SOCIAL WORLDS OF LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Christopher Paolella

Human Trafficking in Medieval Europe

Slavery, Sexual Exploitation, and Prostitution

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Social Worlds of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

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

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

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

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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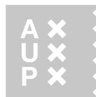
daily lives. Furthermore, as one may expect, a history of human trafficking is also a history of both movement and trade. By necessity then, I am concerned primarily with chattel slaves, those people who were transported, traded, bought, and sold, whose bodies were commodified like so many inert objects.

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

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

Finally, I argue that the shift in emphasis in human trafficking – from slave trading to sex trafficking – was caused by the socioeconomic developments of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These centuries are pivotal because, as they progressed, both urban life and the monetary economy expanded across Western Europe, and the growth of both encouraged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the evolution of commercial sex into a commercial sex industry. To meet a growing demand for its services, the medieval sex industry needed a steady supply of labor, which human traffickers across Western Europe were willing and able to provide.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Human Trafficking and Economic Exchange

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, 100.

23 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* 224.

24 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* 278–279; see also Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, 63.

25 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 695–696.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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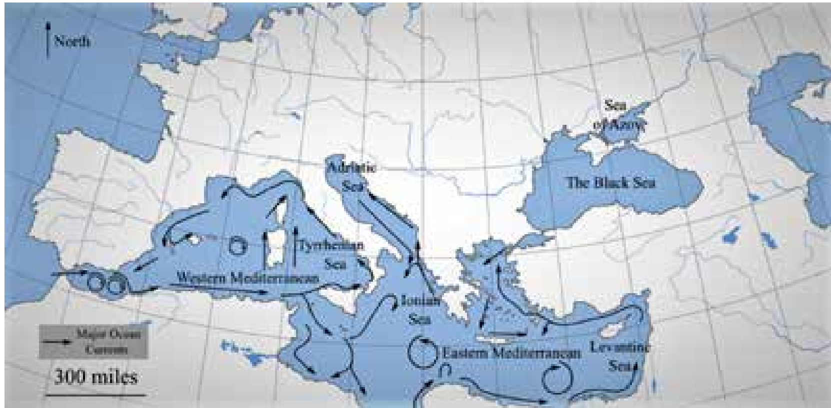

Map 0.1: Major Mediterranean Sea Currents

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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