

Union in Separation – Trading Diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean (1200–1700)

International Conference, Heidelberg
17–19 February 2011



Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg
Philosophische Fakultät
Transcultural Studies
Research Group
Trading Diasporas in the
Eastern Mediterranean (1250–1450)

UNION IN SEPARATION

Trading Diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean (1200–1700)

Committee:

Research Group

**Trading Diasporas
in the Eastern Mediterranean 1250–1450**

Dr. des. Georg Christ (Research Group Leader),
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in cooperation with

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Conference web site:

http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/transculturality/union_in_separation.html

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INTRODUCTION

The conference "Union in Separation. Trading Diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean (1200-1700)" focuses on diasporic communities of the medieval and early modern Mediterranean. Specific attention is paid to their role in trade and exchange between perceived separate cultural areas. Regardless of whether it is actually possible to speak of separate "cultures," the construct continues to persist in people's minds. These mindsets, their creation, and their impact on societies are what we are investigating.

The study of Mediterranean diasporas lends itself well to this endeavour, as it allows for an understanding of the construction and deconstruction of cultural differences; of separation as well as unity and integration.

In order to best analyse these processes we suggest exploring trading diasporas and their role in their host societies as well as in transcultural exchange. Two aspects of these interactions are of particular interest:

1) Medieval Mediterranean trading diasporas operated within formal legal structures. Their status as religious minorities and foreigners posed both challenges and opportunities: For instance, far-reaching privileges granted by the sultan to Latin Christian merchants coexisted with, and were frequently challenged by, discriminatory orthodox Islamic law and/or local legal practice. Moving between different levels of legality and within as well as outside its set boundaries created a "third" space, where diasporic communities would create a legal framework of their own, cutting across cultural divides.

2) Thus, a further interest is to gather evidence on informal mechanisms that facilitated cooperation across cultural divides. This will shed light on the form and scope of cross-cultural movements, for instance in the realm of long-distance trade.

PRESENTATIONS, DISCUSSIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

Presentations should last no longer than 20 minutes. Official language is English (with presentations in French possible). There will be six sessions, each of which will accommodate two parallel panels. Thursday will conclude with a public lecture and Friday with a panel discussion. Written contributions will be published in book-form.

If not stated otherwise, all presentations will take place in the *Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg*

THURSDAY, 17 FEBRUARY 2011

9.00

Registration

Room S4

10.00

Word of Welcome

Prof. Dr. Johannes Heil, Erster Prorektor

Leiter der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

Introduction

Georg Christ, Universität Heidelberg

10.30

Opening Lecture

**CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSFERS OF INDUSTRIAL
TECHNOLOGIES IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES:
INCENTIVES, PROMOTERS AND AGENTS**

David Jacoby, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

11.15

Coffee

THURSDAY, 17 FEBRUARY 2011

Session I. 11.30 – 13.30

Room S4

**1A. Diasporas and Imperial Rule
in the 13th C. Aegean**

Organiser: Stefan Burkhardt

Chair: Jörg Peltzer

11.30

**In Quest of (Trading) Diasporas in the Byzantine States
of Epiros and Trebizond ca. 1210–1304**

Günther Prinzing, Universität Mainz, Germany

11.50

Merchants in the Crusader States

Krijnie Ciggaar, Universiteit Leiden, Netherlands

12.10

**The Empire of Nicaea (1204–1261):
A Transcultural Society?**

Ekaterini Mitsiou, Österreichische Akademie der
Wissenschaften Wien, Austria

12.30

**Negotium Graecorum – Trade as Theory and Practice in
Ecclesiastical Contacts between the West and the World
of Late Byzantium**

Dimitrios Moschos, University of Athens, Greece

12.50

**Practices of Integration and Segregation: Armenian
Trading Diasporas and Their Interaction with the
Genoese and Venetian Colonies in the Eastern
Mediterranean and the Black Sea, 1289–1484**

Alexandr Osipian, Kramatorsk Institute of Economics
and Humanities, Ukraine

13.10

Discussion

13.30

Lunch

(Cafeteria, Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg)

Room S2

1B. Early Modern Italy's Diasporas I

Organisers: Wolfgang Kaiser, Roberto Zaugg

Chair: Wolfgang Kaiser

Discussant: Roberto Zaugg

11.30

Between Diasporas:

The Netherlandish Traders in Venice, c. 1580 – 1650

Maartje van Gelder, Universiteit van Amsterdam,
Netherlands

12.00

**Osmanlı –Speaking Diasporas. Between Marseilles, Tunis
and Livorno (1600–1650)**

Guillaume Calafat, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne,
France

12.30

**A World in Motion: Inter-Communal Exchanges and the
Shaping of the Greek Diaspora, c.1770–c.1830**

Mathieu Grenet, European University Institute, Italy

13.00

Discussion

14.30

Presentation of the **Medieval Mediterranean Diaspora
Database**

Session II. 15.00 – 17.00

Room S2

2.A Early Modern Italy's Diasporas II

Organisers: Wolfgang Kaiser, Roberto Zaugg

Chair: Roberto Zaugg

Discussant: Wolfgang Kaiser

15.00

Merchants of the Adriatic:

The Jadertine Trading Community, c. 1550

Stephan Sander, Universität Zürich, Switzerland

15.30

The Office of the Jewish Consul in the Early Modern Mediterranean. A Study in the Exchange of Legal and Economic Concepts

Daniel Jütte, Universität Heidelberg, Germany

16.00

The Sceriman Between Venice and New Julfa:

An Armenian Trading Network and its Sociocultural Impacts (17th and 18th centuries)

Evelyn Korsch, Technische Universität Dresden, Germany

16.30

Discussion

19.00

Keynote Lecture – Alte Aula, Alte Universität, 1st floor

MEDITERRANEAN JEWISH DIASPORAS AND THE BILL OF EXCHANGE: COPING WITH A FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTRUMENT (15TH–17TH CENTURIES)

Benjamin Arbel, Tel Aviv University, Israel

Chair: Georg Christ, Universität Heidelberg, Germany

Word of welcome: representative of the Rektorat, Universität Heidelberg (to be confirmed)

Room S4

2.B Diasporic Groups in Mamluk Egypt 1300–1450 I

Organiser: Anna Katharina Angermann

Chair: John L. Meloy

15.00

A Muslim of Turkish Origin Kept Prisoner on a Genoese Ship in the Port of Alexandria. A Transcultural Encounter According to Al-Nuwayrî's Kitâb al-Ilmâm

Anna K. Angermann, Universität Heidelberg, Germany

15.20

Byzantine Saints as Captives in Mamluk Egypt and Ottoman Anatolia

Johannes Pahlitzsch, Universität Mainz, Germany

15.40

At the Fringe of a Diaspora: Venetian Agents Between Alexandria and Cairo

Francisco Apellániz, Université de Provence Aix-Marseille I, France

16.00

Between Trade and Religion: Italian Merchants in Mamluk Cairo

Giuseppe Cecere, Ifao, Cairo, Egypt

16.20

Discussion

20.00

Reception – Bel Étage, Alte Universität

FRIDAY, 18 FEBRUARY 2011

Session III. 9.00 – 11.00

Room S4

**3A. Diasporic Groups in Mamluk Egypt
1300–1450 II**

Organiser: Anna Katharina Angermann

Chair: Giuseppe Cecere

9.00

Reflections on the Mamluk Destruction of Acre (1291)

Peter Edbury, Cardiff University, Wales, UK

9.20

**Why Venice, not Genoa. How Venice Emerged as the
Mamluks' Favourite European Trading Partner After 1365**

Albrecht Fuess, Universität Marburg, Germany

9.40

**Getting to Know the World of Trading Diasporas in
Mamluk Egypt: Felice Brancacci's Account of his
Embassy to the Sultan on Behalf of Florence (1422)**

Cristian Caselli, Università di Pisa, Italy

10.00

**The Influence of Papal Policy on the Italian Merchants
and Turkish Maritime Emirates in the Aegean:
1300–1350**

Mike Carr, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK

10.20

Discussion

11.00

Coffee break

Room S2

3B. Trade Networks in the Later Middle Ages I

Organisers: Lars Börner, Franz-Julius Morche

Chair: Lars Börner

9.00

Social and Economic Networks: An Overview

Sergio Currarini, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, Italy

09.20

**Business Networks as Complex Systems – Venetian
Merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1400–1420**

Franz-Julius Morche, Universität Heidelberg, Germany

9.40

**How to Trust a Stranger: Evidence from the Sephardic
Diaspora and its Cross-Cultural Networks in the Early
Modern Period**

Yadira González de Lara, Universidad de València,
PROMETEO at CEU-Cardenal Herrera, Spain
Francesca Trivellato, Yale University, U.S.A.

10.00

**Markets from Networks – Commercial Networks and
the Constitution of Preindustrial Markets**

Christof Jeggle, Universität Bamberg, Germany

10.20

Discussion

Session IV. 11.15 – 13.15

Room S4

4A. Diasporic Communities in Rhodes I

Organiser: Teresa Sartore Senigaglia

Chair: David Jacoby

11.15

Non-Isolated Islands: Diplomatic Relations Between Venice and Rhodes in the First Decade of the Fifteenth Century

Teresa Sartore Senigaglia, Universität Heidelberg, Germany

11.35

Mixed Identities on Hospitaller Rhodes

Anthony Luttrell, England, UK

11.55

The Influential Trade Community of Western Merchants in Hospitallers Rhodes During the Fifteenth Century, 1421–1480

Pierre Bonneaud, France

12.15

Muslims and Jews on Hospitaller Rhodes

Jürgen Sarnowsky, Universität Hamburg, Germany

12.35

Discussion

Room S2

4B. Trade Networks in the Later Middle Ages II

Organisers: Lars Börner, Franz-Julius Morche

Chair: Lars Börner

11.15

Bills of Exchange, Financial Networks, and Quasi-Impersonal Exchange in Western Europe and the Middle East

Jared Rubin, California State University, Fullerton, U.S.A.

11.35

Was There a Market for Institutional Solutions in Pre-Modern Europe? Multifunctionality and complementarity in Pre-Modern Commercial Institutions

Regina Grafe, Northwestern University, U.S.A.

11.55

Epidemic Trade

Battista Severgnini, Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

Lars Börner, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

12.15

The Impact of Social History and Geography on the Development of Long-Distance Trade: A Laboratory Investigation

Erik O. Kimbrough, Universiteit Maastricht, Netherlands

12.35

Discussion

13.15

Lunch

Session V. 14.30 – 16.30

Room S4

5A. Diasporic Communities in Rhodes II – Historical Context

Organiser: Teresa Sartore Senigaglia

Chair: Anthony Luttrell

14.30

L'insertion de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem en Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480–1522)

Nicolas Vatin, CNRS, Paris, France

15.00

Some Aspects of the Venetian Presence in Trebizond in the Fourteenth century

Angeliki Tzavara, Centre d'Histoire et de Civilisation de Byzance (CNRS), Paris, France – Venice, Italy

15.30

The Controversy for the «Eighth Ecumenical Council» and the Position of Metropolitan Neilos of Rhodes (Fifteenth Century)

Ioannis Panagiotopoulos, University of Athens, Greece

16.00

Discussion

Room S2

5B. From Venice to India: Networks, Diasporas and Transcultural Flows

Organiser: Georg Christ

Chair: Sven Externbrink

14.30

Trading Diasporas in the Venetian and Genoese Trading Stations in Tana, 1430 – 1440: A Case Study

Ievgen Khvalkov, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

15.00

Morisco Refugees' Relations with Venetian and French Trading and Diplomatic Communities in Istanbul, 1570s – early 1600s

Tijana Krstic, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

15.30

The Venetian Diaspora and the European–Asian Trade during the Late Sixteenth Century

Andrea Caracausi, Università Ca'Foscari Venezia, Italy

16.00

Discussion

18.00

Panel Discussion

(Conference Hall, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften)

**THE UNCANNY CHARM OF THE OTHER
OLD DIASPORAS – NEW DIASPORAS: CHALLENGES
OF INTEGRATION AND CONTRIBUTION OF HISTORICAL
RESEARCH**

Douglas Murray, Regina Grafe,

Dirk Heirbaut, Arthur Becker, Roberto Zaugg

Moderator: Jae Chung

Word of welcome: Prof. Dr. Stefan Weinfurter, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften

Introduction: Georg Christ

SATURDAY, 19 FEBRUARY 2011

Session VI. 10.00–12.00

Room S4

6A. Legal Pluralism and Diasporic Communities in Historical Perspective

Organiser: Teresa Sartore Senigaglia

Chair: Dirk Heirbaut

10.00

The Socio-Legal Adaptation of British Immigrants in Turkey: A Theoretical Puzzle

Prakash Shah, Queen Mary, University of London, UK

10.30

A Patchwork of Accommodations": The Law and Other Legalities in Eighteenth-Century Ireland

Seán P. Donlan, University of Limerick, Ireland

11.00

Legal Pluralism as a Tool of the Colonial State: the "Legal Othering" of the Maltese as Natives and as Migrants

David Zammit, University of

Malta, Malta

11.30

Discussion

Room S2

6B. From Venice to Tana: Networks, Diasporas and Transcultural Flows

Organiser: Georg Christ

Chair: Carla Meyer

10.00

La « nation » vénitienne en Sicile dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle : l'exemple de la compagnie des frères Valier

Fabien Faugeron, École Française de Rome, Italy

10.30

Levantine Goods in Western Cultures: Adapting Rugs and Silk Cloth

Heinrich Lang, Universität Bamberg, Germany

11.00

Florence at Venice: Florentine Bankers in Early Modern Venice

Isabella Cecchini, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, Italy

Luciano Pezzolo, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, Italy

11.30

Discussion

12.00

Conclusive Remarks

Georg Christ

12.30

Break

15.00

Guided tour through the old city of Heidelberg

Point of contact:

Universitätsplatz, in front of Alte Universität

Marco Neumaier/Stefan Burkhardt/Georg Christ,

Universität Heidelberg, Germany

ABSTRACTS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Anna Katharina Angermann

Universität Heidelberg

A Muslim of Turkish Origin Kept Prisoner on a Genoese Ship in the Port of Alexandria. A Transcultural Encounter According to Al-Nuwayrī's *Kitāb al-Ilmām*

Alexandrian writer Al-Nuwayrī's *Kitāb al-Ilmām* is a very rich source. Inspired by the Frankish attack on Alexandria in 1365, it does not only cover the raid itself, but features a number of excursuses, including chapters and sub-chapters on Persian kings and a comparison between Muslim and Christian cities. It distinguishes itself through its peculiar combination of various literary genres.

This paper focuses on a short section of the *Kitāb al-Ilmām* dedicated to "News of the Venetians and Genoese in Alexandria". It deals with merchants in the port of Alexandria, taking a Muslim prisoner hostage on one of their ships, and the subsequent developments. This brief and simple description allows for an exemplary glimpse on Mamluk-European relationships and communication through trade, hostage-taking and negotiations. In addition to studying or assessing the historical accuracy of the account, this paper will analyse the author's approach to documenting the events unfolding in the aftermath of the Frankish raid on Alexandria in 1365.

Francisco Apellániz

Université de Provence Aix-Marseille I

Cooperating in Complex Environments: Cross-cultural Trade, Commercial Networks and Notarial Culture in the Mediterranean (1350–1500)

A strong division of labour still emerges from studies of the Mediterranean empires such as the Genoese, Catalan and Venetian in the context of the post-crusade commercial revolution, and studies of the functioning of cross-cultural trade. Medievalists have charted in detail the economic, diplomatic, and technical aspects of specific nations and zones of influence, from the point of view of economic, bilateral relations and with a bias on growth. This annales-style historiography contrasts with recent debates on world-history, such as Diaspora studies, cultural mediation, conversion issues, or the intercultural trade of the Early-Modern commercial networks.

Inspired by the work of anthropologists (Barth 1956; Barth 1969; Cohen 1971; Ortiz [1947], 1995), the studies on trading diasporas have contributed much to our knowledge of how boundaries between groups are constantly redefined. However, diaspora historians bypass the 1300–1500 period because, unlike the oceanic expansion of more modern times, the three classic exempla (i.e. Armenians, Greeks, and Jews) appear embedded in state powers. However, for classic studies of trading diasporas under Fatimid rule, like those described in the Geniza (Goitein 1960; Goitein 1967; Udovitch 2002, among others), we have to wait until the sixteenth century to find interest in the issue of how ethnic and religious networks worked. The problem with research on diasporas is that it looks for an ideal group 'type', tied by family solidarities and governed by ethic norms and social control. The emerging diaspora paradigm, elaborated in contexts of weak legal coercion, bypasses the highly institutionalized environment of the Medieval Mediterranean, and dismisses the role of multi-lateral or even legal devices in governing inter-group relations.

Benjamin Arbel
Tel Aviv University

Mediterranean Jewish Diasporas and the Bill of Exchange: Coping with a Foreign Financial Instrument (16th–17th Centuries)

The commercial and financial instrument that eventually became the bill of exchange (*lettera di cambio*) developed gradually among Italian businessmen from the late twelfth century onward and later spread to other regions. The *cambio* technique was actually one among several solutions for solving the conflict between the need for credit in the expanding capitalistic economy on the one hand, and the Biblical prohibitions on usury on the other. Its success was assured once the Church authorities complied with this technique under various justifications. Thus, during the early modern period the bill of exchange became the principal instrument of credit for Italian and other merchants and bankers.

Judging by the rabbinical responsa of that period, which are generally based on concrete cases, the bill of exchanges seems to have become widespread among Jewish merchants only during the sixteenth century. Since this issue was mainly debated among rabbis belonging to the Sephardic Jewish diaspora, it can be surmised that its use by Jewish businessmen was one of the consequences of the rise in importance of Jewish merchants in the Mediterranean world (especially in the Eastern Mediterranean), following the expulsion of the Jews from Spanish territories and their emigration (as forced conversos) from Portugal.

The Biblical prohibitions on usury were, of course, also (or better—primarily) valid as far as Jews were concerned. This paper will focus on the difficulties encountered by the Jewish commercial milieu in adopting an important financial instrument that had already become an essential tool among Christian merchants and financiers. It is mainly based on the study of the rabbinical responsa literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In contrast to the situation among Catholics, where a centralized Church could reach a policy concerning the economic behaviour of its believers, each rabbi could hold a different view on any issue related to Jewish life. Consequently, disagreement on halakhic issues

was a perennial situation, and the attitude toward *cambio* was no exception to this rule. However, at the backdrop of the historiographic and popular image of the able Jewish merchant and financier, it is remarkable to discern a rather conservative attitude among early modern rabbis, aiming at limiting the possibilities of using this financial tool. This could constitute an obstacle to Jews who were trying to compete with Christians in the field of International trade.

Two important questions, related to these problems remain open at the present stage of research. The first is the question to what extent did Jews follow the rulings of the more conservative rabbis, and the second whether such religious inhibitions, which only applied to credit operations among coreligionists, stimulated Jewish businessmen to use the fully-developed bill of exchange in dealing with Christian business partners.

Pierre Bonneaud

The Influential Trade Community of Western Merchants in Hospitaller Rhodes During the Fifteenth Century 1421–1480

In Syria or Palestine, the Hospitallers essentially acted on land as feudal lords and as fighters for the Christian faith. They also depended upon the political powers of the King of Jerusalem and other Latin princes in the Levant.

A radical change occurred when they operated their own state in Rhodes and most of the Dodecanese islands. The sea became their battleground against the Turks and the Mamluks. The Aegean and East Mediterranean were also spheres of intense trade and sea piracy and, under the Hospitallers' rule, Rhodes became an active and safe trade centre on the Levantine sea routes.

The Hospitallers' policies brought considerable changes to Rhodian society by adding up to the local population, consisting basically of Orthodox Greeks, a great variety of newcomers: the Order's knights and brethren, Latin settlers, Jews, Syrian Catholics and other refugees from Muslim territories, as well as many slaves supplied through corso and piracy.

Numerous merchants from the West, mostly from Mediterranean countries, also visited Rhodes, used the port for their embarkations and the town as a basis for their trade operations or as their residence in the Levant. This influential and homogeneous trading community will be the object of our study, at a time when military conflicts with the Mamluks and the Ottomans tore the area apart almost permanently. We shall review successively the western merchants in Rhodes, their national and social identities; the policies conducted and the rules established by the Hospital in order to favour, control and tax their trading activities and the part played by the merchants in other valued fields such as financing the order, supplying vessels, mercenaries and armaments, and acting as diplomatic agents. We shall also try to characterize lifestyles and traits of behaviour common to the members of this influential community and finally give an assessment of their relations with the other elements of the Rhodian society including with local merchants.

Lars Börner and Battista Severgnini

Freie Universität Berlin/Copenhagen Business School

Epidemic Trade

This paper studies medieval trade flows based on the spread of the Black Death from 1347–1351, which affected most areas of Europe. Based on a modified gravity model we estimate the speed (per kilometre) of transmission of the disease between the transmitting and the receiving cities. We find that the speed depends on the distance, political borderlines, and on the political and religious importance of a city. Furthermore, geographic variables related to the means of transportation like rivers and the sea matter significantly. These results are the first ones, which enable us to identify and quantify key-variables of medieval trade flows based on an empirical trade model. These results allow us to shed new light on many qualitative debates on the importance and causes of medieval trade.

Guillaume Calafat

Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Osmanlı-Speaking Diasporas. Between Marseilles, Tunis and Livorno (1600–1650).

This presentation aims to stress the role of the Ottoman Turkish language in the Western Mediterranean trade of the beginning of the seventeenth century. Focusing on transactions made by Levantine Jews, Persian Armenians and Greeks, I would like to compare the vicissitudes of three different diasporic trajectories. I will show that the knowledge of the Ottoman Turkish language could open commercial incentives. First, it helped Levantine Jews, Armenians, and Greeks trading together in European and North African port cities. It created also a kind of "Ottoman Turkish-speaking sociability" in Livorno, linked to the consumption of coffee and tobacco. Eventually, this linguistic skill gave merchants the opportunity to act as middlemen, especially for ransoming captives, but also for risky deals like precious stones trade.

Andrea Caracausi

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

The Venetian Diaspora and the European-Asian Trade During the Late Sixteenth Century

This paper aims to analyze strategies and structures of Venetian merchants and their overseas agents in the European-Asian trade during the Late Renaissance. By the 16th century, the discovery of America and new routes to Eastern India opened a new world. Commercial networks changed rapidly, stimulating the birth of State and Empire and their influences on trade, war, and global connections. Researches in global history have changed the ideas of the supremacy of European countries. Combining network analysis, cultural anthropology and game-theory, recent approaches on early modern business cooperation and trade have also discarded the previous monolithic interpretation of merchant colonies or diasporas, investigating more deeply their nature and their networks, the forms of their cooperation, and, last but not least, their relationship with the social and institutional framework in the host country. Recent studies also have shown how the relative absence of traditional formal institutions (as colonies, nations or state enterprises) does not always merely mean a disappearance of Italians in the context of international trade.

In this paper, I will analyze the cooperation between Venetian merchants and their overseas agents in Middle East and Eastern Asia during the late Renaissance. In the first part, I will show how those merchants were still involved in European-Asian trade; both through the traditional "silk route" and the new Oceanic traffics. I will show how those merchants entered deeply inside these new commercial networks sometimes even outside the political and diplomatic structure of the State, but using a wide range of formal and informal ties to ensure their interest. In the second part of the paper, I will also analyze some exemplary case studies of merchants who left the European context and went to Asia as agents or individual merchants in order to manage these commercial networks, underlining forms of settlement and cooperation.

Mike Carr

Royal Holloway, University of London, Institute of Historical Research, London

The Influence of Papal Policy on the Italian Merchants and Turkish Maritime Emirates in the Aegean: 1300–1350

This paper proposes to study Latin (Venetian and Genoese) and Turkish (Aydin and Menteshe) merchants in the Aegean as loosely defined 'diasporic' groups. In particular, it will focus on the contrasting priorities of the Genoese and Venetians, as they tried to weigh up the practical necessities of commercial exchange with the spiritual and temporal rewards granted for participation in a papal organised expedition against the maritime Turkish emirates. There are many examples of the Latins fostering commercial exchange with their Turkish neighbours, but as the threat of the Turks, especially from Aydin, grew, the attitudes of the merchants and the papacy changed. The papacy began to introduce mechanisms that facilitated transcultural exchange with the Mamluks, through the relaxing of pre-existing trade embargos, in order to encourage active Christian resistance against the Turks of Aydin. These tell us about the changing attitude towards the different Muslim groups in the Mediterranean, as the Turks from the Anatolian maritime emirates began to be considered as the principle threat to Latins of the eastern Mediterranean, instead of the Mamluk Sultanate. Because of this, the papacy began to have a greater influence on commercial exchange between Muslims and Christians, as the concepts of trade and holy war began to be blended together in papal crusade negotiation. In fact, the Latins of the Aegean and the papacy began to perceive and project trade and crusade as two complimentary facets in the defence of their possessions in the East against the expansion of the Turkish maritime emirates.

Cristian Caselli

Università di Pisa

Getting to Know the World of Trading Diasporas in Mamluk Egypt: Felice Brancacci's Account of his Embassy to the Sultan on Behalf of Florence (1422).

The first decades of the fifteenth century marked the beginning of a new phase in Florentine relations with the Mediterranean environment. Having acquired a port of her own in 1421, the Signoria established immediately the Consulate of the Sea, then in July 1422 two galleys sailed from Pisa with two ambassadors on board. They were heading for Mamluk Egypt to achieve trade agreements with the sultan.

One of those envoys was Felice Brancacci, an official and silk merchant who had never visited the Levant. During the voyage he kept a diary, published in 1881 in the *Archivio storico italiano*. The source provides an insight into various facets of the situation of Italian mercantile communities in Egypt: patterns of alliances between them; interdependence and legal aspects of their positions in the sultanate; relations with the Mamluk authorities. This last topic opens the way to an analysis of the steps through which the representatives of the trading diasporas – in this case the Florentine ambassadors – could gain an audience with the sultan. Brancacci's diary carries the reader all along the complicated procedure, focusing on the exchange of gifts with the Mamluk dignitaries, on the role of the dragomans, and finally on the long expected meeting. That was made possible only after a series of misunderstandings both in the sphere of political ceremonial and in the religious one. The latter issues attracted special attention on the part of Brancacci, since his mission took place during the Ramadan period.

In conclusion, the diary stimulates an approach to multiple cultural problems of the world of trading diasporas in Mamluk Egypt and, in a comparative perspective, some parallel with contemporary realities in the Ottoman Empire and Byzantium.

Giuseppe Cecere

Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), Cairo

Between Trade and Religion: Italian Merchants in Mamluk Cairo

The presence of important groups of Italian merchants and bankers in Medieval Cairo has been well studied by historians of economics, since 19th Century (see, e.g., William Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig, 1886). More recently, since the 60s, works by John Wansbrough (up to his *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*, 1996), focusing primarily on commercial history, and S. Goitein's re-researches on Jewish communities in the Arab World, up to his masterwork *A Mediterranean Society*, (6 vols., since 1967), based on Cairo Genizah fragments, have cast light on the importance of trade relationships between Egypt and Italian towns (especially Venice, Genoa and Florence, but also smaller maritime republics such as Amalfi and Pisa) for a better understanding of social history of Medieval Egypt, on the background of long-term "transcultural" history of the Mediterranean area.

This paper will try to analyze the "religious side" of this relationships, that is to say how Italian trading diasporic groups interacted – both actually and symbolically– with the different religious groups and authorities of Mamluk Egypt and Cairo, in the framework of changing relationships between Europe and the Arab World through the Middle Ages. Some case studies will be taken into consideration, starting from the "incident" occurred to merchants from Amalfi in 996 and covering from the Fatimid period up to the end of the Mamluk times.

Isabella Cecchini and Luciano Pezzolo

Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia

Florence at Venice: Florentine Bankers in Early Modern Venice

Though not properly a diaspora, Florentines share with other foreign communities in Venice the status of 'mercante residente'. A large number of Florentines lived in fifteenth century Venice. In this period, they were the most numerous group of applicants for a basic citizenship for foreigners that granted commercial privileges (the so-called *cittadinanza*), especially tariff reductions otherwise reserved for Venetians. Nevertheless, Florentine merchant bankers sought only rarely to acquire Venetian citizenship, tending to stay in one place only a limited number of years, nor did they acquire it in late periods.

Activities and family ties of Florentine merchants have been well studied, leaving nevertheless a space in historiography as far as the late sixteenth century is concerned. Venetian notaries' documents for this period reveal that these companies maintained a key role in traditional trade and specialized in financial services. The managers of Florentine companies in Venice acted as a closed group (most of them live even in the same district of the city, Cannaregio, between the parishes of Santa Sofia and San Marziale) avoiding creating family ties with the Venetian aristocracy. At the same time they exploited a vast network of relationships, which puts them in contact with nearly any social category in the city.

In our paper, we wish to focus on the Florentines role as financial intermediaries in Venice, especially through the exchange fairs of Piacenza from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. More than traditional trade, financial brokerage involved a strong reliance between the parts involved, and the capacity of fruitfully exploiting networks: one of these successful companies invested even widows' and common people's money, and its dramatic failure in 1622 offers the possibility of understanding how the networks acted when things went wrong, and how the status of foreigners weighted.

Krijnie Ciggaar
Universiteit Leiden

Merchants in the Crusader States

Various groups of merchants (foreigners and indigenous people) were active in the Crusader states. Depending on their lieu of origin, some lived there permanently, others stayed in the East temporarily for longer or shorter periods. Among the latter one finds the merchants coming from the West. Some merchants, like those who had left their homeland due to political circumstances, lived in what is commonly called a diaspora, others lived in a 'professional' diaspora, as did the merchants from the West, at least as long as they were active in the Latin states of Outremer.

Adaptation to life in the East was not the same for every group of merchants. Westerners had to cope with political vicissitudes in East and West, indigenous merchants had to come to terms with new local leaders, and competitors in business. The situation in the various Latin States was never the same. Historical circumstances (from the past and in the present), the indigenous population, the various languages, and religions, they all played a role in the life of merchants. Their life in the Latin States is scarcely documented. In spite of this scarcity, it may be interesting to focus on the first Latin State in Outremer: the Principality of Antioch (established in 1098, during the First crusade) and its immediate surroundings.

Sergio Currarini
Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia

Social and Economic Networks: An Overview

This talk will present the main methodological approaches and issues of „networks economics.“ I will focus on the strategic approach, stressing the incentives of agents to form links in order to obtain the maximal „profit“ from the network. I will not cover the random-mechanical approach taken in the physics disciplines, but I will give references to it. I will focus on economic applications that try to provide insights on the role of the network in shaping the trade patterns and the formation of prices.

Seán Patrick Donlan
University of Limerick

**"A Patchwork of Accommodations":
The Law and Other Legalities in Eighteenth-Century
Ireland**

As elsewhere in eighteenth-century Europe, Ireland was a place of considerable legal and normative hybridity. Its laws and judicial structures looked little different from the English neighbour that dominated it and from whom the Irish had received laws over the course of centuries. Ireland's diverse superior courts of common law and equity mirrored those of London: the courts of King's Bench, common pleas, exchequer, and chancery. The assizes travelled on circuit to the farthest corners of the island. There were numerous narrower, often pan-European, jurisdictions: admiralty and ecclesiastical, local and manorial, urban and commercial courts. Justices of the peace, sheriffs and grand juries all played vital roles exercising functions as administrative as judicial. Additional sites of 'low', summary justice, often exercised by laymen, were also typically discretionary.

The plurality of laws was complemented by significant normative complexity. State law and other legalities, alternative methods of social regulation, are not easily disentangled. Alongside the printed world of legislation and law reports, there existed numerous additional informal types of mediation and arbitration operating in the shadow of the established legal order. An alternative royal court system existed in Jacobitism and was supplemented by an old Catholic 'underground gentry' that continued to exercise moral authority. In addition to the established church, both Catholics and dissenters utilised unofficial ecclesiastical or congregational mechanisms for resolving disputes. The so-called 'moral economy' exercised a critical, extra-legal role and interpersonal violence, including duelling, continued to be important. This complex culture of accommodation and collusion was significantly altered by the nationalism, centralism, monism, and legal positivism of the nineteenth century. In the aftermath of the revolution in France, the legal hybridity that had characterised Europe for centuries was largely eliminated and normative hybridity fundamentally altered.

Peter Edbury
Cardiff University

Reflections on the Mamluk Destruction of Acre (1291)

The expulsion of the European settlers from Acre and their other remaining strongholds in Syria in 1291 is rightly seen as marking the end of an epoch. My purpose in this paper is to raise questions about the commercial implications of the events of that year. How important were the Christian-held ports for the commerce of the Muslim hinterland? Why did the Mamluks destroy them rather than attempt to exploit their economic potential to their own advantage? How did the patterns of trade change, and what can we know about the ways in which the survivors adapted to their new circumstances? How far is it true to say that the 'fall of Acre' led directly to the rise of Famagusta as a commercial hub in which refugees from Latin Syria played a vital role? Thanks to the survival of a large quantity of Genoese notarial instruments from Famagusta, mostly in the registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto, dating to the years either side of 1300, we can build up a picture of the business community there comprising refugees from Latin Syria and merchants and craftsmen from Genoa and elsewhere in the West. But it is a picture that is far from complete.

Fabien Faugeron

École française de Rome

La « nation » vénitienne en Sicile dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle : l'exemple de la compagnie des frères Valier

Longtemps caractérisée par sa faiblesse numérique par rapport aux Génois et aux Catalans, la diaspora vénitienne de Sicile connaît un essor remarquable dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle, indice de l'intérêt croissant que revêt la grande île dans le commerce de la cité marcitaine. Une étude de cas, celle de la correspondance commerciale d'une compagnie marchande dans les années 1460-70, entend préciser les enjeux et les modalités de cette implantation. Principalement établie à Syracuse, capitale sicilienne des Vénitiens naturellement tournés vers la Méditerranée orientale, cette société déploie son activité sur plusieurs échelles: le cabotage inter-sicilien, mais aussi et surtout un commerce triangulaire voire quadrangulaire mettant en relation le nord de l'Italie, la Sicile et la Méditerranée orientale. Au travers de cette documentation exceptionnelle, l'analyse abordera la question des liens de ces marchands vénitiens avec la société, la culture et l'économie siciliennes.

Albrecht Fuess

Universität Marburg

Why Venice, not Genoa. How Venice Emerged as the Mamluks' Favourite European Trading Partner after 1365

Venice was the leading European trading partner of the Mamluks throughout the 15th century. It even actively supported Mamluk military expeditions in the 1420s against Christian Cyprus and helped the Mamluks against other European sea nations like the Genoese and the French in that period.

The roots of these mutual alliances lay in the late fourteenth century and are not totally uncovered yet. Although the present contribution will not be able to do this in a fully-fledged manner, I will at least try to shed more light on these issues by especially scrutinizing contemporary Mamluk historiography in order to find out why Venice became an ally and not Genoa. Did this happen by chance or was there some kind of master plan behind it?

Maartje van Gelder

Universiteit van Amsterdam

**Between Diasporas: The Netherlandish Traders in Venice,
c. 1580 – 1650**

At the end of the fifteenth century, the French ambassador, Philippe de Commines, remarked of the Venetians that 'most of their people are foreigners'. Although historians have often quoted De Commines to stress Venice's cosmopolitan character, his observation was not intended as a celebration of Venetian social and cultural diversity. Rather, it was part of his account of Venice's political system, in which he contrasted the position of the powerful political elite and the subaltern position of non-Venetians. The state was intent on controlling the settlement of foreign traders and on restricting their participation in international trade from or through Venice.

This contribution focuses on the Netherlandish trading community in Venice at the end of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. Firstly, it situates them within the larger network, known as the 'Antwerp diaspora', asking how the Netherlanders positioned themselves as part of this diaspora to try and influence Venetian policies. Hence, it shows that the interplay between state and immigrant-traders was more complex than the dichotomy controlling polity/subaltern foreigner. Secondly, it will examine how Netherlandish traders interacted with other diasporic networks to exchange goods, information, and ideas. I am particularly interested in their connections with exile Calvinist Italian merchants, which led to the forming a Protestant conduit between North and South.

Yadira González de Lara and Francesca Trivellato

Universidad de València, PROMETEO at CEU-Cardenal
Herrera/Yale University

**How to Trust a Stranger: Evidence from the Sephardic
Diaspora and its Cross-Cultural Networks in the Early
Modern Period**

This paper explores how the Sephardim of Livorno secured the cooperation of relatives, coreligionists, and strangers for the purpose of expanding their trading networks in the Mediterranean and beyond during the early modern period. We find that networks created trust when agents used the collateral value of their bilateral reputation towards a merchant's friends to secure their cooperation with the merchant. Individualistic cultural beliefs (in Greif's terminology) and trust intermediation (in Coleman's terminology) thus complemented each other and facilitated cross-cultural trade. To study the effect of both direct and indirect links on trust, we follow the trajectory of one partnership through multiple locations and identify the structure of its entire network.

The study highlights the importance of strong links built via matrimonial alliances, economic interdependence and overlapping social ties for contract enforcement in both inter- and intra-community trade and the impact of a corporatist society of unequal and separate communities on the formation of the network. The study also emphasizes the role of the prevailing commercial culture on the formation of beliefs among minority groups and the possibility that individualism and collective punishment coexist. Finally, by providing evidence about yet a new institution—a cross-cultural network—the paper points out the plurality of solutions given to similar agency problems in the medieval and early modern Mediterranean.

Regina Grafe

Northwestern University

Was There a Market for Institutional Solutions in Pre-Modern Europe? Multi-functionality and Complementarity in Pre-Modern Commercial Institutions

Pre-modern commercial institutions are characterised by three basic features that pose substantial challenges to our understanding of their rise, persistence and eventual decline. Firstly, mercantile institutions were multi-functional. Secondly, merchants typically solved their problems by combining various institutional strategies. Finally, empirical studies of mercantile institutions show that social costs and benefits need to enter into the analysis of the rise, persistence and decline in addition to economic variables. This paper argues that a comparative analysis of complementary and competitive mercantile institutions over time is a more promising avenue to the analysis of the costs and benefits of commercial institutions than the "single" institution approach commonly adopted and provides some examples how such a research strategy can be implemented.

Mathieu Grenet

The Italian Academy, Columbia University, New York City

Ottoman-ness and the Making of the Greek Diaspora, c.1770–c.1830

In a seminal study published 40 years ago, social anthropologist Abner Cohen offered what remains today one of the classical definitions of "trading diasporas" as "a nation of socially interdependent, but spatially dispersed communities"¹. However, for all its influence on later scholarship, this definition has been left somewhat "unexplored": if the last three decades have witnessed a dramatic increase of the historical literature dedicated to diasporas, most of these have primarily addressed the phenomenon of spatial dispersion, while paying fewer attention to that of social interdependence². Often summed up to the only importance of family or business networks in explaining migratory patterns, the latter mostly seems to be considered as a mere cause of the sharing of an assumed "common identity" among diaspora communities.

Taking the Greek communities of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Venice and Livorno as cases in point, this paper argues that "interdependence" is a key concept for understanding the movements, exchanges and circulations of both people, goods and ideas, within the Greek diaspora. To make this point clear, the paper will investigate three types of circulation:

- The mobility of clerics and churchmen, both from the Ottoman Empire to the diaspora, and among the different communities of the Greek diaspora;
- The diffusion of letters and books, taking the correspondence of the intellectual Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) as a case in point;
- The circulation of ideas, focusing on the debate on Greek language that opposed the same Korais to the intellectual Panagiotis Kodrakis (1762–1827) between 1815 and 1821.

Through the analysis of these three themes, the paper will explore the multifaceted aspects of inter-communal relations, and unveil the different dynamics at stake behind the constitution of the Greek diaspora as a physical and socio-symbolical space both "united" and heterogeneous, polarized, and hierarchised.

¹ COHEN Abner, "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas", in Claude Meillassoux, ed., *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1971, pp. 266-281, here p. 267.

² Exceptions feature the following works: OLIEL-GRAUSZ Evelyne, *Réseaux et relations intercommunautaires dans la diaspora séfardite d'Occident au XVIIIe siècle*, Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris I-Sorbonne, 2000 ; MARKOVITS Claude, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947. Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2000 ; TRIVELLATO Francesca, "Sephardic Merchants Between State and Rabbinic Courts: Malfeasance, Property Rights and Religious Authority in the Eighteenth-Century Mediterranean", in Diogo Ramada Curto, Eric R Dursteler, Julius Kirshner and Francesca Trivellato, eds., *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond. Essays in Honour of Anthony Molho*, Firenze: Olschki, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 625-648.

David Jacoby

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Cross-Cultural Transfers of Industrial Technologies in the Late Middle Ages: Incentives, Promoters and Agents

The paper deals with political, military, and economic incentives that stimulated the transfer of industrial technologies in the late Middle Ages. The weaving and dyeing of silk textiles, glassmaking, and the production of weapons are considered in the context of cross-cultural transfers between Byzantium, the Islamic world, the Latin West and the Mongol polity. Some transfers were institutionalized, while others were privately promoted. Some were achieved by human and others by material agents. The economic and non-economic ramifications of these transfers are also examined.

Christof Jeggle

Universität Bamberg

Markets from Networks. Commercial Networks and the Constitution of Pre-industrial Markets

Networks of merchants and of their commercial relations constitute a well-established field of research. Within this field, the constitution of markets resulting from structured social interaction is still a topic that has not attracted much attention. Since markets are considered one of the most important forms for the exchange of goods and values, the question how markets derive from the social networks of merchants is of considerable interest. While economic theory does not offer elaborated models on the constitution of markets and some of these theories consider markets and networks as alternative forms of exchange, research in economic sociology has developed approaches to the question how markets are constituted by social networks of the participants.

The paper will discuss these models, in particular the sociology of markets by Harrison C. White and of the French *économie des conventions*, to develop an approach based on these pragmatic sociologies for analysing pre-industrial markets. Whereas economic theories focus on the mechanism of price formation and cost structures, the sociological models are interested in the specific forms of social interaction, which constitute a market, the qualities of the engaged persons, the specific qualities of the objects and values and the governance of markets. Taking the qualities of the participants in consideration allows to include social figurations like diasporic merchant communities and their transcultural relations into the analysis. Examples will be drawn from early modern European economies, in particular the commercial relations of German and Italian merchants, but the approach will also be applicable to medieval economies.

Daniel Jütte

Universität Heidelberg

The Office of the Jewish Consul in the Early Modern Mediterranean. A Study in the Exchange of Legal and Economic Concepts

It is well known that Jews played an indispensable role as brokers in Mediterranean trade between the Christian and Muslim spheres in the early modern period. Especially in the sixteenth century, Jews became indispensable 'cross-cultural brokers' (Jonathan Israel). An interesting, but hardly studied chapter in this connection is the emergence, development, and demise of the office of the consul amongst the early modern Jews in the Mediterranean area and beyond it. Some of these consuls even presented themselves as 'consuls of the Jewish nations'. It seems that the stimulus for the creation of this office came from the Christian world, and especially from the Republic of Venice.

Benjamin Arbel has recently pointed out that 'the phenomenon of the appearance in the sixteenth century of Jewish consuls [have] not yet been sufficiently studied'. Prosopographic and especially systematic research on the entire spectrum of the professional group of Jewish consuls in early modernity is therefore all the more called for. My paper attempts to take up this challenge.

I would like to argue that the attempt of Jews to establish the title of consul within a Jewish context was neither arbitrary nor accidental. It must be regarded as a genuine answer to the sensitive question in the sixteenth century of an appropriate title for representatives of Jewish elites in Italy and in the Mediterranean in general. The creation of a consulate whose duties comprised more than merely the brokering of business transactions promised, at least in theory, to provide a centralised representation of the interests of polycentrically organised groups of Jewish merchants. Beyond this, the story of the Jewish consulate also remains a chapter in cross-cultural exchange of legal and economic concepts in the early modern period.

Ievgen Khvalkov
Central European University

Trading Diasporas in the Venetian and Genoese Trading Stations in Tana, 1430 – 1440: A Case Study

The Italian trading stations in Tana were important in the system of long-distance trade of the Italian maritime republics. The deeds of two Venetian notaries reveal some aspects of the life of Italian and Greek trading diasporas during the 1430s. During the 1430s, the trade in the region recovered from a crisis. Although some scholars see a regionalization of trade in the fifteenth century, evidence challenges this interpretation. Eastern silk retained its role, Westerners began to import Italian, Flemish, and English textiles to the Eastern markets, and the local goods (fish, caviar) were widely exported to Europe (even to the markets of Flanders). Finally, the slave trade was intensive. The East provided slaves for the European markets, the prices were moderate; the percentage of the Russian and Tatar slaves increased. The ethnic structure was diverse (Italians, Germans, Greeks, and others). The 1430s were the epoch of hidden tensions between Venice and Genoa, but this hardly ever extended to the commercial relations. The Genoese often used services of the Venetian notaries; Venetians preferred to donate to the Genoese priests and to be buried in the Genoese rather than in the Venetian church. Greek merchants were numerous, active, and wealthy, contrary to the claim that Italians destroyed the system of Greek trade. Greeks were rather their junior partners; they probably constituted the majority of the permanent population of the settlement, where they owned two churches. Even more interesting, almost all the Tatar inhabitants of the settlement were Christians. Russians and people from the Caucasus mainly seem to have been slaves. Summarizing, one can claim that the Italian and the Greek diasporas to the Tana trading stations constituted a money-oriented, prosperous society that was diverse in terms of ethnicity and tolerant in terms of religion.

Erik O. Kimbrough
Universiteit Maastricht

Economic History in the Lab

We design a three-commodity production and exchange economy in which agents in three geographically separated villages must develop multilateral exchange networks to import a good only available abroad. We explore the impact of experimentally induced differences in social history and geography on the development of impersonal and personal exchange networks. We find that both a history of unenforced property rights and geographical isolation of traveling intermediaries from stationary sources of production hinder our subjects' ability to develop the requisite personal social arrangements to support specialization and effectively exploit impersonal long-distance trade.

Evelyn Korsch

Technische Universität Dresden

The Sceriman Between Venice and New Julfa: An Armenian Trading Network and its Sociocultural Impacts (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)

Current historical studies are focused on the interactions between trading networks and cultural exchange. Considering the Armenian diaspora in Venice it has to be verified if the sociocultural impacts accompanying the Eurasian trade activities can be seen as a real exchange or as a mere assimilation to the cultural codes of the host. As a case study, the Sceriman will show the career of a family of merchant bankers with a worldwide trading network and their settlement in Venice.

After the deportation of the Armenians from Julfa to Isfahan and the foundation of New Julfa by Shah Abbas I in 1604, the Sceriman – like other Armenian merchants – obtained privileges for trading silk. Soon, they invested in diamonds and served as financiers of courts. Therefore, they were granted other commercial privileges and titles of nobility. At the end of the seventeenth century, the political situation in Persia changed and Armenians became subject of discrimination. Hence, part of the Sceriman moved to Venice where they had possessed stores for several decades. Even though the emigrated Sceriman remained in intense contact with the parents in New Julfa they tried by all means to integrate into Venetian society. Whereas their trade activities decreased, the Sceriman stressed their Roman Catholic faith, married into Venetian families, and acquired property for gaining prestige. However, even high loans granted to the Republic did not bring the desired result: admission to the Venetian patriciate.

The paper aims to show the commercial and social activities of the Sceriman in two different cultural contexts: Persia and Venice. The differences and analogies of the strategies used for achieving assimilation or integration will be analysed.

Tijana Krstic

Central European University

Morisco Refugees and Trading Communities in Ottoman Istanbul, 1570s–1630s

This paper is about religious migration and economic competition attendant upon the insertion of the Morisco refugees into the heterogeneous merchant and confessional landscape of Ottoman Galata in the age of fierce imperial and confessional competition, between the 1570s and 1630s. Moriscos began arriving to the Ottoman capital already in the 1570s, in the wake of the unsuccessful Morisco revolt in Alpujarras (1568–71), which was followed by unprecedented pressures on Iberian Muslims to abandon not only their religion (a process already underway since the early 1500s), but their customs, culture, language and books as well. This state-organized erasure of religious and cultural identity culminated in the edict of expulsion in 1609 of all "new Christians" of Muslim origin. During their exodus, between 1611 and 1614 the French and Venetian authorities, upon the express request of the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I, aided the refugees. Istanbul received a significantly smaller number of refugees than North African principalities under Ottoman suzerainty. However, the Ottoman capital became an important node in the Morisco mercantile network that was set up and that spanned the Mediterranean by the early seventeenth century. In Istanbul, the refugees were settled in Galata, in what appears to be a deliberate attempt by the Ottoman authorities to change the confessional make-up of this overtly non-Muslim section of the city. This is how the fierce economic and confessional competition among the local, already established communities and the newcomers began. Nevertheless, Morisco community was not as homogeneous as it is imagined in secondary literature. Various Morisco groups and individuals developed different types of relationships both with the Ottoman authorities and with the Venetian, Dutch and French traders and diplomats. The paper will reconstruct some of these (competitive) relationships based on Ottoman, Venetian, French and some Spanish contemporary sources by focusing on several incidents surrounding mercantile interests and attempted takeover of Galata churches by the Morisco refugees. As the paper will show, despite their small numbers, the arrival of Moriscos prompted an interesting multi-directional conversation on legal status, extra-territoriality and religious identity that echoed throughout Europe.

Heinrich Lang
Universität Bamberg

Levantine Goods in Western Cultures: Adapting Rugs and Silk Cloth

Oriental rugs and silk cloth were adapted by the Italian and French Renaissance culture. Among others Florentine merchants imported luxury goods from the Levant. Especially the Salviati companies were involved in the trade with raw materials like cotton and spices, but also with highly skilful products like silk cloth and rugs from Anatolia and Egypt. They not only supplied Florence with these particularly demanded objects, but they also delivered them to Lyons for distribution on European luxury markets. Urban elites, churches, clerics, nobles and princes were the main consumers, who integrated Oriental rugs and pieces of silk into their cultures of representations and commodities.

The paper will be based on two kinds of sources: Firstly, on the documents on Levantine trade of the Florentine Salviati companies in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and secondly, on visual representations of rugs and silk cloth in the Italian and French art. The aim of the paper is to show how these two particular objects were being transferred from the Levant to the West. I will focus on the organization of trade and on the markets of rugs and silk to ask how these products were transferred from their cultural contexts of origin and re-interpreted in a new cultural context. Particular interest is given to the situations where objects from the Levant were confronted with those of Florentine production while being used in a similar way as it is shown on Italian paintings. Hence, this cultural adaption of Oriental rugs and silk cloth in the Italian and French Renaissance, which is paralleled by the trade relations between the Levant and the West, will be described as a multifaceted process of social, material and cultural transfer.

Anthony Luttrell

Mixed Identities on Hospitaller Rhodes

After 1306, indigenous and other Greeks, a minority of Latins, some Jews, Syrians, and others, including a variety of slaves, populated Rhodes. These categories were not always clearly distinguishable. Mixed marriages apart, there were Greek immigrants; imported Greek slaves who were gradually emancipated to form a free peasantry; and Greek inhabitants of the town who were obliged to a marine servitude on the galleys. There were the Hospitaller brethren and their followers and mercenaries, temporarily resident Latin merchants and bankers, and Latins who became permanent settlers; the Jewish population certainly increased. Each of these groups had its own identity, and the Hospitallers succeeded in fusing this mixed community into a functioning state.

Ekaterini Mitsiou

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften,
Institut für Byzanzforschung, Wien

The Empire of Nicaea (1204–1261): A Transcultural Society?

The question of "transculturality" has been one of the main issues in the theoretical approaches of cultural studies in the last years. Although Fernando Ortiz had already used the term "transculturation" for the first time in his fundamental work "Cuban Counterpoint. Tobacco and Sugar" (1940), Wolfgang Welsch is usually connected with the theory of transculturality due to a number of publications in the 1990s on the matter.

A main problem for a historian of the Middle Ages is the use and appliance of this modern culture theory to describe social and cultural phenomena of the past. Nevertheless, as Welsch mentioned: "alle Kulturen zeichneten sich in ihrer historischen Entwicklung durch Transkulturationsprozesse aus".

In the case of Byzantium, the Italian "trading diasporas" were one of the most important groups which overcame distances and connected different areas. The first half of the thirteenth century was not a time of peaceful relations between the Byzantines and the Latins: the Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantinople in 1204 signalised the military confrontation of two cultures. During the years in the exile, the Greeks formed states aiming at recapturing Constantinople; the most significant of them was the Empire of Nicaea (1204–1261). An attempt of the emperor John III Vatatzes to regulate by law the use of foreign silk products in the empire of Nicaea signalises an interesting effort to regulate the habits of his citizens and to constrain the economic influence of the Italian merchants. It is however important to note that despite these differences, the communication between Latins and Greeks continued in the form of trade treaties and theological discussions; at the same time, Latin mercenaries served in the Nicaean armies.

Similar phenomena we can also observe with regard to the relations between the Empire and other Christian groups of differing dogma in the region such as the Armenians (Kingdom of Cilicia), but also between Nicaea and the neighbouring Seljuk Sultanate of Iconium, where Muslim culture flourished in these decades. The aim of this paper is to present these policies of the Empire of Nicaea and the informal mechanisms, which enabled or prohibited cultural exchanges in the critical period of 1204–1261.

Franz-Julius Morche
Universität Heidelberg

**Business Networks as Complex Systems
Analysis and Contextualisation of Historical Trade
Networks**

This paper develops a framework for the identification and differentiation of historical trade networks and coalitions respectively. Using this framework, it analyses the institutional foundations of a fifteenth-century Venetian trade coalition and its interconnections with the surrounding market network. The emerging network structure is identified as a complex system that is shaped by endogenous network formation patterns as well as by exogenous systemic forces.

Dimitrios Moschos
University of Athens

**Negotium Graecorum. Trade as a Theory and Practice
in Ecclesiastical Con-tacts Between the West and Late
Byzantium**

Religion is a key element of identity in separate culture areas in the Eastern Mediterranean. Trade is not only influenced by the relationships between these areas, but also plays an important role in shaping these relationships. This can be demonstrated in the case of the influence of the notion and practice of trade upon a purely spiritual issue, namely the discussions of the Church Union between East and West even at the utmost level.

This paper aspires to show some examples of these various witnesses about circulation of goods (presented as precious gifts) within the frames of conciliar discussions (e.g. in the council of Lyon in 1274), trade-privileges granted to the city of Florence during the hosting of the great Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438/9), the arrival of delegates of this Council in Venice with commercial ships along with traders and goods. All this attest that the existing infrastructure and the commercial routes played their role in the shaping and the interrelation of Christian identities.

On the other hand, it is fascinating to trace how the notion of trade is used within the discussions for the Church Union themselves. An example is the discussion between the byzantine emperor John VI Cantacuzenos and western envoys in the middle of 14th c. The negotiations in ecclesiastical matters are compared with/contrasted to bargaining in trade in that discussion. These details show clearly the influence of the notion and the practice of trade reshaping the imaginary world, which is actually the object of inner Christian Union contacts, which are coined in the West often with the term "negotium Graecorum". This reflects the mentality of trading diasporas of different religious denominations and traditions.

Alexandr Osipian

Kramatorsk Institute of Economics and Humanities

Practices of Integration and Segregation: Armenian Trading Diasporas and Their Interaction with the Genoese and Venetian Colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, 1289–1484

After the fall of medieval Armenian state, Armenian merchants established a global network for long-distance commerce in late medieval and early modern Europe, Asia, and Northern Africa. Their diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea are considerably less studied than the Armenian merchant community of New Julfa near Isfahan in seventeenth century Persia (see paper Korsch). I focus my research on the Armenian trading Diasporas in the Archipelago, Constantinople/Pera, Crimea, the Moldavian principality and the Polish kingdom in a long-term perspective – 1289–1484 – to trace changes over time. Attention will mainly be given to the juridical regulation of the local Armenian merchants' commercial practices and their perception by the Roman-Catholic townspeople and clergy, namely to the strategies of exclusion and inclusion.

Armenian merchants' status as Monophysite Christian minority allowed their Catholic competitors to legitimate restrictions imposed on Armenians' businesses. On the other hand, far-reaching privileges granted by the Moslem rulers to Armenian merchants coexisted with, and were frequently challenged by, Islamic law and local legal practice. There was a well-known legend in medieval Europe that these privileges were granted to Armenians directly by prophet Mohammad (actually, he gave these privileges to the Nestorians with which Armenians were often mixed in the Western mind as "another Eastern heretics").

In the age of Pax Mongolica, Armenian merchants from Cilicia as well as from Greater Armenia and Georgia began to enlarge the network of trading colonies also in the northern direction. In the Black Sea region, they often settled in the Genoese and Venetian Colonies. In the second half of fourteenth century, prosperous Armenian merchant communities existed in Caffa, Soldaia, Solchat, Tana/Azak, Moncastro, Kilia, Suceava, Lemberg and Kamianiec-Podilski. At that time as well as in fifteenth century, their commercial ties stret

ched to Cyprus, Egypt, India, Moscow, and Venice. Some of these ties I explore on the micro-level through the reconstruction of the biographies of certain Armenian merchants.

This paper is a part of my large-scale research project concerned with the long-distance and cross-cultural trade of the Armenian Diaspora in the late medieval and early modern East-Central Europe, Eastern Mediterranean, Persia, India, and Venice during the period of 1250–1700. I would like to emphasize the following main issues of my research agenda: How did merchants belonging to different religious groups conduct trade with one another during the Medieval and Early Modern period? How did different societies – Christian as well as non-Christian – accommodate "infidels" in the interest of promoting profitable commercial activity?

Johannes Pahlitzsch
Universität Mainz

Byzantine Saints as Captives in Mamluk Egypt and Ottoman Anatolia

Life in the Byzantine Empire in the 14th century was marked by the invasion of hostile peoples and by a growing political instability. Thus, Byzantium suffered itself the loss of a multitude of its population into slavery. In this paper, the fate of Byzantine captives should be examined, whereas I will concentrate on Greek orthodox Saints, who were captured by Moslems and brought to Egypt or Anatolia. This specific group of people was chosen since we are comparatively well informed about them because of the hagiographical tradition. The main question with this kind of source material, however, is to which degree it provides us with information about the actual historical situation or if the authors of these texts do have a different agenda.

Ioannis Ant. Panagiotopoulos
University of Athens

The Controversy for the «Eighth Ecumenical Council» and the Position of Metropolitan Neilos of Rhodes (XV c.).

Metropolitan Neilos of Rhodes was born in the village of Volissos of Chios around 1350. His lay name was Niketas Myrsiniotis. He studied in his birthplace and in Constantinople. Neilos was a follower of Hesychastic tradition and one of the famous writers against Latines (κατὰ Λατίνων). He was elected bishop of Rhodes between the years 1402 and 1406, when he was already a famous theologian of his time. He strengthened Orthodox against Catholic propaganda in the Aegean islands. He took part in the controversy, which was the real "Eighth Ecumenical Council." His position anticipated the writings of his later orthodox theologians. I am interested in analysing the presuppositions and the context of this controversy, and especially the meaning of the controversy for the Orthodox people of Rhodes and the Catholic community of the island.

Günther Prinzing
Universität Mainz

**In Quest of (Trading) Diasporas in the Byzantine States
of Epiros and Trebizond ca. 1210–1304**

The very restricted number of sources for the history of Epiros and Trebizond in the thirteenth century contains probably only a limited amount of information with the view to the panel's special topic or the general topic of the conference. My contribution intends to evaluate these data and to scrutinize to what extent one could draw any general conclusion from the available evidence.

Jared Rubin
California State University, Fullerton

"Bills of Exchange, Financial Networks, and Quasi-Impersonal Exchange in Western Europe and the Middle East"

In this paper, I introduce the notion of "quasi-impersonal exchange," which I claim provided an alternative means of exchange for wealthy merchants in medieval Europe. Quasi-impersonal exchange exists when merchant houses establish branches in distant cities, gathering information and making contacts not accessible to the central wealth holders. Positive network externalities entail that with just a few branches, the wealth of the central merchant can be spread to a large web of outlets previously unavailable via personal exchange or the community responsibility system. A theoretical model shows the conditions under which quasi-impersonal exchange emerges. A complementary historical analysis suggests that quasi-impersonal exchange emerged in late-medieval Italy through the major houses, such as Medici and Peruzzi, but not in the Middle East because of the different ways that bills of exchange were employed in the two regions.

Stephan Sander
Universität Zürich

Merchants of the Adriatic The Jadertine Trading Community, c. 1550

The proposed paper has the objective to give an overview of the mercantile community of the city of Zadar (Zara) in the mid-sixteenth century. The city, back then the capital of Venice's Albanian-Dalmatian double province, has been chosen because of its multi-ethnic and poly-confessional society, embedded into the larger framework of the imperial possessions of the Republic of St Mark. Situated at the peripheral frontiers of Latin Europe, the Adriatic elements of the *Stato da mar* constituted multi-faceted and dynamic urban societies existing in-between the two universal monarchies Spain and the Ottoman Empire, with often overlapping cultural, ethnic, and religious contexts. The timeframe of the proposed paper will not exceed the Cyprus War (1570 to 1573), as a number of border changes and the events leading up to the establishment of the *Scala di Spalato* in the 1590s significantly eroded Zadar's status as a commercial hub.

In a first step the size and, if possible, origins of the city's trading community will be detailed based upon the protocols of Jadertine public notaries, preserved in the *Državni arhiv u Zadru* (Croatian State Archives in Zadar). After establishing the various individuals, their interactions with the local noblemen, artisans, and commoners as well as potential integration into the host culture will be shown. In addition, the codified communal laws, first published in the imperial capital in 1563, provide the legal framework for the mercantile endeavours of the merchants of the Adriatic. Taken together, the methods, sources, and geographical location will shed new light onto the trading communities in early modern Dalmatia, a region that, so far, has yet to attract renewed interest by the scientific community.

Jürgen Sarnowsky
Universität Hamburg

Muslims and Jews on Hospitaller Rhodes

After 1306, the Military Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers, succeeded to conquer Rhodes and its neighbouring islands and soon established their headquarters and their main hospital there. Until the Ottoman conquest in 1522, Rhodes town became the capital of a small 'Order State' under Hospitaller Rule. The majority of subjects, about 10.000 people, were Greek and thus Orthodox, but there were several other ethnic and religious groups:

- The Order itself brought knights, priests, sergeants, mercenaries, and merchants from all over Latin Europe to Rhodes, who were Catholics, but very much different in background and language.
- In its hospital, it employed Jewish doctors, who in turn for their service received some privileges.
- At least during peace times, there were also Muslim merchants operating in the Eastern Mediterranean; and Muslim slaves – probably mostly captives from the military operations – were also employed by the Order.

In my paper, I will concentrate on the last two groups. I want to discuss their status and their rule during the last century of the Order in Rhodes (1421-1522).

Teresa Sartore Senigaglia
Universität Heidelberg

Non-Isolated Islands: Diplomatic Relations Between Venice and Rhodes in the First Decade of the Fifteenth Century

Venice and Rhodes: Two islands, crossroads between the West and the East, centres of transcultural exchange in the medieval Mediterranean and fundamental commercial hubs. Although the apparently peaceful diplomatic relations between the Serenissima and the Hospitallers' stronghold, documents from the Archive of Venice prove the existence of clashes between the Venetian merchants in diaspora and the Knights of Rhodes. Moreover, it seems that discriminations were made between the Venetian minority and their historic antagonist, the Genoese.

This paper aims to investigate what was behind these tensions and discriminations. Which interests and motivations caused the alleged uneasiness of the relations between Venetians and Hospitallers? Which were their consequences on a socio-legal level? Commercial rivalry, economic interests, crusading commitments, political alliances, religious and ethnic issues, are surely important elements to analyse and understand the transcultural context in which socio-political strains were developing.

It seems that the main source of tension between the two islands originated in the relations between Rhodes, French kingdom and the Genoese. This diplomatic triangle was fostered by the French influence among the Order of Saint John and by the crusading efforts of the charismatic and huffy Marshal Boucicaud, governor of Genoa.

Prakash Shah
Queen Mary, University of London

Trading under Restrictions: British Immigrants in Turkey

This paper presents some results of a recently conducted field work project, with Dr. Derya Bayir, researching the settlement of British immigrants and their socio-legal adaptation in Turkey. Set within a theoretical framework informed by socio-legal studies and legal pluralism, the paper explores the process of diasporic legal reconstruction by British immigrants in their new legal environment. It refers to various factors influencing legal reconstruction including the uses to which Turkish legal rules are put, language use and knowledge, property buying, experiences of integration, exclusion and discrimination. In so doing, it draws out problems about how trading and employment activities of British people are made difficult because of contemporary legal restrictions on their doing so. These restrictions have explanations both because of Turkey's historical experiences and contemporary contingencies.

Angeliki Tzavara

Centre d'Histoire et de Civilisation de Byzance (CNRS), Paris, Venice

Some Aspects of the Venetian Presence in Trebizond in the Fourteenth Century

Since the first commercial agreement with the emperor of Trebizond in 1319 and the official installation of a Venetian bailo in the city, the Venetians made important efforts to maintain a commercial base there. Their aim was to develop trading activities with the Trapezuntine market but mostly with the urban markets in the interior of the continent, especially with Tabriz. Nevertheless, the periods of their commercial activity were relatively rather short and discontinuous. This paper will present some aspects of the Venetian presence in Trebizond through the study of the treaties between Venice and the empire but also other published and new archival documents. It aims to shed some new light on their settlement in the city, their commercial activities and their relations with the Greeks amongst other aspects.

Nicolas Vatin

Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

The Insertion of the Order of Saint John in the Oriental Mediterranean Between the two Sieges of Rhodes (1480–1522)

When Mehmed II died in May 1481 a few months after the failure of an Ottoman siege against Rhodes, the Hospitallers negotiated a good peace, which was made easier by the fact that Jem, the new sultan's brother, was in their power. This was a deliberate choice for, as well as a bulwark of Christendom in the Levant, Rhodes had become a local state: the Hospitallers had to deal with their subjects' needs and the necessity of buying grain in the neighbouring Muslim lands. Thus, they had no other choice than to get integrated in the Eastern Mediterranean world, as the Venetians and the Genoese had done. Rhodes was an international market where Westerners could meet Muslims and the Order itself did have a role in trade to a point. It is not surprising, then, that it chose to remain neutral as far as possible in the conflicts between the Ottomans and the Mamluks, while trying to be a major political actor of the zone as a go-between with the West and an expert in Ottoman affairs.

One can speak, too, of a more local effort of insertion. While the Order, as an institution, managed to have good relations with the local Greeks and Jews, its members were far from living totally apart from the natives. As partners in the corso or in trade, they were in contact with them, as well as, it seems, in everyday life. Those who had lived a few years on the island probably could speak a little Greek. Anyway, the Order used that language for its correspondence with the Ottoman sultan, more precisely spoken Greek (not classical Greek): a fact which can be seen as a hint of its insertion in the Oriental world of the time.

Obviously, one should not exaggerate. The Hospitallers' culture was Latin. Although they did act with tolerance, an act of expulsion of the Jews was promulgated in 1503 (but probably never enforced). As far as the Greeks are concerned, the churches were separated and, of course, there were no mixed marriages. The Greeks seem to have been loyal subjects, but when all was done, they chose a different way than

the Knights. Last of all, the Ottoman policy of the Order was not devoid of ambiguity. They went on practising or encouraging the corso, and were linked to the Pope. A new attack by the Ottomans was to happen and happen it did, in 1522.

The main point to be stressed is probably this contradiction: As individuals, the Knights of Rhodes could not found a line and completely became part of the Levant. As an institution, the Order had been able to do so only to a certain point. In Malta, it would be free from such contradictions.

Presentation in French.

David Zammit

University of Malta

**Legal Pluralism as a Tool of the Colonial State:
The “Legal Othering” of the Maltese as Natives and as
Migrants**

Most studies of legal pluralism continue to look at non-state law from the perspective of state law, implicitly treated as the “gold standard” of legality. In so doing, they risk reproducing the state’s own strategies for managing populations, which precisely be-cause they aim to centralise law and culture, often involve the creation of a periphery of alterity, where non-state legality can be evoked. Thus, I will explore the interests colonial and postcolonial states may have in “legally othering” part of their populations and explore how this was done in particular cases.

The paper will revolve around three case studies. The first, taken from the first decades of British rule over Malta, focuses on the controversial figure of Sir John Stoddart, the English Chief Justice of Malta, who was dismissed from his office by the colonial government for being too eager to make British common-law the basis of the Maltese legal system. The following case studies will look at legal pluralism as imposed by the state on migrant communities, comparing the practices of the British state in regard to Maltese migrants in the 1950’s (as analysed by Geoff Dench in his book *The Maltese in London and Migrants in the Open Society*), with the response of the Maltese state to sub-saharan African migrants today.

How to get to the city centre

Coming from the Autobahn (by car)

Leave the Autobahn towards main station, pass main station heading towards Heidelberg castle, then follow Kurfürstenanlage to Adenauerplatz. Having passed Adenauerplatz, go straight on into Gaisbergtunnel. Cars can be parked in the centre's parking decks.

Coming from the directions of Neckargemünd (by car)

At Karlstor turn left into the Schloßbergtunnel and follow the direction „Zentrum/ Schloß". Cars can be parked in the centre's parking decks.

Public transport from Heidelberg Central Station to the hotels

Take bus 32 towards "Universitätsplatz/University Square" and get down at "Universitätsplatz". Bus 32 leaves once in ten minutes Heidelberg Central Station.

If you stay at Hotel Villa Marstall you can also get down at "Marstallstraße", which is one stop before "Universitätsplatz", however, you can also walk back from "Universitätsplatz".

Use our map to find your hotel.

Should you get lost, ask any local, or call us!

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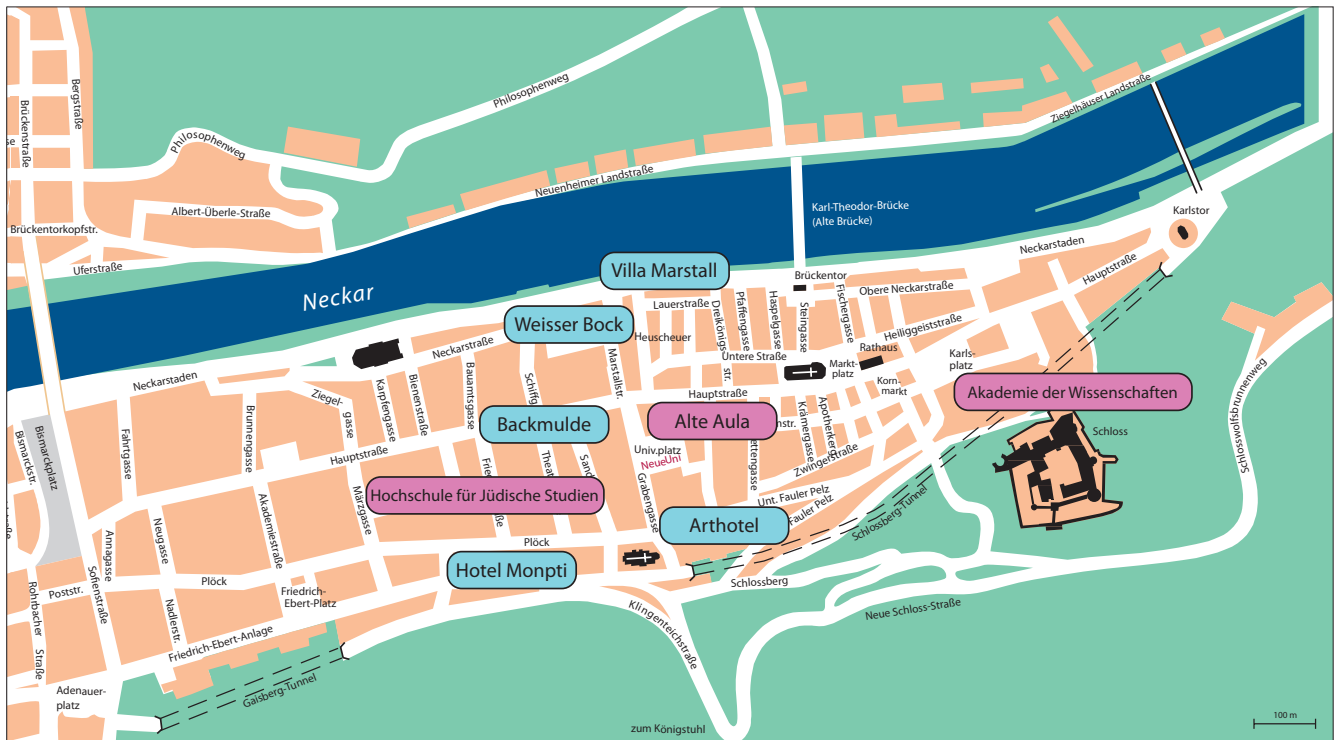
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MAP OF HEIDELBERG INCLUDING THE VENUES



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