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Facilitating, controlling and excluding from movement: religious orders, organizational networks and mobility infrastructure in the early modern Mediterranean

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ABSTRACT

Through an analysis of the network associated with the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, this article challenges overly positive narratives of early modern mobility and of the role played by networks more generally. It reconstructs the functioning of the Franciscan network, focusing on its 'immobile infrastructure' and showing how the latter facilitated and at the same time controlled and limited friars' movement. Building on this analysis, the article postulates the existence of an 'organisational migration infrastructure', which enabled, addressed and controlled people's movement according to organisations' interests. The article also suggests a new methodological approach to the study of early modern networks, centring its analysis on 'organisational migrants' and using the notion of 'infrastructure' as an analytical tool. From a wider perspective, the article deepens our general understanding of early modern mobility, particularly with regard to the role of networks and organisations, and to the entanglement of mobility, immobility, control and exclusion.

On 4 August 1667, friar Lodovico Filippo Di Pontuasa, from the Franciscan province of France, arrived in the harbour of Livorno. Lodovico was one of the many Franciscans who, since the Middle Ages, had crossed the Mediterranean to travel to and from the Custody of the Holy Land in Jerusalem. Like many others, Lodovico's journey had not been easy. On his way back from Palestine, he was captured, enslaved and brought to Tripoli, in Barbary, where he spent two years and six months. Afterwards he was ransomed and brought to Livorno by a ship captain, Giovanni Maria Raffaelli from Livorno. In the Tuscan harbour, as for most of the travellers and ships coming from the Ottoman lands, he had to stay in quarantine for around 40 days. Then he embarked for Genoa, where he arrived in November. Finally, from Genoa he took a ship back to France.[1]

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[1]Archivio Storico della Congregazione De Propaganda Fide (hereafter ACPF), Scritture riferite ai Congressi (SC), Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Conti di Terra Santa, Toscana, 1668 (4 August 1667).

For those who study the early modern Mediterranean, the story of Friar Lodovico – his enslavement, the payment of his ransom and his return to Christianity – sounds extremely familiar. Similar stories are amply testified by documents of the period. If we consider Lodovico's journey from the point of view of mobility in the early modern Mediterranean, however, it raises many questions about the 'infrastructure' that helped him during the long journey back to his province and the multiple stopovers, and more broadly about the role played by institutions and organisations in directing, controlling and helping people's movements, and the complex interlocking relationships between mobilities, 'immobilities' and 'moorings'.[2]

Starting from the story of Friar Lodovico, this article explores these issues. In so doing, it aims to contribute to current research on early modern mobility, and its relationship with networks and organisations. In a wider perspective the article also addresses the concerns raised by some scholars, such as John-Paul Ghobrial, who has warned us against 'simplistic ideas about the ease of mobility in the past'.[3] In fact, recent emphasis on the connectedness of the early modern world, while rightly superseding an older narrative that saw the pre-modern world as immobile,[4] has had the unintended effect of concealing forms of exclusion (intended here to refer specifically to exclusion from opportunities to move),[5] involuntary immobility, control and, more broadly, the difficulties associated with mobility. This does not take into account that, since the 'mobilities turn',[6] research on the globalised world has convincingly shown that mobility is entangled with 'immobility', and that the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion have become one of the main analytical tools to define and understand spatial mobility.[7] Inspired by these considerations, this article aims to depict a more balanced and nuanced image of mobility across the early modern Mediterranean, focusing on institutional constraints, limits to individual agency, and immobilities.

To fulfil its aims, the article focuses on the network that sustained Lodovico throughout his journey: that of the Custody of the Holy Land. For a long time now, studies of contemporary migration have convincingly shown the importance of community structures and regional and

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[2] John Urry defines moorings as 'time-space fixities or moorings that enable the fluidities', see *Global Complexity* (Cambridge, 2003), 125. On the definition of moorings as moments and spaces of rest, see 'Introduction' in T. Cresswell and P. Merriman (eds), *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, spaces, subjects* (Farnham, 2011); on the mobility/moorings dichotomy, see below, note 23. The literature on mobilities takes the concept of 'moorings' from the Marxist scholarship of Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991); see Urry, *Global Complexity*, *op. cit.*, 48.

[3] J.P. Ghobrial, 'Moving stories and what they tell us: early modern mobility between microhistory and global history', *Past & Present*, 242, 14 (supplement) (2019), 243–80, here 250. See also S. Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails & encounters in the early modern world* (London, 2011), 173.

[4] W. Zelinsky, 'The hypothesis of the mobility transition', *Geographical Review*, 61, 2 (1971), 219–49.

[5] See below.

[6] T. Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the modern western world* (New York, 2006); D. Bissell and G. Fuller, 'Stillness unbound' in D. Bissell and G. Fuller (eds), *Stillness in a Mobile World* (New York, 2013), 1–17.

[7] T. Faist, 'The mobility turn: a new paradigm for the social sciences?', *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 36, 11 (2013), 1–10.

trans-regional 'migration networks' that facilitated the movement of cross-community migrants, providing key information and reducing risks and costs associated with migration.[8] Derived from the application of social network analysis, the concept of migration networks refers to a chain of people who facilitate migrants' movement and settlement, reducing the costs and risks of migration. They do so in different ways: recruiting potential migrants, addressing their movement, facilitating their journey, helping them settle down at destination and finding shelter both during their trip and at destination.[9]

Historians of the early modern period, too, have used the idea of the social network as facilitator for mobility. A study of the Calvinist network in the first half of the seventeenth century, for example, highlights how the network, besides strengthening the faith and ensuring moral and religious control, helped refugees.[10] Human networks also provided exiles with means of survival in the case of revolutionary outbreaks, such as the French revolution.[11] With regard to mobility across the early modern Mediterranean, too, studies of individuals or groups have long acknowledged the role played by personal and diasporic networks.[12] This article draws on this tradition, but departs from it mainly in two respects.

Firstly, contrary to the famous Alepine traveller Ḥannā Diyāb and the other 'go-betweeners' whose stories have been told by scholars,[13] Lodovico was what migration historians Leo Lucassen and Aniek X. Smit have called an 'organisational migrant'.[14] These are migrants whose mobility is organised and addressed by the organisation they have (voluntarily or not) joined, such as missionaries and soldiers. In the case of Lodovico, the organisation in question was the Franciscan order, and the network that helped him during his journey was not a personal or family network but rather was part of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land.[15] In this respect, as we shall see, it bears similarities to missionary and organisational networks.

[8]P. Manning, *Migration in World History* (London, 2005), 9.

[9]*ibid.*; M. Boyde and J. Novak, 'Social networks and international migration' in M. Martinello and J. Rath (eds), *An Introduction to International Migration Studies* (Amsterdam, 2012), 79–105.

[10]O.P. Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist network in reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2011).

[11]R. Darrell Meadows, 'Engineering exile: social networks and the French Atlantic community, 1789–1809', *French Historical Studies*, 23, 1 (2000), 67–102.

[12]F. Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers* (New Haven, 2010); B. Heyberger, 'Chrétiens orientaux dans l'Europe catholique (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)' in B. Heyberger and C. Verdeil (eds), *Hommes de l'entre-deux: Parcours individuels et portraits de groupes sur la frontière méditerranéenne* (Paris, 2009), 61–92.

[13]See H.annā Dyâb, *D'Alep à Paris: Les pérégrinations d'un jeune syrien au temps de Louis XIV*, ed. and trans. by P. Fahmé-Thiéry, B. Heyberger and J. Lentin (Paris, 2015); B. Heyberger, 'A border crossing Ottoman Christian at the beginning of the eighteenth century: Hannā Dyāb of Aleppo and his account of his travel to Paris', *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, 84, 2 (2018), 548–64.

[14]L. Lucassen and A.X. Smit, 'The repugnant Other: soldiers, missionaries, and aid workers as organizational migrants', *Journal of World History*, 26, 1 (2016), 1–39.

[15]In sociological terms, the Franciscan order falls into the category of 'formal organizations' – social systems structured around well-established rules and practices and designed to reach a certain goal through their members' coordinated activities.

Secondly, the article analyses the functioning and the structure of the Custody's network using an infrastructural perspective. Scholarship has defined infrastructure as 'a system of substrates';[16] nonetheless, as noted by Marjolein Schepers, the concept of infrastructure is still often unclearly defined.[17] It encompasses streets, bridges, inns and lodging houses, and, in a more conceptual dimension, it includes regulatory systems and social networks.[18] In network studies, moreover, the concept of infrastructure has been used to distinguish between the structure and the traffic that flows through the network.[19]

Historians such as Rosa Salzberg, Jo Guldi and Anne Winter have explored the role played by roads and by 'arrival infrastructures' in sustaining early modern mobility.[20] Elsewhere, while investigating Franciscans' itineraries towards Jerusalem, I have myself employed the concept of infrastructure to describe the system of overlapping networks that enabled the friars' movement.[21] In this article, I will instead use the concept of infrastructure to analyse in detail the functioning of the Custody's network and, more broadly, missionary and organisational networks. In fact, the notion of infrastructure is particularly suited to the analysis of a network such as the Custody's, whose functioning and structure, contrary to personal and diasporic ones, was shaped by a set of well-established and fixed rules, and whose primary aim, as we shall see, was not to sustain mobility. This is because, shifting the focus away from the flow of migrants and how it rose and became stabilised, the concept of infrastructure emphasises instead the stability and coherence that infrastructures retain, regardless of the flow.[22]

The infrastructural perspective and the use of the concept of the 'organisational migrant' as an analytical tool are also suited to the aims of this article because they allow me to investigate aspects of the functioning of networks, and of their relationship with mobility, which have not yet been comprehensively addressed. On the one hand, whereas works on networks have mostly focused on movement and circulation, the notion of infrastructure provides us with an especially useful key to understand the role

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[16]S.L. Star, 'The ethnography of infrastructure', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 11 (1999), 377–91 (here 380).

[17]M. Schepers, 'Just Passing Through? Onderzoek in uitvoering naar passanten en infrastructuren voor transitmigranten in de Lage Landen, 1780–1870', *Stadsgeschiedenis*, 16, 1 (2021), 66–80 (here 72).

[18]B. Xiang and J. Lindquist, 'Migration infrastructure', *International Migration Review*, 48, 1 (supplement) (2014), 122–48 (here 124).

[19]S. Borgatti and V. Lopez-Kidwell, 'Network theory' in J. Scott and P.J. Carrington (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (Los Angeles, 2011), 44–45.

[20]R. Salzberg, 'Infrastructures of mobility in early modern Venice and its empire', lecture given for *IHR European History 1500–1800* (9 November 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TcsGDjdg1-E (accessed 5 November 2022); A. Winter, 'Caught between law and practice: migrants and settlement legislation in the southern Low Countries in a comparative perspective, c. 1700–1900', *Rural History*, 19, 2 (2008), 137–62; J. Guldi, *Roads to Power* (Cambridge, MA, 2012); On roads, see also L. Scholz, *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2020); V. Tigrino and A. Torre (eds), *Strade in età moderna*, special issue of *Quaderni Storici*, 158, 2 (2018); A. Torre (ed.), *Per vie di terra* (Milano, 2007).

[21]F. Tramontana, 'Getting to the Holy Land' in P. Nelles and R. Salzberg (eds), *The Mechanics of Early Modern Mobility* (Amsterdam, 2022; forthcoming).

[22]Xiang and Lindquist, *op. cit.*, 132.

played by the 'immobile dimension' of the network and the entanglement with mooring that characterised mobility within the network. Recent scholarship has argued that 'mobilities' cannot be understood without reference to 'the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities'.[23] Inspired by this research, and using hitherto unknown sources, this article reconstructs in detail the infrastructure or 'immobile material world' constituted by the sedentary nodes of the network (the commissariats and the monasteries of the Franciscans) in relation to friars' movement.

On the other hand, the emphasis on the network as a facilitator of mobility has somehow contributed to hiding the downside of moving through a network: that is, how the latter, while facilitating mobility, also addressed and controlled it, and created forms of exclusion. Works on the early modern period have mostly investigated the inclusion/exclusion dichotomy in reference to the acceptance (or lack thereof) of newcomers.[24] Within research on contemporary migration, however, exclusion has increasingly been understood as lack of opportunities to move, which in the globalised world has become the most important category to understand emerging social stratification and the construction of new social transnational hierarchies.[25] In this research framework, scholars have investigated how the very access (or lack thereof) to infrastructure such as airplanes and airports determines how easy it is, and indeed whether it is possible, to move. Such a perspective raises questions about the selectivity of early modern networks and whether, while facilitating mobility for some, they deprived others of the same opportunities. Since infrastructure offers privileged access to some and constructs barriers for others, the idea of network as infrastructure contributes to answering this question, and more broadly to analysing how infrastructure, while enabling mobility, also channelled, controlled and selected it.[26] The notion of organisational migrants further contributes to this line of enquiry with its emphasis on how organisations limited and addressed individual agency through their networks, and shaped and controlled the movement of their members.

Building on the dichotomy between organisational and non-organisational migrants, this article analyses how the various ways to access the

[23]K. Hannam, M. Sheller and J. Urry, 'Editorial: mobilities, immobilities and moorings', *Mobilities*, 1, 1 (2006), 1–22 (here 3). See also Urry, *Global Complexity*, *op. cit.*, 125, 138.

[24]See, for example, B. De Munck and A. Winter (eds), *Gated Communities: Regulating migration in early modern cities* (London, 2012); A. Gestrich, L. Raphael and H. Uerlings, *Strangers and Poor People: Changing patterns of inclusion and exclusion in Europe and the Mediterranean world from classical antiquity to the present* (Frankfurt, 2009). On the concept of exclusion, see G. Todeschini, 'Exclusions: a concept in global history' in C. Antunes and K. Fatah-Black (eds), *Explorations in History and Globalisation* (London, 2016), 138–54.

[25]Z. Bauman, *Globalisation* (New York, 1998), esp. chapters 1 and 4.

[26]B. Meeus, K. Arnaut and B. van Heur, 'Migration and the infrastructural politics of urban arrival' in B. Meeus, K. Arnaut and B. van Heur (eds), *Arrival Infrastructures: Migration and urban social mobilities* (London, 2019), 23; Star, *op. cit.*, 380.

network resulted in various degrees of control and forms of exclusion/ inclusion, and how networks created forms of involuntary immobility. The article will thus contribute to current research on mobility infrastructure and on the relationship between mobility and organisations by postulating the existence of an 'organisational migrant infrastructure'. Similarly to arrival infrastructure, the latter was characterised by an entanglement between control and assistance; however, it constituted a larger and more complex system through which organisations, while enabling the movement of their members, channelled, controlled and regulated the infrastructure step by step, during the whole journey.

The first section of what follows analyses in detail the structure and functioning of the network, highlighting its similarities to and differences from other kinds of networks. Starting from an analysis of the immobile infrastructure that constitutes part of the network, the second section examines the relationship between mobility and moorings. Drawing on the concept of the organisational migrant, the third section distinguishes between the friars who moved along the network and external users. The last section builds on the previous one to explore how networks addressed and controlled movement. To conclude, the article addresses the wider significance of the case study in relation to the current framework of research on circulation and networks in the early modern world.

The Franciscan mobility network: origins and aims

The data regarding the movements of friar Lodovico furnish information not only on his trip, but also on the structure that supported him through it. After his arrival in Livorno, he was taken care of by a Franciscan institution, the local commissariat of the Custody of the Holy Land. In Livorno, the commissar paid for the *lazaretto* in which Lodovico spent the quarantine and provided him with all the necessities during his stay there. After the quarantine, it also paid for the ship that took Lodovico to Genoa and gave him some food and money ('*provisione*').[27] In Genoa another commissar, as recorded in his account book, took care of the friar and gave him '*provisione*' for the journey back to France.[28]

This information suggests that even though Lodovico was travelling by himself, he was moving within a network: the network of the Custody of the Holy Land. The applicability of the long-distance network model to religious orders' organisational practice has long and amply been acknowledged.[29] 'Congregational networks', as these networks have sometimes been called, could rely on stable ties and specific forms of communication that granted a

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[27]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Toscana, 1668 (4 August 1667).
[28]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Genoa, 1666 (27 September 1667).
[29]B. Latour, *Science in Action* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 219–23; J. Law, 'On the methods of long-distance control: vessels, navigation and the Portuguese route to India', *The Sociological Review*, 32, 1 (supplement) (1984), 234–63.

regular exchange of knowledge and information.[30] During the process of confessionalisation in Europe, they enabled the transfer of information about the implementation of confessional homogeneity.[31] The network concept has proved even more useful when describing the organisation of long-distance missions. Scholars have shed light on how missionary networks enabled the viability of oversea missions by allowing the circulation of capitals, goods, people, knowledge and information.[32] Even though missionary networks are often mentioned, their structure and functioning are rarely analysed comprehensively, with the partial exception of the Jesuits' far-flung network. Works on the topic have highlighted the importance of a centralised administration, reliable agents and administrative correspondence.[33]

The Custody's network bore both similarities to and differences from missionary networks. These derived from its origin, function and structure. The province of the Holy Land was established in 1219. However, when the Crusaders were defeated, in 1291, the friars were forced to leave Jerusalem, together with the other religious orders. In 1333, thanks to the intervention of the sovereigns of Naples, Robert of Anjou and his wife Sancha of Majorca, the friars obtained from the Mamluks the site of the cenacle and the authorisation to settle on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land was officially recognised by the Pope in 1342. The friars' presence in Jerusalem was aimed at guarding the holy sites and hosting Catholic pilgrims. It was only from the end of the sixteenth century that the friars started to pursue missionary activity. After the Ottoman conquest in 1517, they were expelled from Mount Zion and forced to move to the Monastery of St Saviour, which became the Custody's headquarters. The friars, whose numbers varied across the centuries, were headed by a guardian, the Custos of the Holy Land. Through the centuries, the friars established hospices and monasteries in the Middle East, near the holy sites, or in places that were relevant for European trade and where they furnished spiritual assistance to Catholic merchants.[34]

[30]M. Wriedt, 'Christian networks in the early modern period', *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 1 June 2011, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/wriedtm-2011-en (accessed 5 November 2022). On the use of the term 'network' in the early modern context, see D. Hancock, 'The trouble with networks: managing the Scots' early-modern madeira trade', *Business History Review*, 79, 3 (2005), 467–91.

[31]Wriedt, *op. cit.*

[32]L. Clossey, *Salvation and Globalisation in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge, 2008); A. Gopnik, 'Could David Hume have known about Buddhism?', *Hume Studies*, 35, 1/2 (2009), 5–28. On the Franciscans, see J. McClure, 'The Franciscan order: global history from the margins', *Renaissance Studies*, 33, 2 (2019), 222–38; J.T. Harrison, 'Franciscan missionaries and their networks: the diffusion of missionary concepts in eighteenth-century New Spain', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 105, 3 (2019), 457–79.

[33]S.J. Harris, 'Confession-building, long-distance networks, and the organization of Jesuit science', *Early Science and Medicine*, 1, 3 (1996), 287–318 (here 293–97).

[34]On the Custody and its origins, see P. Pieraccini, *Cattolici di Terra Santa* (Florence, 2003), 13–20; B. Saletti, *I Francescani in Terrasanta (1291–1517)* (Padova, 2016); B. Heyberger, 'Les Frères mineurs de la Terre Sainte entre régime ottoman et Réforme catholique (XVIIe–début XIXe siècle)', *Études Franciscaines*, 14, 1 (2021–2022), 309–28; M.R. van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts (c. 1480–1650)* (Leiden, 2019); M.C. Armstrong, *The Holy Land and the Early Modern Reinvention of Catholicism* (Cambridge, 2021); M. Campopiano, *Writing the Holy Land: The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the construction of a cultural memory, 1300–1550* (London, 2020).

Being a mendicant order, the friars' maintenance relied on the collection of alms. This, however, was problematic in Muslim-ruled Palestine, where the majority of the population was Muslim, and Christians were almost exclusively members of the Orthodox or Eastern Churches. It soon became clear, therefore, that the money needed for the maintenance of the friars in the Middle East had to be collected in Europe. With this in mind, starting in the Middle Ages, the Popes authorised, and regulated, the collection of alms for the holy shrines and allowed the friars to establish a procurer in charge of alms collection.[35] Indeed, in 1342, Clemente VI, while officially recognising the Custody, also allowed the king and queen of Naples and their successor to send two persons to Palestine with the provisions needed by the friars.[36] All this slowly led to the development of a network that for centuries, and up to the present day, has enabled the circulation of the resources needed for the survival of the Custody.

In the seventeenth century, a crucial role in the circulation of alms was played by the commissars of the Custody of the Holy Land. Commissars were charged with the collection of alms and the organisation of their transport to Jerusalem. Sometimes, with a view to this aim, they went to the Middle East, or dispatched one or two friars there; in other cases, the collected alms were given to those friars who stopped by on their way to Palestine. In fact, a further task of the commissars was assisting Franciscans, such as friar Ludovico, who stopped in the harbour where the commissariat was located while they were either on their way to or from Jerusalem, or going to other monasteries.

Traditionally the establishment of commissars dates back to Pope Martin V's bull 'His quae ecclesiasticarum' (1421), which allowed the friars to establish procurers or commissars in charge of the distribution of alms.[37] However, this interpretation has recently been questioned, and comprehensive research on the commissariats and their origin is still lacking.[38] A call to establish commissars worldwide was issued by the General Chapter of Valladolid (1593). The role of such commissars was further defined by the

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[35]See the following bulls: Martino V's 'His quae pro ecclesiasticarum' (1421); Callisto III's 'Et si ex debito' (1455); Sisto V's 'Nostri Officii' (1589).

[36]Text transcribed in M. Sinopoli, *L'opera di Terra Santa: Contributo storico-giuridico* (Rome, 1950), 167–69.

[37]See, for example, ACPF, SC Miscellanea 2, folder 2, '*Compendiosa notizia*', in which the origin of the Commissars, and more broadly of the Custody, is narrated. For the text of 'His quae ecclesiasticarum', see Sinopoli, *L'opera*, 179–81. There are very few research works on the commissariats of the Custody of the Holy Land; see P. García Barriuso, *España en la historia de Tierra Santa: obra pía española a la sombra de un regio patronato: Siglos XIV, XV, XVI, y XVII* (Madrid, 1992); P. Moracchini, 'Autour de Pierre Quesneville: Les commissaires généraux de la Terre sainte en France (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 114, 1–2 (2021), 259–80; M. Brlek (ed.), *Commissariato Veneto di Terra Santa – Cenni Storici* (Jerusalem, 1993); F. Ielpo (ed.), *A servizio della Custodia: Breve storia dei Commissariati di Terra Santa del Nord Italia* (Milan, 2021).

[38]U. Cecchinato, 'The commissariats of the Holy Land: origins and development of a Franciscan organization from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century', unpublished paper.

Statuta generalia pro Locis Terrae sanctae, approved during the General Chapter of Segovia (1621).[39] While requesting their establishment in all the order's provinces, the text also further specified their tasks, and the role played by the apostolic syndic.[40] The *Statuta*, echoing a prescription issued in Valladolid, also advocated the need to keep records of the collected alms, and clarified how to do so.[41] Despite these appeals, as late as the 1630s the Congregation De Propaganda Fide – under whose control the Custody was brought shortly after the Congregation's foundation in 1622 – lamented the lack of commissars in many important places, such as Poland, Florence, Bologna and Marseille, and called for their establishment.[42] The situation eventually improved in the following decades, and in the second half of the seventeenth century the Custody could count on a large network of commissars located in many important Mediterranean harbours, such as Marseille, Genoa, Messina and Livorno – where the Commissariat of Tuscany was established in the Convento della Madonna – and Venice, in the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna (see Figure 1).[43] Their tasks were regulated by numerous prescriptions issued by the order and by Propaganda.

Following a decree issued by Propaganda on 16 November 1654, and echoing previous ones dating back to 1453,[44] commissars had to send the Congregation reports of their incomes and expenditure every two years, after the Christmas festivities.[45] Incomes consisted of the alms collected through donations, bequests and so on. Under 'Exito' expenses, the friars listed costs related to the purchase and shipment of objects to be sent to Jerusalem, the assistance of itinerant friars, and the renovation and refurbishment of the houses and monasteries where the friars were hosted. These reports show all the functions performed by the commissars and are one of the main sources on which this

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[39]See *Chronologia Historico-legalis: Seraphici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (hereafter *CHL*) (Naples, 1650), vol. I, 664–65. Available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=xuGZwAEACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed 15 July 2023).

[40]Apostolic syndics were laymen who, by the authority of the Holy See, were in charge of the administration of the alms received by the Franciscans.

[41]See *CHL*, vol. I, 665. According to the *Statuta*, the alms had to be recorded in a book or register: 'registrum vel librum in quo eleemosynae omnes, quae a' fidelibus offrentur clare, ac distinctae scribantur, nomine cuiuslibet offerentium subscriptae'. The same text also establishes some form of control over the alms collection.

[42]On the topic, see L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, vol. 28 (Florence, 1941), 585–86, mentioned by Moracchini, *op. cit.*, 262; see also *CHL*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1753), 449 and, for Marseille, ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (SOCG), vol. 195, 248v. De Propaganda Fide was in charge of the missionary activities in those places where there was no established Church hierarchy.

[43]See E. Parma, 'Il Commissariato di Terra Santa in Santa Maria della Pace a Genova' in L. Magnani and L. Stagno (eds), *I Francescani in Liguria: insediamenti, committenze, iconografie: atti del convegno* (Rome, 2012), 277–84; V. Bianchi, *Il commissariato di Terra Santa in Toscana* (Pistoia, 1994); on the archival material available, see U. Sorelli, 'Dalla Custodia a Firenze, Archivi di terra santa ritrovati' in Maria Montesano (ed.), *Come l'orco per la fiaba, studi in onore di Franco Cardini* (Florence, 2010).

[44]ACPF, Acta, vol. 22, f. 77v n. 28 and f. 85r n. 22, decrees issued on the 10 and 30 June 1453. According to the former, records of accounting had to be sent to Propaganda every three years.

[45]ACPF, Acta, vol. 23, ff. 114r–118r n. 7. Despite the decree, only a few commissars, the great majority of them located in Italy, sent their account books to Propaganda regularly. On the decree's problematic enforcement, see ACPF, SC, Terra Santa, Miscellanea 2, 'Osservazioni dell'archivista della Sacra Congreg.ne'. Before 1653, during the General Chapter of Segovia (1621), the Order had already made alms recording mandatory.
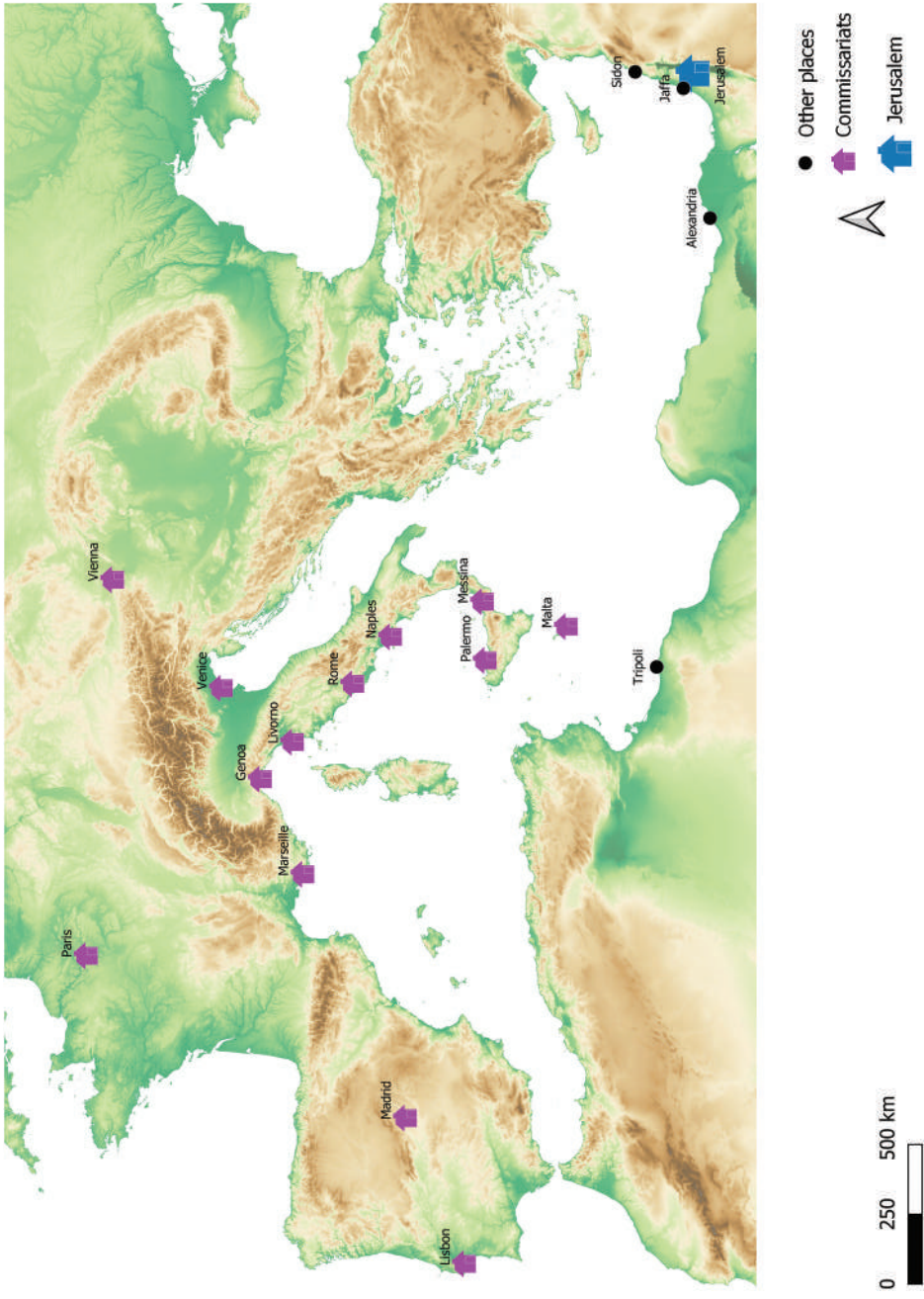
Figure 1. Map of the geographical distribution of commissariats and other cities in the early modern period.

research relies,[46] together with the '*Libri delle condotte*' – registers in which, starting in 1615, all the alms that arrived at the St Saviour monastery were recorded.[47]

As to what circulated through the network, the 'alms' took the form of money and devotional objects collected for the Holy Sepulchre, or donated by kings, aristocratic families and commoners.[48] In addition, the Custos of the Holy Land requested material supplies that were needed by friars in the Middle East: religious and liturgical objects, food and practical items such as wine barrels or paper.[49] Even though the network was initially established to facilitate the circulation of alms, in practice, once established, it enabled mobility for people and information as well. Most of the friars who circulated through the network were carrying alms to Jerusalem; some, however, were simply moving to one of the monasteries in the Middle East or going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Moreover, some of the friars, rather than heading towards the Levant, may have been on their way to other Franciscan provinces, for example to attend the general assemblies of the order.

How big was this flow? The incompleteness of the sources and the early stage of this research means it is not possible to give reliable estimates. My analysis of the expenses of the commissar of Malta suggests that between May 1655 and May 1657 the local commissar covered expenses for at least 31 friars on their way to Jerusalem and back. The following records (expenses for 1657–1659) register a marked flow increase, with more than 90 friars stopping by (Figures 2 and 3).[50]

In order to understand the functioning of the Custody's network it may be useful to analyse its structure in greater detail. It can be defined as multi-nodal and monocentric, with one nodal centre (the headquarters of the Custody, the St Saviour monastery in Jerusalem) and other dispersed nodes (Franciscan convents and their commissariats) that were connected to the centre and to one another (see Figure 4). In this sense the structure of the network is not different from some trading networks, as analysed for example by Claude Markowits and Sebouh Aslanian.[51] There are, though, important differences, which are connected to the very aim of the Custody's network. Whereas within

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[46]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1. For this research I have used the lists of expenses (unless otherwise specified) of the following files: Malta 1659 (for the years 1655–1657 and 1657–1659); Toscana 1668 (years 1666–1667); Regno di Sicilia (Kingdom of Sicily) 1660 (years 1657–1658 and 1659–1660); Genoa 1672 (years 1666–1672), 1674 (1672–1674), 1676 (1674–1676), and 1698 (1695–1698); Toscana 1670 (years 1668–1670), 1680 (1679–1680), 1682 (1681–1682).

[47]Archivio della Custodia di Terra Santa (hereafter ACTS), Jerusalem, Procura Generale (PG), *Libri delle condotte*, vol. 1.

[48]ACTS, PG, *Libri delle condotte*, vol. 1, f 4; see also F. Tramontana, '"Per ornamento e servizio di questi Santi Luoghi": L'arrivée des objets de dévotion dans les sanctuaires de Terre Sainte (xviie siècle)', *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 183, 3 (2018), 227–45 (here 233–35).

[49]List signed by Mariano da Maleo, Custos from 1652 to 1659. ASCPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1.

[50]Few of these friars were from Malta: for most of them the island was only a stopover. ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Malta, 1659, f 3vr and (for the 1657–1659 expenses) page unnumbered.

[51]C. Markowits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947* (Cambridge, 2009); S. Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The global trade networks of Armenian merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley, 2011).
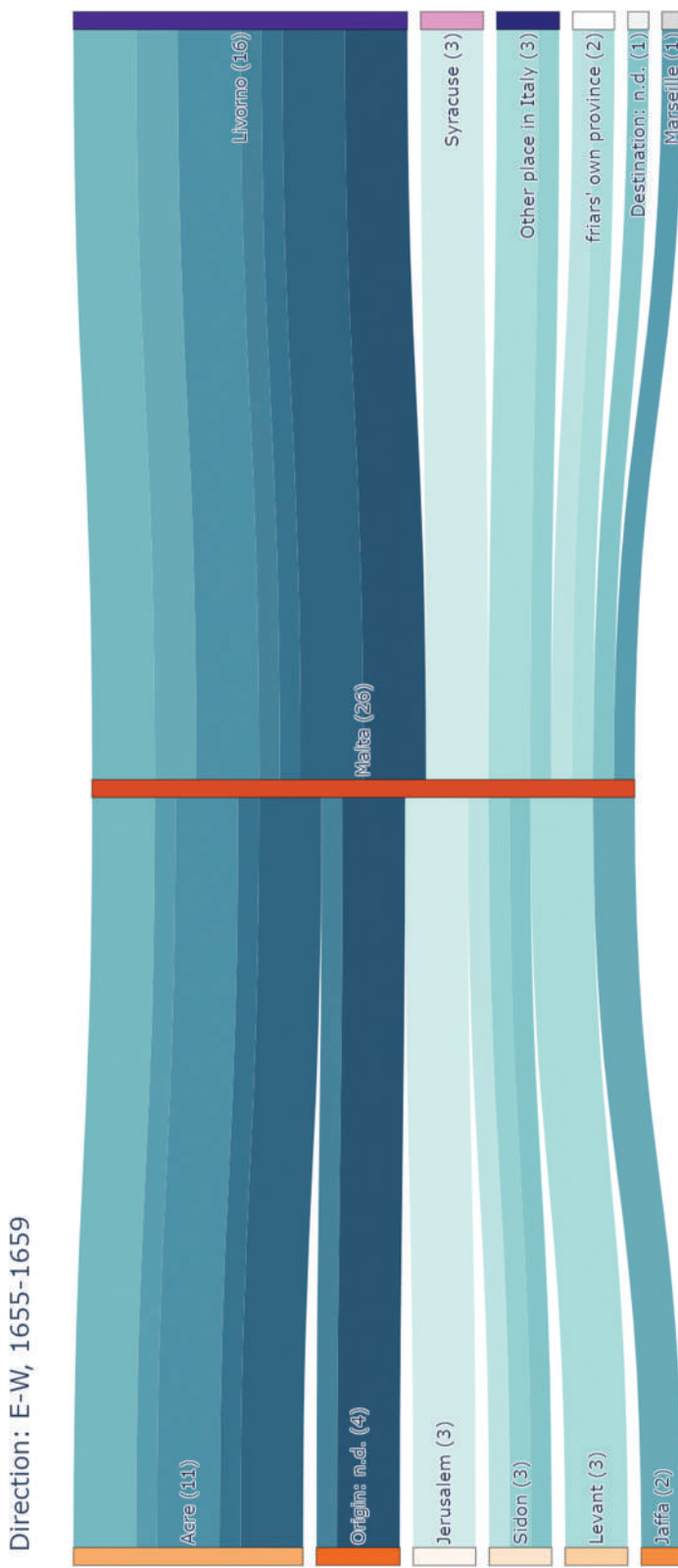
Direction: E-W, 1655–1659

Figure 2. Sankey diagram of the flows between the Commissariat of Malta and other places within the network of the Custody of the Holy Land for the years 1655–1659, direction East–West.
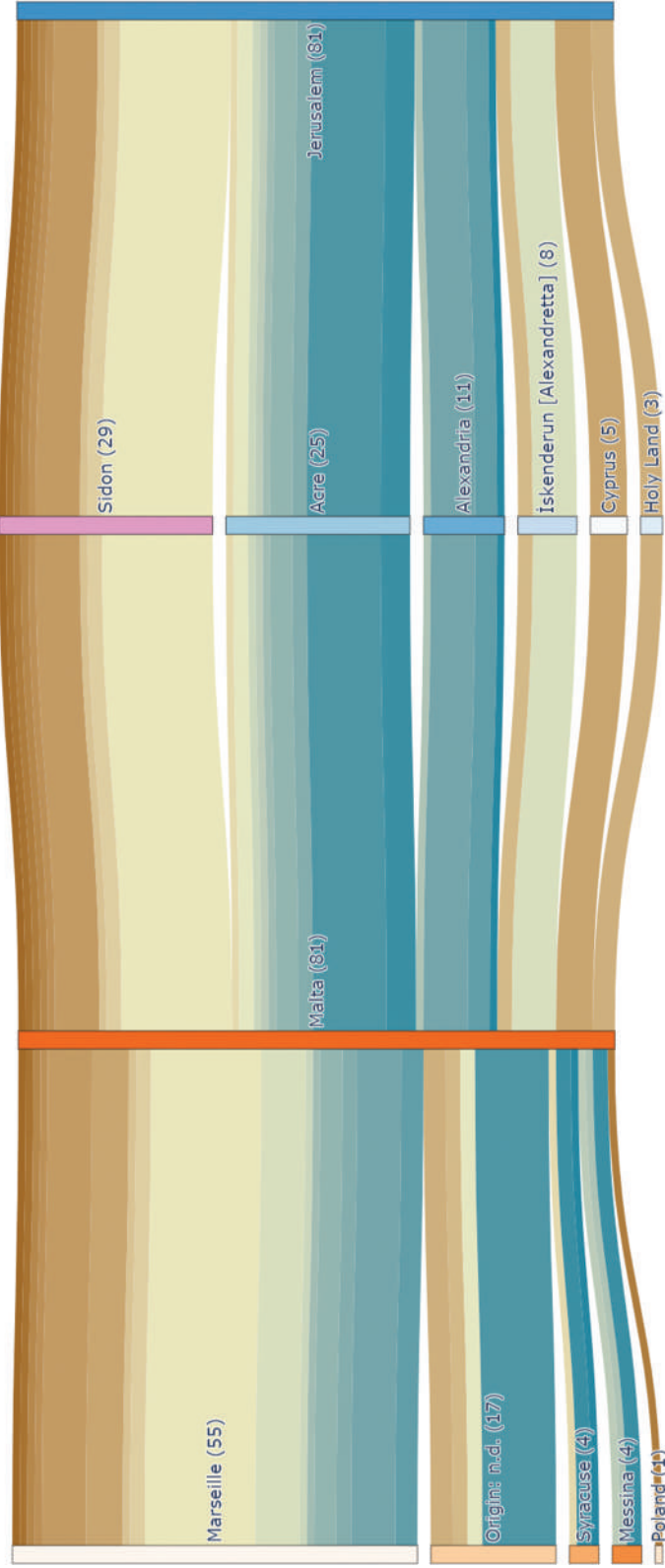
Direction: W-E, 1655–1659

Figure 3. Sankey diagram of the flows between the Commissariat of Malta and other places within the network of the Custody of the Holy Land for the years 1655–1659, direction West–East.

Notes: Data points are not included for journeys that did not specify which of the two directions they followed (two friars travelling from and to Messina; 12 friars whose origin and destination were both not recorded) or for those where the number of friars was not recorded (two entries, for journeys to Sidon from Malta and from Marseille to Jaffa).
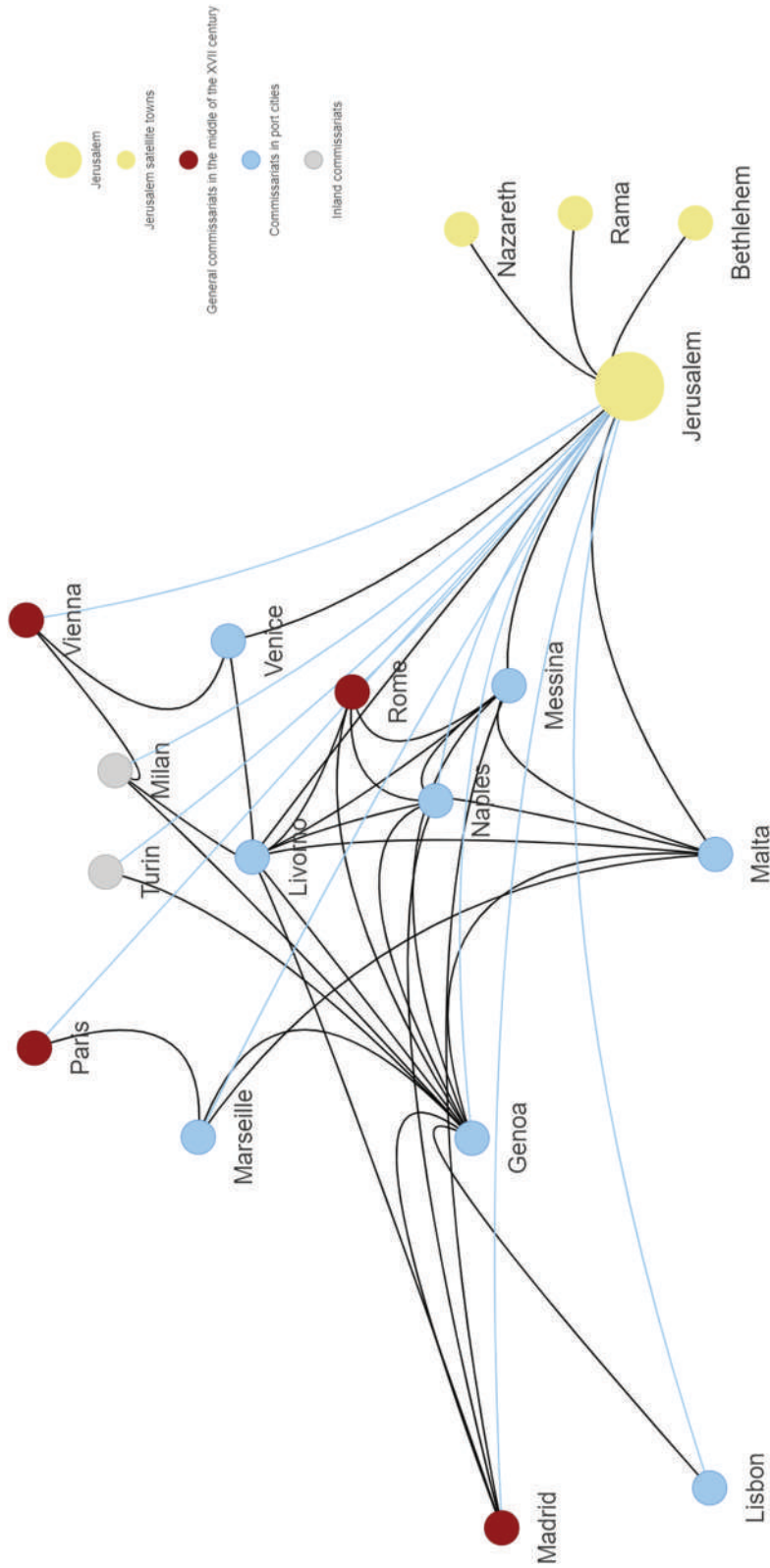
Figure 4. Network diagram of the connections between commissariats and other cities within the network of the Custody of the Holy Land for the early modern period.

Note: The diagram is undirected and unweighted and displays the network of the Custody of the Holy Land at the current state of research by the HOLYLAB project. Sources: For General Commissariats as distinguished from others and their number in the middle of the seventeenth century, see Archivio Storico della Congregazione De Propaganda Fide, Acta, vol. 33, general congregation of 30 June 1664, ff. 97 v–98 r.

trading networks the flow (especially of capitals and objects) mostly originated from the centre, in the case of the Custody of the Holy Land, the capitals and objects that circulated through the network originated from the other nodes, and more specifically from the commissariats spread around the Franciscan provinces. Although the friars would often send devotional objects from Jerusalem as gifts to their benefactors, the St Saviour monastery was mainly a 'receiver'. Conversely, within the province of the Holy Land, the same monastery distributed the supplies it received to the other Franciscan houses in the Middle East. It is therefore possible to distinguish two overlapping networks, one connecting Jerusalem and the commissariats spread across the Franciscan provinces in Europe and worldwide, and another, local one, connecting the Franciscan houses in the Middle East to one another. The St Saviour monastery in Jerusalem was the central node of both networks.

With Jerusalem as its centre, the geographical scope of the network extended throughout Europe and towards Spanish and Portuguese overseas territories.[52] Although the network potentially granted a global circulation of objects and money towards Jerusalem, the reality of the flow was more complex. Sociologists have often pointed out the difference between the 'infrastructure' that enables and constrains the 'traffic' that flows across a network and the traffic itself.[53] This division is also fruitful to understand the functioning of the Custody's network. The traffic within it did not necessarily follow the potential of the infrastructure, and it was multiform and multi-layered. Things that circulated through the network followed different paths and had different origins. The *Libro delle Condotte*, for example, suggests that food generally arrived in Jerusalem from Italy and Spain, as well as everyday objects from Europe, which were mostly, again, from Italy and Spain. The flow of capitals and devotional objects had a more global dimension, some of them arriving from Goa and the East Indies.[54] In practice, the flow that circulated through the network and its size and direction were affected by political and geographical factors. Alms and people arriving from or going to the 'Eastern and Western Indies' were first sent to Madrid and Lisbon. Significantly, the *Libro delle Condotte* lists the alms received from the Catholic king and '[those received from] his vassals in Spain and in the Indies' all together; and in most cases it is unclear what was sent from Spain and what was sent from the Indies. Apparently, the situation also created discontent among the Franciscans overseas. In a letter dated 1660 the commissar of the province of St Antony in Brazil complained that he never received information about the arrival in Jerusalem of all the alms collected locally for the Holy Sepulchre and regularly sent to Lisbon.

[52]On South America, see Barriuso, *op. cit.*
[53]Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell, *op. cit.*, 44–45.
[54]See, for example, the arrival in Jerusalem of diamonds from Goa in 1670 and money from the East Indies in 1675. ACTS, PG, *Libri delle condotte*, vol. 1, f 221 and f 262.

He therefore asked that a syndic, in charge exclusively of the alms from Brazil, be established in the Portuguese city.[55]

The Custody's network was not established to support missionary activity; nonetheless, like missionary networks, it allowed friars from overseas to survive by ensuring the arrival of resources (capital assets, missionaries and objects). Moreover, with the beginning of the friars' evangelisation activity in the late sixteenth century, the network also *de facto* fulfilled the tasks of a missionary network, granting the arrival of missionaries and of the objects needed to fulfil their tasks.

At the operational level, the Custody's network, like its missionary counterparts, relied on existing (organisational) networks to secure the arrival of resources: for example, trade networks provided shipping services, and diplomatic networks granted protection in case of need.[56] What makes the network stand out is the centrality of Jerusalem and the existence of multifunctional institutions, the commissariats, which enabled the traffic through the network. The commissariats collected alms locally and organised their transport to Jerusalem, assisted in various way the friars who stopped by, and also controlled the traffic though the network and the friars' movement. They were the network's sedentary nodes and its 'immobile infrastructure'.

The commissariats: mooring

The reconstruction of Ludovico's journey back to his province suggests that it was made up equally of movement and mooring. Even if we leave aside the two and a half years he spent in slavery, long stays were an integral part of the trip, and in terms of time, considering the days spent in the *lazaretto*, they were the norm. Stopovers were prompted, for example, by the need to change ships, or by events that were beyond the friars' control, such as storms and pirate attacks. At the same time, they enabled friars such as Lodovico to continue their journey, as during these stops they received the money and information needed to move further.

Recent research on mobilities has emphasised the interlocking relationship between 'mobilities' and 'mooring'. Starting from the idea that contemporary mass mobility cannot exist without 'extensive systems of immobility' that channel flows of people and provide services, this research has highlighted the role played by airports and harbours in linking places.[57] With regard to the early modern period, studies on mobilities have focused on arrival infrastructures, such as lodging houses and inns, and on the infrastructure devoted to passers-by, such as forms of poor relief and,

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[55]ASCPF, SC Terra Santa, 1, f 293.
[56]See Tramontana, 'Getting to the Holy Land', *op. cit.*
[57]Hannam *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 3.

more recently, transport and accommodation devoted to this category of migrants.[58]

The entanglement between fluidity and immobile nodes has also been highlighted by scholarship on networks. For example, Aslanian, in his analysis of the Armenian network, underlines the importance of its sedentary nodes. These acted as 'routing stations' and facilitated the circulatory flow. They provided crucial support to the 'more peripatetic members' by procuring local commodities and ensuring the circulation of information towards the centre.[59] Concerning early modern Catholic networks, to take another example, research has highlighted the critical role played by nuncios: for example, they paid bills of exchange, reimbursed missionaries' travel expenses, acted as intermediaries with local authorities and requested safe conduct for the missionaries.[60]

In the seventeenth century, the stable nodes of the Custody's network were its commissariats located in Franciscan convents. The role these institutions played in facilitating the friars' flow can be gathered by the numerous norms that regulated their tasks and functioning. According to the ordinances issued in 1633 and 1642, commissars were to lodge the friars who stopped by, pay their travel expenses to go to the next harbour and provide all the necessities for the trip.[61] With regard to lodging, another ordinance issued in 1636 states that in those places where commissars did not have their own hospices, the local convents were to host them and their companions, adding: 'And let them be treated as befits those who labour for such a great goal as this'.[62] Convents were also required more broadly to host in their cells all the friars travelling to and from the Holy Land.[63] The texts also stipulated that the travelling friars should not stay more than three days in a commissariat, unless forced to do so by some impediment ('*impedimento*'), and mentions three possible cases: adverse weather conditions, illness, and lack of available transport.[64]

The above-mentioned prescriptions are reflected in the records of the commissars' expenses, which list all the costs of maintaining the friars who stopped by: the money spent on food, wine and other necessities, such as a new pair of sandals or new clothes. Let us have a closer look, as an example,

[58]R. Salzberg, 'Mobility, cohabitation and cultural exchange in the lodging houses of early modern Venice', *Urban History*, 46, 3 (2019), 398–418; J. De Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger transportation in the Dutch economy, 1632–1839* (Utrecht, 1981); D. Hitchcock, 'A typology of travellers: migration, justice, and vagrancy in Warwickshire, 1670–1730', *Rural History*, 23, 1 (2012), 21–39; M. Schepers, 'Just passing through? Onderzoek in uitvoering naar passanten en infrastructuren voor transitmigranten in de Lage Landen, 1780–1870', *Stadsgeschiedenis*, 16, 1 (2021), 66–80.
[59]Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, op. cit.*, 14–15.
[60]E. Menegon, 'La Cina, l'Italia e Milano: Connessioni globali nella prima età moderna', *Studia Borromaica*, 28 (2015), 267–80 (here 276–77).
[61]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 3, *Libro de statuti di Terra Santa 1656*, f 23 r and f 33 r.
[62]' … E li trattino come si conviene a' chi si affatiga per cosi' tanta opera', ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 3, f 55 r.
[63]*ibid.*
[64]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 3, f 23 v.

at the list of the expenses for the years 1655–1657 and 1657–1659 issued by the then commissar of Malta, Michele da Malta.[65]

The island's geographical position meant that Malta was a common stopover for the friars travelling to and from the Middle East. From its harbour it was easy to catch one of the numerous trade vessels that stopped there on the way to the Levant and back. Waiting to continue their trip, the friars usually spent a couple of days in Malta. Although according to the above-mentioned ordinance their stay should last no more than three days, in practice their departure was often delayed. The records do not always mention the length of the guests' stays. However, the list of expenses for the years 1655–1657 mentions six friars who, arriving from Marseille and directed to the Levant, were in the island for 27 days. Another, from Marseille, stayed 17 days. Three friars from Rome and on their way to Jerusalem remained eight days.[66] These data are confirmed by the following years' lists, which mention 12 friars who arrived on 15 August 1657 and only left on 19 November.[67] Long stays were a consequence of the lack of available transport, adverse weather conditions or other misfortunes that could befall the friars, such as illness.[68] These occurrences would also result in more expenses for the local commissariats.[69] In 1658 the Commissar of the Kingdom of Naples recorded the money spent to bring food to a friar who was stuck on a vessel in the harbour because some documents were missing.[70]

Sources provide much evidence of friars arriving from Ottoman territories who had to undergo a long quarantine in Malta or an Italian harbour, before continuing their trip. This was also the case with Lodovico. Quarantine lasted in general between 40 and 70 days, and associated costs were covered by the local commissars. The one for the Kingdom of Sicily recorded the expenses incurred between 4 August and 4 September 1657 to support a friar named Giacomo d'Alì from the province of Messina, who was staying in the local *lazzaretto*: payments for the guards ('*Guardie della sanità*') and for the barracks, the officials and the food ('*barracca, deputati e di mangiare*').[71]

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[65]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Malta, 1659, f 3r–4r (for the years 1655–1657) and unnumbered pages (for 1657–1659); these expenses rarely bear specific entry dates.

[66]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Malta, 1659, f 3vr.

[67]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Malta, 1659, unnumbered page; no date recorded.

[68]*ibid*.

[69]See ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Malta, 1659, unnumbered pages; Regno di Sicilia, 1660 (19 September 1657); money spent to buy hens for a friar who was severely ill ('*gravemente malato*'); Toscana, 1668, which mentions how the commissar helped the recovery of Luigi Giustizia e fra' Giovanni di Sardegna, one of whom was unwell (2 June 1666). The same file mentions a friar with a broken leg who prolonged his stay until recovered (4 October 1667).

[70]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Regno di Napoli (1658–1660) 6 June 1660; see also Regno di Sicilia, 1660 (1 September 1658).

[71]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Regno di Sicilia, 1660 (1657–1658).

Besides taking care of local provision, the commissariats also paid for the ship that would bring the friars to their next stop, and gave them *provisione* – that is, food and money for the journey. In this respect, the account books of the commissar of Genoa, for example, report the cost of fruit, bread and wine given to those who were leaving for another destination.[72] Finally, commissars' lists of expenses suggest that they were also active in helping the numerous friars who, like Lodovico, were captured and enslaved while crossing the Mediterranean. They would collect the money necessary to pay the ransom and organise it, some records specify, upon the request of the superiors of the order, and sometimes through French and English intermediaries.[73] Indeed, it was the commissar for Livorno who organised Lodovico's ransoming, charging captain Giovanni Maria Raffaelli with it, and paying for all the relevant expenses, from the ransom itself to Lodovico's transport to Livorno.

This analysis of the commissars' tasks corroborates previous findings on the fundamental role played by stable nodes in enabling mobility within the network, and more broadly the interlocking relationship between mooring and moving. The friars' progress through the network was equally made up of mobility and pauses, long stopovers that were necessary for the continuation of the trip. Franciscan convents and commissariats constituted an infrastructure that was itself fixed, but enabled traffic to flow through the network, by giving the necessary support to the itinerant friars. Beyond routine help, the commissariats operated as a safety net whose presence in the main harbour ensured the availability of some form of assistance in the event of unexpected circumstances, such as illness, adverse weather conditions or enslavement. Commissariats and convents also linked together different places. In this sense they feature certain similarities to what research on contemporary mobilities calls 'transfer points', such as airports.

A main characteristic of the Custody's commissariats is that they were established by an organisation, the Franciscan order, which also regulated their tasks through a complex set of written rules. Furthermore, in the seventeenth century they also occupied physical spaces, as they were established within Franciscan convents, where passing friars could be lodged. In this respect the commissariats bear similarities to inns, lodging houses or the medieval *fondaci* spread in Mediterranean harbours.[74] The material

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[72]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Genoa, 1666.

[73]See, for example, ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Toscana, 1680, which records the payment for a friar from the province of Bosnia enslaved in Tunis on his way back from Jerusalem (31 January 1679); see also in the same file the entry dated 4 May 1680; an entry dated 26 August 1669, list of incomes, in Toscana, 1670; and the entry for 30 December 1682 in Toscana, 1682.

[74]Common in Muslim lands, these were places where foreign merchants were lodged, and were authorised to drink alcohol and practise their faith. Like Franciscan commissariats, *fondaci* fulfilled other functions besides lodging. For example, they were used as warehouses and collected taxes due to the local authorities. On *fondaci*, see O.R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, trade, and travel in late antiquity and the middle ages* (Cambridge, 2009).

dimension and the importance of the regulatory system and of routinised organisational practices result in a fixity and stability (with most of the commissariats established in the seventeenth century and still active to this day) that make the definition of infrastructure particularly suited to describing the Custody's network. In the case of the Custody, however, it is important to distinguish between the infrastructure itself (institutions and physical spaces), which is tangible and immobile, and the people (commissars and friars) of whom it was made up. The latter were not necessarily immobile, as they would occasionally go to the Levant, becoming themselves itinerant friars. From this pespective, the relationship between mobility and immobility within the network acquires a further layer of complexity.[75]

Finally, the fixity and stability that the Custody's network shares with infrastructure distinguish it from related but distinct kinds of systems, such as migration networks. Although the network of the Custody of the Holy Land fulfilled similar functions insofar as it enabled and facilitated movement, it differed from migration networks in many respects. The latter emerge according to need, and often following a first large movement of migrants. They rely on path dependency, and their development (and decline) is linked to the rise, size and stabilisation of a migrant flow. Moreover, within migration networks a crucial role is played by pioneer migrants.[76] This is not the case with the Custody's network, whose establishment was not linked to the development of migration flows or to the factors that determine migration, but rather to alms collection. As people's mobility was not its primary aim, its very existence and development were not linked to the size of people flow, nor did it rely on path dependency: contrary to a migration network, its stability was not affected by fragmented or short-lived migration flows.

Organisational migrants and external users

As already noted in the introduction to this article, an important difference between Lodovico and other people on the move is his being an 'organisational migrant'. A distinctive feature of this type of migrant is that their access to the network is based not on personal connections, but on their belonging to an organisation. This distinction is at the core of a typology of modes of migration proposed by Clé Lesger, Leo Lucassen and Marlou Schrover. Revisiting Charles Tilly's 1976 distinction between chain and career migration,[77] Lesger et al. distinguish between 'personal network

[75]S. Kesselring, 'Global transfer points: the making of airports in the mobile risk society' in S. Cwerner, S. Kesselring and J. Urry (eds), *Aeromobilities* (London, 2008).
[76]J. Goss and B. Lindquist, 'Conceptualizing international labor migration: a structuration perspective', *The International Migration Review*, 29, 2 (1995), 317–51.
[77]C. Tilly, 'Migration in modern European history', CRSO Working Paper #l45, University of Michigan (October 1976), 9–11, available at https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/50920/145.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed 7 November 2022).

migration (including chain migration)' and 'organizational or non-personal network migration'.[78] Whereas the movement of migrants of the former type is helped by 'people they know or know of', the movement of migrants of the latter type, such as missionaries, soldiers and diplomats, is helped by the organisation they belong to.

However, the above does not necessarily imply that those networks that developed within organisations were only used by the organisation's members. In fact, sources suggest that although it was aimed primarily at facilitating the circulation of friars, the Franciscan network also helped other people. Who were these 'external users'? And how did they gain access to the network?

It is not easy to determine the percentage of 'external users' among those who circulated through the Custody's network. The account books give only scant evidence on the matter. A register of the commissar of Genoa, for example, mentions a converted Jew who stopped by in 1669. He carried a letter of recommendation written by the commissar of Marseille.[79] In 1673 three Maronites stopped in the city and were taken care of by the commissar.[80] According to the register, they carried letters of recommendation from the Guardian of Jerusalem. Another Catholic from the Middle East, a Maronite, is mentioned in 1695.[81] These Eastern Christians all arrived in Genoa from Jerusalem and were heading towards different destinations. In 1676, again in Genoa, the dragoman of the convent of Jerusalem stopped on his way back to Palestine.[82] From this scant information, it seems that all those mentioned had close ties with the commissars of Terra Santa or with the Custody in Jerusalem, from whom they had received patents and letters of recommendation. In fact, further evidence of the use of the Custody's network by non-Franciscan travellers is furnished by documents issued by the friars in Jerusalem. Registers of conversions and Chronicles often mention former 'renegades' and slaves who were sent to 'Christendom' by the Custos. One such was the Frenchman 'Filippo', son of 'Lancelot', who after being enslaved for 15 years was sent to Sayda (Sidon) and from there back to France.[83] A similar picture is provided by a list of those who received the friars' charity in Jerusalem in the 1550s, which mentions the money spent to send local Catholics, former 'renegades', converts, pilgrims and fugitive slaves to 'Christendom'.[84] The list begins in

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[78]A third category, less relevant to the scope of this research, is 'solitary migration': see C. Lesger, L. Lucassen and M. Schrover, 'Is there life outside the migrant network? German immigrants in XIXth-century Netherlands and the need for a more balanced migration typology', *Annales de démographie historique*, 104, 2 (2002), 29–50 (here 26–29).

[79]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Genoa, 1672 (28 November 1669).

[80]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Genoa, 1674 (30 December 1673).

[81]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Genoa, 1698 (8 October 1695).

[82]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Genoa, 1676 (3 January 1676).

[83]Da Serino, *Chroniche o Annali di Terra Santa continuate dal P. F da Serino ofm*, ed. by G. Golubovich, vol. 2, in *idem., Biblioteca bio-bibliografica, Nuova Serie, Documenti*, vol. 12 (Florence, 1939), 116.

[84]See also Verniero di Montepeloso, *Croniche o Annali di Terra Santa*, ed. by G. Golubovich, vol. 4 (suppl.), in *idem., Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 9 (Florence, 1936).

1556, which suggests that this was already a well-established custom for the friars of the Holy Land by the sixteenth century. This hypothesis is corroborated by the Chronicles. These furnish many instances of Catholic pilgrims, and even Protestant travellers, who received money and letters of recommendation from the Custos that would be useful once in 'Christendom' and eventually allow them to take advantage of the Franciscan network during their journey to Europe.[85] Non-Franciscan sources, too, attest to the value of the friars' letters. A Chaldean manuscript narrating the journey of John Sulaqa, the first Chaldean patriarch, to Rome in 1552–1553, mentions that he had been given letters of recommendation by the friars in Jerusalem before embarking for Rome.[86]

This picture is confirmed by research conducted by Bernard Heyberger on Eastern Christians' migration towards Rome between 1644 and 1779. Relying on the analysis of a large volume of documents, among which are letters of recommendation kept in the Archive of Propaganda Fide, Heyberger highlights the central role that Franciscans played in the arrival of Eastern Christians to Rome.[87] Some of those mentioned by Heyberger had converted to Catholicism and moved to Rome to escape the 'persecutions' of their former co-religionists.[88] Others were prospective students of the Roman missionary college. Thus, in 1669 the list of expenses of the commissar of Tuscany mentions the French observant Jacques Goujon ('Iacomo Gouion')[89] who arrived in Livorno from Jerusalem, bringing with him some Maronite boys ('*figliuoli maroniti*') heading for the college of Propaganda Fide.[90] For these travellers the friars arranged the journey and provided money, shelter and recommendations, which might prove useful during the trip. As a migration network, they also helped them to settle at their destination, and even 'recruited' potential migrants.

It is important to stress that whereas Lodovico's ability to use the network depended on his belonging to the order, these 'external users' were able to gain access to it only through their personal connections or, as Lesger et al. put it, the 'people they know or know of'. With reference to the above-mentioned classification proposed by Lesger et al., therefore, their movement through the network fits into the category of 'personal network

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[85]F. Tramontana, 'Protestants' conversions to Catholicism in the Syro–Palestinian region (seventeenth century)', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 41, 3 (2014), 401–22.

[86]W. Van Gulik, 'Die Konsistorialakten über die Begründung des uniert-chaldäischen Patriarchates von Mosul unter Papst Julius II' in A. Baumstark (ed.), *Oriens Christianus (1901–1941): Essays on eastern Christianity* (Piscataway, 2010) 261–77 (here 276); J.M. Vosté, 'Mar Iohannan Soulaqa: premier patriarche des Chaldéens, martyr de l'union avec Rome (†1555)', *Angelicum*, 8 (1931), 187–234 (here 207).

[87]Heyberger, 'Chrétiens orientaux', *op. cit.*, 84–85.

[88]*ibid.*, 61–89; Cfr. ACPF, SC Terra Santa, III (1677–83), 148.

[89]Jacques Goujon is the author of *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (1671).

[90]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 1, Toscana, 1670 (16 April 1669).

migration (including chain migration)', rather than that of 'non-personal or organizational migration', which was the case with Lodovico and other friars. To conclude, we can say that both organisational and non-organisational migrants circulated through the network of the Custody. Even though the latter was aimed at facilitating primarily the circulation of its members, external users could also access and benefit from it. In this the network of the Custody bears similarities to corporations' networks, such as the one that developed within the Levant company, whose ships were used for passenger transport.[91]

The distinction between organisational migrants and non-organisational ones is also relevant if we look at another important side of the functioning of the network of the Custody: how it addressed and controlled mobility.

Moving within an organisation: control, immobility and exclusion

As David Hancock puts it, networks tend to be seen as 'flexible, "organic" and egalitarian … forms of organization', especially when compared with more hierarchical and managerial ones.[92] As a consequence, research has not paid enough attention to the downside of being part of a network. One such aspect has been recently explored by research concerned with imperial expansion. This has highlighted the role of networks within the early modern corporations in facilitating coerced forms of migration.[93] The emphasis on the network as a mechanism that facilitated mobility has somewhat obscured the existence of regulations and forms of control. Moreover, although the importance of personal connections has been amply described, the other side of the coin – that is, how the same mechanisms of access to the network created forms of exclusion – has remained largely unexplored.

The notion of infrastructure challenges this overly one-dimensional narrative of the relationship between networks and mobility. In fact, while sustaining mobility, infrastructure also regulates, directs and often controls it through its regulations and routinised practices. Research on arrival infrastructures in the early modern period has shown, for example, that while providing lodging and information, inns, lodging houses and *fondaci* were often tasked with channelling and controlling the flow

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[91]See C. Tazzara, *The Free Port of Livorno and the Transformation of the Mediterranean World, 1574–1790* (Oxford, 2017), 73.

[92]Hancock, *op. cit.*, 469.

[93]For example, some research works have explored the circulation of slaves within the network of the Dutch East India company: see K. Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge, 2019); or the movement of convicts across the Portuguese empire: T.J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and state-sponsored colonisers in the Portuguese empire, 1550–1755* (Stanford, 2002); M. van Rossum, 'Labouring transformations of amphibious monsters: Globalization, diversity and the effects of labour mobilization under the Dutch East India Company (1600–1800)', *International Review of Social History*, 64 (2019), 19–42.

of newcomers.[94] Another important characteristic of infrastructure is its selectivity, as it provides privileged access to some and at the same time retains and creates borders for others.[95]

In our case study, the way in which movement is controlled and channelled and the existence of forms of exclusion are even clearer. The fact that Franciscans belonged to a selective religious organisation determined in and of itself forms of exclusion. In addition, external members' access may also have been restricted to certain categories of travellers. For example, the Levant Company, which played an important role in making possible the mobility not only of its merchants and agents but also of people more generally, across the Mediterranean, prevented Muslim subjects of the Ottoman empire from embarking on its vessels.[96] In such cases, control and exclusion are often two sides of the same coin. To take another example, French people who wanted to move to the Ottoman *échelles* were required to have a passport and an authorisation to travel, issued by the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles. The task of controlling travellers' documents and preventing the arrival of 'illegal' migrants fell on the French trade network, and more specifically on ship captains and consuls.[97]

Regarding external access, the network of the Custody did not have rules that would exclude certain categories of people. Being Catholic would undoubtedly help, as testified by the timely conversions of prospective non-Catholic travellers,[98] but to move within the network the main requisite was the possession of letters of recommendation and, therefore, personal connections. This, however, did not prevent the existence of forms of exclusion, as convincingly shown by Jacob Norris. In the framework of a study of the relationship between Franciscans and local Christians in the Jerusalem area, Norris has illustrated the case of two local Christians who 'aspired to travel those networks, but found themselves locked out'.[99] Contrary to those Eastern Christians mentioned in the previous paragraph, the friars denied them letters of recommendation. Furthermore, according to the complaints of the protagonists, the friars also prevented the French consul from helping them. This evidence, counterbalancing the positive

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[94]R. Salzberg, 'Controlling and documenting migration via urban "spaces of arrival" in early modern Venice' in H. Greefs and A. Winter (eds), *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities, Papers and Gates, 1500–1930s* (London, 2018), 28–45; I. Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero: Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Rome, 2011); Hitchcock, *op. cit.*; M. Schepers, 'Nativism to the inclusion of immigrants: settlement and poor relief in eighteenth-century Bruges', *Journal of Migration History*, 6, 2 (2020), 151–81.

[95]Meeus, Arnaut and van Heur, *op. cit.*, 23; Star, *op. cit.*, 380.

[96]B. Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East* (New York and London, 1988), 103–04.

[97]D. Celetti, 'French residents and Ottoman women in 18th-century Levant: personal relations, social control, and cultural interchange' in C. Vintilă-Ghițulescu (ed.), *Women, Consumption, and the Circulation of Ideas in South-Eastern Europe, 17th–nineteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2017), 47–64 (here 50–52).

[98]Tramontana, 'Protestants' conversions', *op. cit.*, 401–22.

[99]J. Norris, 'Dragomans, tattooists, artisans: Palestinian Christians and their encounters with Catholic Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries', *Journal of Global History*, 14, 1 (2019), 68–86.

narrative of Franciscan sources, shows how unequal the access granted by networks could be, and how the latter, while facilitating the mobility of some, denied others the same opportunities.

Moving beyond the concentration on external users in existing research, I am arguing that belonging to the order did not spare the friars themselves from undergoing forms of exclusion and experiencing forms of involuntary immobility. Indeed, for members of an organisation the downsides of moving within its network may have been even more numerous. External members used the network in an ad hoc manner to reach the destination they had chosen. As for the organisation's members, the network could turn into the means by which the organisation addressed, regulated and controlled their movement. It is not easy to determine the friars' space for manoeuvre and to what extent their movement was decided by the order. Their agency probably depended on various factors, such as position and age. However, even when the friars travelled of their own will, for example on a pilgrimage, their movement was still subjected to the organisation's authorisation and forms of control.

In his research on the Jesuit missionary network, Luke Clossey has shown that in Seville, before travelling to their 'posts', Jesuit missionaries were controlled by a board of inspection who would also record their name and physical appearance.[100] Similarly, Franciscan legal sources clearly show the order's willingness to closely control and supervise its members from departure to arrival. The already mentioned General Chapter of Segovia, for example, issued numerous rules aimed at monitoring friars' movement from the Indies. When leaving their province of origin, those who had taken their vows in the Indies were directed to a destination chosen by the general commissar of the Indies. The chosen provinces had to accept them, to avoid giving them occasion to wander ('*ne ocasio vagandi tribuatur*'). Punishments were also established for those friars who left their provinces before 10 years had passed, or those who had been expelled by one of the Indian provinces for their behaviour. In the latter cases, the general commissar of the Indies was to be made aware of any fault ('*defectus*') by superiors, so that they would not be allowed to travel to Spain.[101]

Similarly, friars' movements to and from the Holy Land were regulated by numerous prescriptions, including one stating that only the superiors of the order were entitled to issue patents and authorisations to travel.[102] Another ordinance, issued in 1634 by the general minister Fr Giovanni Battista Campagna, established that those friars who had received authorisation to go to the Holy Land were to show it to their superior within three days, and

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[100]Clossey, *op. cit.*, 148.
[101]*CHL*, vol. 1, 669.
[102]General Chapter of Toledo, 1633, *CHL*, vol. 1, 700.

leave within 10, heading to the harbour from which they would embark for the Levant. The superiors of their convent were required to write down the date of their departure on their patents so that the commissar located in the harbour could check the time it had taken them to get there.[103] In fact, according to another ordinance, friars heading to the Holy Land were required to embark from one of those harbours where commissars of the Custody – who could check their patents – were located.[104]

Upon their arrival in the Levant, they were to turn immediately to the Custos in Jerusalem or to the guardian of the closest convent. The same applies to prescriptions regarding the friars' journey from the Middle East back to 'Christendom'. First of all, those who wanted to return either after three years, which was the mandatory length of the stay, or for some business ('*per negozii*') of the Custody, were to request an authorisation ('*Licenza*') from the Custos. The document would contain information on their behaviour while in the Holy Land, as well as details such as the day they left Jerusalem or the Middle Eastern harbour they embarked at. These data were to be vouched for ('*sottoscritta*') by the chaplain stationed in that harbour, who would also lodge them and give them money for the ship.[105]

Indeed, the stable infrastructure that, as shown in the previous section, sustained mobility within the network, also played a crucial role in controlling the friars' flow, with the intertwined tasks of assistance and control often being enunciated in the same ordinances. For example, while stating that commissars and procurers both in 'Christianity' and in the Levant had to provide lodging to travelling friars, these ordinances also mentioned their duty to stop those friars who were heading to the Holy Land without the required authorisations.[106] The practical bearing of such a prescription is testified by some documents kept in the archive of De Propaganda Fide. In a letter addressed to the Guardian of Pisa in 1658, for example, the Congregation asked him to stop the newly appointed guardian, father Eusebio Valles, and a Spanish friar, Bernardo, from heading towards Jerusalem and send them to Rome.[107] Commissars also had the task of punishing those who, after first undertaking a journey to the Holy Land, decided to stop without a legitimate reason.[108]

This being said, it is worth mentioning that, despite its efforts, the network's ability to control and address the friars' movement was limited by the unpredictable events and circumstances – such as pirates' and bandits'

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[103]ACPF, SC Terra Santa Miscellanea 3, f 23 r. Ordinances issued during the above-mentioned Chapter of Toledo.
[104]ACPF, SOCG, vol. 195. *Ordeni per il padre reverendissimo Vicario generale de' Minori Osservanti e per il Commissario oltremontano*, 174v.
[105]ACPF, SC Terra Santa Miscellanea 3, f 22 rv.
[106]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 3, f 20 v.
[107]See ACPF, SC, 44, p. 210. The same folders contain other letters sent by Propaganda to Palermo and to the Nuncio of Naples, asking them to stop the above-mentioned Valles. On the episode, see also Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 266.
[108]ACPF, SC Terra Santa, Miscellanea 3, f 23 v.

attacks, epidemic outbreaks and so on – that often affected the friars' itineraries.[109]

The entanglement between control and assistance reminds one of arrival infrastructure.[110] There is, however, an important difference: unlike inns and *fondaci*, which were encountered by travellers at specific points on their journey, the Custody's network constituted a coordinated system through which the order thoroughly controlled the movement of its members, step by step, from the moment they left their convent to their arrival at destination and back. According to the above-mentioned ordinance issued in 1633, as they set foot on Christian land, the friars were obliged to turn to the local commissar or to the guardian of the closest convent and put themselves under his authority. The guardian or commissar would give them the patents to continue their trip back to their provinces. The patents, the rule specifies, could be limited to a certain time and destination.[111] More broadly, the ordinance states that all friars going to and returning from the Holy Land were to put themselves under the authority of the commissars of the Holy Land and obey them. Commissars were to write on the friars' patents the date of departure and the order to return to their provinces.[112]

The system's functioning was made possible by the overlapping of a material, immobile infrastructural dimension – made up of the order's convents – and social, regulatory and documentary ones: the ties between the various commissariats and houses, the exchange of information, and the presence of patents that contained all the details of the trip.[113] All these layers constitute what we can call an 'organisational migration infrastructure'. The notion of organisational migration infrastructure enriches current research on both mobility infrastructure and early modern organisations, and creates a bridge between the two by shedding light on a type of infrastructure that developed within an organisation and, while providing assistance, also allowed it to regulate, channel and control the movement of its members according to its interests.

The case of the Custody clearly shows a different side of the relationship between networks and mobility, one in which, besides facilitating movement, the networks maintained thorough control, aimed at reducing people's space for manoeuvre. Controls, exclusions

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[109]Tramontana, 'Getting to the Holy Land', *op. cit.*

[110]R. Salzberg, 'Controlling and Documenting', *op. cit.*; A. Winter and T. Lambrecht, 'Migration, poor relief and local autonomy: settlement policies in England and the southern Low Countries in the eighteenth century', *Past & Present*, 218, 1 (2013), 91–126; S. King and A. Winter (eds), *Migration, Settlement and Belonging in Europe, 1500–1930s: Comparative perspectives* (New York, 2013).

[111]'[…] con patenti ristrette a determinattione di tempo e drittura di viaggio'. ACPF, SC Terra Santa Miscellanea 3, f 23 r.

[112]*ibid.*

[113]On the growing importance of documents in early modern mobility, see S. Aslanian, 'From Mount Lebanon to the Little Mount in Madras' in Nelles and Salzberg (eds), *op. cit.*

and involuntary stops, caused by lack of permissions and documents, resulted in involuntary immobilities that appear to have been intertwined with mobility.

Conclusion

Using the story of the Franciscan friar Lodovico as a starting point, this article has attempted to reassess one-sided narratives of the relationship between networks and mobility, and more broadly of mobility in the early modern Mediterranean.

To shed new light on these issues, the article has engaged in an analysis of the network that sustained Lodovico through his journey. Employing the concept of organisational migrants as an analytical tool and combining it with an infrastructural perspective, the argument has explored the functioning of the Custody's network, and of organisational networks more broadly. In the process, it has reconstructed the functioning of the 'immobile infrastructure' that was composed of commissars and Franciscan convents. While facilitating the flow of traffic through the network, providing the necessary shelter and resources to continue the trip, the 'immobile infrastructure' equally controlled and regulated friars' movement. The focus on the 'immobile infrastructure' of the network has also highlighted related entanglements. Firstly, movement and mooring were intertwined aspects of the friars' mobility, with long stopovers being necessary to gather the resources needed to continue the trip. Furthermore, whereas mooring was instrumental to movement itself, other forms of immobility resulted from the order's rules and controls which limited friars' agency, regulated and controlled their movement step by step, and prevented them from moving further if circumstances required it.

This analysis has confirmed previous findings on the role played by stable infrastructures in enabling movement while adding a further layer of complexity to the mobile/immobile dichotomy by highlighting a distinction between the tangible and stable infrastructure, which consisted of convents and institutions, and its 'personnel', commissars and friars, who were not necessarily immobile.

Furthermore, the use of the concept of organisational migrants has highlighted a distinction within the network's users, between the organisation's members and the 'external users' who would access the network thanks to personal connections. This distinction also shapes the forms of control exercised by the organisation.

In a wider perspective, the findings presented here enrich our understanding of early modern mobility, calling our attention to the entanglement between mobility and immobilities, to the role played by organisations in addressing and controlling it, and to forms of

exclusion and control. Building on scholarship on arrival infrastructure, the article has postulated the existence of an 'organisational migration infrastructure'. This resulted from an overlap of the material infrastructure with regulatory and documental dimensions, and was a complex and coordinated system that developed within an organisation (such as a religious order, but also the army or a chartered company) and was instrumental to its functioning and interests. It enabled its members' movement by providing tangible assistance and information and facilitating the journey step by step. At the same time, the same 'organisational migration infrastructure' regulated, channelled and thoroughly controlled people's movement from the beginning of the journey to its end, and eventually forced them to stop.

More broadly, this research, challenging as it does a far-too-positive narrative of the relationship between networks and mobility, suggests that networks, especially organisational ones, regulated, addressed and controlled movement, with assistance and control often being two sides of the same coin. Networks also created forms of exclusion as they opened opportunities to some and denied them to others. In fact, while confirming the importance of networks and infrastructures in enabling mobility, the article has also suggested that the very access to networks and infrastructure might determine one's ease, and indeed one's very possibility, of moving. From this perspective, early modern mobility appears entangled with involuntary 'immobilities' and exclusion, and the early modern world less 'connected', at least for some.