protect his physical integrity.[8]

For enslaved women, however, maturity brought the exact opposite experience. Jennifer Glancy observes that 'social location is known in the body,' and gendered physical relationships shaped the social relationships between the master and the slave that defined, and continue to define, slavery and human trafficking.[9] As girls matured into women of childbearing age, society *assumed* their sexual exploitation throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and their exploitation was *institutionalized* in Roman jurisprudence.[10] For women of childbearing age and for children, enslavement meant constant vulnerability and exposure to sexual assault and coerced prostitution to a degree that was generally unknown to their adult male counterparts.

The vulnerability of female slaves to sexual exploitation stemmed partly from the gendered division of labor among the enslaved. Because male slaves did highly visible work in fields and mines or conducted official transactions on behalf of the state or private transactions on behalf of their owners, their contributions to the state and household economies were recognized by social commentators of the times. Female slave work was dominated by what we might call the service industry. Slave women usually occupied domestic roles and served as wet nurses, governesses, and caretakers for sick or injured family members and small livestock. When they did engage in labor in public settings, they were used in textile production, food services and hospitality, or, like their male counterparts, as attendants in public baths. Social commentators in the Republic such

for the slave (*servo*), and a duty (*officium*) for the freedman (*liberto*).' *Controversiae*, IV.10, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom, *Declamations, Volume I: Controversiae, Books 1–6* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974). See also Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, 95–96; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 51; Harper, *Slavery in the late Roman World*, 284, 288–291, 296 for the exploitation of men and eunuchs.

8   It should be noted that a major difference between family slaves and legitimate children was the legal vulnerability of slaves. Although children were also vulnerable to depredation, freeborn children were protected by social mores and laws, unlike slaves; see Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, 27; Saller, 'The Hierarchal Household,' 117.

9   Glancy, *Corporal Knowledge*, 4.

10   Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World*, 97–98, 151. Particularly in the Eastern Empire, one of the most common terms denoting servitude is *somata*, literally meaning, 'bodies,' which were the property of their owners. Thus, a slave prostitute was categorized by her legal, not occupational, status since the former implied the potential of the latter; see Dominic Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1996), 106–108; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity,* 10–16.

as Cato (234–149 BCE), Varro (116–27 BCE), Columella (d. 70 CE), as well as jurists such as Q. Mucius Scaevola (d. 82 BCE), often dismissed female slaves as those who 'did no work' (*opus non facere*), because they did not view the duties of the female slaves as being particularly crucial to the finances of the household.[11] The cultural diminishing of women's labor and its contributions to the household and imperial economies, then, tacitly provided a socially acceptable reason for their sexual exploitation as their 'contribution' to the household. By deprecating the value of female slave labor, social commentators were then able to contend that the purposes of slave women were to demonstrate the wealth and opulence of her master, to provide him with a personal relationship that included sexual services, and to bear her owner a new generation of slaves.[12]

The slave woman's ability to reproduce and create a new generation of slaves was a great advantage to her owner, particularly during the Principiate when the frontiers of the Roman Empire stabilized, and internal reproduction became an important source of new slaves. Usually, although not always, the legal status of the mother passed to her children. A practical implication of this legal framework was that a slaveholder could produce more slaves by impregnating his female slaves. He then had the option to formally recognize his progeny and thus liberate them from servitude, but there was no legal incentive and certainly little social pressure to do so. If a master allowed his slaves to start families, he also claimed ownership of any subsequent children. Thus for a variety of legal, economic, and libidinal reasons, slave purchasers sought out female slaves precisely because of their reproductive capacity.[13]

11   Commentators did, however, note the influence of nannies and nurses over young men in their care, since these women often raised them from boyhood, and thus they developed close bonds. Female slaves were also charged with caring for household members in their most vulnerable times, such as sickness, childbirth, and infancy and childhood. Thus, while the work of slave women was oftentimes ignored, the position of the slave woman in the household was not as easily dismissed as Roman authors might suggest; see Matthew J. Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 19, 43–51; Joseph Vogt, *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man* trans. by Thomas Wiedemann (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 105–108. See also Harper, 'Oikonomia: households, consumption, and production,' and 'Agricultural slavery: exchange, institutions, estates,' in *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 100–143 and 144–200, and Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 5–6, 42–45.

12   Early Christianity grappled with this issue of female enslaved concubines by stipulating that men could only join Christian communities by formalizing their relationships through legitimate marriage, and female slaves were permitted to join if they were faithful to their masters and raised their children. Of course, the decision to keep or expose the child was for the master to make; see Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 50–51.

13   Bloch, 'How and Why Ancient Slavery Came to an End,' in *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages*, 1–31; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 16–27.

Society expected the exploitation of a female slave, and the woman was presumed to have had a sexual history regardless of whether or not she had actually been exploited.[14] In a declamation of Seneca the Elder (54 BCE–39 CE), orators debated whether a respectable free virgin, having been kidnapped by raiders and sold into slavery in a brothel, could enter the priesthood after regaining her freedom even if she had somehow managed to preserve her chastity (by killing her would-be rapist). One of the orators, Publius Vinicus (fl. 2 CE), rejected the possibility with vivid imagery: 'Do you regard yourself as chaste just because you are an unwilling whore? [...] She stood naked on the shore to meet the buyers' sneers; every part of her body was inspected and [...] handled.'[15] According to Vinicus, her objectification and her constant vulnerability to violation undermined her claims to have heroically defended her sexual integrity in a single encounter.

Rome was not the only society that assumed the sexual exploitation of female slaves. The Mishnah, the 'Oral Law' of Judaism, stipulates that converts to the faith, former captives, and freed slaves cannot be married as virgins.[16] In the Early Christian Era, Ambrose of Milan (340–397) argued that the redemption of a Christian woman from 'barbarian impurities, which are worse than death' was a cause worthy of Church resources.[17] Basil of Caesarea (330–379), in his exploration of the fickleness of fortune, observed that the whim of the master determined the potential for virtue of the slave: 'She who is sold to a brothel-keeper is in sin by force, and she who immediately obtained a good master grows up with virginity.' Moreover, he extended a pathway to virtue to enslaved Christian women by arguing that, 'even a slave, if she has been violated by her own master, is guiltless.'[18]

The step from socially acceptable sexual exploitation of female slaves to the prostitution of female slaves was small indeed. As Susan Treggiari reasons,

> Some girls are kept to work in the city household, others might perhaps be kept for their parents' sake and as the *delicia* (the favorites or pets) of their owners, others might disappear to the country estates to work wool and produce children [...] The prospects for girls who were sold would,

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14   Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 13, 27; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 51–53.

15   Glancy, *Corporal Knowledge*, 64.

16   Glancy, *Corporal Knowledge*, 64–65.

17   'femina ab impuritatibus barbarorum, quae graviores morte sunt.' *De officiis ministrorum* II.28, *PL* 16: 140.

18   *Homiliae super Psalmos 32.5, PG* 29: 336; *Epistle* 199.49; Glancy, *Corporal Knowledge*, 71; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 309.

if most rich families had a surplus of girls, be gloomy, the most likely purchasers be brothel-keepers or poor people who wanted a drudge.[19]

The concepts of female enslavement and prostitution were inseparable in Late Antiquity. In the second century CE, Artemidorus wrote in his treatise on the interpretation of dreams, 'A courtesan imagined that she had entered the shrine of Artemis and she was freed and left behind her life as a courtesan. For one would not enter the shrine unless one had left behind one's life as a courtesan,' and as Glancy observes, she could not abandon prostitution as long as she was enslaved.[20] In the fourth century, Jerome (c. 342–420) wrote sympathetically in a letter of a recently divorced woman whose former husband reportedly had 'such heinous vices that even a prostitute or a common slave would not have put up with them.'[21] John Chrysostom equated slaves and prostitutes as he set in stark relief the honor of free women against the dishonor of both of the former in his exhortations to the Christian men in his audience to refrain from illicit affairs with slave girls and prostitutes. In the fifth century, Basil of Seleucia (d. 458/460) relates an anecdote in which a woman, furious at her daughter's rather active social life, exclaimed that the young lady was 'spurning a marriage worthy of her patrimony and preferring the shameful life of a prostitute or slave girl!'[22]

Beyond metaphysical theory and social commentary, there is legal evidence for the social conflation of prostitutes and female slaves. The imperial tax codes on female prostitutes (*prostitutae* and *meretricium quive lenocinium fecissent*) and houses of prostitution, instituted by Caligula (r. 37–41) in 40 CE, included local variants that instructed tax collectors on the best methods of payment extraction from enslaved prostitutes and their owners.[23] The Roman jurist Ulpian (d. 228), writing in the early third century, defined prostitution and pimps in relation to enslaved prostitutes. He writes,

> He engages in prostitution [*lenocinium*] who has slaves [*mancipia*] for hire, though he who conducts this business with free persons is in the

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19   Susan Treggiari, 'Family Life among the Staff of the Volusii,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 105 (1975), 400–401.

20   *Oneirocritica*, IV.4, ed. and trans. Daniel E. Harris-McCoy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 311; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 55.

21   'Tanta prior maritus vitia habuisse narratur, ut ne scortum quidem et vile mancipium ea sustinere posset.' *Epistolae*, 77.3, *PL* 22: 691; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 21.

22   *De vita et miraculis sanctae Theclae,* I.12, trans. Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 291.

23   Thomas McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 248–256; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 56.

same situation. He is liable to punishment for *lenocinium* whether this
is his principal occupation, or whether he carries on another trade (as,
for instance, if he is an inn- or tavern-keeper and has slaves of this kind
serving and taking the opportunity to ply their trade, or he is a bath-
keeper having, as happens in certain provinces, slaves hired to look after
clothing in the baths who are attentive in this way in their workplace).
And Pomponius says that he who, while in servitude, had prostituted
slaves on his own [*peculiara*] remains infamous after emancipation.[24]

Ulpian's definition of *lenocinium* casts a wide net that ensnares many of
the roles and structures involved in the imperial sex industry. The *leno*, or
pimp, is mainly a manager, and not necessarily the owner, of slaves who are
prostituted not only in brothels but also in taverns, inns, and bathhouses.
The legal status of the pimp is not necessarily a consideration; he may be
free, freed, or a slave himself, but regardless of his legal position, his social
position is middling, the manager of a business that wealthier people own
or of which they are the principal investors, and to whom most of the profits
flow. His legal opinion refers to slave prostitutes as *mancipia*, instead of
servi or *ancillae*, which suggests that the ruling was crafted broadly enough
to cover a wide range of future litigation that might include enslaved men,
women, eunuchs, and children. Importantly, the enslaved status of those
under the power of the pimp is emphasized, highlighting the social dynamics
of domination and control involved in prostitution, pimping, and servitude.
As Rebecca Flemming argues, the economic act of prostitution was one of
others acting upon the prostitute (whether enslaved or free) who profited
from her initial and then recurrent sale. She observes, 'The modern verdict
that, "Money is the reason for prostitution," may be borne out by the ancient
sources, but the money in question is presented not as an incentive for
entering the profession, as it is now, but for establishing others in it.'[25]

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24   'Lenocinium facit qui quaestuaria mancipia habuerit: sed et qui in liberis hunc quaestum
exercet, in eadem causa est. sive autem principaliter hoc negotium gerat sive alterius negotiationis
accessione utatur (ut puta si caupo fuit vel stabularius et mancipia talia habuit ministrantia et
occassione ministerii quaestum facientia: sive balneator fuerit, velut in quibusdam provinciis
fit, in balineis ad custodienda vestimenta conducta habens mancipia hoc genus observantia in
officina), lenocinii poena tenebitur. Pomponius et eum, qui in servitute peculiaria mancipia
prostituta habuit, notari post libertatem ait.' *Digest*, 3.2.4.2–3, eds. Paul Krueger, Theodor
Mommsen, Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* 3 Volumes (Berlin: Weidmann,
1928–1929). For a translation and explication, see Rebecca Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum
Facit: The Sexual Economy of Female Prostitution in the Roman Empire,' *The Journal of Roman
Studies*, Vol. 89 (1999), 51.
25   Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit,' 42.

Ulpian also crafted a legal definition for the 'prostitute' that flew in the face of the conventional wisdom of the day by eliminating the commercial nature of prostitution as a consideration. He did not, however, eliminate the association of femininity and prostitution.[26] In his opinion,

> We would say that *a woman* openly makes a living [by her body] not only where she makes herself available in a brothel, but also if (as is customary) she squanders her chastity in taverns, inns, and other places. Thus, we understand 'openly' as indiscriminately – that is without selection – not a woman who commits adultery or fornication, but one who maintains herself in the manner of a prostitute. Likewise, because she has intercourse with one or two, having taken money, it is not understood that she has openly made a living by her body. Also, Octavenus says, most correctly, that even a woman who makes herself openly available, without making a living, ought to be counted in this category [...]. We call these women *lenae* who set out women for hire. We also understand as a *lena* she who leads this kind of life under another name. *If a woman running an inn has slaves for hire in it* (*as many are accustomed to have prostituted women, on the pretext that they are servants of the inn*), this must also be said to put her in the category of the *lena*.[27]

Ulpian thus defines a prostitute as a woman (and not a man) who makes absolute availability her way of life. In one sense, this is a rather broad definition. Remuneration is not a requirement, and a female pimp may be also labeled 'prostitute.' Yet paradoxically, his definition is also quite restrictive in that 'open,' 'indiscriminately,' and 'without selection' seem to be

26   It should be noted that Ulpian's elimination of economic transaction from the definition of 'prostitute' was controversial in his own day, because many earlier commentators, such as Quintilian, Cicero, and Seneca the Younger, had taken decidedly different views on the definition of 'prostitute,' in which monetary exchange was an essential feature; see Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit,' 52.

27   'Palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia vel qua alia pudori suo non parcit. palam autem sic accepimus passim, hoc est sine dilectu: non si qua adulteris vel stupratoribus se committit, sed quae vicem prostitutae sustinet. item quod cum uno et altero pecunia accepta commiscuit, non videtur palam corpore quaestum facere. Octavenus tamen rectissime ait etiam eam, quae sine quaestu palam se prostituerit, debuisse his connumerari [...] lenas autem eas dicimus, quae mulieres quaestuarias prostituunt. lenam accipiemus et eam, quae alterius nomine hoc vitae genus exercet. si qua cauponam exercens in ea corpora quaestuaria habeat (ut multae adsolent sub praetextu instrumenti cauponii prostitutas mulieres habere), dicendum hanc quoque lenae appellatione contineri.' *Digest*, 23.2.43.3, 7–9, trans. Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit,' 52; italics added for emphasis.

difficult standards to prove. Thus Ulpian excludes men from his definition of 'prostitute,' as well as women who occasionally engage in commercial sex during times of financial distress, or those women whose sexual behavior is essentially selective, even if considered scandalous by contemporary standards. The two rulings together strongly suggest that prostitution and female slavery had become fused in imperial jurisprudence by the early third century. The first definition considers slavery a prerequisite for the practices of pimping and prostitution in general, while the second defines prostitutes specifically as women and again underscores the central role of female slaves in prostitution.

Moving from cultural attitudes regarding prostitution and female servitude to concrete examples of such, a papyrus from Fayyum dated to about 265 CE details a legal battle involving the sale of a slave prostitute from a brothel in the environs of Arsinoë. A brothel-keeper named Pyrrhus, son of Podarius, and his unnamed partner managed several brothels but apparently ran into financial problems, and they fell behind on their rent payments. In order to pay down their debts, Pyrrhus sold off moveable property including a slave woman named Canthara who 'had been with them formerly.'[28] In perhaps the most concrete, violent, and visceral example of the fusion of the female slave and the prostitute during the Late Empire, a fourth-century lead and iron slave collar from Bulla Regia in North Africa bears the inscription, 'I am a filthy prostitute. Hold me because I have fled from Bulla Regia.'[29] The humiliation of the label *adultera meretrix* inscribed on the slave collar for public view is the voice of the woman's owner, yet his words imply the humiliation, coercion, and violence from which she had fled.

Because gendered norms of honor and shame crossed legal strata in Late Antiquity, imperial authorities occasionally felt a sense of obligation to restrict the most degrading aspects of enslavement.[30] Imperial decrees did not address the humiliation of the auction block upon which naked bodies were poked, prodded, and publicly examined (as Publius Vinicus so vividly described), but authorities nevertheless made attempts to regulate

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28 *PSI* IX 1055a, trans. Montserrat, *Sex and Society*, 109.

29 'Adultera meretrix. Tene me quia fugivi de Bulla R(e)g(ia).' Author's translation. I have translated *adultera* as 'filthy,' but Kyle Harper has chosen to translate it as 'slutty,' which also seems quite apropos since *adultera* connotes debasement; see *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 9455, ed. Hermann Dessau (Berlin: 1892–1916); Thomas A.J. McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 37 note 159; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 310.

30 For classical cultural attitudes regarding male and female honor and shame, see Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 8, 41–42.

sex trafficking and to curtail the practice of prostituting the enslaved. Emperors and jurists ruled frequently to uphold the restrictive legal covenant known as *ne serva prostituatur*, which could be added to the sales terms of any female slave (*serva*) in order to prohibit her future prostitution by her new owners.[31] According to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Hadrian (r. 117–138) prohibited the sale of slaves to pimps (*lenones* or *lanistae*) without just cause, and Septimius Severus (r. 193–211) impressed upon the Urban Praetor of Rome the obligation to protect slaves from being prostituted and to enforce the *ne serva prostituatur* covenants. This same emperor later ruled that a freedwoman could not be compelled to perform services for her patron and former master that would harm her reputation.[32]

Legal caveats such as *ne serva prostituatur*, as well as social commentary and the numerous and repeated imperial limitations and prohibitions on the prostitution of female slaves, all vividly demonstrate the ubiquity of the practice. Yet gendered conditions of sexual exploitation in human trafficking that women experienced in Antiquity were not limited to the enslaved. There is also evidence for the sale of freeborn women into enslavement and prostitution by their families because, like slaves, dependents such as women and children were placed at a legal disadvantage that enabled their exploitation. Although qualifications were placed on these transactions, even the legislation of early Christian emperors did little to address the vulnerability of Roman dependents to enslavement and prostitution.[33] The potential profits a family might realize from the sale of a member do not appear extraordinary, although one may argue that, for the poverty-stricken, a small quick profit and one less mouth to feed were of no small consideration. Thomas McGinn contends that in the Late Empire, downward pressure on the market price of female slave prostitutes in Constantinople was exacerbated by the glut of freeborn trafficking victims also working in the sex industry. As McGinn poignantly observes, 'Byzantine data suggests that it was not expensive for a pimp to set up shop.'[34]

The voluntary sales of kin by families did nothing to mitigate the dangers inherent in the sex industry that women and children then faced. A papyrus dated to the late fourth or early fifth century from Hermopolis, Egypt, details a court case involving an elderly woman named Theodora, who had sold

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31   For more information on these covenants, see McGinn, 'Ne Serva Prostituatur: Restricted Covenants in the Sale of Slaves,' in *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law*, 288–319; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 54; Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit,' 53.

32   Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit,' 53.

33   Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit,' 42.

34   McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution*, 58–59.

her daughter into a brothel in order that the young woman might support her in her old age. The daughter, whose name is illegible because of damage to the document, was murdered by Diodemus, an Alexandrian senator, for unknown reasons. Diodemus eventually admitted to the murder, and Theodora went before the court to demand that the senator be obligated to contribute to her subsistence. As she explained to the court: 'For this reason I handed my daughter over to the brothel-keeper: that I myself might have food. Therefore, since I have been deprived of my support by my daughter's death, I petition that a moderate amount, appropriate for a woman, be given for my support.' The Egyptian prefect agreed; he banished Diodemus from the city and ordered that a tenth of his income be given to the old woman for her support.[35] Theodora was certainly not unique; McGinn has noted that a primary reason for selling kin or the decision to enter prostitution was economic insecurity that resulted from low wages, limited opportunities for female work, stiff competition in the labor pool, disasters in family economics, and only occasionally the desire for quick social mobility.[36]

Dominic Montserrat has argued that because the daughter was able to give her elderly mother a percentage of her earnings, the daughter was probably not enslaved because she would not have kept her income if she had been a slave.[37] This argument is unconvincing, because it was also common practice to allot slaves a certain percentage of their earnings for their own personal use, which was known as *peculium*, from which the daughter might well have supported her mother. Although we cannot be certain of the daughter's legal status, the bigger issue of legal status and sexual exploitation merits consideration, because a trafficking victim of free status who was sold into a brothel at least had the possibility, however remote, of legal remedy for her predicament. As Orlando Patterson contends, 'Non-slaves always possess some claims and powers themselves vis-à-vis their proprietor.'[38] Legal recourse was denied to victims who were abducted, then legally enslaved, and then sold into a brothel. There were few ways out; the intermediary step of legal enslavement meant that abductees were shorn of any possibility of legal remedy to their enslavement and subsequent prostitution.

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35   *Berlin papyrus excerpts G*, 1024.6–8, eds. and trans. Mary Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation Third Edition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 125; Montserrat, *Sex and Society*, 132–133.
36   McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution*, 61.
37   Montserrat, *Sex and Society*, 108.
38   *Slavery and Social Death*, 26.

Early Christian emperors began to address the sale of dependents into prostitution in law beginning in the early fourth century. Constantine I (r. 312–337) dismantled and undermined the protections his pagan predecessors had put in place to protect freeborn children from wrongful enslavement and exploitation via sale or abandonment, presumably to bring Roman law into accordance with the reality of the Late Empire.[39] Constantine's actions would not survive the fourth century, however, because later emperors such as Theodosius I (r. 379–395) and Valentinianus III (r. 425–455) restored protections for children and moreover extended those protections to slaves, particularly where sexual exploitation was concerned. The latter two emperors decreed, 'If fathers or masters, as pimps, should compel their own daughters or female slaves to sin, those same daughters and female slaves, after having sought the judgment of the bishop, shall be freed from every obligation of distress [presumably shameful acts performed under coercion].[40]

In 343, Emperor Constantius II (r. 337–361) issued a decree that sought to suppress the sale of Christian women into brothels. Regardless of their original legal status, the women appear to have entered into servitude through their initial purchase, because once the sale had been concluded the rights of others to purchase the women from the brothel were restricted to ecclesiastics and Christian laymen, presumably in order to allow good Christian men to free their coreligionists from a life of or prostitution and shame,

> If any man should wish to subject to wantonness the women who are known to have dedicated themselves to the veneration of Christian law and if he should provide that such women should be sold to brothels and compelled to perform the vile service of prostituted virtue, no other person shall have the right to buy such women except those who are known to be ecclesiastics or those who are shown to be Christian men, upon the payment of the proper price.[41]

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39   Boswell, *Kindness of the Strangers*, 69–73.

40   'Si lenones patres vel domini suis filiabus vel ancillis peccandi necessitatem imposuerint, liceat filiabus vel ancillis episcoporum implorato suffragio omni miseriarum necessitate absolvi.' *CJ*, 1.4.12, eds. Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, Rudolf Schoell, and Wilhelm Kroll. Author's translation.

41   '[S]i quis feminas, quae se dedicasse venerationi christianae legis sanctissimae dinoscuntur, ludibriis quibusdam subicere voluerit ac lupanaribus venditas faciat vile ministerium prostituti pudoris explere, nemo alter easdem coemendi habeat facultatem, nisi aut ii, qui ecclesiastici esse noscuntur aut christiani homines demonstrantur, competenti pretio persoluto.'

The efficacy of such an edict is certainly questionable. The decree only applied to Christian women, and it did not address the plight of those women in brothels who were nonetheless forced to wait and hope for a Christian cleric or layman to purchase them from servitude and shame. While the edict theoretically limited the profits accrued by brothel-keepers from the sale of Christian women by restricting the pool of potential buyers, the transaction was nevertheless permitted.

Under Justinian I (r. 527–565), the imperial campaign to suppress the prostitution of dependents reached its height. In 529, Justinian outlawed the enslavement of foundlings and abandoned children, a practice that also provided major sources of sex workers in brothels, inns, and taverns according to late antique social commentators.[42] The plight of sex workers in Constantinople appears to have left a lasting impression on the emperor, for in the early 530s Justinian commissioned an inquiry into the sex industry of the Byzantine capital; unsurprisingly, the commission found that the slave trade remained deeply enmeshed in the commercial sex trade.[43] In 535, its findings were published in *Novella* 14, which describes in detail human trafficking operations. The imperial commission reported,

> We have learned that men who live dishonestly, have in various cruel and detestable ways found the occasion of making money by nefarious means, in that they travel about in the provinces and in many places, deceive poverty stricken girls, ensnare them by promising them shoes and clothing, bring them to this city, confine them in their own lodging places, feed and clothe them scantily and offer them up to anyone's pleasure; that they take the evil income from prostituting the bodies of the girls; that they take a written promise from the latter, compelling them to perform such impious and abominable service for him as long as he pleases; and that some have even demanded sureties for the girls [...] Some of them have been so wicked as to induce girls less than ten years old to commit dangerous debauchery.[44]

Codex Theodosianus, 15.8.1 eds. Paul M. Meyer and Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1904–1905), trans. Clyde Pharr, Theresa Sherrer Davidson, and Mary Brown Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange Ltd, 2008), 435.
42 *CJ,* 8.51.3.
43 Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 309.
44 'Agnovimus enim quosdam vivere quidem illicite, ex causis autem crudelibus et odiosis occasionem sibimet nefandorum invenire lucrorum, et circuire provincias et loca plurima et iuvenculas miserandas decipere promittentes calciamenta et vestimenta quaedam, et his venari

Poverty continued to provide opportunities for traffickers to lure young women and children into sex trafficking networks. By promising to alleviate material needs such as food, clothing, and shelter, traffickers were able to take advantage of young people's dire circumstances and entice them to Constantinople. Once in the city and effectively isolated from their kinship networks, the young women and children were then at the mercy of traffickers who profited from their coerced prostitution. The report indicates that trafficking networks were highly organized and implicates minor bureaucrats in their operations. Traffickers apparently worked in conjunction with partners such as brothel-keepers and pimps, as well as corrupt local officials, and as a result they were able to secure both enforceable written contracts obligating the girls to labor for their abductors and sureties from third parties for the abductees.

Traffickers took steps to protect and secure their possessions. Marriage, one of the few escapes for the young women, was expensive, strictly controlled, and thus highly discouraged. The commission reports,

> And so impious and unlawful are the acts committed in our times, that when some people, moved by pity, have wanted to remove such women from such occupation, to enter into lawful marriage with them, the panderer would not permit that to be done [...] Thus some men have had difficulty, and only upon giving large amounts, to redeem such girls, to enter into a lawful alliance with them.[45]

Constantinople was at the heart of regional and long-distance trafficking networks that spanned the Mediterranean, the Levant, and Eastern Europe. Earlier the report had noted that traffickers had sought out women and children in the provinces and lured them to the capital city

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eas et deducere ad hanc felicissimam civitatem et habere constitutas in suis habitationibus et cibum eis miserandum dare et vestem et deinceps tradere ad luxuriam eas volentibus, et omnem quaestum miserabilem ex corpore earum accedentem ipsos accipere et celebrare conscriptiones, quia usque ad tempus, quod eis placuerit, observabunt impiam et scelestam hanc functionem implentes; quasdam vero earum etiam fideiussores expetere [...] Quosdam autem sic scelestos existere, ut puellas nec decimum agentes annum ad periculosam deponerent corruptionem.' *Novella* 14, eds. Wilhelm Kroll and Rudolf Schoell, *Corpus Iuris Civilis: Novellae*, 4th ed. (1912), trans. Fred H. Blume, *Annotated Justinian Code* (Laramie, WY: University of Wyoming); on the web at www.uwyo.edu. Last accessed on 5 February 2020.

45   'Et causae sic impiae et iniquae sub nostris temporibus praesumantur, ita ut etiam quosdam miserantes earum et abducere a tali operatione crebro volentes et ad legitimum deducere matrimonium non sinerent [...] et quosdam aurum dantes non parvum vix inde redemisse miseras, et nuptiis copulasse castis.' *Novella* 14, trans. Blume, *Annotated Justinian Code*.

with promises of material support to alleviate their poverty. However, the recruitment and abduction of victims was not only a provincial problem. Traffickers maintained overseas connections through which abductees were transported between the environs of Constantinople and the outlying provinces, indicating once again that for women and children the slave trade and sex trafficking had merged. The commission continued,

> The matter has gone to such an extent that such lodgings are found all over the city and in places across the sea and what is worse, even close to sacred places and venerable churches [...] And there are a thousand ways, not easily enumerated in an oration, by which this cruel evil [sex trafficking] has grown to large proportions; so that while it was formerly present in only a few places in this city, it, and all the places surrounding it are now full of it.[46]

Justinian responded forcefully to the commission's findings by outlawing fraud, deception, and coercion of children and young women into the sex trade, although we may debate the practicality of enforcing such a ban. He nullified any contract obligating women to labor for their abductees, and further threatened pimps, procurers, and their partners with corporal punishment and banishment from the city and its hinterlands: 'If anyone hereafter takes a written promise or surety, he will have no benefit therefrom, since the surety will not be bound, the written promise shall be void, and the person taking them will be punished corporally, as stated before, and expelled far from this city.'[47] To give the crackdown added weight, he put the urban praetors in charge of enforcement, and threatened that those caught trafficking thereafter '[would] be arrested by the worshipful praetors of this fortunate city and visited with the most extreme penalty,' while a person caught using their home in cooperation with traffickers as illegal brothels

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46 'Et in tantum procedere illicitam actionem, ut omni paene in hac regia civitate et in transmarinis eius locis et (quod deterius est) iuxta sacratissima loca et venerabiles domos tales sint habitationes [...] Esse etiam decies milies modos, quos nullus praevaleret sermone comprehendere, cum ad infinitam crudelitatem perductum sit tale malum: ita ut primum quidem in ultimis partibus civitatis esset, nunc autem et ipsa et quae circa eam sunt omnia plena talium sint malorum.' *Novella* 14, trans. Blume, *Annotated Justinian Code*.

47 'Si quis autem conscriptionem de cetero in talibus praesumpserit aut fideiussorem accipere, sciat nullam quidem se utililatem huiusmodi fideiussionis aut conscriptionis habere. Etenim fideiussor quidem obligatus non erit, conscriptio vero omnino invalida manebit; et ipse, sicut praediximus, in corpore supplicium sustinebit et magna hac longissime civitate expelletur.' *Novella* 14, trans. Blume, *Annotated Justinian Code*.

for coerced prostitution '[would] be punished by a fine of ten pounds of gold and [run] the risk of losing his house.[48]

The commission's findings quoted at length in *Novella* 14 support the observations of the sixth-century Greek chronicler John Malalas (c. 490–570), an educated jurist who received his formal training in Antioch and then later moved to Constantinople in the late 530s or early 540s. Malalas tells us in his *Chronographia* that in the early 530s, even as the imperial commission into the sex industry was continuing apace,

> Those known as brothel-keepers used to go about in every district [of Constantinople] on the lookout for poor men who had daughters and giving them, it is said, their oath and a few *nomismata* [coins], they used to take the girls as if under contract; they used to make the girls into public prostitutes, dressing them up as their wretched lot required and, receiving from them the miserable price of the bodies, they forced them into prostitution.[49]

Similar themes emerge from both the *Chronographia* and *Novella* 14: the poverty of the victims, for example, and the deception, fraud, and coercion of the traffickers. By specifically seeking and targeting poor families, traffickers enticed impoverished parents into selling their children's labor for small sums of money, and through deception, they allayed real parental fears of enslavement and prostitution by swearing false oaths (presumably to protect their children and to return them after the end of the contract terms). Once beyond the protection of their kinship networks, the children were then forced into sex work.

Justinian's efforts to suppress human trafficking in Constantinople were complemented by those of his wife, the Empress Theodora (r. 525–548), who had begun her own official inquiries into sex trafficking in the capital city, which it seems ran parallel to the imperial commission's investigations. Theodora was intimately familiar, from personal experience, with the plight of sex workers in Constantinople during the early

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48   '[H]unc necesse est ab spectabilibus praetoribus populi huius felicissimae civitatis comprehensum omnium novissima sustinere supplicia [...] Si quis autem patiatur in sua domo quendam lenonem et huiusmodi praepositum operationis habere et haec denuntiata cognoscens non de domo sua expulerit, sciat etiam decem librarum auri sustinere poenam et circa ipsam periclitaturum habitationem.' *Novella* 14, trans. Blume, *Annotated Justinian Code*.

49   *Chronographia* 18.24, eds. and trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott et al. (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies at the University of Sydney, 1986), 255–256.

sixth century. She had been born to an unknown woman who worked as a dancer and an actor; both occupations were closely associated with sex work in Late Antiquity. Theodora herself, following in the footsteps of both her mother and her elder sister Komito, became an actress and a dancer, and quite possibly a sex worker, in one of Constantinople's many brothels in the early 520s.[50] Her talents eventually caught the eye of Emperor Justinian himself, who fell in love with her. The two married in 525, and Theodora became Empress of the Byzantine Empire and by all accounts a queen of considerable energy, political acumen, and determination. During Theodora's investigations into the sex industry, John Malalas tells us that,

> She [Empress Theodora] ordered that all such brothel-keepers should be arrested as a matter of urgency. When they had been brought in with the girls, she ordered each of them to declare on oath what they had paid the girls' parents. They said they had given them five *nomismata* each. When they had all given information on oath, the pious empress returned the money and freed the girls from the yoke of their wretched slavery, ordering that henceforth there should be no more brothel-keepers. She presented the girls with a set of clothes and dismissed them with one *nomisma* each.[51]

In this account, the Empress demonstrates her knowledge of sixth-century Byzantine human trafficking. Theodora's interrogation of the brothel-keepers opens with the presumption that they had paid impoverished parents for their children. It appears odd that the Empress would then reimburse traffickers for the money that they had paid for the children, but as the imperial commission reported, enforceable written contracts were regularly drawn up and notarized by corrupt minor officials, which obligated the girls to labor for their abductors. We may presume that the payments legitimized the girls' freedom and ensured that traffickers could not attempt to reclaim them later by invoking legally binding contractual

50 Procopius, *Secret History*, IX, trans. Henry B. Dewing *The Anecdota or Secret History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935). For more information on Theodora's early life, see also Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204* (London: Routledge, 1999), 11–17; Paolo Cesaretti, 'The Keeper of the Bears,' in *Theodora: Empress of Byzantium,* trans. Rosanna M. Giammanco Frongia (New York: The Vendome Press, 2001), 25–42; Claudine Dauphin, 'Brothels, Baths and Babes Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land,' *Classics Ireland*, Vol. 3 (1996), 47–72.

51 *Chronographia*, 18.24

obligations, at least until Justinian addressed those legal obligations directly by nullifying the contracts.

The Empress then officially freed the girls from their obligations to their pimps, which Malalas unequivocally equates with 'wretched slavery,' and she pointedly addressed their poverty by ensuring the girls had clothes and a small amount of spending money before they were set free. Moreover, Theodora also took steps to prevent their later relapse into sex work due to coercion or extreme deprivation by creating support structures designed to address the uncertainty in the lives of survivors. Procopius (500–565) tells us in his work, *On Buildings*, that because 'there had been a numerous body of procurers in the city [Constantinople] since ancient times, conducting their traffic in licentiousness in brothels and selling others' youth in the public marketplace and forcing virtuous persons into slavery,' Justinian and Theodora converted and expanded a palace into a large, well-appointed monastery with a sizable endowment to house those women and children who had been forced to work in brothels, 'not of their own free will, but under the force of lust,' because of deprivation. Procopius goes on to relate in lofty rhetoric, 'They [Justinian and Theodora] set free from a *licentiousness fit only for slaves* the women who were struggling with extreme poverty, providing them with independent maintenance [i.e. an endowment], and setting virtue free.'[52]

Yet despite the intense pressure that the royal couple applied to human trafficking networks in Constantinople, the Empire would not sustain suppression efforts indefinitely. As we have seen in Chapter Two, the Byzantine military itself had become a major trafficking organization by the eighth century, and slaving continued in the Eastern Mediterranean into the Early Modern Period.

Thus far we have primarily considered the Mediterranean of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, since the bulk of extant evidence pertains to this region and these periods, but there is evidence for similar conditions of exploitation in trafficking networks in the West formerly under the control of Rome. Examining the conditions that trafficking victims experienced is more difficult in the West, not because the situation was any more humane, but because of the dearth of extant source material. The sexual violence against slaves and trafficking victims and their exploitation and prostitution only occasionally surface in the surviving sources. In early medieval Europe, Ruth Mazo Karras has argued that 'the symbolic power of

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52   *On Buildings*, 1.9.2–10 and especially 1.9.4–6, trans. Henry B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940). Italics added for emphasis.

the enslavement of women came from their sexual use rather than from the imposition of forced labor or other servile treatment.' Like Jennifer Glancy's observations of the gendered experience of slavery in Late Antiquity, Karras observes that men and women in early medieval Europe also experienced slavery differently: although both felt the humiliation of their loss of rights and personal autonomy, the sting of their loss of honor, and the sorrow of their loss of kin, female slaves were much more likely than male slaves to experience sexual violence, even if they were not purchased primarily for sexual labor.[53] Although scholars have observed that, for the most part, royal decrees and ecclesiastical councils forbade the sexual exploitation and prostitution of slaves, nevertheless the extant evidence, thin as it is, suggests both that these prohibitions were mainly honored in the breach,[54] and that the violation and exploitation of abductees caught in trafficking webs were widespread and commonplace. In cases where sexual violence is explicitly noted, the victims are, almost without exception, women and children. This trend partly reflects tropes of atrocities that were standard and expected in ecclesiastics' moral diatribes against violence done to civilian populations in general, and to Christian communities in particular, but it also reflects a social concern over blurring the distinction between slave and free bodies. Still, there is a reason that the violation and exploitation of slaves and abductees became tropes in the first place.

In the British Isles at the end of the fifth century, Patrick blasted Coroticus for his role in the trafficking of newly baptized women and children into Ireland and into the lands of the Picts: 'You [Coroticus] would rather kill or sell them on to a far-off tribe [the Irish or the Picts] who know nothing of the true God. You might as well consign Christ's own members to a whorehouse [...] You gave away girls like prizes, not yet women but baptized.'[55] In Kent, the early seventh-century law code of Aethelbert penalized the sexual exploitation of female slaves with varying fines, the amounts of which depended first and foremost on the

53   Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Slavery, the Exchange of Women, and Masculine Power,' in *The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labor in Medieval England*, eds. Allen J. Frantzen and Douglas Moffat (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1994), 17–18.

54   Christoph Cluse and Reuven Amitai, 'Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE),' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, 16.

55   '[I]n manus Scottorum atque Pictorum [...] Tu totius interficis et vendis illos genti exterae ignoranti Deum. Quasi in lupanar tradis membra Christi [...] mulieraculas baptizatas praemia distribuuntur.' Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum I*, 5–6, trans. Skinner, *The Confession of Saint Patrick and Letter to Coroticus*, 14, 19.

status of their owners. The violation of a slave woman belonging to the
king carried a fine of 50 shillings, of a slave woman belonging to a noble-
man, 20 shillings, and of a slave woman belonging to *ceorl*, six shillings.[56]
According to the Penitential of Theodore, the sexual exploitation of an
enslaved woman (*ancilla*) was a relatively minor offense compared to
other adulterous transgressions. If a slaveholder committed adultery with
his slave woman, then the penitential recommended a penance of only
six months for the slaveholder and the manumission of the slave woman
(*liberet eam*), although the slaveholder was under no compulsion to free
her. If, however, the woman was freeborn, then the recommended length
of penance increased from months to years, the exact number of which
varied according to her social and legal status.[57]

On the Continent in the early 730s, King Liutprand of the Lombards (r.
712–744) took steps to curb the prostitution of family members and kin by
outlawing the coerced prostitution of female wards in 731.[58] Two years later
in 733, he heard a case involving a husband who stood accused of prostituting
his wife and decreed that if the wife voluntarily went along with the scheme,
she was to be executed, her husband was to pay her family a *wergild* equal
to the penalty that would be owed if he had killed her in a brawl, and the
man who lay with her was to be enslaved and handed over to the family of
the woman. If the woman refused her husband's attempts to prostitute her,
then the husband was to pay her 50 *solidi* for giving his wife 'evil council'
(*malum consilium*).[59] The prostitution of kin in eighth-century Italy might
well have been an economically viable strategy for families struggling to
make ends meet, because according to Boniface in his letter to Cuthbert
of Canterbury (d. 760) in 747, the roads to Rome were lined with brothels
that were staffed by English nuns who never completed their pilgrimage
to the Eternal City, but instead had run out of funds and were forced to

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56   Aethelbert 10, 14, and 16, in Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 357–358.

57   *Poenitentiale Theodori*, 1.14.12, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents
relating to Great Britain and Ireland Vol. 3*, 188. The recommendation of manumission may
represent an attempt to prevent future adultery by removing the slave woman from her owner.
However, the manumission may also indicate ecclesiastical recognition of the slave woman's
basic humanity and of the likely trauma she experienced during her exploitation, and thus an
attempt to both redress her suffering and prevent her future violation. Regardless of the intent
behind the recommendation, the slave woman's freedom remained only that: a recommendation.

58   *Leges Langobardorum*, Liutprand 120.IIII, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Leges (in Folio)
4 (Hanover, 1868), trans. Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia: University
of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), 197.

59   *Leges Langobardorum*, Liutprand 130.I, trans. Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, 201–202; Wickham,
Framing the Early Middle Ages, 118.

prostitute themselves.[60] Boniface meant to discourage nuns from making the dangerous trip to Rome by encouraging a synodal prohibition on such journeys, and thus we may expect exaggeration. Nevertheless, he presents an image in which prostitution continued to be a thriving business along eighth-century trade routes and a reliable means of relieving economic deprivation.

The *Annals of Fulda*, however, return us once again to the overt sexual violence involved in human trafficking during the tumult of the ninth century. According to the *Annals*, in 894, the Magyars 'killed men and old women, and carried off the young women alone with them like cattle to satisfy their lust and reduced the whole of Pannonia to a desert.'[61]

Across the Northern Arc during the ninth and tenth centuries, the experiences of women and children fused human trafficking, sex trafficking, and enslavement. Hoskuld bought Melkorka as a concubine from Gilli the Russian in *Laxdaela Saga*. *Landnamabok* tells us that in the late ninth century, a Viking named Helgi raided Scotland and captured Nidbjorg, the daughter of a minor Norse king in Scotland, and made her his wife.[62] In late ninth-century Iceland, the Viking Ketil, son of Thorir Thidrandi, bought Arneid, the daughter of Earl Asbjorn Skerry-Blaze (d. 874), from a fellow Icelander named Vethorm for double the price Vethorm had originally paid for her. Vethorm had come into possession of Arneid from his son and his nephew after they had killed her father and enslaved her. After Ketil bought Arneid, he then made her his wife.[63] On the eastern reaches of the Northern

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60 'Perpaucae enim sunt civitates in Langobardia vel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum.' Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents III*, 381. See also Carol Neuman de Vegvar, 'Custom and Practice Among Women Monastics,' in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 59.

61 'Nam homines et vetulas matronas penitus occidendo, iuvenculas tantum ut iumenta pro libidine exercenda secum trahentes, totam Pannoniam usque ad internicionem deleverunt.' *Annales Fuldenses*, 894, trans. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, 129.

62 *Landamabok*, 84.

63 *Landamabok*, 278. As Ruth Mazo Karras has observed, there is a difference between concubines and slaves. Not every concubine was a slave, and in some cases, such as the Empress Theodora, wife of Byzantine emperor Justinian I, or Walprada, the consort of Lothar II of Lotharingia, concubines could rise to the highest echelons of power in society. Thus, while there was significant overlap between female slaves and concubines, not every slave was a concubine, and not every concubine was a slave. Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia,* 73–76, 115. Even enslaved concubines might gain legal recognition denied to other types of slaves. For example, Nasir-i Khusraw reports that in the late 1040s, while he was staying in Cairo, an emir to the Sultan of Egypt had been killed putting down a rebellion in Aleppo. His 300 slave women were transferred to the sultan, but those who were also concubines were offered the choice of

Arc, Ibn Fadlan observed the exploitation of enslaved women among the Vikings in large wooden houses that served as communal shelters on the banks of the Volga River, from which they traded with merchants moving along the river. He tells us,

> With them [the Viking men], there are beautiful slave girls for sale to the merchants. Each of the men has sex with his slave, while his companions look on. Sometimes a whole group of them gather together in this way, in full view of one another. If a merchant enters at this moment to buy a young slave girl from one of the men and finds him having sex with her, the man does not get up off her until he has satisfied himself.[64]

In early eleventh-century England, Wulfstan I, Archbishop of York, excoriated the exploitation and abuse inherent in human trafficking networks in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*,

> And it is shameful to speak of what has happened too widely, and it is terrible to know what too many do often, who commit that miserable deed that they contribute together and buy a woman between them as a joint purchase, and practice foul sin with that one woman, one after another, just like dogs, who do not care about filth, and then sell for a price out of the land into the power of strangers God's creature and his own purchase, that he [God] dearly bought.[65]

In Wulfstan's telling, the economic, transactional nature of human trafficking is central to the dehumanization and commodification of human beings that allows such violence to be perpetrated upon abductees without guilt or shame on the part of the perpetrators. The women were bought from human traffickers, abused and exploited, and then sold back to human traffickers for sale in other lands across the Northern Arc and presumably into the same fate. Wulfstan was not alone in observing centrality of commodification in the dehumanization of trafficking victims. As noted in Chapter Two, Richard of Hexham described the fate of women and children kidnapped from the borderlands between England and Scotland, who were then enslaved, exploited, and sold or traded for cattle after the Battle of Clitheroe in 1138.

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either taking a husband or inheriting a portion of the deceased emir's property in order to live out their lives in their own homes in relative independence, *Book of Travels*, 80.

64 Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness*, 46–47.

65 Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 857.

On the Continent in the eleventh century, Adam of Bremen tells us that the Danes, 'in contrary to what is fair and good,' had a custom of 'immediately selling women who have been violated.'[66] Although Adam evinces strong anti-Scandinavian prejudices throughout his ecclesiastical history, in this instance his laconic description does not deviate significantly from the general picture of the other examples noted. In this particular instance, however, it is unclear if the women were rape victims who, after being dishonored, were then sold into slavery by their families, or if these were women who were raped and then sold on to other owners by their attackers in a manner reminiscent of Wulfstan's *Sermo*, or if perhaps Adam was referring to both sets of circumstances.

Farther to the east, in the Baltic in the thirteenth century, Henry of Livonia (fl. 1225–1227) reports that in 1226, a papal legate witnessed a group of traffickers from the Isle of Oesel entering the port of Dunamunde on the shores of the Gulf of Riga, just west of the town of Riga. The Oeselian traffickers were returning from Sweden with the spoils of their raids and 'a great many captives.' He tells us that while the Oeselians were 'accustomed to visit many hardships and villainies upon their captives,' women and girls could expect rape and concubinage. 'Both the young women and virgins, at all times [the Oeselians visited hardships upon them], by violating them and taking them as wives, each taking two or three or more of them. The Oeselians were even accustomed to sell women to the Kurs and other pagans [indigenous Baltic peoples].'[67] Henry, in all probability a cleric who came to Livonia in the early thirteenth century from northern Germany, was well positioned in Livonian society as a member of the household of the ranking ecclesiastic in the Baltic, Bishop Albert, and was therefore likely to be well-informed of major trade and trafficking trends in Riga and abroad. Nevertheless, Henry also evinces strong anti-pagan biases in his Chronicle, like so many Christian chroniclers of his day, so we cannot say that this behavior was unique among the pagans or more specifically among the

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66 'Mulieres, si constupratae fuerint, statim venduntur.' Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, IV.vi, trans. Francis J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 190.

67 'Sedis apostolice legatus Lyvoniam derelinquens ad naves circa mare diu resedit, ventorum gratiam expectans. Et vidit subito, redeuntes Osilianos a Suecia cum spoliis et captivis quam purimis. Qui multas miserias et nequicias cum captivis et mulierculis et virginibus exercere solebant omni tempore, illudentes eas et copulantes alias sibi in uxores, tres unusquisque vel duas vel plures [...] quas et Curonibus et paganis aliis eciam vendere solebant.' *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, III.31.1, eds. Leonid Arbusow and Adolf Bauer, MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 31 (Hanover, 1955), trans. James A. Brundage, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 238.

Oeselians. The major theme, however, is yet again emphasized: all victims of traffickers could expect violence and abuse, but for women and children sexual exploitation was a constant further threat to endure.

The above examples are by no means exhaustive, but they should suffice to demonstrate that while men were certainly exploited and abused, for women and children the slave trade and the sex trade were effectively amalgamated. Rebecca Flemming argues that we must recognize that there are important formal differences between slaves and sex trafficking abductees in that *institutionalized* slavery is officially recognized and legal, and therefore the weight of the state preserves slavery as a social institution. Even modern-day trafficking victims at least theoretically have recourse to legal remedies, and even if those legal remedies are distant and remote, the possibility of rescue and relief is of no small consideration. She muses that, 'Indeed, the overall effect of the argument that prostitution inherently imitates slavery is to blur this distinctiveness, to overlook the fact that the relationship between prostitutes and slaves may actually be one of identity not resemblance.'[68] I argue the opposite. The relationship between slaves and prostitutes, at least for those abductees who became either or both through human trafficking activity, is in fact one of uncanny resemblance based upon their shared physical, corporal daily experiences, in which legal recourse was denied to slaves and remote enough for sex trafficking victims as to be little more than a distant, pale hope. Although identity is certainly an important aspect of their relationship – because hope, however distant, is still possible for abductees and not for slaves – lived experience is the defining characteristic of the slave/sex trafficking abductee relationship, not identity. Although the abductees of late medieval sex traffickers in Western Europe were not slaves in the strict legal sense, it made little physical difference in their daily lives.

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68   Flemming, 'Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit,' 59.

4.   The High Medieval Pivot

In this chapter, I argue that the socioeconomic changes of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries laid the groundwork for permanent alterations in human trafficking patterns later in the thirteenth century. In this period, the networks slowly transitioned from supplying predominantly agricultural labor with legally enslaved victims to supplying predominantly sex labor with legally unenslaved victims (largely through illicit sales, coercion, and abduction) in Western Europe, north of the Alps and Pyrenees. The growth in monetary exchange, the popular internalization of Latin Christian identity, and the growing sense of spiritual community among Christians, all caused slavery as a means of compelling agricultural production to decline, but slavery itself nevertheless lingered in other forms, such as domestic slavery, and as a cultural and a legal category.

The revitalized monetary economy also encouraged an urban renewal across Western Europe that would incubate a growing commercial sex industry, which would in turn fuel a new demand for human labor. Thus the contours of late medieval human trafficking in Western Europe were sculpted in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but the results of this shift in demand from agricultural labor to sex labor would only come to historical light in the decades that followed. Moreover, human trafficking continued to evolve in Northern Europe, Eastern Europe, and throughout the Mediterranean world. We must not, then, view Western Europe in isolation, because its socioeconomic changes would have far-ranging consequences for long-distance trafficking patterns elsewhere. Therefore, we will complete our surveys of the Northern and Southern Arcs and then consider the high medieval pivot.

As we have seen in Chapters One and Two, late antique and early medieval human trafficking networks intensified and abated over the course of time. We see, for example, an increase in long-distance, regional, and local trafficking activity in the late Empire, an abatement of long-distance trafficking and a continuation of regional and local trafficking between the sixth and eighth centuries, followed by an intensification of local, regional, and long-distance trafficking over the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. The networks' relative independence of one another, the mutability of the roles of trafficking victims within medieval economic systems, and the overlap between slaver and trader, all allowed human trafficking networks to adapt to the many different socioeconomic and political environments in which they operated. However, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed

socioeconomic changes that would profoundly affect human traffickers and their victims in succeeding centuries.

Earlier centuries had already seen the blending of the *casati servi* (the 'hutted slaves' who lived in their own homes, as opposed to domestic slaves who lived in or near the domiciles of their owners), serfs, and the freeborn poor into a larger but ill-defined 'servile' socioeconomic group. While there continued to be important legal distinctions among slaves, serfs, and freeborn peoples, the differences among these legal categories in terms of agricultural labor and financial obligations had blurred. Intermixed marriages of different legal status, as well as the detachment of labor obligations from personal status and their reattachment to property status, meant that serfs, slaves, and freeborn might have similar obligations towards their lord, depending on the legal status of their property. The crux of the change in social relationships of power was the transition from servile versus freeborn to servile versus noble.[1]

Over the course of the twelfth century, greater political stability encouraged the expansion of the monetary economy, which in turn encouraged lords to commute agricultural labor obligations to rents paid in produce and in coin. Those of servile status, excluding domestic slaves, increasingly lived as *de facto* tenants even if they remained *de jure* unfree.[2] I must stress that the relationship between the growth of monetary exchange and commercial markets and the decline of slavery as a means of compelling agricultural production were peculiar to Western Europe, north of the Alps and Pyrenees, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In no way did commercial development inevitably lead to the end of slavery, as the Roman Empire, later medieval Italy and Byzantium, or the early modern transatlantic slave trade unequivocally demonstrate.

The growth of the monetary economy encouraged the process of medieval urbanization already underway in the twelfth century. Greater political stability and improvements in agricultural technology led to a major population increase during the eleventh and twelfth centuries that fueled urbanization and trade, which led to increased demand for coinage and

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1   Jean-Pierre Devroey, 'Men and Women in Early Medieval Serfdom: The Ninth-Century North Frankish Evidence,' *Past & Present*, No. 166 (Feb., 2000), 12, 19, 23, 27–29. See Dominique Barthelemy, 'Qu'est-ce que le servage, en France au XIè siècle?' *Revue historique* 287 (1992), 253–254, 271–274 for the transition of oppositions.
2   William Chester Jordan, 'Status and Manumission in the Sénonais,' in *From Servitude to Freedom: Manumission in the Sénonais in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 19–32. See also Spufford, 'The Place of Money in the Commercial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century,' in *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 240–263.

access to it. At the same time, the twelfth century witnessed the growing importance of religious identity vis-à-vis local and ethnic identities among elite and ordinary Western European Christians alike.[3] The result of these socioeconomic changes was the decline of agricultural slavery across much of Western Europe. Jeffrey Flynn-Paul, for example, has argued for the perfection of 'slaving' and 'no-slaving zones' between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, in which both secular and religious authorities within Christendom and the *Dhar al-Islam* were able to protect their borders from external raids, exert more internal control over their own merchants, and enforce prohibitions on enslaving coreligionists. The net result was to push the zones of enslavable populations outwards into Eastern Europe and into Sub-Saharan Africa. Although the general picture Flynn-Paul paints of greater social, political, and religious cohesion across the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Western Europe appears accurate, I argue that these 'slaving' and 'no-slaving' zones were by no means perfected but were instead quite porous, mainly because those prohibitions were loosely interpreted and haphazardly enforced.[4]

These general trends of twelfth-century economic growth and increasing internal political stability are well known from the work of such scholars as Marc Bloch, Georges Duby, Dominique Barthelemy, and Norman Pounds,[5] and trafficking networks were not immune to these changes. Agricultural production remained the major sector of the European economy until the Industrial Revolution, and as the unfree part of the agricultural labor force gradually shifted from chattel and hutted slaves to landed servile tenants, the demand for slave bodies decreased in Western Europe, and long-distance trafficking networks began to dissipate.

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3   For more information on the processes of Christianization across the medieval West, see Ian S. Robinson, *The Papacy: 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Robert I. Moore, *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), and *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250 Second Edition* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007).

4   Jeffrey Flynn-Paul, 'Empire, Monotheism, and Slavery in the Greater Mediterranean Region from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era,' *Past & Present*, No. 205 (Nov 2009), 24–26.

5   Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society Volume 1: The Growth of Ties of Dependence*, and *Volume 2: Social Classes and Political Organizations*, trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Howard B. Clarke, see also *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. Cynthia Postan; Dominique Barthelemy, *The Serf, the Knight and the Historian*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Norman J.G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe: Second Edition*.

Across the Northern Arc, the long-distance trafficking routes discussed in Chapter Two fractured and regionalized, coinciding with the waning of the Viking Age and the end of Scandinavian dominance across Northern Europe. However, across the Southern Arc of the Mediterranean trafficking networks remained robust, fueled by the growth of Italian cities such as Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, and later by the growth of Aragonese cities such as Barcelona. These long-distance trafficking networks in the Mediterranean supplemented and joined with local and regional networks, which – rooted as they were in their own immediate sociopolitical circumstances – were able to thrive.

Yet it is easy to make too much of the ebbing of slavery in Western Europe over the course of the twelfth century. We must bear in mind several important caveats to this general trend. First, historians do not agree on the chronology; the disappearance of slavery was neither uniform nor complete.[6] Second, slavery may have disappeared from agricultural production, but it lingered in the domestic setting of wealthy households across Europe. Third, slavery remained a legal category in places such as Scandinavia into the fourteenth century, and a legal as well as socioeconomic status in the Mediterranean basin into the early modern period. Finally, the end of slavery in Western Europe in agriculture did not mean an end to servitude. The definitions of 'servitude' were constantly evolving, but servitude itself remained a fixture in European social, economic, and political life.

If the demand for slave bodies in agricultural production had gradually evaporated across much of Western Europe by the end of the twelfth century, how then did trafficking networks endure? In part, they persisted by adapting in step to widespread changing socioeconomic conditions,

6   For example, Pierre Bonnassie argues for widespread agricultural slavery into the tenth century followed by a fast shift from slavery to serfdom in Europe in the eleventh century in *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 331–314. Guy Bois concurs with Bonnassie regarding a major transition away from slavery to serfdom during the tenth and eleventh centuries; see *The Transformation of the Year One Thousand: The Village of Lournand from Antiquity to Feudalism*, trans. Jean Birrell (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992); Marc Bloch contends that slavery began to wither in the ninth century, but its demise in feudal France occurred over the course of the eleventh century in 'Personal Liberty and Servitude,' in *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages*, 33–92. Ruth Mazo Karras has demonstrated that slavery did not disappear in Sweden until the beginning of the fourteenth century in *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*, 138–140. William D. Phillips Jr. argues for the continuity of slavery in Iberia from Late Antiquity into the Early Modern Period in *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* and *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. Pierre Dockès sees slave resistance as contributing to the demise of chattel slavery beginning in Merovingian Francia in *Medieval Slavery and Liberation*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Methuen & Co., 1982).

such as by localizing or regionalizing.[7] Trafficking networks survived in Western Europe, albeit in attenuated forms, partly by supplying the demand for domestic slaves, especially the *ancillae*, female household slaves.[8] However, a new source of demand for labor was emerging within European cities and towns. Amid the widespread urban renewal, commercial sex grew and prospered. To be sure, prostitution had never disappeared from Europe. What had changed, starting in the latter half of twelfth century, were its scope, scale, and permanency. The change, in other words, was structural, as commercial sex transitioned into a commercial sex *industry*. Prostitution gradually became more organized through socioeconomic structures such as brothels and prostitution rings. As it grew and organized, a web of inter-related roles beyond client and sex worker – which included religious and secular authorities, property owners, procurers, and traffickers – developed in tandem. Prostitution evolved into an industry that became a feature of urban life, and that industry turned in part to human traffickers in order to meet its labor needs and thus fuel its growth.

The Late Medieval Northern Arc

As the twelfth century wore on, long-distance trafficking networks across the Northern Arc of Europe gradually dissolved. I suspect that this process was primarily the result of concurrent changes in agricultural production in Western Europe: because Scandinavian traffickers were so enmeshed in the slave trade across Western Europe, as we have seen in Chapter Two, they would also be acutely affected by the flagging demand for bodies during the twelfth century. However, the demise of the Northern Arc was likely also in part the result of the dwindling of Scandinavia's political power and of its hegemony across the northern waters of Europe in the twilight of the Viking Age. Yet here we must confront the limitations of the sources, which

7   Although this study concerns primarily Western Europe north of the Alps, it should be noted that other scholars have noted much the same patterns in their areas of study. For example, Samuel Sutherland has observed a localization of slave trading in Bavaria over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which stemmed in large part from the Christianization of Eastern Europe and subsequent rising costs for potential buyers as the reservoirs of enslavable peoples shrank. 'Slave Trading and Raiding in Twelfth-Century Bavaria' given at the *93rd Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America*, 3 March 2018, in Atlanta, GA.

8   See Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery,' *Past & Present*, No. 149 (Nov., 1995), 3–28, and in response Jean-Pierre Devroey, 'Men and Women in Early Medieval Serfdom: The Ninth-Century North Frankish Evidence,' *Past & Present*, No. 166 (Feb., 2000), 3–30.

for twelfth-century slave trading are scarce: thus my suspicions, however measured, must nevertheless be *a priori* in order to bridge the chasm between the late Viking Age and the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

We are on firmer footing in the thirteenth century, particularly when we consider Henry of Livonia's *Chronicon* (c. 1180–1227). Henry evinces a strong interest in military affairs throughout his work, including detailed descriptions of battles, equipment, strategies, and techniques. From these details we gain more than glimpses of the raids that led so many people to the auction block; we can piece together a vivid picture of raiding and slaving that reduced whole communities to blood, ash, and chains. While much of the activity he chronicles takes place in the first decades of the thirteenth century, Henry describes trafficking networks among Baltic peoples that must have existed during the twelfth century before the incursion of Christian forces. It is difficult to believe that regional and local trafficking in the Baltic inexplicably ended in the twelfth century and then suddenly revived with the arrival of Western European Christian observers in the early thirteenth.

Henry of Livonia describes eastern local and regional trafficking networks throughout his *Chronicon*. These networks centered on the ports of the Gulf of Riga, but extended outwards northeast into Estonia, east into Livonia and Russia, and southeast into Lithuania. We have evidence of late twelfth-century trafficking activities running along north–south routes between the Lithuanian and Livonian peoples around the Gulf of Riga circa 1180,[9] and a particularly successful raid by southern Lithuanians into northern Estonian territory in 1205 netted an impressive collection of Estonian captives, which according to Henry 'numbered over a thousand.'[10] East–west trafficking operations also centered on the Gulf ports, particularly Riga, and ran into the Russian interior towards Novgorod via the hinterlands of Gerzike (Jersika, Latvia).[11] Farther west in the ports of the Gulf of Riga, traffickers boarded ships, and fluvial and terrestrial routes transitioned into marine routes. The Isle of Oesel and Visby on Gotland served as major Baltic networking hubs from which regional routes extended southwest to the northern shores of Germany, and westwards into Sweden and Denmark.[12] Upon the Baltic

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9   *Chronicon Livoniae*, I.1.2–5.

10   'cum tota preda et captivis, qui millenarium superabant numerum.' Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, III.9.3–9.4. See also ibid., III.11.5, III.12.2, IV.20.7, IV.23.7, and IV.27.4 for other examples of slaving along north-south axes of the Baltic.

11   For raids operating on east-west axes, see Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, III.11.6, IV.12.6, IV.13.3, IV.15.1, IV.20.2, IV.20.5, IV.22.2, IV.25.5–6, and IV.28.6.

12   Livonia to Gotland, see Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, I.1.11; Germany to Riga via Oesel, III.7.1; Estonia to Visby, Gotland, III.7.2; Oesel to Treiden, Livonia (Turaida, Latvia) via

Sea, the terms 'merchants,' 'slavers,' 'raiders,' and 'pirates' describe more the immediate activity of these sailors, and less their identity or career.

Henry's *Chronicon* has so many references to slaving raids that their descriptions become formulaic, so it is difficult to say for certain how any one raid occurred, yet major underlying patterns emerge from the dozens of incidents he records. For example, religion was a major, although unreliable, social fault-line, and oftentimes German Christians and their Baltic Christian allies conducted raids against their pagan neighbors and vice versa. Religious identity created some cohesion in the fractious politics around the Baltic Sea in the early thirteenth century, however, no predominant power emerged in the area during this time, and both Christians and pagans were as likely to be raided as to raid. While the German Christians appeared to be the dominant military force, they were hamstrung by their small numbers and relied on their native coreligionists to make forays against their pagan neighbors, who in turn added to the webs of trafficking by passing their captives through their own local and regional political and economic ties. Among the numerous parties involved in the ongoing conflicts, women and children were the primary targets for capture.[13]

Henry describes nearly identical patterns of behavior in these raids, and given his keen interest in military matters, I suspect that his observations accurately represent common raiding strategies of parties whether pagan or Christian and regardless of ethnic identity. A basic slave raid began with a mustering of forces including members of allied groups. After a journey of several days – a timeframe that itself indicates the frequency and extent of localized trafficking – the raiding party splintered and each subgroup then followed a different route through various villages in the immediate area, effectively creating a dragnet. Raiders focused on the villages, but they also monitored the roads for refugees in flight. Once in the villages, homes and fields were burned creating a panic within the local community. Raiding parties usually, although not always,[14] killed the men, and carried off the women and children, livestock, and moveable wealth, but in some cases the women and young boys were also butchered and the girls alone were carried away.[15] After several days in the field, the various parties regrouped at a

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the Aa River, IV.15.1, and for Oeselian slave raids in the Livonian interior, IV.18.8; Germany to Gotland via Oesel, IV.19.5; Denmark to Estonia, IV.22.8–9; Oeselians with Swedish captives, IV.30.1.

13   For examples of raiders targeting women and children specifically, see Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, III.11.5, IV.14.6, IV.14.10, IV.15.7, IV.16.8, IV.17.5, IV.18.5, IV.19.3, IV.19.8–11, IV.20.2, IV.23.5–7, IV.23.9, and IV.27.1.

14   Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, IV.20.8.

15   Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae,* IV. 12.6, IV.13.5.

predetermined location to divide the captives and spoils among themselves before returning to their own lands.

In general, the strategy outlined above was extremely effective, to the point that it was adopted on all sides for raids upon the others. However, because raiding parties had to be large enough to splinter into sizable subgroups capable of raiding multiple settlements simultaneously, these parties were occasionally observed on the roads and rivers in time for the locals to scatter. The survival strategy of the villagers used local knowledge of the terrain to evade or outlast the invaders. In some cases, they attempted to flee on alternative roads. Since children, the elderly, and the infirm were also in their numbers, oftentimes villagers relied less on mobility and more on stealth for their escape. Familiar with the neighboring woodlands, they commonly resorted to flight to the forests, but this tactic was also predictable and raiding parties that found a village deserted would often search the nearby woods, with varying degrees of success.[16]

If we now turn our gaze westwards from the Baltic to the region between the North and Baltic Seas, we have evidence for human trafficking in the thirteenth-century Skåne law codes from southwest Sweden, which stipulate, 'If a freeborn man comes into slavery, because he is captured and afterwards sold, and he is killed, then his relatives and nearest kinsmen have the right to take full compensation for him and give to the master who owned him as much of the compensation as the dead man cost him when he bought him.'[17] The possibilities of descent into slavery via raid or war and then entry into trafficking networks form the circumstances for this particular statute. Yet besides attesting to the presence of slave trading in the early thirteenth century in the heart of Scandinavia (and reminding us that men, too, were still swept up in trafficking webs), the law gives us few details about the extent, volume, personnel, or structures of thirteenth-century trafficking. In fact, Ruth Mazo Karras has argued that when we consider the extant sources for late medieval Scandinavia, literary and legal, the supply of foreign slaves into Scandinavia seems to have dwindled to little more than periodic acquisitions of captives.[18]

Slavery itself continued in Scandinavian society into the fourteenth century, presumably through internal recruitment such as hereditary slavery, penal enslavement, and debt slavery, although this last type appears to

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16   *Chronicon Livoniae*, IV.15.2, IV.15.7, IV.19.3.

17   *Skånske Lov*, *Danmaks gamle landskapslove*, I.29, as cited in Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*, 47–48.

18   Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*, 47–48.

have increasingly become an extra-legal social condition in Scandinavia as time went on. Importantly for this study, however, Scandinavia never relied on slavery as the basis of its economic output, but instead treated slavery as a legal, social, and cultural category.[19] This means, then, that Scandinavian societies alone could not perpetually absorb both periodic external influxes and continual internal recruitment of slaves. If traffickers across the Northern Arc were to remain in business then they had to export their human cargo, so as the demand for slave bodies in Western Europe declined, then so too did trafficking in the North Sea region. Thus I contend that the distinction between dwindling trafficking networks in western areas of the Northern Arc and the thriving local and regional networks of the eastern Northern Arc strongly suggests that by the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the overall decreasing volume of commerce in human bodies could no longer sustain permanent long-distance trafficking networks across the whole of the Northern Arc. Instead, in the east where human trafficking remained economically viable, local and regional networks continued to operate independently of their western counterparts, and with the waning demand in western markets the socioeconomic ties among the networks dissolved. The long-distance networks of the northern waters of Europe had fractured and regionalized.

The Late Medieval Southern Arc: Long-Distance Trafficking Networks

If long-distance trafficking routes were dwindling across Western Europe and the Northern Arc during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, new long-distance routes were opening in the Mediterranean, fueled by the growth of northern Italian cities such as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. As the economic centers of activity in the Italian peninsula gradually shifted from Amalfi, Bari, and Taranto in the south to the northern cities of the Po River plain, trafficking networks responded accordingly, and the Po River grew into the dominant Italian artery for human traffickers throughout the Late Middle Ages.

Starting in the early thirteenth century, Italian merchants established a lucrative trade route supplying the Eastern Mediterranean with slaves from the Caucasus region of the Black Sea and Eurasian steppe via the Bosporus. While the first Black Sea slaves reached Genoese markets in 1233, after the

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19   Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*, 3, 50–56.

Map 3.1: The Southern Arc from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century CE

reclamation of the throne of Constantinople by Greek emperors in 1261, Eurasian slaves began to pour into Genoa, such that by the early fourteenth century they accounted for the majority of Genoese slave imports.[20] In Venice, despite official prohibitions, by the end of the thirteenth century Black Sea slaves were entering Venetian markets for local purchase or trafficked farther beyond into the heart of Italy.[21]

Italian outposts at Caffa in the Crimea and Tana, at the mouth of the Don River on the Sea of Azov, became cities unto themselves by the latter half of the thirteenth century. While control over Caffa changed hands between the Genoese and Venetians during this time, the Genoese and the Pisans gained over their bitter rivals, the Venetians, in the aftermath of the collapse of Latin rule in Constantinople in 1261. The new Greek Byzantine Emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261–1282), rewarded the Genoese for their support by exempting them from imperial customs, duties, and taxes according to the Treaty of Nymphaion. The Venetians, however, would regain the favor of the Emperor several years later, in part due to imperial anxiety over Genoese

20   The Genoese had supported the Greek emperors against the Venetian-backed Latin rulers of Constantinople, and thus when the Greeks reclaimed the city, the Genoese profited handsomely. See Michael Balard, 'Slavery in the Latin Mediterranean: The Case of Genoa,' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* (*c. 1000–1500 CE*), 238.

21   Danuta Quirini-Poplawska, 'The Venetian Involvement in the Black Sea Slave Trade (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries),' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* (*c. 1000–1500 CE*), 265–266.

economic dominance. By late July of 1268, Venice had reacquired rights to free trade in the Black Sea and in Byzantine ports throughout the Empire. Michael's successor, Andronikos II Palaiologos, granted the Venetians the right to establish mercantile enclaves in Constantinople itself in 1285, and in 1332, the Venetian Doge, Francesco Dandolo, and Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos concluded a treaty that granted Venetians in Constantinople safe passage and free trade, as well as rights to establish further trading settlements across the Byzantine Empire, in exchange for annual payments to the imperial treasury.[22]

Having secured commercial rights and privileges from Byzantium and bolstered by economic connections with the Mongols, Italian trafficking operations now reached deep into the heart of the Eurasian steppe, reflected in the growth of Genoese Caffa as the major Levantine slaving center. Venice remained a power based in Tana, and in Soldaia by 1288, even during the Genoese administration of the former between 1332 and 1471. Italian influence continued to expand in Black Sea ports such as Trebizond during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[23] Iris Origo has shown through extensive archival research in northern Italy that these Black Sea ports attracted not only Italian merchants, but also traders from across the Africa-Eurasian world.[24] Through these international ports, Genoese and Venetian commercial connections stretched north into Russia and the Baltic, east into the Caucasus, Armenia, Anatolia, and the Eurasian steppe, south into Syria and Egypt, and west into Provence, Catalonia, and Corsica, according to notary deeds of sale. These trade networks also trafficked Mongol youths, Russian and Circassian girls and young women, Georgians, Alans, Laks, and Armenians, and apparently a little girl of Chinese origin named Charatas (*orta ex generatione Cathayorum*), from the east into Caffa and into Tana via the Don River.[25] Networks running east-west moved

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22   Quirini-Poplawska, 'The Venetian Involvement,' 258.

23   Quirini-Poplawska, 'The Venetian Involvement,' 260–262.

24   Iris Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' *Speculum*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Jul., 1955), 325–326.

25   The Chinese slaves present in fourteenth-century Genoese trafficking webs appear to originate in part from trade and communications networks between China and India, which included diplomatic gift exchanges between Chinese emperors and Indian sultans. By way of India, many of these Chinese slaves were brought westwards, where they eventually were sold in ports like Tana and Caffa. For example, Ibn Battuta reports that in his travels in India and China the early 1340s, the Sultan of India had gifted him slave girls and boys in order to convince Ibn Battuta to depart to China as the Sultan's ambassador. A year later, the Chinese Emperor sent a gift to the Indian Sultan that included 100 slaves of both sexes, along with precious silks, jewels, and fine clothes in order to bribe the Sultan into repairing an Indian temple frequented

Caucasians from the east, and Hungarians and Bulgarians from the west into Black Sea ports. These webs brought together victims newly acquired in raids and kidnappings, and those who had been purchased by traffickers in the markets of Daghestan on the western shores of the Caspian. Moreover, local Tartar, Circassian, Abkhazian, and Mingrelian peoples appear to have willingly sold their children to Italian traders operating out of Caffa and Tana, when deprivation and hunger among their peoples became unbearable.[26]

In the early 1260s, the Genoese took advantage of imperial patronage by allowing foreign merchants to pay a head tax for the embarkation of each slave in their harbors, and by hiring out their ships to other slavers such as the Venetians. However, as the profits became apparent, the Genoese themselves quickly began taking a proactive role in trafficking, especially south towards Egypt.[27] With Michael Palaiologos as their imperial patron, the Genoese eventually enjoyed the protection of both the Byzantine Empire and the Mamluk Sultanate. In 1281, Michael Palaiologos and Qalawun, the Sultan of Egypt (r. 1279–1290), concluded a treaty that guaranteed safe passage for slavers operating between the Black Sea and Alexandria via the Bosporus and Byzantine territory, and in exchange for this extended protection, Genoese traffickers agreed to pay duties to the Emperor.[28]

Demand for Turkish slaves in Egypt had been robust for centuries.[29] Muslim forces in Egypt had recruited Turkish slaves into their ranks since the ninth century, and the Fatimids (969–1171) continued this practice in order to supplement their enslaved Ifriqiyan black infantry with enslaved Turkish cavalry in their conquest of Egypt in 969. Nasir-i Khusraw (c. 1004–1077), visiting Cairo 80 years later in 1049, reported that the conquest had become something of a local legend; the inhabitants of the city believed that the enslaved Turkish cavalry alone had numbered 30,000. The problems with medieval numerical estimates aside, clearly a large force of enslaved foreign cavalry had left its imprint upon the collective memory of the city. In his own

by Chinese worshippers. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa: 1325–1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1929), II.6,7; Quirini-Poplawska, 'The Venetian Involvement,' 279, 283.

26   Balard, 'Slavery in the Latin Mediterranean,' 236; Quirini-Poplawska, 'The Venetian Involvement,' 283.

27   Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy,' 325–326.

28   Yehoshua Frenkel, 'Some Notes Concerning the Trade and Education of Slave-Soldiers During the Mamluk Era,' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, 195–196.

29   Amir Mazor, 'The Early Experience of the Mamluk in the First Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1382 CE),' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, 213.

visits, Nasir observed a large contingent of slave-soldiers, whom he called *Abid al-Shira* and estimated they numbered about 30,000, in the forces of the Egyptian sultan.[30] The successors of the Fatimids, the Ayyubids (1171–1260), continued to import Turkish slaves in order to mitigate the military threat of the Crusaders. These Turkish and later Circassian boys, collectively known as *mamluks*, were captured or purchased from other slave dealers in the area of the Black, Azov, and Caspian Seas by Byzantine, Muslim, and Italian slavers, who then shipped the children via the Bosporus and Dardanelles, or herded them along overland routes via Eastern Anatolia, the Caucasus, and then Azerbaijan, down to merchant enclaves (*funduqs*) in Alexandria, or into the major slave market of Cairo, the *Khan al-Masrur*.[31] In the slave markets of Alexandria and Cairo, Muslims, Byzantines, and Italians and their cargoes of Eurasian bodies intermingled with Sub-Saharan bodies brought north along major North African caravan routes, and Eurasian steppe peoples, brought to Egypt via land routes that ran south through Anatolia and Ayyubid Syria, or south from the Caucasus and through Azerbaijan, and thence into Ayyubid Syria via the Euphrates.[32] By 1420, the Mamluk Sultanate was purchasing over 2000 slaves a year from Genoese slavers operating out of Caffa, according to contemporary accounts.[33]

Trafficking networks between the Black Sea and Egypt proved enduring. Even after the Ottomans severed the Italian slaving networks with the conquests of Constantinople in 1453 and Caffa in 1474, trafficking

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30   He also tells us that the number of slave girls in the Sultan's palace in Cairo exceeded count. *Book of Travels*, 57–58, 62.

31   The change to Circassian slave boys appears to have occurred around the year 1382. Sultan Barquq founded the Burji line of Circassian Mamluk rulers in Egypt, suggesting that Turkish boys on the Qipchaq steppe were becoming more difficult and expensive to purchase, probably as a result of demographic pressures in the wake of plague; see Oliver and Atmore, *Medieval Africa: 1250–1800*, 15–21; Mazor, 'The Early Experience of the Mamluk,' 214; Johannes Pahlitzsch, 'Slavery and the Slave Trade in Byzantium in the Paleologan Period,' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, 172. For a detailed study of slaves and the slave trade in Mamluk Egypt, see Yehoshua Frenkel, 'Some Notes Concerning the Trade and Education,' 187–212.

32   Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Peter M. Holt (London: Longman, 1987), 28; see also Mazor, 'The Early Experience of the Mamluk in the First Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1382 CE),' 214.

33   Emmanuel Piloti, *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre sainte* 1420, ed. Pierre-Herman Dopp (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1958), 141; Pero Tafur, *Andancas e viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435–1439)*, ed. Marcos Jimenez de La Espada (Madrid: Ginesta, 1874), 161–162; Annika Stello, 'Caffa and the Slave Trade during the First Half of the Fifteenth Century,' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c.1000–1500 CE)*, 375–381.

nevertheless continued much as it had in previous centuries. Following the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516, Sultan Selim (r. 1512–1520) left the Mamluk governing infrastructure largely intact, and even appointed a rebel Mamluk, Khayr Bey (d. 1522), as his viceroy in the province. With Mamluk administrative infrastructure preserved, the recruitment of slave boys from the Black Sea region continued into the early modern period.[34] Meanwhile, Florence and Venice were becoming increasingly dependent upon slave labor for their state-owned war galleys in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Italian traffickers thus adapted to the loss of the Black Sea by shifting their slaving activities towards North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the lands of the Ottoman Turks in order to supply that demand for labor.[35]

Long-distance networks also traveled from east to west from the Crimea and the Levant into Italy. The vast majority of those trafficked into northern and central Italy were Mongols,[36] but Caucasian, Bulgar, Romanian, Hungarian, North African, Nubian, and Ethiopian peoples are all attested in deeds of sale preserved in the archives of Genoa, Florence, and Venice. In fact, the northern half of Italy experienced a resurgence of domestic slavery beginning in the second half of the fourteenth century. The expansion of Italian trade networks and the subsequent increase in the volume of trade between Italy and the East over the preceding two centuries were imperiled by the depopulation that followed the Black Death of 1348. Merchant households were threatened not only by the loss of heirs, but also by the loss of servants, assistants, and the labor force, which had been hollowed out by the pestilence. By 1363, the Priors of Florence recognized that the demographic pressure was not easing, and on 2 March of that year they decreed that the city would accept the unlimited importation of domestic slaves of both sexes from eastern lands, provided the enslaved were not Christian. The revival of Italian domestic slavery and the subsequent growth of local, regional, and long-distance trafficking soon spread from Florence to cities and towns across Tuscany and the Po River Valley.[37]

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34   Oliver and Atmore, *Medieval Africa*, 26.

35   Sally McKee, 'Slavery,' 287.

36   Michael Balard has calculated that Mongol slaves account for 91 percent of Genoese slave imports between 1350 and 1380, and 80 percent between 1380 and 1410. 'Slavery in the Latin Mediterranean,' 239–241.

37   Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy,' 321–325, and Nicholas Terpstra, *Lost Girls: Sex and Death in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 16–17. Florentine slave traders connected with Mediterranean trafficking networks via the larger ports of Genoa and Venice; see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, 'Women Servants in Florence,' in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 69.

In Venice and Genoa, trafficking had never ceased. Municipal statutes regulated the number of slaves that their galleys could carry, which was determined by the size of the vessel in the case of Genoa and by the number of crewmembers aboard ship in the case of Venice. The statutes of the *Officium Gazariae* of Genoa set down that a ship with a single deck could carry up to 30 slaves, with fifteen additional slaves permitted per additional deck. Thus a two-decker was allowed up to 45 slaves, and a three-decker up to 60. In addition, each merchant on board was allowed a single male slave.[38] The Venetian statutes stipulated that no ship embarking from Tana should carry more than three slaves per crewmember, and Venetian authorities levied a tax of five ducats per head imported into Venice. Based upon annual tax revenue totals, Origo has calculated that between 1414 and 1423, a period of nine years, over 10,000 people were sold at auction by auctioneers, known as *sensali* or *sensari*, in the Venetian markets of the *Rio degli Schiavoni* and the *Rialto*, or in private homes of locals who bought and sold slaves from traffickers or directly from other slaveholders.[39] Michael Balard gives similarly high totals for Genoa: 5000 people in 1380 alone. Over the course of the fifteenth century, the Genoese numbers began to drop: 2000 in 1405, 1750 in 1450, and 800 in 1472. This decline was precipitated by a variety of issues including war with Venice in the late fourteenth century, disruptions to slaving networks caused by the incursions of Tamerlane (1336–1405), problems associated with the Genoese tax auctions system under the French administration of the city in early fifteenth century,[40] and the loss of Black Sea markets with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The victims sold each year in the markets of Venice, Genoa, Florence and other Italian cities, were then distributed by local and regional traffickers, as well as private owners, across the northern half of Italy.

As the thirteenth century gave way to the fourteenth, the Aragonese and Catalans began to compete and occasionally cooperate with the Italian long-distance and regional slaving networks as they expanded out of the Western Mediterranean and ventured farther east. Fueled by the activities of mercenary companies operating in Byzantium during the early

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38   See *Officium Gazariae*, Statute LXXXVIII, 'Quot leventur sclavi super navigiis,' *Collection de lois maritimes antérieures au XVIIIe siècle, IV*, ed. Jean-Marie Pardessus (Paris: 1837), 515. Even into the middle of the sixteenth century, in 1558, the municipal statutes of Genoa included 'male and female slaves, horses, and other animals' in a description list of the goods usually carried by merchant vessels; see Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy,' 329.

39   Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy,' 329; Quirini-Poplawska, 'The Venetian Involvement,' 272.

40   'Slavery in the Latin Mediterranean: The Case of Genoa,' 244–245.

fourteenth century, Aragonese and Catalan human trafficking activities quickly developed into complex pan-Mediterranean networks.

Initially, the companies of Catalan mercenaries, based in Gallipoli under the leadership of Roger de Flor (1267–1305) and others, limited their kidnapping, raiding, and slaving to Turkish settlements in Anatolia, the Aegean islands, and mainland Greece. Greek populations were certainly harried, their property was seized, and their wives and daughters became targets of mercenary aggression, but there is little indication that the Greek Christian population had become enslaved. Nevertheless, Catalan violence upon the native Greeks was endemic, which in turn strained Byzantine–Catalan relations. The situation changed in April 1305 when Roger de Flor was assassinated, and the Catalans blamed the Byzantines for his murder. Thereafter, until 1310 when the Catalans departed the Empire, the Greek Christian population became 'the other,' and therefore vulnerable to raiding, kidnapping, and enslavement.[41] The mercenaries adopted the banner of Saint Peter for their own, which signaled both that the Greek Christians were now considered schismatics, and therefore targets for reprisals, and that the mercenaries were now politically aligned with the Byzantine emperor's nemesis, Charles of Valois (1270–1325).[42]

According to the contemporary Greek historian Georgios Pachymeres (c. 1242–1310), the Catalans depopulated the lands west of Constantinople as they killed or exiled the native population, and then sold many of the inhabitants along with other moveable wealth later in the environs of Adrianople. The Catalan commander-turned-chronicler, Ramon Muntaner (1265–1336), noted the bustling activity in the slave market of Gallipoli after Catalan military activities. As the mercenary companies moved farther west in their war against the Empire, they settled on the peninsula of Cassandreia in 1309, and expanded their slaving activities into Greek Christian settlements in Thessaloniki and the monastic communities of Mount Athos.

What is noteworthy is the remarkable speed at which victims were moved from the war zone to the markets. In a raid against the Alans in 1306, the Catalans sold the women they had captured in the environs of Adrianople only a few days later, according to Pachymeres. According to Muntaner, after a skirmish against an Italian force from Thessaloniki, the captives were sold

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41   Ernest Harcos Hierro, 'The Catalan Company and the Slave Trade,' in Amitai and Cluse, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, 329.

42   Hierro, 'The Catalan Company,' 335. Charles Verlinden has confirmed that the Byzantine Empire did in fact experience significant depopulation as a result of Catalan and Italian slavers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; see *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome II*, 995.

the very next day in Gallipoli's slave market. Moreover, although many of these victims ended up in the markets of southeast Europe near the Black Sea, the Catalans also linked with Venetian and Genoese traffickers and sold them into regional networks centered on the Venetian colony on Crete. In several cases the mercenaries cut the Italian middlemen out entirely and sold their victims directly to Venetian residents of Candia.[43]

The speed and geographic scope of Catalan trafficking indicate that the mercenaries cooperated with other actors in the slave trade in order to funnel victims from the war zone into trafficking webs as quickly and as efficiently as possible. We know, for example, that Majorcan slavers bought victims from the mercenaries and then sold them in the markets of Famagusta on Cyprus.[44] On Crete, the case of a Greek woman, Keranna, illustrates well this complex and organized trade. A Catalan trafficker named Boredanus recommended Keranna for purchase to a resident of Candia named Nadal Rier. Rier, as it turns out, acted as a slave retailer who agreed to then sell Keranna on to a certain Michael of Negroponte. When the deal was struck, Boredanus did not then transport Keranna to Nadal himself; instead he sent her to Crete via a fellow Catalan, a merchant of Barcelona named Berenguer Espayol.[45] Thus Keranna passed from her initial owner (Boredanus), to her trafficker (Espayol), on her way to her initial purchaser in Candia (the retailer Rier), who was to then sell her to her final owner (Michael of Negroponte).

The Late Medieval Southern Arc: Local and Regional Trafficking Networks

It is easy to forget that Mediterranean long-distance trafficking networks grew alongside local and regional networks, the latter of which operated in the Western, Central, and Eastern Mediterranean. Generally, regional trafficking operations competed successfully with long-distance traffickers throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, many of those regional operations gradually lost ground to long-distance competitors over the course of the latter half of the fourteenth century and beyond. Local and regional trafficking never died out, but they were increasingly

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43 Hierro, 'The Catalan Company,' 337–339.

44 *Diplomatari de l'Orient Catala (1301–1049): Colleccio de documents per a la historia de l'expedicio catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopatria*, ed. Antoni Rubio i Lluch (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Catalans, 1947), 173–175; Hierro, 'The Catalan Company,' 349.

45 Hierro, 'The Catalan Company,' 345.

subsumed under larger operations that were supported by more powerful polities, such as the Ottoman and Habsburg empires.

In the Western Mediterranean, local and regional trafficking networks operated across religious lines with greater frequency as the Italians undertook the conquest of the Tyrrhenian islands, and as the Reconquista gathered momentum down the Iberian Peninsula. In the twelfth century, traffickers exported victims of the island conquests from Corsica to Pisa and from Sardinia to Genoa.[46] Those captured in Iberia during the incessant fighting of the Reconquista, especially women and children, were then shipped to northern Italy, North Africa, or to the Tyrrhenian islands, or were sold locally across the religious divide.

Slavers worked on both sides of the Castilian frontier, selling captured Christian women into Muslim households and vice versa, or transporting the captives overland to Barcelona for transmarine shipping.[47] In fact, for many warriors on the frontier between Christian and Muslim lands, slaving became an important source of income. Known as *almogavers*, these opportunistic warrior-slavers were found among both Christian and Muslim peoples and each raided the lands of the other, as well as those of their own coreligionists on occasion, not for conquest but for loot. Sometimes they participated in formal military actions organized by local authorities, and at other times, they engaged in simple banditry. These *almogavers* cooperated with merchants who bought the enslaved from the warriors on site of the battle or raid and then organized the transport of the victims to seaports on the Mediterranean coast of Iberia, which indicates regular, organized communication and cooperation among raiders, slavers, and merchants along the Iberian frontiers.[48] Merchants from Barcelona, for example, were selling Iberian and North African Muslim captives in the markets of Genoa, and paying a head tax of five *denari* in the markets of Pavia in 1128.[49]

Among the Tyrrhenian islands, 55 years later in 1183, Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217) remarked upon regional trafficking networks in Sardinian markets as he traveled from Iberia to Alexandria aboard a Genoese merchant vessel. A fellow Muslim passenger who spoke Latin had gone with the Latins (*Rumi*) to collect supplies for the travelers and came back to report that he had seen, 'a group of Muslim prisoners, about 80 between men and women,

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46   Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy,' 330.
47   Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 98, 154, 207–208.
48   Hierro, 'The Catalan Company,' 323–325.
49   Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy,' 330.

being sold in the market. The enemy [Latin Christians] had just returned with them from the sea-coasts of Muslim countries.'[50] Considering the ongoing warfare in Iberia between Christian and Muslim forces and the proximity of the Tyrrhenian islands to Muslim North Africa and Iberia, we can reasonably presume that many if not most of these victims were taken from the Western or Central Mediterranean – Iberia, the Maghreb, and Tunis. In Pisa, regional commercial trade networks, which included slaving, were described in the late twelfth-century *Liber de Existencia Riveriarum*, which articulates regional trafficking webs in the Western Mediterranean. The *Existencia Riveriarum* was intended as a navigational itinerary that spanned the Tyrrhenian Sea from the Italian coast south to North Africa, and west across to Iberia, incorporating the Tyrrhenian islands and their ports. The text includes detailed descriptions of ports, estimated distances between ports, descriptions of coastlines, and natural and artificial landmarks across the Western Mediterranean basin, all in order to aid mariners in spatial recognition and navigation.[51]

As long-distance trafficking grew between Italy and the Levant in the latter half of the twelfth century, regional networks in the Western Mediterranean among Italy, Iberia, and North Africa diminished. Pisa, and later Florence, concluded several peace treaties with Muslim Iberia and North Africa in an effort to reduce piracy and open conflict in the Western Mediterranean, and as a result, regional trafficking abated. During the relative calm, two Christian orders, the Order of Mercy and the Trinitarians, sent envoys to Muslim Iberia and North Africa to redeem as many coreligionists as possible. The areas in which the orders operated were not chosen at random. Iberia, North Africa, and the Alborán Sea that lay between them, had maintained traditions of terrestrial and marine raiding across the religious frontier since the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and which would later continue into the sixteenth century and beyond.[52] The numbers are impressive: in 1199, the Trinitarians ransomed 186 Christians in Morocco with funds donated by Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216). In 1202, they ransomed 207 Christians for sale in Muslim Valencia. Between the years 1202 and 1211, the Trinitarians ransomed between 94 and 340 of their coreligionists each year in ports such as Granada, Barcelona, Valencia, and

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50   Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. Roland Broadhurst (London: 1952), 27.
51   Karen Rose Matthews, 'Mapping, Materiality, and Merchant Culture in Medieval Italy,' presented at the *93rd Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America* (section 29), 2 March 2018 in Atlanta, GA.
52   David Coleman, 'Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades,' 168–169.

Tunis. The Trinitarians were aided by the foundation of the Order of Mercy, otherwise known as the Mercedarians or the Knights of Saint Eulalia, in 1218 specifically for the purpose of ransoming or otherwise rescuing Christians enslaved in Muslim lands.[53]

The peace would not last forever, but regional trafficking had diminished, nonetheless, in the face of long-distance competition that had grown in the interim between Italy and the East, whose activities were burdened by no truce and bound by no terms. Those Italian long-distance networks continued to expand out of Italy south and westwards now in the fourteenth century, gradually engulfing formerly regional operations as the earlier peace treaties were forgotten or ignored. We can observe this process of gradually expanding trade networks in the navigational charts produced in Genoa and Venice during this time. For example, in Genoa, the navigational chart, *Carte Pisan*, which was produced in the late thirteenth century before 1291, depicts the entirety of the Mediterranean basin along with the Black Sea (although the Black Sea portion is heavily damaged),[54] and the Genoese cartographer Pietro Vesconte (fl. 1306–1321), based primarily in Venice, incorporated the Black Sea and the Levant into his Mediterranean depictions.[55]

The charts illustrate the wider world across in which thirteenth- and fourteenth-century trade networks once again operated. Fourteenth-century Ethiopian slaves arrived in Italy via a circuitous route across North Africa into Muslim Iberia, and thence on to Italy via Barcelona and Majorca, or to Italy from Tunis via Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Meanwhile, Italian merchants transported victims who had originated on the Eurasian steppe

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53   As cited in William R. Brownlow, *Lectures on Slavery and Serfdom in Europe* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), xxi.

54   Paris, *Bibliotheque Nationale de France* (*BNF*), Dep. des Cartes et Plans, Res. Ge. B1118. The dating comes from the fact that the *Carte Pisan* still labels Acre as 'a Christian city.'

55   Objections may be immediately raised about the use of medieval cartography as an indicator of expanding trade networks. Al-Idrisi's world map predates this late twelfth- and thirteenth-century expansion by decades, for example, and the purpose of medieval cartography in general was to organize the world and to map Christian cosmology and the *mentalité* of medieval Christian thought, rather than to facilitate travel. However, I argue that the presence of rhumb lines, which were meant to be used with a magnetic compass for navigation, on the faces of the *Carte Pisan* and the maps of Vesconte indicates that these specific charts were more than an organization of cosmology and space, and they were intended to serve a practical purpose: to facilitate movement within the space that the charts depict. Unlike their predecessors, the twelfth-century textual travel itineraries, these thirteenth- and fourteenth-century charts span the entire Mediterranean and Black Seas in order to facilitate travel across them. Karen Rose Matthews, 'Mapping, Materiality, and Merchant Culture in Medieval Italy,' presented at the *93rd Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America* (section 29), 2 March 2018 in Atlanta, GA.

around the Black, Azov, and Caspian Seas into the Western Mediterranean to Majorca and Barcelona via Italy.[56]

International politics would make the return of those formerly independent regional trafficking networks that had operated in the twelfth-century Tyrrhenian and Alborán Seas impossible. Even as Italian long-distance trafficking waned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the fall of Constantinople and territorial expansion of the Ottomans, regional Muslim raiding and trafficking operations based in the Maghreb were brought under the Ottoman banner in the early sixteenth century. On the Christian side meanwhile, regional Christian raiding and trafficking operations based in Spain were gradually brought under the banner of the Habsburgs, a process that began in the 1530s and continued to the end of the sixteenth century.[57] As Western Mediterranean raiding and pillaging across the religious divide took on imperial undertones, the local and regional trafficking webs that relied upon such raiding patterns also came to reflect and to be understood as local expressions of a wider clash of empires. In effect, international politics ensured that the fracturing of long-distance trafficking networks across the Northern Arc would not be replicated later across the Southern Arc.

In the Central Mediterranean, regional trafficking networks revolved around two principal areas: northern Italy and Tunis in North Africa. Trafficking into northern Italy continued across the ethnic and linguistic divides between the Roman Christian Latins of Venice and the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans, across the Adriatic Sea at the mouth of the Narenta River (Neretva). For example, slaving between Venice and medieval Ragusa (Dubrovnik) across the Adriatic increased over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, largely in one direction – from Ragusa to Venice – until the Ragusans outlawed the foreign sale (although not the domestic sale) of slaves in 1416. Demand for Balkan women in northern Italy, who were intended for domestic duties and sexual labor, caused slave prices across Dalmatia to spike, and Susan Mosher Stuard contends that regional slaving, primarily between the Balkans and Italy, eventually priced enslaved Balkan women out of local markets beginning in the early decades of the fourteenth century.[58] Yet even as regional traffickers exported Dalmatian women from Ragusa to

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56   Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy,' 330.
57   Coleman, 'Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades,' 169–170.
58   Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Urban Domestic Slavery in medieval Ragusa,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 9, Issue 3, (1983), and 'Ancillary Evidence,' 19; Klapisch-Zuber, 'Women Servants in Florence,' 71.

Venice, Venetian and Slavic slavers imported Qipchaq Turks, Mongols, and Circassians from the markets of Crimea and Constantinople into Ragusa, as regional and long-distance trafficking networks met and overlapped.[59] Thus despite the fact that the Venetians controlled Caffa for nearly 60 years in the thirteenth century and had access to slaves from across Eurasia via Soldaia and Tana throughout the Late Middle Ages, regional traffickers in the Adriatic were nevertheless able to both compete and cooperate with long-distance Venetian operations well into the fifteenth century.

As the Ottomans pushed through Eastern Europe into the Balkans, local Slavic traffickers established connections with the conquerors across ethnic and religious divides. Much like the Ayyubids and Mamluks, the use of slave soldiers to bolster the ranks of the Ottoman military in the reign of Murad I (c. 1362–1389) provided traffickers with a powerful demand for bodies.[60] The Balkans provided the manpower for the Janissaries, which possibly reflected the difficulty in obtaining Qipchaq Turks during the late fourteenth century in the wake of the plague, or the threat that Christian Constantinople still posed to Muslim slaving networks in the Eastern Mediterranean. The number of Janissaries grew slowly through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from roughly 1000 during the fourteenth century to about 6000 by 1475. However, due to ongoing hostilities in the next century with the Habsburg and the Safavid dynasties, Janissary recruitment increased dramatically to an estimated 23,000 by the 1590s.[61] For the peoples of the Balkans, then, regional trafficking networks squeezed their populations on both sides, as young women and girls were trafficked westwards towards northern Italy via Venice and young boys eastwards towards Constantinople, all in ever increasing numbers.

South of Europe on the shores of North Africa, Tunis was growing into a major commercial center for trading and slaving at the junction between the western and eastern halves of the Mediterranean basin, and by the middle of the fourteenth century the city had approximately 100,000 residents. Tunis was among the first North African ports to welcome Christian traders from Southern Europe. Merchants from the Western Mediterranean ports such as Marseilles and Barcelona, and from northern Italian city states such as Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, were all granted safe harbor and allowed to conduct business in protected enclaves within the city.

59   Quirini-Poplawska, 'The Venetian Involvement,' 277.
60   Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 111–113.
61   Gábor Ágoston, 'Firearms and Military Adaptation: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution, 1450–1800,' *Journal of World History*, 25 (2014), 113.

Tunis connected with Tripoli via overland routes that hugged the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. By way of Tripoli, regional Tunisian trafficking networks linked with long-distance trafficking routes that piggybacked on major trade and pilgrimage routes, traversing the desert from Timbuktu to Egypt on the way to Mecca and Medina. Traffickers moved east and west along these trans-Saharan pilgrimage routes, before leaving them and branching northwards towards Tripoli via Fezzan or towards Tunis via Ghat and then Ghadames, or else continuing eastwards towards Cairo via the major slave market at Awjila, which fed the markets of Cairo and Tripoli with Sub-Saharan bodies from Ethiopia and beyond.[62]

Meanwhile, in the Eastern Mediterranean during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the Peloponnese ports of Modon and Coron, Famagusta on Cyprus, and Candia on Crete, were the nodes in insular webs of local and regional trafficking activities that operated independently of, and sometimes in cooperation with, long-distance networks. On Venetian Crete, trafficking occurred across the ethnic, linguistic, and religious divides between servile, Orthodox, Greek-speaking peasants, who worked large agricultural estates, and the free, Latin, Roman Christian Venetians who owned them. However, as Sally McKee explains, while *servile* legal status applied to native Greek-speaking Cretans, the *enslaved* legal status applied only to those individuals who had been trafficked onto the island by merchants and had then been sold to residents of the Venetian colony, or had been purchased by other merchants for further transport to markets across the Mediterranean.[63] As in the Adriatic, regional traffickers competed successfully with long-distance traffickers during the thirteenth and much of the fourteenth centuries. For although the Venetians controlled Caffa between 1204 and 1261, and Tana until 1332, the majority of trafficking victims into Crete did not come from the Eurasian steppes, but they were instead collected from raids and kidnappings in southwest Anatolia, mainland Greece, and the other Aegean islands, whose populations consisted largely of Greek-speaking Christians. It was not until the second half of the fourteenth century that Greek-speaking Christians were replaced as slaves by peoples from Eastern Europe and from the Black, Azov, and Caspian Sea

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62   Nasir-i Khusraw tells us that at least in the middle of the eleventh century, the *Bajawi*, the inhabitants of *Abyssinia* (Ethiopia), were routinely preyed upon by 'Muslims and others, [who] kidnap their children and take them to sell in the cities of Islam.' *Book of Travels*, 86; Oliver and Atmore, *Medieval Africa*, 22–23, 35.

63   Sally McKee, 'Inherited Status and Slavery in Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete,' *Past & Present*, No. 182 (Feb., 2004), 40.

regions.[64] Despite the losses of Caffa and Tana to the Genoese, the markets of Venetian Crete appear to have become closely connected with both long-distance Genoese and Venetian traffickers over the latter half of the fourteenth century, as the ethnic and national identities of their victims suggest: Mongols, Russians, Circassians, Turks, and Bulgars.

Yet as regional trafficking networks in the Eastern Mediterranean fused with Italian long-distance networks, Black Sea regional operations continued to operate independently, buoyed by new investments from the Byzantine aristocracy. With the ongoing Ottoman conquests, the Byzantine aristocracy began to take an active role in regional trafficking around the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean as they lost their lands to Ottoman expansion. Annika Stello has shown through her studies of the Genoese registries of Caffa between 1410 and 1446 that roughly a quarter of Greek slavers had acquired a wealthy Byzantine patron over the course of the first half of the fifteenth century.[65]

The Religious Divide

Over the course of the twelfth century, the ongoing papal reform movements and the continuing growth of popular piety increasingly prioritized religious identity over local and ethnic identities and also instilled a sense of community among the faithful. With the consolidation of spiritual authority under the Papacy and continuing military conflict with the Muslims in the Levant and in Iberia, European prelates cultivated a conception of 'Christendom' as the territory of Christians as opposed to the lands of Muslims. A side effect of ecclesiastical and popular attention to both religious identity and religious communion was unease towards enslaving coreligionists, because the sense of spiritual community represented in the idea of Christendom triggered social taboos against the enslavement of group members. To be sure, this unease was not novel. As we saw in Chapter One, the Church in Hippo had rescued members of its congregation from the Galatians in the fifth century, and numerous saints and rulers such as Patrick, Balthild, Charlemagne, and Wulfstan all had either expressed outrage at the sale of fellow Christians or had attempted to curtail their sale by edicts or browbeatings between the sixth and eleventh centuries. It was only by the end of the twelfth century, however, that taboos against enslaving members of one's own community

64   McKee, 'Inherited Status and Slavery,' 40.
65   'Caffa and the Slave Trade,' 385.

of faith had passed beyond noteworthy ecclesiastics and rulers and into society at large.

Late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century trafficking patterns are symptomatic of these widespread, long-term social and religious trends. Before the twelfth century, trafficking networks adhered to no bounds of identity. Simply put, traffickers sold anyone to anyone. As the twelfth century progressed however, the religious divide slowly became the primary social boundary (tenuous although it was) between enslavable and unenslavable groups. For example, Christian and pagan identity in the Baltic generally defined legitimate targets for trafficking and enslavement in border raids and skirmishes. At the same time the religious boundary between Christian and Muslim generally defined legitimately enslavable communities during the Reconquista, and Christian women were sold among Muslims and Muslim women among Christians.

This trend only continued and by the fourteenth century Christian boys in the Balkans were enslaved among the Ottomans and converted to Islam during their time as Janissaries, while Byzantine Christians preyed upon Turkish Muslim communities in the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1296, the Byzantine general Alexios Philanthropenos (1270–1340) enslaved many Turkish women and children after his conquest of the Turks in the Meander Delta. In the early fourteenth century, the Greek historian Nikephorus Gregoras (c. 1292–1360) claimed in his *Byzantina Historia* that the Byzantines did not enslave their Orthodox opponents, but instead merely took their possessions, a sentiment echoed by the fourteenth-century former Byzantine Emperor Iohannes Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–1354), who wrote in his *Historiarum Libri* that 'The Romans [Byzantines] do not enslave men since this is not allowed for them. The only exception is if these are barbarians who do not believe in the care of the savior Christ for us,' underscoring the dehumanization of 'the other' inherent in the process of enslavement. Even as late as 1453, the Byzantine military was raiding and enslaving Turkish inhabitants on the Thracian coastline and then transporting the victims back to Constantinople for sale in the markets.[66]

These twin senses of religious and community identity would continue to influence the course of human trafficking in the thirteenth century and beyond, but they did not suddenly strike human traffickers with pious guilt about enslaving their coreligionists; again, taboos are not ironclad. For example, in 1288 the Genoese concluded a treaty with the peoples neighboring Caffa, which contained a provision that prohibited the sale of

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66   Pahlitzsch, 'Slavery and the Slave Trade in Byzantium,' 164–165.

native Orthodox Christians to Muslims. Moreover, all captains of Genoese galleys were then expressly forbidden from transporting enslaved Christians into Muslim lands;[67] however, the sale of those Orthodox Christians in Latin Christian lands, such as Venetian Crete or northern Italy, was never addressed.[68]

Furthermore, the definition of 'Christian' itself was carefully crafted and refined so as to delineate 'true believers' from political and religious rivals, who then became members of outside enslavable groups. We have already seen how, in the aftermath of Roger de Flor's assassination in 1305, the Catalan companies adopted the banner of Saint Peter to signal that Greek Christian populations were now henceforth considered schismatics and therefore vulnerable to enslavement. In 1349, Serbian King Stefan Dušan (r. 1331–1355) prohibited the sale of Christians to heretics and infidels under pain of mutilation. The slaver's hands were to be severed and his tongue cut out.[69] However, under Dušan's law code, to be 'Christian' was to be Orthodox, and to be 'a slaver' was to be a Latin Christian from the Adriatic coast (i.e. a Venetian). On Crete, as we have seen, the line between free and servile was drawn between Latin Roman Christians and everyone else, including Greek-speaking Orthodox peoples. According to the Venetian notary Manoli Bresciano, 30 percent of slaves sold on the island were Orthodox, even at the end of the fourteenth century, down from 75 percent only three decades earlier in the 1360s.[70] Moreover, because 'Christian' was so narrowly defined, enslavement itself became a means of encouraging conversion from one Christian rite to another. For example, in Sicily, Frederick III (r. 1295–1337) in 1310 decreed that any Orthodox slave who converted to the Latin rite was to be manumitted no later than seven years after their conversion, and owners were prohibited from then selling the newly converted slaves to lands beyond Sicily against the slave's will.[71]

Further still, religious affinity did not create perfect 'no-slaving zones.' In 1317, Pope John XXII (r. 1316–1334) blasted the Genoese, arguing that they were strengthening the Muslims by supplying them with Christian slaves.

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67   Wilhelm Heyd, *History of Levantine trade in the Middle Ages Vol. II* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1886), 557.

68   For examples from the Caffa notary registries of the sale of Christian slaves between Orthodox and Latin parties in 1289 (only a year after the treaty), see Pahlitzsch, 'Slavery and the Slave Trade in Byzantium,' 173.

69   Malcolm Burr, 'The Code of Stefan Dušan,' *Slavonic and East European Review*, xxviii (1949–1950), 380–381; Stuard, 'Ancillary Evidence,' 16.

70   Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome II*, 616–617, 629–655, 917, 995.

71   Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome II*, 192–198.

A century later, in 1425, the sale of coreligionists into slavery was still so widespread that Pope Martin V (r. 1417–1431) threatened with excommunication any Christian who persisted in trafficking their fellow Christians into slavery among unbelievers.[72] Martin's successor, Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431–1447) continued to pressure the Genoese to cease the sale of Christians into Muslims lands. The Commune responded in a letter to Eugenius in 1434 to explain that Genoese law required the Bishop of Caffa to personally inspect every merchant ship carrying human cargo, and to question each slave about their lands of origin and their faith. Any slave who professed the Christian faith or a desire for baptism was to disembark prior to the ship's departure, but they were not then freed. They were simply returned to the slaver and sold to a Christian buyer.[73] Thus while a growing sense of communal identity and religious solidarity served to identify those groups who remained vulnerable to enslavement, the boundaries among different religious groups remained porous, and the enslavement of coreligionists continued to be tolerated in some areas so long as the enslaved remained within the community of faith.

The Pivot: From Slave Trading to Sex Trafficking

In comparison with the patterns we observed in Chapters One and Two, it seems that for much of Europe, the broad patterns of trafficking in the high medieval period had little changed. Networks adapted to changing socioeconomic circumstances: intensifying and expanding whenever possible and receding and contracting whenever necessary. With such apparent continuity, how then does the high medieval period represent a pivot? A pivot is a change in the direction of continuous patterns of behavior as opposed to a clean break from earlier patterns, and it is for this reason that I have chosen to argue for a pivot in human trafficking activities from slave trading to sex trafficking over the course of the High Middle Ages. This pivot involved changes in the identities of abductees and in labor expectations that were significant enough, in my opinion, to permanently alter (but not break) patterns of human trafficking activities in Western Europe north of the Alps and Pyrenees. For example, as agricultural slavery declined in Western Europe, male slaves and abductees became less profitable, and the overwhelming majority of trafficking victims were thereafter women

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72 Heyd, *History of Levantine trade II*, 558.
73 Charles Verlinden, 'La colonie vénitienne de Tana, centre de la traité des esclaves au XIVe et au début du XVe siècle,' in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto: Vol. II* (Milan: A. Giuffre, 1950), 25.

and girls.[74] Furthermore, for women, enslavement had once meant not only sex work but also labor in traditionally female industries such as domestic care and child rearing, textile care, and food service and hospitality. Sexual appeal and the potential for sexual service added to a female slave's price, but such services were in addition to taxing and menial slave labor.[75] However, as human trafficking pivoted from slaving to sex trafficking, abduction came to mean laboring primarily, if not solely, in sex work, even if that primary labor oftentimes took place under the pretext of domestic service, hospitality, or textile care. Finally, as human trafficking patterns pivoted from slave trading to sex trafficking, the legal status of trafficking victims shifted as well from legally enslaved individuals to legally unenslaved individuals, which also meant the possibility, if not the likelihood, of legal remedy for sex trafficking abductees. Traffickers therefore took greater care to hide their activities from public view. We must remember that these thirteenth-century changes, while profound, mostly affected trafficking patterns in a relatively small geographic area of Western Europe (i.e. north of the Alps and Pyrenees).

Numerous factors came together to revitalize the European urban environment during the twelfth century. Greater security, strong population growth, greater and more reliable food production, and increased trade conducted in permanent urban markets and facilitated by greater access to coin, all led to further urban growth throughout the twelfth century that would continue into the thirteenth century and beyond. It is true that most of Europe was still rural and agricultural, but the medieval town was now a place that could sustain commerce year-round and thus attract people through its gates from its hinterlands and the wider world. As the resident populations of towns grew, buoyed by a constant stream of immigrants from the surrounding countryside, and as foreign merchants became a fixture of medieval town life, commercial sex developed into an industry that catered to the increasing permanent urban population. As the medieval commercial sex industry grew, to meet its labor needs it increasingly turned to human traffickers, who shifted from supplying agricultural labor to supplying sex labor. Yet the commercial sex industry could never fully replace agriculture as a source of demand for human labor, and so trafficking networks in Western Europe during the late Middle Ages would never again match the scale and scope of trafficking activities of previous centuries. Nevertheless, the new source of demand for labor meant that trafficking would continue in

74   McKee, '*Slavery*,' 285, 287.
75   McKee, '*Slavery*,' 289.

Western Europe even as agricultural slavery faded over the late Middle Ages, and in order to understand this pivot, as well as sex trafficking in general, we must first understand the industry that was the source of the demand.

I do not argue that brothels and prostitution were unknown before the twelfth century. As we have seen in Chapter Three, brothels appear to have commonly operated along the major routes to Rome in the eighth century, according to Boniface in his letter to Cuthbert of Canterbury in 747. In the early 820s, Lothar I of Italy decreed that a nun who had left her religious life and had taken up prostitution was to be barred from the *gynaeceum*, 'lest that she, who before had intercourse with one man, now have a place for having intercourse with many.'[76] David Herlihy observes that the early medieval Latin word for a female textile laborer, *gynaecaria*, is also a synonym for 'prostitute,' and he argues furthermore that if the *gynaecea* did not double as brothels, nonetheless the women and girls who staffed such workshops were often widely considered to be sexually available.[77] Whorehouses feature in *The Fall and Conversion of Mary* and *The Conversion of the Harlot Thais*, two tenth-century plays of Hrotswitha of Gandersheim (c. 935–1002), a German canoness, poet, and playwright who lived at Gandersheim Abbey in Lower Saxony.[78] Rural areas also certainly had women who, willingly or otherwise, engaged in prostitution as their financial situations changed, as the decrees of Liutprand in the 730s demonstrate in Chapter Three. Inns along travel routes certainly had tapsters and servers willing to exchange sexual acts for coin, but these last instances are not what we might consider brothels. Brothels require several components to operate. They need a steady clientele, meaning population centers. They require steady payment in coin, meaning a monetary economy,[79] and they require a labor force whose main, if not

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76   'Statuimus ut, si femina vestam habens mutatam moecha deprehensa fuerit, non tradatur genitio, sicut usque modo, ne forte, quae prius cum uno, postmodum cum pluribus locum habeat moechandi: sed eius possessio fisco redigatur, et ipsa episcopali subiaceat iuditio.' *Liber legis Langobardorum Papiensis Lotharii*, 91(88), in *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH: Leges (in Folio) 4 (Hanover, 1868), 556; as cited in David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*: *Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 36. Herlihy also notes several other examples from early medieval Germanic law codes and church councils that address sexual acts performed in the *gynaecea*; see *Opera Muliebria*, 36–37.

77   Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria,* 84–85.

78   See *Hrotsvithae Opera* ed. Paul de Winterfeld (Berlin, 1902); Suzanne Fonay Wemple, 'Women from the Fifth to the Tenth Century,' in *A History of Women in the West: The Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christiane Klapische-Zuber (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 182.

79   As opposed to a gift of coins given to a partner; see Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 154 note 12. When and where coinage is rare and its use and circulation are limited, coins exchanged between individuals are more likely to be gifts than impersonal media of exchange. As monetary

sole, occupation is sex. These three components came together and began expanding in Western Europe north of the Alps in the late twelfth century.

There were three types of brothel generally found in Western Europe between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. *Houses of Assignation* were domicile arrangements in which the prostitute did not reside in or own the building and paid the landlord a percentage of her fee per client.[80] These were probably the earliest type of brothel because they were the most flexible. Potentially any enclosed shelter could become a house of assignation, and because the prostitute did not have to own the property and could rent a room by the client, there was little to no start-up cost.

Informal brothels were legally the default establishments of the thirteenth century, since no brothel was officially sanctioned until 1285 in Montpellier. Their existence was precarious, dictated by the whims of civil magistrates and municipal governments, territorial lords, and ecclesiastical officials. Because toleration was the best they could expect, informal brothels were not permanent fixtures in either time or space. They came and went as opportunities arose, and as the demand for sex intersected with the supply of sex labor and of coin. Taverns and inns are perhaps the most famous of these informal brothels, but not every tavern operated as a brothel. Those establishments that did operate as brothels might do so on occasion in order to bring in extra revenue, and then abandon the sex industry when able or pressured by municipal and ecclesiastical authorities to do so. Moreover, homeowners might rent their houses or single rooms to prostitutes as a way of making extra income. In these circumstances, the distinction between a house of assignation and an informal brothel is difficult to draw, and I suggest that the main difference is whether the prostitute worked at the place on a long-term basis (brothel), or simply rented by the client on an ad hoc basis (house of assignation). Having prostitutes living and working onsite meant having a steadier labor supply for the informal brothel-keeper, as opposed to having freelance prostitutes renting rooms as needed, but also it meant that the establishment was more likely to attract unwanted attention from authorities.

Formal, licit, and *municipal brothels* were institutionalized establishments with permission to operate by official license. They were permanent features of the urban landscape and employed women whose main, if not sole, occupation was sex work. In some cases, these establishments were private

economies grow and coin exchange becomes more frequent and common, coins become more impersonal and represent interchangeable relationships.

80   Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women*, 72.

enterprises that operated with official recognition and sanction, in other cases, the municipality outright owned and managed the establishment, and in still other cases, the municipality leased the rights to manage and thus profit from the brothel to private third parties. These institutions began to appear in Europe after 1285 and became popular after 1350 or so. With the development of licensing, houses of assignation and informal brothels became *illicit* institutions, yet remained a part of the sex industry's structural landscape.

Before the thirteenth century, evidence for the commercial sex industry is thin. It will become apparent that throughout the twelfth century, and for most of the thirteenth, most of the documentary evidence pertains to France. England has none, as Ruth Mazo Karras has observed; the *Dyvers Ordinaunces and Constitutions* regulating the 'orrible synne' of the baths, or 'stewes,' on the south bank of the Thames, just outside of medieval London, claims in its preamble that the House of Commons under Henry II had enacted its regulations in 1162, but J.B. Post notes that the institution of Parliament did not even exist in 1162. Karras suspects that the London municipal regulations that prohibited ferrymen from transporting men and women across the Thames to the stews after nightfall might date back to the thirteenth century, but she readily concedes that it is impossible to tell for certain.[81] While records improve in France during the thirteenth century, in England it is only in the late thirteenth century that the sex industry comes to historical light. As Suzanne Wemple notes, for much of the Middle Ages, prostitution was simply unimportant and generally went unnoted.[82]

The few passing references to French brothels and prostitutes in the twelfth century confirm that commercial sex was certainly present then, but they tell us almost nothing about its structures during this time. William of Malmesbury, for example, relates that William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (r. 1086–1127), founded a brothel (*prostibulum*) near the castle of Niort and consorted with a young prostitute (*meretricula*), but historians debate whether this episode represents a public commercial brothel or a private harem, or perhaps an invective meant to impugn William's character and reputation.[83] We have another reference to brothels in a *summa* of the

81   Karras, *Common Women*, 37; J.B. Post, 'A Fifteenth-Century Customary of the Southwark Stews,' *Journal of the Society of Archivists* (1977), 420; Andrew McCall, *The Medieval Underworld* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1979), 182

82   Wemple, 'Women from the Fifth to the Tenth Century,' 183.

83   *Gesta Regum Anglorum* V.439; *PL* 179: 1384–1385. See Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 11 and Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: the Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 167–168, who argue that

first nine books of Justinian's Code, known as *Lo Codi*, written in southern France in the latter half of the twelfth century, in which its author declared the marriage of a senator and the daughter of a brothel-keeper invalid, but we do not know if 'brothel' indicates a private home, an inn or tavern, or if 'brothel-keeper' simply refers to an individual who facilitated vice in general.[84]

In France, commercial sex had become visible enough by the early thirteenth century that municipal authorities began to reckon with issue. On 31 August 1201, for example, the 'good men' (*probi homines*) of Toulouse, represented by a certain Bernard Raymond, brought a complaint before the municipal authorities of the town regarding prostitutes (*meretrices publice*) living on the rue de Comminges and in the surrounding area, who were disturbing the residents of the neighborhood day and night. The residents requested that the authorities remove the women and in the future bar them from the street, in accordance with existing (*constitutio*) statutes that barred prostitutes from living within the city walls. The authorities granted their request and ruled that the women were to vacate the town proper.[85] The wording suggests that the city had passed statutes to regulate commercial sex earlier in the twelfth century, but the original ordinances have been lost. As another example, in 1205 the municipal authorities of Carcassonne decreed in article 105, 'Public prostitutes are to be driven out of the walls of Carcassonne.'[86]

These legal actions and statutes confirm that prostitution was certainly active in southern French towns at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but they tell us little else. We know from Mr. Raymond's complaint that prostitutes were living and working on the rue de Comminges, but this does not indicate if the women were working the streets as freelancers and accompanying clients back to their homes or rooms, or if the women rented

William of Malmesbury was implying that William IX kept a private harem, against Jacques Rossiaud who argues that this passage indicates that the duke founded a public brothel. See 'Prostitution, jeunesse et société dans les villes du Sud-Est au XVe siècle,' *Annales* 31–32 (1976), 313 note 6.

84   James A. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 113.

85   Archives Municipales de Toulouse, AA 1.27; 2.61, ed. Roger Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse et les sources de son histoire (1120–1249)* (Paris: Didier, 1932), 316–317.

86   'Meretrices publice foras muros Carcassonne emittantur.' Jean Baptiste Alexandre Théodore Teulet ed., *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, Vol. 1* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1863), 281. Teulet notes scribal errors in the documents. He gives the original wording *heretices* (heretics) and brackets the correction *meretrices*. Carcassonne's article 84 had already decreed that heretics were to be banished from the hinterlands of the city.

rooms in houses of assignation on an *ad hoc* basis, or if the women worked in informal brothels in which they lived, relatively rooted in time and space. Because Mr. Raymond's complaint notes that the women were disturbing neighbors both day and night, we might conclude that the women were working in informal brothels on the rue de Comminges, but prostitutes were known to call into the streets in order to advertise their presence, so we do not know whether they were merely loitering in the streets and alerting passersby of their services, or if they were working in establishments located physically on the street.[87]

Over the course of the thirteenth century, commercial sex had developed structurally to the point that those structures began to be formally addressed in municipal statutes, and we can now properly speak of a growing commercial sex *industry*. In the early 1240s, houses of assignation and informal brothels come to light in Avignon, when the city banned gambling after curfew in 'brothels' and 'in the homes of prostitutes' as well as in taverns, inns, and gambling houses.[88] Unlike the ambiguous reference to 'brothel-owners' in the twelfth-century *Lo Codi*, Avignon's thirteenth-century ordinance clearly places brothels and houses of assignation among other recognized public establishments. In 1254, Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) issued his Great Ordinance, which was intended to provide administrative and moral reforms including bans on blasphemy, gambling, usury, and prostitution. The royal proclamation decreed,

> Public prostitutes are to be expelled from the fields as well as from the towns, and once these warnings or prohibitions are made, their goods are to be seized by the judges of the locales, or taken, by their authority, by anyone else, to the shirt and robe. *Whoever knowingly rents a house to a public prostitute, we wish that house to fall to the lord, by whom it is to be held in feudal commission.*[89]

The Great Ordinance contained instructions that were already being practiced in towns across France, in some cases for decades prior to its

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87   M.J. Chalande, 'La Maison publique municipale aux XV et XVI siècles à Toulouse,' *Memoire de l'Academie des sciences, inscriptions, et belles lettres de Toulouse*, 10 series, book 11 (1911), 66.
88   'ni tabernariis, vel trichariis, vel lupanaribus, vel domibus meretricum, seu albergariis.' M.A.R. de Maulde ed., *Coutumes et reglements de la republique d'Avignon au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: L. Larose, 1879), 166.
89   Louis Carolus-Barré, 'La grande ordonnance de 1254,' in *Septième centenaire de la mort de saint Louis: actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris, 21–27 mai 1970* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1976), 85–96; italics added for emphasis.

proclamation, with the major exception that now prostitutes were not to be tolerated even beyond city walls or outside reputable neighborhoods. Instead, they were to be driven out of the environs of cities entirely. Of greater importance for our purposes is the last sentence that directed local authorities to seize the houses of property owners who knowingly rented their homes to prostitutes, confirming that both houses of assignation and informal brothels were operating now across urban France and not just in a few major southern French towns; in other words, the medieval sex industry was rapidly organizing and spreading. By simultaneously targeting both informal brothels and houses of assignation in towns throughout the kingdom with royal confiscation, this provision not only punished those who profited from the women's labor, but also aimed to make the expulsion of prostitutes easier by depriving them of physical shelter and social support.

The Great Ordinance of 1254 was followed two years later by a second royal decree in 1256. The intervening two years had apparently taught Louis the futility of trying to extirpate prostitution at the local level. Now prostitutes were only to be expelled from the heart of towns and put outside the walls, but royal interest in undermining the urban sex industry remained steadfast. The 1256 ordinance continued the penalty of property confiscation of any who rented houses or rooms to prostitutes; moreover, in this ordinance Louis officially acknowledged for the first time the existence of brothels by name in his instructions to royal officers to avoid brothels and taverns (*de bordeaux et de tavernes*).[90]

The rulings and statutes of Toulouse, Carcassonne, and Avignon, as well as the failure of the Great Ordinance and its subsequent revision in 1256, indicate that municipal authorities across Western Europe were struggling to contain the growth of the commercial sex industry over the course of the thirteenth century. Municipal authorities could regulate the industry by limiting its geographical extent, but they could not extinguish it. They thus tolerated the industry and defined it in the negative; ordinances delineated where prostitution *could not* take place but did not define where it could. As a result, the industry grew within the sizable gaps of thirteenth-century regulations, and wherever authorities were lax in enforcing them. By the end of the century, towns and cities would begin to define prostitution in the positive, designating areas of communities where such activity *could* take place, thereby legitimizing and protecting the industry through legal recognition and sanction.

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90   This royal interest in attacking the structures of the commercial sex industry continued under Philip III (r.1270–1285) with his ordinance of 1272; see Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 19–20, 90, 162 note 28.

The year 1285 would prove a watershed in the history of the commercial sex industry when, for the first time, sanctioned red-light districts were established in medieval Western Europe. Montpellier, under the authority of James II of Majorca (r. 1276–1311), was granted the right to create a zone wherein prostitution would be legally authorized. In other words, the commercial sex industry had gained the right to exist. The lord bailiff (*dominus baiulus*), the representative of the Crown in Montpellier, decreed:

> the said women [prostitutes] should reside permanently in the remote street commonly called 'Hot Street' [...]. [The bailiff also promised] to John de Lunello, the advocate appointed by the court, standing for Guirauda of Beziers and Elys of Le Puy present in court, and to each and every prostitute living or wishing to live in this town, that the said women [...] will now and forever remain under the protection of the lord king and the council of this town.[91]

Soon after the establishment of the Montpellier red-light district, Paris itself followed suit. By the 1290s, the capital had designated eight streets where 'common ribaulds' could operate legally.[92] On the left bank of the Seine, a major area of prostitution grew up around the Bouclerie on the outskirts of the parishes of Saint-André-des-Arts and Saint-Séverin.[93] The second major area of prostitution was in the rue Fromental in the university district, which

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91   '[Q]uod dicte mulieres semper et in perpetuum debeant permanere et residenciam facere in dicta via seu carreria ville nove, que vulgariter, ut supra dictum est, appellatur Carreria Calida. [...] Johanni de Lunello, advocato dicte curie, recipienti pro Guirauda Biterris et Elys de Podio presentibus, et pro omnibus aliis et singulis mulieribus meretricibus, habitantibus seu habitare in posterum volentibus in hac villa [...] quod dicte mulieres possint, nunc et in perpetuum, permanere [...] sub protectione dicti domini regis et sue curie huius ville.' Alexandre Germain ed., 'Statuts inédits des Repenties du couvent de Saint-Gilles de Montpellier,' *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier V* (1860–1869), 124–126.

92   Much of what we know about the designated areas of prostitution comes from an ordinance dated to September 1367 from the Provost of Paris, Hugh Aubriot, which authorized the zoning of red-light districts across the city, purportedly based upon the royal edicts of Louis IX. 'A été crié que toutes les femmes de vie dissolue, tenans bordel en la ville de Paris, aillent demeurer et tenir leurs bordeaux es places et lieux publics à ce ordonnés et accoustumés, selon l'ordonnance de Saint Louis. C'est à savoir: à l'Abreuvoir de Mascon, en La Boucherie, en la rue de Froidmantel, près du Clos-Brunel, en Glatigny, en la Court-Robert de Pris, en Baille-Hoë, en Tyron, en la rue Chapon et en Champ-Flory.' *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris: Tome 3*, ed. Henri Sauvel (Paris, 1724), 652; Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society*, 87.

93   Jacques Hillairet, *Évocation du vieux Paris* (Paris: de Minuit, 1952), 206.

was extremely popular with students.[94] In the center of the city, the Île de la Cité, there was a single street allotted for prostitution, known as Glatigny, which became synonymous with vice in medieval Paris. A euphemism for 'prostitute' was 'a girl of Glatigny' or *fillette de Glatigny*, while the street itself acquired the suggestive sobriquet *val d'amour*. Glatigny was in the poor parish of Saint-Landry located close to the port, and the poverty of the area and its proximity to the docks ensured that prostitution remained highly visible in the area for centuries, until royal efforts by Francis I (r. 1515–1547) in the sixteenth century closed the brothels and drove the industry underground.[95] The other five loci of prostitution in Paris were found on the right bank of the Seine. The rue Champ-Flory was situated outside the walls of Paris proper until the sixteenth century. The rue Chapon was also outside the walls of Paris and was originally located in a modest suburb of the city. Within the vicinity of this street resided the Bishop of Chalons, and this proximity was used as a pretext to ban property rentals to prostitutes on the rue Chapon starting in 1369. Even though the area gentrified, and the brothels became surrounded by more respectable establishments, the ban was never actually enforced, and the rue Chapon retained its reputation for prostitution well into the fifteenth century.[96]

Two further centers of prostitution on the right bank of the Seine were in areas known for cloth and clothing production, whose connection with prostitution will be considered in the next chapter. The rue de Baille-Hoe was a poor, densely populated area by the end of the thirteenth century, populated by spinners and weavers of flax and hemp.[97] As the area gentrified over the fourteenth century, upper-class plaintiffs complained bitterly about the presence of prostitutes among them, but prohibitions on the trade apparently failed until 1425, when the women were forcibly evicted by royal decree from the street and moved several streets over to the Court-Robert-de-Paris, which already had a reputation for vice, being a densely populated artisan neighborhood with an inn, cobblers, and tailors. Finally, the bordel de Tiron was located in a lightly populated and relatively affluent area of gardens.[98] Yet despite the attempts to restrict prostitution to eight streets

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94   *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel; d'apres des documents originaux et notamment d'apres un manuscrit contenant le rôle de la taille, imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292*, ed. Hercule Joseph Francois Geraud (Paris: 1837), 169.

95   Sauvel, *Histoire et recherches: Tome 3*, 652; Geremek, *Margins of Society*, 89.

96   Geremek, *Margins of Society*, 90.

97   Geraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, 77.

98   *Registre Criminel Du Châtelet de Paris, Du 6 Septembre 1389 Au 18 Mai 1392, Volume 1* (Paris: 1861), 61.

in the city, municipal ordinances, court records, and travelers' accounts indicate that prostitution was conducted on dozens of streets in the general vicinity of these eight major areas, with colorful names such as the 'rue des Marmousets', the 'rue de Cocatrix', and the 'rue aux Commanderesses,' or the 'Road to the Procuresses.'[99]

One by one, other cities soon followed the examples of Montpellier and Paris. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Nîmes had established a red-light district. The town authorized the public humiliation and beating of any 'woman who gives herself for money' (*mulier que pro pecunia se dimittat*) who resided in the city or its environs outside of a specified area designated for prostitution (*postribulum*).[100] By 1335, Narbonne had also designated a red-light district, which was based explicitly on the model of Marseilles. On 23 May of that year, the viscount, in order to avoid 'the multiple scandals and evils which are said to affect the town,' authorized the zoning of,

> a Hot Street in some suitable place in Narbonne [...] with the same proce-
> dures, forms, privileges, uses, and customs with which the *postribulum*
> of Montpellier exists and has been the custom to exist, meaning that
> in the aforementioned *postribulum* [...] none shall be arrested by the
> subvicar, or by the servants of our court, or by our other men, by day or
> by night, for adultery.

Yet large cities and towns were not alone in authorizing sanctioned space for prostitution; mountain villages such as Lacaune (Tarn) had done likewise by the 1330s, indicating that the growth of the commercial sex industry was by no means limited to major urban areas.[101]

By the middle of the fourteenth century, municipalities in France were not only creating official zones of prostitution, but they were also licens-ing, authorizing, or otherwise recognizing individual establishments. For

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99 Geremek, *Margins of Society*, 91.

100 Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 28, 168. The author explains that 'postribulum' is not a scribal error, but rather the then-current spelling of the classical Latin word *prostibulum*.

101 '[U]t scandala et mala plurima que acthenus in villa Narbonne contigisse dicuntur et evitari debeant, quod sit et esse possit ab hinc in antea postribulum, lupanar seu carraria Calida in aliquo loco yondeo Narbone [...] sub eisdem modis, formis, privilegiis, usibus et consuetudinibus universis sub quibus est et esse consuevit postribulum [...] in Montepessullano, ita videlicet quod in dicto prostribulo [...] eligendo non possit per subvicarium vel servientes Curie nostre vel alias gentes nostras capi, de die vel de nocte, adulteria.' Archives Communales Narbonne, AA 7 and see also 10; *Ville de Narbonne*: *Inventaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* : *série AA*, ed. M. Germain Mouynes (Narbonne: E. Caillard, 1877), 2–3. For the Lacaune red-light district, see Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 29, 168.

example, in the small mountain village of Uzès (Gard), a privately-owned brothel had gained official municipal recognition and sanction. According to the register of municipal deliberations of June 1326, the authorities of Uzès declared that all 'frivolous women' (*mulieres vane*) who 'gave themselves for money to men' (*dimitunt pro denario homini*) were to be relocated to the house of one Peter Rascaci.[102]

Although the town of Toulouse, the Languedoc's largest, had a history of persecuting prostitutes for much of the thirteenth century, municipal policy evolved towards toleration by the 1290s and continued into the 1350s, much like the policies of so many other French towns at this time, as the authorizations of red-light districts demonstrate. By 1296, Toulouse had an active brothel, known to the municipal authorities, and several more establishments by 1309.[103] Establishments like these must have been lucrative because at some point between 1363 and 1372, according to municipal account books, the city officially founded its own public municipal brothel and began to lease its management to private third parties.[104] The appearance of official public brothels marked another stage in the evolution of the commercial sex industry, as municipalities took an active role not in suppressing the industry, but in encouraging it. As official policy on the commercial sex industry transitioned from toleration to active participation, municipalities now had an economic stake in its future and in its growth. Towns that invested public funds into the founding of public brothels took steps to eliminate competition from privately owned establishments, and in many places with public brothels, municipal red-light districts shrank to a single or a select few establishments owned by the town or the territorial lord.[105] Municipal involvement in the sex industry in turn produced a conflict of interest that went to the heart of human trafficking: the very authorities tasked with public safety also had personal financial interests that involved sex trafficking. This will be discussed at length in Chapter Five.

Let us shift our attention now to England, where the situation differed from that of Continental Western Europe. Direct comparisons of the growth of the commercial sex industry in the late twelfth and thirteenth century between France and England are difficult to make because of the dearth of documentation in England regarding prostitution. We know that brothels were certainly in operation in London by 1261, because in that year the

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102 Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 29, 168.
103 Chalande, 'La Maison publique municipale aux XV et XVI siècles à Toulouse,' 67–69.
104 Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 31.
105 Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 38.

London Eyre tells us that six prostitutes – Margery de Pyriton, Agnes de Blida, Dulcia Trye, Maud de Norfolk, Notekina Hoggenhore, and Isabel la Rus – had fled the city following a pair of murders that had occurred in their establishment.[106] Later in 1277, the municipality prohibited any 'whore of a brothel' from living within the town walls.[107] Considering the animus towards the women, we may suspect that these establishments did not enjoy official license, but since the city took no active steps to close the brothels, we may also presume that municipal authorities begrudgingly tolerated them. Toleration, however, is precarious and never assured; in 1310, Edward II (r. 1307–1327) commanded local authorities to close London's brothels (*publicae lupanartrices*), because the king suspected they were harboring criminals.[108]

If the city succeeded in closing the brothels, its success proved ephemeral. We know, for example, that informal brothels and houses of assignation continued to operate in the city and its environs because of fourteenth-century court records. On 28 March 1338, in the Ward of Farringdon Without, a woman named Ellen de Evesham stood accused of several charges that included operating 'a disorderly house' and harboring 'thieves and prostitutes,' in the living space she rented from Robert Petyt on Fleet Street. As the rolls further indicate, Ellen de Evesham was certainly not unique in the London area. Two sisters, Agnes and Juliana, rented space from one Roger Chauntecler in Holbourne and were accused of prostitution and harboring 'men of ill fame' in their quarters. Besides Ellen, Agnes, and Juliana, eight men and seven other women were charged with keeping 'common disorderly houses and harbour[ing] prostitutes and men of ill fame' in the boroughs of Southwark and Holbourne, according to the court proceedings from March 1338 alone. Meanwhile in the city of London itself, authorities charged two prostitutes from Cokkeslane [Cocks' Lane], Juliana atte Celer and Alice de Lincoln, with operating a 'disorderly house' in Hosierlane, outside of London's designated red-light district that seems to have been tolerated, if not officially sanctioned, by the municipality.[109]

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106 Crown Pleas: 45 Henry III – 47 Henry III (nos. 108–147), *The London Eyre of 1276*, ed. Martin Weinbaum (London: London Record Society, 1976), 31–41.

107   London Metropolitan Archive, *Letter Book A,* folio 130r; Col/AD/01/01 (X/109/016 on microfilm), *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter Book A,* ed. Reginald R Sharpe (London: J.E. Francis, 1899–1912), 218.

108 *Foedera, Conventiones, Literrae et cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, vol. 2:1*, ed. Thomas Rymer (London: 1818), 124.

109 Roll A 5: (i) 1337–1344, membrane 11; *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 1, 1323–1364*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926),

We also know that prostitutes continued to operate in London throughout the second half of the fourteenth century because of municipal ordinances passed in 1351 and 1382 regulating their clothing.[110] Sex workers had apparently transitioned into other establishments throughout London, including taverns and brewhouses, and moreover, municipal authorities appear to have officially designated several areas as red-light districts in the city and in its environs, because in 1393 the municipality passed an ordinance that stipulated,

> whereas many and divers affrays, broils, and dissensions, have arisen in times past, and many men have been slain and murdered, by reason of the frequent resort of, and consorting with, common harlots, at taverns, brewhouses of *huksters*, and other places of ill-fame, within the said city, and the suburbs thereof [...] we do by our command forbid, on behalf of our Lord the King, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, that any such women shall go about or lodge in the said city, or in the suburbs thereof, by night or by day; but they are to keep themselves to the places thereunto assigned, that is to say, the Stewes [bathhouses] on the other [south] side of Thames [i.e. Southwark], and Cokkeslane; on pain of losing and forfeiting the upper garment that she shall be wearing, together with her hood, every time that any one of them shall be found doing to the contrary of this proclamation.[111]

The ordinance was intended to close informal brothels and houses of assignation that were operating out of taverns, inns, and so on, but it is notable that the sex workers were not to be banished from the London area entirely. Instead, they were to be removed to the red-light districts of Cokkeslane and the bathhouses of Southwark, the latter of which were on the south bank of the Thames and outside the city limits. In Southwark, although the area had come under the jurisdiction of London by 1327, the Bishop of Winchester retained authority over the bathhouses in the borough as part of the Winchester Liberty. Under ecclesiastical oversight and protection, the commercial sex industry grew in Southwark and thrived. The area had apparently developed a seedy reputation well before London pushed its prostitutes into the neighborhood in 1393, because Southwark residents

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165–197.

110   Karras, *Common Women*, 21.

111   *Memorials of London and London Life in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth centuries*, ed. and trans. H.T. Riley (London: Longman, 1868), 535.

had already directly petitioned Parliament three years earlier, in 1390, to close any bathhouse operating in the borough outside 'the common place ordained for this [prostitution].'[112]

Commercial sex appears to have been organizing across England by the turn of the fourteenth century, and London was certainly not alone in its occasional attempts to restrict or regulate it. The *Fasciculus morum*, an early fourteenth-century Latin handbook for preachers structured around the seven deadly sins and their opposing seven virtues, suggests in its section on gluttony that brothels were to be found in every village: 'When such people are drunk they must visit the brothel (*prostibula*) and every corner of the village (*omnis angulus ville*) in search of women, both married and single, and they do not care where they may fulfill their shameful lust.'[113] However, we do not know exactly how these brothels were structured. It may be that such sweeping assumptions about the availability of commercial sex were more rhetorical flourish and less a reflection of the actual number of brothels in early fourteenth-century rural England. Those establishments labeled 'brothels' in villages and in some towns may also represent little more than locations known for opportunistic commercial sex, rather than any kind of professional or formal sex labor. In Exeter between 1373 and 1393, for example, seventeen women were accused of keeping brothels in the town, yet all of them had other occupations; of the 55 women labeled as prostitutes, 24 of them (roughly 44 percent) were known to have other occupations besides sex work. Between 1378 and 1388, 32 percent of accused brothel-keepers were women, and all of these women had other occupations.[114] These figures indicate that even in prosperous English towns, let alone rural villages, sex work was oftentimes semi-professional. Thus while we can safely presume that commercial sex was taking place in rural England, we cannot comment authoritatively on its organizational structure.

Generally in England, urban areas provide more detail on the organization and structure of the industry than rural areas. This is to be expected, since a greater population would yield a greater demand for sex labor, and thus would provide an impetus for the industry to organize. For example, an ordinance from York in 1301 gives evidence that both informal brothels

112 Karras, *Common Women*, 37–38.

113 'Quia cum tales fuerint inebriati, tunc oportet visitare prostibula et omnem angulum ville circa mulieres tam uxoratas quam solutas, nec curant nisi ut vilissima eorum libido compleatur.' *Fasciculus Morum,* VI.2, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 630–631.

114 Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Women's Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century,' in Hanawalt, *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, Table 1, 148, 155–157.

and houses of assignation were in operation in that town by the turn of the fourteenth century, and that the town had attempted to discourage their activities. The municipality set down that 'If any common whore keeps a brothel and resides in the said city [York], let her be taken and committed to prison for a day and a night.' Furthermore, 'He who rented his houses to whores in this manner [for prostitution] shall lose the rent of those houses for one term.'[115] The first provision clearly referred to informal brothels owned and managed by prostitutes themselves, but the second provision is vague. Renting a house to whores for prostitution could simply indicate a house of assignation in which sex workers rented rooms by the client as necessary. Yet the penalty of the 'loss of rent for one term' indicates that rental agreements between landlord and prostitute covered extended periods of time. In that case, the ordinance addressed those property owners who rented homes to prostitutes, and who knew full well that their property would be used as informal brothels and expected to profit from such use.

Norwich also attempted to suppress prostitution, although how organized commercial sex was in the town at the beginning of the fourteenth century is difficult to ascertain. In 1312, a case was brought before local authorities of a man, William de Happisburgh, who had attacked the royal bailiffs as they were leading 'common prostitutes' (*communes meretrices*) from the town with the intention of 'rescuing the prostitutes' (*meretricibus rescutere voluit*).[116] We can presume from the persistence of the sex industry despite periodic crackdowns, and from cases like this one from Norwich, that official attempts to restrict the trade were undermined in large part by local resistance to municipal efforts.

When we compare the commercial sex industries in England and France in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries then, we can make several observations. In France, the industry was more socially integrated into individual towns and communities than in England. French red-light districts were officially authorized, brothels were generally tolerated, many municipalities recognized these establishments, in some cases using public funds to found communal institutions under direct municipal management, and often local authorities leased management to private third parties. While the relationship between local authorities and the commercial sex

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115 *York Civic Ordinances, 1301*, ed. and trans. Michael Prestwich (York: University of York, 1976), 16–17.
116 *Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich During the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries: with a Short Notice of its Later History and Decline*, ed. and trans. by William Hudson (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1892), 58–59. 'Rescutere' is changed later in the charge to 'rescuere.'

industry varied from town to town, the overall trend during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was towards greater acceptance, integration, and regulation. In England, the development of the commercial sex industry was an intensely local phenomenon.[117] In places such as London and Southwark, red-light districts appear to have been tolerated or officially sanctioned and regulated, but towns periodically cracked down on the industry at the local level throughout the fourteenth century. In England, freelance and semi-professional sex work remained the rule rather than the exception, whereas in France, although freelance and semi-professional sex work never disappeared, professional sex work developed there on a scale unmatched in England.

Taking into account the intense localism of the commercial sex industry in England, if we consider that the industry experienced only occasional, isolated crackdowns at the local level, and that ordinances, petitions, and legal cases from across England refer to pre-existing commercial sex establishments (such as informal brothels, houses of assignation, and bathhouses), then local acceptance, or at least toleration, seems to have been the norm for much of England during the fourteenth century. If we further consider these English trends alongside the sex industry's institutionalization and regulation across much of France, then overall the industry's process of development during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can generally be characterized as one of acceptance, legitimation, and growth. The acceptance of prostitution lent the industry legitimacy in the eyes of society (even if it was held in low esteem), paving the way for its eventual legalization throughout France and, across the Channel, at the very least in Southwark. Legalization insulated the industry from the arbitrary whims of official tolerance. With legitimacy and legalization came permanence in time and space, which in turn encouraged its growth. Even when municipal authorities reduced red-light districts to a single public brothel, illicit establishments, freelancers, and prostitution rings continued to operate in the shadows. Even in Montpellier, the first city to authorize a red-light district, royal agents in 1358 closed down illicit brothels operating in the alleyways where 'many good and honest women were made into whores.'[118] Despite official attempts to limit its activity to designated streets or establishments, the growth of the commercial sex industry was quite simply impossible to successfully contain, and as it grew it needed labor.

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117 Karras, *Common Women*, 34–35.
118 '[M]ulte bone et probe muliers facte fuerunt meretrices.' Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 104, 212.

As the structure of the industry began to take shape in the thirteenth century, we also begin to glimpse the first, barest outlines of figures who would become inextricably linked with sex trafficking in later centuries. Municipal statutes, charters, and Louis IX's 1256 ordinance all refer to enigmatic figures known by many different names: procurers, *lenones*, *destrales*, and bawds. These were the central yet shadowy figures of human trafficking networks of the Late Middle Ages: sometimes the go-betweens that supplied both labor and clients to the industry, sometimes the bridges that linked human traffickers and the sex industry, sometimes traffickers themselves, and sometimes simple thugs and pimps.

At this point it is difficult to disentangle procuring, pimping, and managing a brothel; yet the ambiguity of the term 'bawd' does not mean that society did not take their activities seriously. In 1222, Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1197–1249) reserved the authority to judge cases of procuring and to confiscate the goods of any person accused of homicide or bawdry (*linocinium*); along with homicide and adultery, procuring (*linocinium*) was considered a matter of high justice under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Narbonne in 1253.[119] In 1282, when Philip III (r. 1270–1285) reauthorized Raymond VII's charter, the king added, 'If anyone commits *linocinium* in their own home, the house will be ceded to us in commission; if truly he does not own the home, but has instead rented it, he shall pay to us 20 l.'[120] This addition is difficult to parse, because we do not know whether committing *linocinium* referred to procuring labor for the sex trade within a home, procuring clients for prostitutes (or *vice versa*) within a home, or operating a brothel or a house of assignation within a home. What we do know is that in the thirteenth century, bawds were already operating in towns and cities across Western Europe (although in what capacities we cannot say), and that both territorial lords and municipalities had begun to address their presence, if not always their activities, within the bounds of their authority. In the 1240s, the city of Arles passed municipal statute 49:

> We decree that no public prostitute or procurer (*meretrix publica vel leno*) should dare to stay in a street of good men (*in carreria proborum hominum*), and if by chance they are found in said places, that whoever

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119 'homocidium vel lenoscinium [...] vel alia crimina hiis consimilia.' Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 89.

120 '[S]i aliquis in domo propria lenoscinia commiserit, domus cedat nobis in comissum, si vero non esset propria sed conducta vel aliter concessa, sic committens in vigenti lib. turonenses nobis teneatur.' *Études Historiques Et Documents Inédits sur l'Albigeois, le Castrais Et l'Ancien Diocèse de Lavaur*, ed. M. Clement Compayre (Albi: Maurice Papailheau, 1841), 400.

of that area or neighborhood should have the power to expel them from the neighborhood, by his own authority (*sua auctoritate*), and without punishment or contradiction of the court.[121]

Roughly contemporary with the Arles statute, Avignon municipal officials declared in statute 116, 'that public prostitutes and procuresses (*publice meretrices et ruffiane seu destrales*) should in no way stay in an area or neighborhood of honest people.'[122] In Louis IX's 1256 Ordinance, the king decreed that both prostitutes and common procurers (*ribaudes communes*) were to be driven from town centers, and kept far from holy sites such as churches and cemeteries.[123] In that same year, the residents of Arles presented a list of complaints to a pair of commissioners representing Charles of Anjou (1226–1285) in the south. One of the complaints demanded the expulsion of Robin of Lis, the so-called 'King of the Bawds' (*Rex Ribaudorum*), who was apparently charging the local prostitutes six denarii in order to stay outside the city walls of Arles, and twice as much if they wished to remain in town. The locals expected that Charles' representatives would expel Robin from Arles, but the commissioners went further and publicly ordered his officers to expel all procurers wherever they were found throughout Provence.[124] It should be noted that the complaint made no mention of expelling the prostitutes. Although they were staying in town and immediately outside the walls, they were evidently complying with local ordinances including statute 49, and, considering the money that they were paying to Robin, they were also quite popular with the locals. Continuing to distinguish between prostitutes and bawds, *Li Livres de jostice et de plet*, a mid-thirteenth-century law treaty composed in Orleans, attempted to reintegrate prostitutes into society through marriage, but simply called for both brothel-keepers and bawds to be banished from cities and towns and their goods confiscated.[125]

121 'Item, statuimus quod nulla meretrix publica vel leno audeat morari in Arelate in carreria proborum hominum, et si forte invenirentur in dictis locis, quod quilibet illius contrate vel vicinie habeat potestatem expellendi de vicinia, sua auctoritate, et sina pena et contradictione curie.' Charles Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit français au moyen âge, Volume 2* (Paris: Videcoq, 1846), 205.

122 'Statuimus quod publice meretrices et ruffiane seu destrales in contractu seu vicinia honestarum personarum.' De Maulde, *Coutumes et reglements*, 191; Otis explains that *destral* was an Occitanian word for 'procuress,' and as a further example, she notes a case in 1343 in Aix-en-Provence of a woman who was fined for calling a countess a 'viella destral,' and the countess's daughter a 'puta saguenta,' *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 161.

123 Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 20, 162.

124 Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 21, 163.

125 *Li Livres de jostice et de plet*, ed. Louis Nicolas Rapetti (Paris: Didot, 1850), 104, 182, 281–282. For reintegration of prostitutes, see pages 104 and 182. For brothel-keepers, see subsection 37: 'cil qui fet desloiaus assemblee de bordelerie doivent perdre la vile, et leur biens sont le roi'; for

However, the distinction between prostitution and procuring blurred at times, and there was significant overlap between the two in some cases. We have already seen, for example, how both prostitutes and procurers were exiled in the 1240s from town centers in Arles municipal statute 49 and in Avignon municipal statute 116, as well as in Louis IX's 1256 decree. Moreover, in late thirteenth-century Abbeville, municipal authorities banished several prostitutes who were accused of both debauchery (*houlerie*) and procuring (*ribauderie*).[126] In 1299, even as towns across France were authorizing red-light districts, the archbishop, viscount, and the municipal council of Narbonne bucked this trend, and instead ordered that both prostitutes and procurers were to be expelled from the city within ten days of the proclamation or face corporal punishment.[127]

In England, a late example from London on 11 May 1439 demonstrates well how the roles of bawd and prostitute continued to blur in practice, which made legal definitions so difficult to determine. The case involves two prostitutes, Joan Wakelyn and her friend Margery.

> A certain Margery came to the house of Joan Wakelyn [...] and by agreement took her to the house of a certain important Lombard, the said Joan receiving twelve pence for her wicked and unlawful behavior, and paying the said Margery four pence therefore, and that in turn the said Joan procured the said Margery taking her at dark to the house of a very prodigal Venetian, and that both women for a long time, taking no thought for the safety of their souls, had carried on this base and detestable manner of life.[128]

In this example, neither Joan nor Margery appear as trafficking victims but instead as willing and consensual partners, who as prostitutes also acted as procurers for one another in order to generate business.

Earlier in fourteenth-century England, bawdry had become conflated with other criminal activities. 'Receivers' (*receptatores* and *receptatrices*), in connection with brothels, were specifically named as major perpetrators of

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bawds (*maquerel de femmes*) subsection 55: 'li maquerel de femmes doivent estre fuste et gete hors de la vile, et leur biens sont le roi.'

126 Jean Boca, *La justice criminelle de l'échevinage d'Abbeville au moyen-âge*, (*1184-1516*) (Paris: Lille, 1930), 200–202.

127 Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 28.

128 London Metropolitan Archives, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/67, A66 membrane 5; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, Volume 5*, ed. Philip E. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 14.

robberies, murders, and 'other diverse transgressions' (*alie transgressiones diverse*) in the city of London according to Edward II's 1310 decree.[129] The association of receivers with crime was thus already established. Although 'receiver' covered a variety of activities including the fencing of stolen property, *receptatores* would also be accused of receiving abductees from bawds and traffickers in the decades that followed.[130]

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, there is little in the sources about the activities of bawds. There is no indication yet that they have become associated with human trafficking. Certainly, they were associated with coercion, pimping, and extortion (as in the case of Robin of Lis, for example), and some authorities considered them so dangerous that they were to be expelled and their property confiscated, but the documents tell us little about their roles in the sex industry. From court records and ordinances in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we will see how bawds were presumed to entice, and sometimes coerce, girls and young women into the sex trade. We may infer by the efforts of thirteenth-century local authorities to remove them from reputable neighborhoods, or from the cities entirely, that bawds at that time were doing much the same things, but such inferences bring with them the dangers of anachronism. I believe, nevertheless, that it is more likely than not that some thirteenth-century bawds were engaging in activities for which we only have later evidence, because if procurers presented a danger to 'respectable' women and their daughters, then the efforts of thirteenth-century municipal authorities to bar them from certain affluent neighborhoods simply make more sense.

129 Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literrae et cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, vol. 2:1*, 124.

130 From the *Liber Albus*, Folio 240A (1419), 'Item, if any woman shall be found to be a *common receiver of courtesans or bawd,* and of the same shall be attainted, first, let her be openly brought, with minstrels, from prison unto the thew, and set thereon for a certain time, at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen, and there let her hair be cut round about her head. And if she shall be a second time attainted thereof, let her have the same punishment, and in the same manner for a certain time, at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen; and besides this, let her have ten days' imprisonment, without ransom. And the third time, let her have the same punishment, and in the same manner for a certain time, at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen; and after this, let her be taken to one of the Gates of the said city, [and let her there forswear the City] forever.' John Carpenter, *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London,* ed. and trans. H. T. Riley (London: John Russell Smith, 1862), 395; italics added for emphasis. From the *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, A51 membrane 3 (1423) in the Ward of Crepulgate Without, bathhouse owners Gerard Clayson and his wife were indicted '*as evildoers and receivers and maintainers of harlotry and bawdry*, and of an evil covin [coven] who are of horrible life, and of strumpets and other malefactors, to the great nuisance and peril of neighbors and passersby.' See also *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 4*, ed. A.H. Thomas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 154. Italics in quotes added for emphasis.

Municipalities and the royal administration were no doubt motivated in part to ensure that the women and daughters of respected families within local communities were not enticed by the lure of wealth that prostitution appeared to offer, or harassed by prostitutes or their clients, or mistaken for prostitutes themselves, thus becoming a potential target for unwanted male attention. Of course, by banishing bawds and prostitutes from wealthy areas, municipal policies put poor young women and girls at risk by pushing the commercial sex industry into poorer areas of cities and towns.

5.   The Late Medieval Sex Trade

Over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, medieval Western Europe to the north of the Alps and Pyrenees experienced widespread socioeconomic changes that included urban revitalization and an expansion of the monetary economy. These changes encouraged the growth of commercial sex, which developed over the course of the thirteenth century to the point that its socioeconomic structures (brothels, bath-houses or 'stewes,' prostitution rings, etc.) began to be formally addressed by royal, ecclesiastical, and municipal authorities: at this point, we may now speak properly of a growing commercial sex industry. The growth of that industry would in turn create a new source of demand for labor that human traffickers were willing and able to supply.

Movement in late medieval Western European sex trafficking networks tended to be regional or local in terms of the cultural and geographical distances traversed, for example, from Valenciennes to Dijon or from Hertfordshire to London, or among and within the streets of London and Paris. Again, we must remember that trafficking is, at its heart, an exchange. As such, movement – whether across thousands of miles from China to Italy or across a narrow lane from the open space of the streets to the enclosed spaces of homes, inns, and taverns – serves to facilitate that exchange.

There were numerous points of entry into the sex trafficking webs of late medieval Europe, including familial pressure, abduction, and predatory employment. The stories of the victims, therefore, vary among individuals. Yet, common patterns emerge from the records preserved in archives across France and England: economic duress, for example, placed women and girls in precarious circumstances that human traffickers readily exploited; stiff competition for employment in industries such as food service and hospitality, laundering and embellishing, and domestic service meant that poor women and girls had few options available to them if they fell into the hands of a predatory employer.

As we turn our attention to medieval sex trafficking, we will also reconnect with Joy and Anne, and we will meet Kris and learn about her experiences in Chicago. Whether in the medieval or modern world, once a victim entered the commercial sex industry, violence kept her there, and escape was difficult although not impossible.

Entry into Sex Trafficking Networks: Familial Pressure

In an environment of constrained economic opportunity for women, human trafficking flourished. In both France and England, poverty could compel mothers to prostitute their own daughters. Fathers were seldom accused of such activity, which suggests both a systemic bias against women where crimes against public morality were concerned, and a particularly acute financial vulnerability that single mothers experienced when deprived of a husband's income. For example, in a survey of 130 cases of sex work in Dijon between 1440 and 1540, Jacques Rossiaud has estimated that nearly all of the women had entered prostitution by the age of seventeen, and a third had entered sex work before the age of fifteen.[1] Of the 77 cases where the reasons for entering sex work are recorded, a quarter of those cases involve young women who had been sold or pressured into the Dijon commercial sex industry by their families because of dire poverty. Twenty-seven percent had been victims of a public rape, and because the victims bore the shame of their sexual assault, their chances for marriage were slim indeed. Faced with the prospect of a daughter without hope of a stable financial future through marriage, families then sold them into the municipal brothel or into prostitution rings, where they might still eke out a living and relieve the household of their financial burden.

In England, in 1395, Elizabeth Brouderer (Embroiderer) was accused in court testimony of trafficking her daughter among various men over the course of a single night. According to the deposition, Elizabeth 'brought a certain Alice, her daughter, to different men for the sake of lechery, putting her with those men in their beds at night without light.'[2] In the 1470s, Joan Chapman, the widow of a certain John Chapman of Sandown in

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1   For the survey of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sex workers in Dijon, see Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 32–33. Cases of sex trafficking involving parents and daughters are certainly not unique to England and France. Nicholas Terpstra, for example, gives several examples of such activity from sixteenth-century Florence; see *Lost Girls*, 3.

2   'Item dixit quod quaedam Elizabeth Brouderer [...] quae etiam conduxit quandam Aliciam filiam suam diversis hominibus luxuriae causa, ipsam cum eisdem hominibus in lectis eorum noctanter absque lumine.' LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/35, A34 membrane 2. Elizabeth Broiderer was implicated in court testimony given by John Rykener, a male prostitute in London during the 1390s, whose case will be revisited later in this chapter. For more information on John Rykener, see David Lorenzo Boyd and Ruth Mazo Karras, 'The Interrogation of a Male Transvestite Prostitute in Fourteenth-Century London,' *GLQ* 1 (1995), 459–465, and David Lorenzo Boyd and Ruth Mazo Karras, '"Ut cum muliere": A Male Transvestite Prostitute in Fourteenth-Century London,' in *Premodern Sexualities*, eds. Louise Fradenburg and Carl Freccero (London: Routledge, 1996), 99–116.

Kent, was charged with 'bawdry' for pimping her fifteen-year old daughter Alice to Flemish and German merchants in port.[3] In 1494, Katherine 'Dwytchwoman' (Dutchwoman) was accused of being a bawd for her daughter, 'because she [Katherine] beat her when the girl refused to visit the lodgings of a certain Lombard, by whom she later had a child.'[4] In 1523, Agnes Castrey faced charges of bawdry on account of selling, 'her daughter divers times.'[5]

In her childhood, Joy's father was well-connected in her hometown. His reputation for prostituting his daughter spread through the community via word of mouth. He would often sell her to multiple men a night, which included school nights. When she grew older, he brought her to parties and local swinger clubs and there sold her to the guests and patrons.

Entry into Sex Trafficking Networks: Abduction

Young single women, especially those of poor or middling status, had narrow economic prospects beyond marriage within village communities, and most of those opportunities were found in medieval cities and towns. The search for employment was a moment of acute vulnerability for young women and children in the late Middle Ages, who were often driven by desperate financial circumstances into distant labor markets located in unfamiliar environments, far beyond the protection of their kinship networks. Human traffickers understood and exploited their isolation and inexperience as opportunities for profit. In 1517, for example, a tailor named John Barton stood accused of kidnapping a young woman named Joan Rawlyns. According to the court proceedings, Joan had told her patroness, the Lady of Willesden, that she wished to go to London where servant wages were higher than in Aldenham, Hertfordshire (about sixteen miles northwest of Westminster), where she lived. The Lady of Willesden consequently asked John Barton, an acquaintance of hers, to escort Joan to London. Mr. Barton confessed that he had met Joan on the highway as he came from services at Our Lady of Willesden. John promised

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3   Kent Archives Office, *Sandwich Year Book* (*The Old Black Book*) *1432–1487*, Sa/AC1 folio 195v.
4   LMA, *Acta quoad correctionem delinquentium* (Commissary Court Act Books), 9064.6 Folio 22r (note: the folio has since been renumbered 21r.)
5   LMA, *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Repertory 6 1522–1524*, col/CA/01/006 (X109/132 on microfilm), folio 147v.

to bring her [Joan Rawlyns] to good and honest service in this city [London]. Whereupon she, putting her trust and confidence in him, went with him throughout the whole city until he, unbeknownst to her, had brought her to the Stewes' side [Southwark] and there he left her in a waterman's house, and then went immediately to a bawd there and made covenant with her to set the said maiden with the said bawd. In the meantime, the said maiden, perceiving by the said waterman's wife that she was in such an evil-named place, knelt down on her knees and besought her for Our Lady's sake to help convey her to this city; which accordingly she did honestly in this city, where she [Joan] now remains in honest service.[6]

Because he had a history of 'dishonorable transactions with women,' the court sentenced John Barton to prison in Newgate. Later, his head was shaved, his crimes were recorded and pinned to his clothes, and then he was paraded through the town while holding the tail of a horse, as his crimes were publicly proclaimed to warn those who were illiterate. Finally, he was pilloried and expelled from the city. John's record of 'dishonorable transactions' suggests that he trafficked semi-professionally, and he clearly maintained an extensive network of personal connections in London's underworld. He knew local buyers who would conclude transactions swiftly, and he knew the safe houses where he might surreptitiously hold his abductees in the meantime. Considering that John knew to bring Joan to the waterman's house, and given his history of 'dishonorable transactions,' we can reasonably presume that Joan was not the first person the pair had trafficked. Although she was able to escape and eventually find gainful employment, her story was atypical, as we shall see.

The highways were not the only haunts of traffickers; in the cities and towns of medieval Europe, they stalked the local streets. In Paris in the year 1400, Jeanne de Baugie stood accused of abducting a young girl whom she had lured into her house with the promise of employment in domestic service. During her interrogation, which included torture, Jeanne confessed to running a 'disorderly house' and acting as a procuress; however, when she sought royal pardon she chose not to retract her confession, indicating that the charges may well have been true.[7] In the streets of Beaucaire, a woman named Catherine fell in love with a riverboatman, who as it turned out, was

6   LMA, *Letter Book N 1515–1526*, col/AD/01/010 (X109/028 on microfilm), folio 47v. See also, LMA, *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3 1515–1519*, col/CA/01/01/03 (X109/129 on microfilm), folios 157v–8r.

7   Geremek, *The Margins of Society,* 236.

also a semi-professional trafficker. The man convinced Catherine to leave her husband of two years and then carried her away to Avignon, where he sold her into the municipal brothel.[8] Catherine was certainly not unique, for in 1458, a bawd trafficked a woman named Jammeline from Beaucaire to Avignon. Over the next several months she was brought before the temporal courts of the city for habitual prostitution, despite official reprimands and a short stay in jail.[9] Considering that regular arrests and imprisonment apparently did little to dissuade her from sex work, we must then wonder which Jammeline feared more: the jail or the anger of her pimp?

In London, in the latter half of the 1420s, Agnes Smith was charged with kidnapping and bawdry. She was accused of luring Agnes Turner, the nine-year-old daughter of lace-weaver Margaret Turner, into her home with 'enticing words,' where she hid a young man named Robert, a clerk of the royal Chapel of Saint Stephen of Westminster. Agnes Turner was unaware of the trap until Robert attacked her. The little girl was saved only because passersby in the street below heard her screams, broke into the house, and rescued her.[10] In 1438, Peter Manyfeld was charged with kidnapping Alice Burley from her home, 'and violently and secretly ravished her against her will, and kept her in his chamber for a long time, and after he was satiated with her, sold her to a certain Easterling at the Steelyard.' In that same year, a woman named Joan stood accused of bawdry between 'a certain Agnes and the Flemmings and others at the Stylyard [Steelyard].'[11] According to court records, on 11 May 1439 an inquest was made regarding 'a certain Margaret Hathewyk,' who

> often between 10 October [1438] and 20 March [1439] in the parish of St. Edmund in Lumbardstrete [Lombard Street] procured a young girl named Isabel Lane for certain Lombards and other men unknown, which Isabel was deflowered against her will in the said Margaret's house and elsewhere for certain sums of money paid to the said Margaret, and further that said

8   Joseph Girard and Pierre Pansier, *La Cour temporelle d'Avignon aux XIVe et XVe siècles, contribution à l'étude des institutions judiciaires, administratives et économiques de la ville d'Avignon au moyen-âge* (Paris: H. Champion, 1909), 196.

9   Prosper Boissonnade, Joseph Girard, et Pierre Pansier. *La Cour temporelle d'Avignon aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Contribution à l'étude des institutions judiciaires et administratives de la ville d'Avignon au Moyen âge. Avignon, Roumanille* (Paris, Champion, 1909),' in *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, vol. 22, no. 87, 1910; 376.

10   LMA, *Journals of the Court of Common Council: Journal 2 1425–1429*, col/cc/01/01/02 (X109/046 on microfilm), folios 26v–7r.

11   Karras, *Common Women*, 61; LMA, *Acta quoad correctionem delinquentium*, 9064.2, folios 252v–r.

Margaret took the said Isabel to the common stewes on the bank of the
Thames in Surrey against her will for immoral purposes with a certain
unknown gentleman on four occasions against her will.[12]

In the late 1440s, a 'stewemonger' [brothel-keeper] named Nicholas Croke [Crook]
stood accused of taking a woman named Christina Swynowe to the Southwark
stews on the south bank of the Thames, 'and by force and money compelled and
enticed her to fornication and cohabitation' for nine days.[13] In 1490, Johannes
Albon sold a certain Margaret to a procurer in the Southwark stews.[14]

Although trafficking victims were disproportionately of poor or middling
status in the extant sources, and although wealth could certainly mitigate the
risks of abduction, money and status were by no means the perfect protection
from the dangers of traffickers. In France in 1476, for example, a young noble
widow named Marie, the daughter of a local lord in Abbeville, fled with a
small entourage of servants from an unwanted second marriage and arrived
at Valenciennes, 100 miles east of Abbeville, where she had friends. However,
while lodging at an inn outside of the town she became separated from her
party and fell in with a band of young men led by a certain Drouhet, himself
attached to a noble household. After raping Marie, Drouhet offered to put
her in contact with his master, perhaps to buy her silence. Marie accepted
his offer, although considering she was still in the company of Drouhet and
his men, coercion likely played a role in her acceptance.

Drouhet and his company took Marie to Dijon and lodged at an inn there
for several days, while he met with the manager of the municipal brothel,
Jeanne Robelote, to arrange Marie's sale into the house. Drouhet then told
Marie that they were going to see his master, but instead he took her to the
madam. As Marie became aware of the plot, she was overwhelmed with
despair and begged Drouhet for mercy, but he forced her into the brothel
nonetheless. As matters unfolded, Jeanne Robelote was quick to discover
that Marie was of noble status and balked at possibility of becoming an
accomplice in the abduction and prostitution of a member of the nobility,
crimes which carried the death penalty. Drouhet was forced to return with
Marie to his lodgings, and for two weeks he and his companions used her
jewels and adornments to finance their daily living; all the while Drouhet

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12   LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/67, A66 membrane 5; Jones, *Calendar of
Plea and Memoranda Rolls, Volume 5*, 13–14.
13   LMA, *Journals of the Court of Common Council: Journal 4 1444–1448*, col/cc/01/01/004 (X109/047
on microfilm), folio 134v.
14   LMA, *Acta quoad correctionem delinquentium*, 9064.4, folio 168r.

beat her and threatened her life if she didn't agree to prostitute herself. Eventually, Marie contacted a well-connected woman in Dijon who took her in and put her in communication with the municipal prosecutor. After Marie filed a formal complaint Drouhet was imprisoned, but for unknown reasons Marie pardoned him once more by dropping the charges. Drouhet then vanishes from the public record.[15]

Today, as in centuries past, human trafficking continues to disproportionately affect impoverished women and children, but anyone can become a victim and a survivor. Kris, for example, came from a supportive, loving, middle-class family in the Kansas City area. As a teenager, Kris decided to explore the world; she packed her things and brought the little money she had saved to the train station. She planned to make for New York City, but could only afford a ticket to Chicago. In Chicago, a recruiter spotted her alone, isolated, and vulnerable at the train station. After learning that Kris had no friends, family, or job prospects in the area, the recruiter offered her a place to stay and a job while she was in the city. She believed him.

Entry into Sex Trafficking Networks: Employment

Even if a young woman successfully found a position in an urban-based trade, she was not out of danger. A limited market for female labor meant that competition for employment was fierce, and with little surety of finding an alternative occupation, women could not easily leave a predatory employer's service. The connection between traditional female labor and prostitution meant that young women and girls who apprenticed in industries associated with prostitution were especially vulnerable to the vices of their employers.

Women who laundered, embellished, or repaired clothing had access to restricted male-only living spaces such as cloisters and rectories, and were therefore popularly associated with prostitution. For example, in 1385 in London, Elizabeth Moryng was charged with operating a prostitution ring out of her embroidery shop, and of pimping the young women and girls who were ostensibly her apprentices. One of her victims, a young woman named Joan, testified that Elizabeth had retained her,

> and divers other women and bound them to serve her in that art [embroidery], whereas in truth, she did not practice that art, but after she

15   Archives départementales Côte d'Or, B2 360/12, 1476.

retained them she exhorted said Joan and all the other women living with her and serving her to live in lechery and to go with friars, chaplains, and all others wishing to have them.[16]

Joan's testimony led to Moryng's conviction on charges of bawdry, and she was eventually banished from London.[17] In 1423, Alsoun [Alison] Bostone was sentenced to spend an hour at the pillory (*collistrigium*) for three consecutive market days after she was convicted of 'having let to hire for immoral purposes' her thirteen-year old apprentice, Joan Hammond, 'to divers persons for divers sums of money.'[18]

However, the association between the sex industry and the launder-esses, embellishers, and so on was not completely illogical. We may recall that in in 1338, authorities charged Juliana atte Celer and Alice de Lincoln with operating a 'disorderly house' in Hosierlane, outside of London's designated red-light district. In 1395, a London prostitute named John Rykener, who dressed in women's clothes and assumed the identity of a woman named 'Eleanor,' claimed in his court deposition that he had 'stayed at Oxford for five weeks before the last feast of Saint Michael's, and worked there as an embroideress in women's clothing, and called himself "Eleanor",' and that while in Oxford, 'three unsuspecting scholars, one of whom was named Lord William Foxlee, another Lord John, and the third Lord Walter, practiced the abominable vice with him often.'[19] We may also recall that John Barton was a tailor and a part-time sex trafficker in sixteenth-century London and that in Paris, and that the two centers of prostitution on the right bank of the Seine, the rue de Baille-Hoe and the Court-Robert-de-Paris, were located in areas known for textile production.

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16   LMA, *Letter Book H 1375–1399*, col/AD/01/008 (X109/023 on microfilm), folio 194v; *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: H, 1375–1399*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1907), 271; Riley, *Memorials of London*, 484.

17   Karras, *Common Women*, 59.

18   LMA, *Letter Book K 1422–1461*, col/AD/01/010 (X109/025 on microfilm), folio 11v; *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: K, Henry VI*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 17; LMA, *Journals of Court of Common Council: Journal 2*, col/cc/01/01/002 (X109/046 on microfilm), folio 19r.

19   'Item dictus Johannes Rykener fatebatur quod per quinque septimanas ante festum santi Michaelis ultimo elapsum morabatur apud Oxonium et operatus est ibidem in veste muliebri in arte de brouderer nominans ipsum Alianoram, tres scolares ignotos, quorum unus nomi-natur dominus Willielmus Foxlee, alius dominus Johannes, et tertius dominus Walterus, usi fuerunt sepius cum ipso abominabile vitium supradictum.' LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/35, A34 membrane 2.

Women who worked in hospitality and the food service industry were also vulnerable to exploitation from predatory employers, because taverns were closely associated with lascivious behavior throughout the Middle Ages, and thus widely held presumptions of promiscuity among tavern workers put employees at risk. For example, a local London tavern named The Pye in Queenhithe had developed the reputation as a place 'which is a good shadowing for thieves, and many evil bargains have been made there, and many strumpets and pimps have their covert there, and leisure to make false covenants.' Municipal authorities felt that it was necessary to recommend that the tavern be prohibited from operating at night, in order to ensure 'the destruction of evil' that The Pye appeared to nurture.[20] In Kingston-upon-Thames, the wife of Thomas Butcher, a woman named Mariona, was accused of whoredom in association with her management of a local tavern in 1434, and several years later, in 1437, she was presented before local magistrates as 'a strumpet.'[21] In London, William Basseloy, a taverner, stood accused of pimping Thomesina Newton from his establishment in 1470, while two servants of the Busche Tavern, Mandelelyn and Alice, were procured by the proprietor. The taverness of Le Schippe acted as a bawd for one of her tapsters.[22]

Even if tavern owners did not directly engage in sex trafficking, they could certainly facilitate commercial sex by turning a blind eye. In 1251 in France, prostitutes, ruffians, and 'vagabond women' (*mulier vagabunda*) were prohibited from Montpellier's taverns.[23] Caustelnaudary fined both prostitutes who ate in public houses and the taverners who served them; the municipal statutes for Saint-Félix prohibited prostitutes from taverns; and throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the consuls of Toulouse impressed upon their successors the necessity of barring prostitutes from the city taverns.[24]

In London in 1470, John Mande and his wife stood accused of pimping John's sister at a tavern and of having networked with other bawds and prostitutes in other public houses, all apparently without any interference from the establishments.[25] Taverns and inns played a central role in a tryst

20   LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/51, A50 membrane 7b; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Volume 4*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 138.

21   Surrey Record Office, *Kingston Manor Court Rolls (Frankpledge),* KF1.1.1 m.1; KF1.3. m.1d.

22   Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, 108.

23   *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier* (Montpellier: Jean Martel Aine, 1840), 139; *Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes. 8e série, tomes VIII et IX; années 1885 et 1886* (Nîmes, 1886), 54.

24   Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 81.

25   Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, 108.

involving a priest and a prostitute in 1516. The prostitute, a woman named Elizabeth Tomlins, sent for the hostler of The Bell Inn to meet her at a neighboring alehouse. During their meeting, Elizabeth asked if a certain priest named Gregory Kyton was staying at the inn. When the hostler returned to The Bell Inn, he told the priest that a woman in the alehouse had asked for him, and Kyton replied that he would meet her in his room. The hostler then suggested instead that the priest go to The George on Lombard Street, and the hostler would bring Elizabeth there to meet him. Elizabeth and the hostler arrived at The George before the priest and arranged for accommodations. Gregory Kyton arrived shortly thereafter and met Elizabeth in her chamber; later, Elizabeth, the hostler, and the priest ate together at the priest's expense.[26]

Domestic service was a third industry of specialized female labor that was closely associated with sex work and trafficking. In Normandy on 13 July 1333, Jacqueline la Cyriere stood accused of luring ten-year-old Jeanette Bille-heuse into her home with the promise of wages in exchange for housework. According to trial proceedings, Jacqueline hid a Lombard soldier in her home, who then raped the child with her assistance. The court ordered two matrons to examine the girl, and the brutality the women described is chilling. Under oath they testified that Jeanette, 'was found raped and pierced through and through, and was so fearfully injured that it was horrible to see, and [Jeanette] was very ill and terribly wounded, and in every manner injured.' The court condemned Jacqueline to death by burning at the stake, but the fate of Jeanette's rapist is unknown.[27] In Paris as we have seen, Jeanne de Baugie lured her victims into her house with the promise of employment in her service; in Dijon, of the 130 known cases of sex work between 1440 and 1540, over a third involved domestic service.[28] In Toulouse, Peter and Katherine Fontanes were sentenced to corporal punishment and banishment from the town after their conviction of pimping their ten-year old domestic servant, Catherine, in 1474.[29]

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26   LMA, *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Repertory 5 (1518–1521),* col/ca/01/01/005 (X109/131 on microfilm), folios 52r–v.

27   'Jehannette fut trovee defloree et percee tout oultre et si vilainement depareillee que c'est et c'estoit chose orrible a regarder, et estoit conompue tout oultre et vilainement blessee; et desiree en tout nature.' As cited in Charles Green Cumston, 'A Note on the History of Forensic Medicine of the Middle Ages,' *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* Vol. 3.1 (May, 1912), 863; Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 128.

28   Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 33.

29   Archives départementales Haute-Garonne, 1B 4 (November 12, 1473-September 17, 1478), folio 50r.

In England in March 1437, the letter books of London record that a couple named Richard Peryn and his wife Margaret had, 'been committed to prison,' not only for 'generally keeping a disorderly house,' but also 'for having enticed Isabella Potenam, a maiden, from the service of Thomas Harlowe, and carried her to their house in the parish of All Hallows Berkyng, and there shut and sealed her, and sold her to be debauched by George Galliman [Galleyman] and others, against her will and crying out.'[30] In the early 1470s, a young woman named Ellen Butler was searching for a position as a domestic servant in London, when a certain Thomas Bowde approached her. Bowde was a shrewd confidence man who used Ellen's desire for domestic employment as a pretext to lure her into his home in Southwark, in which he operated a brothel. When Ellen refused to cooperate, Thomas then brought charges against her accusing her of owing him an insurmountable debt. Although Ellen claimed coercion, the court sided with Thomas, and Ellen faced the choice of imprisonment for delinquency or a return with Thomas to employment in his brothel. Evidently Ellen chose imprisonment, because at some point between 1473 and 1475 she petitioned the bishop of Winchester for a release from prison, although her fate is unknown.[31] In 1490, Agnes Hutton stood accused of bawdry for allegedly procuring and soliciting, 'young girls and the servants of divers men to commit the crime of fornication with divers men, and leads them to the chambers of Lombards, Spaniards, and Easterlings.'[32] At the turn of the sixteenth century, the Commissary Court Act Books record that Robert Cliff and his wife were charged as common bawds for pimping their maidservant, Elizabeth Mountain, to 'divers merchants,' and also note that several years earlier, the couple had sold their previous maid, a young girl named Agnes Smith, to 'Lombard merchants.'[33] However, we do not know if this earlier sale was for a single encounter with young Agnes, or multiple encounters, or an outright permanent sale of a child between two parties. In 1517, as we have seen, John Barton abducted Joan Rawlins as she sought employment in domestic service in the city of London. A year later in 1518 in the Ward of Farringdon, Elizabeth Knyght, wife of John Knyght, was convicted of being 'bawde to a certain person who committed the foul and detestable sin of lechery in her house with a young girl of thirteen years to the great displeasure of Almighty God.' According to the proceedings, the

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30   LMA, *Letter Book K 1422–1461*, col/AD/01/010 (X109/025 on microfilm), Folio 169b; Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter-Books: K*, 216.
31   Kew National Archive, *Chancery Court Proceedings*, C1.48.191. See Ruth Mazo Karras, 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England,' *Signs* 14, no. 2 (1989), 418 for Ellen's petition.
32   Karras, *Common Women*, 73.
33   LMA, *Acta quoad correctionem delinquentium*, 9064.8, folio 254v.

victim testified that the wife of one Everard, a carpenter, had convinced the girl to go with Elizabeth Knyght, telling her that she would 'have honest service [domestic service] and fair wage of said Elizabeth.' The victim was escorted to the Knyghts' house, and upon arrival she was sent upstairs to the bedchambers. Once inside, Elizabeth 'shut fast the lower door, and there she [the victim] found the said man waiting, who took her in his arms, and as she cried, he stopped her mouth and had do with her against her will.'[34]

The Role of Violence in Late Medieval Sex Trafficking Networks

The late medieval sex industry retained and compelled labor through coercion, intimidation, brute force and outright rape. Yet the experience of violence in the late medieval sex trade was also, in part, the experience of violence in the urban environment, and the commercial sex industry was associated with other professions known to traffic in vice and brutishness.[35] We may recall that Avignon in the 1240s banned gambling in brothels and the homes of prostitutes as well as in taverns and inns, and that Louis IX in 1256 banned his officers from visiting both taverns and brothels.

In London in September 1281, 29 men were arrested on charges of 'divers trespasses, as for homicides, robberies, beatings, assaults [...] with swords and bucklers.' The charges also include gambling and 'keeping houses of ill fame (*lupanaria*), contrary to the peace of the lord the King, and contrary to the ordinance and provision of good men of the City.'[36] The 1393 municipal ordinance from London connected, 'many and divers affrays, broils, and dissensions,' as well as the murders of 'many men' with 'the frequent resort of, and consorting with, common harlots, at taverns, brewhouses of *huksters*, and other places of ill-fame,' within the city.[37]

As we have seen, taverns were frequently associated with the commercial sex industry because they often doubled as informal or illicit brothels, and as such they were also venues where sexual violence was commonplace.

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34 LMA, *Letter Book N 1515–1526*, col/AD/01/013 (X109/028 on microfilm), folios 21r–2v.

35 As Barbara Hanawalt observes, urban women were more likely to meet with violence in their own homes, but more urban women were killed in the street, or in the homes of other people, or in public establishments, than their counterparts in rural villages. In other words, a solitary woman in an urban environment was more likely than her rural counterpart to meet a violent end; see *Of Good and Ill Repute*, 81–84.

36 LMA, *Letter Book B 1275–1312*, col/AD/01/002 (X109/017 on microfilm), folio 3b; *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: B, 1275–1312*, ed. Reginald R Sharpe (London, 1900), 6.

37 Riley, *Memorials of London*, 535.

In London, for example, on 12 March 1301, Joice de Cornwall, a peleter, was stabbed to death following an incident in a tavern. Joice and his associate, a skinner known as Thomas of Bristol, were playing checkers at an inn run by a certain Alice de Wautham, when several men broke into the house carrying a woman with them. The men dropped the woman on the checker table, disrupting the game. Thomas took exception to the commotion, and words quickly escalated to a knife fight. Joice was stabbed in the chest and collapsed dead in the streets of Walebrok Ward.[38]

On 25 March 1325, the coroner's roll reports that a tailor, Walter de Benygtone, met his end in a brawl at a 'public house' (*mercatoria*) owned by one Gilbert de Mordone in Bridge Ward. According to the official investigation, Walter de Benygtone and seventeen unnamed companions had come to the alehouse with 'stones in their hoods, swords, knives and other weapons, and were there sitting and drinking four gallons of beer, lying in wait to seize and carry off Emma, daughter of the late Robert Pourte then under the charge of the said Gilbert.' The wife of Gilbert de Mordone, Mabel, and the tavern staff asked Walter and his associates to leave the establishment, but the men replied that they would stay because the house was public, and they were spending money. Mabel then hurried young Emma upstairs to her chambers, angering Walter, and he in turn attacked the tavern staff. The fight spilled into the streets and when neighbors came to intervene, Walter attacked them and was subsequently killed in the brawl.[39]

In December of 1374, according to court proceedings,

John Loryng, William Neweman, Richard Bereford, William Stratford and Robert Buckston were indicted with others, not taken, for having been present with arms to give assistance to a certain John Spencer and others, who had gone with swords and bucklers and cuirasses, called 'jakkes,' under their outer garments to the inn of John Godard, hostiller, in the parish of St. Peter's Cornhill, where they broke into a chamber occupied by Katherine de Brewes and carried her out, dragging her along the floor by her arms and clothes, naked upwards to the waist and with her hair hanging over her bosom, until the neighbours, aroused by the cries of her servants and herself, came and rescued her.[40]

38   A 'peleter' was a dealer in rawhide. *Calendar of Coroner's Rolls of the City of London*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: Richard Clay and Sons, 1913) Roll A, 17–18.

39   Sharpe, *Coroner's Rolls*, Roll D, 114–115.

40   LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/21, A20 membrane 2; *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364–1381*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London, 1929), 184.

The men subsequently pleaded not guilty and were acquitted of the charges.

Outside of confined spaces and in the open space of the streets, 'respectable' women were generally expected to avoid making eye contact in order to preserve a sense of privacy and personal space. Men, in contrast, held up their gaze to survey that public space and to thus dominate it, as well as to remain alert for potential intrusions into their personal space. Prostitution put women in an awkward position; like 'respectable' women, prostitutes were primarily concerned about personal space, and like men, prostitutes kept their gaze high in order to survey the public space, but unlike either of their 'respectable' counterparts, prostitutes invited the violation of their personal space.[41]

Such intrusion brought not only the promise of economic gain but also the risk of violence, and municipal and ecclesiastical authorities saw the invitation of the prostitute to violate personal space as a threat to the public order. They thus took steps to enclose sex workers in areas or establishments authorized for prostitution in order to contain that threat. Of course, not every prostitute was willing to go along with formal policies of segregation. When the women resisted official attempts to restrict their movement, municipalities responded by authorizing the use of force to compel their compliance, such as the official expulsion of prostitutes from 'respectable' neighborhoods throughout France over the course of the thirteenth century, which is documented in municipal and royal ordinances, or the early fourteenth-century municipal statute of Nîmes that authorized the beating of any 'public woman' found outside of the town's red-light district. Throughout the second half of the fifteenth century in Dijon, with the permission of local authorities, the women of the municipal brothel repeatedly hunted down their competition (i.e. freelance prostitutes), and threatened to have them forcibly carried off into the brothel if they persisted in their activities.[42] Thus the borders between reputable and disreputable neighborhoods were defined by, and reinforced through, state-sanctioned violence.

In England, a case from 1382 typifies official tolerance of violence against suspected prostitutes. On 9 July of that year, a certain chaplain named Thomas Norwich answered an official charge of trespassing by one Henry de Wilton. Henry claimed that Thomas had, 'on divers occasions between

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41   Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, 80–84.
42   AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/5 m.633 (1454); B2 360/8 m.986 (1460); B2 360/9 (1465); B2 360/15 (1489). Nuremburg likewise allowed licensed prostitutes to attack their freelance competitors on occasion in order to discourage illicit prostitution in the city; see Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 97.

1 August 1381 and 8 July 1382, by force and arms and against the peace, had eloigned and carried away the plaintiff's wife, Joan, [as well as] woollen and linen cloths, silver plate, dishes, pewter saltcellars, and iron and brass pots and pans.' According to the court proceedings, 'A jury brought in a verdict that *as regards the wife, she was nothing but a common strumpet, and so there was no eloigning*, but the defendant was in possession of certain goods belonging to the plaintiff of the value of 60s [...] It was considered that the defendant pay 60s damages and restore the goods, in default of which he was committed to prison.'[43] In this disturbing case, Thomas faced restitution and potential prison time, not for the abduction and likely sexual assault of Joan, but for the theft of moveable property. Since Joan was 'nothing but a common strumpet,' she could not have been assaulted according to the judgment of the court; whether Joan engaged in prostitution is unknown, although from the proceedings it is evident that her public persona was considered disreputable. Regardless of her activities, the court records illustrate the dangers faced by trafficking victims and sex workers in general. Their marginal social status meant susceptibility to officially tolerated, or officially authorized, violence in addition to the risks inherent in their trade.

Yet on occasion, authorities did act to protect sex workers from violence. In 1231 in Sicily, for example, Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1194–1250) in his *Constitutions of Melfi* decreed the death penalty for the rape of a prostitute.[44] The 1285 authorization of the Montpellier red-light district promised the women that they would 'now and forever remain under the protection of the lord king [James II of Majorca] and the council of this town.' In 1383, the Bishop of Albi suggested that the city build two brothels: one outside the walls and another inside where the women could be housed at night for their safety and protection. Ordinances across the Languedoc imposed substantial fines and occasionally corporal punishment for the rape of a

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43   LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/26, A25 membrane 8b; *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 3, 1381–1412*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London, 1932), 18. The sanctioning of violence against sex workers as a means of discouraging the profession (as opposed to containing it) through punishment was also found on the opposite side of the English Channel. For example, the customs of Normandy and Brittany, both probably dating to the twelfth century but written down in the early thirteenth, legalized the rape of prostitutes. For Normandy, see Jean Le Foyer, *Exposé du droit pénal normand au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1931), 96–97; for Brittany, see Yvonne Bongert, *Cours d'histoire du droit pénal: le droit pénal français de la fin du XVe siècle à l'ordonnance criminelle de 1670* (Paris: Cours de droit, 1973), 182.
44   *Titulus XXI: De violentia meretricibus illata*, in *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi: Tome IV, pars I*, ed. Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Breholles (Paris: 1854), 23–24.

prostitute throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[45] In 1389 in Valence and Avignon, the rape of a prostitute in the municipal brothel carried a fine of 100 *sous*.[46] Beginning in 1425 and for much of the fifteenth century, the municipal brothel of Toulouse was under the official protection of both the royal seneschal and the vicar of the city and guarded by troops responsible to the captain of the watch (*capitan del geyt*). The 'abbess' of the brothel, one Johannetta de Carneri, was present at the seneschal's court for the formal proclamation of protection, and the Fleurdelisés was affixed to the house as a sign of royal patronage.[47]

In England, throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the municipal authorities of Southwark, Sandwich, and Southampton prohibited the managers of the stews and brothels from beating the women in their employ.[48] In Southwark, brothel-keepers were also prohibited from loaning money to their prostitutes, presumably to ensure they did not trap the women in the brothel through debt, although this regulation was apparently either ignored or forgotten in the case of Ellen Butler.[49] Thus in many cases, municipalities used violence to create a system of rewards and punishments that encouraged prostitutes to voluntarily cooperate in their own segregation. Inside designated zones of prostitution the women were officially protected from violence, but outside of those zones they were susceptible to officially authorized or tolerated violence.

Of course, we may ask who protected women from their 'protectors,' who could just as easily become their persecutors? In 1304, for example, the royal officers of Philip IV of France (r. 1285–1314) ejected and 'disinhabited'

45   Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 34, 68–69.

46   'Si quis mulierem diffamatam aut aliam de lupanari, violenter cognoverit, debet pro banno, centum Solidorum Viennensium.' *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race, Volume 7* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1745), 316 Item 50; Girard and Pansier, *La Cour temporelle d'Avignon aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, 171.

47   AM Toulouse AA 5 no. 371 (8 December 1425). Royal protection of the municipal brothel was reaffirmed in 1462; see AM Toulouse, FF 117 (1462), ed. Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 117–120.

48   Southampton City Records Office, *The Mayor's Book of Fines 1488–1594*, SC 5/3/1 folios 42v, 55v; Martin Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge: Regulating Sex in England, 1470–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 163.

49   Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus. 229, A6. See J.B. Post, 'A Fifteenth-Century Customary of the Southwark Stews,' 418–428 for a full transcription of the customs. The use of debt to keep women trapped in sex work was common in medieval Europe despite periodic attempts to outlaw the practice, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire. In fact, rumors swirled in German cities such as Ulm and Ludwigsburg of financial practices in which women were used as security for loans, who were then forced to pay back the 'loan' through sex work, and of clandestine 'markets' in which brothel-keepers bought, sold, and traded women; see Roper, *The Holy Household*, 94–97.

(*deshabitées*) prostitutes living on the street of La Laguque in Beaucaire, at the request of the local nobility, burghers, and the Franciscans.[50] In Dijon, Avignon, and Lyon, sergeants in the service of local nobility administered the local bathhouses and also ran them as informal brothels.[51] In the 1450s, a group of unemployed mercenaries in Burgundy, the Coquillards, took up residence in the municipal brothel of Dijon, and as the self-appointed 'protectors' of the women extorted services and large sums of coin from them.[52] In 1456, a 26-year-old woman named Catherine caught the eyes of archers in service of the Duke Philippe 'le Bon' of Burgundy (r. 1419–1467). The archers had made it publicly known that they planned to carry her off to the Dijon brothel. Under the threat of rape, Catherine chose to go to the brothel voluntarily in order to avoid the humiliation of being led there publicly.[53] Catherine was not noted as being a prostitute in the documents; nevertheless, her 'respectable' status did not protect her from the threat of rape outside of the brothel, nor did municipal protection of the brothel prevent the threat of rape therein.

Violence permeated the brothel itself.[54] In England, brothels were routinely referred to as 'disorderly houses' in court proceedings that 'harbored men of ill fame.' In London, six prostitutes fled the city following a pair of murders in their establishment in 1261. Edward II closed the city's brothels in 1310 because he suspected they were harboring criminals. According to his royal decree, 'receivers' in connection with those brothels were associated with sex trafficking, robberies, murders, and 'other diverse transgressions' in the city of London. In the 'disorderly house' of Ellen De Evesham in the Ward of Farringdon Without in 1338,

> In Christmas week last after midnight certain foreigners from her [Ellen's] house attacked a man, who was passing along the highway with a light, and after felling him with blows on the head and body, bound his arms and legs and carried him within the said Ellen's house, and that she was present with a lighted candle in her hand during the assault.[55]

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50   Archives Municipales de Beaucaire, B2.2, 'Putains,' non-foliated.

51   Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 6, 30.

52   Much of the extant primary source documentation on the Coquillards comes from the contemporaneous accounts of the Dijon prosecutor, Jean Rabustel, in 1455. For the Coquillards and their trial, see Joseph Garnier, *Les Compagnons de la Coquille* (Dijon, 1842).

53   Archives Municipales de Dijon, B2 360/6, m.772.

54   In many Italian towns, brothels were often fortified buildings; the brothel-keepers were authorized to carry arms, and municipal authorities punished clients who abused the women with fines and public humiliation; see Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 83.

55   *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, A5 membrane 11; *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 1, 1323–1364*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London, 1926).

In 1391, the city of London issued yet another municipal ordinance prohibiting boatmen from transporting any 'man or woman to the stewes between sunset and sunrise, nor moor his boat within 20 fathoms of the shore during that period, *lest misdoers be assisted in their coming and going.*'[56] In the Ward of Crepulgate Without in December of 1422, the ward's bathhouse was indicted 'as a nuisance and trouble to neighbors, because it is a common house of harlotry and bawdry, and a great resort of thieves and also of priests and their concubines, to the great disgrace of the city and the danger and mischief of the neighbors and passersby.'[57] In Southampton and Southwark, the Bawds of the Stewes were repeatedly fined for physically abusing their prostitutes despite municipal statutes and prohibitions.[58] The fact that such fines were repetitive indicates that violence within the stews was endemic and that legal remedies were quite simply ineffective.

In France, violence affected both sex workers and staff in municipal brothels. In August of 1448, Jehan Sudre worked as private security for the municipal brothel of Toulouse and was killed in the establishment during an altercation with a certain Poncelet Paulin. In 1460, a young man from Toulouse named Guillot del Cung faced royal prosecution for 24 offenses including the abduction of a young woman named Jahanete from the municipal brothel of Toulouse, and her sale across the Languedoc in Carcassonne, Narbonne, Beziers, Montpellier, Avignon, and Marseilles, to his considerable profit.[59] In 1467 in Dijon, the lieutenant of the provost was sued for refusing to intervene in multiple assaults and brawls in the bathhouse of Marion la Liegeoise.[60]

Although the women, staff, and patrons of the establishments were vulnerable to violence, the brothel itself was often susceptible during times of unrest. A brothel owned by the Lord Mayor of London, William Walworth (d. 1385), was attacked in 1381 during the Peasants' Revolt.[61] In France, the brothels of Toulouse were attacked on 9 May 1357 when rioters protesting

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56   LMA, *Letter Book H 1375–1399*, col/AD/01/008 (X109/023 on microfilm), folio 264. The city had issued such decrees repeatedly since the thirteenth century; see Karras, *Common Women*, 37.

57   LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/52, A51 membrane 3; Thomas, *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Volume 4*, 154.

58   Southampton City Records Office, *The Mayor's Book of Fines 1488–1594*, SC 5/3/1 folios 42v, 55v; Hampshire Records Office, II M59/C1/21/1; Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus. 229, B40.

59   Paulin was later granted a remission for the murder by Charles VII in a letter dated to 1452. The outcome of Guillot de Cung's trial is unknown; see Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 34, 92–93, 116.

60   AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/10, November 1467.

61   *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333–1381*, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1927), 140.

the raising of new taxes, 'took [...] weapons to attack Ghaste-Narbonnais, where Count [Jean] d'Armagnac, the king's lieutenant in Languedoc, was making his residence. But after they were repulsed, they then turned their fury against the homes of the public girls [...] ransacking everything, cutting fruit trees, throwing wine and food, and violating [...] the royal safeguard.'[62] In Burgundy, the Dijon brothel was sacked seven times in the 50 years between 1495 and 1545.[63]

In fact, the very foundation of the Dijon municipal brothel was precipitated by cruelty and brutishness. The establishment was founded in 1436 as a public rape epidemic scourged the city. Authorities in Dijon, as in many Western European cities, saw the founding of a red-light district or a municipal brothel as the solution to a greater evil, which was the threat of violence upon 'respectable' women and girls.[64] The Dijon brothel was thus founded with the intention of providing an acceptable outlet for male aggression: prostitutes (i.e. poor women and girls). If the city fathers hoped that the founding of the municipal brothel would help curb the threats to civic order, they were mistaken. The brothel did little to quell the violence; over the next 50 years between 1436 and 1486 there were over 125 documented cases of public rape, a number likely representing a mere fraction of the total assaults committed. The violence continued in Dijon well into the sixteenth century, nearly a century after the brothel was founded. The acts themselves were accompanied by brutality that always included beatings and, in one case, dragging a pregnant woman through the snow-covered streets.[65]

Violence was a regular part of life for Kris in her Chicago pimp house. She had to ask permission for everything including eating, sleeping, showering, or

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62   AM Toulouse AA 45; see also Chalande, 'La Maison publique municipale aux XV et XVI siècles à Toulouse,' *Memoire de l'Academie des sciences, inscriptions, et belles lettres de Toulouse*, 10 series, book 11 (1911), 72.

63   AM Dijon K/83 for 1495 and 1499; K/84 for 1514 and 1525; I/142 for 1527; K/85 for 1536 and 1542. All are non-foliated.

64   Municipal attitudes were informed by a long tradition of Christian tolerance towards prostitution as a necessary evil. Augustine argued for the necessity of prostitution for the proper functioning of society, without which society would dissolve into uncontrollable lust and degeneracy. *De Ordine*, II.IV.XII, *PL* 32:1000; Thomas Aquinas echoed Augustine's sentiments, contending that to, 'Remove the sewer and you will fill the palace with odor; similarly, with bilge; remove prostitutes from the world and you will fill it with sodomy' ('Tolle cloacam, et replebis foetore palatium: et similiter de sentina. Tolle meretrices de mundo, et replebis ipsum sodomia'). 'De regimine principium ad regem Cypri,' IV.14 in *Opera Omnia: Volume 16* (Parma: Pietro Fiaccadori, 1864), 281.

65   Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 12–22, Terpstra, *Lost Girls*, 17.

using the toilet. The rules were enforced through beatings and threats thereof.
However, the rules constantly changed without her knowledge, all in order to
keep her off guard. As a result, she and the other girls formed close bonds of
friendship as they experienced trauma, violence, and fear together. Yet, these
bonds also became sources for further control. Her traffickers threatened to
hurt or kill her friends if Kris ever tried to run away. If she left, they would pay
the price of her escape.

Her traffickers' threats of violence were not empty. Her pimp stabbed a rival
gang member to death in front of her. As he wiped clean his bloody knife, he
told her that he would kill her if she ever spoke about the murder to anyone.
He expected loyalty and obedience; Kris obeyed and kept her mouth shut.

Anne tried to escape from the truck several times, and so her trafficker kept
her inside by tying her down to the bunk. He kept a loaded gun in the cabin and
ensured her cooperation through physical violence and intimidation; Anne
understood that he would shoot her if she tried to escape. 'There was no getting
out of the truck,' she said simply. 'Once I was in the truck, I wasn't getting out.'
While on the road, he kept her on a tight leash. 'Whatever he wanted, I did. If
he wanted a sandwich, then I made him a sandwich. I was his servant; I was
a slave in that truck.'

The Role of the Authorities in Sex Trafficking Networks

The participation of the authorities themselves in the commercial sex
industry complicated matters further for trafficking victims. The rise of
municipal brothels beginning in the latter half of the fourteenth century
meant that municipalities and local officials now had vested interests in
the commercial sex industry. By extending official protection from violence
to prostitutes within authorized red-light districts or brothels, authorities
sought not only the containment of sex work, but also the protection of
those public and personal investments. We observed in Chapter Four that
municipal involvement in commercial sex in turn produced a conflict
of interest that went to the heart of human trafficking; that is, the very
officials tasked with public safety also had personal stakes in an industry
that involved sex trafficking.

In Southwark, the Bishop of Winchester had retained authority over the
bathhouses in the borough as part of the Winchester Liberty since the early
fourteenth century, and under his supervision and protection the commercial
sex industry grew and thrived to his personal profit. Despite ecclesiastical
oversight, local and royal authorities were aware of trafficking victims in the

Southwark baths. For example, the fourteenth-century *Dyvers Ordinaunces and Constitutions* is explicit in its preamble that, 'to the gret displesuir of God and gret hurt unto the lorde King [...] orrible synne has multiplied [...] women are being kept in brothels against their will.' The Ordinances went on to charge the royal bailiff with weekly inspections to ensure public health in the brothels, and to ensure that the women were not being beaten or held against their wishes.[66] Direct royal intervention apparently relieved the bishop of his responsibilities as a landed magnate to manage the safety of the stews, because extant records suggest that only by the beginning of the sixteenth century had the episcopal see also begun to send officers into the baths to inquire if women were being held against their will.[67]

The Lord Mayor of London was not the only municipal official to own a brothel in Southwark; wealthy Londoners, including members of the Aldermen Council, were so deeply invested in the commercial sex industry that municipal authorities declared in 1417 that, 'No Alderman, Commoner, or other person whatsoever shall thenceforth receive as a tenant any man or woman known to be living a vicious life.'[68] In 1518, in the parish of Thornton, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln, parishioners informed the bishop's officers that the rector, a Lord Thomas Rogers, lived 'intemperately' (*incontinenter*) with a certain woman named Joan Thakham, who stood accused of being a common prostitute and of having kept a common tavern in the parish rectory.[69]

In France, prelates, local lords, and municipal officials all participated in the commercial sex industry. For example, the Bishop of Albi claimed as one of his rights the authority to administer and to regulate prostitution in the town, including the location of the municipal brothel.[70] The deputy

66   Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus. 229, A1, A5, B2, B34, B40. The Bishop of Winchester was responsible for the regulation of the Southwark stews in the capacity of a noble landowner rather than in the capacity of a ranking ecclesiastic.

67   Beginning in 1505, episcopal representatives were instructed to ask in the course of their inspections whether brothel-keepers beat their prostitutes as a means of compelling labor; see Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, 163.

68   LMA, *Letter Book I 1400–1422*, folio 194r, col/AD/01/009 (X109/024 on microfilm); see also Riley, *Memorials of London*, 649. The phrase 'vicious life' was a contemporary euphemism for a life of vice that included procuring and prostitution.

69   'Rector ibidem habet in domo sua quamdam mulierem Johannam Thakham [...] et Johanna Thakham predicta est communis meretrix et moratur infra rectoriam et ibidem communem fouet tabernam [...] Rector vivit cum ea incontinenter.' *Dominus Thomas Rogers rector ibidem. Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln: 1517–1531 Volume 1*, ed. A.H. Thompson (Hereford: The Lincoln Record Society, 1940), 46–47.

70   Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 31.

magistrates of both Tarascon and Beaucaire openly used their positions to pimp, as formal complaints throughout the middle of the fifteenth century attest.[71] Francis de Genas, a royal courtier who also held the position of 'Général des finances' in Languedoc, owned a brothel in Valence during the 1450s and kept annual accounts of his profits from the establishment. The bathhouses of Langres belonged to the bishop, and the abbey of Saint-Étienne owned the baths of Saint-Michel in Dijon. The provost of Dijon, a nobleman named J. de Marnay, used his aristocratic position to abduct and sell women into prostitution rings and bathhouses throughout the city, as well as into the municipal brothel. The local procuresses who managed many of these operations were also close personal associates of the provost.[72]

Jeanne Saignant, considered the finest *maquerelle* in Dijon during the 1460s, enjoyed the protection of both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. For two decades, her bathhouse at Saint-Philibert boasted 'the finest flesh,' and catered to single and married men, clerics, and the local nobility. Her girls, meanwhile, were heavily indebted to Madame Saignant, who used their debt to trap them in the baths. Jeanne herself ran in exclusive circles. She kept company with local noblewomen and was a close friend of Jean Coustain, the *valet de chambre* of Duke Philippe 'le Bon'. Her brother was a priest, allowing her to cater to the clergy and to thus enjoy the unspoken protection of local ecclesiastical authorities. Through her personal and professional networks of associates and clients, Saignant was able to delay for years legal actions taken against her on charges of blackmail and procuring. When she was finally brought before the courts, her trial lasted an impressive four years.[73]

Today, official corruption remains an obstacle in the global fight against human trafficking. Kris experienced that corruption personally; a Chicago police officer owned the building that served as Kris's pimp house. She was introduced to him on the day that she arrived at the house, her first day in the city. Her traffickers made it clear that the officer was aware of the drugs, prostitution, and violence that went on inside his building. Moreover, they claimed that many officers in the city's police department cooperated with

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71   For complaints against the deputy magistrate of Tarascon, Ferrand de Castille, see Archives Municipales BB 7, folio 183v (1444), BB 10, folio 63 (1470), BB 10, folio 134v (1473). For Beaucaire, see BB 2, folio 112v (1495).

72   Philip de Commines, Lord of Argenton, *Histories of Louis XI and Charles VIII, Kings of France and of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy: Volume II*, ed. and trans. Andrew R. Scoble (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856), 55; Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 6, 30.

73   Madame Saignant was found guilty – not of procuring, but rather of blackmailing members of the ducal court and of potion brewing. AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/8, file 986 (non-foliated).

them; thus, she believed that if she went to the authorities, her traffickers would know and would punish her accordingly.

The officer would visit regularly, drink beer with her pimp, and have sex with the girls. After her pimp murdered his rival in front of her, the officer who owned the building 'investigated' the murder. Her pimp was never prosecuted.

The Clients of the Late Medieval Commercial Sex Industry

Human trafficking is fundamentally an exchange, and as such demand underpins every aspect of its activity. Simply put, without clients there is no commercial sex industry. Like traffickers, clients spanned the gamut; single and married men, foreign merchants, and clergy are all represented in the sources. In general, the legal client base of the commercial sex industry evolved over the centuries. In the late thirteenth century and well into the fourteenth century, the municipal ordinances that established red-light districts generally did not mention the social status of clients, or in some cases they explicitly protected men from charges of adultery so long as they visited prostitutes within designated areas. As time went on, however, social mores regarding sexual conduct gradually became less permissive for married men and for members of the clergy, and these men were increasingly both barred from brothels and prosecuted for adultery. For the commercial sex industry, single laymen remained its largest and most reliable customer demographic.

Generally, brothels and prostitution rings catered to day laborers, craftsmen, sailors and merchants, as well as members of nobility or their households. The day laborers, craftsmen, and sailors tended to be poor young men who often had few prospects for marriage in an urban environment where they were in competition with their wealthier peers and with older, established widowers. Poor single men often targeted women in the households of their wealthier rivals, and their bitterness and their sense of entitlement are palpable in extant court proceedings. For example, in Dijon in 1449, G. Robelin, a journeyman in the butcher's trade, shouted to a young domestic servant that he would have his pleasure with her just like her master.[74] In 1454, a gang of six young men assaulted the domestic servant of a certain Mongin, an unmarried carpenter, in the streets of the city.[75] In 1505, the sixteen-year old niece of the viscount-mayor of the city

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74   AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/4, item 364.
75   AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/5, item 619.

was accosted in the streets by two journeymen masons who shouted, 'We are going to fuck you; we can fuck you just as well as the others!' In 1535, the son of a local weaver threatened a 22-year-old domestic servant named Jaquette that he had 'a right to have a go with you just like the others.'[76]

Overall, the matter of married men visiting prostitutes followed a trend from tolerance in the late thirteenth century to intolerance by the middle of the fifteenth century. While late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century decrees establishing red-light districts sometimes included clauses that protected men from charges of adultery within designated areas for prostitution, by the middle of the fifteenth century those protective clauses disappeared, while statutes that barred married men from brothels began to appear.

In France, for example, the Synod of Avignon of 1441 barred married men from the municipal brothel.[77] In 1448, married men who kept concubines were fined 50 *livres touronensis* in Barbentane.[78] In 1445, the royal grant to Castelnaudary for the establishment of a public brothel specified the large number of unmarried men in the town as a major justification for the royal license. Sexual misconduct among married men in the town remained a concern for the Crown because in 1510, a royal letter to the judge of Castelnaudary urged the punishment of both married men who kept concubines and the women themselves. As a result, the men were threatened with prison and a fine, while the women faced the whip and banishment from Castelnaudary. In Lyon, when residents filed complaints against a bathhouse owned by the lawyer for the archbishop, the lawyer argued that the brothel was upstanding since it admitted no married men. In 1501, a married man in Pamiers was charged with adultery after he was found in the company of two prostitutes.[79] In Dijon, Jeanne Saignant specifically catered to married men in her bathhouse because, as she claimed in her court deposition, they were willing to pay more than poor single men.[80] In 1487, municipal regulations in Aubignan and Loriol in the territories of the Comte Venaissin forbade prostitutes from committing adultery with married men.[81]

76   Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 22–23.

77   *La prostitution du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle; documents tirés des archives d'Avignon, du Comtat Venaissin de la principauté d'Orange et de la ville libre impériale de Besançon*, ed. Louis Le Pileur (Paris: 1908), 7 item 11.

78   Pileur, *La Prostitution du XIII au XVII siècle*, 10 item 14.

79   Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 107–108.

80   AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/8, file 986.

81   Pileur, *La Prostitution du XIII au XVII siècle*, 33 item 25.

In England, as in France, licensed brothels admitted unmarried young men who were perceived as threats to the wives and daughters of 'respectable' burghers. Many towns prohibited the admission of married men into brothels, although the effectiveness of these regulations is questionable.[82] In Southwark, for example, brothel-keepers were forbidden from residing with any woman except their wives. Women who violated this prohibition were to be turned over to the bishop's officers by the brothel-keeper, under penalty of a 40-shilling fine. The women then faced a 20-shilling fine and the cucking stool.[83] These provisions ensured that married men did not commit adultery and that public prostitutes did not become paramours of their employers.

Foreign merchants represented another important client base for the commercial sex industry. Merchants carried coin with them; they were often away from their wives and families for extended periods of time and could easily claim unmarried status, and they had business connections in port towns that could include disreputable figures. In most cases, these merchants appear as end clients rather than middlemen, but not always. Recall that Margaret Hathewyk prostituted Isabel Lane among Lombard merchants, during which times Isabel 'was deflowered against her will'; Peter Manyfeld sold Alice Burley to Germans in the London Steelyard, and Robert Cliff and his wife were charged as common bawds for pimping their maidservant, Elizabeth Mountain, 'to divers merchants.' In 1438, Agnes Talbot was charged with pimping 'a certain Joan to the Flemings and Lombards.'[84] In 1490, Agnes Hutton stood accused of procuring 'young girls and the servants of divers men [...] and lead[ing] them to the chambers of Lombards, Spaniards, and Easterlings.' Richard Wyer in 1529 was convicted of bawdry for being 'a common bringer and conveyer of single women to merchant strangers' places [...] to use and occupy in the foul sins of lechery to the great displeasure of Almighty God.'[85] Joan Chapman acted as a bawd between her fifteen-year-old daughter Alice and German and Flemish merchants and sailors in Sandwich.

The clergy is well represented as a client demographic for the commercial sex industry in court records, because ecclesiastics, like merchants, generally

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82   Karras, *Common Women*, 32. It should be noted that by the late fifteenth century, the ban on married men in municipal brothels was found not only across England and France but also in most German towns as well. For more information on prostitution in the Holy Roman Empire, see Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, vol. 1: 767 for bans on certain clientele in municipal brothels.

83   Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus. 229, B1, B5.

84   LMA, *Acta quoad correctionem delinquentium*, 9064.2, folio 252r.

85   LMA, *Journals of the Court of Common Council: Journal 13 (1528–1536)*, col/cc/01/01/013 (X109/055 on microfilm), folio 141v.

had greater access to coin than poor single laborers. In England, we have already seen how, in 1385, Elizabeth Moryng encouraged her apprentices in her embroidery shop 'to live in lechery and to go with friars, chaplains, and all others wishing to have them.' In 1395, John Rykener testified in court that 'many priests had committed that crime with him as with a woman, how many he did not know, and he said that he took priests more readily than others because they wished to give him more than other people.'[86] Ruth Mazo Karras reasons that female prostitutes presumably had similar expectations of the clergy.[87] The bathhouse in the Ward of Crepulgate Without was regarded 'as a nuisance and trouble to neighbors, because it is a common house of harlotry and bawdry, and a great resort [...] of priests and their concubines, to the great disgrace of the city.' In 1471, Alice Sholton, 'bawd to priests' (*pronuba sacerdotibus*), stood accused of trafficking 'a certain woman' (*quidam mulier*) to a priest, despite the victim's protests and resistance.[88] In 1516, Elizabeth Chebyn was convicted of being a 'common harlot and a strumpet,' who had the audacity to walk the streets of London dressed as a priest, a biting critique of the clergy of her day. Elizabeth knew from personal experience the importance of clerics to the commercial sex industry: when she was arrested, she was in bed between two priests.[89]

In Dijon, Rossiaud has estimated that clerics accounted for roughly 20 percent of the regular clientele of the city's brothels and bathhouses.[90] Members of the clergy were implicated either directly or indirectly in brawls,[91] trafficking,[92] and several cases of public rape in the city streets, municipal baths, and brothels.[93] For 20 years, Jeanne Saignant catered to ecclesiastics in Dijon. In Avignon in 1441, the Synod of Avignon addressed clerical sexual misconduct directly and banned members of the clergy from

86   'Item fatebatur dictus Johannes Rykener quod quamplures presbiteri fecerunt illud vitium cum illo ut cum muliere, quorum numerum ignorat, et dixit quod citius cepit presbiteros quam alios quia plus vellent sibi dare quam alii.' LMA, *Pleas and Memoranda Rolls*, CLA/024/01/02/35, A34 membrane 2.

87   Karras, *Common Women*, 77.

88   LMA, *Acta quoad correctionem delinquentium*, 9064.1, folio 46r.

89   LMA, *Letter Book N 1515–1526*, col/AD/01/010 (X109/028 on microfilm), folios 21r–v; LMA, *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Repertory 3 1515–1519*, col/CA/01/01/03 (X109/129 on microfilm), folio 103v.

90   Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 41–42.

91   In June 1502 in Dijon, the abbot of St. Etienne was accused of causing disturbances at night while armed and disguised; see AM Dijon, B168, folio 51.

92   The procurer for the Monseigneur of Langres defended the Monseigneur's legal jurisdiction over his clients against the mayor's office in 1447; see AM Dijon, B157, folio 161v.

93   Priests were implicated in public rapes according court proceedings; see AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/5, folio 624 (1454); B2 360/12 (1475).

the municipal brothel.[94] In 1494, the town of Beaucaire decreed that clerics who were caught with prostitutes and other shameful women (*mulieres inhonestas*) were to be brought to the attention of the archbishop and the vicar of Arles.[95]

In England, as in France, the prosecution of clerics and prostitutes varied widely at the local level. In some towns, such as in Gloucester, municipal authorities sought to punish any cleric found in the company of 'whores, strumpets, or men's wives' after nightfall.[96] In *Letter Book I* (1400–1422), Reginald Sharpe, the editor of the *Letter Books of the Corporation of London Record Office*, introduces a section of ten folios (286r–290r) covering sexual offenses by observing that the majority of men cited for adultery with prostitutes, unmarried girls, and married women were chantry priests.[97]

Yet even if municipal authorities took special notice of clerical misconduct, society remained largely ambivalent on the issue. On the one hand, the clergy scandalized the public when they were charged with keeping concubines, or hiring the services of bawds to obtain sexual partners, or attracting the attentions of unwed girls and married women.[98] On the other hand, for much of the Middle Ages, celibacy was an ideal for clerics, and society did not expect such men to possess heroic virtue or self-control. Socially, it was preferable to have a member of the clergy visit the brothel than to have him

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94   Pileur, *La Prostitution du XIII au XVII siècle*, 7 item 11.

95   AM Beaucaire, BB2, folio 107v, January 19, 1494.

96   Karras, *Common Women*, 29–30, 77.

97   *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: I, Circa 1400–1422*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909), 273–287. Ruth Mazo Karras has argued that although the overall number of arrests for sexual offenses among priests remained quite low, at roughly 1.6 per year per 1000 in the clerical population of London, priests were nevertheless arrested and tried in secular courts at a rate higher than laymen in secular courts for similar offenses. The higher rates may merely signify that priestly misconduct was of particular interest to authorities and thus was more likely to result in arrest, but nevertheless it is quite clear that ecclesiastics remained an important client base for sex workers, albeit because of their access to coin if not because of sheer numbers; see *Common Women,* 77 note 43.

98   Throughout the middle part of the fifteenth century, roving bands of young men in Dijon took it upon themselves to police social mores by breaking into the homes of priests or their lovers and interrupting the couple in order to publicly humiliate them or run the woman off. (AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/2 item 150). One such band told a pregnant widow in service to a local priest that they would 'have our fun with you just like your priest.' (AD Côte d'Or, B2 360/7, m. 817). In England common slurs included 'monk's whore,' 'friar's whore,' and 'priest's whore,' the last being a popular insult for suspected concubines (Karras, *Common Women*, 77–78), and we may recall the indignation of Thornton parishioners at the idea of their rector Lord Thomas Rogers living with Joan Thakham. Availing oneself of the service of a bawd also brought outrage; recall the discretion that Elizabeth Tomlin and the priest Gregory Kyton observed in using a hostler as a bawd to arrange their tryst, for example.

flirt with married women or their daughters. Thus, most charges involving clerical sexual misconduct involve procuration, concubinage, or suspicious activity with the wives and daughters of upstanding local citizens.

Although during the fifteenth century the ecclesiastical hierarchy resisted reform efforts in support of clerical marriage, and insisted instead upon celibacy and chastity, Church officials nevertheless appear to have accepted the fact that many of its members would fail to live up to their vows of chastity, since they begrudgingly tolerated clerical visits to public brothels. Society might have ridiculed the licentiousness of monks and priests, but they did not outright condemn it.[99]

The Reformation and the End of the Institutional Brothel

For much of the late Middle Ages, the developmental process of the commercial sex industry had been one of acceptance, legitimation, and growth. However, as the fifteenth century gave way to the sixteenth, many of the sex industry's gains in terms of social integration, protection, and regulation were reversed in the wake of the religious reform movements that swept across Europe. Initially, the concerns of reformers regarding sexual misconduct were part of broader anticlerical critiques. In the eyes of the reformers, the civic-minded married household was a concrete example of piety and morality set in stark relief against the licentiousness of monks and priests.

Many reformers addressed the role of women in society: they revitalized the roles of wife and mother, and they encouraged women's education in order to read the Bible and to participate in religious services. Yet at the same time, reformers limited the social role of wives to the home and emphasized their subordination to their husbands. For evangelical leaders, however, their status as married men indicated their inclusion in the municipality as citizens, which meant that for women, marriage meant exclusion from civic life, but for men, marriage meant inclusion.[100] Married, faithful, and subject to the same standards of morality as the rest of the laity, evangelical leaders presented themselves as paragons of moral and civic virtue, as opposed to unmarried priests whose opulence and licentiousness were held up as examples of corruption and hypocrisy. The lecherous monk, a stock character in evangelical polemics, was guilty of every kind of sexual

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99 Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 42, 92–94; Karras, *Common Women*, 77–78.
100 Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London: Routledge, 1989), 64; Roper, *The Holy Household*, 17.

sin, but he was not alone in his perversity.[101] Women were now considered willing participants in their own corruption to the scandal and humiliation of their social superiors: their husbands and fathers.[102]

In the beginning of the Reformation, attacks on prostitution thus came as part of broader attacks against the clergy. Allegations of clerical licentiousness in frequenting brothels, seducing married women and virgins, and keeping concubines made no distinctions among the social status of the women in question. To reformers, sexual misconduct among clerics was simply 'whoring,' regardless of whether the woman was a prostitute, wife, or virgin. It was a small step from attacking clerics to attacking the women in their company, especially prostitutes who were subsequently classed with priests and monks. Like the priest or monk who led virgins and married women astray in their unbridled lust, the image of the prostitute evolved into a malignant temptress; vain, selfish, and given to opulence, they led upstanding married men astray and threatened the souls of their clients and the moral and civic order of a reformed society.[103] They were not merely the companions of priests and monks, and thus guilty by association; they were now guilty in their own right, symbols of the decadence and corruption that threatened to engulf the world as epitomized by the richly attired Whore of Babylon astride the seven-headed Beast adorning the Lutheran Bible.

During the Reformation, the logic of prostitution was turned on its head. The commercial sex industry had for much of the late Middle Ages been considered a social safety valve. Men's lust was considered natural, but also dangerous and socially disruptive if left to boil over. Prostitution was then deemed an appropriate outlet to channel male aggression and licentiousness. By the second quarter of the sixteenth century, control over desire became a defining feature of reformed masculinity, and now prostitutes were likened to adulteresses as sources of dangerous and socially disruptive lust. Prostitution had become a moral offense instead of a trade, and 'prostitute' had become a moral category instead of a profession. As such, the distinctions among prostitution, adultery, and fornication blurred.[104]

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101 See for example, Richard Wunderli, *Peasant Fires: The Drummer of Niklashausen* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1992), 19–20. For more information on the changes in social attitudes regarding sexual mores, see Roper, 'Prostitution and the Moral Order,' in *The Holy Household*, 89–131, and Otis, 'The Sixteenth Century: The Institution Dismantled,' in *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 40–45.

102 Robert James Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany 1400–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 53–57, 66–78.

103 Bast, *Honor your Fathers*, 226.

104 Roper, *Holy Household*, 108, 112, 130–131; Bast, *Honor Your Fathers*, 75.

Men were also now culpable in the acts of adultery and fornication, and they were also now considered sinners. The prosecution of married men who visited brothels, which had already begun in the middle of the fifteenth century, became commonplace in the sixteenth century. Bachelors who visited married prostitutes were found guilty of adultery because the women were married. Clients now faced heavy fines and imprisonment for patronizing prostitutes and brothels. Yet, as Lyndal Roper notes, women still faced more severe penalties. Men, and especially men of status, could more readily convert imprisonment into cash fines, when they were prosecuted at all, and their trysts were considered aberrations and lapses in judgment rather than indications of corruption and debauchery. For women, banishment, imprisonment, and corporal punishment could not be so easily commuted, and charges of prostitution suggested deeper underlying corruption.[105]

The attacks on prostitutes naturally led to attacks on brothels. As early as 1520, Martin Luther (1483–1546) addressed the presence of brothels in cities and larger towns across the Holy Roman Empire:

> Finally, is it not lamentable that we Christians tolerate open and common brothels in our midst, when all of us are baptized unto chastity? I know perfectly well what some will say to this, that is, that it is not a custom peculiar to one nation, that it would be difficult to put a stop to it, and moreover, that it is better to keep such a house than that married women, or girls, or others of still more honorable estate should be outraged. Nevertheless, should not the government, which is temporal and also Christian, realize that such evil cannot be prevented by that kind of heathenish practice? If the children of Israel could exist without such abomination, why cannot Christians do as much? In fact, how do so many cities, country towns, market towns, and villages do without such houses? Why cannot large cities do without them as well?[106]

Luther acknowledged the time-honored argument that brothels prevented a worse evil, the violation of respectable women and girls, by providing an outlet for male aggression and licentiousness; he then rejected such reasoning and argued instead that male lust was in fact controllable, and that cities and towns could do without such public houses. As the old arguments justifying the existence of brothels were dismantled, reformers seized the moral high

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105 Roper, *Holy Household*, 126.
106 Martin Luther, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* trans. Charles M. Jacobs, *Three Treatises* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 109.

ground and began to shutter municipal brothels across Western and Central Europe. Augsburg closed its brothel in 1532; Ulm in 1537; Regensburg in 1553; Nuremburg in 1562. In England, Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) ordered the closure of all Southwark brothels, regardless of their licensing, in 1546.[107]

In France, where Reformation efforts were largely underground, municipalities continued to make major investments in their municipal brothels throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, but the tide was turning against the commercial sex industry because both reformers and counter-reformers were now marked by open hostility towards prostitution. The Languedoc proved fertile ground for French reformers, but even counter-reformers such as the Jesuits zealously opposed institutionalized prostitution in their bid to strengthen clerical discipline. Francis I closed the brothels of Glatigny in Paris in 1518, but the locals, 'fearing that the King might be induced to change his edict before it was executed,' took up arms and tools and destroyed all of the brothels in the area within a day.[108] Alès closed its brothel in 1553; Castelnaudary in 1555; Montpellier and Toulouse in 1557. The era of the medieval institutionalized brothel had come to an end, and the future of prostitution would become one of criminality and marginality.

The study of late medieval sex trafficking makes clear that poverty and limited economic opportunities for women led to vulnerability, and thus to victimization, as women struggled to alleviate their insecurity within the narrow employment options available to them. Traffickers, noble and common, male and female, understood these constraints and skillfully exploited them in order to funnel victims into the late medieval commercial sex industry, oftentimes with the acquiescence or participation of local authorities. Once in, it was difficult to get out. Violence compelled victims to labor for an industry whose profits filled the coffers of both the municipalities and the local elite.

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107 *Tudor Royal Proclamations: Vol. 1, The Early Tudors (1485–1553)*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964), 365–366.

108 Anna G. Spencer, 'The Scarlet Woman,' *The Forum* Vol. XLIX (January 1913-June 1913), 284. Spencer goes on to note that most of the brothels were rebuilt in later years, and their existence would be officially recognized by King Henry IV (r. 1589–1610).

Conclusion

To conclude this study of the history of human trafficking, I consolidate here the numerous arguments put forth. First, human trafficking networks have historically been adaptable, and this adaptability has made them remarkably resilient in the face of ever-changing socioeconomic and political conditions. Second, because of this adaptability, centralized authority committed to the sustained suppression of human trafficking activities has been, and continues to be, necessary to combat traffickers. Third, human trafficking patterns changed dramatically in Western Europe, north of the Pyrenees and Alps, over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As agricultural slavery faded and the commercial sex industry grew, traffickers turned from supplying agriculture with legally enslaved labor to supplying the sex industry with legally unenslaved labor. Fourth, this change represented a pivot and not a break from the early medieval slave trade and late medieval sex trafficking, because the experiences of women and children linked the two patterns. Although their legal status differed in the slave trade of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages and the sex trafficking networks of the late Middle Ages, their physical, lived experiences of human trafficking nevertheless remained the same. For women and children, the slave trade has always included the constant, looming threat of sex trafficking.

The roles of slaves changed to suit the transactional needs of the moment. Their bodies and labor were the goods and services for barter and the objects of sale on beaches or in slave markets. They were currency for other goods, services, and benefices, and the gifts exchanged between parties in order to establish and maintain the social relationships of elites. Even as the roles of slaves mutated to conform to the patterns of exchange in the moment, traffickers themselves also adapted to suit their immediate circumstances. Traffickers were opportunists who abducted when the moments presented themselves, and they were raiders who abducted as part of larger slaving expeditions. Traffickers sometimes specialized in slave trading, but they could just as easily be merchants who sold human beings along with other wares. Their networks adapted as needs changed and opportunities arose. Networks interlinked to create long-distance networks across the North Atlantic, North, and Baltic Seas, or across the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and broke apart and operated independently of each other as circumstances dictated. In Western Europe, agricultural slavery disappeared by the end of the twelfth century, which caused the Northern Arc to fracture and regionalize. Yet even as agricultural slavery faded, the commercial sex industry

grew and provided human traffickers with a new source of demand, and thus trafficking networks survived, albeit in attenuated form, by adapting to the new realities of late medieval urban Europe.

The Western European sex industry could never match the labor needs of agriculture, because it represented a much smaller sector of the medieval economy and was much more selective in its labor requirements: young women and children. Men and older boys were in general no longer commercially viable merchandise for traffickers, and thus late medieval Western European sex trafficking tended to be smaller scale operations involving local and regional networks, rather than the far-flung long-distance slaving networks of the Southern Arc. Moreover, late medieval sex trafficking networks were precarious, if lucrative, enterprises. The fact that trafficking victims were no longer legally enslaved meant that traffickers could face punishment, and where prohibitions were actively enforced trafficking activities were driven underground.

The conditions of human trafficking were gendered. All victims experienced violence and abuse, but for men the slave trade and sex trafficking were not necessarily experienced simultaneously; for women and children the slave trade meant the constant danger of sex trafficking. Sexual exploitation and abuse were the expected and presumed consequences of abduction, regardless of whether those women and children were legally enslaved or legally unenslaved, and violence compelled from them labor that profited their owners, masters, and pimps. Whether in sixth-century Constantinople or fifteenth-century Dijon, poverty and limited economic opportunities for women led to vulnerability and to victimization. Traffickers, noble and common, male and female, understood these constraints and used them to deceive, manipulate, and exploit their victims in order to fuel the slave trade and sex trafficking networks that spanned medieval Europe, oftentimes with the knowledge or participation of local authorities.

Because human trafficking adapts so readily to the socioeconomic and political environments in which it takes place, secular and ecclesiastical efforts to suppress or regulate human trafficking activities were often hampered by the socioeconomic and political realities of their day. At times, authorities such as the Merovingian King Theuderic or those in Byzantium in general actively engaged in human trafficking. At other times, those authorities actively encouraged human trafficking through legal and religious sanction, or through financial support, as we find in Rome and Byzantium. Conversely, in some instances, authorities encouraged human trafficking through passive acceptance, legislative inaction, and bureaucratic corruption or incompetence. However, without strong political centralization, the

fragmentation of society created numerous 'others' who were considered legitimate targets for abduction and enslavement by opposing groups. The attempts of secular and religious authorities to regulate and limit the slave trade were hamstrung without the cooperation, coordination, and sustained commitment of neighboring polities and authorities.

Today, poverty and corruption are often cited as major underlying causes for the re-emergence of slavery, the modern slave trade, and labor trafficking and sex trafficking, but neither they nor the human trafficking activities they encourage are products of modern society, modern values, or of any modern 'sexual revolution.' No, indeed: they are instead socioeconomic conditions with deep historical roots that transcend borders, cultures, and economic systems, whose effects are concrete, immediate, and personal. As survivors, Anne, Joy, and Kris have since dedicated their lives to advocating for those still in bondage. As Joy sat across the table from me and reflected so poignantly upon her experiences, she said quietly, 'My life was stolen from me, and that was not fair.'

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Archives municipales de Beaucaire:
Series:
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BB2

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Archives municipales de Dijon:
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Archives départementales de la
    Haute-Garonne:
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EE 458
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Mayor's Tourn:
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Hampshire Records Office:
II M59/C1/21/1

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Human trafficking has become a global concern over the last twenty years, but its violence has terrorized and traumatized its victims and survivors for millennia. This study examines the deep history of human trafficking from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period. It traces the evolution of trafficking patterns: the growth and decline of trafficking routes, the ever-changing relationships between traffickers and authorities, and it examines the underlying causes that lead to vulnerability and thus to exploitation. As the reader will discover, the conditions that lead to human trafficking in the modern world, such as poverty, attitudes of entitlement, corruption, and violence, have a long and storied past. When we understand that past, we can better anticipate human trafficking's future, and then we are better able to fight it.

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