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Migration in the Early Modern Mediterranean

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“Sometimes, you have to give up. Sometimes, knowing when to give up, and when to try something else, is genius. Giving up doesn’t mean stopping. Don’t ever stop”!

Phil Knight

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INTRODUCTION

Migration has played a very pivotal role in history and specifically in the Mediterranean during the early modern age. Migration is not a novelty, especially in an increasingly interconnected globalized world. It is a phenomenon that has been around since antiquity and the history of humanity. This thesis is historical in nature with a total of five chapters with various subtopics and the aim is to explore the intricacies of the historical background of migration in the early modern age which spans from 1450 C.E TO 1750 C.E. It further analyses the impact of migration in the Mediterranean during the early modern age, majorly considering social, political, and economic parameters as drivers of migration. It is not limited to these parameters as it also brings to light the notion of the relationship between migration and slavery and migration and religion on a general scale and then in the Mediterranean. The first chapter explicitly focuses on migration in world history that clings to language, religious, ethnic, and political communities and how history provides anecdotes of people who moved from one community or country to the other. This shows how migration is pivotal to human civilization since the movements of people also involve the transfer of various cultures, different identities, religions, language and to mention but a few. Over the years, various patterns of migration have come to light; forced migration which is directly linked to slavery, maritime migration which deals with trade, and urbanization which covers movement from rural to urban areas considering China, Japan, and Europe. The motives, consequences, and migratory routes are explored.

As this thesis focuses on the Mediterranean, chapter two specifically is on the Mediterranean. It describes it as a region, how the name was coined from the Latin word *medius* (the middle or between) and *terra*, (land or earth). It was and still is a place of contact where different civilizations meet and interact on a human level. Most of the cultures, influences were susceptible to external influence across the sea. Widespread nationalism too was a very crucial part of the region that fostered the development of history. The rise and decline of empires have significantly affected the history of the Mediterranean because these empires have left a long-lasting blueprint for the Mediterranean to follow suit in various aspects like administrative structures, approaches to language, and religion which set apart the Mediterranean lands from Northwest Europe, South, and East Asia. The Ottomans had significant influence, especially in the eastern Mediterranean basin. They sought to exert hegemony at any given chance even beyond the Mediterranean. Christians on the other hand oversaw the western basin. Through all

of these, a web of interconnection was formed despite the polarization of the sea to an adverse region of hostile influence. War and political fissures induced migration and trade in the Mediterranean. In addition, I also explained the political system of the Mediterranean in general. Most of the powers improved their tax systems to strengthen their large armies. Marriage was a form of interaction and political strategy that was synonymous with most Mediterranean monarchs which I discussed majorly to assert power and influence.

It would be imperative to recall the intentionality of the rationale behind the explanation of forced migration as a pattern of migration in the first chapter. It is to this end the third chapter which explores the intricacies of slavery. Slavery is one of the most inhumane forms of exploitation. Many historians and scholars have their opinion on it. Karl Max the socialist sees it as the ruling class exploiting society, while Jack Goody does not take into consideration the class systems, rather states in general outsource these slaves and exploit them. One thing is certain, slavery has its antecedents in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century when Atlantic slavery was at its peak. The classification of who a slave is, the model of slavery, the institutions of slavery across the Ottoman Empire and Mediterranean regions, resistance, and conversion of slaves, and how slavery persisted despite its abolition are considered.

From a religious perspective, Chapter Four explores how the movement of people both in the Old and New World brought about inter-cultural contacts. Acclimatization came with learning about other cultures and religions. The interaction exposed individuals to Christianity and deep religious practices. It is important to note that religion had always been there from antiquity, however, the ideas behind it transformed it into various categories like Latin Christianity, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Greek Orthodoxy starting from the sixteenth century. These categorizations brought clashes between the Protestants and Catholics. Despite all of these fracas, these religions expressed shared humanity. Islam in the early modern age, was a religion that witnessed the creation of mosques. Islam too expanded beyond the Old Muslim world to Asia and Africa mostly headed by the major Islamic imperialist: the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals. The Jewish religion and culture too played a pivotal role in Mediterranean Migration. Their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula was due to their refusal to convert. They were forcefully ousted, and some found themselves in the Ottoman lands which recognized them as a religious minority and enabled their freedom to practice their religion. The

Sephardic trade networks gave rise to trade as a form of interaction between Jews and Merchants. They thrived because their community was in one accord and solidarity was a theme of their community. In all, inequality was prevalent since a class system emerged, religion became a struggle, and it brought about secularism, an identity crisis, and a division like Latin, orthodox, and Muslim Mediterranean.

The final part of this thesis focuses on contemporary migration which spans from the 1940s to the present times. Migration is an ever-evolving phenomenon and has raised debates among various scholars. In an attempt to explain it, various approaches like the neo-classical equilibrium, historical-structuralist approach, and migratory systems have been employed. The patterns of contemporary migration, which are voluntary migration, illegal migration, and refugee migration are intertwined with causes of migration like war, human rights violations, and economic disparities. Again, the major focus of this thesis is on the Mediterranean, the flow of migration in these regions has complicated the migratory systems and policies. The migration waves happened in phases, especially for economic and labor migrants. However, political economies influence these patterns since they create inequalities and imbalances. In a bid to round up the research, I compared some perspectives on early modern and contemporary migrations in aspects like movements of people across different periods, the scope and scale of migration, the motives and routes explored, and the cultural aspects. The general conclusions tie the entire chapters together in a single coherent system.

CHAPTER ONE

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION IN WORLD HISTORY

1.0 Introduction

Migration is defined as “movement from one country, place or locality to another.”¹ The movement of people can be traced back to approximately 200,000 years ago. Migration is therefore not a novelty, and as a global phenomenon with continued relevance, examining its historical underpinnings will help bring to light various aspects like increased mobility and interactions among various civilizations, slavery, and long-distance trade that have existed and evolved because of globalization. This chapter provides a brief overview of migration in world history specifically spanning from 1450 C.E to 1750 C.E. During this exposition, various patterns of migration like maritime, forced/ involuntary, and urban migration will be discussed. This however does not omit factors such as war, religious persecution, environmental constraints etc. that influence people’s decision to migrate. Furthermore, the consequences of migration like the formation of new identities, patriarchy, and widespread epidemics are explored. In a bid to wrap up the chapter, the various migratory routes/networks that these migrants took in search of greener pastures in also investigated.

1.1 Migration in World History

The pertinence of Migration to world history cannot be understated. Migration stands as an interconnected phenomenon to the comprehension of linguistic, religious, ethnic, and political communities. As such, these aspects are to be examined not as isolated social groupings, but rather as absorptive groups that are connected through voluntary and involuntary movements and interactions. Communities are best understood through the lens of migration, which highlights community interactions and uniqueness. Deeper research on migration especially in the early modern age makes it easier to comprehend the levels at which human experiences take place

¹ See link for definition, Blakemore, Erin “Human migration sparked by wars, disasters, and now climate” *National Geographic Society* 28th February 2019.
<<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/migration#:~:text=Migration%20is%20defined%20as%20%E2%80%9Cmovement,of%20their%20country%20of%20origin> >

which will include anecdotes of merchants, soldiers, and male and female slaves as well as movements and formation of ethnic groups and descriptions of the repopulations of the entire continents. More broadly, migration studies demonstrate several scales, including those in the distance, time, the individual groups traveling, and the diversity of human affairs impacted by movement. Numerous methodologies are used to analyze migration, and new research has improved how these methodologies are articulated. Most of the data on migration in recent times has come from documentary research based on government and corporate records.² Additional information about migrations has been offered through written and oral traditions. Historical linguistics research and anthropology have played significant roles in providing a written record of migration analysis. The depth of this research starts to enable the development of an evaluation of the role of migration in human civilization. That is to say, at the most fundamental levels, migration promotes the rise of different identities, thus providing a structure to which individuals or groups can be classified based on religion, language, age birthplace, marital status, slave/free/elite status, occupation, and gender³. Migration indicates consistency in history, even though migration-induced learning has brought about enormous and ongoing changes in the human experience.

1.2 Patterns in Human Migration

In as much as patterns have evolved over the years, however, the fundamental reasoning behind human migration is consistent. The general trend of human migration is for people to leave their native countries and move to areas with diverse terrain, cultures, and languages. Although just a small percentage of this age group migrates, migrants are primarily young adult males and females. Some migrants relocate to densely populated places, while others migrate to scantily populated borders; some migrants go home, while others stay or even move further away. Certain reasons induce these decisions of people to migrate, ranging from natural disasters, escape, expulsion, trade, and war, to mention but a few. Migration has predominantly been along water routes rather than land routes, although land was used. Humans depended on the social and

² Manning, Patrick. (2005), "Migration in human history." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History*. The Cambridge World History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Volume 1. pp. 277–310.

³ Hoerder, Dirk. (2005), "Global migrations." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History*. The Cambridge World History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Volume. 6 Part 2. pp. 3-28.

natural environments for survival, they hunted and harvested, but they also swam, ate aquatic vegetation and animals, and made boats. Cross-community migration served a social purpose by generating and disseminating innovations from one environment to another, making it a highly adaptable activity. The role of innovation in understanding how knowledge was transferred down from one generation to the next, together with the advantages of sharing the genome, technology, and culture, is crucial.

The rise of language brought about the expansion of individual human communities which served as a link rather than just a shared habitation. Furthermore, when languages and traditions gradually diverged, different groups developed unique identities. This pattern focused on learning in people, the diffusion of traditions and technology across communities, and innovations in combining old ideas and new. People who migrated from one society to another had to acquire new languages and customs. As far as human migration extends, cross-community migration is still typical. Even now, the same underpinning principle of bridging social divides and sparking social innovations is still at work, but it has remodeled human civilization by fostering cooperation among these communities thus promoting tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

Over a thousand years, different patterns of migration have surfaced and have been highly elaborated upon maritime, forced migration, and urbanization. Each of these patterns was dependent on the fundamental principles that guide human migration, including dependency on young adults in particular as migrants, reaching across groups to learn through integrating cultural and language aspects, and depending on improvised migratory networks to enable mobility. These patterns evolved and brought about shifts in identities such as racial taxonomy, the emergence of diasporas, and the rise of countries as newly important forms of communities. However, I will go in-depth into the aforementioned patterns of migration.

1.2.1 Maritime Migrations

Polynesian and Micronesian sailors, who employed advanced methods to reach small islands in vast oceans, were the greatest navigators in the world. From the seventh through the thirteenth century, Sri Vijaya, which was established in Sumatra, connected trade between China and India.

To conduct lengthy trips to Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean, rivals created technological innovations including rudders, compasses, watertight compartments, sails, and masts. Viking raiders in the west encountered galleys and oarsmen as they sailed over open waters from the British Isles to Europe, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean. In the east, Slavic-speaking regions were attacked by mariners, who left a significant legacy in Turkey, Persia, and Constantinople. Although barely more than fifty oarsmen were on board, boats from other areas continued to visit the beaches, lakes, and rivers. Technological advancement and adequate organization of maritime by mostly European travelers brought about increased trade and migration across the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and the Western Pacific.

The demise of the Chinese emperor Zheng in 1433 brought a halt to military exploration and voyages which had already brought in ships and men from the red sea and East Africa. On the other hand, maritime exploration in north (Morocco) and west (Cape Verde) Africa was championed by the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator. In the course of 350 years, economic and military hegemony tilted toward Europe than Asia. However, this re-orientation has remained very controversial and has been refuted by some scholars like Max Werber and Karl Max who have established the research framework. Despite their differences, converged in influencing the comparative analysis of early modern European and Asian political economies along two axes: an east-west axis that compares Asian extractive and autocratic agrarian empires with European commercially oriented polities; and a north-south axis that sets an industrious Asia against an extractive and autocratic Asia. Protestant Europe was pitted against a feudalized Catholic Eastern Europe.⁴

However, new research pathways in history have impugned conventional narratives. The scarcity of primary materials and published literature makes it difficult to research commerce in early modern Eurasia in an integrated and comparative manner. Historians have been able to recreate the activities of regional and international merchants by utilizing Ottoman court papers, and increased interest in the maritime civilizations of East and Southeast Asia, as well as the commercialization of interior China, has revolutionized our perception of those cultures. Recent research has shown commercial networks originating in Asia that functioned across Europe and

⁴ Trivellato, Francesca. (2015, "The organization of trade in Europe and Asia, 1400–1800." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History*. The Cambridge World History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Volume 6 Part 2 pp. 160–189.

the entire world, calling into doubt the value of classifications like "Europe" and "Asia".⁵ Among all of these assertions, the most dynamic appears to be a comparison of the European and Chinese economies before industrialization, hence Pomeranz's claim on China's most economically advanced parts bearing a likeness to England in terms of land markets, agrarian production, and wage levels. Contrary to certain institutions, the forced migration of Africans via the Atlantic played a vital role in the Long-distance trade and industrialization of England.⁶ However, China being an agrarian empire was less worried about maritime trade than Britain, because they possessed thriving local markets for cash crops and handicrafts. Additionally, China's joined legal system enabled long-distance trade, while Europe's political and judicial disarray intensified the environmental risks and obstacles to long-distance trade.⁷ Merchants in the Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific oceans were protected by the European military more than in Asia. Climate and environmental conditions such as wind patterns, and mountain ridges determined the duration of goods delivery, funds, and information by merchants. Diseases, war, and armed robbery put a strain on the uniformity of the system. High costs of long-distance transportation affected the prices of goods like bullion, silk, and spices. The transport system during the early modern age was mostly railroads and steamships. Technological advancements and innovations enhanced the rapidity and safety of transportation. Sailing was carried out on four-deck, flat-bottom ships called *junks* according to the Portuguese. The caravel, a type of sail ship was developed for crossing the Atlantic during the early modern age which was a significant step forward and provided a basic form of maritime transport. Despite these developments, China remained at the top in terms of owning the biggest shipyard. Trade did not entirely take place by sea, camels, and horses were used to transport goods via land. Lyon developed into a center of finance, silk manufacturing, and redistribution of Asian spices, and caravan routes connecting the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf to Egypt and Syria continued flourishing long after the Portuguese bypass of the Cape of Good Hope. As much as technological advancements made maritime trade easier, institutional changes such as marine insurance, and the regularity of courier services were instrumental. A special area was set aside for trading

⁵ Ibid, 161

⁶ Kenneth Pomeranz, (2000), *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* Princeton University Press. p 194.

⁷ Jean-Laurent Rosenthal and R. Bin Wong (2011), *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. p.1.

activities in most commercialized cities for instance, in the sixteenth century, ottoman merchants were moved to a building further away, where windows and terraces had to be walled up to avoid interaction with people walking by. To control foreign commerce, Chinese emperors and Japanese shoguns gave European traders and settlers an island, Macao (1557), and Deshima (1639), respectively, in Nagasaki harbor. In comparison to other European cities, Amsterdam had no restrictions on foreign merchants' participation in trade. The rise in cross-cultural commerce in the early modern era created a demand for services that reduced the costs of doing business with strangers, such as translation and legal mediation. Large market cities had all-purpose brokers and foreign resident representatives who knew local weights, measures, and currencies, as well as numerous languages and legal traditions. Guangzhou (Canton) became the only Chinese port where Europeans were permitted to trade, but merchants from Portugal, England, and the Netherlands made little attempt to acquire Chinese and Mandarin. Transactions were carried out in Portuguese and pidgin English, allowing for misunderstanding and deceit. Local remedies for the secure conduct of daily business were developed.

State Affairs altered long-distance trade, debts were on the rise, unprecedented wars, and hikes in insurance rates meddled trade. To salvage the situation, the diplomatic consensus seemed the only way to curtail illegal trade and contraband. In as much as these state policies were put in place, the consequences were not farfetched since state intervention extended to maritime trade and the composition of fiscal administration. In Asia, rulers were passive to the interest of merchants and hostile to foreign trade either based on ideology or due to extensive farming lands on which they could impose taxes. While in Europe, the upcoming bourgeois class, and confined governments especially in the northern protestant countries are compared with Iberian and French royal capitalism. Portuguese galleon in the Indian Ocean put a strain on maritime trade as Gujarati and Muslim Arabs needed to acquire licenses from them to trade freely. Asians of course opposed the European powers and tweaked their trading route to the emerging powers. China structured its trade ties with foreign powers through a tributary system intended for generating revenues while controlling the conditions and participants engaged in these exchanges. Trade licenses were a prerequisite for merchants to partake in foreign trade.

1.2.2 Urbanization

This pattern of migration is relevant because it paved the way for significant changes in society's social and economic structure. Urbanization is the process of a greater proportion of human activities – economic, social, and cultural –taking place in urbanized areas. It is characterized by a rise in the urban proportion of the total population.⁸ Imperial capitals like Constantinople, Baghdad, and subsequently, Beijing were among the prominent cities, along with economic hubs like Alexandria, Guangzhou, and Sarai on the lower Volga, which served as a Silk Road hub. Due to their high death rates, cities were only able to sustain their size through in-migration. The expansion of the world economy led to an increase in size and value in major port cities like Genoa, Lisbon, and Amsterdam, to mention but a few. The growth of cities was highly dependent on reorganization, attitudes, and values. The year 1400 was a turning point for Western Asia and Europe from the demolishing of cities from the great plague of 1348. Urbanization from 1400-1800 was seen as a reasonable process. Rather than focusing on just the growth of cities, it is wiser to look from broader perspectives like urban systems, networks of cities, and their rise and decline. Commensalism is what is eminent between the urban and rural networks, as the urban relies on the rural for food. For instance, Beijing relied on Yangzi for grain supply through the Grand Canal. As earlier stated, urbanization was seen as a process, but it is not a one-size-fits kind of situation for some parts of the world. It will be imperative to distinguish different patterns of growth in different regions. The degree to which the aforementioned regions are connected to economic development further demonstrates that urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon.

Japan was a desolate island, especially in the early seventeenth century when the growth of urban cities was in top gear. However, foreign trade was centered around just Nagasaki, which was the major stimulant of urbanization in Japan. The political environment of the Ashikaga era was hostile to city development, but regional warlords set up castle towns (*jokamachi*) as administrative centers.⁹ Despite Japan being under three rulers, it became unified. Peace and unity are pivotal for the growth of populations and cities. The population of Japan grew exponentially to about 30 million in 1800. Agriculture flourished more than ever before, with

⁸ Ledent, Jacques (1982), "Rural-Urban Migration, Urbanization, and Economic Development." *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 507-538.

⁹ John W. Hall (1995-6), 'The Castle Town and Japan's Modern Urbanization', *Far Eastern Quarterly* 15, pp 37-56.

adequate use of fertilizers like grasses, rapeseed, and sardine meal.¹⁰ Food supply was in abundance for the inhabitants of the growing cities. Taxes too, on the other hand, were as important, peasants paid taxes with rice, which was sent to samurai and their masters and were urged to move to the city. Kyoto's population grew despite the wreck in the Onin war, Hideyoshi constructed a castle in Osaka which turned into the principal port and commercial hub. Chain migration became rampant as many migrants from cities like Ise and Awaji migrated to Osaka and even encouraged their relatives to do the same to work and earn a living. Taxes were exempted by the government and it also encouraged migration. The population in Edo grew as well and had over one million inhabitants. Japan became like Europe, a place where trade flourished with merchants. These three cities functioned on the dynamic of the division of labor, Osaka the merchant capital, Edo, the political center and Kyoto the cultural center. In all, the concentration of riches, both old and new, in cities had significant societal implications i.e. the commercialization of leisure which meant the popularity of tea houses, sumo wrestling, and puppet performances. The chōnin played a vital role in the expression of culture and values during the Genroku period (1688- 1704). The urban culture became a thing and gained accreditation, hence the: urban guidebook, which was written for visitors for touristic purposes. Notwithstanding the system of government(authoritarianism) of Japan, it became a commercial society for entrepreneurs which flourished and attracted merchants.

China on the contrary was not as desolate as Japan, irrespective of efforts to block foreign trade in the sixteenth century. China had several urban systems based on each region. The country saw an urban revolution in the twelfth century due to its high population of about 1 million inhabitants in Kaifeng and 1.2 million in Hangzhou. The production of rice allowed for a food surplus. Thanks to the adequate system of water supply via the Yangzi and Yellow Rivers and The Grand Canal that helped bring food to the budding cities. The growth of these cities stopped due to the attacks by the Mongols, and the population was reduced drastically. In 1400, things took a new turn under the new rule of the Ming, the population skyrocketed from 80 million in 1400 to 160 million in 1600 and tripled to 350 million in 1800.¹¹ Population and agriculture grew hand in hand. Crops like maize and sweet potato were presented to China by the Portuguese and

¹⁰ Toshio Furushima, (1991), *'The Village and Agriculture during the Edō Period'* in John W. Hall (ed.), *Early Modern Japan*, Cambridge History of Japan Cambridge University Press, vol. 4, p.5.

¹¹ Patricia Ebrey, (1996), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*. Cambridge University Press, p. 197.

the Philippines in the sixteenth century. Nanjing becoming the administrative capital of China in 1368 brought too many people in their numbers from different spheres (soldiers, civil servants, students) who aspired to be great and begin their careers. The population grew to about a million in 1400. However, the numbers took a downturn when Nanjing lost its status as capital, but remained relevant, especially for silk weaving. The capital moved to Beijing in 1421, and the population from Nanjing also followed and the numbers increased as merchants and artisans moved too. Qing succeeded Ming in 1644, with Beijing still being the capital, came a new influx of population and it grew to about 1,100,000 in 1800. Hangzhou was also a growing city, known for tea commerce, a hub for goods distribution in what was quickly becoming a national market.¹² Suzhou is another city with a growing population aided by milk and cotton production. Yangzhou as well as Guangzhou was known for the rice, salt, and silk trade. China absorbed a lot of male immigrants who came to work; hence some cities became multi-ethnic. In all, the benefits of urbanization remain tangible as it brought about many developments in China.

Political disintegration and polycentrism are features of European urbanization. Population decline in Europe was a result of the black death in 1348. The likes of Granada expelled Jewish and Muslim populations, and Bruges lost trade to Antwerp making their population decrease. As of 1500, only Paris, Venice, Naples, and Milan had a population of over 100,000. Growth became stable because of the agricultural revolution between 1700 and 1800. Food demand by urban cities stirred up commercial agricultural development in the regions around. London, Madrid, and St Petersburg are likened to Japan specifically Edō, these cities experienced notable exponential population growths. One common thing among these cities' growth is the fact that all of them are capital cities. The population of these capitals included different calibers of people, from soldiers, civil servants, and lawyers to servants, and tailors. Trade also contributed to the growth of cities; Seville's port was a point of contact through which mined silver in Mexico reached Spain. Arts, printing, and crafts in cities like Florence, Leiden, Venice, and Amiens served as instruments of urban growth but not as much as larger producer cities. Migrants in these cities were mostly young males and made up almost half of the city's population. Famine was a factor that influenced people's decision to migrate, they had to move to where they could find food which is what perfectly describes the analogy of rural push and

¹² William T. Rowe, *Hankow (1984-9), Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889*, 2 vols Stanford University Press.

urban pull. Moreover, these urban cities were centres of innovation, hence they attracted people. Conversely like Japan and China, Europe developed theatres and opera houses which attracted people. Urbanization promoted the homogeneity of both spoken and written languages, more so cities were able to promote their values broadly because of immigration.

1.2.3 Involuntary/ Forced Migration

Forced migration particularly captures the theme of my thesis. It is very important because it connects with aspects like slavery and religion that shapes migration which I will discuss in the subsequent chapters. Forced Migration increased as a result of the formation of large nations particularly in the region between the Mediterranean and the Indus, which served as the historical epicenter of slave communities. Slaves from both the North (Slavic, Turkic, and Caucasian communities) and South (Nile Valley and West Africa) were sent out by merchants. War and politics increasingly centered on politics as many of these slaves from the aforementioned civilizations became crucial to the big countries' armed forces. Underpinning this wave of slavery on land was a continuously growing slave trade in the sea, particularly across the Atlantic but also in the Indian Ocean. Many argue that capitalism is a result of slavery, slave labor was used to produce mostly sugar and other consumer goods. Slave trade developed African and Asian economies, however, the global anti-slavery movement brought a halt to slavery, and race classification became a consequence that lingered. Statistics show that almost thirteen million people were coerced to migrate against their wish to the Americas, and slave trafficking is seen to be the sole cause of this.¹³ Although the development of the Atlantic slave trade deserves attention, European colonization of the Americas began in the Mediterranean, where forced labor and slave trafficking comprising both Africans and non-Africans were commonplace for centuries before 1492 and persisted for several centuries after. Following 1492, forced labor was crucial for the settlement of the Americas, and in dense but land-rich central and eastern Europe, serfdom was employed to increase state authority. Human trafficking was a significant aspect of life in both the New and the Old Worlds between the years 1500 and 1800,

¹³ David Eltis and David Richardson (2015), *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010; p.19.

and this fact must be acknowledged in any study of early modern involuntary migration.¹⁴ Slavery for several centuries in communities throughout the Mediterranean has played a significant role in everyday life. By the year 1500, the Ottoman Empire, which was officially based in Constantinople the capital and spanned from Basra on the Arabian Sea through the Caucasus, the Crimea, the Balkans, and Egypt, was rampant with slavery. North African barbary states of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers were not excluded from the widespread slaveholding. The majority of these slave owners were Muslims, however, ownership was not restricted to Islam, it was rampant in Portugal, Spain, and Venice which happen to be Christian Mediterranean societies. The trade of slaves was a common trait in Muscovy, Central Asia, and Asia Minor. The civilizations beyond the Sahara Desert have long relied on African societies as a reservoir of slaves. In sum, slavery and the slave trade that followed it were pervasive in the regions along the borders of Europe, Asia, and Africa.¹⁵ In the Mediterranean, slavery was a form of punishment for offenders in the galleys, which were the primary means of sea warfare. Peasants in the Russian Empire had restricted rights of movement, and a system was put in place to capture fugitives. National security concerns and external threats were drivers of the advent of slavery in Muscovy due to vast territorial expansions, low population densities, and the establishment of the middle service class. It is similar in Africa and Eurasia, slavery was directly linked to the authority of political and business nobles.

Slavery has made involuntary migration inevitable. After 1700, the lifetime recruitment of a fraction of males into the armed services came to be associated with the involuntary migration of the Russian peasants to fortified frontier lines and the enslavement of that population. The frontier lines were specifically guarded against any external attacks from the western and southern frontiers.

The ousting of people from slaves from one political province to the other was very common in the old world as a pattern of involuntary migration, slaves from the Atlantic were sent to Europe

¹⁴ The figure quoted here is based on estimates derived from some 35,000 slaving voyages from Africa to the Americas David Eltis and David Richardson (2007), "A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in David Eltis and David Richardson [eds.], *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the new Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* pp. 1-60.

¹⁵ Paul W. Bamford (1959), "The Procurement of Oarsmen for French Galleys, 1660–1748," *American Historical Review*, 65 pp. 31-48; T. M. Ricks (1988), "Slaves and Slave Traders in the Persian Gulf, 18th and 19th Centuries: An Assessment," in W. G. Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* London, pp. 60-70.

specifically Portugal and France in the year 1550, likewise in Venice, most female serfs were taken from Russia, Crimea, sub saharan africa and the Caucasus. In addition to Christians from northwest Europe and the northern coasts of the Mediterranean, as well as Africans from the Sahel, south of the Sahara, Malta's slave population also comprised Turks, who were frequently captured in conflicts with Barbary Coast kingdoms. The Ottoman Empire was not left out as barbary states were under their auspices, and their slaves came through Crimea, also from central Asia, sub-Saharan and eastern Africa. Involuntary migration and trafficking were a yardstick to determine growth and labor in the old world.

Up until the eighteenth century and beyond, the first routes out of Africa were still in use. The early modern era saw the development of several routes, some of which were peculiar to it. People's involuntary migration was linked to war and other violent acts. Trafficking is not a new phenomenon, however, in the early modern era, it grew to a pioneering stratum as a component of global exchange between Africa, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and Eurasia.¹⁶

Transatlantic slavery has its precedent in the Mediterranean in the early sixteenth century. It is the largest forced migration in human history. Its emergence is typically attributed to the economic and political motives that led the Iberian rulers of Portugal and Castile to explore the Atlantic Ocean in the fifteenth century, sometimes in concert with Genoese investors. Due to trade with Africans, sugar production was expanded to African islands, frequently employing slave labor. It was at this point that sugar production spread across the Caribbean and Brazil and by 1640 brazil exported sugar to Europe. Slaves in the Americas worked hard, especially in the agricultural industry for the cultivation of coffee, rice, cotton, and tobacco. One may question the motives driving the migration centered on sugar production. Several factors, including the power dynamics of the Age of Discovery between Europeans and non-Europeans, epidemiology, and beliefs surrounding African and European slavery, were at play. However, the outcome of sugar production led to the establishment of serf societies in the Americas. Sugar production was synonymous with slavery and its trade, which led to heavy dependence on slave supply from Africa to meet the demands. According to Curtin's research, about 8.65 million African slaves were transported to the Americas between the early sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries. Due

¹⁶ Richardson, David (2011), "Involuntary Migration in the Early Modern World, 1500–1800." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. 3: p. 568.

to abolitionism, the influx of slaves was reduced drastically by 1800. On the other hand, there were 2.4 million Europeans who migrated to the Americas.

Slaves were sought after for various reasons but the most apparent ones appear to be an array of agricultural, commercial, handicraft, household, military and sexual activities. These slaves were the minority of the population in most places. Women worked in the agricultural and domestic sectors, but for the most part, the male population was the most sought-after to fill in military and commercial roles.¹⁷ Every region had its method of attracting slaves, however, predation (Barbary Coast corsairs), payment of a tribute (sub-Saharan societies), and purchase (the Mediterranean and the Middle East) are used to attract more slaves. Slave trafficking continued to be a significant aspect of commercial life on the borders of Africa, Asia, and Europe because the demands kept exacerbating. Human trafficking became the target of political and military involvement in several European nations where their citizens were slaves. States in Western Europe utilized diplomatic channels and other means to deter Barbary Corsair attacks on their ships and the enslavement of crew and passengers which resulted in the treaties that were signed in the Corsair bases by Britain who negotiated with the Barbary in 1684 to exclude English vessels from predation in exchange for an annual payment. This was a strategy by Britain to abridge the serfdom of Europeans and Christians and it worked because it diminished the century after 1680. Also, the growth of servitude and the internal migration of people to frontier posts for security were both repercussions of the tsars' attempt to safeguard their frontiers which promoted the expansion of political control over the Crimean Peninsula.

International trade including the trafficking of Africans into slavery was commonly accepted by Europeans, Arabs, and Turks. In fact, throughout the Islamic world and sub-Saharan Africa, tradition and government approval endorsed slavery and slave trafficking. Furthermore, it seemed like a competition for African slaves between European powers like France, Britain, Germany Denmark, and the chief pioneers of transatlantic slavery Portugal and Spain because it

¹⁷ Verlinden, Charles. (1968) *The recruitment of slaves in Venice in the 14th and 15th centuries.* p. 184.

led to a distortion in market control, notwithstanding, the trading facility that was established remained a relevant base for slavery.¹⁸

Politics influenced the development of slavery, however, the demand for African slaves which were mostly male adults by European leaders in the Americas was a guiding principle as to the level of growth of slavery between the years 1500 and 1800 respectively. The change in the balance of political and economic power in Europe was a result of increased slavery in Northwestern Europe in the seventeenth century although the regions of the Mediterranean had been the origins of early European colonization and slave trading activities. Slave trading had a significant influence on the formation and amassing of wealth in the Americas and the economic history of Western Europe. On the other hand, since Africa was the camp where slaves were outsourced and shipped to the Americas and Europe, the slave trade harmed African societies, in as much as the African elites who held high positions in political and economic spheres accumulated wealth from, poverty was part and parcel of the society. Historians like Rodney, Nunn, and Inikori, have seen ‘the slave trade as a prime cause of African under-development and a continuing drag on the continent’s economic potential’.¹⁹

1.3 Causes of Migration

There are a couple of factors ranging from religious, economic, geographical, and political among many others that influence people’s decision to migrate either through the regular or irregular migratory route. It is important to note that these causes are driving factors of the various patterns of migration that I have discussed in this chapter. In the last chapter on contemporary migration, I discuss three other patterns of migration. However, during the early modern age, irregular migration was more prominent and a key term that has appeared apparent is ‘Smuggling’. Depending on the migratory route, there are smugglers whose key role is to transport people by smuggling them to the country of destination either by land or sea. It has

¹⁸ Lovejoy, Paul E., and David Richardson (2004), ‘This Horrid Hole’: Royal Authority, Commerce and Credit at Bonny, 1690-1840.” *The Journal of African History*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 363–92. *JSTOR*, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4100751> >. Accessed 30 May 2023.

¹⁹ Rodney, Walter, et al (1982), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Verso, 2018. Claude Meillassoux, “The Role of Slavery in the Economic and Social History of Sahelo-Sudanic Africa,” London, pp. 74–99.

been argued by scholars that the decision to migrate for both regular and irregular migrants is often a complex process involving economic, social, and political factors.²⁰

The climate is seen to have been a stimulant of migration. Inhabitants migrated to where they could find climatic stability, more so in search of food sources for survival. Humidifying and desiccated zones are to blame for changes in demography.²¹ Generally speaking, harsh, and unstable climatic conditions account for the movement of people to more favorable environments that were alien to them and had to acclimatize. Natural disasters like tsunamis, hurricanes, unprecedented earthquakes, and food shortages have forced people to be on the move.

In the early modern era, famine was a significant driving force behind migration. Due to crop failures, disease outbreaks, and other variables that interrupted the food supply during this time, famines were frequently experienced. People frequently had no option but to abandon their homes and migrate elsewhere in quest of food and employment when famine hit a specific area. In many instances, the movements were internal, with people relocating from rural areas to towns or other regions within their nation. However, there were also sizable international migrations as people moved abroad in search of improved chances. For instance, during the Great Famine of 1845-1852, which resulted in the deaths of over a million people and the departure of millions more, many Irish people fled their native country.²²

Warfare, being human instilled distinguishes itself from the causes mentioned earlier since they restrain human action. War has been one of the most difficult predicaments in the world. According to Montgomery (1983), 'war is natural to humankind'. He bases his ideology on the writings of Maurice: the life of the Ant which certain anthropologists and zoologist affirmed their stance development, which instilled belligerent and vicious tendencies in humans just as in animals. However, idealists oppose this narrative as they believe human nature is generally peaceful until war and rivalry subvert it. Mead (1966) sees 'war as an invention, not a biological

²⁰ McAuliffe, Marie, and Victoria Mence (2017), "Irregular Maritime Migration as a Global Phenomenon." *A Long Way to Go: Irregular Migration Patterns, Processes, Drivers, and Decision-Making*, edited by MARIE MCAULIFFE and KHALID KOSER, ANU Press, pp. 11–48. *JSTOR*, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt20krxxh.10>>. Accessed 30 May 2023.

²¹ Jennifer R. Smith, 'Pleistocene climate change and human occupation of eastern North Africa', in Mainwaring, Giegengack, and Vita-Finzi (eds.), *Climate Crises*, pp. 125-38.

²² Alfani, Guido, and Cormac Ó Gráda, eds. (2017) "Bibliography." Ref-list. In *Famine in European History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 269-310.

necessity'.²³ The battle at Jebel Sahaba which lies between the border of modern Egypt and Sudan is seen to have been the earliest war, where many lives were lost, mainly women and children, and a lot of sustained injuries. Gang warfare was a common phenomenon among chimpanzee communities as Jane Goodall discovered a pattern in societies where one group tries to retract for safety from the other because of an attack.²⁴

Religious propaganda and political instability appear to be the most reasons why many people crossed the Mediterranean which was solely against their wishes. The expatriation of Jews and Muslims in their numbers from Spain in 1492 marginalized them into “religious refugees”. In search of refuge, these expatriated Jews due to the oppression they faced throughout the early modern age settled in North Africa, Greece, Italian States, and the Middle East, under the auspices of the Ottoman Sultan.

In addition, human trafficking accounts for the involuntary displacement of people. African slaves were able to reach European and Ottoman territories thanks to ancient trade routes for slaves that passed through the region in antiquity. During the frequent pirate incursions, locals from Spain, North Africa, Italy, and Palestine were frequently taken into custody and afterward sold as slaves. Due to the ease with which ships and boats of all sizes could be turned into prey by pirates and corsairs, many Englishmen and Dutchmen were captured.

1.4 Consequences of Migration

Migration has affected people’s connections, interest groups, and views of the world. Migration and war have created a patriarchal system, especially in societies where violence is on the rise, the male gender has been exalted above the female gender in terms of competitiveness, and enhanced roles in politics and warfare. Women were seen to be sacred and due to their body's recurring patterns, their ability to reproduce is one aspect that makes them important. The dominance of the male gender on the one hand is based on the intentional quest for power which

²³ Margaret Mead (1990), ‘War is only an invention, not a biological necessity, in Douglas Hunt (ed.), *The Dolphin Reader* Boston: Houghton, pp. 415-21.

²⁴ Dale Paterson and Richard Wrangham (1996), *Demonic Males: Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*. Boston: Houghton, p. 6.

is stirred by resentment towards women or a wish to assert dominance over the most basic resource which is the ability to reproduce.

In as much as the movement of people in the early modern period brought about a new realm of interaction among human societies and the expansion of the world population. It is important to bear in mind, despite unfavorable climatic conditions, agriculture still thrived and led to extensive crop cultivation which humans were heavily dependent on for survival and growth. However, agriculturally based populations will inevitably exceed their food supply. Malthus, who was an English economist and demographer was known for his theory on ‘Malthusianism’ that posits population growth outpaces food supply, requiring reproduction limits for human improvement.²⁵ He asserts that “population[s], when unchecked, increased in a geometrical ratio, and subsistence for man in an arithmetical ratio”.²⁶ In other words, because humans reproduce much more quickly than they can generate sustenance, they frequently stand on the verge of extinction, and jeopardy of their welfare. Global expansion and interaction had environmental consequences because of activities like deforestation, plowing of the soil, and the killing of large animals for safety.

The spread of epidemics was also another consequence of migration. The likes of smallpox, measles, and influenza eliminated so many lives. These epidemics were well-known in Europe and wherever Europeans threaded, these diseases had a ripple effect on the Afro-Eurasian population. As people migrated, new civilizations emerged, and contagious diseases became a part and parcel of European society. The fourteenth century in Eurasia was considered a very catastrophic period infested by the bubonic pandemic that lived on rodents and journeyed with them along the Silk Routes connecting eastern Asia with Western Europe. The death toll was inevitably on the rise, and it was considered the “black death” according to the Europeans.

Many Europeans have endured deadly diseases, including epidemics. Since these viruses were widespread, most people encountered them when they were young, and the diseases reduced population numbers. However, Europeans could shield themselves against infectious and fatal

²⁵ MacRae, Donald Gunn. "Thomas Malthus". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 21 Mar. 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Malthus>. Accessed 30 May 2023.

²⁶ Thomas Robert Malthus (1798), *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Philip Appleman ed., 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), p. 19.

diseases owing to the creation of vaccines for weak viruses because of exposure and survival, which resulted in lifetime protection²⁷. The immunity against these pathogens eluded the Native Americans and aborigines in Serbia and Oceania since the pathogens were originally from Europe, hence it was not what they were used to. The importation of slaves for Spanish Labour from Africa further exacerbated the already rampant epidemic by introducing malaria and yellow fever to the Spanish and Arawak populations. Mortality reached its peak because of the spread of these epidemics. At some point, it became a pandemic as it spread across the Caribbean and Mexico, and it was easily contagious either by physical contact or taking in the air of an already affected fellow. The aftermath of contracting such comes after a week with a lot of discomforts like nausea, headache, skin boils, and eventually bleeding to death. Syphilis on the other hand originated in America, a sexually transmitted ailment that affected Europeans psychologically in the 1500s, although its impacts were trivial in comparison to other diseases.

1.5 Migratory Networks/Routes

The movement of people and goods has always been an essential part of human history even before the early modern period. Commerce was very lucrative at the time and people were determined to travel far away either on foot, the riding animals, or by sailing on a flimsy ship. The Silk Roads, a network of paths that enabled land-based and maritime commerce from the Mediterranean to the South China Sea, were the most significant and extensive.²⁸ The strongest routes between early modern trade lines and global marketplaces were those in Eurasia and Africa. The major commodities that were assimilated especially from 1400 to the 1700s were American silver and sugar to Asia and Europe respectively, slaves from West Africa to the Americas, spices from Southeast Asia to Europe, and the like. Ports played a pivotal role in ensuring people and goods moved from one place to the other. Ports in the Indian Ocean like Colombo, Hormuz, Macau, and Guangzhou were highly autonomous politically and

²⁷ Parker, Charles H (2010) "The Formation of New Demographic and Ecological Structures." Chapter. In *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400–1800*. Cambridge Essential Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 146-181.

²⁸ Parker, Charles H (2010) "International Markets and Global Exchange Networks." Chapter. In *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400–1800*. Cambridge Essential Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 68-75.

economically. There were a couple of linking routes within the Indian Ocean such as from the western shore of India through the Red and Arabian Seas to the Malay Archipelago. Another route was from Gujarat in western India to the Swahili cities. There were varieties of commodities that were exchanged ranging from cotton, spices, silks, gold, and silver, to mention but a few. In addition to the routes, one flows into the northern areas from the Baltic Sea region and the other from the Mediterranean in the south. The northern merchants from Italy of Venice, Genoa, Padua, and Florence controlled the southern traffic, who traded commodities from their merchants in Egypt, Constantinople, and different towns along the north African coast. Africa comprised three major routes; The trans-Saharan trade in wealth and enslaved to the port cities connected Sudan to the Mediterranean networks from the north. Trading opportunities were utilized by Muslim Arab merchants in West African states (Senegal, Niger, River Gambia). In no time, the trans-Saharan route gained momentum in the fifteenth century under the control of Songhay's empire. In the south, there was a trade link/route from major Swahili cities on the east coast with Zimbabwe. The main African staples in commerce with Gujarat in northwest India were gold, ivory, and subsequently slaves. These two routes played a significant role in connecting Africa to the Eurasian commercial hub. Kongo, Zaire, and Angola were referred to as the central sub-Saharan route which was majorly an internal route with no record of the trade before European merchants arrived, and by the 1400s the kingdom of Kongo became prominent and became a hub for slavery, agricultural produce, and gold.²⁹

1.6 Conclusion

In summary, migration is an integral part of human history which aided the transfer of goods, people, technology, and information through the various patterns of migration. We see that people moved in the early modern age voluntarily or involuntarily either to abscond from harsh realities of war, religious extremities, or environmental plagues while others' aspirations for their lives determine whether certain circumstances and prospects inspire a desire for change. These migrations through whatever patterns they took place, had consequences ranging from changes in interactions among communities, spread in epidemics, and the creation of a patriarchal society

²⁹ Ibid, 69-100.

that undermined the female gender. The Silk Roads were a network of paths that enabled land-based and maritime commerce from the Mediterranean to the South China Sea. Ports played a pivotal role in ensuring people and goods moved from one place to the other. Commodities exchanged included cotton, spices, silks, gold, and silver.

CHAPTER TWO

Migration in the Mediterranean.

2.0 Introduction

Having given a broad and general overview of the World history of migration, my research will be narrowed down to the Mediterranean. One may ask, why the Mediterranean? It is worth noting that the Mediterranean due to its strategic position is rich in culture, language, politics, and religion to mention but a few are all contingent upon the external influences from across the regions around the sea. Moreover, the Mediterranean is of essential importance to history, hence its relevance has not diminished till today, as it has and still provided an intersection for exploration for people from diverse backgrounds. The transformation of the region stems from the links of trade by merchants, migrants, warfare, politics, slavery, and pilgrimage. From a religious perspective, it is where Judaism, Christianity, and Islam began. Christianity and Islam especially are very significant for many people around the world which gives a sense of belonging and a common ground. I will be explaining the Mediterranean as a strategic region on its own, and how politics and warfare have induced migration.

2.1 The Mediterranean

The word Mediterranean originates from Latin, *medius* (the middle or between) and *terra*, (land or earth) the term was mostly used by the Romans, even though it had been in existence, reports from Isidore of Seville states that Solinus the geographer in the third century A.D. was the first to use the term. The Mediterranean Sea is in the middle of the earth. It is no doubt that from time immemorial parts of the Mediterranean had their peculiar names like the Ionian, Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, and Aegean. However, the whole sea was referred to as *mare magnum* (the Great Sea), *mare Internum* (the interior sea), or *mare nostrum* (Our Sea) by the Romans, due to modernity, “*mare mediterraneum*” seems to have gained momentum.³⁰

³⁰ Richard W. Clement (2012) “The Mediterranean: What, Why, and How.” *Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 114-20.
JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.5325/mediterraneanstu.20.1.0114>. Accessed 3 June 2023.

The Mediterranean was and still is a contact zone, according to academics who study it. Pratt describes it as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination”.³¹ In fact, at a human level, factors such as ethnicity, language, religion, and politics were susceptible to external influence from across the sea, while flux from the inner part of the sea brought in culture, languages, and political traditions of areas close to Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa. The Mediterranean Sea has served as a meeting place for people from all different backgrounds who have taken advantage of its resources and, in some instances, learned to make a livelihood by transporting its products from better-off to underdeveloped areas. The Mediterranean brought people from one coast to another, as well as goods like grain, oil, and wine, mercenaries, mystics, travelers, and slaves.

To clearly understand the Mediterranean as a region, it will be imperative to mention all the countries that touch its shores, the lands, and islands as well. The Mediterranean is endowed with substantial and beautiful islands like Sicily, Sardinia, Crete, and Cyprus, which have been an intersection for cultures, politics, and religion. Rhodes and Malta have been pivotal islands that have resisted invasions in the past. According to the French Historian (Braudel 1949) ‘The Mediterranean Region shaped the cultures that developed along its shores’.³² Economic historians view the Mediterranean as the social and cultural point that has enabled regular and long-distance trade to thrive.

The Ottoman Empire during the early modern age, captured and conquered some of the republics in Greece’s mainland, pulverized Venetian vessels in the southern Adriatic, and eventually annexed a port in Lepanto and Corinth. Warfare and exploration were two determining factors of the turning point and downturn of the Mediterranean. The ascension of the Ottomans in the eastern Mediterranean brought about a lot of chaos as there was stiff competition among other civilizations to assert power. The Mediterranean, which was the cradle of civilization became a battleground that was engulfed by opposing blocks, and a struggle for hegemony by many powers. The fracas between Venice and Istanbul came to a halt when the sultan requested Venice to build a fleet to combat the Portuguese who had commercial agents in Egypt, Venetians went

³¹ Mary Louise Pratt (1992), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* New York: Rutledge, p. 4.

³² Fernand Braudel (1996), *The Mediterranean, and the Mediterranean World at the Time of Philippe II*, 3 vols rev. ed. p.231.

as far as formulating projects to sever the Suez Canal. The Ottomans in the following decades conquered Egypt and united the red sea and turned against the Portuguese in a worldwide conflict that spanned India and Sumatra. All these series of events reveal the interconnection that emerged because of global knowledge and contacts. To reconcile the warfare that spanned for years, and the global connections, keen attention to political and military happenings which have played pivotal roles in the advent of opposite blocks and characterize the struggle for power as a clash of civilizations. Contrary to this belief, Braudel maintains that the Mediterranean's profound geographical features and long-term economic intersections created an essential unity that superseded political and religious bounds.

Cultural and political fissures brought about the division of the Mediterranean. The struggle for power and dominance further exacerbated the polarization of the sea to an adverse region of hostile influence. The incipience of Muslim powers in the Mediterranean led to a consolidation of a considerable part of the eastern basin. The Ottomans' imperial dilation started from the byzantine empire to Anatolia, Aegean, Mamluk, and Turkic tribes in central Asia. The consolidation of Constantinople in 1453 was the peak of Ottoman imperialism. This did not end there, as they further conquered the Balkans, and Albania and even established a presence on the Adriatic. In 1578, they united Morocco and defeated the Portuguese, maintaining the full shoreline from the Balkans to the Atlantic via Anatolia and the Maghreb.

Christians on the other hand oversaw the western basin. The Aragons held sovereignty over Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, conquered Sicily in 1392, and finished subjugating Sardinia in 1409. The annexation of Naples, the entirety of southern Italy, and the collapse of Genoese were possible under the rule of Alfonso in 1416. Thalassocracy benefitted the great ports of Barcelona and Valencia. Also, with the conquest of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 1415 and Gibraltar by the Castilians in 1462, the Western Mediterranean turned predominantly Christian, resulting in the fall of once-thriving Muslim ports such as Malaga, Almera, and Ceuta. In comparison to the eastern basin, the west was a highly competitive basin among different powers like Spain and France. Both countries strived to be in control of rich industries and Italian peninsula ports. Christians and Muslims collided with each other in the Mediterranean, however, the powers came to a deadlock, ottomans abstained from advancing towards the west and Spain reciprocated by initiating diplomatic negotiations with the Porte. In all, the Mediterranean saw a

period of intense war, and displacement of people, from the expulsion of Jews and Muslims to the war of Cyprus, and the battle of Lepanto in 1571. Piracy was on the rise, which resulted in insecurity and attacks on small villages, especially in southern Italy which was prone to attack from the barbary corsairs in North Africa (Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis).

Trade was not sidelined despite war and piracy. Through all the chaos, contacts, and contracts were developed, and it strengthened long-lasting partnerships. Dissemination of information through letters and news was key as it helped inform merchants about opportunities and unforeseen dangers. As time progressed, better mediums of communication and exchange came to light such as newsletters (*avvisi, avisos*) sourced by professionals. Access to information made mobility easier. Trade brought cultures together. However, systematic knowledge was key and a requirement for long-distance trade. Maritime trade got better because of innovations and ships grew bigger with the advent of galleons and carracks. Heavy artillery, another technological advancement did not ease up the tension as it made the Mediterranean less secure perplexingly. The Ottomans made use of these heavy artilleries which were brought from China to conquer Constantinople, and the French accomplish triumph in the Hundred Years War. Also, it was extremely difficult to launch attacks on ports. In all, despite states' intervention and involvement in foreign politics, merchants got permission to trade legally with maximum protection, hence the establishment of networks of consular representatives.

The population of the Mediterranean got diminished due to the 'black death', however, trade and exploration accounted for the increased population of the Mediterranean. The ottoman empire in the sixteenth century grew exponentially to about 35 million.³³ Likewise Europe as a whole, by 1800, the population was already 150 million. This population increase meant urbanization was on the rise and demands for agricultural produce also increased to cater to the large population. Ottoman conquest and expansion led to an increase in taxes, nonetheless, Istanbul became a commerce hub for silk, spices, and porcelain from China and India. Merchants were drawn to Istanbul since they possessed special rights. Venetians on the other hand were intermediaries who sent envoys to merchant galleys. (Constantinople; Cyprus and Syria; Alexandria; Languedoc, Catalonia, England, and Flanders). Venice became a regional trade center, a port for

³³ Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (1994), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* Cambridge University Press, p. 28.

large foreign ships. However, the competition was stiff between Venice and Ancona, and Dubrovnik, as they had an alternative trade route which was the Balkans. Split became a new land route for Venice to curtail any competition. Through their cooperation with the Ottomans, French merchants in the seventeenth century appeared as prominent actors in east-west commerce, organizing big convoys to Syrian ports to meet land traders from further east. In the eastern Mediterranean, French shipowners encountered rivalry from Greek orthodox shipowners, but they still controlled the north-south commerce between Marseilles, Algiers, and Tunis. Furthermore, Muslim traders rode camels from North to Central Africa in quest of gold, ivory, and slaves for the Mediterranean trade. The Mediterranean between 1400 and 1800 saw a heterogeneity of trade thus establishing frequent contact between distant civilizations and industries. Men had more opportunities to travel than women, in as much as border-crossing was optional. The pilgrimage was a norm for both Christians and Muslims, from hospitals, religious houses, and caravanserais. Migration was not only for fulfillment or profit but also because of captivity. Muslim Circassians, Berbers, Greeks, Venetians, and Spanish subjects were moved to Italy and North Africa and taken advantage of mentally, economically, and physically.³⁴ In all of these, language was an important factor in crossings and essential for day-to-day transactions. To wrap up, the Mediterranean saw a series of activities that shaped the region into what it is and laid foundations for interactions, and expansions.

2.2 Strategic Position of The Mediterranean

The Mediterranean Sea is the world's most prominent inland sea. The sea has a very strategic position that connects Europe to North Africa and The Middle East. As far back as many decades and centuries, the Mediterranean served as a major hub for trade and cultural expansion amidst Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East the Mediterranean area is frequently referred to as the "cradle of civilization" because numerous ancient cultures and civilizations were born there.

The Mediterranean Sea from Gibraltar to Israel is more than 2,500 miles (4000 kilometers) long. Where Europe and Africa converge, a strait of about 14 km connects the Mediterranean to the

³⁴ Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves (2003), Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, p 19.

Atlantic. It is connected to the Red Sea by the Suez Canal and the Black Sea through the Bosphorus. Over 2.5 million square kilometers are occupied by the Mediterranean Sea (950 000 square miles). Peninsulas and islands separate it into other regions. Between Greece and Turkey is the Aegean Sea, Italy, and the Balkan Peninsula is separated by the Adriatic Sea, and Italy's western islands are separated by the Tyrrhenian Sea. There are a lot of bays and inlets around the Mediterranean coast. The Iberian, Italian, and Balkan peninsulas are all sizable landmasses that extend into the Mediterranean Sea. Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Crete are a few of the largest islands in the Mediterranean.



Europe and the Mediterranean c. 1400.³⁵

³⁵Source:<

https://static.cambridge.org/binary/version/id/urn:cambridge.org:id:binary:20160804153403344-0560:76162map17_2.png?pub-status=live >

2.3 Politics in the Mediterranean in the Early Modern Age

Political power in the fifteenth century has always been associated with control of societal resources, however, improving the tax systems and bureaucracies were strategies that were capitalized on by France, Spain, and Britain to build up tax policies to strengthen large armies when needed rather than depending on nobles to outsource them. These authorities inculcated the expansion of central organizations and government operations, issuance of new laws, and formation of new alliances with the nobles which fortified their power. The establishment of nation-states laid a foundation for northern and eastern European Monarchs to follow, hence the creation of nation-states like Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Russia. The rise of the nation-state was seen as a pivotal doorway to development in the early modern era. According to (Burckhardt, 1958) a state is “a work of art ... the outcome of reflection and calculation something to be created, shaped, and expanded, not simply inherited and governed.”³⁶ Keen attention was given to how state affairs were managed especially in the aspect of warfare, finances/ taxes, and alliances. The adoption of print languages by rulers was used as a means of national unification in Europe and a mechanism to amass power to revamp what was known as a dynastic realm into a nation. However, this was not the case for every European country like the case of Hungary in the mid-fifteenth century under the rulership of Corvinus, which focused more on arts and reliable tax policies. Hungary did not emerge as a nation as it was defeated by the Ottomans in the battle of Mohacs in 1526 and became under the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs.

Militarily speaking, the battle of Mohacs heightened the cost of warfare. In the fifteenth century, the cavalryman was the fiercest and most distinguished sort of fighter. Standing armies were a pivotal component in the growth of nation-states even though Ottoman sultans were the first European leaders to establish a permanent force. The Janissary Corps, a unit of trained troops recruited from non-Muslim military prisoners and Christian people in Greece and the Balkans, made up the Ottoman army. Although they were the sultan's official servants, janissaries had the potential to advance in status and influence. Only the sultan held the position of grand vizier

³⁶ Jacob Burckhardt (1958), *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, New York: Harper and Row, vol. I, p. 22.

more frequently than the top Janissary. In times of conflict, they were reinforced by hired forces drawn from across the realm, such as the 150,000 soldiers under the command of the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. European countries had their armies which were referred to as royal or king's armies. As technology advanced, new weapons were developed and early modern Europe saw a military revolution. Warfare and famine went hand in hand as armies were not paid the bonuses they were promised, they were left with no option rather than to abscond to the countryside to take whatever they needed for survival, along the line these movements also came with diseases like pneumonia.

The nature of warfare changed both on land and at sea during this time due to organizational and technological developments. Lines of contact and transportation are the main factors in maritime warfare; during the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, private merchants relied heavily on these systems. To secure advantageous trade paths, towns or merchants funded wars. Captains used sailing ships in the Atlantic and oared galleys in the Mediterranean, but both types of ships were mainly trading ships that transported both soldiers and goods. The structure, training, and selection of leaders and crews changed as naval warfare progressed. In comparison to standing armies, highly experienced sailors were in high demand in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to their expertise in safeguarding commerce and navigating the various seafaring traditions.

The enactment of legal codes, bureaucracies, and taxation systems had begun centuries before 1450, which entailed establishing representative organizations. Leaders passed new laws constantly and the state in several areas acquired control over courts, taxes, staff, and operations of churches. In as much as hereditary lineages controlled nearly the entirety of Europe and the Mediterranean, the papal states were exempted, because the assertion of resources was dependent on clever marriage tactics as it was more affordable to acquire land through succession than through war. This became a trend and other states followed suit. In the following paragraphs below, the political system of the countries around the Mediterranean peninsula would be examined. One feature that remains apparent in the affairs of these countries is marriage, it was a strategy used by monarchs in the early modern age to assert and exercise power and influence. It was hereditary, passed down to generations.

2.3.1 Britain

Suffice it to highlight again that the Mediterranean was an international marketplace of the old world. Even in the aftermath of American discoveries and new maritime routes to Asia, the area maintained its monopoly on long-distance European commerce. Over the course of the seventeenth century, England had success in the Mediterranean, earning their first considerable exposure to extensive, long-distance commerce. They were able to engage in trade, diplomatic relations, and military conquest all around the world in the 1500s, especially with the Ottoman Empire which had a vast part of the eastern Mediterranean, Venice, Marseilles, Livorno, and Seville, and establish influence in Europe as a result, thereby bolstering their economy.³⁷ To this end, I thought it imperative to include Britain here and also explain how its political structure and affairs were in the early modern age. Kingdom unification and a system of sheriffs were pioneered during the reign of Anglo-Saxon monarchs who established centralization. Tax collation entailed oath-taking of allegiance by nobles and traveling judges were used to promote consistent legal practices across the country, which was later transformed into common law, the premise of the legal system of England and other countries. The Magna Carta was an agreement that came about because of the tax demand war between England and France, hence the monarch's obligation. It solidified democracy, constitutional government, and the promotion of human rights, but restricted the monarch's control over taxes. The monarch established Parliament by enlarging his council to include common nobles and town delegates. The hundred years war proved an increase in parliament power as delegates vehemently refused to grant taxes except it was beneficial directly to the monarch. Marriage seemed to be a clever political strategy for Henry VII who restored order during the civil war known as the War of Roses and emerged as king. He governed mostly within his royal council which included church officials, lawyers, and civil servants. The council was saddled with the responsibility of diplomatic negotiations with international governments, and courts of chancery were set up to deal with cases faster than the common law courts could.

³⁷ T. K. Rabb (1967), *Enterprise, and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, p. 104.

2.3.2 France

France under the rule of King Philip Augustus expanded the kingdom's area through military invasion, marriage, and succession. They governed through a system of professional, non-noble royal officials known as seneschals in the south and baillis in the north. These officials had legal, financial, and military authority. Taxes were important for military conduct, hence the setting up of a national assembly was imperative. Clergymen were not exempt from such taxes which in turn caused a fracas between the king and the clergy. However, the national assembly system was coordinated in a way that had three classes; the clergy as the first class, the nobility second, and the residents of a town referred to as *bourgs*. These legally approved classes or estates in the national assembly had meetings to affirm the king's requests on taxes and policies. The imposition of taxes in the system reduced the king's dependence on a representative body for warfare purposes. Since the estates of the national assembly were legal, the first and second classes voted for a block that exempted them from taxes. The clergy consistently prayed for the king and the noble class engaged in warfare as at when due respectively. Charles VII who was crowned king from 1422- 1461, restored the monarchy's authority by establishing a permanent royal force and compelling the papacy to accept the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, putting an end to some papal tax, and naming of bishops. Just like in England, marriage was also a way to exert power and influence. The *Parlement* of Paris was very important as it was the supreme court of the territory, however, a parliament had limited power because they could not make laws, rather they retained the right to look at imperial decrees. Occupying a position as a counselor in a parliament required some form of legal training, but French kings saw such positions in the royal bureaucracy to generate revenue for the French monarchs by selling the positions to mostly nobles. Asserting such a high position by the nobles became a means of social climbing but, it was a way for the monarchy to solidify its allegiances with those marginally lower down the social spectrum who were growing in strength and riches. Selling the positions had negative financial long-term effects because nobles were exempt from tax payments, hence such positions ended up being inherited and passed down through generations.

2.3.3 Spain and Portugal

Both countries occupy a strategic position in the Iberian Peninsula and had corresponding political progress although quite distinctive. The Muslim states in the south were divided and became subjugated by the Christian kingdoms in the north. Castile was the most powerful Christian kingdom to sprout, and they established representative (Castilian Cortes, courts in Aragon) assemblies like the French had their estates. However, these two representative Cortes were not equal because one was stronger than the other in terms of power, the Castilians had limited power, and the Aragon had a more compelling authority over tax authorization. Muslim land in Spain was ravaged by Christian invasions to Granada, with Christian kingdoms ruling the rest of the country. The unification of Spain was a result of marriage and invasions. The marriage between Isabella, castle's princess, and Ferdinand of Aragon unified their lands, although the separate kingdoms maintained their own rules, courts, taxation structure, and governing authority up until around 1700. Their marriage strengthened the military of the country and conquered Granada in 1492. To reinforce their positions as monarchs, they restructured the primary royal council and substituted lower-level aristocracy, and educated non-nobles for aristocratic positions. The monarch selected the members and officials of a few extra councils, each of which oversaw a specific region or element of government. Furthermore, the Iberian Peninsula became a haven for the Jews who had been expelled from France and England. Many of them were forced to convert to Christianity (*conversos*) due to religious instability and assault against the Jews. These new converts were learned and held high positions in society like lawyers, specialists, and the like, but this did not sit well with the old Christians, and it generated animosity the converts were referred to as cancerous entities. The new converts were threatened, tried, and executed if they were found to be practicing their old ways of religion such as eating pork, and not observing the sabbath fully, although some of them had dual identities. The aversion towards Jews was something that continued from the Middle Ages as they were classified as a religious group but did not believe Jesus was the Messiah. Many Jews inhabited the southern Iberian Peninsula for centuries, however, as Granada was conquered, Jews were ousted from Spain and dispersed around North Africa and Europe (Portugal). Portugal sent some Jews to their African colonies to increase the population. Jews in the sixteenth century were completely banished from both Spain and Portugal. Muslims were not left out even though they were tolerated for a while, the revolt that broke out in 1499 broke the camel's back as Muslims

were ordered to either leave or get baptized. The Ottoman Empire became a place of refuge for them as the Sultan welcomed them. However, the Muslims who got baptized (Moriscos) in Granada were questioned and arrested because they tried to maintain Muslim decorum. They became subject to humiliation and slavery which induced their relocation, leaving their children who were under the age of seven behind. An exemption of slaves who married Christians remained unaffected. The integration of Moriscos into Christian society was encouraged by royal and church policies while preserving their cultural uniqueness.

2.3.4 The Holy Roman Empire

Frederick Barbarossa was the head of the roman empire from 1152 up until 1190. Here again, rulership was like that of Britain and France, the emperor inherited the throne as he was from the Hohenstaufen family. The roman empire was a coalition of duchies, states, and regional governments. He delegated officials to manage the affairs of the empire, created regal tribunals for disputes, and imposed loyalty vows on vassals. The major idea was to create a centralized empire, but some lapses hampered this idea such as some regional states having more influence and based the emperorship position on being elected. These regional influential states (the Luxembourg, the Wittelsbachs, the Habsburgs) in the mid-fifteenth century contended for the position by getting married to women who were affluent, from ruling houses. Albert II of Habsburg in 1438, gained the position of emperorship. The Habsburgs and local lords of central Europe concentrated their energies on establishing troops, in their inherited family lands, designating officials, and setting up representative institutions known as Diets(*landtage*). The power struggle was eminent as well in the empire between popes and secular rulers because the popes asserted the right to coronate the emperors, and emperors on the other hand claimed power over papal territory in Italy. These struggles were short-lived as a decree was released by Emperor Charles IV that led seven rulers in Germany to opt for an emperor, hence the need for the papal coronation was no longer useful. As a result, the emperors lost their hold on Italy due to their partnership with Italian cities, but the popes resisted giving up control of taxes and church positions. Tax collection became pivotal for the reformation of Protestantism, even so, the emperor's tenuous control over the German territorial rulers played a significant role in its spread. Warfare was not farfetched due to Aragon and France's claim over the kingdom of

Naples and Sicily in the south of Italy through hereditary. France attacked Italy after agreeing with Florence in 1494 to take over Milan. After that, French soldiers were driven out of Italy by Spanish and German forces. Also, with the accession of Charles V as king of Spain and Francis I as king of France, a war broke out between the two countries over Navarre, several territories shared by France and the Holy Roman Empire, and the city of Milan. In response to the French invasions of Italy and Navarre in 1521 and 1522, Charles sent imperial troops to attack Rome in 1527. Charles had no option but to opt for peace and a ceasefire seeing how troops were advancing toward Paris, Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis of 1559 was signed which deterred France's ambitious claims in Italy.

2.3.5 The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman's sphere of influence was very vast, they established efficient institutions in Eastern Europe. The term Ottoman came about in the thirteenth century from Osman Bey, the leader of Turks who resided in Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), a border area between the Seljuk Turks' territories and the Byzantine Empire. The Ottomans advanced to Europe in 1345 and exterminated the French, Burgundian, and Hungarian soldiers at Nicopolis in 1396. In the fifteenth century, they took control over the southern Danube and confiscated Constantinople which became the Ottoman Empire's capital and renamed Istanbul. The sultan focused on enlarging the army and developing more concentrated organizations and specific administrations. The first people in the Ottoman bureaucracy were janissaries who were selected to receive training for military roles. *Timars* were districts that under the auspices of government officials were saddled to collect taxes for the sultan and manage legal affairs. The districts were hierarchical under supervised authority. Non-Muslims were required to pay higher taxes. The millet system was used to formalize Muslim interactions with the Christian and Jewish communities, with the leader of each religion acting as a liaison between the people and the sultan's administration. Religious practices were allowed openly, and both Jewish and Christian community leaders could hold a government office, bearing in mind, ottomans opened their doors and received Jews, Moriscos, Muslims, and Conversos that were expelled from Spain at that time. the ottomans. One would think the Ottomans would relent in their efforts, but they

amplified toward the south of the Mediterranean, first battling with the Venetians and the Genoese, thereafter, defeating the Safavids to take over Syria and Iraq. This pattern continued and eventually, in 1517, Sultan Salim raided the Mamluks and annexed the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula) entirely. The caliph of Cairo was transferred to Istanbul to strengthen the Ottoman religious authority. In addition, in the 1520s, Suleyman, Selim's heir, captured Bosnia, Croatia, Romania, Ukraine, and Hungary. Turkish naval forces expelled the Spanish from their bases in North Africa and prepared to invade Italy but were impeded by the Battle of Lepanto and the need to take on the Safavid Empire in the east. In all, the Ottoman empire exerted control of half of the eastern Mediterranean.

2.3.6 Italy

Italy during the early modern era, was an illustration of states that opposed the emphasizing growth of centralized government. Cities in the central and northern regions had more political, economic, and cultural relevance than cities governed by noble houses. In Italy, nobles migrated to the cities and married into urban merchant households, creating a strong social and political group, and implementing favorable laws, institutions, and taxing laws. Powerful individuals (*signori*) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries dominated several cities and overturned their already existing governance structure. Gian Galeazzo Visconti is an example who ruled in Milan from 1378- 1402 obtained approval from the pope or emperor and established a hereditary monarchy after seizing power. Cities in Italy looked to increase their territory, forming city-states, which sparked warfare and allowed signori to rule. To keep a balance of power, the bigger Italian city-states of Milan, Florence, and Venice attempted to acquire their lesser neighbors, they battled to keep a balance of power by establishing and dissolving alliances to stop one city from acquiring excessive power. Italy, at the end of the fifteenth century, was war-torn because of the invasions and wars that followed. The consequence of the war brought damage to the economy and physical structure of Italy more so the decision to ally with other powers exacerbated enmity, hence Italy remained divided till 1870. Permanent representatives were sent to get information and win over the people's support,

rather than depending on merchants since alliances with other states were uncertain. These representatives founded permanent embassies, and the formation of alliances became clear since they now know who a friend and a foe were. Although their work was frequently perceived as preserving peace, and ambassadors served the goals of a specific government, war was still inevitable. In conclusion, city-states are frequently seen as impeding Italy's growth, but they can also be viewed as models for the future.³⁸

2.4 Conclusions

The Mediterranean which is strategically located and connected to Africa, Asia, and Europe in the early modern age was a period of unprecedented warfare by various states to assert power and dominance. Politics and warfare were key components that induced migration in the Mediterranean which created identity formation, diaspora communities, new social structures, and interaction on a global scale. France, Spain, and Britain capitalized on tax systems and bureaucracies to strengthen large armies, rather than relying on nobles to outsource them. Also, Marriage, a strategy adopted by kings in the early modern era to express and wield authority and influence, is one aspect that still stands out in the affairs of these nations. It was hereditary and inherited from generations.

³⁸ Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E (2013), *Early Modern Europe, 1450–1789*. 2nd ed. Cambridge History of Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 88-121.

CHAPTER THREE

MIGRATION AND SLAVERY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

3.0 Introduction

Slavery refers to “situations of exploitation that a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence, coercion, deception, and/or abuse of power”.³⁹ In this chapter, I will be discussing slavery from different perspectives, especially in the early modern age, which explains the various forms in which slavery exists, and the model of slavery that expatiates on the eligibility of who a slave is. Furthermore, since my dissertation is narrowed down to the Mediterranean, I will be highlighting the slave trade that took place in the ottoman empire especially because during the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire controlled most of the eastern Mediterranean, and gender played an important role in the system. I further will be explaining slavery in the Mediterranean on a more general scale highlighting how religion played a role in slavery and how Africans were the major sources of slaves. The conversion of slaves also was important although it did not fully guarantee their freedom, but some were forcible while others were voluntary. Slaves to a great degree rebelled against their masters and tried to resist either by absconding or revolting. Lastly, I will be discussing the abolition of slavery, especially from the nineteenth century focusing on Britain, the pioneers of abolitionism in India and Africa, other European powers also sought to abolish slavery by ratifying the slavery abolition convention culminated by the League of Nations.

3.1 Slavery

Slavery is one form of demeaning human exploitation that has existed for donkey years and can be traced back to 11,000 years ago during the Neolithic Revolution. Social theorist, Karl Max

³⁹ “International Day for the Abolition of Slavery.” *United Nations*, www.un.org/en/observances/slavery-abolition. Accessed 03 June 2023.

views it from the perspective of the bourgeois (ruling class) wishing to exploit the rest of society by enforcing certain slavish constraints and are halted only if the potential slave resists. This argument has been refuted by historians because chattel slavery is not consistent with industrialization since the system needs people who retort to the motive. However, the contention here is that slavery prevails when conditions hinder the capacity of people to withstand enslavement and diminishes with the inception of industrialization. Jack Goody on the other hand does not consider classes but states in general that have outsourced slaves from elsewhere rather than from and within their states. He further asserts any state that is profoundly bigger than another would use the smaller and feeble state as a source of slaves. The Nieboer-Domar postulation emphasizes the environment, and land labor because of the abundance of land. Slavery will surface in such an environment because there cannot be free land, free workers ready to work for a salary, and an unemployed land-owning class at the same time.⁴⁰ In as much as free labor did not exist until the nineteenth century which was more like a master-servant agreement, which was enacted in civil law, free labor has always been seen as the direct opposite of slavery. Convict labor was very apparent during the early modern era, it was a case whereby culpable people were required to labor. On the contrary, in some non-western environments, before this era, culprits were punished and banished. In classical times, most especially in the roman empire, the Americas, and Africa, slavery had always been justified by capture during the war. Debt thralldom was also a form of slavery set up on a layout to borrow monies and persisted until the debt was paid by the family of the borrower. Lenders would usually set high-interest rates, so the borrowers would not be able to pay and remain bound for life. This form of slavery was mostly linked to the post-chattel-slavery era which was common in India as well as other Latin America, Africa, and China. Slavery can also be traced to ancient Greece on the premise of agricultural production which was revived because of the fall of the Roman empire, hence it gave rise to peasant agencies. Slavery during the fifteenth century went through a rebirth, especially in Eastern Europe on an even smaller scale which was quite different from that of the West. In the West, peasants were obliged to pay their lords to be able to fully migrate. Russians who dominated the east took lands from Turkic people which posed a security threat to them and in turn, became victims of a slave raid and many of them eventually died. The master-slave

⁴⁰ Orlando Patterson (1997), "The Structural Origins of Slavery: A Critique of the Nieboer Domar Hypothesis from a Comparative Perspective," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 292 pp. 12-34

relationship developed and became contract based that could be renewed yearly and was first referred to as indentured servitude and then contract labor. Restrictions were imposed in both scenarios in the contract of workers, especially with movement.

Finding the right definition of slavery appears very hazy, however, classifying them may be helpful. Prevalent and transglobal viewpoint views slavery as a system of enhancing and maintaining the viability of a group as a social entity rooted in some notion of religious beliefs. This form of slavery is more open and allows for entry then gradually marginalizes. It mostly correlates with big state structures, such as many Islamic polities, or with smaller communities on either side of the transition to fixed agriculture.

Another form of slavery was a system actively arranged by the state to accomplish collective objectives perhaps the upkeep of public works, such as irrigation systems, defenses, or the clearance of accumulations of salt to allow cultivation or the provision of troops for attacking or protective purposes.

In addition, is a system where private people benefit from a structure that extracts high amounts of output from labor. The state was not actively and directly involved during the early modern age; it was saddled with the responsibility of proffering legal structures for the implementation of slaveowners' legal rights. Slavery was known to increase the population and preserve the identities of societies mostly in sub-Saharan Islamic states, and the indigenous Americas, but has quickly become part and parcel of other parts of the pre-modern world. The structure was based on kinship and not class, hence slavery was a typical element of kinship structure. In the two latter kinds of slave systems outlined, a slave typically had no legal rights and carried on his or her status to any offspring. Meanwhile, in kinship-based societies, slaves or their offspring get specific rights by acting upright which is first shown by their acceptance of kinship behavior. Differentiating a slave from a non-slave is quite a delicate task, however, in kinship-based societies, individuals without rights are the minority of the population. In all these systems highlighted, when the term slavery is mentioned and used by many, the apparent thing that comes to mind is the focus on cruel and exploitative work conditions that have existed from the early modern era to this present day. Slavery is regarded as the final degradation for any human being and is regarded as an especially hard and tragic fate. In many cultures, slavery was regarded as a fate worse than death, but individuals who sold themselves into it did so only as a

last option, implying that avoiding it was crucial for them and the stigma is ubiquitous in most non-western societies.⁴¹

3.2 Model of Slavery

To confront the eligibility of slavery i.e., who is a slave and non-slave based on a land-labor fraction, power asymmetry between societies, or even the desire for oppression. Moreso, general elucidation has concentrated on the circumstances that might have led to the intensification of slavery as well as the criteria for its abolishment. However, before the fifteenth century, the qualification of whom a slave was had nothing to do with physical attributes or racial formation but cranial deformation which was synonymous among the people from the northwest Pacific coast comes the nearest but was never an unequivocal criterion for slavery.⁴²

For modelers of slavery, it sufficed to know that slavery was linked to severe depravity, and social, psychological, and environmental variables that molded how widespread slavery became and what form it took. Addressing the eligibility will be untenable without taking into consideration how any group liable for slavery viewed and described itself in comparison to others. In more recent times, it is more of a question of identity. However, Societies have a history of reserving slavery for those they identify as not belonging, but this has not always meant that all foreigners were subjugated, or that all slaves were aliens. Furthermore, in many societies, like Rome and China, the abandonment of children by their parents was a means of generating slaves, indicating that some form of adaptation was required for a sense of status. Citizens in early Rome could be diminished to slaves just like how in Africa, specifically twins from the southeast geopolitical zone of Nigeria (Igbo community) were sold into the Atlantic slave trade. Nevertheless, many slaves in history came from the outside group culpable for their slavery. Gender and age came into play as well, besides from social and religious groupings, women and children were chosen over male adults who were prone to death. Besides from the early days of Islam and transatlantic trade across the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean, women were the majority. The major aim of some societies was to establish a new social identity

⁴¹ Eltis, David, and Stanley L. Engerman (2011), "Dependence, Servility, and Coerced Labor in Time and Space." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol 3.: Cambridge University Press, pp 1-22.

⁴² Leland Donald (1997), *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America*. Berkeley, CA, pp. 94-5.

for people, especially children because as they grow, they're being modeled to fit the needs of society. Europe and the United States have sets of values which is regarded as Western for welcoming new voluntary migrants and are expected to adhere to those values. The main distinction between this and conventional enslavement is that the choice to migrate today is voluntary. Social morbidity no longer precedes entry into the new society. Over the years, slavery has been connected to race, especially in the Americas, the reason being that most slaves were of African descent and had no choice but to move, unlike the Europeans who had the free will to migrate. However, the eligibility for slavery in the Atlantic and Islamic world was defined based on who should be included or not. The Muslims came up with an interdiction against enslaving other Muslims and the Spanish on the other hand contemplated enslaving indigenous Americans but the most remarkable aspect of the establishment of African slavery in the Americas was a set of underlying beliefs concerning who could be enslaved. In the European context, there was no coercion on who should be a slave, but rather an agglomeration of rivalry, wars, conquest, and oppression of minority religious groups. Inequality in most European societies already nurtured slavery as well as the repercussions of crime and rebellion. Nonetheless, slavery prevailed in early Roman times, especially after the fall of Rome. The north, east, and west of Europe were also points of the slave trade as slaves were sent down to the south and the Mediterranean. Europeans amplified into new territories and enslaved the people (Africans, Indians, and Asians) they found mostly domestically. Both Islam and Europe started by excluding their members from enslavement, but by the end of the era, both societies were enabling the slavery of only one group of "others".

3.3 Slavery in the Ottoman Empire in The Early Modern Era.

The Ottoman Empire, due to its dominance and hegemonic status especially from the fifteenth century was a very consequential Islamic authority. In as much as most of the sultan's subjects were not of the same religion nor spoke the same language, they were all controlled under the Turkish administration. However, slavery was the only occurrence that penetrated across all these societal barriers, because, despite the huge differences in living, enslaved people came from all areas of life ranging from Muslim to non-Muslim, male and female, affluent and poor from central Africa, and the Caucasus. The connection they shared came because of the common

legal status of bondage with all the societal hindrances in each situation.⁴³ Most of the slaves were prisoners of war and became marginalized by slavery through capture and trade. As the military conquest came to a halt, most of the prisoners of war were readily available and used to meet the demands of free labor which later translated into a human trafficking network. Statistics account for about 16,000 to 18,000 men and women that were conveyed from Africa to the Ottoman Empire per year in the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ Many of these people roughly about 1.3 million of them were from across Swahili coasts, the ottoman middle east, India, and North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya) and were brought to the Ottoman territories due to involuntary or forced migration. However, internal wars between Muslim and non-Muslim African countries account for the huge number of enslaved men and women. Also, the continent's changing economic circumstances had an impact on the reduction of people to servitude because of debt or the failure of dependent organizations to make payments placed on them in cash or kind. Through all of these, the Ottoman's demand for bound labor mostly in domestic sectors remained constant. The movement of people either in or out as singles or in groups has been a definitive feature of history. Their culture, religion, and language were never left out. The interaction between these Africans with the already diversified population in the Ottoman lands left a blueprint of a medley of cultures across the Ottoman basin. As already discussed in the previous chapter, forced migration was one prominent migration in time past and an unlawful act. Many of the people who were forcefully transported to the ottoman empire as sexually active concubines in urban and rural households were very young females. As they were young and without any family support, from the viewpoint of identity creation, it meant the transformation of origin, home, and host culture as well as rethinking ideas of chaos, conflict, decision, and freedom concerning enslaved people. In the ottoman empire, there was a system of classes between slaves: elite (military-administrative slaves/ Kull harem slaves) and non-elite (unfree laborers) slaves. Concerns have been raised as to the classifications of those who fall into the latter and former categories. On the one hand, elite slaves' perks were only transitory as they were not permitted to leave their riches or position to their children, and their property returned

⁴³ Ehud R. Toledano: *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT, 2007); and *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle, 1998).

⁴⁴ Ralph A. Austen (1988), *The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts): A Tentative Census*, *Slavery & Abolition*, 9:3, 21-44, DOI: 10.1080/01440398808574960

to the state upon their demise. Non-elite slaves were generally referred to as “the sultan’s servants” and the sultan had power over his servants' religious and cultural identities, surroundings, and right to life, which he could take away if he thought they breached his credence. However, elite slavery was paradoxical as all slaves in the Ottoman system were the same, just differences in degree among them. In the ottoman empire, the classification of bound slaves was very pivotal hence it was based on four yardsticks: duty performed by slaves, level of slaveholders, location of where they lived, and lastly type of natural surroundings. Gender and ethnicity were quite relevant too because women were sexually objectified and exploited while men were prone to severe hostile treatment. Circassian and Georgian slaves were superior to African slaves. The diminishing slave population of the ottoman empire and the lack of capability to replenish slaves were important factors that kept the demand for slaves balanced and must be attributed to sociocultural customs in alleviating Ottoman slavery. For instance, according to Islamic law, a pregnant concubine could not be sold as it was illegal, and her child was free. By and large, such women and their kids are disentangled from the slaved population, shrinking the size. Marriages between freed people were an act of benevolence. The rate of slavery and the slave trade was reduced significantly by the mid-nineteenth century, thanks to the British involvement on the one hand, and the Ottoman government’s actions mainly against Georgians and Circassians. In the Ottoman system, slavery was not the major bone of contention like in other societies during the early modern age. It was more of societal impairments that were practiced in everyday life, supported by law, especially against women and non-Muslims. Individuals in poverty had it worse than slavery, marriage made men control women. Peasants were left in abject poverty as they could not fend for themselves, hence resulting in nomadic begging in the nearest deserts for food. The argument here is that slaves were subject to better care than free individuals materialistically. To properly grasp the idea of slavery, it was better seen as an involuntary reciprocal dependence that involved unequal partners, with some slaves having minimal impact on their lives and others have a lot. However, a slave’s capacity to withstand the hardship that came with labor was what guaranteed some requirements. The Tanzimat reform of the nineteenth century paved the way for the enslaved to maneuver the system to suit their narrative and have freedom. Moreso, the slaves knew that there were documents that contained official statements like in the telegram sent to the grand vezir in 1872 by the governor of Trabzon regarding their freedom. The Ottomans assert that their slavery was a

mild one, whereas there is a lacuna between what is claimed and the reality of things as evidence has proven otherwise, especially with how these slaves were treated. Consent on the other hand is another call for concern because many of these African slaves were forcefully transported into the Ottoman lands against their wishes which even further questions the so-called “mild slavery, good treatment, and high culture”.⁴⁵ A household attachment was also something common among the slaves as they belonged to one social unit or the other. The classification of urban slaves was based on religion, trade, and ethnicity. The rural slaves (pastoralists) too were distinguished by some factors that were like the urban slaves. Gender had a pivotal role in these groupings. The connection and interaction shared among these groups further reinforced and shaped their social identity. As time went by, specifically in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the household became more like an attachment that transformed the ottoman empire, thus producing local elites that served in bureaucracy and the military. Freedom from slavery by detachment from any social group led to marginalization and vulnerability to danger. In a bid to seek freedom, slaves would usually abscond and eventually get captured, and be subject to physical abuse. The torture was a basis on which the court could set them free. Enslavement in the ottoman empire led to resistance and the development of the ill character of the slaves. Slaves sometimes would rebel against the government in groups and the government officials would come to a consensus with them and include them in the imperial system.

3.4 Mediterranean Slavery

Among various forms of slavery, Mediterranean societies did not follow suit with a single model/form, but it was largely a unified system induced by mobility and heightened by the interconnectedness of the sea's neighboring regions. The definition of slavery in the Mediterranean changed and evolved in different periods, which is a part and parcel of the historical process of the region. The exceptionality of slavery in the Mediterranean lies in the ability to adapt to economic, cultural, and societal shifts in the authenticity of the region, which gives them a dynamic character. Since slavery took various forms, it will be quite imperative to examine how these different forms of slavery surfaced, and under what circumstances. Yet again,

⁴⁵ Ehud R. Toledano (2011), Chapter 2: Enslavement in the ottoman empire in the early modern period. Cambridge world history of slavery volume 3, p 34.

it must be kept in mind that the circumstances were not limited to the Mediterranean environment solely but were also influenced by links to non-Mediterranean cultures. A broad overview of the origins of Mediterranean slaves will shed light on this. From all sources of slaves, two types of people become slaves in their society: slaves by birth and freeborn people who are forced into servitude through legal or unlawful means. Enslavement of captives and prisoners of war, on the other hand, is dependent on both military and commercial factors that link the society in question to other societies. Factors ranging from human trafficking whether through war, piracy, kidnapping, debt slavery, child exploitation, or self-selling, have resulted in a large influx of people in the Mediterranean against their will, as already stated in the previous chapter on involuntary migrations. However, slavery was a fundamental component of various social systems in Mediterranean societies. It served purposes other than the economic aspects, hence it must be described as a component that influenced social, political, and cultural elements of Mediterranean life.⁴⁶ Millions of Christians and Muslims were taken imprisoned and enslaved in the Mediterranean during the early modern era.⁴⁷ Christians enslaved in Morocco and the Ottoman Maghrib were over one million between 1530 and 1780 just as Muslim slaves in Christian Europe. Statistics show that between 300,000 and 400,000 Moroccans and North African Ottoman captives were transported through Portugal and Spain. More were enslaved in Italy and Malta as well. Christian and Muslim slaves were propelled forcefully into the Mediterranean slave system. Military raids and maritime offensives by corsairs stripped these slaves of their freedom, hence the term “prisoners of war”. Sub-Saharan African slaves in the Mediterranean on the other hand were instead bought by Algerians, Spaniards, or Moroccans. By way of explanation, these African slaves were already enslaved before they arrived in the Mediterranean Sea.⁴⁸ The act of capturing captives had religious, economic, and political importance. Privateering was a political custom that enabled states to enhance their naval force with no expenses. Corsairs were authorized by states that assaulted those who were against their

⁴⁶ Rotman, Y. (2014). Forms of Slavery. In *A Companion to Mediterranean History* (eds P. Horden and S. Kinoshita) pp. 263-265.

⁴⁷ Ralph A. Austen (1992), “The Mediterranean Islamic Slave Trade out of Africa: A Tentative Census,” *Slavery and Abolition* 13 pp. 214-48, and Ralph A. Austen (1979), “The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census,” in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, New York: Academic Press, pp. 23-76.

⁴⁸ Martín Casares, Aurelia (2002), "Slavery and social relations of sex: methodological contribution", *Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire*, pp. 83-99.

polity and disseminated letters of reprisal allowing for their conduct. From a religious aspect, in Tunis, considering a large number of European converts to Islam among the corsairs' ranks, corsairs were considered to be engaged in jihad, and those who perished during raids were lauded as martyrs.⁴⁹ Christian corsairs depicted themselves as holy warriors in a crusade, and Saint James, the patron saint of Spain, was thought to assist the attacks led by Spanish troops of Spain's North African garrison against Muslims. The raids persisted far and wide for a while and eventually led to the enslavement of Maghribs continuously. Oran, the Maghrib's largest and most significant Spanish garrison, was a vital route for Muslim slaves to Spain. The soldiers who often fought there faced military confrontations from Janissaries and in turn became captives that had to run for their lives, although the living condition in the garrison was porous due to food scarcity.⁵⁰ Most of the slaves in the Iberian Peninsula were women and children and were captured on land, however, in maritime raids, more men were captured. It is not feasible to determine the gender ratio of enslaved Christians in the maghrib, the reason being that more men were ransomed, but cannot conclude that men made up the majority of those captured. Talking about the enslavement of Christians and Muslims who lost their freedom to the corsairs belonged to the captain and individuals that contributed to the raid.⁵¹ The corsairs were accountable to the governors of Algiers, Tunis, Livorno, Malta, and Spanish coastal cities since they had a share of about 5-10 percent. By manner of comparison, the Christian captives in the Ottoman Janissaries belonged solely to the governor. The captives were sold at an open auction and their buyers had to scrutinize their bodies and teeth. This action was very traumatizing according to autobiographies written by captives.⁵² The markets had two distinctive features; the first was a social one in which both the rich and poor were deprived of their class markers, putting their social identity in jeopardy. Secondly, Slave market commercialization obliterated racial differentiation. Christians looked for a way to conceal their distinctive marks to subsidize their ransom. Slavery converted a human being into a commodity, masquerading the social and ethnic order of the captive's environment before bondage. One thing to note is that Individuals were

⁴⁹ Daniel Panzac, (2005), *Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800–1820*. Leiden: Brill. pp 21-25.

⁵⁰ Garrison living conditions: Fernand Braudel, "The Spaniards and North Africa," *African Review* 69 (1928): 184–233, 351–428.

⁵¹ Antonio de Sosa (2011), *Topography of Algiers in An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam: Antonio de Sosa's Topography of Algiers (1612)*, ed. María Antonia Garcés (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. p. 157.

⁵² *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam: Antonio de Sosa's Topography of Algiers (1612)*, by A. de Sosa, M. A. Garcés, & D. de A. Wilson. P. 144, 158.

converted into objects at the point of sale, but they were quickly incorporated into a home or another type of host group, where they were partly resocialized and rehumanized and rarely totally detached from their families and communities until the next time they changed hands.⁵³ These slaves were constantly engaged in both formal and informal economic activities, some focused on production, while some as merchants. This helped them earn a living and aided the dissipation of information.

3.5 Conversion of Slaves

The conversion of both Christian and Muslim slaves was an activity that was forcefully conducted. For example, slavery in Rome was directly tied to religion and conversions. Conversions demonstrate how the dominant fostered integration on the one hand while coercing slaves on the other: the goal may be to emphasize difference or to compel a religious conversion, even if it was merely superficial and concealed a continued commitment to the original faith.⁵⁴ Here again, the geography of the Mediterranean is reflected upon as so many ethnicities were dispersed among the converted slaves. For example, in Morocco, most of these converts were rebels from Portugal, in Algiers and Tunis, it had a hybrid of Iberian, French, and Italian. Janissaries from the north African Ottoman settlements who were born into Christian households mostly in the Balkans and Anatolia were compelled to convert to Islam as children. Moroccans and Algerians made up the bulk of Muslim slaves who converted to Christianity in Iberia and Tunisians and slaves from the eastern Mediterranean were more likely to convert in Italy.⁵⁵ As I clearly stated earlier, these slaves were forced to either convert to Islam or get baptized, which had a ripple effect on the slave's status and values. However, some converted to Islam out of their desire which may appear genuine. Slaves by getting baptized and catechized or even becoming Turk may better their living conditions, progress manumission, assimilate socially, acquire jobs, or achieve more freedom of movement. These forceful conversions were supported

⁵³ Igor Kopytoff (1986), "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64-94.

⁵⁴ Giulia Bonazza (2019): *Abolitionism and the Persistence of Slavery in Italian States, 1750–1850*, p.22.

⁵⁵ Tobias P. Graf (2017), *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575–1610* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

by the European Consuls in Maghrib, they saw it as instrumental for the slave's benefits. However, the peace treaties signed by France, the Dutch Republic, the Ottoman Empire, and its North African regimes formed one backdrop that encouraged forcible conversion. The treaty contained a clause that compelled Tunisians and Algerians to set free all French and Dutch captives except if they had converted to Islam.⁵⁶ It is worth noting that conversion did not necessarily guarantee manumission but provided grounds for social inclusion. In Spain, conversion did not affect the labor circumstances of most slaves. Nonetheless, converts on the one hand built new relationships with their godparents and religious order, as well as with their previous owners. On the other hand, converts to Islam enjoyed thriving occupations in the navy or administration, whereas slaves excelled professionally after becoming Christians. Slave marriages took place, and, on a few occasions, Muslim slave owners married their daughters to converted slaves. In all, conversion has had far-reaching social implications as it led to the establishment of new social bonds, but it did not always lead to social disintegration. While a significant number of Muslim rebels never returned to Christendom, and instead became members of the Muslim Maghrib. Conversion can enhance living circumstances, abolish slavery, and even increase mobility, but only within the confines of an imperially defined realm.

3.6 Resistance and Rebellion Among Slaves

Slavery is one of the most extreme and inhumane oppressions. It is no doubt that slaves fought against slavery as individuals and in groups, both passively and with violence, and coordinated collective acts of resistance. They were also part of wider movements with other disadvantaged communities. These slaves aspired to live, not just survive, by regaining themselves from the notion and practice of social death, whether imperceptibly or forcefully. Slaves of various categories frequently distinguished themselves based on their origin, status, jobs, gender, color, and place of residence. They battled amongst themselves, married, nurtured children, created families and communities, manufactured commodities, and services, obtained skills, established mutual aid organizations, convened for worship, participated in cultural activities, committed

⁵⁶ Guillaume Calafat (2011), "Ottoman North Africa and *Ius Publicum Europaeum*: The Case of the Treaties of Peace and Trade (1600–1750)," in *War, Trade, and Neutrality: Europe and the Mediterranean in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*, ed. Antonella Alimento Milano: Franco Angeli, pp.171-87.

acts of retribution, and rose in mass, violent revolt.⁵⁷ In the ottoman empire, slavery operated under Sharia law which was seen to be one of the major excerpts of the administration.⁵⁸ Like I already highlighted in the ottoman empire, most slaves tried to resist by absconding the harsh realities they faced, and even eventually apprehended and returned to their masters. However, ill-treatment such as physical violence was a yardstick for manumission according to the court. The slaves who absconded and got apprehended indicted their holders for ill-treatment in hopes of persuading the court to release them, on the other hand, these slaveholders refuted such claims by always indicting the slaves of theft.⁵⁹ Britain's attempt to curb slavery allowed most of the runaway slaves into their vessels, moreover, these slaves relied heavily on external help from state authorities. As time progressed especially during the Tanzimat Era, technological advances like improved communications systems known as the telegraph, and advanced transport systems like trains and steamships, efficient border and license checks helped the Ottoman Empire to control and recapture the absconded slaves. Besides absconding, another type of resistance was violating the law. Bear in mind, Sharia law was what was governing slavery, nonetheless, Ottoman criminal law progressively diverged from Islamic ideas and repercussions.⁶⁰ This new law developed an Ottoman-based reformatory system incited by the European model and changed things as the enslaved were to face the same punishments as the sultan's free subjects. The state got involved and protected the right to freedom of slaves against any form of ill-treatment and manipulation. The state did not live up to its expectation and the enslaved turned to measures against the sultan's administration, hence breaking the law. Aside from all of these, slavery-related factors frequently fueled their criminal behavior. Most of the slaves perpetrated homicide, robbery, and pyromania. Both individuals and groups took collective actions to resist any inhumane act and to express their grievances.

In the fight against enslavement, the creolization process was just as vital as open resistance. It is no doubt that the eastern Mediterranean is one of the most exciting and productive research areas for cultural diversity, fusion, intricacy, struggle, and rapprochement. Forced migration created

⁵⁷ Paquette, Robert L (2017). "Slave Resistance." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Ed. David Eltis et al., 4 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 272-295.

⁵⁸ R. Brunschvig (1960), "Abd," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. I Leiden, 24 ff.

⁵⁹ Y. Hankan Erdem (1996), *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise*, London, pp. 160-73.

⁶⁰ Uriel Heyd (1973), *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, V. L. Menage (ed.) Oxford, 1973; Ehud R. Toledano (1980), "The Legislative Process in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Tanzimat Period: A Footnote," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 11, pp. 99-108.

‘cultural diasporas’ within the Ottoman Empire which were a hybrid/creolized culture.⁶¹ The practice of integrating African and Circassian origin cultures with local cultural components was known as Ottoman cultural creolization.⁶² Creolization was also an individual and social reaction of victims to their passage and assimilation into the Ottoman culture. Enslavement forced creolized cultural reformulations rather than different subcultures under the Ottoman Empire.⁶³ This creolization was a process that began in the home countries of the enslaved, while in transit and on arrival at the destination. It provided psychological recuperation for the enslaved who had been far from family and familiar community shoved in an alien society and marginalized to the lowest social bar.

3.7 Slavery Abolition

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain initiated a policy to prohibit slave trade and slavery in the Old World. Other European powers gave their acquiescence to the eradication of any slaving activities from or to their shores. Abolitionism was seen as a British impetus, as the government was actively keen on a bilateral treaty network to halt the slave trade on the Atlantic. Britain established an institution called the Society for Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of British Slavery in 1823 as an apparatus to curb slavery and after some years, a policy was formed for prompt slave emancipation. This gave rise to the independence of women as organizational fractions of British antislavery movements as it was only the male gender that could sign such abolition petitions. Signing petitions became widespread and tilted towards being a thing of a denomination. Considering the major role of religious mobilization in the process of Anglo-American abolitionism, Protestant Christianity has frequently been ascribed a special role in abolishing slavery.⁶⁴ With the end of slave apprenticeship came the establishment of another society (British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society) that was formed by some group of British abolitionists to aid in the comprehensive abolition of slavery. It gained momentum and it became

⁶¹ Paul E. Lovejoy (2004), “Introduction,” in idem (ed.), *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, Princeton, NJ, p. 8.

⁶² Paul E. Lovejoy (2000), “Identifying Enslaved Africans in the African Diaspora,” in idem (ed.), *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery* London, pp. 13-19.

⁶³ “The Religious Practices of Black Slaves in the Mediterranean Islamic World,” in Lovejoy (ed.), *Slavery on the Frontiers*, pp. 149-172

⁶⁴ Drescher, Seymour (2009). “British Emancipation.” Chapter. In *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 245-266.

the most reliable human rights organization and provided information about slavery and antislavery across the world.⁶⁵ The Convention on World Antislavery held in June 1840 was concluded on the grounds of presenting the eminence of free labor over slave labor in the British West Indies for the forthcoming dominance of free-grown cotton from India over slave-grown cotton from the South of the United States and of British Caribbean sugar over Cuban and Brazilian produce. Slavery had been ongoing in India, but it was nothing compared to that of African societies. Indian slavery was interwoven in intricate systems of religion and responsibility that before the British invasion were seen as integral components of Indian society and culture by Indian elites. Slaveholders tried to justify their acts by tying them with slavery in the East. However, abolitionists refuted this justification by concentrating on the discrepancies in the system such as gender imbalance, labor, and other aspects like the capitalist mentality that nourished Western slavery. Act V, enacted 10 years after the Slave Emancipation Act of 1833, was the first British statute in India prohibiting slavery. It declared that claims based on slave status would no longer be recognized or enforced in the courts.⁶⁶ In 1860, the Indian Penal Code broadened Act V to make it a crime to hold, kidnap, or transport captives for sale. Slavery was deeply rooted in Africa, it persisted past the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. Slavery expanded in sub-Saharan Africa because of European imperialism. Slave labor was used for palm oil plantations in the 1830s which was for the good of the economy. Agriculture expanded slavery in African countries like Zanzibar where cloves plantations flourished and other tropical produce.⁶⁷ Europeans' ideology that entailed the abolition of slavery was that it was divinely ordained. However, Muslims also came up with some theories in line with the Qur'an and the words of Mohammed that urged at least an improvement of the plight of slaves within Islam and the eventual extinction of the institution with the victory of faith. Muslims were to blame for the persistence of slavery in Muslim lands, not the Qur'an.⁶⁸ For the most part in Muslim lands, there were no specific calls to action to halt slavery, but rather a plethora of interpreted texts

⁶⁵ Temperley, Howard (1972), *British Antislavery, 1833-1870*. Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, p. 62-84

⁶⁶ Temperley, *British Antislavery*, 107; idem "The Delegalization of Slavery in British India" in *After Slavery*, pp. 169-187; Amiya Kumar Bagchi (2010), *Colonialism and Indian economy* Oxford University Press New Delhi; New York, pp. 121-123.

⁶⁷ Frederick Cooper (1997), *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa*, Portsmouth: Heinemann.

⁶⁸ William Gervase Clarence-Smith (2006), "Islam and the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery in the Indian Ocean," in Campbell, ed, *Abolition*, 137-149, and idem, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), ch. 10, "Rationalism."

based on their faith.⁶⁹ In Clarence-Smith's study on Islam and abolition, he cites an informal antislavery organization that formed in the mid-1920s, after European diplomatic pressure on the slave trade. He further asserts, 'it remains unclear when Muslim secular elites turned against bondage'.⁷⁰ It appears that Muslim civil society was not easily organized against slavery as a lawful institution neither was the Islamic world unusual in this regard. The total abolition of the Atlantic slave trade and the emancipation of colonial slaves necessitated some financial and economic compromises. Taking Britain into consideration, it cost them about 1.8 percent of their national income and the other European powers saw this as very burdensome and an unthinkable scenario.

Economic development and the eradication of the transatlantic slave trade provided the push for the abolition of slavery in Africa, not bureaucrats. Before the French entered the interior of Africa, French colonial authorities were averse to free or freed labor. Britain's expansion to the gold coast in the 1870s was beyond any imperial gain, but it shut down the networks that traffic seaborne slaves, particularly in the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans. By 1870, Britain had established treaties with Muslim governments that prohibited them from taking part in the transatlantic slave trade. These negotiations, however, did not sit well with the sultan of Muscat because he thought his subjects were forced to do what was against their wish and informed them to pray that the Westerners would come to their senses.⁷¹ The sultan acceded and banned the exports of slaves and shut down the slave public markets. It is important to note that, in Africa, some of the slaveholders in Africa petitioned against Britain's acts because abolition would mean them losing a lot. Emancipation meant no compensation or a place of refuge where slaves could run, unlike the West Indian model that was delegalized due to parliamentary pressure. Slavery became illegal because of the Gold Coast ordinance in 1874 with non-interference in the affairs of master-slave conduct. The Berlin conference of 1884 reinforced the consolidation of power in Africa as it determined boundaries of domination and not emancipation, thus the establishment of German empires overseas, French military expansion in Africa, and Belgian effort to have control over Congo. All of these meant one thing, Britain no longer had full

⁶⁹ Haque, M. M. (2007). *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery: By William Gervase Clarence-Smith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 293 pages.). *American Journal of Islam and Society*, 24(2), pp. 119-121.

⁷⁰ Clarence-Smith, *Islam*, 128.

⁷¹ Clarence-Smith, *Islam*, 123.

hegemonic dominance in Africa but remained a guardian of African Welfare.⁷² Furthermore, the 1889-1890 Brussels conference, eradicated the slave trade as imperialist responsibility, meaning each imperial power had to stand against slavery on their own. The slave trade was thereafter outlawed, and any legal rights arising from assertions of ownership of human beings were no longer recognized.

The League of Nations in the nineteenth century was ready to codify a general understanding to ensure the extinction of “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised”.⁷³ The clause did not contain a statement endorsing human rights or denouncing slavery. Only the "just treatment" of indigenous under the colonial authority and "fair and humane conditions for the labor of men, women, and children" were obligated of members. However, in 1925 the League of Nations was set to draft an agreement on the abolishment of slavery, but it would not include forced labor due to European imperialist noncompliance with the clause. The United States consented but had reservations about it because forced labor was still ongoing in its southern terrain. Nonetheless, after dialogues, a conclusion was attained to change the institution depending on the circumstances as the Indian Model of delegalization got to its peak within the League of Nations. The decline in slave raids and marine traffic in a single generation countered the general belief that total abolition was not attainable out of concern for harming the indigenous. After Ethiopia abolished the slave trade in 1923, there was no longer any legal slave trade elsewhere in the globe.⁷⁴ Most of the signatories of the convention adhered to the clauses of the document. Antislavery became synonymous with civilization moreover, in the 1920s slavery was seen as a remnant of non-westernized regions of the world. The abolition could now be reconciled with Western moral and intellectual advancement.

⁷² Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez, and Decolonization: Collected Essays (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), pp. 75-126; esp. 78–79.

⁷³ League of Nations, Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade and Slavery, 25 September 1926, 60 LNTS 253, Registered No. 1414,

<<https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36fb.html>>[accessed 25 April 2023]

⁷⁴ Ralph Austen (1988), Slavery and Abolition, 9:3, pp. 21-44 and Slavery and Abolition, 13:1 (1992), 214-248.

3.8 Conclusion

To wrap up, slavery is closely linked with migration because most of these ‘migrants’ were coerced to move either based on their conditions, which I have mostly highlighted in the first chapter of my research, particularly for this chapter, Africans were captured and taken in captivity through the Atlantic slaving system which has its roots in the Mediterranean from the sixteenth century. However, some of the captives were already slaves before being sold and transported. Men, women, and children were transported and taken advantage of, hence being reduced to commodities, and engaging in different activities. Most of the living conditions were severe which led to resistance among slaves that further exacerbated unruly behaviors like thuggery and theft. Some converted on their own accord while others were forcefully converted. Did slavery get abolished? Well, Britain actively pursued abolitionist policies to put a halt to it which they succeeded but it came at a cost that most European powers were not willing to give up. The League of Nations drafted a convention on the abolition of slavery and most of the powers that signed and ratified it adhered to it. Slavery in the end became a thing associated with underdeveloped countries.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN EARLY MODERN MIGRATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the concept of Religion in the Early Modern Era and its interconnectedness with migration. Religion without a doubt was part and parcel of the world from antiquity, but specifically in the Mediterranean, three major religious groups namely: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism surfaced. Religion played a role in migration in the world and not just in the Mediterranean. People due to persecution left where they call home to alien lands in search of refuge and peace. The reformative ideas across different denominations of Christianity be it orthodoxy, Protestantism or Catholicism led to profound transformations in Europe's religious practices and beliefs. Furthermore, the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals were the major imperial states during the early modern age that replaced the post-Timurid Sultanes. Their major idea was to expand their empires by building mosques for future generations to come. Conversion too was an element of these empires, as it meant social and economic liberation in theory, but an illusion in practice. The Jewish community did not necessarily have an official head, it was more of a community that was based on solidarity and cooperation. In addition, the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula made some of them destitute in search of refuge. Conversion to Christianity in Europe was a criterion to grant their stay, however, in the Ottoman lands, these Jews were welcomed and integrated into the society. Jews thrived by engaging in long-distance Trade with Merchants.

4.1 The Concept of Religion in the Early Modern Age.

The migration of people such as missionaries, soldiers, and merchants both in the Old and New World brought about inter-cultural contacts. Most of these travelers, out of inquisitiveness, but often, they thought it'd be imperative for their causes in the Alien lands they found themselves in, hence they followed the customs and traditions of the new lands. These interactions between European Christians and New acquaintances prompted thoughts regarding their religions and in

due course resulted in profound changes in the idea of religion itself. Without a doubt, these great discoveries were attached to geography as most people discovered new lands for themselves, especially in the Americas, and got exposed to European Christianity along with languages, and cultures, but essentially their religious practices and beliefs. The cultures of the Old World were deeply rooted in traditions. Hence the new communities had to deal with religion as one of the most perplexing issues. These religious customs were not associated with any of the known forms of divinity worship among Early modern European Christians. Rather, the issue to be addressed was whether it was even possible to refer to a system of beliefs and practices that diverged so drastically from both Christian rites and beliefs and conventional forms of paganism as religion. A part of European observers likened such practices to political religion, with the sole aim of serving the state, and cannot be attributed to idolism. Hence, a new sensitivity, as well as an expansion of conventional Christian religious sensitivity, were made possible by learning about previously discovered religious views. This meant that people could ponder deeply on religious thoughts and metamorphose their understanding of religion. The transformation, in turn, necessitated the transition from a subjective to an objective perspective on religion. Although religion had always been there from antiquity and no such thing as the invention of religion per se. However, these religious ideas transformed into new categories from a universal standpoint, especially from the sixteenth century. The discovery of these different ideas, especially from a modern approach brought about a clash in ideas in Christianity between protestants and Catholics in the wake of the Renaissance. This clash did more harm than good because the bone of contention became the diminished persuasiveness of faith to reveal divine truth among both denominations. These divisions had adverse effects on Christianity and questioned its authenticity. Turks in comparison to Christian authorities in Europe were more accepting of the Christian and Jewish subjects. Nonetheless, the doubts about faith induced new reflections regarding religion.⁷⁵ Despite the diversity of faiths, even the most primitive forms of worship as the human sacrifices carried out by some American tribes, all religions expressed shared humanity. Originating with the Spanish missionaries in America, the concept of idolatry was one of the main obsessions of early modern religious scholars.⁷⁶ This concept posed as a sort

⁷⁵ Stroumsa, Guy (2015), "The scholarly discovery of religion in early modern times." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Vol 6, Part 2, pp. 313-333.

⁷⁶ Jonathan Sheehan (2006), "Thinking about Idols in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, pp. 561-9.

of reasonable way to describe the discovery of religion since researchers are now beginning to concentrate on religion's essence rather than just its variety of historical and cultural manifestations. The doubt I initially mentioned about religion gave room for the discovery of a wide variety of religious practices that enabled the growth of a singular conception of religion that was seen as a foundational element of any community. Religion became a component of societal identity, and the research on religions aroused intellectual pragmatism. Cantwell Smith notes that the significant changes that occurred in the idea of religion following the Reformation were associated with a set of beliefs and practices.⁷⁷

Most people believe that the secularization of early modern times has contributed to or mandated the commercialization of religion and its gradual exclusion from the public sphere. As time went on, religion increasingly became a personal matter, with no longer required consensus from the entire society. Religion has become a significant aspect of society because of secularization. The privatization of religion has given people the freedom to practice different kinds of religion or not which makes it imperative to study religion from an individual perspective as a social construct.

4.2 Forms of Religion in the Early Modern Age

One of the most significant aspects of life in early modern Europe was religion. Most people in Europe were Christians, but there were also Jews and Muslims. The Catholic Church was extremely powerful and influential in the 1500s.⁷⁸ In the following paragraphs and pages to come, I will explain the major forms of religion that emerged during the Early Modern Age starting with Christianity, Islam, and Judaism.

⁷⁷ Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1963), *The Meaning and End of Religion: A New Approach* New York: Macmillan, pp. 37-44.

⁷⁸ "6.2 Religion: Reformation and Counter-Reformation." *Early Modern Europe: An Introduction*, <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/early-modern-europe-introduction/content-section-6.2#:~:text=Religion%20was%20one%20of%20the,held%20enormous%20power%20and%20influence> {Accessed 3 June 2023}

3.2.1 Christianity in the Early Modern Age

In the early modern period, Christianity was classified into three distinct groups. Latin Christianity was the first which encompassed almost the entire of Europe and has the Pope at its helm. Orthodoxy in the east took control of Europe's eastern and southeastern borders and had Constantinople as its capital and Greek as its language. The third category of Christianity which was common in Africa and Asia was Oriental Orthodoxy and they believed that in Christ, both divine and human nature are linked. One common feature between Eastern and Oriental orthodoxy is that they both depicted the minority Christianity which was subordinate to tolerant Islamic Law. The early modern period saw the Eastern Christian churches maintain their identity under Islamic authority despite being weak ethnoreligious groupings and without political strength. However, the major issue stemmed from the violence that the Eastern Christian denominations suffered from the Roman Catholic missionaries who used members of the Eastern church as their primary prey for conversion.

Latin Christianity has been and continues to be the major manifestation of world Christianity. Representatives of the Latin Church gathered at the Council of Constance (1414–17) to gain the renunciation of the three prevailing rival popes and put an end to the Great Schism. From 1431 through 1449, Pope Martin V argued that the Latin Church's power was best ensured by papal authority. These were the earliest stages of a protracted process that comprised the Romanization and Italianization of Latin Christianity, thus Rome became the center of Latin Christianity. However, concurrent national developments in Western Europe reduced the papacy's claims to universality. The papacy's power grew more and more Italian. Padroado (patronage) was granted to the Portuguese and Spanish kings in the middle of the 15th century, and Pope Leo X reaffirmed the privileges of royal patronage in 1514. The French on the other hand also had some privileges over the Gallican Church which indeed afforded them a source of royal patronage. In all of these, the Holy Roman Empire and England were secluded from these diplomatic negotiations which had repercussions for it. Rome had all these privileges (patronage) that enriched the Italian elites, thus considering itself to be the head of the world and a lighthouse for Latin Christianity, and soon became a significant destination for pilgrimage. Many, especially within the church, critiqued Rome's rise to power and magnificence, railing against its ambition and casting doubt on its legitimacy. Bohemia had a rise in anti-Rome sentiment, spearheaded by

Jan Hus, who preached against the papacy's political dominance and the secular power of the clergy. Bohemia revolted in 1415 when Hus was burnt at the stake by the Council of Constance, with radicals declaring the end of the world and conservatives demanding communion in both sorts. Within Latin Christianity, discontent with the status quo did not always have the papacy as its target, but the Observant movement, a return to the regulations and austerity of the original organization, which was inspired by the spirit of reform.

This Protestant reform was greatly championed by Martin Luther in the early modern age who was a German University professor. He worked towards the rebirth of theology and piety by making sure he attracted the right scholars in the university and specifically reached out called to the biblical theology chair, he expressed sympathy to his colleagues who desired to replace the study of Aristotle and the scholastics with a concentration on the Bible and the church fathers.⁷⁹ He further envisaged the idea of piety reform in his sermons (the ninety-five theses) as a pivotal process of Christianization. He challenged the idea of people just taking communion without being genuine Christians in faith and love. Perhaps his ideas had a lot to do with his upbringing from his firm parents who wished to see him educated and grounded in religion. He felt the church needed to be freed from "the papacy at Rome" to convert Germany to Christianity. Thus, Christianity was not to be associated with just Rome alone but with all individuals who lived in hope, faith, and love no matter where they were found on the globe.⁸⁰ In the cities and nations that embraced the Reformation, evangelical or Protestant churches were built, and Luther played a significant role in their development despite opposition. As challenges to Christendom, Luther wrote against Judaism, Islam, and the Roman Catholic Church. He labeled Jews, Turks, and Catholics as adversaries of the gospel and participants in the devil's desperate effort. Due to their displeasure that Jews had not converted to Christianity and the anti-Jewish atmosphere in late medieval Europe, his worry over the Jewish presence in Europe was unreasonable. However, these reforms were very instrumental in the creation of new forms of Christianity.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Hendrix, S.H. (2008), *The Future of Luther's Theology*. *Dialog*, 47: 125-135.
< <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6385.2008.00378.x>.>

⁸⁰ Luther, Martin (1899), *From the Papacy at Rome*, (Von dem Papsttum zu Rom), Ed. J. G Plochmann, Volume 6, p.293,1-5; Martin Luther, *Luther's Works, American Edition (1957-86)*, church and ministry I, Ed. Helmut Lehmann (Philadelphia/Minneapolis: Muhlenberg/Fortress) Volume 39, p.65.

⁸¹ Hendrix, Scott (2007), "Martin Luther, Reformer." Chapter. In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Ed. R. Po-chia Hsia, 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-19.

Protestantism persisted in Germany despite the resistance of Emperor Charles V and other leaders. It succeeded locally but failed nationally. However, it became consolidated by 1600 and enacted measures that put a hold on catholic worship, the expulsion of Pastors, and the establishment of the Lutheran doctrine as the major standard. Also, promoted the hiring, education, ordination, and deployment of married evangelical clergy.

The Council of Trent in 1563 reaffirmed the reforms and renewal within the Catholic Church. These reforms over the years have been seen as counter-reformation in opposition to Protestantism which recalled the inquisition of prohibited books and the political and military strategies used throughout religious conflicts. Many Catholics believed and contended the church in general had begun reforms before 1517 and the protestant reformation further exacerbated discord among the Christian body. The idea of reformation was only accepted as a compromise resolution but as it got to the Papacy, it exasperated the council of Trent. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, the Catholic Church was known as both Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation.⁸² Catholicism in the early modern age distinguished itself from Protestantism as it did not follow new religious order and missionary endeavors. The competition seemed very apparent for the adaptation of the Christian church to the shifting of the world among Catholics and Protestants. Hence, Christianity must modify itself to fit a shifting culture and society, so it should not come as a surprise that early modern attitudes and values can be seen in the Catholicism of the time.⁸³ The council that convened in Trent which was called for by Pope Paul in 1536 addressed issues that had to do with doctrine definition. However, Emperor Charles hoped for the council to address disciplinary concerns to open a doctrinal understanding with the protestants. The Pope was more concerned about questionable doctrinal sacrifices made to appease the Protestants, as well as finding a solution to the pervasive doubt among the faithful. The council according to Hubert Jedin had two accomplishments in it; Firstly, it addressed Catholic teaching on most Protestant-contested doctrines, and second, it proposed several reforms that aimed not only at ending abuses but also at a renewed pastoral program that put the

⁸² Ozment, Steven (2020) "Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation". *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 397-418. <https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300256185-016>

⁸³ Bireley, R. (1999). The Council of Trent and the Papacy. In: *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700. European History in Perspective*. Palgrave, London. pp 45-69.

bishop and the parish priest at the center of the church's mission.⁸⁴ The idea of Protestant Luther 'scripture alone' contended that the church had the right to interpret divine revelation and that it was conveyed in two ways: unwritten traditions and scripture. However, the council fathers worked collectively on a decree that was comprised of canons and was set to be the basis for preaching. The final decree included key characteristics: The council stressed the value of collaboration and individual choice in the reasoning process. Instead of relying just on Christ's merits or divine favor, it was said that justification included an inner transformation and regeneration accomplished through unity with Christ and the Holy Spirit. The council also underlined the need of continuing to do good deeds to get more grace and an everlasting reward.⁸⁵ The Catholic Reformation sought to evangelize common people, much as the Protestant Reformation. It expanded to many cities like Lyon, Munich, Barcelona, and Rhineland to mention but a few. For further expansion of reforms, Catholics targeted school principals as their apparatus to push these reforms mostly in Italy and France. As a result, many catholic schools were established, and Rome remained the center for clerical education. Regular religious teaching, or catechism, was used in conjunction with the sermon and school as a strategy for converting people to Christianity.⁸⁶

Greek orthodoxy gained momentum after the fall of Constantinople especially the patriarchate and the monastery of Athos. To win over the local inhabitants, the Ottomans kept Athos intact, motivated by the concept of piety and the preservation of holy leaders. In the early modern era, Athos had strong financial and cultural relations with Orthodox communities and rose to prominence as a significant credit institution in the Ottoman Empire. To lure Greeks to the deserted city and settle immigrants, the Ottoman sultans permitted the Orthodox Church to be headed by the Patriarchate. The patriarch presided over the Greek Christian community, managed the Orthodox Church, levied taxes, and oversaw the administration of Roman family law. However, problems like conversion to Islam under the ottoman empire were solely a result of the declining population of Greeks. Despite its outreach to Protestants, the Greek Orthodox Church continued to be hostile to Roman Catholicism. The Greek Orthodox formed ties with

⁸⁴ Handbook of church history / edited by Hubert Jedin and John Dolan Herder Freiburg 1965. Vol 5 p,496.

⁸⁵ Cussen, Bryan (2020) "The Council of Trent". Pope Paul III and the Cultural Politics of Reform: 1534-1549, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 163-188. See also Session 6, 13 January 1547, *ibid.*, 2, pp. 671–81.

⁸⁶ Bireley, Robert (2007), "Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond." Chapter. In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Ed. R. Po-chia Hsia, 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 143-161.

Slavs and founded the Moscow Patriarchate in 1589, uniting the Russian people with Greek Orthodoxy.

In Moscow, orthodoxy was popular too, this was a result of the collapse of Constantinople. The Russian tsars used the church to consolidate authority and claim control over recently acquired western areas like Kyiv and Novgorod. Unlike the Latin Church, the Russian church has a strong commitment to the tradition. The impact made by the Russian orthodox church in the late sixteenth century was because of doctrine, liturgy, and ecclesiology changes that first came from Protestantism and then from Tridentine Catholicism on the one hand. The reform movement was contingent upon the Western churches which sparked very fierce defiance from a very conservative Christian community. The central theme of Russian Orthodoxy included 'centralization and standardization'. Hence the reforms which began in the 1580s made sure the establishment of Orthodox confraternities and the printing of Orthodox biblical and liturgical literature in Lviv was achieved under the auspices of Peter the Great.

In all, the spread of Christianity brought about religious and cultural disputes in the Early Modern Age ranging from language translation to the contention of whether the conversion was a spiritual conquest or not. While people all over the world accepted, rejected or showed little interest in the message of Christianity. A Christian ethnography was established and developed in Catholic and Protestant Europe.⁸⁷

3.2.2 The Early Modern Era of Islam

Islam in the early modern period witnessed the creation of many of the greatest and long-lasting mosques in history it is often referred to as a religion of the mosque and the book. At this time, Islam expanded beyond the reach of just the Old Muslim world such as Cairo and Damascus, but towards Asia and Africa which experienced the New Muslim-run political structures. The *Dar al Islam* (house of Islam) claimed the mosques that were built and acquired spaces that were newly built for Islam. The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals were the major imperial states during the

⁸⁷ Hsia, R. Po-Chia (2015), "Christianity in Europe and overseas." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History*. Ed. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Vol 6 Part 2, pp. 334-357.

early modern age that replaced the post-Timurid Sultanates. These imperial states built a lot of mosques from the treasury of the Empires. However, these projects do not necessarily tell us about the people and what religion they followed, rather it diverts our attention to the Islam of the Mosque and shrine. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that the range of religions that underlie imperial mosques was constructed to attract the attention of future generations. The Importance of Mosques equated to partners of shrines to the holy families sidelines the place of the Quran and written texts of Islam as well. For most of the early modern age, all Muslim societies used the Quran as a symbolic reference point, but others saw it as more of a respected notion than a textual object. Hence the bulk of Muslims in this era never had a Quran in their possession, despite the possibility of parts being repeated in formal worship, engraved in public spaces, or mentioned in non-Arabic works. Language was a point that either connected or disconnected people. Arabic was the major learned language that functioned as the center of culture for clerical families even though it was mostly a language of the minority that held prestige and power. The 'ulama' which means men of learning were majorly symbols of literate Islam which were different from the Sufis. However, both based their legitimacy and activity on the textual study, exchanging letters and lectures through it. Some of these Ulama spread towards an Arabic and Persian-inhabited land over Eurasia and Africa while creating Islamic vernaculars and translating Perso-Arabic works into already existent literary languages. Islamic education developed through master-disciple networks that Sufi tariqas provided as social platforms for the continued dissemination of concepts and activities. In essence, these networks created were pivotal for comprehending the early modern period's rising influence of Islam.

The Sufis and Sufi-Ulama were more of the elites since they had ownership rights of properties thus acquiring wealth and capital from pilgrimage permissible under the endowment law (waqf). Waqf and tariqa were essential instruments in the development and perpetuation of religious power. In places as remote as Morocco, Anatolia, India, and Southern East Asia, the Sufis families formed local religious institutions. These Sufis made it a point of duty to exempt members of their community from paying taxes and protect them from nomads raiding. The Sufis penetrated societies because of their assertions to be perfect heirs of the prophet, backed up by their pedigree (sayyids), doctrines, and rites that were inherently symbolic assets that could be easily transported and transferred. These Sufis were migrants that settled well into the new regions they found themselves by establishing local holy families who were used as local

monopolies to further their cultural influence by receiving land grants and tax exemptions. The Sufi Brotherhood assumed the role of mediator between diverse ethnic and political groups.

Conversion as earlier discussed in chapter three of this dissertation was an activity that was either forced on slaves and communities or a voluntary act. Majorly in the seventeenth century conversion to Islam was very rampant. Converting to Islam necessitates professing shahada in the presence of an adult witness, but circumcision is the more durable physical testimony for males, enabling converts to adopt cultural values into their daily life. Acculturation often followed conversion. It is a scenario where new converts adopt more general Islamic culture such as naming customs, diet, and societal and dress norms. In the preceding paragraph, I highlighted that the Sufis established Islam in the new region they went to, this was the first instance of conversion. Sometimes conversion prevented slavery and allowed social mobility. This is to say slavery also played a role in religious practices, considering the Atlantic slavery system in the Americas. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the conversion also took place in the Mediterranean as many Christian sailors thought converting to Islam would provide them economic and social liberation.

Through all of this, one may wonder about the states' role. The state actively supported the grand mosques, forceful conversions, invasions, and conducts with the Sufi-Ulama. The state constantly made itself a confession booth thereby tormenting citizens. This further exacerbated and led to the transformation of the Safavi Sufi Brotherhood to the Safavid empire during the conquest of Persia in 1501. This meant homage had to be paid to imperial heads which was aimed to maintain control over the court and ensure the member's allegiance.

Confessionalization which was entirely state led was not just the state's expanding sponsorship of conversions, but also a broader effort to impose consistent orthodoxy norms. This norm was synonymous with the Ottoman Empire, and it became theorized as interactive by nature. The major aim was to curtail other forms of Islam that were not necessarily consistent with their standards. The state consistently promoted its course by building new pilgrimage sites and bringing in new legal experts as well as prosecuting individuals they considered to be contenders for religious authority. The use of Sharia within the ottoman empire became prominent in the seventeenth, this consolidated the imperial structure of the state. Islamic law, in theory, offered a more reliable and consistent way of expressing a ruler's and state's legitimacy as well as

influencing the behavior of its citizens. However, Sharia overlapped with legal practices. To work around this dilemma, it was either the state constructs madrasa colleges in the imperial center or put into place a hierarchical religio-legal bureaucracy which was not an overnight solution. One thing that remains apparent is that the interaction between the ruling class and the clergy was more of a picture of compromise and negotiation than a clear-cut pattern of state hegemony and dominance. The autonomous privilege (legal and moral) afforded the Sufi-ulama owning rights of the state either through jihad(war) against infidels or legally. ⁸⁸

3.3.3 The Jewish Community and Its Institutions in Early Modern Times.

The Jewish religion and culture had surfaced since the tenth century within the framework of specific community organizations. Jewish communal life has developed into a diversified, amorphous, yet complex mechanism for collective survival, with roots in the ancient system of privileges granted to Jews permitting them to handle their business by their religious regulations. The Jews did not necessarily have a state of their own, however, with joint efforts, they established their political organizations and acclimatized to changing political structures. They shared common religious beliefs, history, and fate that supported community existence. Recent studies have brought to light the fact that the Jewish community was not completely independent and further highlight the idea of a persistent, universal, and stable structure of Jewish political structure in the pre-modern era. The Jews amongst themselves had representatives who were saddled with the responsibility to enact laws, decide disputes, distribute taxes, punish civil offenses, and plan social welfare, educational, and religious activities. All of these were contingent upon their relationship as a community. The liberation of Jews and their assimilation process in nation-states as individuals can be traced back to the eighteenth century in Western countries. However, the dissipation of their culture began to be apparent as they moved to other countries and had no choice but to embrace the already existing culture in the various societies, they found themselves. As I briefly highlighted when I started the exposition, about Jewish expansion surfacing in the tenth century, the evolution of this religion explored in three phases

⁸⁸ Green, Nile (2015), "Islam in the early modern world." Chapter. In *The Cambridge World History*. Ed. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Vol 6, Part 2, pp.358-386.

gives a better grasp of it. From the late eleventh through the late thirteenth century, Jews lived in communities in Europe and the Levant. In addition to the expansion of Jewish communities within and around major population centers, this period saw the theoretical and practical roots of Jewish communal life evolve. The second phase, which was epidemic and persecution-ridden, lasted from the late thirteenth through the late fifteenth century in Europe. In the third phase which spanned from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, Jewish communities were increasingly aware of their place in the world as centralizing nations became more cognizant of their sub-societies.⁸⁹ The system of governance for the Jews was created by Northern European Jewish merchant colonies that emerged between the tenth and thirteenth centuries and served as a legal authority. Although the Talmud offered a universal framework for making judgments, it is still unclear how post-Talmudic regulations are treated and how much power they have. The Talmudic declaration served as a blueprint for a novel organization that had limited historical precedents.⁹⁰ The Jewish community was regarded as a civic organization as opposed to a religious institution. Cities in Europe had a significant influence on the real form of community leadership. The Italian communities, which grew throughout Ashkenazic migration, may have been the source of the idea of *parnase ha-'ir* in *kehillah* (good men of the city) government.⁹¹ Most of the legislation can be traced back to prior centuries, however, in the early modern age, the population increase of Jews in urban areas necessitated the new establishment of communal responsibility, thus revising the old legislation as well.⁹² The dichotomy between Jewish religion being religious or civic in nature posed an antipathy that persisted in the early modern era. This antipathy might be seen to some degree in the dynamic connection between lay and rabbinic authorities. Neither authority conformed to the boundaries guiding their jurisdiction despite agreements made. Hence subsequent analyses describe the early modern era as marked by conflict between these two powers, Lay leaders held most of the political influence in most Jewish communities.⁹³ Rabbis on the other hand were mostly learned people but could not instruct Lay authorities. As autonomy was challenged by centralized European governments,

⁸⁹ Joseph Dan, ed., *Binah* (1988), *Studies in Jewish History*, vol. I Westport, CT, pp. 59–82.

⁹⁰ Louis Finkelstein (1924), *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*. New York, repr. Westport, CT, 1972.

⁹¹ "The Jewish Community in Italy during the Renaissance," in Grossman and Kaplan, eds., *Kehal Yisrael*, II, pp. 203-7.

⁹² Elhanan Reiner (2006), "'The Rise of the Great Community': On the Roots of the Jewish Iron Community in Poland in the Early Modern Era," *Gal-Ed* 20, pp. 13-37.

⁹³ B. Ruderman (2010), *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History*, Princeton, pp.57-93.

rabbis and lay leaders sought to defend one other's authority. Elections were held by many communities, but it was not a determining factor in leadership but for confirming membership.

Record-keeping was an emblem of Europe in the early modern period, especially by urban institutions. Before the sixteenth century, there were no written records of the Jewish community. Keeping records of activities became very significant for group identity and collective memory repository.⁹⁴ Pinkasim represented the relationship between a community's ritual and religious activities and its sense of location and identity. This pinkasim, for the most part, was created to be open to the public, serve as evidence of decisions made on behalf of the community, and in certain circumstances, be inspected by non-Jewish authorities. However, issues regarding individual taxes were not for publication. Furthermore, it was a record of administrative issues that local officials could scrutinize in the future.

Jewish communities raised taxes for two reasons: to support political organizations and to discriminate against ethnic groupings. After the Romans destroyed the Second Temple, Jews were subject to a punitive fee that persisted until the Christian successor nations.⁹⁵ Christian kings used sanctions in the early Middle Ages to force Jews to convert, and with the rise of Islam, non-Muslims residing in Muslim countries had to pay the jizya tax. Jews were regularly charged with a substantial amount of money; thus, it became a norm. A key responsibility of communal leadership was the distribution and collection of taxes, which served as both a challenge and a source of authority. Communities had to pay taxes for things like member welfare, charity, and the like, hence becoming part of a community was limited as financial stability and sustainability played a role. These taxes either directly or indirectly led to conflicts among communities, some even got into debt as borrowing was inevitable. In the early modern era, some of these Jewish communities formed coalitions to render help among themselves, defend any community in the face of danger and organize burials. Cemeteries were very sacred to the Jews the cemetery served as an extension of the neighborhood, exhibiting respect and dignity. Attending burials was of utmost importance, being banned from attending one was seen as the most extreme form of penalty, hence the Jews went back to their ancestral burial grounds

⁹⁴ Dean P. Bell (2007), *Jewish Identity in Early Modern Germany: Memory, Power, and Community*, Aldershot, pp. 35-65.

⁹⁵ Martin Goodman (1989), "Nerva, the Fiscus Judaicus and Jewish Identity," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 79, pp. 40-44.

despite the proximity of where they had been expatriated. As the populations of the Jewish communities increased in urban areas, synagogue buildings erupted. These synagogues were built by Christian architects and women had their section for worship as well as a gathering place.⁹⁶ In the early modern era, groups of Jews from diverse locations coexisted near one another and established new communities. While they occasionally pressed for autonomy, the immigrants frequently had little option but to work alongside one another. Conflict frequently arose over claims to precedence, although the immigrants offered respite when the circumstances of the old occupants deteriorated.

3.3 Interaction among different Religious groups in the early modern Mediterranean.

The early modern era in the Mediterranean was a period of war, trade, cultural exchange, slavery, and conversion and many religious groups encountered one another. In the previous chapters, I discussed how the Ottoman Empire was very instrumental, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. There're a lot of factors that come to mind when one talks about interaction. Asides from the cultural aspect, these various religious groups namely Christians, Muslims, and Jews coexisted peacefully. This statement is by no means trying to discredit or downplay the religious fracas that ensued; however, the major conflict was mainly about the ideologies that different Christian communities (Catholicism and Protestantism) and Muslim communities as to what the standard ought to be, hence the idea of reformation marauding these communities. Another aspect must be tolerance, I will use the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula as a case study to explain the idea of how religion influenced migration. The ottoman empire again was instrumental and very tolerant to have welcomed these Jews. The Ottoman Empire was very tolerant of religious minorities like the Greek Orthodox Christians and the new Jews that arrived on its territory and allowed the autonomy of these religious groups which in turn led to interaction. Trade is another aspect; religious merchants were involved with another in trade. I will discuss this in the following paragraphs below but starting with the case of the Jews.

⁹⁶ Barry Stiefel (2011), "The Architectural Origins of the Great Early Modern Urban Synagogue," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 56, pp. 105-134.

3.3.1 Expulsion of Jews in 1492

The expulsion of Jews from Castile, Aragon, and other Iberian Peninsulas was a result of the hostility between Jews and Christians, leading to open oppression against the Jews. It is important to bear in mind that some of the Jews were forced to convert to Christianity as it was the only condition they had to remain in the Iberian Peninsula and were later referred to as Marranos (Pigs) which was a derogatory term. These new Christians for lack of a better word to describe them were often seen as threats to the authenticity of the Christian religion. Isabella and Ferdinand of Aragon after obtaining a bull from Pope Sixtus IV in 1478 started through interrogation which led to the drastic step of the expulsion in 1492. The reason for the interrogation was to root out any other form of religious dissent that was contrary to Christianity (Hersey) as most of the new Christians were secretly practicing Judaism.⁹⁷ It was an action that was a component of the catholic monarch's broader plan for institutional change and the consolidation of power in the wake of Grenada's defeat. The Jews of the two kingdoms were given a four-month stay and permitted to sell their property, but a royal decree prohibited them from exporting precious possessions which was very dehumanizing. Although some Jews from Spain first sought safety in neighboring kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula, others eventually chose exile. However, in 1493 the kings gave those who had been banished an opportunity to accept conversion in exchange for the chance to reclaim their possessions. To reach Italian cities like Venice, Ferrara, Rome, Ancona, and Mantua that were not under Spanish rule, the fugitives of 1492 embarked on a trip. They ran the chance of being shipwrecked or sold into slavery by pirates. Naples did not follow the Alhambra Proclamation, and the first expulsion was implemented in 1510. Other fugitives made their way straight to the Ottoman Empire, Palestine, and the Maghreb. Upon the arrival of these displaced people in the Ottoman lands, cities like Istanbul and Edirne welcomed and hosted them. Salonika too was a more economically specific geographical location that hosted the Jews, however, they moved to Manisa and Smyrna which are provinces in Izmir at the beginning of the seventeenth century and established the foundation of important Jewish communities.⁹⁸ As earlier stated, the Ottoman Empire was tolerant of these

⁹⁷ "Making a Decision: The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492," *Historical Review* 260 (1978): p.49–90.

⁹⁸ Feridun M. Emecen (1997), *A forgotten community: the Jews of Manisa Istanbul*: Eren, p. 35-7.

displaced Jews, the Sultan made it a duty to ensure their security and general welfare. Despite these kind gestures displayed, he was criticized and Veli who had a phobia against Jews destroyed their synagogues built illegitimately.⁹⁹ The sultan did not hesitate to respond and prohibit any form of harm against these immigrants. The sultan was particularly riveted by the Jews because of the greater good of the state, as some of the Portuguese migrated with their capital and goods.¹⁰⁰ Moreso, the Salonika Jews had market control in manufacturing the Janissary's winter uniforms. In as much as textile production was already ongoing in the Ottoman Empire at the time, Spain had an upper hand in wool production, and the technical know-how brought by the Jews was an added advantage.¹⁰¹ These Jews worked alongside Christian subjects in the ottoman empire. The Jews introduced new business techniques like letters of exchange and credit, insurance contracts as well as capital and networks of contacts throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. The emigration of the Sephardic Jews brought different calibers of skilled people ranging from doctors, lawyers, and business moguls. The Jews earned the Dhimmi status of the sultan which exempted them from some Christian responsibility and payment of certain Ottoman fees by non-Muslims. The dhimmi status also afforded the Jews to be free, to be able to build their synagogues and locally create their systems of governance and organization. This however did not exempt Jews from paying taxes, they also paid the cost of construction duties and other commercial taxes which were often in line with regional customs.¹⁰²

3.4 Trade as a Form of Religious Interaction: Early Modern Jews.

Trade had a significant impact on the everyday and institutional lives of whole Jewish communities in many ways. It increased contact between Jews and non-Jews and encouraged more liberal tolerance policies. As earlier mentioned, some of the Sephardic Jews that were

⁹⁹ A. Shmuelevitz (1984), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth, and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa Leiden*: Brill, p. 31.

¹⁰⁰ Rozen Minna (2010), *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years 1453-1566*. Brill, p. 200.

¹⁰¹ "The Rise and Fall of Salonica Woolens, 1500–1650: Technology Transfer and Western Competition," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (1991): 216-36.

¹⁰² Tax was usually about 2,100 aspers per year. See Halit Ongan. (1974), *Ankara's number two Sharia Registry* Ankara, doc. no.1331, 101.

expelled from the Iberian Peninsula dispersed also around the western shores of Europe and not just the Ottoman Empire. A distinction was made by the government granting the right to establish residence in Italian port cities between “Levantine Jews” and “Pontine Jews”. This division was made to calm the Roman Catholic Church's concerns about New Christians and prevent the Inquisition. Trade and culture shaped the experiences of Jews in the Early Modern age. A result of the Iberian Jews' expulsion and forced conversion in the 1490s, which occurred simultaneously with the European overseas growth gave rise to Sephardic trade networks across the Mediterranean and Atlantic. A wide range of commercial, artisanal, and agricultural enterprises was replaced by moneylending and small-scale trading in used items by Jews in the German territories and the Italian peninsula. In exchange for being permitted to live and practice their religion in Christian areas, they had to help the government and the less fortunate financially. Competition made European trade with the rest of the world change in the sixteenth century as certain states developed tolerative measures that welcomed Jews to fill new positions. Examples include states like France where the king allowed the New Christians to live in the southwest of the country and carry out trade between French and Spanish borders. Likewise in Venice and Livorno in the 1590s, these Jews were lured into long-distance trade as a result of the charter decree that also exempted them from the Inquisition. The charter was a basis for international trade and finance loans thus leading to Jewish-Christian economic interactions backed up by legal validity. From the Middle Ages, in Italy specifically, merchants belonged to a guild, and they were able to transact as they wanted since it was legal. However, this changed towards the sixteenth century, in most European cities, being a member of a cooperative entity was no longer a determining factor of a merchant. Due to this, most Jews could sign private contracts with other merchants, and these agreements were recognized by the court. It is worth noting that, in the past, according to Roman law, these agreements needed authorization and legalization by the notary public, whereas Common law needed the establishment of a separate office. Things took a turn from the sixteenth century, suffice it to say that a letter addressed to the tribunal was enough evidence for any commercial transactions between Jews and Christians. Furthermore, in time past, any offense committed by any Jew had a ripple effect on the entire community and even taxed afterward like in the case of Rome and Ferrara. As a matter of fact, around 1550, Individual legal liability was the dominant system as opposed to community legal duty.

It is also important to bear in mind that trade between the Jews and Venetians had a strain, leading to the prohibition of the port used for any trading activities. This measure affected also Jews residing in Crete, Cyprus Corfu, etc. Initially, Jews got expelled from Venice in 1586 due to the hostilities between the Ottomans and Venetians and the concerns that Jews were involved in a conspiracy against the republic.¹⁰³ As peace talks were made with the Ottomans, these measures were relaxed and opened to all but it came at a price, the Jews had to pay extremely high taxes and settled in the outskirts of the island (ghetto). Even while in the ghetto, the Venetian authorities sort of created a divide among the Jews. Some specialized in trade while others were limited to lending money and selling secondhand clothes. Reiterating the fact that the Jews from Salonika which is now modern-day Thessaloniki had great techniques in making wool and even made uniforms for the janissaries in the ottoman empire, they also exported to Italy and became the most essential exporter of wool in the Mediterranean.¹⁰⁴ Towards the end of the sixteenth century, trade declined due to exorbitant taxes and market competition. Moreover, Jewish trade in the eastern Mediterranean decreased because of the Ottomans capturing Crete in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jews flourished in trade in Amsterdam and London unlike in Venice where there were constraints as to trade and in fact, served as diplomats. In all, Jews thrived because they cooperated, solidarity was key. Some married among themselves, which led to the flow of wealth.

3.5 Conclusion

To sum up, Religion was pivotal to Migration in the early modern age, people who migrated voluntarily or involuntarily took along with them their culture, language, religion, and heritage. However, to acclimatize to foreign lands, they also had to make do with the culture and customs of where they found themselves. Conversion too played a significant role in most societies; this did not necessarily guarantee a change of status but helped in integration. In the early Modern era, especially in the Mediterranean, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism played roles in religious migration. Denominational propaganda was part and parcel of the Christian communities, the

¹⁰³ Benjamin Arbel (1995), *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden, pp 62–63, 74–76.

¹⁰⁴ Benjamin Braude (1991), “The Rise and Fall of Salonica Woollens, 1500–1650: Technology Transfer and Western Competition,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6, pp. 216-236.

idea of reformation was at the forefront of what ought to be the standard of faith among protestants and Catholics. Islam on the other hand was associated with the building of mosques in different empires to strengthen the idea of Islam for future generations to come. The expulsion of Jews because of their religion dispersed them all over the world, the Ottoman Empire became the safest haven for these Jews. Despite not having concrete autonomy, the Jewish community established contracts with private merchants and traded across the Atlantic and Mediterranean shores. Trade paved the way for Jews to be tolerated across Europe.

CHAPTER FIVE

Comparing Contemporary and Early Modern Migrations.

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Having given a historiographical context of Migration in the early modern age in the previous chapters, this chapter particularly focuses on migration in contemporary times spanning from the 1940s to the present times. The preceding chapters set solid foundations and provide meaningful background knowledge which is pivotal for understanding. This chapter examines general contemporary migrations from three approaches as neoclassical economic equilibrium perspective, the historical-structuralist approach, and the migration systems theory. Furthermore, the patterns of contemporary migration are looked into, to grasp the rationale behind people's migration which includes the major driving factors. Seeing that this thesis is on the Mediterranean, it expatiates Mediterranean migration in contemporary times, the phases in which it took place, and the reason why it happened. The concluding part of this chapter compares perspectives of Mediterranean migration in the early modern and contemporary ages because migration is an ever-evolving important phenomenon. This comparison clears doubts about vague generalizations and oversimplification.

5.1 Contemporary Migrations.

The international movement of people across time and space from time immemorial has certainly shaped societies and states to a great extent. In different spheres, politically, economically, and socially. Many countries have been at the receiving end of these enormous migrations from Asia, Latin America to the United States of America. Between 1945 and the early 1970s, labor migration affected nearly all of Northern and Western Europe. Greece, Italy, and Spain which in the time past were emigration hotspots have resurfaced to be immigration areas. The Middle East as well appeared to be a very complex hotspot for population migration. In the 1960s and 1970s, millions of Turks immigrated to Turkey as well as left the nation for Western Europe. Along

with Iranian and Kurdish migrants, it has also served as an oasis of refuge for ethnic Turks and Muslims who were fleeing oppression in Eastern Europe. Migrant labor systems were established in Africa as a result of colonialism and white colonization, with South Africa having the largest system. This was part of the post-apartheid era, which also functioned as a key body in halting illicit immigration across Africa. In Asia, Pakistan and India have been home to refugees from neighboring countries like Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. The Asian tigers (Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan) were also immigration hotspots. In other words, migration in contemporary times is a globalized phenomenon. However, for the longest time, governments did not view the problem of international Migration as a major political one. Instead, various agencies, including immigration departments, labor offices, aliens police, welfare authorities, and education ministries, dealt with different groups of migrants. The late 1980s brought to light these issues. A glaring example is when the European Union member states eliminated their internal borders, they were apprehensive about fortifying their external borders to curtail immigration from the South and the East. The Schengen Agreement of 1985 was a treaty that was signed by five countries (France, Germany, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands) to specifically control migration.¹⁰⁵

The topic of contemporary migration has spurred a lot of debates and discussions among historians. Hence, different approaches to explaining this phenomenon appear to be very useful: the neo-classical economic equilibrium perspective, the historical-structuralist approach, and the migration systems theory.¹⁰⁶ The oldest systematic theory on migration, developed by the nineteenth-century geographer Ravenstein in the form of statistical laws of migration, is where the neo-classical economic equilibrium perspective finds its roots.¹⁰⁷ This theory was based on the generalization of people's propensity to relocate from highly populated to less-populated places, from low-income to high-income ones, or to associate migration with changes in the business cycle. It is commonly referred to as push-pull factors which I discussed in the first chapter. These push-pull factors such as population increase, low living standards, a lack of economic prospects, political repression, as well as the need for labor, land, strong economic

¹⁰⁵ Castles, S., Miller, M.J. (1998), Introduction. In: *The Age of Migration*. Palgrave, London. Pp 5-10.

¹⁰⁶ Hugo, G. (1993) *The Economic Implications of Emigration from Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service) pp 7-12.

¹⁰⁷ Ravenstein, E. G. (1885), 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 48.

opportunities, and political freedoms contribute to migration. The core of the theory appears to be driven by independence and ahistorical in nature as it accentuates the personal decision to migrate based on a logical analysis of the costs and advantages of doing so about staying in one's country of origin or moving to different destinations. Borjas puts forth that this very theory motivates a categorization of the various immigration flows that occur in a society where people look for the 'best' nation that can be objectively tested.¹⁰⁸ Based on this, it is expected that the most economically deprived people move from poor countries to rich richer ones. The fact that these disparities exist is enough reason to migrate. However, these theories are seen to be oversimplified and unable to explain actual movements or envision the ones to come because rather than the poor people moving to rich countries, more often than not, these migrants are people with transitional socioeconomic standing from places undergoing economic and social transformation.¹⁰⁹ On the contrary, Stark claims that migration cannot be explained just by economic disparities across countries, but also by variables such as job security, access to finance for entrepreneurial activity, and the necessity to manage risks over extended periods.¹¹⁰ The idea that people's propensity to migrate not only 'maximize their well-being' but also lead to an 'equilibrium in the marketplace' is remote from what history asserts and hence provides little explanation.¹¹¹ Migration should be seen according to Zolberg, 'as a movement of workers propelled by the dynamics of the transitional capitalist economy, which simultaneously determines both the "pull" and the "push" '.¹¹² This suggests that migrations are social events that should be studied as subordinate systems within an increasingly globalized economic and political framework.

The historical-structural approach has its origin in Marxist political economy and emphasizes a global economy with an uneven distribution of economic and political power. Hence, Migration is mostly thought of as a method of mobilizing cheap labor for capital. The unrealistic assertion of individuals moving out of their free will has been further criticized by historical structuralists.

¹⁰⁸ Borjas, G. J. (1989) 'Economic theory and international migration', *International Migration Review*, Special Silver Anniversary Issue, 23:3. P 461.

¹⁰⁹ Castles, S., Miller, M.J. (1998), *The Migratory Process and the Formation of Ethnic Minorities*. In: *The Age of Migration*. Palgrave, London. p.21.

¹¹⁰ Stark, O. (1991) *The Migration of Labour* (Oxford: Blackwell).

¹¹¹ Borjas, 1989: 482.

¹¹² Zolberg, A. R. (1989), 'The next waves: migration theory for a changing world', *International Migration Review* 23:3. p. 407.

Instead, disparities in wealth and power across nations as well as the criteria for entry of countries severely limit the options available to the migrants.¹¹³ Historical structuralist narratives focused on stack employment of labor by capital for industries, agribusinesses, and infrastructural projects. Migration had a key role in creating ties of dominance between capitalism's industrialized core economies and its undeveloped periphery, as well as in establishing military hegemony and dominating global commerce and investment. However, this narrative pushed by the logic of capital appears biased, as other spheres of migration policies like the transition from labor migration to long-term settlement are eluded. In all, the approaches had their shortcomings, for neo-classical theory, the role of state and historical causes of migration are ignored. The latter prioritizes capital interests over people and the community.

Migration systems theory emerged because of the shortcomings of the aforementioned approaches. This system focuses on institutional, political, economic, and collective matters as well as international relations. The migration systems approach entails looking at both ends of the flow and all connections between the locations in question. These connections can be grouped as 'state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections, and family and social networks'.¹¹⁴ According to the notion of migration systems, pre-existing connections between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political power, commerce, investment, or cultural ties are often what cause migration movements to occur. These movements depending on the circumstance can be based on micro or macro-interacting structures. Micro-structures concentrate on the networks, behaviors, and ideologies of migrants themselves, whereas macro-structures are large-scale institutional elements. Migrations, from labor migrations to nation-building and refugee movements, have been significantly influenced by changes in production, distribution, and trade.¹¹⁵ The microstructures were created by the migrants themselves as an informal social network to deal with migration and settler cultures. These informal networks consist of interpersonal connections, family and home dynamics, friendships, and ties to the community, as well as mutual assistance in social and economic

¹¹³ Ibid, 415.

¹¹⁴ Arnold, F., Minocha, U. and Fawcett, J. T. (1987), 'The changing face of Asian immigration to the United States, in J. T. Fawcett and B. V. Carino (eds), *Pacific Bridges: The New Immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands* (New York: Center for Migration Studies) pp 456-7.

¹¹⁵ Portes, A. and B6r6cz, J. (1989) 'Contemporary immigration: theoretical perspectives on its determinants and modes of incorporation', *International Migration Review* 23:83. p.629.

issues that are referred to as social capital.¹¹⁶ These links create a symbiotic relationship between both settler and receiving communities that leads to the establishment of ethnic communities and adaptive cultural impacts. Elders (males in particular) frequently make choices on migration, and women and younger adults are obligated to submit to patriarchal leadership. These social networks created on the other hand are intricate and sometimes contradictory in nature. An industry of migration forms, made up of intermediaries including recruiting agencies, lawyers, agents, and smugglers.¹¹⁷ In such a situation, people can either support or take advantage of migrants, particularly in a scenario of illegal immigration, which in the end may result in immigrants having their valuables stolen. An overall migratory process that links macro- and micro-structures is driven by many variables and interactions. Hence it is crucial to grasp the aspects of the migratory process by examining root its root causes and the patterns in which it took place.

5.2 Patterns of Contemporary Migration

Discussing the historical patterns of migration at the beginning of my exposition has further let us arrive at this point. Migration not being a new phenomenon, is something that has consistently evolved especially in an increasingly interconnected globalized world. I discussed the patterns in the early modern age which are Maritime migration, Urbanization, and involuntary/forced migration. These patterns are somewhat intertwined with the causes I already talked about, such as environmental catastrophes, religious persecution, and human trafficking, to mention but a few. In recent times, such as the contemporary age, major drivers of migration such as demographic factors, war, and economic disparities have surfaced.¹¹⁸ Given that voluntary or economic migrants strive to control their destiny, migrating to other countries to obtain employment, secure education, or even reunite with their families, and then probably return to their home countries or integrate into the receiving country. On the other hand, the growing

¹¹⁶ Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992), *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). p 119.

¹¹⁷ Harris, N. (1996), *The New Untouchables: Immigration and the New World Worker* (Harmondsworth: Penguin). pp.132-6.

¹¹⁸ Danica, Santic (2016), "Contemporary World Migration- Towards New Terminology, Patterns, and Policies." p.5. DOI:[10.2298/GSGD1602001S](https://doi.org/10.2298/GSGD1602001S)

population of refugees fleeing conflict, natural catastrophes, and development displacement has few viable options. Their sole aim is to find a haven. Anthony Richmond has further challenged the comparison of voluntary and involuntary migrants proposing a progression from proactive to reactive migrants. He asserts that reactive migrants leave when there are no other alternatives available to them, whereas proactive migrants depart when they are confronted by dangerous circumstances.¹¹⁹ These labor migrants do not have access to desired life alternatives in their home country and may decide to migrate without any form of authorization and later become undocumented or termed illegal migrants. However, refugees on the other hand, also form the majority of migrants. Migration has become more gendered as a result of trends in the generation of refugees and labor market needs. Distinguishing these patterns is very important due to the oversimplification of Migration and its flows, nonetheless, in the following paragraphs and pages, I will expatiate more on these various patterns.

5.3 Voluntary Migration.

This pattern of migration is based on free will. People move to a country or region of choice on their own accord. These decisions to migrate could stem from the desire to have better and enjoy better living conditions, environmental constraints, and family reunification. The idea of voluntariness has been frequently misconstrued because of its normative implications. On the one hand, some underestimate the obligations towards migrants and see voluntary migration as a question of personal preference, which should not be given any special attention. Those who advocate for their rights on the other, consider contemporary migration to be involuntary, thus necessitating proactive action. In such a scenario, there doesn't appear to be any logical space left where migration can be understood as a central and true incidence of agency i.e., a deliberate or voluntary choice that involves major goals in people's lives.¹²⁰ It is imperative to look at voluntary migration from the perspective of migrants, reckoning them as agents instead of being only passive beneficiaries of prospects and resources. It is an instrumental element of liberal justice that underpins constitutional rights as well as equal regard for individuals. This means

¹¹⁹ Epperson, Amanda (2009), "It Would Be My Earnest Desire That You All Would Come': Networks, the Migration Process and Highland Emigration." *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 88, no. 226, pp. 313–31. JSTOR

¹²⁰ Ottonelli, Valeria, and Tiziana Torresi. (2013), "When Is Migration Voluntary?" *The International Migration Review*, vol. 47, no. 4, p.784.

acknowledging people's agency which entails seeing them as the architects of their own lives and enabling them to seek fulfillment independently.¹²¹ Failure to consider migrant's choices being voluntary or involuntary might result in ineffective institutional interventions, especially from the angle of forced migration where people abscond due to one persecution or the other. In such scenarios, institutional interventions should consider the migrant's temporary cause of action as to why they moved rather than a permanent life decision that was never planned. This is not neglecting the fact that an individual who was forced to move cannot at some point have an intention to settle down long-term. On the other hand, if migrating temporarily or permanently is part of a migrant's imperative, it should be treated at the policy level as a case of one's decision rather than reducing it to a random circumstance. To further unravel the intricacies of voluntary migration, certain conditions need to be considered.

Non-coercion is a requirement that must not be prompted by any psychological contingencies to be considered voluntary migration. The protocol adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2000 provides an excellent definition of coercion in the light of this discussion 'to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons'.¹²² Trafficking implies as "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, using the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or 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 exploitation".¹²³ Regardless of the conditions in the foreign country, migration cannot be deemed voluntary due to these conditions.

Distinguishing international trafficking from smuggling even provides more clarity. Smuggling of people is seen as "the procurement, to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or another material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a state party of which the person is not a national".¹²⁴ The distinction has been contested because it criminalizes migrants whereas, in reality, individuals who are being smuggled frequently experience abuse and coercion similar to

¹²¹ Ibid, 785.

¹²² UN General Assembly, *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women, and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, 15 November 2000. available at: < <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4720706c0.html>. >

¹²³ Art 3(a)

¹²⁴ UN General Assembly, *Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea, and Air, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, 15 November 2000, available at: < <https://www.refworld.org/docid/479dee062.html>. >

those engaged in trafficking.¹²⁵ However, people that use risky migration techniques, such as smuggling, may not necessarily do so voluntarily; rather, it just suggests that they have few options while carrying out their migration intentions.

Sufficiency is another requisite for voluntary migration based on the intent and standard of the possibilities and choices the immigrant had at the time of deciding to migrate. In essence, for migration to be voluntary, the possibilities at home must be sufficient. The necessity that the immigrant comes from a position of "sufficiency" is how this criterion is sometimes portrayed.¹²⁶ The premise here is plausible as people who have no other option than to move due to hunger, misery, physical harm, or abject poverty cannot be claimed to be migrating voluntarily.¹²⁷ However, if the decision to migrate stems from favorable living standards and appealing opportunities that are advantageous, such a decision is considered voluntary. It does not suffice to say a decision was made involuntarily because it was better than other alternatives. Nonetheless, this sufficiency requisite should be distinguished from the necessity that the alternatives' structures must be by complete justice, or to a world that conforms with political justice's fundamental principles on a national and worldwide basis. This is necessary because from time immemorial as I highlighted at the beginning of my thesis and in this chapter Injustices from the past and current economic and social inequalities are the root causes of migration. I mean the consequences are still evident. In such as case, the decision of people to migrate would never be subject to such a threshold of voluntariness. Another point to consider is that migrating to a foreign country does not necessarily mean living conditions would be great, in fact settling in does take a while since migrating comes with different hassles like acclimatization to new culture and customs. This does in no way mean migration is less voluntary. In all of these, sufficiency is subjective, because, to one, it may mean the realization of fundamental necessities, and to the other, social aspects of human life such as cherishing emotional and family ties or sharing a similar culture.¹²⁸ To this end, sufficiency is contentious as choosing to remain at home, an alternative to migration does not mean adverse living

¹²⁵ Gallagher, A. (2002), "Trafficking, Smuggling, and Human Rights: Tricks and Treaties." *Forced Migration Review* 12, pp 26-29.

¹²⁶ Mayer, R. (2005), "Guestworkers and Exploitation." *The Review of Politics* 67, pp. 311-334.

¹²⁷ Olsaretti, S. (1998), "Freedom, Force and Choice: Against the Right-Based Definition." *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6:53-78.

¹²⁸ Miller, D. (2008a), *National Responsibility and Global Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.180.

conditions. Hence, the requisite of complete justice helps to clear the doubts about contemporary voluntary migration.

Attention has eluded the existence of genuine choices for changing one's immigration status, or "exit options." The justification for this condition becomes clear upon referring to the chapter on slavery in this thesis. Migration patterns that are frequently compared to voluntary slavery, such as the known indentured servitude contracts that replaced slave labor in America and the Colonies after chattel slavery was abolished.¹²⁹ In such a scenario, workers may put up with coercive and difficult working circumstances, but situations that are voluntary call for permanent solutions as well as realistic alternatives. This is because of the binding contractual clause. However, some situations oblige people to adhere to a contract if the expense of the exit option is absurd. Similar to how it was for the coolies from Asia who were put behind bars or even physically assaulted for breaching their contracts.¹³⁰ It is worth noting that, possible exit options may differ from sufficiency requirements for migration. Thus, it should not be expected that having the possibility of returning to the country of origin always guarantees that there is an exit option.

People need to be well informed about their options to make voluntary decisions. In other words, vital information is key. Relating this to migration, more often than not, migrants are deliberately misled by those who wish to take advantage of their ignorance, as in the instance of trafficking in persons. Inconsistencies contained in the account of third parties are also contributing factors. These days, information is easily accessible to future immigrants, thanks to communication technology. However, more information may not always imply sufficient information. Simply put, information needs to be accurate, trustworthy, understandable, current, and relevant to support voluntary decisions.¹³¹ Self-deceit is one mechanism that migrants are subjected to. Despite having a dismal quality of life, migrants can deceive themselves by internalizing romanticized perceptions of the status of both their host and home countries.

¹²⁹ Look Lai, W. (2002), "Asian Contract and Free Migrations to the Americas." In *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*. Ed. D. Eltis. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Pp. 229- 258.

¹³⁰ Steinfeld, R. J. (2009), *Coercion/Consent in Labour*. Working Paper 66. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society, p.3.

¹³¹ Gonzalez, E. (2008), *The Role of Information in Contemporary Migration*. Working Paper WP08-005. Barcelona: UOC. p.7.

5.4 Illegal Migration

This form or pattern of migration is not a novelty; however, its studies have remained few and far between. Authors have challenged the usage of the expression ‘illegal’ to describe migrants, as it appears a little derogatory.¹³² Since illegality is synonymous with crime, authors prefer to refer to the categories of these migrants as ‘irregular’, ‘undocumented’, or ‘unauthorized’. However, undocumented appears to be vague because it could sometimes mean migrants who have not been documented yet. Similarly, undocumented migrants who request asylum are not illegal. Perplexity arises from the phrase "irregular migration," which is also used to refer to seasonal migration as opposed to regular migration that occurs at regular periods. It is ineffective to substitute the word ‘illegal’ due to its negative interpretation because any other word will take on a similar interpretation given how the subject is often treated. Generally, migration-related unlawful activity is frequently linked to the illegal entrance, departure, and residency of migrants.¹³³ Having established this, what then can we now mean to be? According to Western states, illegal migration refers to the following: crossing borders without the consent of authorities, crossing a border in an apparent legal manner by utilizing fake documents, legitimate documents used fraudulently, falsified marriages, or imposter relations, extending one's stay in a country after losing legal status.¹³⁴ In such a case, the concept of illegality is connected to the notion that the state is responsible for maintaining control over its borders. Hence there is a difference between what individuals and states agree upon as legitimate.¹³⁵ Transborder movements, which challenge the legitimacy of the state and occupy territory, are unlawful since they disobey the law. However, participants perceive them to be legitimate. Some states cannot manage their citizens and their territory due to magnitude and logistics issues, and other nations view this as a threat.

¹³² Koser, K. (2016), *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.17.

¹³³ Jandl, Michael (2007), ‘Irregular migration, human smuggling, and the Eastern enlargement of the European Union’, *IMR* 41 (2) Summer: pp. 291-315.

¹³⁴ Heckmann, Friedrich (2004), ‘Illegal migration: What can we know and what can we explain? The case of Germany’, *IMR* 38 (3) Fall: 1103-1125.

¹³⁵ Abraham, Itty & Willem van Schendel (2005), ‘Introduction: The making of illicitness’, in Willem van Schendel & Itty Abraham (eds.), *Illicit flows and criminal things. States, borders, and the other side of globalization*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. pp. 1-37.

From a gender standpoint, illegality has been touched upon, which is the trafficking of women.¹³⁶ The reason why illegal immigrant women are so prominent in academic, popular, and political debates is that they are trafficked. Prostitution is juxtaposed with trafficking.¹³⁷ Men are frequently described as being smuggled, whereas women are described as being trafficked. As I mentioned in the first chapter, trafficking is a form of forced migration mainly because it underscores the fact that individuals are transported against their will. Whereas smuggling accentuates illegal entrance which immigrants consent to and typically pay for.¹³⁸ As a result, women are shown to be disadvantaged and passive victims, while males are shown to be in control, which reiterates the consequence of migration that creates a patriarchal society that I discussed in the first chapter.

Illegal migration can also be traced to the early modern period. However, the construction has evolved. Before the nineteenth century, the central state was ineffective and passive in establishing regulations for immigration, exit, and residency. States simply created regulations for the few individuals seeking naturalization. Hence most debates on illegality were limited to crossing over municipal limits rather than beyond international borders. At the state level, there were not many limits on immigration. Large immigrant populations were welcomed by many states, frequently for religious and political factors. People were viewed as assets from a mercantilist standpoint. Some countries, like Russia and the German states, sought to entice migrants to their borders. Hence emigration became loathsome, and it became prohibited to emigrate without authorization. Nonetheless, in the nineteenth century, due to industrialization, states adopted liberal policies that allowed for free and uninterrupted movement of both citizens and foreigners. Globalization paved the way for passports to be eliminated and exit constraints were eased, which had an immense impact on the amount of international migration.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Phizacklea, A. (1998), 'Migration and globalization: A feminist perspective', in K. Koser & H. Lutz (eds.), *The new migration in Europe*. London: Macmillan. pp. 21-38.

¹³⁷ Agustin, Laura (2005), 'Migrants in the mistress's house: Other voices in the "trafficking" debate', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State, and Society* 12 (1) Spring: 108.

¹³⁸ Koser, Khalid (2005), 'Irregular migration, state security, and human security'. Paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration September. p.7.

¹³⁹ Williamson, Jeffrey G. & Kevin H. O'Rourke (2002), 'When did globalisation begin?', *European Review of Economic History* 6: pp.23-50.

5.5 Refugee Migration.

At the beginning of the thesis, I discussed the causes of Migration and explained how war and religious and political oppression can make people migrate to live their lives freely. This type or pattern of migration can be seen as conflict-induced migration. Several factors contribute to conflict-induced migration, including violence, war, environmental degradation, poverty, fear, identity politics, and economic uncertainty.¹⁴⁰ To begin with, who is a refugee? The United Nations defines a refugee as a person who “owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of that country.”¹⁴¹ Although refugees have always existed in human history, the rise in their number during the 1980s elevated the phenomenon to the status of a major world issue. In as much as refugee migration is seen as a political problem, not much attention has been given to it. However, sociologists, instead of attempting to analyze the underlying dynamics of this phenomenon, seek to focus separate refugees from voluntary migrants.¹⁴² Studies on refugees generally concentrate on a specific stream while ignoring the reasons or root causes behind the exodus. Refugee migration may be exacerbated by poverty.¹⁴³ In essence, economic challenges are viewed as an amplifier for refugee migration that, when linked to political unrest, results in forced migration. Violation of human rights and violence escalates the number of refugees globally. The majority of refugee migrations were brought on by acts of genocide committed against a specific population, such as those committed against the Dinka in Sudan, the Baha'is in Iran, or the Kurds in Turkey or Iraq.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, refugee Migration can be triggered by ethnic and civil conflicts. Usually, power rivalries between governments and rebels result in conflicts due to significant inequalities and political marginalization. In countries without formal frameworks for widespread political engagement, conflict may serve as an

¹⁴⁰ HAYES, SHERRILL, et al (2016), “Conflict-Induced Migration and The Refugee Crisis: Global and Local Perspectives from Peacebuilding and Development.” *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, vol. 11, no. 3, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol*, September 2011, available at: < <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4ec4a7f02.html> >

¹⁴² Kunz, E. F. (1973), “The Refugee in Flight: Kinetic Models and Forms of Displacement.” *International Migration Review* 7, pp. 125-146.

¹⁴³ Wood, W. B. (1994), "Forced Migration: Local Conflicts and International Dilemmas." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 84(4): 607-634.

¹⁴⁴ Jonassohn, K. (1993). "Prevention without Prediction." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 7: 1-13.

alternative way of expressing objections. When it comes to Africa, ethnic conflict has been attributed to the continent's lack of "geographical unity" in the north and lack of "tribal unity" in the south, which confines some ethnic groups to a classification as a minority.¹⁴⁵ Another push factor that is not necessarily a cause for refugee migration is the external involvement of other governments in proxy wars as a result of military collaboration. These wars involve violence against the general and not just the government opponents, hence people are compelled to leave.

Another aspect of refugee migration to consider has to be humiliating environmental catastrophes. As earlier discussed, voluntary migration is where individuals have various justifications and the most apparent one is for the betterment of life and standards. However, in this case, people are forced to relocate due to external factors. Environmental changes have a wide variety of negative effects on human activity. Some changes eject populations outright, whereas others harm the localized potential for economic growth, thus migration appears involuntary.¹⁴⁶ In any case, for clarity, there're types of environmental refugees of these; Temporary, permanent, and gradual displacement due to disasters, environmental changes, or migration.¹⁴⁷ These disasters could be natural or caused by humans. However natural disasters are set apart from others due to their origin. These natural disasters could be earthquakes, floods, tornadoes, or hurricanes. Permanent removal of individuals whose habitat is taken for a purpose that is unsuitable with their ability to stay in that location. Typically, these refugees are permanently moved, sometimes with assistance from the organization taking their property.

5.6 Contemporary Migration in the Mediterranean.

In the second chapter, I established the fact that the Mediterranean region is very unique due to its strategic position and how human and economic interactions have been susceptible to the influence of cultures and civilizations surrounding the region. It is a tremendously diversified region consisting of countries that are geographically adjacent to one another yet have quite

¹⁴⁵ Cimade, Inodep, and Mink. (1986). *Africa's Refugee Crisis: What's to Be Done?* London: Zed Books. P.72.

¹⁴⁶ Hugo, G. (1996), Environmental concerns and international migration. *International Migration Review* 30, pp. 105-131.

¹⁴⁷ Douglas, D. (1996), Environmental eviction. *Christian Century* 11, pp. 839-841. El-Hinnawi, E. (1985). *Environmental Refugees*. Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Environmental Programme.

different histories, cultures, and political systems.¹⁴⁸ It has been a historical crossroad, a region of internal circulation with a variety of population fluxes. As several conflicts and crises have erupted in recent times, so has migration too heightened. It is no doubt that the Mediterranean has been a hotspot for immigration from Asian, European, Latin American, and African countries. The rationale behind the increase in immigration from North Mediterranean countries is embedded in factors like simplified entry, proximity, economic expansion, unemployment, and demographic differences between older and younger populations.¹⁴⁹ Countries like Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya have become pathways to access Europe both legally and illegally, especially for sub-Saharan migrants.¹⁵⁰ The flow of these migrations has exacerbated the intricacy of the Mediterranean migratory system ranging from refugees, and asylum seekers to deaths of migrants crossing the Mediterranean. Migration within, from, and toward the Mediterranean basin has undergone significant shifts since 1950 in terms of its nature and character. Migration from less developed Southern Mediterranean Countries and sub-Saharan Africa has been influenced by structural changes in the political and economic backdrop of the area, particularly the emergence of the northern Mediterranean nations, Gulf Cooperation Council countries, and Libya.¹⁵¹ We can identify four major periods in post-war Mediterranean migration patterns and developments based on our understanding of turning moments in the regional and global political economies.

The first phase (1948-1963) witnessed migration, economic expansion, and post-war reconstruction, especially from the northwest European industrial core. The majority of migration in southern Mediterranean countries was internal, and just a small number migrated to Europe. Low-skilled positions were filled by migrant workers in France, Germany, the

¹⁴⁸ Benassi, F., Carella, M., & Heins, F. (2022), Migration in the Mediterranean region: A response to crises and an emergency in its own right. *Investigaciones Geográficas*, (77) p.16.

¹⁴⁹ King, R., & Rybaczuk, K. (1993), Southern Europe and the international division of labour: from mass emigration to mass immigration. In R. King (Ed.), *The New Geography of European Migrations*. London: Belhaven. pp. 175-206.

¹⁵⁰ Wihtol de Wenden C. (2013)., Migrations in the Mediterranean, a new situation. *Mediterranean confluences* 4(87), pp. 19-30. <https://doi.org/10.3917/come.087.0019>

¹⁵¹ Hein de Haas, Mediterranean migration futures: Patterns, drivers and scenarios, *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 21, Supplement 1, 2011, p.S60. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2011.09.003>.
<<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0959378011001385>>

Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria by people from Portugal, Spain, Italy, the former Yugoslavia, and Greece. Receiving States were involved in the recruitment process.¹⁵²

The second phase (1963-73) was characterized by considerable labor migration by Turkey and Maghreb nations. Due to economic expansion, population reduction, and democratic transitions, southern European migration has decreased since 1960, which has led northwest European nations to concentrate on countries along the Mediterranean. This explains the boom in Trans-Mediterranean migration in the early 70s.¹⁵³ It is worth noting that the 1973 Oil Crisis was a pivotal post-war migration turning point that changed the Gulf area, Libya's labor recruiting, and the migratory landscape in Europe and the Mediterranean. As a result, these workers did not return, and it further exacerbated migration through family reunions in Europe.¹⁵⁴

In the midst of all these, political changes in 1991-1992 had an impact on Mediterranean migration patterns, while the Gulf War promoted Asian and sub-Saharan African immigrants as a competent and compliant labor force. Spain and Italy became the major terminus for labor migrants from the southern Mediterranean.¹⁵⁵ Migrant workers from North Africa were enticed by work in low-skilled industries including construction, household work, and agriculture. The discrepancy between labor demand and the proper means to migrate further escalated irregular migration.

The increasing stringency of border restrictions in southern Europe is a fourth trend. This has led to a broadening of trans-Mediterranean crossing locations, which now include nearly the whole Mediterranean and in recent years, including the Canary Islands, rather than a reduction in migration.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Ibid, S61

¹⁵³ Avci, G., Kirisci, K., (2006), Turkey's immigration and emigration dilemma's Regional Background Paper on Major Migration Systems Presented at Workshop Migration and Development Challenges: Perspectives from the South, Bellagio, July 2006, Italy. p.126. de Haas, H., 2007a. Morocco's migration experience: a transitional perspective. *International Migration* 45 (4).

¹⁵⁴ Entzinger, H., (1985), Return migration in Western Europe: current policy trends and their implications, in particular for the second generation. *International Migration* XXIII (2), pp. 263–290.

¹⁵⁵ Baldwin-Edwards, M., (2004), *The Changing Mosaic of Mediterranean Migrations*. Migration Information Source.

<[Article: The Changing Mosaic of Mediterranean Migr.. | migrationpolicy.org](#)>

¹⁵⁶ de Haas, H., (2007b), *The Myth of Invasion: Irregular migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union*. International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Oxford.

It may appear counterproductive not to explain the major drivers of The Mediterranean migration, despite highlighting the patterns in which contemporary migration takes place. The general patterns sought to provide knowledge; however, it is not a one-size-fits-all situation. Narrowing it down to the Mediterranean which is what my thesis is all about will provide clarity. Economic factors can trigger migration, like already highlighted in the 1950s, North-West Europe's primary source of labor migrants, whose economic expansion led to changes in migration patterns i.e., from emigration to immigration countries. Although poverty persists in many Southern Mediterranean countries, it is not the predominant cause of migration from origin countries. The systemic market for low-skilled labor in the European and Gulf Cooperation Council countries appears to be a far more important component that explains patterns in Mediterranean migration. Migration is influenced by economic development, education, relative poverty, and opportunity disparities. Migrants are drawn to areas with moderate economic development and levels of education.¹⁵⁷

Income and employment are intricately entwined with the region's larger political economy, which is characterized by fundamental economic inequities and power imbalances that are influenced by both economic and migratory patterns. In such a case, de-colonization is seen to have freed southern Mediterranean countries from their previous colonizers. (Mass migration from SMC TO GCC). War and state violence have significantly influenced the regional migratory trend in the case of Kurdish refugee migration from Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. Economic development, inequality, and the structure of the labor market are all significantly influenced by political factors. These factors can affect people's ambitions; thus, migration intent paves a way out for them.

Migration policies have a substantially greater impact during the first stages of migration, for example, through recruiting strategies. Migration patterns gain acceleration through bolstering social, cultural, and economic ties. This is accomplished by network and feedback processes. Also, Migration policies appear to have a greater impact on how individuals migrate, including

[<Microsoft Word - Corrected Editing V8 Irregular migration from West Africa - Hein de Haas-1.doc \(wordpress.com\)>](#)

¹⁵⁷ de Haas, H., (2010b), Migration Transitions: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry into the Developmental Drivers of International Migration. Working Paper, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Oxford. p.40.

[<Going against common sense that development will reduce out-migration from poorer to richer countries, transitional migration \(wordpress.com\)>](#)

their legal pathways, travel routes, and methods of transportation than they do on the general patterns of migration.¹⁵⁸

Environmental factors like drought are still persistent problems due to the Mediterranean climate. In semi-nomadic communities (in land Maghreb) where resources are scarce demonstrates how it affects livelihoods that were heavily dependent on subsistence agriculture and motivates mobility. However, this is more commonly connected to internal migration than international migration. Migration in this case is seen as a way to branch out livelihood especially from rural to urban areas.¹⁵⁹ In other words, due to the high expense and resource requirements, it is more difficult to relate long-distance international migration to environmental factors.

5.7 Comparative Perspectives on Early Modern and Contemporary Migrations

Comparing various aspects of migration, especially across different times and eras is quite helpful since migration is a phenomenon that keeps evolving due to globalization. My historical thesis describes the factors that influence how many people migrate, where they go, what they do, and what regulations are in place to handle both internal and external population migrations. My thesis has dealt with the social, economic, and cultural aspects of migration. It is very important to keep in mind that there are distinctive attributes to take into consideration when discussing the comparative aspects of migration. Comparative studies have always been essential for developing both general theories of migration and integration and case studies of particular migratory groups or migration experiences.¹⁶⁰ Hence the rationale behind the historical context of my thesis. Providing the historical aspects of migration across the early modern age and contemporary age not only helps avoid hazy generalizations but also the oversimplification of these phenomena. Furthermore, I will be comparing different aspects of migration like the

¹⁵⁸ Czaika, M, de Haas, H., (2011), The effectiveness of immigration policies: a conceptual review of empirical evidence. DEMIG/IMI Working Paper series, Oxford, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford. pp. 5-8.

¹⁵⁹ McDowell, C., de Haan, A., (1997), Migration and Sustainable Livelihoods: A Critical Review of the Literature. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex. p. 19.

¹⁶⁰ Martiniello, M. (2013), Comparisons in Migration Studies. *CMS* 1, p.9.
<https://doi.org/10.5117/CMS2013.1.MART>

historical context, which majorly compares the movements of people across different periods. The scale and scope of how migration took place. The motives behind migration, routes explored, and social and cultural aspects.

The movement of people across the Mediterranean during the early modern age was a period of clash of civilizations, long-distance trade, religious conflict, and colonization. The Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, expanded their Balkan dominions, annexed Albania, and took control of the Adriatic coast. This consolidation and expansion of Muslim forces in the eastern basin were facilitated by their conquest of the eastern basin. This brought a lot of unprecedented chaos and competition to assert power by many states. The conquest of Egypt and the unification of the red sea were facilitated by Venetians against the Portuguese. This turned into a worldwide conflict and further reveals the interconnection between contacts. The Ottomans continued to spread imperialism beyond the Mediterranean, and Balkans, but in central Asia as well. Christians oversaw the western Mediterranean basin like the Catalonia and Balearic Islands, the entirety of southern Italy, and ports in Barcelona and Valencia. France and Spain were the contending powers in the West. Through all of these movements and conquests, people were displaced, and lives and properties were lost. Looking in hindsight, the expulsion of Jews in 1492, was a result of forced conversion and massacres. These Jews moved to Ottoman lands that were receptive to them. Likewise, the protestant reformation spurred the migration of Lutherans and Catholics. As earlier stated, these Jews alongside orthodox Greeks were allowed the freedom to practice their religion even though as religious minority subjects. All of these point to the fact that religion was an important phenomenon in the early modern age, and this played a role in migration. As contacts were formed and developed, merchants were able to get information on opportunities for trade through advanced mediums of communication like newsletters. Trade and exploration increased the Mediterranean population, urbanization was on the rise, and agricultural demands as well to fend for the large population. Venice emerged as a regional trade center. Mediterranean migration in contemporary times on the other hand saw an influx of migrants from North Africa, however, there was internal migration as well which was a consequence of war. It was a period of labor migration by Turkey and the Maghreb nations. Since 1960, migration from southern Europe has reduced, prompting northwest European countries to concentrate on the Mediterranean region, which resulted in a surge in trans-Mediterranean migration in the early 1970s. the decrease in population was due to economic

expansion and democratic transitions. However, the oil crisis of 1973 impacted post-war migration, affecting Libya and Europe's labor recruitment. This enticed labor migrants to seek opportunities in low-skill industries like agriculture and catering, with Italy and Spain being the major hotspots due to geographical proximity. Moreover, they did not want to return and further made ways for family reunions in Europe. One of the motives for migration is to make life easier and explore better opportunities due to economic disparities in their home country. War and violence too are major drivers. These sometimes are politically motivated which directly and indirectly affects people. It is no brainer that political variables have a major impact on all three of these areas: economic growth, inequality, and labor market structure. These elements may have an impact on people's aspirations; therefore, migration intent opens doors for them. In all, people's movement across the Mediterranean in early modern and contemporary times does differ based on their motives and circumstances respectively.

Another aspect to consider when drawing these comparisons is the scale and scope of which these migrations took place. In the early modern age, most of these migrations were involuntary or forced as the case may be. As earlier stated, that the Mediterranean in the early modern age was engulfed by wars, however, in the Ottoman Empire, most of the slaves were prisoners of war through capture and trade. These slaves were used to meet free labor demands which translated into a human trafficking network. The majority of the slaves were from Africa and in chapter three which is solely on slavery, I gave the statistics of these slaves that the Ottoman Empire accounted for. Slavery in the Mediterranean was a fundamental part of various social systems. Factors ranging from human trafficking whether through war, piracy, kidnapping, child exploitation, and debt slavery have led to an influx of people in the Mediterranean against their will. However, most of the slaves were already enslaved in Africa before being transported to the Mediterranean. Slavery served purposes other than the economic aspects, hence it must be described as a component that influenced social, political, and cultural elements of Mediterranean life. Christians and Muslims were enslaved and assaulted by corsairs especially if these slaves were against their polity. The majority of the slaves captured in the Iberian Peninsula were mostly women and children, especially on land, but in maritime raids, men had a higher population. Slavery converted these human beings into commodities and objects at the point of sale. However, forcefully captured, these slaves were always involved in both formal and informal economic activities, some of which were production- or merchants. They were able

to make a livelihood off of it, and it promoted the spread of knowledge. Conversely in contemporary times, migration in the Mediterranean appears to be multifaceted depending on the pull and push factors that I have explained. Voluntary migration is, however, based on free will. People move for various reasons, either to get quality education, reunite with family, or for work purposes as the case may be. Migration policies generally appear to have a greater impact on how individuals migrate, including their legal pathways, travel routes, and methods of transportation than they do on the general patterns of migration. However, in recent times, there has been an epidemic going on around the Mediterranean Sea which is illegal migration that has drawn the attention of many actors. As I earlier explained, voluntary migration appears a little dicey because the individuals involved in it see it as legitimate, whereas unauthorized border crossing is lawfully wrong. Despite the abolition of slavery, these illegal migrations have made slavery surface since they involve human trafficking which is already a form of slavery. This is not by any means to downplay aspects of modern slavery like trafficking, and forced labor that persists in present times. However, the creation of more humane policies is imperative considering the individual's reasons.

In addition, in the Mediterranean both the early modern and contemporary ages, culture, religion language was very pivotal because as these people moved, voluntarily or involuntarily, their language, heritage, and ideologies were not left out. Migration even created diasporic communities like the case of the Jews in the early modern age. Through all of the wars, trade, and interactions, new cultural identities were formed hence Pratt describes the Mediterranean as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination”.¹⁶¹

5.8 Conclusions.

In summary, contemporary migration has spurred a lot of debates among many scholars and historians, especially concerning the approach to defining and classifying the phenomenon. One thing that remains apparent is the push and pull factors that contribute to migration. Based on the

¹⁶¹ Mary Louise Pratt (1992), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Rutledge, p. 4.

neo-classical economic equilibrium theory, people generally migrate from highly populated areas to densely populated areas or from low-income to high-income areas. In other words, the personal decision to migrate comes from a logical analysis of cost and benefit. The historical-structural approach views migration as a way of mobilizing labor for capital. migration systems approach considers both ends of the flow and all connections between the locations in question. The migratory patterns are intertwined with the causes of migration which include war, economic disparities, and environmental catastrophes. Voluntary migration, illegal migration, and refugee migration were the most common patterns discussed in my thesis. In the Mediterranean, migration took place in phases, and some were internal while others were international, especially from North African Maghreb nations mainly for labor and family reunifications. The comparative aspects of the Mediterranean Migration in the early modern and contemporary ages highlight the differences in patterns, motives, routes, and cultural aspects of migration.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis aimed to discuss migration in world history, focusing on a specific crossroad region: the early modern Mediterranean. The discussion started with a general overview of migration providing the definition, and linking the phenomenon to religious, ethnic, and political spheres. The patterns of Migration in the early modern age were discussed in detail, highlighting the causes, motives, consequences, and routes explored by individuals. In the second chapter, the Mediterranean as a region was given keen attention, seeing that the thesis is narrowed down to the Mediterranean to avoid ambiguity. I also explored the political dynamics of some Mediterranean countries because Politics and warfare induced migration in the early modern age. Migration brought about connections and interactions between various civilizations, and in as much as the Mediterranean countries I discussed had their various political systems, marriage was a common strategy used by Monarchs to exert power and political influence. The early modern age in the Mediterranean was an era of power and hegemonic struggle. The third chapter dealt with slavery in the early modern age which was a result of one of the patterns discussed at the beginning of the chapter i.e., forced migration. Slavery was looked into through the lens of different scholars and modelers of slavery, they linked it to severe depravity, social, psychological, and environmental variables. Mediterranean slavery took various forms which were highlighted. The conversion of slaves was very pivotal which did not necessarily mean manumission, but improvement of living circumstances. Resistance was an agency that slaves utilized to revolt against inhumane oppression. The abolition of slavery was championed by the British anti-slavery movements and the League of Nations, though it ended at different times across different countries. It was however linked to primitive nations that were not civilized. The fourth chapter discussed the role of religion in early modern migration. Christianity, Islam, and Judaism were discussed within the context of the Mediterranean. Religious persecution which was a driving factor of migration in the early modern Mediterranean linked to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 from the Iberian Peninsula. This expulsion left many Jews destitute, however, the Ottoman lands were receptive to them and allowed them to integrate into the society which further let them interact through trade thus establishing contracts and contacts. The Jews cooperated and flourished in different spheres. The fifth and final chapter considered contemporary migration. As the world evolved as a result of globalization, so did migration. Contemporary Migration was defined by many scholars based on theories they deemed fit.

Nonetheless, the patterns of migration in contemporary are slightly different especially because migration these days appears to be voluntary. To this end, for migration to be considered voluntary, three conditions must be considered: non-coercion, sufficiency, and information. Illegal migration too has gained prominence in recent times; however, it is not a new term, but the construction has evolved. Refugee migration also known as conflict-induced migration has led to the displacement of people all over the world due to violence, war, and political and economic uncertainty. Specifically in the Mediterranean, migration was phases, and it took place legally and illegally via countries like Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya due to their proximity and geographical location around the Mediterranean which I established in the second chapter. The influx of people in the Mediterranean has further complicated things and influenced structural changes economically and politically. The motivations behind these migratory movements range from economic disparities, violation of human rights to environmental factors. In a bid to round up, comparative aspects of Early Modern and Contemporary migrations were considered. As these movements happened across different periods, some of the patterns differ and some have similarities hence the historical character of this thesis that provides background information in a chronological order that further helps in these comparisons.

My thesis is not exhaustive as it can be expanded and looked at from different lenses. However, it brings to light how intertwined the phenomenon of migration is with different aspects like slavery, religion, language, and cultural interactions. The patterns and motives of migration which were looked into helped clear doubts on the oversimplification and vague conclusion of Migration. In as much as my thesis does not talk about migratory policies explicitly, I am aware that several policies regulate this phenomenon irrespective of the patterns to which they exist, the creation of more humane policies will help in understanding the plight of migrants and the rationale behind their choices.

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