

**Evidence of the Nature, Impact and Diversity of  
Slavery in 14<sup>th</sup> Century Famagusta as Seen  
Through the Genoese Notarial Acts of  
Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha and  
the Venetian Notarial Acts of Nicola de Boateriis**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the impact and diversity of slavery in the city of Famagusta between 1300 and 1362 as observed through the Genoese notarial acts of Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha, as well as the Venetian notarial Acts of Nicola de Boateriis. It aims to open a scholarly window into slavery and slave trading activities in the city from a Genoese and Venetian point of view. In this regard, it includes an analysis (synthesis) of the slave population in the city, observing their origin, marketing, age groups, sex, price, social status, daily life and their relations with their masters. The role of Famagusta for international and internal slave trading, and its networks with other provinces, are also observed. Thus, the importance of Famagusta has also been shown as a place to help in the transportation of slaves in international slave trading.

The main aim of this thesis is to construct an argument against the general ideas of historians such as Patterson and Dockes who contend that slaves were an isolated community; that they did not socially exist outside of their masters' spheres of influence and were described as a subhuman species because of their alienation from citizenship. In this respect, this thesis claims, with examples from notarial deeds in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, that contacts between slaves also existed with third parties in Famagusta in particular, and the island of Cyprus in general. All these acts treat Famagusta as a commercial harbour city at the very heart of trade, and so offer a good insight into related economic and trading activities.

**Keywords:** Famagusta, slavery, slave trade, notarial acts, 14<sup>th</sup> century

## ÖZ

Bu tez 14. yüzyılda Mağusa şehrinde görev yapan Cenevizli Lamberto di Sambuceto ve Giovanni de Rocha, ve de Venedikli Nicola de Boateriis'in noter kayıtlarında görüldüğü şekliyle 1300 – 1362 yılları arasında Mağusa'da köleliğin etkisini ve çeşitliliğini göstermek için hazırlanmıştır. Şehirdeki kölelik ve köle ticaretiyle ilgili faaliyetlere Ceneviz ve Venedikliler gözünden bir pencere açılarak şehirdeki köle nüfusu üzerine analiz ve sentezler yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, kölelerin kökeni, yaş grupları, cinsiyetleri, ticareti, fiyatları, sosyal statüleri, günlük yaşamları ve sahipleriyle olan ilişkileri de bu çalışma içerisinde tartışılmıştır. Ayrıca, Mağusa şehrinin iç ve dış köle ticaretteki rolü ve diğer şehirlerle olan ilişkisi de anlatılmıştır. Böylelikle şehrin, uluslararası köle ticaretinde kölelerin taşınması sağlayan bir yer olarak önem kazandığı gösterilmektedir.

Tezin temel amacı Orlando Patterson ve Pierre Dockes gibi tarihçilerin kölelikle ilgili, kölelerin toplumdan dışlanmış oldukları ve sosyal olarak sahiplerinin dışında var olamayacakları, ayrıca insanca olmayan statüleri nedeniyle vatandaşlığa yabancı oldukları gibi genel fikirlerine karşı argüman oluşturmaktır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma özellikle Mağusa şehrinde ve genel olarak Kıbrıs adasında kölelerin sahipleri dışındaki üçüncü kişilerle olan ilişkisini 14. yüzyıldaki noter kayıtlarından hareketle iddia eder. Ayrıca, bu kayıtlara göre, Mağusa bir ticaret merkezi olarak ekonomik ve ticari aktivitelerin de merkezi konumundadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mağusa, kölelik, köle ticareti, noter kayıtları, 14. yüzyıl

***To My Beloved Mother and My Love***

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## ABBREVIATIONS

b.	Baptised
C. W. B.	White Bezant of Cyprus
e.g.	For example
F	Female
Giovanni da Rocha 3 Agosto 1308 – 14 Marzo 1310	<i>Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto</i> , Università di Genova, Istituto di Paleografia e Storia Medievale, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 5 vols., (Genoa, 1982): No. 43 (Giovanni de Rocha: 3 Agosto-14 Marzo 1310), ed. Michel Balard (Genoa, 1984)
Gr.	Greek, Greece
GR 43	Giovanni da Rocha 3 Agosto 1308 – 14 Marzo 1310 by Michel Balard
i.e.	That is
Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301	Cornelio Desimoni, ed., “Actes passés a Famagouste, de 1299 a 1301, par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto,” <i>Archives de l’Orient Latin</i> , (1883).
Lamberto di Sambuceto, 3 luglio 1300 – 3 agosto 1301	<i>Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto</i> , Università di Genova, Istituto di Paleografia e Storia Medievale, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 5 vols., (Genoa, 1982): No. 31 (3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301), ed. Valeria Polonio

Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 luglio – 27 ottobre 1301	<i>Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto</i> , Università di Genova, Istituto di Paleografia e Storia Medievale, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 5 vols., (Genoa, 1982): No. 32 (6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301), ed. Romeo Pavoni (Genoa, 1982)
Lamberto di Sambuceto 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307	<i>Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto</i> , Università di Genova, Istituto di Paleografia e Storia Medievale, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 5 vols., (Genoa, 1982): No. 43 (Lamberto di Sambuceto:31 Marzo 1304-19 Luglio 1305, 4 :Gennaio-12 Luglio 1307), ed. Michel Balard (Genoa, 1984)
LS 31	Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 luglio 1300 – 3 agosto 1301 by Valeria Polonio
LS 32	Lamberto di Sambuceto 6 luglio – 27 ottobre 1301 by Romeo Pavoni
LS 43	Lamberto di Sambuceto 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307 by Michel Balard
LS Co	Lamberto di Sambuceto 1299 – 1301 by Cornello Desimoni
M	Male
NB	Nicola de Boateriis 1355 – 1365 by Antonino Lambardo
Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365	Antonino Lambardo, ed. <i>Nicola de Boateriis, notaio a Famagosta e Venezia (1355-1365)</i> (Venice, 1973)
no.	Document Number
S. B.	Saracen Bezants
W. B.	White Bezants

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Overview of Cyprus and Slavery: 14<sup>th</sup> Century

Cyprus, the third largest island of the Mediterranean, situated in its easternmost corner, has always been surrounded by historically important trade centres such as those in Damascus and Aleppo in Syria on the east, Antalya and Alaya – Alanya on the southern shore of Asia Minor to the north, and Alexandria in North Africa in the south [Fig. 1]. It has, therefore been inhabited by different ethnic groups throughout its history.<sup>1</sup> However, the ebb and flow of history was not always amicable and profitable. Conflict too linked the island and its destiny to those that lay round it. A brief overview shows us how severe this situation was.

Pliny wrote that Cyprus consisted of nine kingdoms ca. 1050-950 B.C. “*quondam novem regnorum sedem*”<sup>2</sup>. In 570-526 B.C. Amasis of Egypt took control of the island and Egyptian rule continued until its annexation by the Persians in 526 B.C. In 88-80 B.C. it was returned again to Egyptian rule. Control of the island was taken by

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Edbury, “The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours,” XI, in *Kingdom of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (England: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), p. 229; David Jacoby, “The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century,” in *Studies on the Crusader States and Venetian Expansion*, VIII, (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny the Elder, Roman Historian in the first century A.D, and wrote his work which is called Natural History; “Cyprus was formerly the seat of nine kingdoms (*novem regnorum sedem*: 5, 35. 129). Unfortunately, he does not proceed to name the nine kingdoms,...” (Maria Iacovou, “Mapping the Ancient Kingdoms of Cyprus. Cartography and Classical Scholarship during the Enlightenment,” in *Eastern Mediterranean Cartography*, 25/26, (2004): p. 271; Demetrios Michaelides, “The Roman Period 30BC-AD 330,” in *Footprints in Cyprus*, ed. David Hunt, (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990), p. 122.)

the Roman Empire and it became part of the Province of Syria in 30 B.C. Meanwhile, the first Jewish insurrection of the Roman Period took place in 116 A.D. and they had been punished as whole community within the island.<sup>3</sup> From the rule of the Roman Empire, which was centred in the west, control of Cyprus passed to the rule of the Byzantine Emperors in Constantinople in 330 A.D. and Calocaerus, the first official, was sent by Constantine the Great to govern the island. In the days of Heraclius in 7<sup>th</sup> century, Arabs invaded Cyprus under Muawiya, the governor of Syria, supported by a second fleet in 653-654. This occupation resulted in an Arab garrison in the city of Nea Paphos which is on the southwest coast of the island.<sup>4</sup>

The status of the island for the next three hundred years was determined by a treaty between the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate in 688. This pact implied that some sort of partnership had been founded by both Empire and Caliphate to govern the island together.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, Emperor Nicephorus Phocas re-occupied the island in 965 and it became a province of the Byzantine Empire until 1185, when Isaac Ducas

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<sup>3</sup> “In Artemion’s insurrection of A.D. 116 Jews were sufficiently numerous and powerful to lay Salamis in ruins. It is said by Cassius Dio that Jews were thereupon exterminated throughout Cyprus, and not suffered thereafter to set foot in the island under the pain and death. This statement is, however, demonstrably inadequate: a rescript of Salamis, possibly of Severan date, prohibits the establishment of a *statio* or club-house for craftsmen of a certain race, presumably Jewish” (T. B. Mitford, “Roman Cyprus,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. Herausgegeben von Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, II, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), p. 1380.)

<sup>4</sup> Steven Runciman, “The Byzantine Period 330-1191,” in *Footprints in Cyprus*, ed. David Hunt, (London:Trigraph Limited, 1990), pp. 139; 147; Giovanni Mariti, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, trans. Claude Delaval Cobham, (London: Zeno, 1971), pp. 1–2; D. M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus 491-1191* (Nicosia:Theopress, 2009), pp. 285; 416; Mitford 1980, pp. 1295; 1376.

<sup>5</sup> Metcalf 2009, pp. 425; 434; “For nearly three hundred years from the late seventh century onwards, the status of Cyprus was governed by a treaty with the Caliphate. Cyprus was still a province of the Byzantine Empire, but its political allegiance was encroached upon, by *force majeure*. Earlier Students have labelled this 300-year period the ‘condominium centuries’, implying or suggesting that the Empire and the Caliphate were in some sort of partnership, to govern the island jointly. This notion, which derives ultimately from the equal tax-revenues extracted by each super-power, is severely misleading in other respects, and the term ‘condominium’ would be better omitted from the debate about the condition of Cyprus in these centuries, although it is difficult to know quite what phrase to put in its place.” (Ibid., p. 425.)

Comnenus<sup>6</sup> gained control and declared his sovereignty. He maintained control until Richard I of England<sup>7</sup> gained control of Cyprus in 1191 on his way to the Holy Land during the Third Crusade (1189 – 1192). When he took possession of the island, he sold it to the Templars for 100,000 dinars (of which only 40,000 was paid in cash). Mismanagement of Cyprus by the Templars however, caused a revolt and they restored the island to Richard.<sup>8</sup> The island of Cyprus was then sold to the Lusignans in 1192 after the Third Crusade ended in defeat by Muslim forces in the Holy Land. The Latin regime, which remained in place for three centuries, encouraged the settlement of people (nobles, knights, merchants, artisans and craftsmen) from the Middle East and Western Europe.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it is fair to say that all of these nations have left their social, political, religious, and economic influence on the culture of the island, whether by trade, settlement, or conquest.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, a rich variety of ethnic, religious and cultural groups settled in Cyprus in the ensuing years, emanating from both east and west. Many of these inhabitants were escaping from the Muslim conquest of the Holy Land in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> “Isaac Comnenos – cousin of the former Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenos, held the position of Imperial Governor of Tarsus in Cilicia, and suddenly (1184) appeared in Cyprus with forged imperial letters purporting to appoint him governor of the island. He proceeded to establish himself with all the violence and brutality which seem to have characterized the less reputable member of his family, and having done so assumed the proud title of ‘Emperor’.” (Rupert Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Town & Villages Monasteries & Castles* (Nicosia: K. Rustem & Bro, 1973), pp.13–14.)

<sup>7</sup> Richard I; also known as Richard the Lion Heart or Cœur de Lion. He was the king of England and attended to the Third Crusade (1191-1192) with his crusader partner Philip II of France. (Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 18; Peter Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (England: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 2.)

<sup>8</sup> Mariti 1971, pp. 1–2; Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le regne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, II (Paris: À l’imprimerie Nationale, 1852) pp. 7–8; David Hunt, “The Frankish Period 1191-1571,” in *Footprints in Cyprus*, ed. David Hunt, (London:Trigraph Limited, 1990), pp. 177–178; 295; 297.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191 – 1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 6–8; Steven A. Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the eastern Mediterranean, 1000-1400* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> John A. Koumoulides, “Cyprus from Earliest Times to A.D. 1600,” in *Cyprus: The Legacy*, ed. John A. Koumoulides, (Maryland: University Press of Maryland, 1999), p. 17.

centuries. They were Syrian Christians, Armenians, and Genoese refugees from Marqab<sup>11</sup> and Tripoli<sup>12</sup>, as well as Pisan refugees coming from Acre<sup>13</sup> after the city was seized by the Mamluks in 1291.<sup>14</sup> In addition there were Venetians, Anconitans, Pisans, Tuscans and Genoese coming from Western Europe in 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, which left their imprint on the late medieval history of the island. Many of those who now inhabited Cyprus were drawn by the concessions presented by the kings of the island such as judicial privileges and fiscal exemptions, by lower taxes and the pledge of new lands to those who had escaped the Muslim re-conquest of the Middle East.<sup>15</sup> There were, however, other groups of people who were brought from places along the Mediterranean, Aegean and Black Seas by force for commercial purposes and labour. Among this minority were slaves. They were from different

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<sup>11</sup> “Ancient fortress, situated on the road between Tripoli and Latakia; one of the major strongholds of the Hospitallers; besieged by Saladin in 1188; captured by Mameluk sultan of Qalawun in 1285” (“Marqab / Margat,” *Historic Cities, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*, <http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/syria/marqab/marqab.html> (retrieved on March 24, 2011).)

<sup>12</sup> Tripoli in Lebanon, “Held by Seleucids & Romans, taken by Muslims 638; taken by Crusaders after 5-year siege; captured by Mamelukes 1289 & destroyed; under Ottoman rule until taken by British in 1918; occupied by British & Free French in 1941.” (“Tripoli / Tarabulus,” *Historic Cities, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*, <http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/lebanon/tripoli/tripoli.html> (retrieved on March 24, 2011).)

<sup>13</sup> Acre / Akko was the third major port in the Middle East (present day in northern Israel) with Tyre and Tripoli. It fell into hands of Muslims on 18 May 1291. (Edbury 1996, p. 2; David Nicolle, *Knights of Jerusalem, the Crusading Order of Hospitallers 1100-1565* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2008), pp. 24–25.)

<sup>14</sup> During the Muslim occupation in the Middle East in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, first Marqab (the Hospitaller castle), which had been used as a base for raids to Muslim territory, was captured by the Mamluks in 1285, then in 1289, the city of Tripoli in Syria was seized by the Muslim forces. Thus, the city of Acre came into prominence as the major Christian port in what remained of the crusader states. (Edbury 1994, pp. 97; 98; Epstein 2006, p. 115.); “Acre was conquered by the Crusaders in 1104. It soon became the main harbour of the Latin Levant and witnessed the creation of important merchant colonies. Royal authority within the city was curtailed by grants of territory, as well as commercial and judicial exemption to Genoa, Venice and Pisa. The defeat of the Latins at the hands of Saladin in 1187 resulted also in the loss of Acre. Recovered after four years of Muslim occupation, the city replaced Jerusalem as the main political center of the Crusader kingdom during the last century of Latin rule, down to the Muslim conquest of 1291.” (David Jacoby, “Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography,” in *Studies on the Crusader States and Venetian Expansion*, V, (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), p. 1.)

<sup>15</sup> Peter Edbury, “Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto,” XVII, *Kingdom of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (England: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), pp. 94–95; Nicholas Coureas, “Economy,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel, (Netherlands: Brill, 2005), pp. 128–129; 134; Jacoby 1989, VIII, pp. 145; 171.



provinces in the Aegean Islands, Anatolia, Southern Russia, Caucasia, North Africa, Romania, and Europe - a situation adding to the mix of religions and languages.<sup>16</sup> Although they constituted a small minority of the society, they actually had a complicated cosmopolitan structure because of the provinces they came from, their varied ethnic origins, their languages and religious beliefs. This is an area of scholarship only recently touched upon, and not yet thoroughly explored. It is the objective of this work to make inroads into this important field of enquiry.

Slavery and the slave trade have always been structural features and inseparable parts of the Mediterranean, but during the 14<sup>th</sup> century they had assumed a particular character due to the need of human labour for agricultural purposes and because of the decimation of the labour force by the Black Death during 1347-48 and 1362-63. As such, the study of slavery and the slave trade in the region orients us to the Mediterranean and Aegean islands<sup>17</sup> and in particular the Genoese and Venetian merchants with their connection to Crete, Rhodes, Chios and other Aegean islands and the slave markets and slave trade routes within. These spanned from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean (La Tana-Crimea, Pera-Constantinople, Crete or Chios and

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<sup>16</sup> Cornelio Desimoni, ed., "Actes passés a Famagouste, de 1299 a 1301, par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto," *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, (1883), document numbers, 86, 42, 110, 161, 172, 176, 197; *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto*, Università di Genova, Istituto di Paleografia e Storia Medievale, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 5 vols., (Genoa, 1982): No. 31 (3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301), ed. Valeria Polonio, document numbers, 13, 14, 256, 380; No. 32 (6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301), ed. Romeo Pavoni (Genoa, 1982), document numbers, 20, 55, 58, 116-117, 140, 175, 239; No. 43 (Lamberto di Sambuceto: 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 :Gennaio-12 Luglio 1307; Giovanni de Rocha: 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310), ed. Michel Balard (Genoa, 1984), document numbers (Sambuceto), 92, 134; Document numbers (Rocha), 15, 72; Antonino Lambardo, ed. *Nicola de Boateriis, notaio a Famagosta e Venezia (1355 – 1365)* (Venice, 1973), document numbers, 48, 52, 75-76, 100, 164.

<sup>17</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (London: University of California Press, 1975), II, p. 755; Benjamin Arbel, "Slave Trade and Slave Labour in Frankish Cyprus (1191-1571)," IX, in *Cyprus, Franks and Venice, 13th – 16th Centuries*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 151; Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel, (Netherlands: Brill, 2005), pp. 16; 36–37.

Famagusta)<sup>18</sup> and also from the Mediterranean to Africa and Europe (Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, Sicily, and Spain)<sup>19</sup> and vice versa.<sup>20</sup> It is impossible to exclude the island of Cyprus from these international slave markets and trade routes and therefore this study also discusses the principal slave trade routes in the late Middle Ages and the pre-modern period in the Mediterranean through Cyprus.

The primary aim of this study is to observe the social history of Cyprus through its slave population which has previously been considered as an unimportant aspect of wider society. It investigates the role of the slavery and the slave-economy in the social life of the island in general, and Famagusta in particular, and then examines its impact on the cosmopolitan structure and social differentiation in the city through slave-master relations, manumissions,<sup>21</sup> and slave – third party relations. Additionally, it focuses on slaves' contribution to, and relations with, the inhabitants such as nobles, military orders (Templars and Hospitallers) and the indigenous population (free peasants and serfs). The analysis (synthesis) of the slave population in Famagusta concentrates on the period from 1300 to 1362 and takes into account their origin, marketing, social status, special professions and daily life. This study, of course, can offer no definitive conclusions about slavery and the slave system in

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<sup>18</sup> Freddy Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant La Romanie (1364-1463)*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Mouton, 1971), no. 797, p. 38; Coureas 2005, p. 138.

<sup>19</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 151; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 125; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 86, 172. [All mentioned trade routes had been obtained the primary sources which are used for this study].

<sup>20</sup> Peter Edbury, "Cyprus and Genoa: the Origins of the War of 1373-4," XIV, in *Kingdom of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (England: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), p. 118; Coureas 2005, pp. 108–109; 147.

<sup>21</sup> "The concept of emancipation was well developed in classical Roman law, to which late Roman emperors introduced some alterations: thus Constantine I (*Cod. Theod. IV 7.1*) simplified manumission by allowing masters to give liberty to their slaves by making a public statement in a church (*in ecclesia*); Justinian I established that all valid manumissions made slaves (*cives Romani*). According to another Justinian law, the slave became a citizen if a will appointed him heir to his master even if it did not mention his liberation." (*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot and A. Cutler, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Vol. 2, articles on "Manumission," p. 1293.

Famagusta and the island of Cyprus in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but it offers a contribution to scholarly debate and tries to illuminate one hitherto overlooked element of the island's history.

### **1.1.1 Methodology: Primary Sources (Archival Sources)**

Two different types of primary sources have been used as the basis of his research. The first relies on the acts of two Genoese notaries: Lamberto di Sambuceto, who had been working in the Black Sea port of Caffa prior to arriving in Famagusta sometime before 1294 and lived in the city until 1307. From 1296 to 1307, he held an official position of 'notary and scribe' for the Genoese community.<sup>22</sup> The second is Giovanni da Rocha, who resided in Famagusta between 1308 and 1310 and worked as a notary for the commercial interests of the Genoese community in the city. Both of these notaries generated over one thousand, five hundred deeds concerning Cyprus in the periods between 1296 and 1310.<sup>23</sup>

The second documentation is from Venetian notary, Nicola de Boateriis, who was originally from Mantua in Northern Italy and drew up deeds in Famagusta from August 1360 to October 1362 for Venetian merchants. Only one hundred and eighty-five deeds remain from this period.<sup>24</sup>

All this data centres on Famagusta and offers insight into the economic and trading activities supporting the local community and which led to its considerable wealth,

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<sup>22</sup> Peter Edbury, "Famagusta in 1300," XVI, *Kingdom of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (England: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), p. 337; Edbury 1999, XVII, pp. 87–88.

<sup>23</sup> Nicholas Coureas, "The structure and Content of the Notarial Deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha, 1296 – 1310," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M. G. Parani, and C. D. Schabel, (Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 223.

<sup>24</sup> Epstein 2006, p. 90; Arbel 2000, IX, p. 156.

evinced by its rich artistic and cultural heritage. Although these records cover many subjects including testaments relating to the distribution of property after death and trading activities concerned with import and export of textile products, cotton, spice, salted meat, olive oil, soap, cheese, wheat, slaves, and sugar in Famagusta in particular and Cyprus in general,<sup>25</sup> this study concentrates on the slave trade, testaments related to slaves, and slave manumissions. An attempt has also been made in this thesis to emphasise that these records not only enlighten us as to the commercial activity of slave marketing, but offer information about the social structure, religion, judicial and economic features of the Frankish regime on the island in 14<sup>th</sup> century. Though other trading activity was undoubtedly occurring at this time in Famagusta it was not specifically mentioned in these deeds, and so we are left to conjecture.

The notaries in question (Sambuceto, Rocha, and Boateriis) belonged to different influential groups (Genoese and Venetian) within the city and accordingly their acts reflect the activities of their own compatriots as well as outside commercial relations held with Catalans, Anconitans, Pisans and Ragusans. In the deeds of Sambuceto and Rocha, it is possible to see the dominance of the Genoese merchants in Famagusta over those who came to the city to trade. Because of this, the majority of his deeds are for Genoese merchants.<sup>26</sup> The same is shown by the deeds of Boateriis which, although they were recorded almost half a century later than Sambuceto and Rocha, reflect the same situation concerning Venetian trading activities. This leaves a major gap in the data on other trading nations (Pisan, Catalan, Anconitan, Florentines,

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<sup>25</sup> Coureas 2008, pp. 227–228.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233–234.

Greeks, Syrians, Saracens and Turks), living in the city as permanent or temporary inhabitants, as well as their short/long distance trading activities on the island. Presumably slaves were also brought by these merchants to sell, and were purchased for domestic or outside (agricultural and rural) services, but this cannot be verified using just these notary deeds.

### **1.1.2 Methodology: Secondary Sources**

David Jacoby, Peter Edbury and Nicholas Coureas refer to the acts of Sambuceto and Rocha in their different approaches to late-Medieval Cyprus. For instance, David Jacoby in *The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century* discusses the economic rise, the catastrophic changes, and the population fluctuations, before going on to describe the social life, marketing and classes of people by using the notary deeds of Sambuceto. In this respect, he states that

...the last decades of Latin rule in the Levant witnessed a massive exodus of Latins and Syrians from this area to Cyprus. The sudden influx of refugees in 1291 created for several years serious housing, economic and financial problems in the island. [...] The increased economic importance of the island in the framework of commercial and maritime relations between the West and the Eastern Mediterranean attracted not only itinerant merchants and sailors, but also immigrants who settled there for a limited period or permanently.<sup>27</sup>

In Peter Ebdury's *Famagusta 1300* and *Famagusta Society ca 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto*, he illustrates the economic and artistic rise of the city in relation to its architecture and topography, then discusses the merchants, burgesses and inhabitants of the city noting their economic contributions as bankers or permanent and temporary residents, by using the same documents of Sambuceto. Actually, by the incremental rise of commercial activities, so too the number of religious buildings, public buildings, market places and private houses owned by

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<sup>27</sup> Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 150.

nobles in the city rose. All these buildings convey traces of the cultures and ethnic identities that created them in the city in the 1300s. For example, St Nicholas Cathedral was built as an example of the pure and magnificent gothic architecture that had filtered from the Rhinelands through the Levant to Cyprus.<sup>28</sup> Jacoby, however, warns scholars about the additional obstacles to understanding Famagusta's population using only these deeds. In particular, the people listed in the deeds often appear under slightly different names or surnames, and the documents often omit crucial details about their occupation, residence or nationality.<sup>29</sup> Coureas also mentions the disadvantages of these acts by reiterating the dominant role of Genoese merchants as discussed above. He says these acts offer no information about what the Greeks and members of the Eastern Christian communities (Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians)<sup>30</sup> were doing as far as trading activities and living in Cyprus.<sup>31</sup> With this in mind the scholar must proceed knowing that these notarial acts present just a portion of the trading activities in Cyprus in the 14<sup>th</sup> century – not a complete picture. Peter Edbury, David Jacoby and Nicholas Coureas agree that these

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<sup>28</sup> Edbury 1999, XVI, pp. 342–346.

<sup>29</sup> Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 151.

<sup>30</sup> **Maronites / Maronite Church:** A Christian Community originating in Syria in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, claiming origin from St Marco (died 407). Condemned for its Monothelite beliefs in 680, the Church survived in Syria and elsewhere, and since 1182 has been in communion with the Roman Catholic Church. **Nestorians:** Followers of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople (d.c.451) who is alleged to have taught the doctrine, later declared heretical, of two persons (one human, one divine) as well as two natures in the incarnate Christ. They formed a separate Church which survived in parts of Persia as the Assyrian Church and, in India, as the Christians of St. Thomas. (*Dictionary of Beliefs and Religions*, ed. Rosemary Goring, (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers Ltd ,1992), articles on “Maronite Church,” and “Nestorians,” pp. 324; 367.); **Jacobites:** Syrian Monophysites, followers of Jacob Baradaeus. Although Monophysitism had individual followers from time of the Council of Chalcedon, the movement was not given firm institutional form until the missionary activity of Jacob Baradaeus beginning ca. 542. The Jacobite church traced its roots to Patr. Theodosios of Alexandria (535-66), who consecrated Jacob. (*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot and A. Cutler, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Vol. 2, articles on "Jacobites," p.1029.); **Armenia, Christianity in:** The Armenians were converted by Gregory the Illuminator, who in 314 was consecrated bishop of the Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia. In 374, the Armenians repudiated their dependence on the church of Caesarea. In early part of the 5<sup>th</sup> century St. Mesrob invented a national script and with St. Isaac the Great, directed the translation of the Bible and Liturgy in to Armenian. (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. E.A. Livingstone, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), article on “Armenia, Christianity in,” p.38.)

<sup>31</sup> Coureas 2008, pp. 233–234.

notarial acts are important sources to understanding the economic, legal and social history of Frankish Cyprus as they present a great deal of information about the international mercantile community in Famagusta.

I have contextualised my primary research with a broader reading of published sources which deal with merchants, artisans, pilgrims, travellers, and chroniclers. Leontios Makhairas is a fine example of the latter, born ca. 1360 (or, for some scholars, ca. 1380), died after 1432 and was known for his text *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*. Although his chronicle was written in the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it yields information on the cultural, social and political structure of Cyprus in previous centuries.<sup>32</sup>

Many people found themselves in the port city of Famagusta as a stopping point along travel routes to the Holy Land, Syria, the Aegean, Europe and the Black Sea. Ludolf of Suchen, who was a German pilgrim travelling to the Holy Land through Cyprus, arrived on the island in the 1350s.<sup>33</sup> Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, living in Cyprus between 1324 and 1329, was employed by the Bardi and Peruzzi banking houses. He is the author of the trading manual, *La Pratica della Mercatura*.<sup>34</sup> These too are important sources of contextualisation.

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<sup>32</sup> Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, "Diplomatics and Historiography: The Use of Documents in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M. G. Parani, and C. D. Schabel, (Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 293–298.

<sup>33</sup> Mas Latrie 1852, II, pp. 210–211; *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, trans. Claude D. Cobham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), pp. 18–21.

<sup>34</sup> Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. Allan Evan, (New York: Kraus Reprint Co, 1970), pp. xv; xx-xxi; Coureas 2005, p. 137.

### 1.1.3 Methodology: Complementary Studies and Analysis

Several studies have been published on slavery and the slave trade between the first century B.C. (Early Roman Period) and the sixteenth century A.D. (Early Transatlantic Slave Trade, colonies in South America [Peru and Brazil] by Portugal and Spain<sup>35</sup>). Between these two time periods, historians and sociologists have studied different regions such as Europe, Africa, Asia, the Mediterranean, Aegean, Middle East, Black Sea and the New World (America). These scholars investigated the contributions of these regions and their nations to the slave trade as slaves, masters or transporters (merchants). I have examined some of these works on slavery and the slave trade in my study by dividing them into two categories: historical studies and sociological studies.<sup>36</sup> However I should emphasise the fact that my research into slavery and the slave trade is a historical study of Late Medieval Cyprus, and Famagusta, using the help of sociological studies of slavery to discuss the slavery system, including the methods of owning slaves (capturing, buying and selling), their relations with other slaves, their daily lives and belief systems and their connection with other social groups and nations in society.

In the sociological studies, the work of Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* and Marc Bloch, *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages*, in particular will be referred to because of their help in understanding the relations of slaves, the institution of slavery and the dialectics of slavery cross-culturally. Patterson gives detailed explanations of the slavery system and the nature of slavery. He emphasizes

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<sup>35</sup> William D. Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), pp. 173–182.

<sup>36</sup> Sociological Study/Sociology: The study depends on classification of human societies and human social activity in society. ("Sociology," *WordNet*, Princeton University, <http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=sociology> (retrieved on March 27, 2011).)



the relations between slave and master, and slave and community, and in so doing presents the position of slavery in the long process of human life as a social death (thus slaves do not exist outside of their masters in society). Patterson refers to ‘the slave, however, recruited, as a socially dead person. Alienated from all “rights” or claims of birth, he ceased to belong in his own right to any legitimate social order. All slaves experienced, at the very least, a secular excommunication.’<sup>37</sup> Bloch explains the religious approaches (Christian and Jewish) to slavery and slave marketing and mentions the ways possible to have slaves in the Middle Ages, emphasizing the status of freed slaves after manumission. His definitions and comparisons of slaves and serfs help us to understand the sharp differences between slaves and serfs in the same social system in the Middle Ages. In this system serfs (male or female) were responsible to pay yearly tax ‘from their heads’ to the *seigneur* (the lord) and they were free to be married in a prescribed group in society. However, the marriage status of the slaves depended on the request of their owners and they were not responsible to pay taxes. Naturally the slaves lived according to their master’s wishes.<sup>38</sup>

Of the historical studies, the works of William Phillips (*Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade*), Benjamin Arbel (*Slave Trade and Slave Labour in Frankish Cyprus (1191-1571)*), Nicholas Coureas (*Economy in Cyprus Society and Culture*, and *Deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha*), and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (*Greeks in Cyprus Society and Culture*) will be included because of their emphasis on slavery and economy on the island in the Late Middle Ages by

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<sup>37</sup> Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (London: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Marc Bloch, *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages*, trans. William R. Beer, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 37–50.

using the same notarial acts of Lamberto di Sambuceto, Giovanni de Rocha and Nicola de Boateriis.

William D. Phillips offers useful definitions of slavery and the slave trade. He explains how Roman slavery and slave laws shaped the European slavery system in Europe and the European colonies in the medieval and early modern era. He provides proof that the Roman pattern and Christian experience of slavery also affected the Islamic slavery system directly or indirectly because of cultural interaction in wars and trade between Christians and Muslims in the Levant and Middle East. This study helped me relate the situation of slavery to the Eastern Mediterranean and the island of Cyprus by using the Muslim and Christian approaches and attitudes toward slavery in the late Middle Ages. Even though Phillips has not written a separate passage on the Mediterranean region or the island of Cyprus in 14<sup>th</sup> century, the passage about slavery in Italy in the late Middle Ages will help us to understand the estimated urban slavery system in Cyprus, because he helps us to realize the Italian merchants (Genoese and Venetian) who managed the slave trading activities in Cyprus by imbuing the island with their own customs. For example, brides had slaves as a part of their dowries - ‘by the end of the fourteenth century there was hardly a well-to-do house-hold in Tuscany without at least one slave: brides brought them as part of their dowries’<sup>39</sup> - and serving the master for a limited time after manumission – ‘Manumissions always required volition of the master, who often would specify some conditions for the newly freed person to fulfil. In 1186 records

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<sup>39</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 98.

from Genoa indicate that a female slave of Muslim origin was freed on condition that she remains in her master's service for ten years.<sup>40</sup>

The works of Benjamin Arbel, Nicholas Coureas, and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari on slavery, the slave trade and notarial acts in Cyprus should be addressed separately from other historical studies because they depend on the same notarial acts (Sambuceto, Rocha and Boaterris) as sources and are all about late Medieval Cyprus. Arbel mentions the slavery system and slave trading facilities in the island in general. He gives useful information about the ethnic province of the slaves, their age range and sex. For instance:

Slaves described as Turks or Armenians could have reached Cyprus via the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, the Turkish *ghazi* principalities of western Anatolia, or the town of Satalia and Candelore in southern Anatolia, all of which were active in trade. Tatar, Russian, Mongolian, Circassian, Magyar, and Cuman slaves were brought by Genoese or Venetian merchants from the Black Sea area. Muslim merchants brought black slaves from the sub-Saharan kingdom via north African ports[...] There are quite a few adult slaves, bringing the average age, in those 50 cases where age is indicated (generally with a certain degree of approximation) to 18.5. Counting male and female slaves, whenever the sex is mentioned, brings us to 49 male and 37 female slaves.<sup>41</sup>

His study is very important for understanding how the slavery mechanism ran in the city of Famagusta in particular, and Cyprus in general, between 1300 and 1362. To complement what Arbel has already contributed to the debate I wish to place emphasis on the slaves' relations and attitudes toward marriage, their daily life and daily duties.

Nicholas Coureas mentions the role of slavery and the slave trade in the economy of the island in the late middle ages. He mentions not only domestic slaves but opens a

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>41</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, p. 154.

wide window on slaves who worked in an urban setting, agriculture, and labour intensive industries like sugar and viticulture.<sup>42</sup> Thus he links up the relations among slaves, agricultural production and trade. However, slavery, the slave trade and slave labour for agricultural purposes constitute just a short part of this study, so it is difficult to understand the slaves' relation with the other social classes in the island. Meanwhile, Coureas in his other study, concentrates on the acts of Sambuceto and Rocha in late 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and divides the structure of these deeds into three parts

The first is invocation, the invariable formulaic phrase 'in nomine Domini, Amen.' The second part, constituting the main business of the document, states the parties involved and nature of their business... The third part of the document in question consists of the place in which the contract was signed and the witnesses who were present.<sup>43</sup>

This generalisation about the deeds is not applicable for the acts related with slave trade and manumissions which, in themselves can be divided into four parts. One missing section, apart those highlighted by Coureas, is the part containing the conditions between slave and master, slave owner and third parties in the acts, as well as penalties, which were stated for disagreements or complaints.

History is written from different perspectives. These perspectives are offered by different academics, such as Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, who touched briefly on the slaves and their role in society in the Frankish period. She tries to relate the slaves with the dominant indigenous population (Greeks) in the island and presents this interaction between Greek communities and non-Greek slaves stating that:

These slaves were soon assimilated with the native Greek population both culturally and socially; their tender age must have contributed to their

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<sup>42</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 104.

<sup>43</sup> Coureas 2008, pp. 223–226.

assimilation. Consequently, there exist several examples of Muslim slaves with Greek Christian names...<sup>44</sup>

The idea of slaves assimilated into Greek culture and society can be misinterpreted by only considering their ‘tender age’ or their names after baptism. In order to have this type of conclusion, how long these slaves stayed on the island, and their manumission date, must be clearly known. The claim that the slaves took Greek Christian names after manumissions is also controversial, because non Christian slaves when baptised were often given Saints’ names, so this is not accurate proof of their assimilation into the Greek Christian community.

#### **1.1.4 Thesis Structure**

My dissertation consists of five chapters, which will cover the impact and diversity of slavery, the slave trade and manumissions on the island of Cyprus in general, and the city of Famagusta particular, by investigating the role of the slave-economy in social life and will explore its impact on the mixed ethnic structure and social differentiation in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The first chapter presents an overview of the history of Cyprus and slavery in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It states the methodology and historiography of the thesis by evaluating primary and secondary sources.

The second chapter deals with the definition of slavery, and the historical process of the system in the Eastern Mediterranean region, by evaluating it in the light of natural and divine law. The slavery system on the island of Cyprus and the city of Famagusta will be discussed by analyzing the other minority and majority groups,

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<sup>44</sup> Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, p. 39.

such as burgesses, free tenants (*francomati*), and serfs (*paroikoi*). In addition, slaves' contribution and relations with other inhabitants on the island, such as the military orders (Templers and Hospitals) and merchants will be examined. Thus the general features of slavery are revealed in the island during the late Middle Ages.

The third chapter concentrates on the commercial activities and import-export articles of Cyprus and the importance of Famagusta as an *entrepot* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the region after the fall of Acre (1291). In addition, it discusses the role of the slave trade and slave transportation in the economy and commercial activities. Possible slave trade routes will be drawn among the Aegean Islands, Black Sea, Middle East, and the island of Cyprus, and so the events which allowed holding slaves will also be discussed.

The fourth chapter provides a synthesis of the slave population in the city of Famagusta from the notarial acts 1300 – 1362: their origin, marketing, social status and daily life will be discussed. It contains a detailed analysis of these acts, thus social structure, culture, religion, judicial and economic features of the Frankish regime on the island will be shown in relation to slavery. Special professions and culture, influenced by both inhabitants and slaves themselves will be discussed as well.

The final chapter contains the summary and conclusion of the thesis and discusses the role of slaves and their impact on the cosmopolitan structure and social differentiation of Famagusta and Cyprus. Thus this study attempts to prove that slaves were not a 'dead community' on the island in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. They existed as

part of the society with some rights, which were saved / recorded by their masters by way of acts.

### **1.1.5 Objectives and Conclusion**

This study presents a detailed analysis on, and possible interpretation of, the sources of slavery and slave marketing which were recorded by the notaries of two competing Italian city-states (Genoa and Venice) in the Mediterranean world in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, during two separate time periods: 1299-1310 and 1355-1365. It will additionally present what can be learned about the diversity of slavery and slaves in Famagusta, besides their ethnic origin, age and price in marketing. At times the discussion of slavery will be tied to the rural economy and production and at times to domestic service in the cities. Thus, it will allow us a look into the world of slaves and their connection to the social structure of Medieval and pre-modern Cyprus.

## Chapter 2

# THE LONG HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN CYPRUS

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly define the institution of slavery in the Mediterranean. It explains the historical process of slavery by focusing on the ancient Greek and Roman slavery systems in the region and by relating it with the Roman codifications. It discusses the two types of slaves (agricultural and domestic) and the methods of enslavement by absolute authorities in the Eastern Mediterranean under two subtitles (enslavement by birth and enslavement of a free person), which were applicable to the island of Cyprus in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. There will be an analysis of the island's social structure and the relations of the slaves with the other social classes: peasants (*paroikoi* and *francomati*), burgesses, and knights. Subsequently, the slave trade routes which were used by Italian merchants passing over the region from the Black Sea to North Africa and from North Africa to the north and south of Italy, are mentioned.

### 2.1 The Definition of Slavery and its Historical Process

The institution of slavery, which is an indispensable feature of human history, depends on an extreme form of domination. It arises from the limits of total power of the master and total powerlessness of the slave by virtue of purchase, inheritance or war. In this system the owner was the absolute authority, controlling fully all actions



of slaves as their property. They could sell or punish them and had the right to force them to labour in plantations, agriculture and other income-producing pursuits. The owners also had the right to decide the life or death of their slaves, their working conditions and even their marriages and sexual relations.<sup>45</sup>

This institution, which relied on the characteristics of dominant authority by the owners, existed in almost all ancient civilizations of Asia, Africa, Europe and pre-Columbian America for centuries. In these regions slaves were used for domestic and agricultural purposes, constituting the minority group under the control of the majority in society. Most slaves were the property of kings, priests, and temples, and only a relatively small proportion were in private possession. Nevertheless, how and when this institution first appeared historically is still is not clearly known.<sup>46</sup>

To appreciate the existence of slavery in Cyprus in the period in question, it is worth digressing momentarily to better understand the institution. The ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, ancient Greeks in the Aegean, Sumerians, Egyptians, Babylonians in the ancient Middle East, and Romans were some of the slave holding nations before the Christian era. Even though slavery was very common in the ancient world, Athens and other Greek city-states in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. were efficient slave-holding societies existing before Rome. The institution of slavery played an important role among these Greeks. They favoured slavery despite their heritage of

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<sup>45</sup> Patterson 1982, p. 1; Phillips 1985, pp. 3; 5; 14; Pierre Dockes, *Medieval Slavery and Liberation*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1982), p. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 3; Phillips 1985, p. 3.

qualified democracy.<sup>47</sup> During this time, the enslavement of non-Greeks, who were labelled barbarians, was preferred. The enslavement of Greeks was discouraged.<sup>48</sup> Slave holding was seen as a characteristic of Natural Law or Divine Dispensation and therefore was upheld by some philosophers such as Aristotle. In his book, *The Politics*, he stated that some people are slaves by nature and they must be ruled by a kind of authority for their own benefit. Accordingly, the bodies of freemen and slaves must be distinguished by nature, because the bodies of the slaves are naturally fit for servile labour unlike the bodies of the masters, which are useless for such services but are useful for political life in the arts of both war and peace.<sup>49</sup>

The Romans maintained the slave holding system well into the Christian era and its effects spread in all Roman lands from Europe to Northern Africa, including Anatolia and Mediterranean. Slavery was in place in all parts of the Roman world in the first centuries A.D. They were employed in the fields, in shops, in workshops and also in the houses as domestic servants. Romans used non-Roman citizens as slaves; they preferred not to enslave Romans, following the example of the ancient Greeks.

In contrast to the habits of the Greek *polis* (in which one usually was either a full citizen or no citizen at all), the Romans developed a notion of ‘belonging’

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<sup>47</sup> Qualified Greek democracy had depended on the idea of ‘Hellenocentricity’, ‘privileging the Greeks’. The all male Greek citizens were voting without any representatives. They were individually active to constitute the rules, laws and governing themselves, besides all men were equal in some things, and they were equal in all. However, there were the people who were excluded in that system. These were slaves, women, subject-allies in the two periods of naval hegemony, and metecs (a resident alien who did not have citizen rights and who paid a tax for the right to live there). (Simon Hornblower, “Creation and Development of Democratic Institutions in Ancient Greece,” in *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey 508 BC to AD 1993*, ed. John Dunn, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 2; 12; Bernard Crick, *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 11–12; Johnson, “Lecture 10: The Beginnings of Democracy,” *Southern Illinois University Carbondale*, <http://languages.siuc.edu/classics/Johnson/HTML/L10.html> (retrieved on June 07, 2011).)

<sup>48</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 16.

<sup>49</sup> Lewis 1990, pp. 3–5; Phillips 1985, p. 3; *Aristotle’s Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 1254b8–10, p. 34.

to the Roman State (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*) in which the ‘citizenship’ was thought of as consisting of a collection of rights and privileges, which any particular person or group of persons might have in whole or in part. These rights included; the privilege of holding public office (*Ius honorum*), the right to vote (*Ius suffragii*), the right to marry a Roman citizen (*Ius matrimonii*), and the right to do business in Roman markets under the protection of Roman legal codes and courts (*Ius commercii*).<sup>50</sup>

The main sources for acquiring slaves were wars and captivities. Therefore, the victorious expedition of Romans and their successful battles with their enemies helped to increase the numbers of slaves in Roman lands in the first centuries of the Empire.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the overall treatment of slaves changed from the beginning of the state to the time of the Empire. Although slaves were treated well, possibly because of the small numbers in the first centuries of the state, the onset of overseas expansion and capture changed the treatment of slaves, who by then had risen in numbers.

### **2.1.1 The Roman Slavery System as an Example for Latin Christian States in the Middle Ages**

In Late Antiquity, Romans had constituted legal rights to organize their slavery system. The first legal codifications were done by Emperor Constantine the Great<sup>52</sup> in 319 A.D. to state the position of the master by emphasizing what a master could and could not do to his slaves. According to his legacy, the aims of the masters were vital and decisive. For example, if the owner beat his slaves in order to keep them

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<sup>50</sup> John Paul Adams, “Roman Citizenship,” *California State University Northridge*, <http://www.csun.edu/~hcfll004/RomanCensus-textonly.html> (retrieved on July 08, 2011).

<sup>51</sup> Bloch 1975, pp. 1–2.

<sup>52</sup> **Constantine the Great:** “(d. 337) Roman emperor (274–337).[...] He humanized the criminal law and the law of debt, mitigated the conditions of slavery, made grants to support poor children, thus discouraging the exposure of unwanted babies, freed celibates and unmarried persons from special taxations, legislated against incontinence, and exempted Christian clergy from the burden of the decurionate (*Decuriones* or *Curiales*; the member of the local council and also a military officer).” (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), articles on “Constantine the Great,” p. 338; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot and A. Cutler, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Vol. 1, articles on “Decuriones or Curiales,” pp. 564; 598.)

under control, the owner could not be accused of homicide, even if the beating resulted in the death of the slave. However, if he willingly killed any of his slaves he could be held for murder. Other codifications (*Digest 48, 18; about torturing slaves*) were done for the status of the slaves in court. As an example, Roman slaves could not normally appear in court as witnesses but if they had been persecuted, they could appear for testimony.<sup>53</sup>

The most important codification on the Roman law system was by Emperor Justinian in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, called the code of Justinian.<sup>54</sup> His regulations briefly marked the description of the slaves, their status and relations with freemen, the ways of enslavement and how slavery ended by manumission. For instance, according to regulations, the recognized sources for slavery were captivity in war, and birth. The status of a child at birth was determined according to the status of the mother in that system. If the child was born of a female slave, regardless of the status of the father (slave or free), the child was described as a slave.<sup>55</sup> The other important regulation

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<sup>53</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 27; Thomas Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 1981), section 178, p. 168.

<sup>54</sup> **Justinian I:** "(483-565), Byzantine Emperor from 527 to 565. He was the most energetic of the early Byzantine Emperors, making it his aim to restore the political and religious unity of the empire in East and West. He re-conquered N. Africa from the Vandals and Italy from the Goths. **The Code of Justinian:** This revision, enlargement and rearrangement of the Theodosian Code was published by Justinian in 529. It survives only in a revised edition embodying later constitutions which dates from 534. It was supplemented by further constitutions known as *Novellae* and also by the 'Digest' (533), a comprehensive set of passages from juristic text-books and commentaries of the classical period, and the 'Institutes of Justinian' (533), a revised and modified edition of those of Gaius with extracts from similar works. Together the Code, *Novellae*, Digest and Institutes constituted the so-called *Corpus Juris Civilis*, which became the authoritative and ordered statement of Roman Law, purged of all that was obsolete or contradictory." (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), articles on "Justinian I, and The Code of Justinian" pp, 770; 771.)

<sup>55</sup> Andrew Borkowski, and Paul du Plessis, *Textbook on Roman Law* (Hampshire: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 90–94; Barry Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (Hong Kong: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 71–72.

for slavery under Roman law is manumission,<sup>56</sup> which is an inseparable part of the Roman slavery system. Therefore, the slaves always had the hope of manumission giving them the status of freeman (*libertinus*) and citizen. There were different ways of earning freedom. Sometimes, the slave had the right to buy his freedom by paying his master and gaining a free status in the society. The other method depended on good service for the master. In that situation a slave owner might set his slave free. The last and most common one was manumission by a will. By that method, freedom was granted by a will and it allowed conditions to be attached to a gift of freedom. They continued serving as slaves until the conditions were satisfied but their position was different from ordinary slaves. They lived for a time in limbo, between slavery and free man.<sup>57</sup>

All these reorganizations and codifications done by the emperors in late antiquity served to organize slaves' work, their right to manumission, and also to prohibit unfair attitudes by the owners. In so doing they tried to prevent losing this vital source of human labour which played an important role in society and the economy during the Roman and late antiquity periods.<sup>58</sup> The changes in the legal system were the instrument of transmission. Medieval Europeans rediscovered and integrated this legal system into their own legal codes.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, it is possible to observe the effects of these codes, which might compose the basis of the legal system of Latin

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<sup>56</sup> **Manumission:** The word manumission comes from Latin word “manumitto” (manu-mitto) and “manumissio” (Manumitto + -tio). It is combination of two word “manu” (manus); the hand and “mitto”; to allow (a person ) to go on his way, to allow to go free. In this respect the word Manumitto in Latin and manumission in English represent the ceremony, which the owner is setting his slave free by his hands. (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), articles on “manumitto, manumissio, manus, mitto,” pp. 1075–1076; 1119–1120.)

<sup>57</sup> Borkowski, and Plessis 2007, pp. 98–99; Justinian, *The Digest of Roman Law: Theft Rapine, Damage, and Insult*, trans. C.F. Kolbert, (England, Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 49–50; Phillips 1985, p. 29.

<sup>58</sup> Borkowski, and Plessis 2007, p. 91.

<sup>59</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 16.

Christian states embroiled in the crusades from the late 11<sup>th</sup> century to 13<sup>th</sup> century in the Eastern Mediterranean and settled on the island of Cyprus. In addition, ‘the Roman experience clearly influenced the later practice of slavery in the Mediterranean, offering a concrete example and intellectual basis for medieval societies.’<sup>60</sup>

Apart from Roman-based codifications, which were used in the lands of the Roman Empire from Eastern Europe to Northern Africa, there were major spiritual perceptions dependent on the religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which appeared in the Eastern Mediterranean region.<sup>61</sup>

### 2.1.2 Religious Approaches to Slavery in the Eastern Mediterranean

Essentially, when these three monotheistic religions appeared in world history, the institution of slavery already existed in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Therefore, none of them removed this system, but merely made regulations about how the

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>61</sup> **Judaism:** “The religion of the Jews, central to which is the belief in one God, the transcendent creator of the world who delivered the Israelites out of their bondage in Egypt, revealed his law (Torah) to them, and choice them to be a light to all humankind. The Hebrew Bible is the primary source of Judaism. Next in importance is the Talmud, which consists of the Mishnah (the codification of the oral Torah) and a collection of extensive early rabbinical commentary. Various later commentaries and the standard code of Jewish law and ritual (Halakhah) produced in the late Middle Ages have been important in shaping Jewish practice and thought.” **Christianity:** “(Greek *christos*, ‘anointed’) A world religion centred on the life and work of Jesus of Nazareth in Israel, and developing out of Judaism. The earliest followers were Jews who, after the death and resurrection of Jesus, believed him to be the Messiah or Christ, promised by the prophets in the Old Testament, and his unique relation to God, whose Son or ‘Word’ (Logos) he was declared to be. During his life he chose 12 men as disciples, who formed the nucleus of the Church as a society or communion of believers, called together to worship God through Jesus Christ, who would come again to inaugurate the ‘kingdom of God.’” **Islam:** The Arabic word for ‘submission’ to the will of God (Allah), the name of the religion originating in Arabia during the 7<sup>th</sup> century through the prophet Muhammad. Followers of Islam are known as Muslims, or Moslems, and their religion embraces every aspect of life. They believe that individuals, societies, and governments should all be obedient to the will of God as it is set forth in the Quran, which they regard as the Word of God revealed to his Messenger, Muhammad. The Quran teaches that God is one and has no partners. He is the Creator of all things, and holds absolute power over them. All persons should commit themselves to lives of grateful and praise-giving obedience to God, for on the Day of Resurrection they will be judged.” (*Dictionary of Beliefs and Religions*, ed. Rosemary Goring, (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers Ltd, 1992), articles on “Judaism,” “Christianity,” and “Islam,” pp. 98–99; 247; 270).

process of slavery worked among believers, and between whom it would constitute a commercial relationship. Thus religious authorities tried to defend the rights of their communities and their freedom by canons.

In Judaism, the institution of slavery was mentioned as a common phenomenon. According to this system, slavery was already in the Hebrew society so it generated sacred rules<sup>62</sup> to prevent the Hebrew people from being enslaved by other Hebrews. These laws were intended to conserve the rights of Hebrew slaves. In verses in the Old Testament (Torah), the slavery of Hebrews was absolutely forbidden (Leviticus, 25:42). However, there were some exceptional conditions mentioned in the same holy book<sup>63</sup> whereby in the event of becoming poor and selling him/herself to get out of debt, the creditor could claim the right to another's enslavement.

In Christianity, slavery was a social and physical truth.<sup>64</sup> Although there are verses about equality among nations or social status<sup>65</sup> and every man being one in Christ,

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<sup>62</sup> Exodus 21:1 – 21:4, 21:7 – 21:8, “**1**) Now these *are* the judgments which thou shalt set before them. **2**) If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. **3**) If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. **4**) If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. **7**) And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do. **8**) If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.” (*The Old Testament: the Authorised or King James Version of 1611*, (London: Everyman Publishers plc, 1996), p. 119.)

<sup>63</sup> Leviticus 25:39 – 25:42, “**39**) And if thy brother *that dwelleth* by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant: **40**) *But* as an hired servant, *and* as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, *and* shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee. **41**) And *then* shall he depart from thee, *both* he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. **42**) For they *are* my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen.”; Kings II 4:1, “**1**) Now there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, Thy servant my husband is dead; and thou knowest that thy servant did fear the LORD: and the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen.” (Ibid., pp. 204; 592.)

<sup>64</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup> Galatians 3:28, “There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.” Colossians 3:11, “Here there is no Greek or Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian, Seythian, slave or free, but Christ is all, and is in all.”

the institution of slavery was not directly attacked by the Christian church, and the ownership of slaves was never forbidden to or by Christians.<sup>66</sup> Slave holding was not described as a sin in the teaching of Jesus or in the Bible.<sup>67</sup>

Christian slaveholders cited Paul and his instructions to both slaves and masters to honour their respective duties to one another. Further, St. Augustine taught that slavery represented just one of many consequences of the sinful condition of humanity; it was original sin that had made subjection to established authority a necessity.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, some regulations in Christianity were registered in ecumenical councils about determining the role of Christians in slavery and the slave trade. According to the canons in the councils (Fifth Council of Orleans in 549, Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 and Council of Koblenz in 922), it was not permissible to enslave Christians, so slaves who had been under the control of their Christian masters must be of a different religion. This issue also applied during the medieval era in both the western and eastern parts of the Roman Empire and to the people who converted to Christianity. During the same period, converting to Christianity and receiving baptism for Muslim slaves seemed to be an easy way to get manumission in The Middle Ages. In that baptism ceremony, the slave had to have the permission of his owner and then called by a Christian name.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, “Muslims who

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<sup>66</sup> Earle E. Cairns, *Christianity through the Centuries* (Michigan: The Zondervan Corporation, 1981), p. 84.

<sup>67</sup> George D. Armstrong, *The Christian Doctrine of Slavery* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1857), pp. 8; 65; 102–104.

<sup>68</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, “Christianity and the Campaign against Slavery and Slave Trade,” in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Steward J. Brown, and Timothy Tackett, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Vol.7, p. 518; St. Augustine states that “the first cause of slavery, then, is sin, whereby man was subjected to man in condition of bondage; and this can only happen by the judgement of God, with whom there is no injustice, and who knows how to allot different punishments according to the deserts of the offenders.” (St. Augustine, *Concerning the City of God; against the Pagans*, Book XIX, Chapter 15, trans. Henry Bettenson, (England: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 875.)

<sup>69</sup> The acts concerning slaves, written in Famagusta in the 14<sup>th</sup> century show that slaves who converted to Christianity used mostly the names of the Saints. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 256, 350; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no.156); besides for the councils see, Paul Halsall, “Fifth Council of Orleans: Concerning Freedmen, 549,” *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*,



accepted Christianity were not guaranteed enfranchisement unless they had fled into Christian territory. Local converted Muslims generally remained in their servile condition.”<sup>70</sup> In Europe at the same time, many Muslim slaves were denied baptism by their owners. They were also often prevented from participating in Christian services. Several Eastern Christians were brought dishonestly by Italian merchants to sell as slaves, passing them off as Muslims.<sup>71</sup> In addition, circumventing the rule about non-enslavement of Christians according to divine law, Greek Orthodox and even foreign Catholics, were categorized as non-Christian so they could be sold by impious slave-dealers.<sup>72</sup> Thus, the sale of Eastern Christians such as Orthodox Greeks and Armenian Christians as slaves is not surprising in lands which were controlled by Latin Christians (Venetians and Genoese) in the Eastern Mediterranean (the islands of Cyprus and Crete), and Aegean (Chios and Rhodes).<sup>73</sup>

According to Islam, which is the last of the divine religions to appear in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century in the Arabian Peninsula (and spread rapidly in the Eastern Mediterranean region in the Middle Ages), the slavery phenomenon was accepted as a reality of

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<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/549Orleans.html> (retrieved on July 08, 2011); Paul Halsall, “Fourth Council of Toledo: On the Keeping of Slaves, 633,” *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/633Toledo.html> (retrieved on July 08, 2011); Paul Halsall, “Decrees on the Sale of Unfree Christians, c. 922-1171,” *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/1171latsale.html> (retrieved on July 08, 2011).

<sup>70</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 92; “The early Church Fathers had ruled that baptism had no effect on the status of a slave, and that a slave must be manumitted before being admitted to orders.” David B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 98.

<sup>71</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 92; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 178.

<sup>72</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 101; Iris Origo, “The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Speculum*, Vol. XXX, (July 1955): pp. 334–36; and for Christian slaves who were sold in Muslim territories by Christians and papal punishments, *please see also* Davis 1966, pp. 99–100.

<sup>73</sup> The acts, which were scribed by Genoese and Venetian Notaries in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Famagusta give detailed information about the Eastern Christians who were sold as slaves. Please see Lamberto di Sambuceto, 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 176; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 78, 239; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 :Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 92, 134; Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 15, 34, 72; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 42, 197; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 48, 52, 75, 76, 100, 167, 173.

social life. However, Islam brought stricter regulations than other religions (Judaism and Christianity), especially about how the slaves would obey their owners, the status of the slaves, the owners' relation and behaviour to them, and their prayer and working conditions. These were discussed by religious verses in the words of God and Hadiths, which depended on the teachings of the prophet Muhammad.<sup>74</sup> These codifications did not just cover Muslim slaves, they were about all slaves in Muslim territory and regulated the living conditions and daily life of Muslim slaves under foreign authorities. Therefore the observation of Islam and regulations on the slavery system may give hints about the status and living conditions of Saracen slaves, which were not baptized in Christian states in the region.

The slave was equal to a free man for individual religious responsibilities such as daily prayer and fasting and did not depend on financial religious duties like alms giving and pilgrimage.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, Bernard Lewis' approach to Muslim slaves in the Middle Ages<sup>76</sup> is open to discussion since the status of slavery does not give the right to abandon individual religious activities according to Islamic law. Even under the control of Christian owners, Muslim slaves were expected to fulfil their duties of

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<sup>74</sup> See Surah; Al-Baqarah (The Cow): 177, 178, 221, An-Nisâ (Women): 36, Ar-Rûm (The Romans): 28, At-Taubah (Repentance): 60, An-Nûr (Light): 32-33,58; and also see Hadith, Sunan Abu Dawud, *Prayer (Kitab Al-Salat): Details of Commencing Prayer*, Book 3, Number 1062, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/abudawud/003.smt.html>; Sunan Abu Dawud, *Prescribed Punishments (Kitab Al-Hudud)*, Book 38, Number, 4398, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/abudawud/038.smt.html>; Sunan Abu Dawud, *Marriage (Kitab Al-Nikah)*, Book 11, Number 2073, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/abudawud/011.smt.html>; Sahih Muslim, *Prescribed Punishments (Kitab Al-Hudud)*, Book 1, Chapter 32 Calling the Fugitive Slave as Infidel, Number 131, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muslim/001.smt.html> (retrieved on April 15, 2011).

<sup>75</sup> *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Bekir Topaloglu, İsmail E. Erünsal, Ahmet Ozel and Tahsin Gorgun, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), Vol.26, article on "Köle," pp. 237–239.

<sup>76</sup> "Slaves were excluded from religious functions or from any office involving jurisdiction over others." (Lewis 1990, p. 7.)

worship. The same situation was true for Saracen<sup>77</sup> slaves who had been baptized. They also needed to attend the religious activities in Christianity.<sup>78</sup> Islam gives privileges and exemptions to Muslim slaves for attending specific prayers such as Friday prayer and the day of prayer (feast of Sacrifice and Ramadan), referring to the verdict of Hadith.<sup>79</sup> Thus these slaves were not held responsible for these aforementioned prayers during their slavery. In this sense, when we consider the large number of Muslim slaves (Saracen and Turks) in the urban and rural areas of Cyprus in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the statements about the religious faith and worship of Muslim slaves will help to understand their religious life under the control of non-Muslim masters. This subject will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

### 2.1.3 Two Distinct Classes of Slaves

During the historical process of slavery in history, slaves were divided into two distinct classes in general, according to their working places and the work they did for their masters: whether as agricultural (rural) slaves who served in the fields outside of the cities as labour in the agricultural plantations, or domestic (urban) slaves who did service in the cities, mostly in the houses of their owners.<sup>80</sup>

Much of the employment of domestic slaves must be described as unproductive labour, for slaves were usually assigned to noneconomic tasks; their employment was often totally independent of the normal mode of labour in the society. As servants, guards, and sexual partners, their primary function

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<sup>77</sup> **Saracens:** The word Saracen is “a vague term used in the West for the Arabs and, eventually, other Islamic peoples of the Near East, in both pre-Islamic and medieval times.” (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, and G. Lecomte, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), Vol. IX, article on “Saracens,” p. 27)

<sup>78</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 102.

<sup>79</sup> *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Bekir Topaloglu, İsmail E. Erünsal, Ahmet Ozel and Tahsin Gorgun, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), Vol.26, article on “Köle,” p. 239; Vehbe Zuhali, *İslam Fikhi Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.2, (İstanbul: Risale, 1990), pp. 371; 454; Sunan Abu Dawud, *Prayer (Kitab Al-Salat): Details of Commencing Prayer*, Book 3, Number 1062, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/abudawud/003.sat.html> (retrieved on April 15, 2011).

<sup>80</sup> Phillips 1985, pp. 7–8.

in many cases was to demonstrate the wealth and luxury enjoyed by their owners.<sup>81</sup>

Nevertheless, some of the domestic slaves worked in the shops and workshops of their artisan owners, thus their collective activities caused an impact on production. This situation helped them to have a higher living standard, and in this way they had a better chance of obtaining their freedom and of having a profession. Among medieval Christians and Muslims, slaves were normally employed in domestic areas, serving as household servants and artisans.<sup>82</sup> The status of domestic slaves in the houses, and their position as a kind of assistant in the workshops of the master, might increase the close relations between the slave and owner and this situation might lead to assimilation of the slaves by more dominant social classes.<sup>83</sup>

Since slavery is an institution that emerged in relation to the needs of human beings, it was inevitable that slavery and the number of slaves in a region would increase accordingly. In the Middle Ages, there were two major ways of enslavement according to the status of the people. These categories might be examined under the subtitles of enslavement of a free born person and enslavement by birth, both of which were acceptable by the secular administrations and religious belief systems in the Eastern Mediterranean region mentioned above. At the same time, it is possible to see examples of these two categories on the island of Cyprus, as an important place in the region in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 8; 12.

<sup>83</sup> The relations between slaves and owners that cause the assimilation of the slave community into the dominant group will be discussed in details in the Chapter 4 by considering manumissions, Roman citizenship, baptism and Christian Latin names. Nevertheless, when William D. Phillips stated in his book called *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade*, assimilation of the slaves into dominant group, he gives just the examples from North and South America. However, the obvious example of assimilation in Cyprus is one that was experienced in the Middle Ages.

## **2.1.4 Types of Enslavement**

### **2.1.4.1 Enslavement of a Free Person**

Enslavement of a free person might be examined under the headings of capture in warfare, kidnapping, debt, and the sale of children.<sup>84</sup> All of these methods were used to build up a slave population by the people who controlled the slave traffic in the region; thus large numbers of free born people were enslaved. When we consider the acts about manumission in 14<sup>th</sup> century in Famagusta, we may see that money for manumission was paid by third parties (if we consider that the slaves did not have the right of any property during their slavery) in the island or different provinces.<sup>85</sup> So we may assume that there were slaves who were free born in their homelands but later enslaved and brought to the island in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The prospective categories of enslavement of the free born are below.

#### **2.1.4.1.1 Capture in Warfare**

Battles among the powers in the Eastern Mediterranean were one of the major ways of enslavement in The Middle Ages. The struggles between Christian and Muslim territories, which depended on finding economic sources, and the idea of expanding the boundaries and providing their security against their enemies, directed the regional powers to battle for defensive or offensive purposes. In this process many people were brought into dominant society as captives. Sometimes they were used for public services or in agricultural lands by authorities without getting paid or sold to the slave traders or slave dealers as soon as possible for monetary gain after the

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<sup>84</sup> These categories were constituted, considering the possible ways of enslavement in the Eastern Mediterranean region and the island of Cyprus; so, despite there being a few more options such as tribute and tax payment, punishment for crimes and self-enslavement for the enslavement of a free person, they will not be discussed in this study.

<sup>85</sup> Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 60, 77, 123.

conflicts. Thus they all lost their rights which they had had when they were free.<sup>86</sup> The large-scale slave system of the Italian colonies of the Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages and early modern time (especially Cyprus, Crete and Sicily) will be later presented as an example.<sup>87</sup> However, the status of people who were captured in warfare and put into prison for ransom is different from the status of slave. These people were put into jail as a prisoner or captive but they were not worked for any purposes. When the state or authority paid the money for ransom, they were emancipated.

#### **2.1.4.1.2 Kidnapping**

Kidnapping appeared usually as a result of warfare and piracy in the Middle Ages, so it may be categorized as one of the ways of enslavement among medieval slaveholding societies of the Mediterranean. Indeed, it was the major source of slaves for Medieval Europe and sometimes rivalled warfare in importance. However, it should not be mistaken for captivity in warfare. In this system, women and children were primarily chosen because of their being easy to keep and absorbed in the community and the efficient role of women as highly productive labourers.<sup>88</sup>

Many of the slaves recruited to work on the large-scale sugar plantations of the Mediterranean islands from the thirteenth century must have been kidnapped, although it is difficult to distinguish them from genuine prisoners of war. They came from Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, and the Black Sea region as well as from Africa.<sup>89</sup>

#### **2.1.4.1.3 Debt**

The debt that causes slavery must be examined carefully because of its essential economic condition and its different status from true slavery. These people, who

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<sup>86</sup> Phillips 1985, pp. 12–13; Patterson 1982, pp. 105–107; Bloch 1975, pp. 1–2; 26.

<sup>87</sup> Patterson 1982, p. 114.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115–121.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

owed money or any objects for their needs, could be put into debt-servitude for a limited or long time because of their debts. However, this enslavement could be clearly separated from true slavery. Nevertheless, in this system, sometimes it was possible for the debt-slave to fall into permanent slavery as well.<sup>90</sup>

#### **2.1.4.1.4 The Sale of Children**

The other method which was used for enslavement of free born people may be examined in this category. Again, economic conditions and poverty were effective reasons for the sale of children by their parents. Despite some regulations in the legal systems in the Mediterranean region, the sale of children continued as a part of enslavement.<sup>91</sup>

#### **2.1.4.2 Enslavement by Birth**

The other very important source for enslavement was the birth of children as slaves because of their parents' social status. It is one of the earliest and most common forms of enslavement. In this system, the status at birth was determined by the social status of the mother. If the mother was a slave, according to the natural law system of Roman and divine law which were also used in the Eastern Mediterranean for centuries, the child was identified with his mother's status, whatever the status of his father.<sup>92</sup> However, some exemptions were seen for centuries about the determination of the status of the children. For instance, if the father of the slave was the owner of his mother, the slave might be considered to have the status of his father, irrespective of his mother's situation.<sup>93</sup> Meanwhile, the child was recognized as the slave of the

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 124; Phillips 1985, p. 24; Lewis 1990, p. 4.

<sup>91</sup> Patterson 1982, p. 129; Bloch 1975, pp. 3; 26.

<sup>92</sup> Patterson 1982, pp. 132–135; 139; Phillips 1985, p. 14.

<sup>93</sup> Sally Mckee, "Inherited Status and Slavery in the Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete," *Past and Present*, Vol. 182, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 32–34.

mother's owner and belonged to him.<sup>94</sup> Examples of children inheriting the status of slaves through their mother can be seen in Cyprus as well at this time. Further details of this will be given in chapter four.

### **2.1.5 Overview of Slave Trade from 1200 to 1450**

The slave trade existed as a key institution<sup>95</sup> and it depended on the principle of the marketing of slaves for financial purposes. It developed legally as part of regular trading activities among nations in the Mediterranean despite some exceptional cases stated by the religious authorities.<sup>96</sup> The slave trading activities were in the hands of the Christian and Muslim merchants and pirates in the Mediterranean. Many of the efficient slave traders were Italians.

Italian traders journeyed to the Byzantine cities, to the markets of the eastern Mediterranean from Anatolia to Egypt, to the North African ports (where trans-Saharan products could be obtained), and to the cities of the Iberian Peninsula (which gave them an opening on the Atlantic). They even ventured beyond Constantinople to reach the markets of Black Sea. At one time or another, all these areas served the Italian traders as markets for sale or purchase of slaves.<sup>97</sup>

There were important slave markets in the region such as Antalya–Alanya, Constantinople in Acre, Sicily, Genoa, Venice, Marseilles, and Alexandria. In this respect, people from the Black Sea coast were transported by western Christian merchants and pirates to the Christian and Muslim states in the Mediterranean. Tatars, Caucasians, Turks, Orthodox Greeks, Bulgarians, Georgians, Armenians and Russians were transported from the Black Sea coast to the Mediterranean via

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<sup>94</sup> Patterson 1982, pp. 139.

<sup>95</sup> Philip D. Curtin, "Epidemiology and Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No.2, (The Academy of Political Science, 1968), p. 191.

<sup>96</sup> For the papal and governmental prohibitions of trade with Muslims; export of arms, war materials, and slaves, see, Phillips 1985, p. 103; Eliyahu Ashtor, "Observation on Venetian Trade in the Levant in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century," in *East-West Trade in the Medieval Mediterranean*, VI, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), p. 534; "Venice had already applied to the Holy See in 1317 and in 1327 with the request for complete or partial abolition of the prohibition of trade with the dominations of the sultan." (Ashtor 1986, p.538; see also W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, II, (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), pp. 42; 44.)

<sup>97</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 97.



Constantinople and the Aegean Islands in order to be sold to European Christian and Muslim customers.<sup>98</sup> Additionally, Muslims from Africa were transported to be sold as slaves in the Italian peninsula, Sicily, Portugal, and Christian Spain.<sup>99</sup> At the same time ‘European slaves certainly reached the Caliphate from Spain, from the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, and from Veneto.’<sup>100</sup> All these slaves who were transported on these routes were used for different purposes by their owners. Many of them were employed in the sugar plantations of the Mediterranean without consideration of their religion or ethnic origin. Many slaves served in houses for domestic purposes and some others were used as helpers by artisans.<sup>101</sup>

## **2.2 The Slavery System in Cyprus and the City of Famagusta: Analyzing Minority and Majority Groups**

Slavery was a phenomenon which existed in the Eastern Mediterranean region among the Christian and Muslim territories of Anatolia, Northern Africa, Middle East, Aegean Islands and the island of Cyprus in the first half of 14<sup>th</sup> century. The island of Cyprus played a remarkable role compared to other locations due to: its strategic position as the last Christian land in the region, its regime as an independent kingdom (Kingdom of Cyprus) which could not be categorised as a colony, its social structure accommodating the varied cultures such as Arabic, Latin, and Orthodox Christians, Jews and Muslims together, and its commercial importance with the rise of its harbour city, Famagusta (as a vital trade centre in the region for all Christian, Muslim and Jewish merchants in the aforementioned century). Therefore, the

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<sup>98</sup> Charles Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans L’Europe Medievale* (Brugge: De Tempel, 1955), Vol.1, pp. 765–789; Phillips 1985, p. 98; David B. Davis, “Looking at Slavery from Broader Perspective,” in *The American Historical Review*, Vol.1, No:2, (American Historical Association, 2000), p. 460.

<sup>99</sup> Phillips 1985, pp. 107–108.

<sup>100</sup> Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce A.D. 300– 900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 770.

<sup>101</sup> Phillips 1985, p.98; Curtin 1968, p. 192.

observations based on social classes, agricultural production, urban life, urban production, economic rise, commercial relations and political struggles, may facilitate consideration of this institution both in Famagusta and the whole island. However, the institution of slavery did not first appear in the 1300s on the island but had a historical background dating back to the Byzantine era and the Arab invasion of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Slaves were a valuable commodity, and young people were worth much more to their captors alive than dead. They constituted an important part, by value, of the booty with which the troops could be rewarded.<sup>102</sup>

During that time, several inhabitants of the island had been enslaved and transported to locations near the Dead Sea.<sup>103</sup> In the Byzantine era, slavery had also played a significant role in the social system of the island until the 11<sup>th</sup> century. However, in spite of the decline of slavery in Byzantium, it was never formally repealed.<sup>104</sup>

During the first part of the Lusignan term, from 1192 until the Genoese invasion of the city of Famagusta in 1373, the island of Cyprus (particularly the city of Famagusta) experienced the most glorious period of its medieval history. Privileges were given by the authorities to improve commercial activities, to encourage immigration from Eastern and Western Christian lands, to increase the population and to cultivate lands. In this respect ‘the first wave of immigrants must be placed in the period immediately following 1192 and the last and most important one after the fall of Acre in 1291.’<sup>105</sup> Thus the number of people who lived on the island increased. With these immigrations and settlements, the demographic structure changed according to the quantity of arriving ethnic groups. The largest ethnic

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<sup>102</sup> Metcalf 2009, p. 398.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 398.

<sup>104</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, p. 152.

<sup>105</sup> Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, p. 15.

groups were the indigenous Greek speaking, Orthodox Cypriots, and the Franks who had absolute authority on the island. Following those, Armenians, Maronites, Christian Syrians (Jacobite and Nestorian), Jews and some Latin merchants (Genoese, Venetians, Pisan, Anconitans, Ragusan) constituted the remainder of the ethnic structure of the island and the city of Famagusta.<sup>106</sup>

This ethnic composition also had an important role in the emergence of the social structure of the island, comprised of nobles, knights (military elites), burgesses, artisans, merchants, peasantry and slaves. The slaves, who might be categorised as the lowest layer of this social structure, played an important role in the social and economic life, allowing them to gain experience in some kind of profession such as ship repairmen or ironworkers.<sup>107</sup> Their existence was accepted but their relations to others were not given consideration, even when they had connections with other classes. Moreover, the general description by some historians of slavery in the Middle Ages (like Orlando Patterson, who described slaves as being social non-persons and Pierre Dockes, who stated they were isolated from every community and were members of a subhuman species), does not apply the slavery system of Cyprus (and particularly Famagusta) because of their productive role and relation to society. Another contributing factor for this is that some of their rights were preserved by their masters during the slave trading activities in Famagusta, which will be discussed in detail in chapter four.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 14–15; Nicholas Coureas, “Western Merchants and the Ports of Cyprus up to 1291,” in *Cyprus and the Sea*, eds V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 257, 260.

<sup>107</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, p. 162; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 55.

<sup>108</sup> Patterson 1982, p. 5; Dockes 1982, p. 7; Phillips 1985, p. 6.

In Cyprus, slavery kept different cultures, languages and religions alive, making the island cosmopolitan. Presumably, all of the slaves had their own identities and they carried with them the features of the regions that they came from. During their slavery they might also be in contact with other parts of society and so have played a role in constituting a cultural synthesis. On the island there was certainly ethnic diversity and a range of skin colours.

Slaves described as Turks or Armenians could have reached Cyprus via the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, the Turkish *ghazi* principalities of western Anatolia, or the towns of Satalia and Candelore in southern Anatolia, all of which were active in this trade. Tatar, Mongolian, Circassian, Magyar, and Cuman slaves were brought by Genoese or Venetian merchants from the Black Sea area. Black slaves were brought by Muslim merchants from the sub-Saharan kingdoms via North African ports.<sup>109</sup>

Others were brought to the island from Serbia, Bosnia, Sclavonia (the Slavic hinterland of Dalmatia), the South Russian steppes, Romania, Thessalonica, Smyrna, Crete, and Aegean Islands (Tinarum, Negroponte (Euboea), and Tenedos) by Anconitan, Ragusans and probably Genoese or Venetian merchants who had authority in the Aegean Sea, Black Sea, and Mediterranean.<sup>110</sup> These slaves were probably sold in two major slave markets of the island in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, one in Famagusta and the other in Nicosia.<sup>111</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during the Ottoman period, there was still a slave market in Nicosia, showing that the need for slave trading continued on the island.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, p. 154. Although I mostly agree with Arbel's approach about the process of the transportation of the slaves by merchants from their provinces, which is given, I also want to consider the political relations, conflicts and battles with Turks, Mongols, and Mamluks that Cyprus also took part in during the 14th century. Therefore this issue will be discussed again in the fourth chapter from another perspective as an attachment to Arbel's analysis.

<sup>110</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1300 – 1301, no. 14; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 197; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 48, 52, 76, 77, 78, 164, 167, 173; Coureas 2005, pp. 145–146; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, p. 16.

<sup>111</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 104; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 86.

<sup>112</sup> Ronald C. Jennings, "Black Slaves and Free Blacks in Ottoman Cyprus, 1590-1640," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. 30, No. 3, (Brill, 1987) p. 294.

The slaves in Cyprus might be categorised into two groups: agricultural (rural) and domestic (urban), by considering their labour activities, and living places on the island under the control of their owners. The agricultural (rural) slaves were living outside of the cities (towns and villages) and working in the fields, vineyards, and labour-intensive industries such as sugar and viticulture in Episkopi and Kolossi in the Limassol district, and Engadi, Lemba and Emba in the Paphos district. Presumably, many of these slaves were those captured in battles.<sup>113</sup> On the other hand, the domestic (urban) slaves were employed in the cities, usually for domestic work or in the shops of their owners as assistants. They were also used as concubines for sexual purposes.<sup>114</sup> Domestic slavery can be followed in detail via the notarial acts which were jotted down in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Lamberto di Sambuceto and Nicola de Boateriis. Agricultural (rural) slavery can be examined from chroniclers and traveller's accounts such as Leontios Makhairas and Ludolf of Suchen.<sup>115</sup>

Manumission is the right of the slaves to have their freedom with the desire of their masters and as such it was an important concept for the slaves on the island. There were different forms of manumissions, which can be seen from the notarial acts registered in Famagusta for domestic slaves. These can be briefly explained as buying freedom by paying an agreed sum to the owner,<sup>116</sup> emancipation of the slave

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<sup>113</sup> Coureas 2005, pp.106–107; 114; Mas Latrie 1852, II, p. 212; *Excerpta Cyprica: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, trans. Claude D. Cobham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), p. 19; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, pp. 38–39.

<sup>114</sup> Sometimes notarial acts inform us about the right of the slave owner by mentioning the right to sell, rent, donate, set her/him free and use for pleasure. Since the etymology of the word “Gaudandi”, which means a kind of pleasure or joy, using slaves for sexual purposes was probable and it was placed among the rights of the owners. (Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 76.)

<sup>115</sup> The Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas was published under the title of *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled ‘Chronicle’*, and it was translated to English by R. M. Dawkins. Besides, the accounts of Ludolf of Suchen was issued as a part of *Excerpta Cyprica: Materials for a History of Cyprus* which translated by C. D. Cobham.

<sup>116</sup> Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 77, 100, 123, 164.

by the owner because of good service, gratitude of the owner for service,<sup>117</sup> and manumission by last testament (will). In the latter the owner may manumit his slave because of his own, or a relative's soul, his sins to be forgiven, and so gain access to heaven, not necessarily for the benefit of the slave.<sup>118</sup> In the last two forms of manumission, the owner set his slave free without asking money for return. The forms of manumission for Genoese and Venetian slave owners in Famagusta at that time was very similar in concept to the Roman slavery pattern, mentioned above, both for the type of manumission, the status of slaves and the status of a newborn based on the status of his mother. This will be discussed and further developments will be attached in chapter four.

In order to continue the discussion of the slavery system on the island and in Famagusta in particular, the slaves' relations with the minority and majority groups, and other inhabitants such as nobles and knights (military orders), burgesses and merchants and serfs (*paroikoi*) and free tenants (*francomati*), should be examined briefly. Thus, more information about the status of the slaves and their contribution to the social life may be obtained. The economic usage and importance of slaves will be discussed later in chapter four.

### **2.2.1 Slaves – Peasants (Serfs - *Paroikoi* and Free Tenants - *Francomati*)**

Due to the fact that agricultural productivity played a significant role in the economy of the island in the late Middle Ages, there were agricultural communities on the island which were employed in the lands of the lords or their own rented estates. These people were considered to be in the category of peasants but they also could be

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<sup>117</sup> Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 34, 72, 73; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 71.

<sup>118</sup> Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 165, 169.

divided into two classes: *Paroikoi* (an institution analogous to serfdom / peasantry) and *Francomati* (an institution which had the characteristic of free man), according to their status and rights. *Paroikoi* were basically serfs and as such were tied to the land.<sup>119</sup>

They were regarded as part of the thing that pertained to a *casale* (a piece of land and a house for agricultural purposes, sometimes close to castles and farms), the lord having the right to demand from his vassal not only land or a sum of money, but also villeins: men, women, and their children.<sup>120</sup>

These people were held responsible for a third of the products of the stasis (the serf's tenure) to be given to the lord, and had to work in the lords' estate two days in a week as an obligation. Additionally they were to pay a poll tax (*chevage*) on any property they owned to the lord according to their agricultural revenue.<sup>121</sup> In some cases, they were punished individually, for instance 'if a serf struck a knight, the law specified that he should lose his right hand.'<sup>122</sup>

*Francomati* can be described as free tenants or free serfs. They 'leased land at a fixed sum (*apauteurs*). *Francomati* did have personal obligations, sometimes according to the contract in the case of those not born in that status, but unlike *paroikoi*, they were free persons and as *apauteurs* they could buy the right to operate a franchise.'<sup>123</sup>

They were in a more favourable position: they had the right to one fourth to one fifth

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<sup>119</sup> Peter Edbury, "The Franco-Cypriot Landowning Class and its Exploitation of the Agrarian Resources of the Island of Cyprus," XIX, in *Kingdom of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (England: Ashgate, 1999), p. 3; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot and A. Cutler, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Vol. 3, articles on "Serfdom," p. 1877.

<sup>120</sup> Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, p. 32.

<sup>121</sup> Jean Richard, "Freedom and Servitude in Cyprus and Rhodes: An Assize Dating from 1396," in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, (London: Frank Cass, 1996), p. 275; Edbury 1999, XIX, p. 3; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, pp. 32; 36.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

of their crop production or a stable amount for the other cultivations. In addition, they were not required to pay the poll tax; the only taxes were paid to the state.<sup>124</sup>

Indeed, despite the fact that *paroikoi* and slaves (agricultural-rural) were often employed in the same agricultural lands and lived side by side in the countryside under the control of the same land owner, it is clear that they belonged to different classes according to *paroikoi*'s required payment of poll taxes, having the right to both movable property, and agricultural revenues. The slaves on the island did not have any of these rights and if a slave committed a crime, the owner was held responsible, whereas *paroikoi* were punished personally. Thus, it is clear that on the island there was a social category for slaves separate from serfs and free tenants. When these slaves (particularly domestic ones) had manumission, they were sometimes given the chance for Roman citizenship (this title continued to be used by the heirs of the Western Roman Empire in the Middle Ages) as well.<sup>125</sup>

### **2.2.2 Slaves – Burgesses (Merchants, Artisans)**

Burgesses were one of the most important social classes, incorporating different professions and occupational groups.<sup>126</sup> Those in this category had free status on the island and were the largest non-native population in the kingdom.<sup>127</sup> During the reign of Guy de Lusignan (1192–1194), these people were brought from the Holy Land, which was under Muslim occupation, to the island of Cyprus. However, how many were Frank or native Levantine Christians (or *Suriens* as they are known in the

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>125</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 107; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 52, 60.

<sup>126</sup> “Put simply, burgesses were Latin non-feudatories who arrived in the Holy Land either as crusaders, pilgrims, or colonists, and settled in the cities or rural villages. They appear in sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as merchants, market tradesmen, craftsmen, artisans, investors, money-changers, translators, fishermen and farmers.” (Marwan Nader, *Burgesses and Burgess Law in the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus 1099-1325* (UK: Ashgate, 2006) p. 1.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp. 1; 11.



sources) is not clear.<sup>128</sup> When these people reached to the island (there were two major migrations in 1190s and 1240s<sup>129</sup>), most settled in the urban areas such as Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta and Paphos, apart from the Greek indigenous population, who lived in the countryside.<sup>130</sup> The burgesses, who inhabited the cities as merchants, craftsmen and artisans, ran their own businesses and were permanent or temporary inhabitants. Therefore, they sometimes owned their own houses or rented places to live and to work on the island. Considering the situation of temporary settlers, their need for somebody to help with housework or in the working area was indisputable. They used slaves to fulfil their needs and thus the relation of this social class of people and the slaves may be seen in the social system on the island. The notarial acts in the 14<sup>th</sup> century were an important source of information about creating this contact.<sup>131</sup>

### **2.2.3 Slaves – Military Orders (The Knight Templars, the Knight of St. John (Hospitallers) and Teutonic Knights)**

Some of the most prominent figures of the late medieval history of Cyprus were the military orders of Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights,<sup>132</sup> which settled and

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<sup>128</sup> Peter Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou- Konnari and Chris Schabel, (Netherlands: Brill, 2005), p. 98.

<sup>129</sup> "Burgesses displaced by Muslims from their homes may have migrated to the island en masse, especially, as from the 1190s Latin Christians were increasingly confined to the coastal strip stretching from Tyre in the North to Jaffa in the south and not including Jerusalem. [...] Another wave of migration seems to have taken place in the 1240s." (Nader 2006, p. 136.)

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>131</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 67, 156; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 76, 123, 173. The details of the relations between burgesses and slaves will be discussed in chapter four by emphasizing the manumission and giving Roman citizenship to the slaves.

<sup>132</sup> **Templars – Knights Templars:** "The 'Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon' one of the two chief Military Orders of medieval Christendom, with headquarters successively in Jerusalem, Acre and Cyprus. The original nucleus consisted of Hugh de Payens, a knight of Champagne, and eight companions, who in 1118 bound themselves by a solemn vow to protect pilgrims from bandits on the public roads of the Holy Land. They were given quarters at the site of Solomon's Temple. At first they lived on alms, but in 1127 Hugh journeyed to the West to obtain ecclesiastical approbation and recruits, and their fortunes (then perhaps at a low ebb) quickly improved. At the council of Troyes (1128) approval was given to the rule of the Order, said to have

had their own headquarters on the island, primarily after the loss of Acre in 1291. Although the Hospitallers and Teutonic knights arrived after this catastrophe, the arrival of the Templars happened in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The members of these orders constituted the Frankish (Latin) part of the social system because of their western origin and Catholic faith and undertook an elite role with privileges given by the kings of the island.<sup>133</sup>

The military Orders provide an obvious example institution that regularly sent agrarian wealth away from the island. Both the Templars and the Hospitallers had extensive properties and income from their estates.<sup>134</sup>

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been drawn up by St. Bernard, who dedicated to Hugh his treatise ‘*de laude novae militiae*’.” (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), articles on “Templars,” pp, 1345–1346.); “The Templars were not monks, although they took the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; rather they were religious people who followed a religious rule of life and wore a distinctive habit, but who unlike monks did not live in an enclosed house and whose purpose was not to pray and fight spiritual battles but to fight physical battles in defence of Christendom.” (Helen Nicholson, *The Knight Templar: A New History* (England: Sutton Publishing, 2001), p. 12.); **Hospitallers – Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem:** “A military-monastic order founded in the Holy Land in the early 12<sup>th</sup> C. The predominantly French order played a vital role in the Crusader kingdoms, providing military and medical services. After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Acre in 1291, the Hospitallers embarked upon the conquest of Rhodes (1306-10), following a brief interlude on Cyprus. Rhodes remained their base until 1522 when the island was captured by Ottomans. The Hospitallers exercised a benevolent rule over the local Greek populace, who regarded them as protectors.” (*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot and A. Cutler, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Vol. 2, articles on “Hospitallers,” p. 951.); **Teutonic Knights:** “The order of German knights (*ordo fratrum domus hospitalis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum Ierosolymitani*) grew out of a hospital community founded before Acre in 1190. In 1198 it was converted into a military order with the rule of the Templars and confirmed as such by the papacy. In 1245 it received a rule of its own. The order, made up of knights, priests and lay brothers, was active and richly endowed in Palestine and Syria, but soon it also sought to advance the frontiers of Christendom elsewhere.” (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), articles on “Teutonic Order,” p, 1354.)

<sup>133</sup> Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (UK: The Boydell Press, 2001), p. 43; For the privileges of the Hospitallers “In 1210 King Hugh I of Cyprus granted tax exemption throughout the island for the Order’s trade in its own goods, the purchase of commodities for its own needs, and free anchorage in Cypriot ports for its ships carrying them.” (David Jacoby, “Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean,” in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert and Helen J. Nicholson, (England: Ashgate, 2007), p. 59.); For Teutonic Knights “King Aimery (1205) gave the Teutonic Order some houses in Nicosia and farmyard of Saint George at Lefkara (possibly identifiable as Kato Drys, two kilometres southwest of Lefkara) confirmed by Innocent III among the properties belonging of the Order in 1209.” (Hubert Houben, “Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus,” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 151–152.)

<sup>134</sup> Edbury 1999, XIX, p. 5.

The Order of Templars was one of the richest landowners on Cyprus after the Crown. The knights had lands and *casale* for agricultural purposes in Nicosia, Paphos and also in their headquarters in Limassol. After the trial of the Templars in Cyprus in 1308, all their movable and immovable properties were seized and given over to the Hospitallers<sup>135</sup> The order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers, were the other major military order which set up their headquarters on Cyprus. They also had agricultural lands for cultivating sugar and grain in Kolossi, close to Limassol.<sup>136</sup> The other great military order which inhabited in the island were the Teutonic Knights. They had agricultural possessions between Limassol and Larnaca in the south of the island, as well as houses in the capital city of Nicosia. They used Cyprus as a logistic base for food supplies for the knights involved in Palestine.<sup>137</sup>

Essentially, all these aforementioned military orders dealt with agricultural plantation and cultivation as well as their military activities on the island. However, because they belonged to a higher class and had military duties, it was essential for them to receive help in their agricultural activities. Thus they needed more human labour for their cultivation. In this respect they used slaves that had been captured in battle as a cheap and qualified work force. For instance, Ludolf of Suchen states that in the vineyard of Engadi, close to Paphos, which was under the control of the Templars, more than one hundred Saracen captives were working everyday cleaning and

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<sup>135</sup> Mas Latrie 1852, II, pp. 109–110; Anne Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 16; 17; Peter Edbury, “The Templars in Cyprus,” in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber, (Cambridge: Variorum, 1994), pp.191; 192; Alan Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 229.

<sup>136</sup> Karl Borchardt, “Documents from the Hospitaller Registers on Rhodes concerning Cyprus, 1409-1459: Form and Contents,” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 164; Gilmour-Bryson 1998, p. 5.

<sup>137</sup> Houben 2008, p. 154.

guarding that vineyard.<sup>138</sup> This case is most likely true for the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights as well, considering the agricultural fields that they possessed. Meanwhile the trial of the Templars, and the decision to give all impermanent and permanent goods of the order to the Hospitallers, also gives a clue about the passing of the slaves to the order to the Hospitallers in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

### **2.3 Considering Black Death and its Effects on Slavery in Cyprus**

Slavery on the island was badly affected by the Black Death, which broke out in 1348 and 1362. Thus, while the number of slaves who inhabited the island decreased, the prices were pushed up.<sup>139</sup> In this context, the need for human labour on the island for agricultural production was quite clear so during this period precautions were taken by the Lusignan state such as prohibiting the carrying of slaves and other people without *bolete*, (a special permission to transport people from the island granted by the kingdom of Cyprus to Venetian ships). The other ban was issued in 1355, prohibiting *paroikoi* from leaving their place of origin on the island. Thus an attempt was made to protect the human power for cultivation, which had decreased because of this epidemic.<sup>140</sup>

### **2.4 Conclusion**

To sum up, the Mediterranean was an active region for slavery and the slave trade during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Many people from different provinces were enslaved and sold to different territories. It was especially possible in the late

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<sup>138</sup> Mas Latrie 1852, II, p. 212; *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, trans. Claude D. Cobham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), p. 19; also the relations of Saracen slaves, their prospective daily life and duties under the control of Latin owners will be discussed in the fourth chapter by comparing the notarial acts, traveller accounts and religious sources about slavery.

<sup>139</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 152; Nicolaou- Konnari 2005, p. 16.

<sup>140</sup> Mas Latrie 1852, II, p. 234; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, p. 32; according to these prohibitions, It is clear that before the ban was declared, the ships of the merchants were carrying slaves and other people from Cyprus to the other places without question.

Middle Ages to see the dominant role of Italian merchants in the slave trading activities of the region. To that purpose, Cyprus was also a part of these commercial activities in the 1300s. Slaves were marketed on the island and were used as both agricultural and domestic labourers in the cities and countryside. Slavery, as witnessed in the Roman codifications and religious approaches (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) which were effective in the Mediterranean, was discussed in order to better understand the condition of Muslim, Jewish and Christian slaves in one of the Latin Christian territories. This chapter shows that the same or very similar legal regulations and spiritual canons could be performed in the social system of Famagusta in particular and the island of Cyprus in general, where various ethnic groups and members of different religions lived. In this sense, we might conclude that the system which had been used for slavery may be the synthesis of all regulations and canons used in the region. Slave trading activities can be followed from the import and exports of the island in the 1300s and other trading activities. Therefore, in the next chapter, mention of Famagusta and its commercial rise through the import and export articles will also help us to understand the range and the characteristic of the slave trade in the 1300s in the city and on the island of Cyprus.

## Chapter 3

# THE COMMERCIAL RISE OF CYPRUS AND FAMAGUSTA CONCERNING SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

*Cyprus is the furthest of Christian lands, so that all ships and all wares, be they what they may, and come they from what part of the sea they will, must needs come first to Cyprus, and in no wise can they pass it by; and pilgrims from every country journeying to the lands over sea must touch at Cyprus. And daily from the rising of the sun to its going down are heard rumours and news. And the tongues of every nation under heaven are heard and read and talked.*<sup>141</sup>

As the German pilgrim Ludolf of Suchen, who visited Cyprus in the 1350s, stated in this short passage above, the island was an important land during the 14<sup>th</sup> century for Christians and also for other nationals as a stopping place for sea trade and pilgrimage. This short quotation also informs us about the cosmopolite structure and culture of the island and its richest harbour city of Famagusta with the variety of the languages which were used. In this sense, the important location of Famagusta as a main port for trading activities, and its rise in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1291 (the fall of Acre) by the hands of the Muslims, will be discussed, including the commercial activities, import and export along with the indigenous production of the island. The role of slavery and the slave trade will be covered as a part of this wider

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<sup>141</sup> *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, trans. Claude D. Cobham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), p. 20.

commercial activity and the possible slave trade routes will be shown on Cyprus and especially in the environs of Famagusta.

The city of Famagusta [Fig. 2-3] is situated on the east coast of Cyprus, at the eastern edge of the Mesaorian plain. Its name comes from Ammochostos, (in Greek; *Ammos* – sand, *chono* – to hide) which means buried in the sand, from the sandy soil that surrounds it. The city was founded on a rock, with a circuit of two miles. It was surrounded by stout, broad walls and encircled by a deep moat. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as today, it lay opposite Armenia, Turkey and Acre.<sup>142</sup>

### **3.1 Economical and Commercial Changes in Cyprus: The Rise of Famagusta in the Late 13<sup>th</sup> (Fall of Acre 1291) and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

During the first part of the Lusignan era (1192 – 1373-74), both administrative and economical changes were obvious on the island. One of these alterations affected the population in the island through encouraged migrations from the kingdom of Jerusalem and the other Latin states in Syria like Tripoli, Marqab and Acre. This greatly changed the demographic structure of Cyprus and increased the Latin population, along with the property that they brought with them. The other alteration was to the main trade port of the island; Limassol – located on the southern coast – had been the most important sea trade harbour on Cyprus for centuries and had served merchants, travellers, and pilgrims en route to the Holy Land. In addition, it was the commercial and economical centre of the island. However, in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, this trading port lost its importance, thus the rise of Famagusta established a

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<sup>142</sup> Mariti 1971, p. 62; Camille Enlart, *Gothic Arts and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. David Hunt, (London: Trigraph, 1987), p. 210; *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, 1908, p. 19; Gunnis 1973, p. 79.

new trade capital and commercial harbour in the Levant.<sup>143</sup> The commercial developments in Famagusta were due to the fall of Acre, which was the last Christian trade port in the Middle East, in 1291 to Muslims (the forces of Sultan Kalawun). Thus Cyprus in general and Famagusta in particular became the new frontier of Latin political and economic expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean by taking over the role of Acre as a new commercial port.<sup>144</sup>

The fall of Acre can be seen as a turning point for the history of the island. The Lusignan kings of Cyprus (Henry I 1218-1253, Hugh II 1253-1267, Henry II 1285-1324) gave commercial tolerances and privileges to merchants from the Latin East and Western Europe, to have them settle permanently or temporarily on the island and to help them continue their trading activities from Famagusta. In this respect, initially, Pisans and Genoese refugees from Acre were settled and then the Venetians *en masse*. These settlements helped to increase the commercial volume and revenue of Cyprus.<sup>145</sup> Meanwhile, the Eastern and Western Latin merchants were not the only settlers of the island. The Templars, and Hospitallers also settled after the Muslim occupation and established their own headquarters. Cyprus became a new home for other religious and military communities affected by the Muslim conquests in the East as well. In this period, Arabic speaking Christians, and Armenians also moved to Famagusta, soon outnumbering the Greeks who lived in the city.<sup>146</sup> Famagusta became the primary harbour in Cyprus due to its nearness to the Middle East. It was

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<sup>143</sup> Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 148; Coureas 2008, p. 226.

<sup>144</sup> Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 146.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146; Edbury 1994, pp. 30; 37.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101–102.



closer to the Lusingnan capital, Nicosia, than Limassol and was therefore preferred by most foreign merchants and rulers.<sup>147</sup>

The island's merchants contributed to Famagusta's prosperity in the 1300s, and the ascendancy of Famagusta began, according to Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, an agent of the Florentine Bardi company living in Famagusta at that time, around 1320–30. He illustrated the development of Famagusta after the Muslim conquest of Levantine coast and he described that term as 'the rise of Famagusta'.<sup>148</sup> Another source, which illustrates the wealth of the city, could again be seen in the writings of Ludolf of Suchen. In the 1300s he stated that the city of Famagusta was the richest city in the world and that its citizens were the richest too, by citing an example of a betrothal ceremony in the city whereby the daughter of a Famagustan merchant purportedly had more jewels on her head at her engagement ceremony than even the queen of France.<sup>149</sup> The city and its inhabitants gained this prosperity from commercial activities between the West and East. During the long term papal embargo and prohibition on trading activities with Muslims in the Levant (1291–1323), Famagusta took on the role of middle man (transshipment centre) and helped in the transportation of western goods to Muslim ports and Muslim goods to western ports by the active position of Italian merchants. Thus the trading centres of Europe, such as the Pisans, Genoese, Venetian, Anconitans, Catalans, and Provençals (as will be seen in my next chapter) obtained higher status and economic privileges in Cyprus and its improved harbour city of Famagusta.<sup>150</sup> At that time, prohibited goods were mostly war

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<sup>147</sup> Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 147.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 147; Edbury 1999, XVI, p. 337.

<sup>149</sup> *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, 1908, p. 19.

<sup>150</sup> Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 39–40; Laura Balletto, "Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-

materials (arms, horses, timber, iron, pitch and slaves), but the transportation of these objects had continued one or another way by Latin merchants. The prohibition of trade was clearly not strictly applied. Some merchants, such as Vivianus who continued to trade with Muslims despite the papal prohibition 1291-1323, were excommunicated. This prohibition never stopped the trading activities between Europe and the Levant by way of Famagusta - conversely, it helped the city to attain a significant role in the region.<sup>151</sup>

The western merchants, who were active in the trading activities, had settled in different cities of the island (Famagusta, Nicosia and Limassol) and established their commercial administrations in each. However, when commercial activities began in Famagusta, most of these merchants moved to Famagusta and the area around it. For example; Pisans were located in Limassol and they had a consul<sup>152</sup> there, but after the rise of Famagusta, they moved there with the privileges given by King Henry II, King of Cyprus.<sup>153</sup> After the fiscal and judicial privileges given by King Henry I, the Genoese established houses in Nicosia and Famagusta as well as Limassol.<sup>154</sup>

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Century Cyprus,” in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, (London: Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 35–36; Edbury 1999, XI, p. 227; Coureas 2005, p. 139.

<sup>151</sup> Ashtor 1986, VI, pp. 535; 538–539; 575; Gherardo Ortalli, “Venice and Papal Bans on Trade with Levant: The Role of the Jurist,” in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, (London: Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 245–247; Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 175; Edbury 1999, XVII, pp. 91–92; Ashtor 1983, pp. 18–19.

<sup>152</sup> “In 1293 the Pisan consul in Limassol was still official representative of his commune in the whole of Cyprus. His administration and court were located in the loggia of the Pisan commune, close to the *commercium regis* or royal custom house and thus in the vicinity of the harbour. The consul’s stuff included a notary who served as scribe of the Commune, and minor officials: a *platearius* or sergeant and a *sensarius* or official middleman. The situation apparently remained unchanged in 1307, as hinted by functions of two Pisan notaries: whereas the notary attached to the consul of Limassol bore the title of *scriba atque notarius Pisani comunis in Cypro* and thus acted in official capacity, the one in Famagusta merely assisted the Pisan merchants in what may be considered as semi official capacity.” (Jacoby 1989, VIII, pp. 158–159.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155–158.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158–159 .

Limassol had been the main centre for Venetians in Cyprus. After the commercial changes and loss of importance for Limassol, the Venetians turned to Nicosia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>155</sup> While the settlement and migration process was going on in Famagusta in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and early 14<sup>th</sup> century, rulers faced serious housing, economic and financial problems because of the refugees from Syria and Jerusalem. These problems were solved with the income derived from commercial activities with the East and West in that period. Moreover, the privileges and concessions played an important role in relieving these troubles.<sup>156</sup>

### **3.2 The Trading Volume of Cyprus in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century: Import and Export Articles of Famagusta**

Famagusta did not just exist as a harbour which traded Eastern goods like cotton and spices to the West, and western goods like pitch, timber and slaves to the East. It also developed as an emporium<sup>157</sup> in the Eastern Mediterranean region that marketed its own agricultural products. Merchants who settled in Famagusta not only marketed the goods of other regions, they were marketing the products of Cyprus to the eastern and western regions from the harbour city of Famagusta.<sup>158</sup> In the late 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, Italian merchants held power over the economy of the city. These Genoese and Venetian merchants were trading textiles, horses, arms, cotton, timber, cheese, spices, carob and other agricultural objects. Apart from horses, as live and movable

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>157</sup> **Emporium:** Emporium or Emporion (*εμποριον*), a term of ancient origin designating a place of trade, found along frontiers, coasts and trade routes. Primarily associated with seaports, they are also attested in inland areas. [...] The term might designate a commercial quarter of a town, a market situated outside the urban fortifications, or a settlement which was in itself a marketplace." (*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot and A. Cutler, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Vol. 1, articles on "Emporion," p. 694. On the origins of Medieval Emporia see also Adrian Verhulst, 'Cities, emporia and new towns (sixth to nine centuries)', in *The Long Eighth Century*, ed. Christopher J. Wickham and Ilge Hanse, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp.105-121).

<sup>158</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 156.

goods, they also transported slaves mostly from their colonies in the Black Sea (Caffa, Tana), and Aegean Islands to the Levant. In this respect, many slaves were brought from Crete and other Aegean islands by Venetians and Cretan Greek merchants. Therefore, to find a large number of slaves from the Aegean Islands in Famagusta in the document of Boateriis in 1360-62 was not surprising.<sup>159</sup> These merchants were sailing to Cyprus with their merchandise of slaves, cheese, grain, cereals, pulses,<sup>160</sup> and olive oil. While there, they purchased salt and sugar for the return. At this time, some of the slaves and Cretan cheese were transported to the Muslim lands of Alexandria and Damietta by Genoese ships. The merchants sold these slaves and cheese in these cities before loading spices for their return. Thus, they marketed this merchandise for their return trip from Alexandria to Cyprus via Crete.<sup>161</sup> Meanwhile, other imported goods included Peloponnesian silk, textiles from Chalons in France, or woollens from different parts of Europe. Salted meat, wheat and olive oil from Spain, were among imported goods from the West during the time of famine. Meanwhile, some spices, especially pepper were imported from the East.<sup>162</sup>

The harbours of the island were not just used for the import of goods; they were also used to export the indigenous products of Cyprus. In the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Cypriots who had lived in Paphos, Lemba, Lapithos and Engomi near

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<sup>159</sup> Ashtor 1983, pp. 38–39; 82–83; 127; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 48, 52, 77, 78, 100, 123, 164, 165.

<sup>160</sup> **Pulse:** The edible seeds of various leguminous plants, e.g. peas, beans, lentils. (*Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), article on “pulse,” p. 1164).

<sup>161</sup> Coureas 2005, pp. 138; 150–151; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 95, 148.

<sup>162</sup> Coureas 2008, pp. 227–228; David Jacoby, “Silk Production in the Frankish Peloponnese: the Evidence of 14<sup>th</sup> Century Surveys and Reports,” VIII, in *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, (UK: Ashgate Variorum, 1997), p. 55.

Famagusta were producing pottery which had its own distinct characteristics and this pottery was exported also to the Near East until the siege of Acre in 1291. In addition, after the development of textile industries in Cyprus in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, samite and camlets<sup>163</sup> were the main products of Cyprus exported to Western Europe and the Near East because of increasing demands of eastern and western markets. Correspondingly, dyed cloth was produced in both Famagusta and Nicosia, in which a notarial deed (registered by Sambuceto in 1301), gives hints about the practice in Famagusta.<sup>164</sup> The other export products of the island generally depended on cultivation and livestock, such as carob, beans, lentils, oats, flax and flaxseed, sugar, molasses, cotton, olive oil, fleeces, wax, honey, wine, camlets, samites and silk.<sup>165</sup> Cyprus was also very famous to westerners in the early part of the fourteenth century because of its rich source of timber, in great demand for the making of masts for sailing ships.<sup>166</sup>

The most important and valuable product of the island was wine for several centuries. Indeed, the south western part of island, in the regions around Limassol and Paphos, were very famous for wine production in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. That production had its own marketing system and ‘as early as 1300 Genoese in Cyprus were sending money to Limassol to buy wine as an investment, and a notarial deed of 1307 mentions the export of wine by two Genoese to the island of

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<sup>163</sup> **Samite:** Rich medieval dress-fabric of silk sometimes interwoven with gold. **Camlet:** Originally, costly eastern stuff of silk and camel hair; later, light clothe of various materials for cloaks etc. (The Oxford Illustrated Dictionary, ed. J. Coulson and C. T. Carr, (U.K: Book Club Associates, 1976), articles on “Samite” and “Camlet” pp.115; 751.)

<sup>164</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 104; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 117.

<sup>165</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 106.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

Rhodes.<sup>167</sup> Cypriot sugar was cultivated in villages of Episkopi and Kolossi in the Limassol region, and as well as Lemba and Emba in the Paphos region.<sup>168</sup> In addition, sugar was produced in the royal estates of Lefka and Morphou in the West and in the productive Mesaorian plain. These cultivated sugars were exported to Europe, mostly to Genoa, Venice, Rhodes, Venetian Crete, and Constantinople during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>169</sup> During the same time, the other products of the island like carobs, wine, laudanum, soap, and timber, salt, olive oil, and barley were exported from the harbours of Famagusta and Limassol to Cilician Armenia.<sup>170</sup>

Famagusta was not only famous for the marketing of agricultural products from the island or transportation of the goods to the West and the East. There was also a high volume of trade inside the slave market of the city. This slave market was not the only one on the island, the other being in the capital city of Nicosia, which survived also during the Ottoman period after 1571.<sup>171</sup> Actually, these slave markets in both cities showed how much the service sector progressed on the island in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In this regard, studying the 14th century notarial acts helps us to understand the level of slavery and the extent of the slave trade in the city. In the light of these documents I may assume that there was an international slave market consisting of slaves from different regions and nations, and also an international slave-trading network in Famagusta. The slaves could be brought from southern and western

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 106

<sup>168</sup> The earliest evidence of sugar industry of Cyprus in early 13th century had been excavated by Megaw with the help of several potteries and pots which were found in Saranda Kolones in Paphos. (John Rosser, "Excavations at Saranda Kolones, Paphos, Cyprus, 1981-1983," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* Vol. 39 (1985): pp. 87–88; 95.)

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., pp. 111; 114; 151; Coureas 2008, p. 229; Ashtor 1983, p. 40; Karl Borchardt, "Documents from the Hospitaller Registers on Rhodes Concerning Cyprus, 1409-1459: Form and Contents," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 164.

<sup>170</sup> Coureas 2008, pp. 228–229.

<sup>171</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 104; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 86; Jennings 1987, p. 294.

Anatolia, the Aegean Islands, the Black Sea region,<sup>172</sup> the Slavic hinterland of Dalmatia, Spain, Serbia, Bosnia and Northern Africa. Meanwhile, other slaves were sold to Constantinople, Sicily, Alexandria and Damietta from Famagusta.<sup>173</sup> Slaves might be categorised into two groups on the island: agricultural and urban. Agricultural slaves worked as cultivation and agricultural labourers in vineyards and sugar plantations outside of the cities. Urban slaves probably served in the houses and workshops of their masters as private helpers or assistants.<sup>174</sup>

### 3.3 Conclusion

We have observed in this chapter the process of commercial activities, and the import and exports of the late 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries which helped to increase the economy of Cyprus, together with its famous commercial centre, Famagusta. In this respect, attention has been drawn to the eastern and western migrations and settlements of merchants and artisans with privileges given by the kings of the island and the consequence of Famagusta becoming one of the richest cities in the world. The role of slavery and the slave trade in the economy of the island along with agricultural locally produced products exported to the other provinces in the region is now slowly coming into focus. Finally, in assuming that slave trading was a part of both the import and export activities of the island we might also accept that there

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<sup>172</sup> There was an authorization in 1366 for six months to buy slaves from Tana (the city in the northeast corner of Black Sea, close to Crimea peninsula) and transport them to Famagusta. Basically, the merchants could go to Tana and bring slaves to Famagusta easily for six months. This is also one of the proofs to show that there was direct slave trading activity between Tana (Black sea region) and Famagusta (Cyprus). (Freddy Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant La Romanie (1364-1463)*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Mouton, 1971), no. 797, p. 38.)

<sup>173</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 42, 110, 161, 172, 197; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 79, 94, 117, 125, 140, 148, 172; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 92; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 48, 52, 76, 77, 100, 164; Elizabeth Zachariadou, “Holy War in the Aegean during the 14<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, D. Jacoby, (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 218; Coureas 2008, p. 228; Coureas 2005, pp. 145–146; 151; Arbel 2000, IX, pp. 154; 156; Ashtor 1983, pp. 246–247.

<sup>174</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 104.

were international slave trading activities as well. To that end, the detailed analyses of the notarial deeds of Sambuceto, Rocha and Boateriis about slavery in 14<sup>th</sup> century will help us to understand these trading activities.



## **Chapter 4**

# **SLAVERY IN THE CITY OF FAMAGUSTA IN THE 14TH CENTURY AS SEEN THROUGH GENOESE AND VENETIAN NOTARIAL ACTS**

In this chapter, I concentrate on the slave population of Famagusta which was one of the main markets for domestic slave trading activities on the island. The synthesis of the slave population in the city of Famagusta from the notarial acts 1300 – 1362 will be discussed while attention will also be drawn to the slaves' origin, marketing, social status and daily life. I present a preliminary analysis of these acts, and in so doing offer an alternative insight into the social structure, culture, religion, judicial and economic features of the Frankish regime on the island. Special professions and culture, influenced by both inhabitants and slaves themselves, will be discussed, as will slaves' relations with their masters and third parties within the wider social system. Lastly, using the aforementioned notarial deeds I examine manumissions and offer a conclusion that slaves played an active role in Famagusta and were not without hope for eventual liberation.

#### **4.1 Overview of the Principal Notaries in Famagusta in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century: Lamberto di Sambuceto (1296 – 1307), Giovanni de Rocha (1308 – 1310) and Nicola de Boateriis (1360 – 1362)**

The rise of Famagusta as an emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean after the fall of Acre in 1291 by Mamluks, catalyzed the arrival of the Italian notarial system in the city. In fact several notaries from different nations had already been settled from the early 1300s in Famagusta,<sup>175</sup> actively registering the business activities of merchants, recording testaments and bequests of inhabitants, preparing manumission documents of slaves, and documenting cooperative activities and partnership in the city. In essence, these deeds were created in order to make the contracts of two parties legal, ensure the protection of reciprocal rights of the inhabitants in law, and preserve the memory of a certain event.<sup>176</sup> The official notaries Lamberto di Sambuceto, Giovanni de Rocha and Nicola de Boateriis stand out from all others who registered in the 14<sup>th</sup> century because of their numerous acts which have survived until the present day [Fig. 5 – 6]. Some of these acts, which include the Genoese notarial acts of Famagusta, have been published by *Archivio di Stato di Genova* under the title of *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, in which over one thousand five hundreds deeds have been presented and one hundred and eight five acts of Venetian notary Nicola de Boateriis, in relation to Famagusta.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> These notaries were Petrus Ansermi de Tripoli, Andreas de Vercelli, Bernabos de Media, Lanfrancus de Acon, and Saporitus de Curia, but their registers have not been preserved. (Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 151.)

<sup>176</sup> Brenda M. Bolton, “A Matter of Great Confusion: King Richard I and Syria’s Vetus de Monte,” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 171.

<sup>177</sup> Alexander D. Beihammer, “Eastern Mediterranean Diplomatics: The Present State of Research,” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed.

These deeds which were written for business activities in the city by Genoese (Sambuceto and Rocha) and Venetian (Boateriis) notaries in the 14<sup>th</sup> century [Fig. 7], have been used by several eminent scholars such as Michel Balard, David Jacoby, Jean Richard, Catherine Otten-Froux, Benjamin Arbel, David Abulafia, Peter Edbury, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, and Nicholas Coureas to investigate the economy, social structure, social and cultural relations, and the religious and judicial practices in the city of Famagusta and the island of Cyprus under the Frankish regime.<sup>178</sup> Besides, these impressive studies, which cover the 12<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries and the whole island, Benjamin Arbel's *Slave Trade and Slave Labour in Frankish Cyprus (1191-1571)*, and Steven A. Epstein's *Cyprus*, focussed more closely on the slavery system and slave labour in the island by utilizing also these same notarial acts.<sup>179</sup>

It is worth noting from the outset however that these deeds mostly contain information concerning the trading and commercial activities of Genoese merchants and citizens who inhabited Famagusta (in the acts of Sambuceto and Rocha 1296-1310)<sup>180</sup> and Venetian merchants in the city (in the acts of Boateriis 1360-1362). They are very important sources to shed light on the social and economical structure of the city of Famagusta in the late 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, offering information about the population and the identities of the inhabitants, their professions, their prosperity and property, architecture, topography and commercial activities of the city.<sup>181</sup>

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Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 14; 15; 21; Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 150; Arbel 2000, IX, pp. 152; 156.

<sup>178</sup> Edbury 1999, XVII, pp. 87–88; Coureas 2008, p. 223.

<sup>179</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, pp. 151–166; Epstein 2006, pp. 80–93.

<sup>180</sup> Edbury 1999, XVII, p. 88.

<sup>181</sup> Peter Edbury, "The Genoese Community in Famagusta Around the Year 1300: a Historical Vignette," XVIII, in *Kingdom of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (England: Ashgate,

The acts of Genoese Lamberto di Sambuceto are voluminous and contain one thousands six hundred and thirty five deeds concerning Famagusta between 1296 and 1307. Of these, only seventy seven documents yield information about slaves and slavery in Famagusta. Within the forty four last will and testaments just nine relate slaves and slavery.<sup>182</sup> Meanwhile the other Genoese notary, Rocha, recorded a total of ninety three deeds from November 1309 to March 1310 of which eighty four concerned Famagusta, but only six about slavery (one deed for slave trading, and five deeds for manumission).<sup>183</sup> The last notary germane to this study is Nicola de Boateriis (1360-1362). Although he stayed for a short term in Famagusta (August 1360-October 1362), he registered one hundred and eighty five acts, forty seven of which concerned slaves and the institution of slavery in the city.<sup>184</sup> When we consider all of the surviving acts of these three notaries from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, we have in total one hundred and thirty deeds involving almost one hundred and eighty slaves. Therefore, by considering only these notarial acts I find myself gravitating towards Arbel's conclusion that slaves and slavery in Famagusta and Cyprus at this time was fairly limited.<sup>185</sup> In this study sixty-four deeds between 1300 and 1362 will be examined<sup>186</sup> of the over one hundred and thirty survived deeds about slavery that exist from 1296 to 1362. The distributions of these deeds are as follows: thirty-one deeds for slave trading facilities, twenty-four deeds for manumissions, two deeds for testaments, three deeds for receipt, one deed for a

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1999), pp. 237; 240; Edbury 1999, XVI, p. 341; Edbury 1999, XVII pp. 88; 90; 91; Coureas 2008, pp. 226–232.

<sup>182</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, pp. 152–153; for detailed information, see the table for slaves which was drawn by Arbel in his study. (Arbel 2000, IX, Appendix, pp. 176–183.)

<sup>183</sup> The range of the other deeds which has been registered by Rocha; one act for Nicosia, two acts for Limassol, one act for Rodi (Rhodes), and 5 unknown documents. (Giovanni de Rocha: 3 Agosto 1308 – 14 Marzo 1310), ed. Michel Balard, No. 43, (Genoa, 1984), document numbers, 1–88.)

<sup>184</sup> Epstein 2006, p. 90; Arbel 2000, IX, p. 156.

<sup>185</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, pp. 152–153; 163.

<sup>186</sup> For the list of the mentioned deeds and slaves, see Appendix.

partnership agreement, one deed for a bequest, one deed for a donation, and one deed about transportation of a slave (which also counted as slave trading).

Additionally, the examination of notarial deeds from the 14<sup>th</sup> century is a vital factor in understanding the writing skills of the notaries as deeds for slavery were somewhat different in organization. They are structured in four parts. The first part of the documents started with a short invocation by saying ‘*in nomine Domini, Amen*’ (in the name of the Lord, Amen) in the works of Genoese notaries Sambuceto and Rocha, and ‘*in nomine Dei eterni. Amen*’ (in the name of eternal God. Amen), for Venetian notary Boateriis. Then the second part begins by introducing the owner of the slave to the person with whom he will conduct the business activity. If the document is a manumission or a testament just the master of the slave is introduced alone. Names of these people, their nationality, their ethnicity, and their inhabitation location are recorded. Again in this part, the notary offers information about the slave; his/her gender, sometimes age and colour, and price (in manumissions and testaments the features of the slaves were not often discussed, just the price and sometimes the name was mentioned). The third part of these deeds contains statements about the conditions and specific legal items on slave business or manumissions which had been added by the owners. Thus, the masters tried to guarantee their own rights to their slaves, even if they had been manumitted. These conditions helped them to secure their slaves’ future life. The last part of the act established the date of the contract, the place where it was to be signed, then informs us about the witnesses (testifiers) of the acts. In this part at least two free people were

needed to testify. In the Venetian acts drawn up by Boateriis, the fourth part comes after the invocation, unlike the Genoese acts.<sup>187</sup>

## 4.2 Slave Trading and Slavery in Famagusta

The city of Famagusta and its harbour was very active in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, used by merchants from different nations to transport eastern goods such as silk, spices, salt, cotton, carobs and sugar to western Europe and western goods like textiles, timber, iron and silver to eastern countries.<sup>188</sup> The last Christian land (Acre) in the Middle East had been conquered by Muslims in 1291 and this had helped Famagusta to rise to a role of considerable importance in trading between Muslims and Christians in the region. Although full commercial relations and supplying some items to Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean region, had been specifically forbidden by the papacy and some Italian city states (Genoa and Venice), it was clear that the commercial activities of the western merchants continued via Famagusta.<sup>189</sup> In this respect, the city had a different, almost unique status in the international trading activities of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, whereby in the reign of Henry II (1285-1324), foreign business was once again encouraged to replace the now lost Acre.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 97, 161; Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 176; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 46, 55, 71, 79, 109, 239; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 78, 164, 167, 169; for the structure of the Genoese notarial deeds, see Coureas 2008, pp. 224–226.

<sup>188</sup> Coureas 2005, p. 156.

<sup>189</sup> “After the conquest of Acre by the Mamluks, the popes issued a series of bulls forbidding trade with the Moslems, in order to hit them economically and primarily to interrupt their supply of war material. However, the bulls of Boniface VIII and Benedict XI forbid the trade with the Moslem Levant mostly in general way. They could have been interpreted as forbidding only the supply of war material [...] Genoa issued a general prohibition, acting as if it would be enforced strictly. Venice forbade only the export of war material to the Moslem Levant. In 1292 the government also promulgated a decree forbidding the sale of slaves to the Egyptians.” (Ashtor 1983, p. 17.); Coureas 2005, p. 156; Edbury 1999, XIV, pp. 116–119.

<sup>190</sup> Jacoby 1989, VIII, p. 149; Edbury 1999, XVI, p. 337.

Slave trading was no exception and remained at the centre of commercial activities in the Eastern Mediterranean even after the papal prohibitions in the wake of 1291. Genoese and Venetian merchants continued to supply slaves of different ethnicities (Christian, Muslim, and Jewish) for Mamluks and Christians who lived in Cyprus. In this respect, many Turk, Saracen, Greek, Armenian, Mongolian, and Circassian slaves<sup>191</sup> might yet be sold in the slave market in the city<sup>192</sup> or transported via the city of Famagusta to the Muslim lands in the Levant, and Christian lands in Europe. All of the slave trading activities in the city might be categorised into two groups: international slave trading through Famagusta, and internal slave trading in and for Famagusta and Cyprus. Both of these trading activities were registered by the aforementioned notaries.

International slave trading via Famagusta [Fig. 4] resulted in a number of ethnically different groups arriving from various regions like the Black Sea coast, the Aegean islands, Anatolia, Northern Africa and Europe. Many other slaves were brought by internationally active Italian merchants, sold in Famagusta, then sold on to people who were from different provinces. For instance, in some of the acts of Sambuceto this trading activity can clearly be seen. Take, for example, two acts which were signed on the same day (27 July 1301) as a good example of merchants coming to Famagusta from far away simply to trade in slaves. Palmerio de Preposito de Florenzola, who was the official representative of his brothers, bought a male Turkish slave who was called Ali, 10 years old and from Cassaria (Kayseri, a city in

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<sup>191</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1300 – 1301, no. 14; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 197; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 48, 52, 76, 77, 78, 164, 167, 173; Coureas 2005, pp. 145–146; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, p. 16.

<sup>192</sup> Famagusta had a public market (*publico rudagio Famaguste*) which was used also for slave trading activities in 1300s. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 86.)

central Anatolia), from a Genoese, named Gandulfus de Staeria. On the same day, Guirardo de Duce de Piacenza bought a male slave who was called Hosuffo, and 14 years old, from Genoese, Facinus de Ceva.<sup>193</sup> When the two acts are examined carefully we may observe that the part which deals with the witnesses of the acts have been signed mutually. In other words, during the creation of the contract of Palmerio, Guirardo signed it as witness, and when Guirardo was doing his business Palmerio signed his contract as witness. In this respect, the two acts suggest strongly that presumably these two people were merchants and knew each other (maybe they were friends). Because of the date of the deeds, and the similar origins of the people (they were coming from very close to each other in Italy - Placencia (Piacenza) and Florenzola (modern Fiorenzuola), not far from Bologna), the idea that these people might have come to Famagusta together to conduct business, i.e. buy slaves from the Genoese community in Famagusta, seems possible, even probable. In addition, when the notary recorded the transaction of Palmerio and Guirardo he did not mention that they were inhabitants of Famagusta, as he had done with Albertus Medicus Fisticus (the other witness in the act of Guirardo with Palmerio); *‘testes vocati et rogati Gandulfus de Staeria, Palmerius de preposito de Florenzola et magister Albertus medicus, fisticus, habitator Famagoste.’*<sup>194</sup> Therefore, we must assume that these two slaves were brought from Famagusta to Italy after the deal was completed. On 15 September 1301, two tinctoris (clothe dyers), Mosse and his brother Faragii, who were inhabitants in Famagusta (probably they were running a workshop together) sold a slave from Galbo (Africa), a 50 year - old called Abrain, to a Genoese,

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<sup>193</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 20, 21.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., no. 21.



Guillelmo Dalmacia.<sup>195</sup> On 10 March 1307 a Genoese, Benvenuta Raspera who was an inhabitant of Famagusta, was sold a female Greek slave, a 12 year old called Marroxiam to Philipo de Messana who lived in Peyra (Pera – Constantinople).<sup>196</sup> It is clear that the latter slave who was serving in the city of Famagusta had been sold to a man who lived in Constantinople, and presumably was brought there after the transaction.

So it seems we can surmise that slaves were brought from, or sent to, the different provinces in the region to be sold by these merchants of / in Famagusta. For example, a receipt of money exists for the sale of a female slave who was to be sent by the owner to Sicily. This dates to 15 September 1301, when an inhabitant of Famagusta called Iacobus de Leone de Tripoli sent a female slave to Sicily to be marketed there. She was sold to a man called Iohannes de Accon<sup>197</sup> there for 40 Saracen bezants<sup>198</sup> and the contract was finalised there. But Iacobus de Leone de Tripoli had nominated a non-official representative who lived in Marzayra (Sicily) called Oberto Manayra de Sagona. This Oberto took the money after the contract was signed in Trapani (Sicily) and sent it to Iacobus, acting as a middle man in this international slave

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<sup>195</sup> In this act, the price of the slave was given as 130 white bezants - a really high price if we also consider the other deeds that registered the age of the slave. However, the business of the owners, both mentioned in the same act, led me to think that they might have a partnership in cloth dying and that the slave was helping in the workshop as a cloth dyer. Thus the Genoese man who bought the slave, might have also used him in the same workshop in Dalmatia, (Croatia). (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 117.)

<sup>196</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 92.

<sup>197</sup> The existence of a man from Acre shows that presumably some of the inhabitants of the city moved to Italian the peninsula (except from Cyprus), after the city of Acre was occupied by the Muslims in 1291 A.D.

<sup>198</sup> **Bezants:** A typical golden coin coming from the Byzantine tradition and also known as Hyperpyres. When the island was invaded by the Franks the same coins started to be called bezants after the authority that issued them (Byzantine = bezant). As the time went on, these names were used to refer to gold coins in general notwithstanding the authority issuing them (Byzantine Empire or Caliphate). The content of gold, silver and copper for each denomination had been changing during the centuries. (Paul Lambros, *Unpublished Coins of the Medieval Kingdom of Cyprus*, trans. Michael Taumazou, (Chicago: Obol International, 1980), pp. 9–13; Soterios Gardiakos, *The Coins of Cyprus 1489-1571* (Chicago: Obol International, 1975), p. 19.)

trading activity.<sup>199</sup> In essence, this act shows that slaves could be sold even from distance, as the owner of the slave did not need to be physically present during the business. Middle-men seemed a perfectly acceptable alternative. Another example of this can be seen in an act which was signed on 23 September 1301 for the process of ‘nole’ (renting a boat/ship) to carry slaves for the purpose of trading from Famagusta to Damiata (Damietta) and Alexandria, two of the most important Egyptian markets. The contract was drawn up between Guidetus Spinula, who was renting the boat and Lanfranchino who was a slave dealer and wanted to sell his slaves in the aforementioned cities. According to their contract, Lanfranchino had to embark 12 – 15 (male or female) slaves into a wooden ship called *St. Antony* in the harbour of Famagusta and then transport them from Famagusta to Northern Africa as a part of international slave trade through Famagusta. The act also states that Lanfranchino might come back by the same ship, with his donkey, and with the slaves that he had not sold.<sup>200</sup> In light of these acts, we might assume that there was an international slave trading network in the city as well as internal slave trading.

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<sup>199</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 125.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 148; Actually, the ship did not belong to Guidetus Spinula. He had hired the ship for his own business from Lamberdus Sardena, possibly a big merchant who rented his boat for other small merchants to transport their merchandise. These small merchants might also rent the boat to smaller merchants who wanted to do their own business outside of the island. In this respect, we learn of different types of merchants in Famagusta by using the acts about slave trade. One of the merchants owned a ship, the other one rented the ship to earn money so he carried the goods of the other merchants, and, eventually, a third partner could sublet a place in this ship to do his own business. This was not the first time the real owner of the boat Lamberdus Sardena had hired out his ship. In another act of the same collection of notarial deeds (no. 142) the same ship figured as having been used for carrying carobs. Meanwhile this act between Guidetus Spinula and Lanfranchinus informs us about the structure of the deeds of Sambuceto and his terms of payment. In the deed, Guidetus asks for 4 gold bezants per each slave Lanfranchinus has sold and he has to pay this money to Guidetus within 8 days after he arrived in the cities in Northern Africa. These eight days for paying money in the acts of Sambuceto might be a fixed term for marketing and returning the money, because the same formula could be seen in another act signed on 25 September 1300 between Raffael de Ponormo and the slaves who wanted to back their hometown in Crete. Raffael nominated his son as his representative to get the money that he loaned to these men when they arrived in Crete. In this act, Sambuceto used the same phrase “within 8 days”, as in the contract between Guidetus and

The second category for slave trading in Famagusta dealt with internal slave marketing, whereby inhabitants of the city sold their slaves to the inhabitants of other cities. The inhabitants of Famagusta mostly were merchants and artisans who had settled for the long, or short, term in the city specifically for their business activities. During their residency and to satisfy their domestic needs such as house keeping, security, and sexual partnership, and also in the workshop as assistants, they bought slaves suggesting, through the notarial deeds, that throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century many female and male slaves were marketed for the internal slave trade in Famagusta. For example, on 1 July 1300, Baldoynus Ricius Sagonensis who was an inhabitant of Famagusta sold a female slave called Doblam, 24 years old, from Cervia (city of Romagna in Italy), with her little son to Alegeo Farconario who was also an inhabitant of Famagusta.<sup>201</sup> On 25 September 1301, Vivaldus de Aste sold a male Saracen slave called Ballabam, 20 years old, with his mother Mariam, to Salvetus Botarius who was an inhabitant of Famagusta and in the business of making barrels.<sup>202</sup> Consequently, it is clear that Famagusta was at the centre of internal and international slave trading activities in 1300s.

### **4.3 Relations with Society from a Slavery Perspective**

The owners had potential authority covering all the rights, all the rations, and all actions concerning the slaves, and this was transferred, in front of the notary, from the old owner (seller) to the new owner (buyer). In general, these concentrated on the right to have, to hold, to keep the slaves, to rejoice (to pleasure) them, to put them

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Lanfranchinus. It might be that, Sambuceto had a kind of fixed date in his acts for returning money (8days: 1 week and 1 day from arrival). However, we are in need of more detailed investigation to clarify the issue.

<sup>201</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 161.

<sup>202</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 156; for the other deeds that refer internal slave trade in Famagusta, see Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 176; Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 380.

into prison, to set them free, to sell them, to buy them, to give them as a donation and to alienate them; *habendi, tenendi, gaudandi, implicandi, expendendi, incarcerandi, liberandi, vendendi, emendi, donandi, alienandi*.<sup>203</sup> The slaves, in return, were responsible for inside and outside services (inside and outside of the house) for their masters.<sup>204</sup> In this case, if we consider the word ‘*gaudandi – gaudeo*’, which etymologically suggests a kind of pleasure or joy, we may tentatively surmise that the owners also used these slaves in Famagusta for sexual purposes. They might even have children from these slaves. The previous contract, which was signed on 1 July 1300 between Baldoynus Ricius and Alegeo Farconario, seems to be a good example of such sexual service of the slave and owning children by the master. As already mentioned, in one act a female slave, Doblam, was sold with her little son and in so doing Baldoynus Ricius gave up all his rights to his female slave and her son, but with a condition which was clearly added by him. According to this condition, Doblam (the female slave) should serve inside and outside the house of Alegeo (the new owner) for the next five years, whereupon she would be set free by Alegeo. An interesting clause also covers the son of the slave; if Alegeo wanted to sell the son of the female slave to the son of Nicolai Cavazuti or somebody else, the price for the boy would not be less than 300 white bezants.<sup>205</sup> Indeed, this is a very high price for a young male slave in the 1300s,<sup>206</sup> and so we might conclude that Baldoynus (the

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<sup>203</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 184; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 56, 76.

<sup>204</sup> The responsibility of the slaves for services performed inside and outside the house, was an integral part of the acts with their duty for real and personal actions for their masters. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 97; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 224; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 64; Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 15.)

<sup>205</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 161.

<sup>206</sup> When we examine some the acts registered by the same notary (Sambuceto) in 1300 and 1301, we may see some other male slaves under 15 years old with their price; i.e. a 12 year-old male black slave from Spain and 12 years old, was sold for 129 white bezants. A Saracen slave, who was 10 years old, was sold for 25 white bezants. A Turkish slave, who was 10 years old, was sold 60 white bezants. A

old owner) wanted to be sure that nobody would purchase the son. Was this previous owner truly concerned about both the lady (by adding the condition manumitting her after five years), and her son (by exerting the maximum level of price)? Might the boy be the son of the old owner Baldoynus and Doblam, and therefore to be treated with more care in the future?<sup>207</sup>

On 23 June 1362, the testament of Venetian, Nicole Coffin who was an inhabitant of Famagusta, might be another example of private relations between owner and slave. In this testament, Nicole distributed all his belongings and property,<sup>208</sup> stating that he was married with a princess of Armenia who was called Ysabellam (Isabellam) de Aiacio (she could have been one of the maids of the queen of Armenia). For his wife, he left his house for as long as she should live, and when she died he wanted it to go to the son of the princess of Armenia. Besides this, he mentioned the property that he wanted to be left to his slaves in the same act and the fact that his female slave Crusi de Romania (Romania, a part of Byzantine Empire) was to be manumitted with his two other female slaves, Mariam de Romania and Herini de Negroponte. Nicole also left them some money and precious jewellery. A small silver belt and 100 white

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Turkish slave, who was 14 years old, was sold for 100 white bezants. Lastly, a “brownish” slave from Comanum, who was between 10-12 years old, was sold for 100 white bezants. In the light of this information, by comparing the age and price of the slave, we may assume that the son of Doblam had the highest price among his coevals. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 86, 95; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 20, 21, 58.)

<sup>207</sup> Basically, five years after the date of the contract, the woman was manumitted by Alegeo but the son could not be sold because of his very high price, stated in the act. Thus the son and woman would look the previous owner in the face, because both the buyer and the seller in this act were inhabitants of Famagusta.

<sup>208</sup> In his last will, Nicole Coffin gives two hundred silver coins, two silver belts and a silver cup to the archbishop of Carsonisi, one gospel written in Greek which was given to him by Papa Basili, and another belt to Nicolino, the son of Papa Basili. He wants his vineyards, which were outside of the city walls of Famagusta (It proves interestingly, that outside of the city walls of Famagusta, people were making wine and growing grapes). He wants half of his movable property apart from the slaves to be given to his wife, Isabellam. He wants to be buried in the church of St. George and for this, he leaves twenty bezants for his burial and soul to this church. (Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 167.)

bezants were bequeathed to Crusi, 50 white bezants to Mariam, and 25 white bezants to Herini.<sup>209</sup> In this case, it seems quite clear that there were uncommon emotional feelings and relations between the owner and his slaves. Might these female slaves have been concubines of the owner, particularly, Crusi who had double, even quadruple, the money than that left to the other slaves and a small belt? In addition, when we evaluate both events in this will, leaving his house to the son of the princess of Armenia when Isabellam died, and then the money and jewellery that he left to his female slave, we might be lead to believe that Nicole Coffin had other sons, and so he especially emphasised the son of the princess of Armenia to emphasize and distinguish him from the others.

A previous act mentioned in this chapter which was registered between Vivaldus de Aste and Salveto Botario on 25 September 1301, might offer some insight into intermarriages between religions. As mentioned before, Vivaldus de Aste was sold a 20 year old male Saracen slave called Ballabam, with his 60 year old Christian mother, Mariam, for one hundred white bezants.<sup>210</sup> This is a really interesting act insofar as it seems to suggest that slavery in Cyprus might follow the pattern which was used in the Middle Ages by the Byzantine Empire and its provinces; that is, that the children of female slaves were sold with their mothers,<sup>211</sup> and they-followed the

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., no. 167.

<sup>210</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 156.

<sup>211</sup> Some other documents –as the one under investigation- dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century present us with children who had been sold with their mother or mothers who had been purchased with their children. For the present research, I have not found any document concerning children sold with their father. This situation might mirror in the “Roman pattern of slavery”: indeed, some of the regulations could have been turned to their own advantage by the Genoese and Venetian communities on the island, as heirs of the Romans as Mckee states that in one of her short essays, Ruth M. Karras point out that the Roman law and the legal systems denied the legality of slave marriage in order to avoid any paternity claim - thus the child would belong to the mother alone. (Mckee 2004, p. 45; Ruth M. Karras, “Gender and Slavery,” in *A Historical Guide to World Slavery*, ed. Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 218.) For more acts which concern the

status of their mother. If the mother was a slave, and no matter what the status of the father (slave or free), the child had the status of his mother, and thus became a slave.<sup>212</sup> In this respect, Ballabam had followed the status of his mother even though he and his mother shared different faiths. Presumably, the father of Ballabam was a Saracen (either a slave or a free man); and therefore he could follow the ethnic grouping of his father and be recorded as a Saracen. There are in fact two possibilities for the father of Ballabam, and both offer intriguing insights into the relations in the society of Famagusta. Firstly, his father might have been a Saracen slave, and so he had slave parents within an interreligious marriage. Secondly, the father might have been a Saracen free man, like a merchant, and the previous owner of Mariam (if we consider that Ballabam was 20 when this act was signed). If this is the case then he was selling both Mariam and his son together (if they were still together when the act was signed, it shows that at least for twenty years they were together, not separated) so Ballabam took the status of his mother and was also mentioned as a Saracen. Though these are merely educated guesses as the act did not tell us anything about the father and his status, in any case it is clear that we can see interreligious relations in the society of Cyprus through the eyes of the slaves.

#### **4.4 As Evidenced from the Acts about Slavery: Demographic Structure, Religion, Professions and Legal Concepts in the Genoese and Venetian Communities in Famagusta**

The deeds about slavery and the slave trade in the city of Famagusta in the 1300s not only offer insights into the economic activities in the city, but also inform us about

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slave and the children together (slave marketing and manumission), see also Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 97, 161.

<sup>212</sup> Borkowski, and Plessis 2007, pp. 90–94; Nicholas 1996, pp. 71–72; Patterson 1982, p. 135; Mckee 2004, p. 35. Mckee states that some historians like Patterson assumed that the Italian cities of Genoa and Venice were more efficient in medieval slave trade by adopting the Roman pattern.

the social, religious, judicial, and economic life by mentioning people, their professions, commercial partnerships, customs, traditions and religious beliefs.

The slaves were a part of the life and fabric of the city of Famagusta is beyond doubt. They were brought from different regions and provinces as stated before, so they helped to create different religious systems and nationalities even if they were the lowest class of society in Cyprus and sustained their life by servitude. They spanned the years too via their diverse age groups; while the minimum age of male slaves began from nine years old, the maximum age was fifty, and most of these slaves were not more than twenty five years old. The minimum age for female slaves was eight, while the maximum was 60 years old and the average age was less than twenty five years old like male slaves.<sup>213</sup> Their skin colour was also recorded in these acts, offering us an understanding of how the Genoese people considered the other nations, ethnicities and races. Generally speaking they were divided into three groups: white, brownish and black. The Saracens were considered mostly as black and brownish with some Mongolian and African slaves, and so the words '*nigrum, olivegium – olivegnam* (the colour of olive), *brunetum*, and *brunum – brunam* (brownish) were often used to describe them.<sup>214</sup> Turkish and Greek slaves who had

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<sup>213</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 9; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 78, 117, 156; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 57; the average age of the female and male slaves is included in the list in the Appendix. However, when this categorisation was made according to the ages of the slaves, several acts concerning slave trading and manumissions, which did not include the ages of the slaves, were not considered.

<sup>214</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 86, 91, 95, 172; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 58, 117, 172, 175, 224; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 156. Meanwhile, some of the Saracen slaves were not described as black or brownish, they were stated as white. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 176; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 55.)



been brought from Anatolia and the Aegean islands, were stated as white in skin colour in these acts.<sup>215</sup>

In general, slaves were used for private needs and as a method of investment by owners and dealers. At the same time, they were an easy way to gain money as they were considered ‘movable property’ similar to other goods and objects which were marketed in the city.<sup>216</sup> In Famagusta on 2 September 1301, two merchants Octobonus Nizola and Michael de Robino, created a partnership to invest in Mongol slaves via Famagusta. They invested 150 white bezants, so they had 300 white bezants in total for this business. When we consider the price of Mongol slaves in that same year we may assume that these people were bringing a small number of slaves to Famagusta.<sup>217</sup> In addition, on 15 September 1301, Nicolaus Vallerandus de Naulo sold half of a Mongol female slave to Thome Iancardo de Sancto Ambrosio for 45 white bezants.<sup>218</sup> He shared the property of this slave with Thome, showing that the slave was a way of getting money. Therefore, slaves could be used as an appropriate way of investing money and as a means of freeing up cash. The name of the slave was not necessarily inserted into the deeds, so long as some of the physical features of the slave were mentioned.

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<sup>215</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 256, 380; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 20, 21, 78, 239.

<sup>216</sup> Nicola de Boateris, 1355 – 1365, no. 167; The same rights of the dealers concerning both slaves and cotton were mentioned in the acts of Sambuceto. In act 184, the rights of the slave dealers towards their slaves (*vendendi, emendi, cambiendi, implicandi, expendendi et omniafaciendi secundumquod eidem melius videbitur*) had been used in the acts concerning cotton sales. In this respect, we may state that there are no differences between slaves and cotton as kinds of movable property or goods. They were both regarded as material goods to be sold. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 184, 192, 193, 194, 195.)

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 116, 175, 184.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 116.

The prices of slaves were probably determined according to age, sex, ethnic origin and special profession for the male, and / or physical appearance for the female. In this sense, the most expensive and valuable slaves were Saracens, while Greeks had the lowest price on the market.<sup>219</sup> There could be two reasons for the diversity in the prices of these two nationalities. One of them probably depends on the range of the local Greek speaking, orthodox population, so the high number of Greeks on the island (locals and others, who had been brought as slaves from the Aegean colonies of Genoese and Venetians) caused the decrease in the price of the slaves. As it is commonly known, when the numbers of goods are increased, somewhere, it follows that the price will go down. The second reason might be explained by the statement of Metcalf concerning slavery on Cyprus in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. He relates the island to lands near the Dead Sea in the Middle East, because of the air, which only people from Cyprus could work in, while people from different provinces would sicken and die in that region.<sup>220</sup> The same situation could be applied to Cyprus as well in a sense. People from the Middle East and North Africa who were mostly Saracens could work in Cyprus without any air or climate-related problems, thus the owners could utilize from them much more than the Greeks from the Aegean, so the price of the Saracens were higher than the Greeks.

The professions of the male slaves were one of the main factors which increased the price of them in the market. For example, an act signed on 25 August 1301, between Mussus de Naulo and Oberto de Damiano, informs the reader about a 14 year old, circumcised, white Saracen who was sold for sixty four white bezants. He was called

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<sup>219</sup> Arbel 2000, IX, p. 155.

<sup>220</sup> Metcalf 2009, p. 398.

Taliaferrum<sup>221</sup> which means ‘cutting iron’. The name of the slave most probably was given to him because of his profession.<sup>222</sup> In addition, another good example comes with an act which was signed on 15 September 1301 by two *tinctor*s (clothes dyer). They sold a slave for 130 white bezants<sup>223</sup> which was an extraordinary price for a slave when we consider his age. Presumably, the slave was helping these two dyers in their workshop so he might know a lot about the profession. These acts do not just offer vital information about the possible professions of slaves, but also about the owners and their professions. Thus, we may see the different branches of business and works in Famagusta in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, on 7 June 1361 an act was signed by Venetian, *Marangonus*<sup>224</sup> (carpenter) Iulianus de Sur, an inhabitant of Famagusta for the manumission of one of his male slaves Iohames de Neapoli Romanie, the son of Michalii Cuçonadi, because of good services of this slave to his owner.<sup>225</sup> In the other act for manumission of a female slave which was signed on 15 November 1361 by Paulus Colona de Candida (Crete), merchant of Famagusta, a female slave from Negroponte, called Mariam was liberated for 130 white bezants. But there was a condition in the act; the father of Mariam, called Dimitrio de Callafati<sup>226</sup> de Negroponte, had to pay the money.<sup>227</sup> On the other hand, some other

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<sup>221</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 55.

<sup>222</sup> Interestingly we know that in which profession this slave was very good at doing actually, since his nickname Taliaferrum (cutting iron) something to do with iron.

<sup>223</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 117.

<sup>224</sup> **Marangonus:** Carpenter, someone who is like a waterbird, diving into the water to fish. So, it refers to the man who dives into the water to repair the ships in Famagusta. (Christian Schmitt, “Derivazione o Composizione? Sull’ Origine della Parola Marangon(e) ‘Falegname’,” *Estudis Romanics*, vol. 30, (2008), p. 141.)

<sup>225</sup> Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 75.

<sup>226</sup> **Callafati:** It comes from the word Callafatore; when you pitch the sides of a ship or when you build a ship with wooden planks, you need someone to fill the gaps between the planks with pitch. Therefore, the profession of someone who fills the gaps between the planks with pitch is called in Latin and Italian Callafatore.

<sup>227</sup> The father and the slave girl were originally from Negroponte, Euboea (Greece). However, the act does not mention that the father will pay the price of his daughter. On the contrary, it mentions that he has to pay it, so my conclusion is that this man also lives in Famagusta like his daughter and might work in the harbour because of his profession. This act is another proof (like marangonus which

acts inform us about other professions such as the tinctors (clothe dyers), physicians (doctor), helpers of podesta of Genoa, ship renters, barrel makers, spice sellers, burgesses, tailors, money lenders, and venditor (seller) in Famagusta.<sup>228</sup> Thus we may understand that even by studying a specific topic like slavery in the city by using the acts of Genoese and Venetian notaries in the 14th century, we enhance our understanding of the economic varieties and professions in Famagusta. In addition, these acts sometimes have implicit clues about social stratification in the city. Although the jobs (professions) of the inhabitants were mentioned clearly in some of them, in others just the name of the man and his province were stated. Different types of people and different types of owners with their status which depended on different levels of wealth are dotted throughout the archives.<sup>229</sup>

Another factor affecting the price of the slaves was their physical appearance and beauty. Physically strong and powerful or beautiful slaves were marketed for the highest prices. Occasionally, this situation was reflected in the names of the slaves too. In this respect, in the act which was signed on 2 September 1301, we observe the name of an Armenian female slave, ten years old, Margarita, whose name was changed to Cali.<sup>230</sup> Cali is common amongst the names of slaves in these acts in 14<sup>th</sup>

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mentioned in the previous act) that ship-building and repair were done in Famagusta in the 14th century. Nevertheless, the act also mentions that the father had to pay the money, so it may imply that the owner of the slave and the father were connected in some way: the least one can say is that they knew each other. Therefore he did not want to sell her to anybody else. (Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 123.)

<sup>228</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 13, 14, 380; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 21, 79, 94, 117, 148, 156; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 64, 134; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 100.

<sup>229</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 42, 86, 91, 95, 110, 172, 176; Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 256; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 20, 58, 71, 117, 156, 224; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 64, 67, 134, 156; Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 15, 73, 76.

<sup>230</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 79.

century as they are derived from Greek origin.<sup>231</sup> Therefore, when we consider the meaning of the word Cali, it seems certain to be a variant of the word *καλός* (*kalos*) in Greek which means ‘beautiful’. Names we might therefore conclude changed according to physical attributes. The other method whereby a slave might adopt a different name depended on religious conversion. In this respect, some Muslim slaves (Saracen and Turks) were converted to Christianity and so after they were baptised they were called Christian names in these acts. On 1 March 1301, a Turkish slave called Michali was sold for 31 white bezants.<sup>232</sup> On 18 April 1301, a baptised slave called Iohaninum (the old name was Ali) was sold for 100 white bezants. Six years later, on 24 April 1307, another baptised male slave was sold for 71 white bezants.<sup>233</sup> When we consider the names of these slaves after their baptisms, we may see that they had taken the names of Christian saints (Michali – St. Michael; Marchetum – St. Mark; and Iohaninum – St. John). Further investigation hints strongly that their names and the churches in which they were baptised were linked, being the patron saints of the churches in which the ceremonies had taken place. Certainly there was a church of St. Michael in Famagusta in 14<sup>th</sup> century, (though probably outside the city walls)<sup>234</sup> and some other undefined churches (six churches inside the city walls) were mentioned in the work of Camille Enlart, leading us to

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<sup>231</sup> Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 72; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 56, 78.

<sup>232</sup> The slave was sold by his owner Genoese, Guillelmus de Aste to the king of Voltri. All rights, reasons, real and personal actions, all utilities and direct or indirect earnings were given to the new owner. The interesting thing about this act is the name of the slave and his ethnic origin. He is Turkish and called Michali (Michael). Even if the act did not mention that, we may understand that the slave had been baptised with a Christian name. The act also states detailed information by giving his skin colour so when we evaluate the name, ethnic origin, and the skin colour of the slave, we might assume that there might be other slaves called Michali. In order to distinguish this slave from the others the notary might use the detailed description of the slave. If he was the only slave called Michali, there was no need to add the word album (white). (Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 256.)

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., no. 350; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 156.

<sup>234</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 71.

suspect that two of these six churches might have been dedicated to St. John and St. Mark. This, in addition to everything else offers us priceless information about the dedications of now ruined churches in Famagusta.<sup>235</sup>

The acts of the notaries are also important in gleaning evidence about the daily life of slaves and the slavery culture in the city. The manumission deeds registered in 1361 offer information about the things that slaves were supposed to do and the things that they were forbidden from doing.<sup>236</sup> They had to show respect to their owners, stand up and greet them (saluting), and / or any member of the owner's family. The acts help us to understand the daily life of slaves, some of their daily duties and inform us of the customary habit of the slaves.

Because of the large numbers of Muslim (Saracen and Turkish) slaves included in the acts, I want to momentarily consider their religious lives. As I referred to in the second chapter, Islam states that the Muslim slaves were responsible for their own individual religious obligations such as daily prayer and fasting, which did not depend on financial commitments like alms giving and pilgrimage. The exemption for Muslim slaves was just in the prayers which were done as a community. According to Islam, one of the conditions was being free for communal prayers and the prayer leader would be a free man. In this sense, when we consider the hadith which was narrated by Tariq ibn Shihab 'The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: The Friday prayer in congregation is a necessary duty for every Muslim, with four

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<sup>235</sup> Enlart 1987, pp. 294–303.

<sup>236</sup> Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 48, 52, 60, 75, 77.

exceptions; a slave, a woman, a boy, and a sick person”<sup>237</sup> and also the Islamic codifications and verses which mentioned slavery in chapter two, one might observe that the Muslim slaves under the control of Christian masters, might continue with their individual prayers if they wished, and that their owners were often kind to them as opposed to cruel and merciless.<sup>238</sup> Islamic law did not force them to join a prayer as a community so these slaves never attended specific prayers like Friday prayer and day of prayer (feast of Sacrifice and Ramadan), despite the fact that they had existed in the island as a community; e.g. one hundred Saracen slaves laboured in the vineyard of the Templars in Engadi, close to Paphos.<sup>239</sup> Therefore we must assume that the Muslim slaves of Cyprus conducted their individual prayers when they had time for that purpose, outside of their daily service to their master.

These notarial deeds also indirectly inform scholars about violence and the bad behaviour of masters to their slaves, which is the 1300s in Famagusta, seemed all too common. The slaves were under heavy torments, and we read of instances when they were thrown down from a roof or killed by the owner. But however extreme these cases were, there were also many cases of owners trying to be sure that their slaves would not be under threat after being sold to someone else in the city.<sup>240</sup> For

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<sup>237</sup> Sunan Abu Dawud, *Prayer (Kitab Al-Salat): Details of Commencing Prayer*, Book 3, Number 1062, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/abudawud/003.sat.html> (retrieved on April 15, 2011).

<sup>238</sup> For the kind and thankful masters, see the manumissions had been done by the owners in gratitude and with thanks to the services of their slaves. The owners set them free from all bounds of slavery because of the good service that they had done for their masters. (Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 75; Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 34, 76.); As for cruel and merciless masters, see Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled ‘Chronicle’*, ed. R. M. Dawkins, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 465. He states that Famagusta was occupied in 1373 by the Genoese because of the punishment of God on the inhabitants of the city after they used violence and held bad attitudes towards the Greek slaves which had been brought from other islands.

<sup>239</sup> Mas Latrie 1852, II, p. 212.

<sup>240</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 20, 239; Makhairas 1932, p. 465.

instance, in October 1301, Nicola de Ancona, the son of Stephani de Margato had sold a white female slave, named Maria, around 15 years old, from Romania, to Manssor de Castro Pellegrino for 109 white bezants. There was a condition in the act that for the next four years she would serve Manssor, and then she was to be set free. The act guaranteed that during this period he could not sell her to anybody else or do any violence to her.<sup>241</sup>

Another fundamental utilization of slaves in Famagusta was when they were given as a kind of donation or gift during a wedding ceremony. The Genoese inhabitants of the city in the 14<sup>th</sup> century were giving slaves as part of the dowry of their female relatives. In one of the acts which was registered on 26 December 1300, as a part of the last will of Genoese Bernardus Zotardus who was an inhabitant of Famagusta, two thousands white bezants and a female slave called Eleni was left for his daughter.<sup>242</sup> On 15 February 1307, Berthochii Latini, the spice seller of the city, gave a slave which would serve both inside and outside the house, to his niece as part of her dowry.<sup>243</sup> In this respect, when we investigate marriages and dowry systems in Italian city states, we may see similar customs, as highlighted by Phillips who wrote ‘by the end of the fourteenth century there was hardly a well-to-do household in Tuscany without at least one slave: brides brought them as part of their dowries.’<sup>244</sup> In the light of this comparison between Italy and Cyprus might we conclude that some Italian customs and traditions continued among the Genoese inhabitant of Famagusta, and that well – established practices had merely been transferred to a new location. The hypothesis deserves further investigation.

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<sup>241</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 239.

<sup>242</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 176.

<sup>243</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 64.

<sup>244</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 98.



## 4.5 Manumission

The deeds concerning manumissions shed light on the different purposes, means and methods used in society to emancipate slaves. Hardly surprisingly monetary payment is dominant, especially through the acts of 1360-1362. When we compare the original prices of slaves when they were traded, and then examine the manumission costs, we may see that during manumission much more money was requested by the owners. Perhaps this was showing a kind of gratitude to the slave because of the many good things and free services he or she had performed, or it was hoping for the remission of sins for the soul of the owner and his relatives. In some cases, despite the fact that they had been set free and having the right of a free man or woman, they were obliged to stay under the control of their masters for a limited time doing the same services.<sup>245</sup> When this time was over, the manumitted slaves had the right to abandon their masters and so were set free from all the bonds of slavery. Now they had a free status without any obstacle from the law, and were permitted to sell, to buy, to change, to give will, and to set contracts. They might even gain the right of being a Roman citizen (*Romane floride civitatis*) after they had been manumitted.<sup>246</sup> They also signed acts as free citizens and some of them were soon running businesses for themselves and later their heirs continued business in Cyprus with the

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<sup>245</sup> In the act which was signed in 9 April 1300, a female slave called Elen was manumitted with her three children (two males and one female) by her owner under the condition that she must serve him inside and outside his house for next five years. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 97; for more examples, see Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 46; Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 34.) The same condition can be seen in the manumission document was signed in Genoa in 12<sup>th</sup> century: a girl of Muslim origin stayed at the service of her master for ten years after her manumission. (Phillips 1985, p. 102.)

<sup>246</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 197; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 46, 71; for the Roman citizenship see, Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 107; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 52, 60; being Roman citizen provides the same right of the heirs of Roman Empire in the Western Europe which includes the right to do free business, the right to vote, the right to marry and the privilege of holding public office, even though the Western Roman Empire had ceased to exist in that century.

rights that they had obtained from the status of the parents.<sup>247</sup> If we consider the statement of Luttrell about limited external contacts of the islands<sup>248</sup> and Dockes about the slaves and their broken ties with their native soil, their family and community,<sup>249</sup> presumably, we might state that the slaves in Cyprus might continue to reside in the island even after they had their manumissions, as many of them could not or did not wish to return to their homelands.

The acts about manumissions and testaments also inform us about the topography and some of the buildings, and places in the city, and also the religious faith among Catholics. In this respect, the public market in Famagusta for shopping, and also the churches of St. Nicholas, St. Michael, St. George, and the church of minor monks, were the main places stated by Genoese people to be buried after they died.<sup>250</sup> Besides, some of these acts inform us about the religious activities of the Genoese community such as the manumission of a slave for the sake of the soul of the owner himself and also for the soul of the relatives who were already dead.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 106; Iacobus, the former slave of Gregorii Nigri had done business for two hundred white bezants in Famagusta. In addition, Simone Rubeus, the son of the former manumitted slave Giacomo Rubeus had done business in Famagusta as the burgess (the people, who had free status on the island and were mostly merchants, craftsmen and artisans) of Nicosia. (Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 109, 183.)

<sup>248</sup> Anthony T. Luttrell, “The Latins and Life on the Smaller Aegean Islands, 1204-1453,” in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby, (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 146.

<sup>249</sup> Dockes 1982, p. 7.

<sup>250</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 86; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 24, 71; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 167.

<sup>251</sup> In the act which was registered in 10 February 1310, Dama Pellegrina, the daughter and the heir of the late Lanfranci de Multedo, had manumitted a female slave of his death father Catalinam for the sake of his soul. The slave had been set free by the daughter because his father died and she wanted to do something for the soul of her father. (Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 73); for the sake of the soul of the owner, see Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto–14 Marzo 1310, no. 72, 74.

## 4.6 Latinization

A study of these notarial deeds about slavery makes it fairly clear that the local Orthodox Greek speaking Cypriots were not involved as buyers or sellers. When a large number of foreign merchants and burgesses arrived in Famagusta, their statement for introducing themselves emphasised their origins as Genoese, Venetian, Candian, and Pisan, and stated merely that they were inhabitants of Famagusta and Nicosia.<sup>252</sup> They never regarded themselves as Cypriot or Famagustian. The Latin population in the island remained resolutely Latin even if they were active in the urban life and the world of slavery. In addition, when we consider the fiefs that were given to the vassals in the rural areas, and their lords as knights and nobles, we can see that they were also Latin and rooted in the Latin tradition. In this sense, when slaves were baptised, and manumitted as Roman citizens,<sup>253</sup> they were almost certainly under dominant Latin control as seen through the large influence of Latin, as opposed to Orthodox, rites and customs. Presumably, there was as a result the invisible assimilation of slaves into the dominant Latin culture. In addition, we may see that same Latin influence via the adoption of Latinized names even for those of Greek, Turkish or Saracen origin. The Latinization of names, we might conclude, and the recording of names by notaries whose knowledge was phonetic, distorts our picture of the ethnographic and inter-cultural make up of the city.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 42, 97, 161, 172, 176; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 67, 92; Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 176; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355 – 1365, no. 48, 52, 164.

<sup>253</sup> Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 350; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no.156; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 107.

<sup>254</sup> A testament registered on 26 December 1300, concerned a male slave called Vaxilius, would serve the son of the owner until he was married. (Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 176.) If we consider the name Vaxilius in the light of anthroponomy and patronomy, the name Vaxilius was originally a Greek or Russian name. Here the name Vaxilius could be a corruption from the Greek name Basil – Basilius or Russian Vasily. Therefore, it could be regarded as an example of

## 4.7 The Relation of Slaves with Third Parties

The slaves who lived in the city in the late middle ages were under the control of their masters. Though this is stating the obvious, it is worth noting too that many had contact with third parties like money lenders (Raffael de Panormo) to find ways of having manumission and going back to their homelands. In this sense, on 25 September 1300, some Jewish slaves (their ethnic origin can be understood from their names) from Candea (Crete) contacted a Jewish money lender Raffael de Panormo, and he in turn bought them by paying their fee to their owners in Famagusta, and then set them free. However, there was a condition - these slaves had to pay the money back within eight days of reaching Candia.<sup>255</sup> Another example appeared in the next century, in 1424, when an escaped Muslim slave from Cyprus reached Mamluk lands in Northern Africa and reported an attack coming from Cyprus, whereupon Muslims attacked Cyprus and took Limassol before returning to Egypt.<sup>256</sup> It seems therefore that if a slave had the opportunity to escape from the island, he had obviously contacted someone who had ship or boat to carry him from the island of Cyprus to Egypt. It is further evidence of contact with third

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Latinization of a Russian or Greek names. Therefore it is possible to propose this sort of interesting interpretation. For other examples of "Latinized" names of the slaves in the acts, see, Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1299 – 1301, no. 172; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 31 Marzo 1304 – 19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307, no. 92; Giovanni de Rocha, 3 Agosto – 14 Marzo 1310, no. 73, 76; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 78, 140; Nicola de Boateriis, 1355–1365, no. 56, 60, 75, 77, 100.

<sup>255</sup> Raffael sent his son with these Jewish people to Candia to collect the money that he spent to guarantee their freedom and other expenses he incurred in. If they had not paid the money back on time, Raffael de Panormo would have had the right to sell them again to get his money and his other expenses back. (Lamberto di Sambuceto 3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301, no. 13, 14; Lamberto di Sambuceto, 6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301, no. 94.) According to this passage, Raffael still had the right to sell them as slaves to be reimbursed, probably meaning that they were already slaves in Cyprus, presumably because of the captivity. In addition, this act would prove that Jewish people could be sold as slaves by the other Jewish people. Indeed, the right to sell Jewish people (because of their debts) to a Jewish man is mentioned in the Judaic religious book (Kings II 4:1). Therefore, I may claim that Jewish religious rites were applied among the Jewish community even with regard to slaves or free men. This act also shows the internal procedures of a typical Jewish religious community, the members of which tended to help each other to retain a level of ethnic, national, religious communal cohesiveness.

<sup>256</sup> George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. 2, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 470.

parties. Contrary to the argument of Patterson and Dockes concerning slavery and slaves in the Middle Ages, I suggest that the slaves in the island of Cyprus, and particularly in the city of Famagusta, might not have been an isolated community from the other communities and social strata.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

I have discussed the slave community in Famagusta through the Genoese and Venetian notarial acts in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis was done on these deeds, which told us about the origin, marketing, social position and daily life of the slaves. In this respect, the role of Famagusta in international and internal slave trading was presented. The owner of the slave need not be present during the marketing; the slave could be sold by his representative in a different region. Therefore, this should be clear evidence of the international slave trading network of Famagusta in the 1300s. Slaves were used for both inside and outside services. For inside services, they satisfied the needs of the owners in the cities and served as household help, guards and concubines. This situation created different phenomena that show the relations of the owners and the slaves in the society. Several samples can be seen in the acts indirectly, including illegitimate children. The children of the female slaves followed the status of their mother, whatever the status of his father. Therefore they were described as slaves and belong to the owner of their mothers following the ideology used in the Byzantine Empire and its provinces in the Middle Ages. At the same time there were some similar customs between Italian city states and Famagusta concerning marriage and the dowry system. That said, slavery on the island of Cyprus and its emporium Famagusta, differed greatly from elsewhere. Sometimes, slaves had the opportunity, for example, to have contact with third parties outside of

their masters. In light of all this information, I may claim that the slavery system in Cyprus and Famagusta was affected by Roman, Byzantine, and Italian slavery systems, customs and traditions in the Middle Ages, but also created its own and unique system.

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION

The Notarial deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto, Giovanni da Rocha and Nicola de Boateriis in the same century demonstrated the impact and diversity of slavery and slave trading activities especially in the emporium city of Famagusta in the 1300s from a Genoese and Venetian point of view. This research has permitted a general analysis about the origin of the slaves, their working conditions, and has helped us to understand the institution of slavery throughout the whole island in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In this respect, I have examined both urban slavery, which was active in Famagusta, and rural (agricultural) slavery, under the control of fief holders and a part of agricultural life and production elsewhere on the island.

The notarial acts, however, only held information on urban slavery and the slave population in Famagusta, but for this their origin, age groups, sex, price, sometimes their special professions and their relations with the owners were clearly shown. In addition, they give hints about the slave market in the city in the early 1300s. The role of Famagusta for international slave trading and its network with other provinces such as Constantinople, Sicily, Alexandria, Damietta and Northern Italian cities in light of the deeds that were signed, were examined. Thus, the importance of Famagusta was shown to be a place to help in the transportation of the slaves in international slave trading. In this respect, I have been able to deduce that the slaves from different provinces were sold in the city by Italian merchants or transported to

the Muslim or western Christian lands via Famagusta. The function of the city for internal slave trading was shown as well in the thesis. For that purpose, slave marketing among the Genoese and Venetian inhabitants of the city was discussed with the role of the masters in society, their professions, customs, traditions and cultural interactions with the slaves and Latinization of the slaves under the dominant influx of Latin culture, which was opposed to Orthodox rites and customs. Thus, we may see the almost invisible assimilation of slaves. In addition, in order to understand the function of the slaves in the social system, I have shown the relations of the slaves with minority and majority groups such as serfs (*paroikoi* and *francomati*), burgesses and the military orders who lived in the island. I have tried to show that although the slaves were a separate social group and constituted the lowest social strata in society, at the same time they had relations with the members of other groups in one way or another.

Perhaps the main contribution of this thesis is to offer a contrary historical reading to the general ideas proposed by Patterson and Dockes who saw slaves as an isolated community; they did not socially exist outside of their masters and were described as a subhuman species because of their alienation to citizenship.<sup>257</sup> In this respect, I claim with the examples from notarial deeds and other sources (chroniclers and traveller accounts for the same century) that the contacts of slaves existed with third parties in Famagusta in particular and on the island of Cyprus in general. Thus, in this thesis I have shown that Cyprus could well be considered outside both of these historians' arguments. While I examined the institution of slavery and its historical process, I have also constructed auxiliary arguments about the social life, social

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<sup>257</sup> Patterson 1982, p. 5; Dockes 1982, p. 7; Phillips 1985, p. 6.



structure, religious and cultural features of the slaves and slavery system during the Frankish regime on the island. In this respect I concluded that slavery on Cyprus might follow the practice of the Byzantine Empire and its provinces during the Middle Ages, but did not replicate it. Looking, for example, at the slavery system in Italian city-states in the same century to understand the slavery at the hands of Genoese and Venetians in Famagusta, I noticed that the same marriage and dowry customs were used. When I compared Italy to Cyprus, I found that some Italian customs and traditions might go on among Famagusta's Genoese inhabitants. In this sense, it could be a proof that some of the practices and customs were also transferred to the new location of the Italians. However, a more detailed investigation is needed for this argument to be played out definitively.

Muslim slaves (Saracen and Turks) constituted an important part of slavery in both Famagusta and Cyprus. Therefore, while I was concentrating on the daily life and duties of the slaves I examined especially the religious practices of Muslim slaves in a Christian territory in 14<sup>th</sup> century Cyprus. In the light of the religious verses and the hadiths, I concluded that slaves were not excluded from individual religious practices, so long as they were not dependent on financial duties. Therefore, in every individual religious responsibility, they were equated to a free man. In this respect, this study also gives a contrary argument to Lewis and his statement about Muslim slaves in The Middle Ages when he states that 'Slaves were excluded from religious functions'.<sup>258</sup> I hope to have demonstrated that the slavery system in the city of Famagusta, and the island of Cyprus in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, was outside of the general overview and conclusions of some scholars on slavery elsewhere. In the light of

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<sup>258</sup> Lewis 1990, p. 7.

detailed analysis on the notarial deeds concerning slavery, I have suggested strongly that these acts in the 14<sup>th</sup> century offered much more information via slaves about the interreligious relations, social, religious, judicial, and economic life of the city. As such, this study contributes to the study of the late medieval history of Cyprus and Famagusta in terms of demographic, social, cultural, and economic life. A new perspective, analysis and potential discussions have been instigated with this thesis relating to the diversity of slavery, and cultural relations in the city of Famagusta as seen through Italian notarial perspectives. I am sure that it will not be the last of these studies on slavery on the island because there are still unanswered questions in my mind such as how these slaves were brought to the island in that century? The notarial deeds that were registered in Famagusta were related to the slaves who were presented in the city or transported from the island to the other provinces. However, there was no evidence how these slaves were brought, how much their value was before they came to Famagusta or what types of enslavement methods had been used to hold these slaves and to bring them to the island. Therefore, new investigations have to be conducted which consider the origin of these slaves and the struggles in the regions that brought about their captivity. In this respect, other notarial deeds in the neighbouring lands like southern and western Anatolia, the Aegean Islands, the Black Sea region and North Africa need research on the same century to clarify more fully slavery in Famagusta or Cyprus in the Late Middle Ages. In other words, after examining the sources of other commercial centres at the same place in the same century, a more comprehensive study on this subject could be conveyed as a PhD project. Likewise, there are some interesting phrases in the acts of Sambuceto which need some further investigation. While the acts mention the price of the slaves in slave marketing, Sambuceto states that the words '*finito precio*', meaning the last

price. Therefore I assume that there could be both bargaining between buyer and seller over the price of the slave and auctioning in the market with the price stated as the final price (the highest price). Another investigation might be done for the status of the slaves after they had been manumitted. As I stated before, the slaves had the rights of free people, possibly even the right of Roman citizenship. However, what happened to these slaves after being freed on the island? Did they settle on the island or did they return to their homelands? If they settled on Cyprus, what was their contribution to the ethnic and social structure or the social and economic life and social strata of the island? In this study, I assumed that some of these slaves could have settled on the island in light of the ideas of Luttrell and Dockes about limited external contacts of the islands<sup>259</sup> and the slaves' broken ties with their native soil, their family and community, during their slavery.<sup>260</sup> But some detailed investigations are also needed for this subject. Finally, this study on the impact and diversity of slavery in Famagusta could be a useful guide to scholars who want to study late medieval slavery in Cyprus or the Eastern Mediterranean region in general terms of different cultures, religious faiths, economic varieties and national relationships.

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<sup>259</sup> Luttrell 1989, p. 146.

<sup>260</sup> Dockes 1982, p. 7.

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## **APPENDICES**

### Appendix A: The Table of the Acts, which were Used in this Study about Slavery in Famagusta from 1300 to 1362

Date	Notary Doc. N.	The type of the document	The Owner	The New Owner	Name of the Slave	Province / Origin	Age	Sex	Colour	Price	Special Conditions
02Feb.1300	LS Co/42	Bequest	Ugolinus de Rivemar		Total four slaves, one is called Tartarinus	2 Marvasia, 1 Tartarinus, 1 not-known		M			
15Mar.1300	LS Co/86	Slave Trading	Ugolinus de Messena	Iohanni de Pando de Messena		Spain	12	M	Black	129 W. B.	
31Mar.1300	LS Co/91	Slave Trading	Anthonius Calafatus de Naulo	Galiano de Revello de Savona	Heiosefe	Saracen	9	M	Brownish	6 golden coin of Florence and 1W.B.	
06April1300	LS Co/95	Slave Trading	Percival de Camulio, the son of Prtri de Camulio	Guillielmo Alpono	Aperum	Saracen	10	M	Blackish like olive	25 W. B.	
09April1300	LS Co/97	Manumission	Thomas de Viride, inhabitant of Famagusta		Elen (with her 2 sons and 1daughter)			F			Must still serve five years after manumission
22April1300	LS Co/110	Manumission	Lafranci de Mari, the son of Ugeti		Bonam	Slavic	16-18	F			

01July1300	LS Co/161	Slave Trading	Baldoynus Ricius Sagonensis	Alegeo Farconario	Doblam (with his little son)	Cervia (Italy)	24	F			The slave will serve 5 years after the sale and then will be manumitted. The price will be not less than 300 W.B for her son
07July1300	LS Co/172	Slave Trading	Margarita, the widow of the late Symonis de Cellis	Ansaldo de Modulo	Axia	Mazarabi, Spain	20	F	Blackish like olive	100 W. B.	
14July1300	LS Co/176	Slave Trading	Polus Barberius	Bernardo de Quileno	Fatimam	Saracen	10	F	White	100 W. B.	
01Aug.1300	LS Co/197	Manumission	Daniel de Clavaro		Mariam	Smyrna, Romania, Gr.		F			
25Sept. 1300	LS 31/ 13 – 14				Iacobus, the son of Bonevite, Mussam, the son of Guadi, Abraam the son of Iacobi, Iacobus the son of Danielis, Abraam, the son of Ioffi	Candia, (Crete)		M		241 iperperos (hyperpyres)	In the first act, Raffael de Ponormo (Palermo, Sicily), Jewish, nominates his son Macalufum as his representative to collect the money that he paid for the freedom of these five Jewish men from Crete  In the second act, these five people promise to repay the money owed to Raffael when they reach Candia. They must pay the money in eight days from when they arrive. If they do not pay the money on time, Raffael can resell them to get his money and recoup his other expenses.

26Dec. 1300	LS 31/176	Testament	Bernardus Zotardus		Eleni, Vaxilius			F, M			The two slaves will serve to daughter and son of their owner until marriage then they will be free
01Mar.1301	LS 31/256	Slave Trading	Guillelmus de Aste	Giovanni the king of Voltri	Michali	Turkish		M	White	31 W. B.	
18April1301	LS 31/350	Slave Trading	Franciscus de Alexandrio	Iohani de Castello	Ali (b.) Iohaninum		22	M	White	100 W. B.	
22May1301	LS 31/380	Receipt for money down	Domine	Elie	Fatimam	Turkish	25	F	White		The slave is used as a down payment for borrowed money
27July1301	LS 32/20	Slave Trading	Gandulfus de Staeria	Palmerio de Florenzola	Ali	Turkish from Cassaria (Kayseri)	10	M	White	60 W. B.	
27July1301	LS 32/21	Slave Trading	Facinus de Ceva	Guirardo de Duce de Placencia	Hosuffo (Yusuf)	Turkish	14	M	White	100 W. B.	
15Aug.1301	LS 32/46	Testament	Peganus de Fellino	Rollando de Rivalta				M			The slave will serve Rollando (fidecommissari) for the next three years then he will be free
25Aug.1301	LS 32/55	Slave Trading	Mussus de Naulo	Oberto de Damiano	Taliaferrum (cutting iron)	Saracen	14	M	White	64 W. B.	The slave is nicknamed Taliaferrum, meaning cutting iron (probably he is a smith)



25Aug.1301	LS 32/58	Slave Trading	Iacobus de Solaria	Angelino de Magdalena di Ianua	Comanum Tarabuga	–	10 – 12	M	Brownish	100 W. B.	
20Aug.1301	LS 32/71	Manumission	Placencia, the widow of the late Ugeti Flexoni		Agnes			F			The lady leaves 30 W. B., one mattress, one pillow, one little wooden long box, a jewellery box and two linen items of clothing to her slave
02.Sept.1301	LS 32/78	Slave Trading	Giorgino de Casa Orlandi	Enrico Pisano	Axiam	Turkish	8	F	White	50 W. B.	
02.Sept.1301	LS 32/79	Slave Trading	Boninus Lacaria	Octobono de Volta	Margarita, (Cali)	Armenia	10	F	Medium colour	60 W. B.	
11.Sept.1301	LS 32/94	Slave Trading	Tondello Spinula, Guideto Spinula and Lanfranco de Mari	Raffael de Ponormo		Jewish				700 W. B.	In this act the cost covers a group of Jewish slaves bought by Raffael. According to the act, Mussa de Gauao from Messina nominates Iacopum, the son of Bonavita from Messina as his representative to collect the money that he lent
12.Sept.1301	LS 32/106	Receipt			Isabella and Agnes			F			The price for Agnes is 30 W. B. and that for Isabella is 10 W. B.
12Sept.1301	LS 32/107	Manumission	Gregorius Niger		Little Giacomo			M			
12.Sept.1301	LS 32/109	Trading Activity			Little Giacomo, old slave of Gregorio Nigrer			M			The old slave pays 200 W. B. for unidentified goods

15.Sept.1301	LS 32/116	Slave Trading, Receipt	Nicolaus Vallerandus de Naulo	Tommaso Iacardus de Sancto Ambrosi		Mongol		F		45 W. B.	In this act Nicolaous sells half of the property of a female slave to Tomasso, thus the slave gains two owners
15Sept.1301	LS 32/117	Slave Trading	Mosse tinctor (clothe dyer)	Guillelmo Dalmacia	Abraim	Galbo (Africa)	50	M	Brownish	130 W. B.	
15Sept.1301	LS 32/125	Slave Trading, Receipt	Iacobus de Leone de Tripoli	Iohannes de Accon				F		40 S. B.	The slave was sold in Sicily by Obero, as the representative of Giacomo and this is the receipt of the sale
18Sept.1301	LS 32/140	Slave Trading	Lombardo Panzanus	Lombardo Sardene	Iarcaxium	Iacaxia (Cherkessia)	20	M		80 W. B.	
23Sept.1301	LS 32/148	Transporting the Slaves for Trading, NOLE	Guidetus Spinola								Guidenus rented a ship from Famagusta to Damietta and Alexandria to sell 12 /15 male and female slaves. He paid 4 W. B. for each slave
25Sept.1301	LS 32/156	Slave Trading	Vivaldus de Aste	Salveto botarius (making barrels)	Ballabam, Mariam	Saracen, (Mariam is Christian)	20 60	M F		100 W. B.	The male Saracen slave was sold with his Christian mother
02Sept.1301	LS 32/172	Slave Trading	Mossa de Iacopo de Tripoli de Barbaria (Africa)	Iohani de Pando	Abraam	Alexandria	45	M	Brownish	60 S. B.	

30Sept.1301	LS 32/175	Slave Trading	Iacobus Porcus Branducio	de Thome de Sancto Ambrosio	Iordam	Mongol	10	F	Brownish	56 W. B.	
02Sept.1301	LS 32/184	Treaty of Commerce				Mongol					An order to invest in Mongol slaves by two people doing business, paying 150 W. B. for each. (Partnership to invest in Mongol slaves)
16Sept1301	LS 32/224	Slave Trading	Eusefe, brother Serges Tripoli	the of de Rolando de Rivalta de Placencia	Maria	Saracen	22	F	Brownish	200 W. B.	
Oct.1301	LS 32/239	Slave Trading	Nicola Ancona, the son of the late Stephani de Margato	de Manssor de Casto Pellegrino	Maria	Romania, Gr.	15	F	White	109 W. B.	For four years following the sale, the slave will serve Manssor. He can not sell or do violence to her, after which she will be free
15Feb.1307	LS 43/64	Donation	Bertozzo Latinus	Dama Gema, the wife of Lias				F			She is receiving a slave from her uncle Bertozzo for her dowry. She holds all responsibility. If anything happen to the slave, he will not give her another one
17Feb.1307	LS 43/67	Slave Trading	Giovanni Galiana	de Manueli Stancono	Dauto	Saracen	50	M		100 S. B.	The slave is not in Famagusta. Giovanni must bring him to the city but all risks for transportation of the slave belongs to Giovanni

10Mar.1307	LS 43/92	Slave Trading	Benvenuta Raspera	Philipo de Messana	Marroxiam	Gr.	12	F		60 W. B.	
02April1307	LS 43/134	Slave Trading	Francesco Vaca de Finali	Nicolino sartor (tailor)	Dimitri	Gr.		M		32 W. B.	
24April1307	LS 43/156	Slave Trading	Giovanni Balbus, and Goffredo de Figerio	Manuele de Iardina di Savona	Brolio de Terrayto, Marchetum (b.)		16	M	Brownish	71 W. B.	Partnership on a slave, showing two owners
13Dec.1309	GR 43/15	Slave Trading	Angellinus de Magdalena	Petro de Cathana	Siminum vel Simonum	Russian	22	M		50 W. B. and 5 C. W. B.	
03Jan.1310	GR 43/34	Manumission	Sancto Bernabo de Veneciis		Hereni			F			
10Feb.1310	GR 43/72	Manumission	Obertus Moizanus de Sancto Laurencio		Cali	Gr.		F			
10Feb.1310	GR 43/73	Manumission	Dama Pelegrina, the daughter and heir of the late Lanfranci de Multedo		Catalinam			F			This manumission is for the sake of the father, now dead

21Jan.1310	GR 43/74	Manumission	Bertholinus Pasicius		Maria			F			
25Jan1310	GR 43/76	Manumission	Franciscus de Ceremona		Bunganum			M			
09Feb.1361	NB /48	Manumission	Cosmas, the son of Ioseph de Zibeletto		Georgius Gisi	Tinarum, Gr.		M		140 C. W. B.	
09Mar.1361	NB /52	Manumission	Guillelmus Casellarius		Nicola de Negroponte	Negroponte (Euboea), Gr.		M			
17Mar.1361	NB /56	Slave Trading	Abraim de la Lica	Çanino Barbadico	Cali del Vixo	Gr.		F		152 C. W. B.	
30Mar.1361	NB /60	Manumission	Dimitrius Cuticha from Negroponte		Michalii Cutica from Negroponte	Negroponte (Euboea), Gr.		M		140 C. W. B.	Dimitrius Cuticha manumitted his slave and nephew Michalii Cutica from all bonds of slavery
07June1361	NB /75	Manumission	Iulianus de Sur		Iohames de Neapoli, the son of Michaii Cuçonadi	Neapoli, Romanie (Nafplion), Gr.		M			
19June1361	NB /76	Slave Trading	Pinus Solaro de Pina	Albano Capello	Anna de Sellonichi	Thessalonica Gr.		F		160 C. W. B.	This transaction has been done according to the custom of the kingdom of Cyprus
11July1361	NB /77	Manumission	Constantinus de Priore de castro Fetelei		Dimitrium, the son of Georgii Protholati	Negroponte (Euboea), Gr.		M		160 C. W. B.	
22July1361	NB /78	Manumission	Çaninus Trivixanus		Cali de Negroponte, the	Negroponte (Euboea),		F			The slave will be free but agrees to render all services to the owner as

					daughter of Iohannis barberii	Gr.					before
05Oct.1361	NB /100	Manumission	Iacobus de civitate Beluni		Dimitrium / Nicolam in Martelo from Negroponte	Negroponte (Euboea), Gr.		M		100 C. W. B	
15Nov.1361	NB /123	Manumission	Paulus Colona de Candida		Mariam de Negroponte	Negroponte (Euboea), Gr.		F		130 C. W. B.	
23May1362	NB /164	Manumission	Franciscus Zoiatius de Famagusta		Nicolam Gisi de insula Thinarum	Thinarum, Gr.		M		145 C. W. B.	The slave will serve the owner for one month following manumission
25May1362	NB /165	Manumission	Theodorus de Corono		Efdochiam de Sancto Theodoro	Sancto Theodoro, Corono, Gr.		F			
23June1362	NB /167	Manumission, Testament	Nicole Coffin		Crusi de Romania, Mariam de Romania, Herini de Negroponte	Romania, Negroponte, Gr.		F			Nicole, the owner, gives a small belt and 100 W. B. to Crusi, 50 W. B. to Mariam, and 25 W. B. to Herini. However, Crusi and Mariam will remain under the control of his wife despite their manumission
26June1362	NB /169	Manumission	Fetus Simiteculo		Iohannem de Vira de Romania	Romania, Gr.		M			The manumitted slave would stay with the owner and his family for the next year and serve them
12July1262	NB /173	Manumission	Marcus Mauroceno de Veneciis		Annam de Romania	Romania, Gr.		F			

## Appendix B: Illustrations



Fig. 1. Map showing the sites mentioned in the text



Fig. 2. The map of the city of Famagusta and its harbour



Fig. 3. The painting about the city of Famagusta by De Bruyn

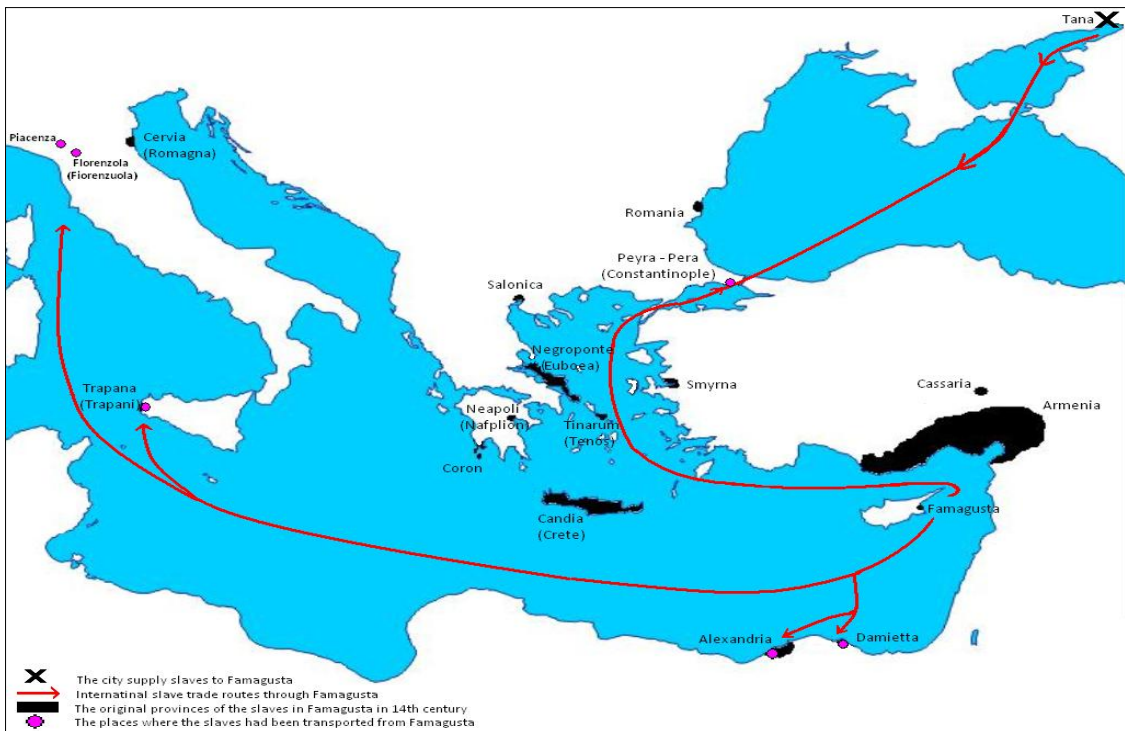


Fig. 4. Map showing the slave trading and transportation through Famagusta in 14<sup>th</sup> century









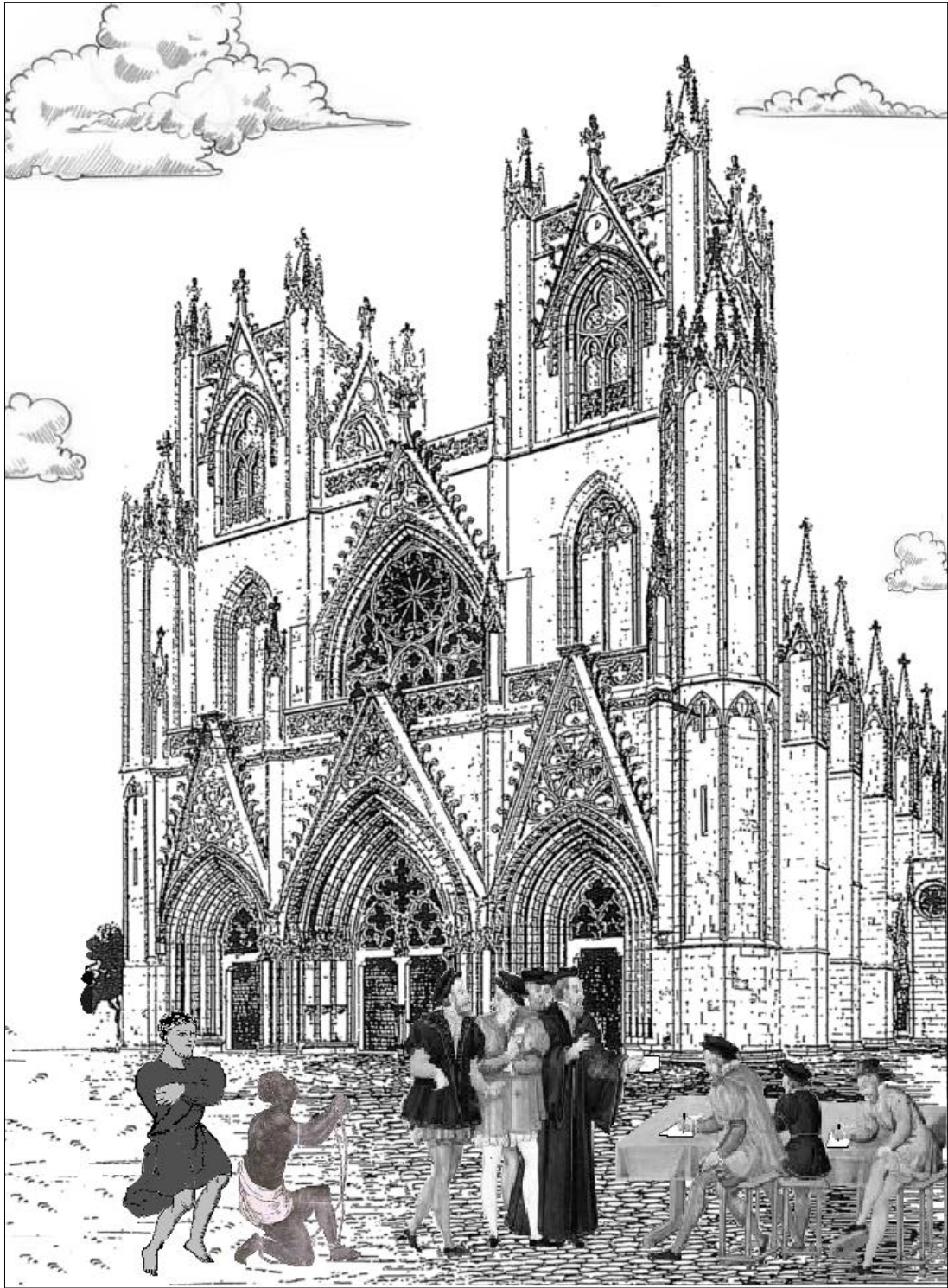


Fig. 7. The notaries and notarial activities for slave trading in front of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in 14<sup>th</sup> century Famagusta (An animated picture)